

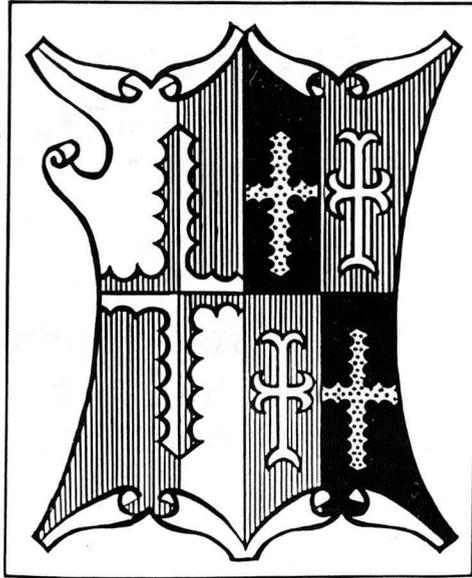


*Baconsthorpe Castle,
Excavations and Finds,
1951 - 1972*

*Archaeology and Environment
Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service*

East Anglian Archaeology 102

EAST ANGLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY



The arms of Sir John Heydon (II) and his wife Catherine,
daughter of Sir Christopher Willoughby, on the porch at
Saxlingham Hall

Baconsthorpe Castle, Excavations and Finds, 1951–1972

**by Carolyn Dallas and
David Sherlock**

with contributions from
Susanne Atkin, R. J. Charleston,
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East Anglian Archaeology
Report No. 102, 2002

Archaeology and Environment
Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service

EAST ANGLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY
REPORT NO.102

Published by
Archaeology and Environment Division
Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service
Union House
Gressenhall
Dereham
Norfolk NR20 4DR

in conjunction with
The Scole Archaeological Committee

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Set in Times Roman by Jenny Glazebrook using Corel Ventura™
Printed by Geerings of Ashford Ltd., Ashford, Kent

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Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service

ISBN 0 905594 36 3

For details of *East Anglian Archaeology*, see last page

This volume is published with the aid of a grant from English Heritage, in whose care Baconsthorpe Castle now is.

Cover photograph

Baconsthorpe Castle. Photo: D.A. Edwards
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Acknowledgements

Much of this report had been written by 1994, and it was later augmented by a revised chapter on the standing remains. The authors wish to thank all the specialists for their various reports on the finds and former staff of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England for their report on the earthworks. Thanks are also due to Simon Hayfield, Sandra Rowntree and Chris Evans, Ancient Monuments Graphics Officers, who drew the finds (except for the local pottery) and the plans (except Figs 2, 7, 15 and 16) and sections; to John Hurst, formerly Assistant Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, to Sarah Jennings who advised on the pottery and Susan White and Jim Thorn who advised on the local pottery drawings; to Andrew Wittrick, Ancient Monuments Drawing Office, who surveyed the barn; John Ainstree, Barry Knight and Justine Bayley, Ancient Monuments Laboratory, who commented on the metalwork and carried out the milliprobe examination; to Jacqui Watson who identified the bone knife handles; to Helen Rowles who commented on the powder flask; to Paul Drury, then Inspector of

Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings, who advised on the barn and the brick and tile; Glyn Coppack, Jane Grenville and Caroline Atkins, who all commented on drafts of the standing remains chapter; Paul Rutledge, the late Sue Margeson and Henry Summerson who helped with the general interpretation and documentary research on Baconsthorpe; to Andrew Rogerson, Norfolk Archaeology and Environment Division, who commented on the text in draft; the late Tony Gregory who produced Figs 2 and 7; and to David Dobson who drew Fig. 15. Final thanks are due to Tony Gregory followed by Paul Drury who brought the whole report up to publication standard, and to Karen Parker who typed it.

This report is published with the aid of a grant from the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England (English Heritage) in whose care Baconsthorpe Castle now is. Original excavation plans, documents and notes used in the production of this report are held by its Historic Properties Midlands office at Northampton.

Summary

Baconsthorpe Castle was a fortified manor house near Holt in north-east Norfolk. It was first purchased by the Heydon family in the early fifteenth century and remained in their hands until about 1680. The property comprised, at various stages, an inner moated enclosure, an outer court and gatehouse, a barn, a mere, formal gardens and park. The fortunes of the Heydon family prospered until

the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century and much imported pottery and glass has been found on the site. The report records the small amount of archaeological excavation which has taken place at Baconsthorpe, contains an analysis of the buildings, a survey of the earthworks, and draws together all finds and documentary evidence extant for the site and its owners.

Résumé

Le château de Baconsthorpe était un manoir fortifié situé près de Holt au nord-est du Norfolk. Il fut d'abord acquis au début du quinzième siècle par la famille Heydon qui le conserva jusqu'à environ 1680. Selon les époques, la propriété comprenait une enceinte intérieure entourée de douves, une cour extérieure et une maison de gardien, une écurie, un lac, des jardins et un parc d'apparat. La famille Heydon connut la prospérité jusqu'à la fin du seizième ou le début du dix-septième siècle, et une quantité importante

de poterie et de verre importés a été retrouvée sur le site. Le rapport présenté fait l'inventaire des quelques fouilles archéologiques entreprises sur le site de Baconsthorpe; il contient également une analyse des bâtiments et un relevé des terrassements. Il rassemble enfin toutes les découvertes et les documents de l'époque relatifs au site et à ses propriétaires.

(Traduction: Didier Don)

Zusammenfassung

Baconsthorpe Castle war ein befestigtes Herrenhaus bei Holt im Nordosten Norfolks. Vom frühen 15. Jahrhundert bis ca. 1680 befand es sich im Besitz der Familie Heydon. Zu dem Anwesen gehörten zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten eine von einem Graben umgebene Einhegung, ein Außenhof mit Torhaus, eine Scheune, ein Weiher und ein Formalgarten mit Park. Auf dem Anwesen wurden viele importierte Töpfer- und Glaswaren gefunden, Zeichen des

vermögenden Lebens, das die Heydon-Familie bis zum späten 16. oder frühen 17. Jahrhundert genoss. Der Bericht, der die wenigen in Baconsthorpe unternommenen archäologischen Grabungen aufzeichnet, enthält eine Gebäudeanalyse und eine Übersicht über die Erdanlagen. Er dokumentiert sämtliche Funde und vorhandenen Belege zu der Stätte und ihren Besitzern.

(Übersetzung: Gerlinde Krug)

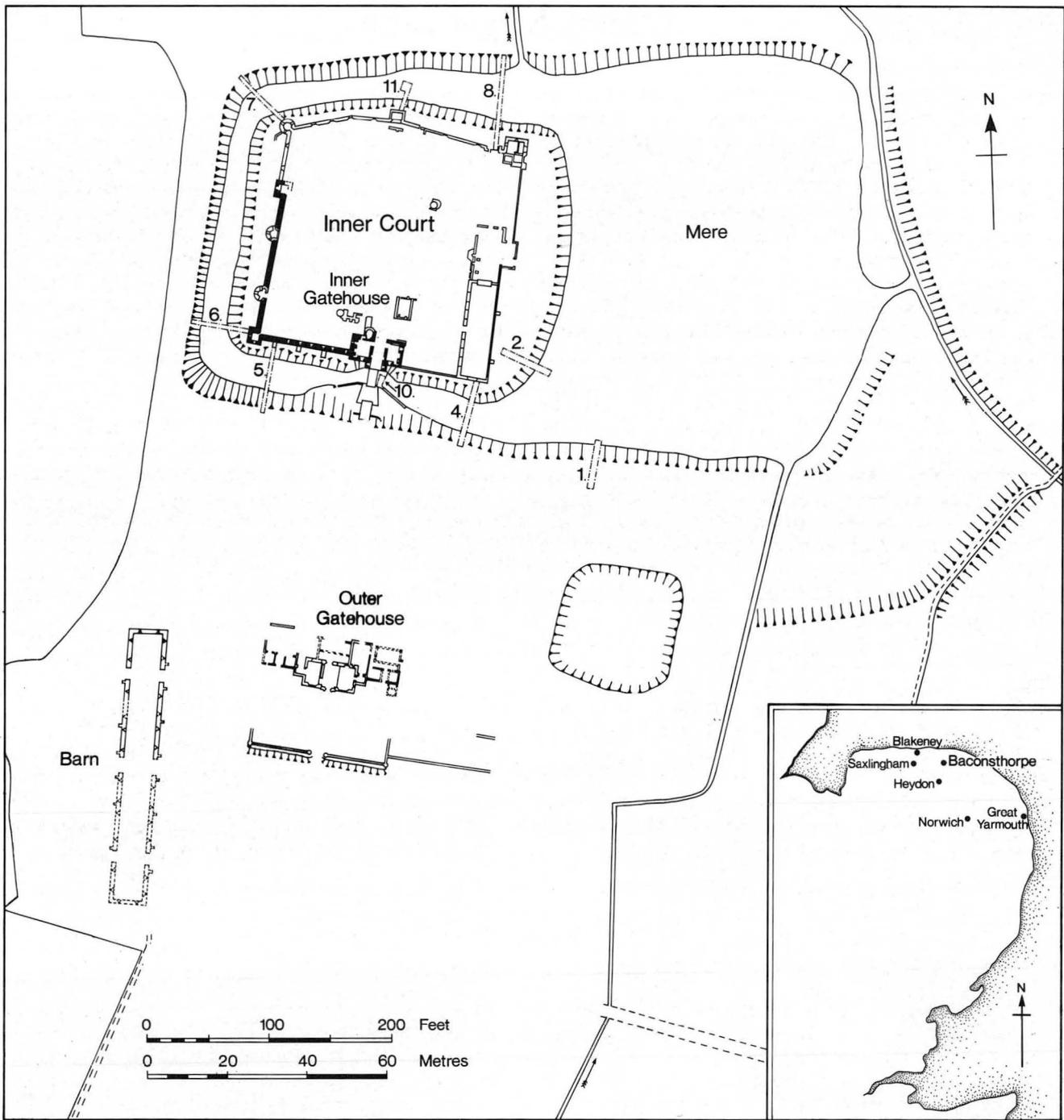


Figure 1 Location map and plan of Baconsthorpe Castle, including 1972 excavation trenches

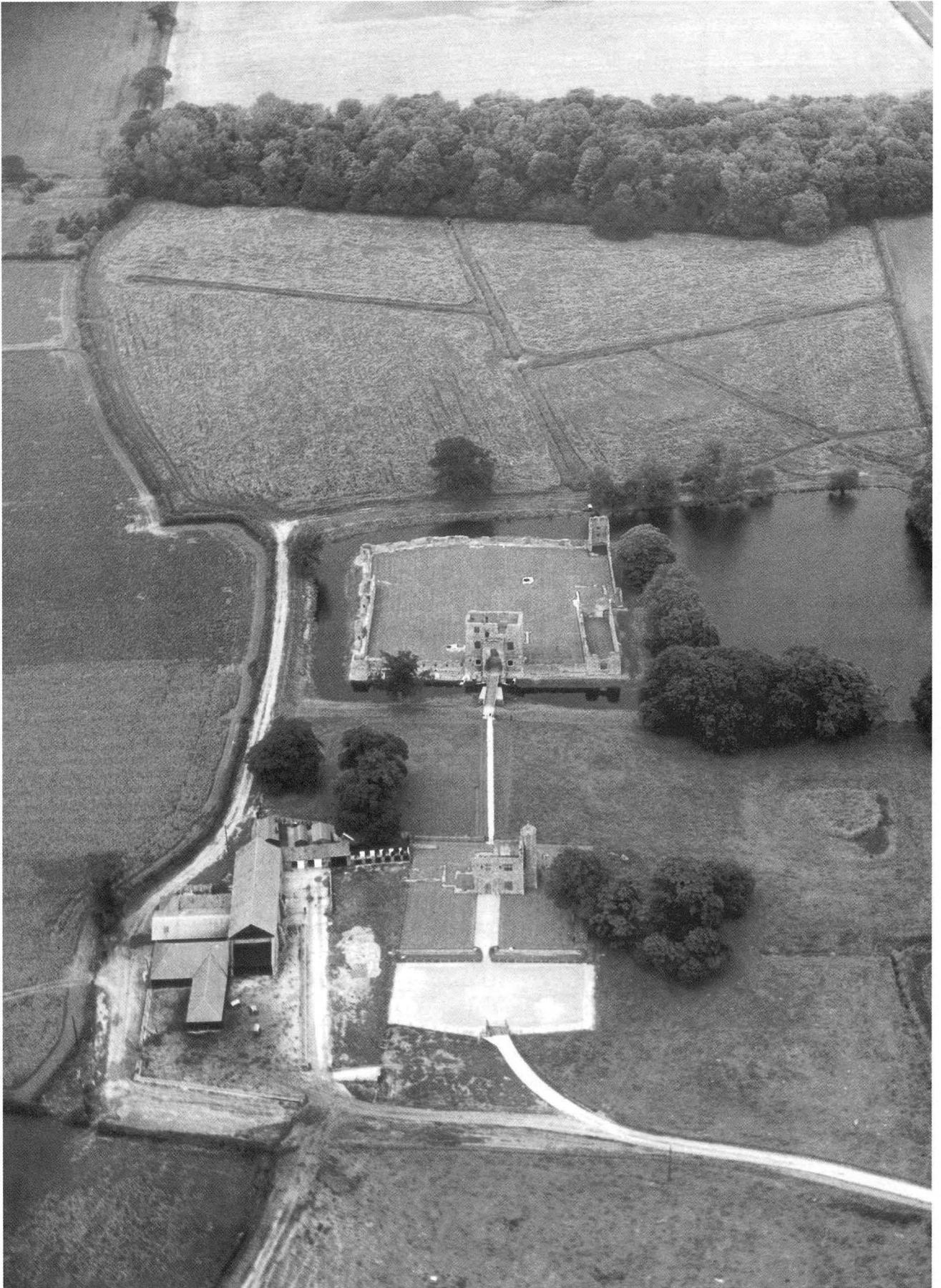


Plate I Baconsthorpe from the air. Photo: D.A. Edwards, *copyright Norfolk Museums Service*
(ref. TG1238/C/ADK3)

Chapter I. Introduction

The remains of Baconsthorpe Castle, once a fortified manor house of the Heydon family, lie three miles south-east of Holt, in north Norfolk (TG121381; SMR No. 6561; Plate I and Fig.1). They consist of an inner gatehouse, curtain wall and internal buildings surrounded by a roughly rectangular moat, and an outer court and gatehouse to the south. To the south-west of the outer gatehouse the long barn once occupied one side of a third court or farmyard. The moat with a mere on its east side is fed by the River Glaven. The surrounding land is almost entirely arable now but as the Heydons are known to have stocked large numbers of sheep, the landscape in their day must have been more pastoral. The soil is mainly cover loam and clay colluvium.

In 1940 the late Sir Charles Mott-Radclyffe placed the ruins of Baconsthorpe in the guardianship of the Ministry of Works (now English Heritage) which then proceeded to consolidate and open them to the public in the 1950s and 1960s. Archaeological and historical supervision was provided mainly by the late S. E. Rigold, then an Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments, whose official guidebook for the monument was published in 1966. There

has however never been any detailed publication either of what was observed during the consolidation or of the trial trenches that Mr Rigold dug to elucidate the different building phases. In 1972 the moat and mere were machine-dredged of silt under the archaeological supervision of Mrs Susan Arthur (née Ames) prior to re-flooding. She dug eleven trenches and supervised the machining but only a brief note on the results has so far been published (Cherry 1973, 101).

The following report is an account of firstly Mr Rigold's discoveries, as far as they can be ascertained from his surviving notes, drawings and photographs; secondly Mrs Arthur's discoveries during the cleaning of the moat and mere; and thirdly the finds that were recovered, both as a result of their work and as a result of chance discovery by the Ministry's workforce. It is preceded by a description of the standing remains of the castle and its associated buildings, a new survey of the surrounding earthworks and an historical summary. It is followed by two appendices on documentary evidence relevant to Baconsthorpe and the Heydons.

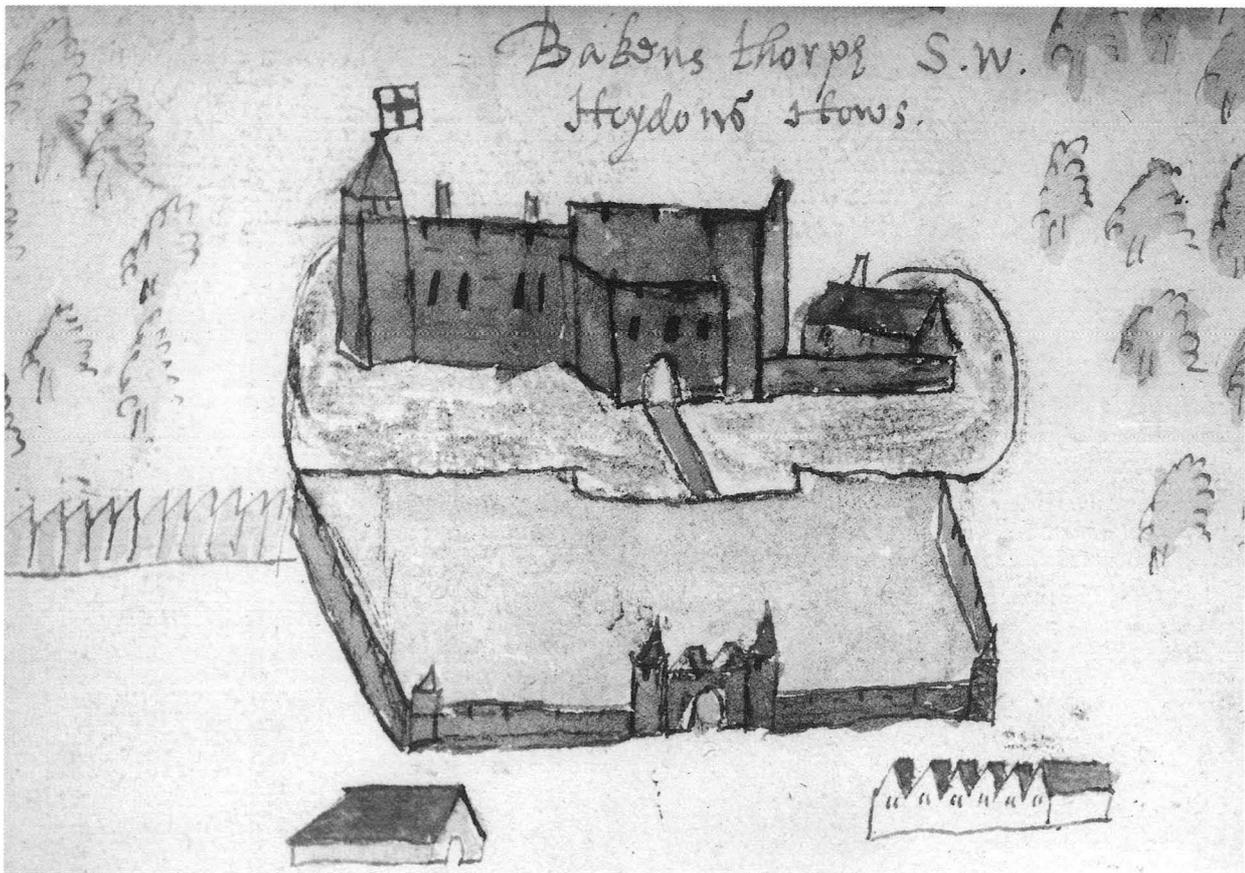
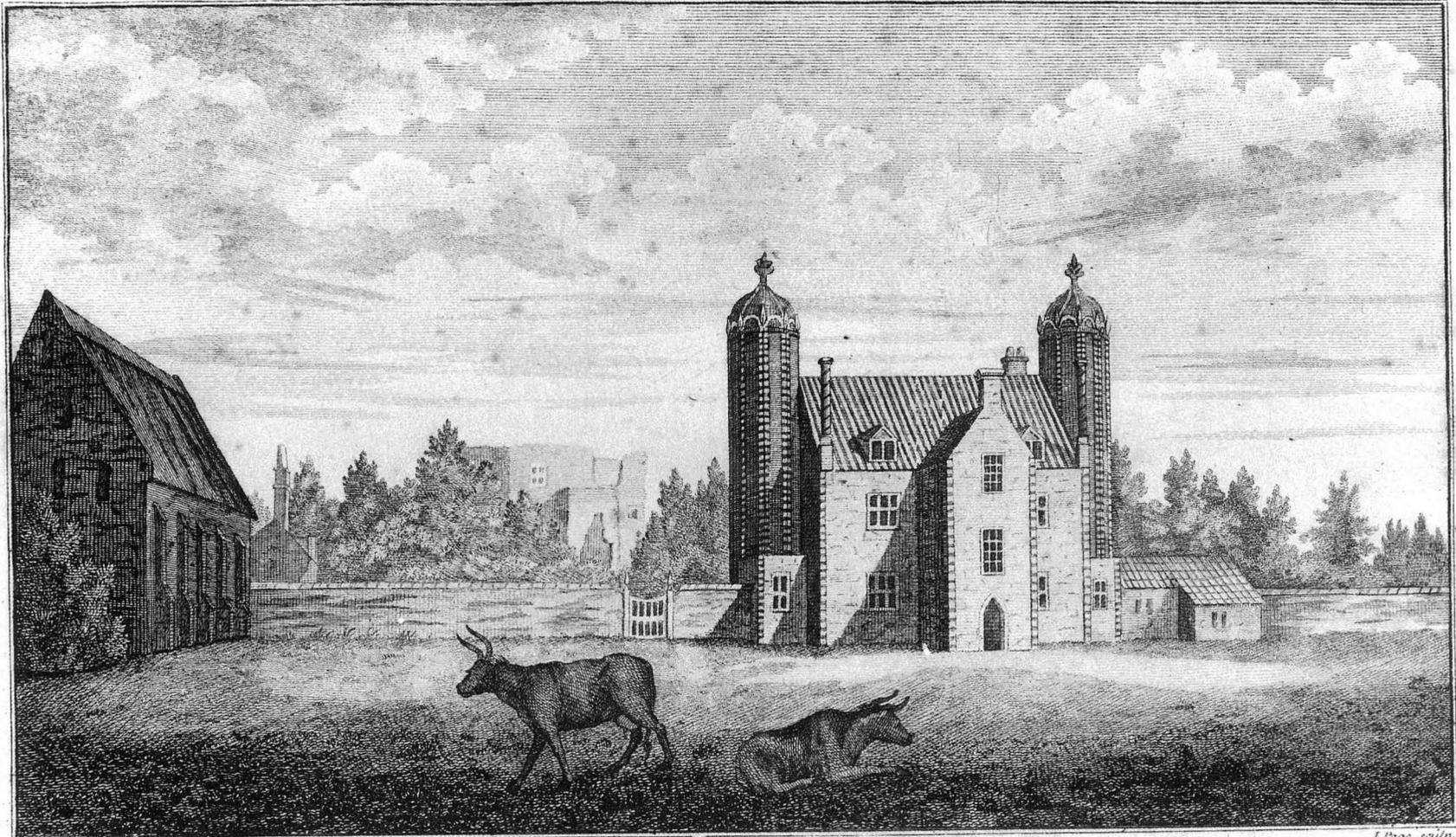


Plate II 1588 drawing of Baconsthorpe from the south-west, showing inner and outer courts, barn and row of cottages. Detail from a plan of Weybourne fortifications now at Hatfield House. *Copyright, the Marquess of Salisbury*

BACONSTHORPE HALL.



Published as the Act directs, Feb^y 24th 1781, by M. Booth, Norwich.

Plate III Baconsthorpe Hall in 1781. Engraving by J. Page in J.A. Mostyn *Antiquities of Norfolk*, 1781

Chapter II. History

The Heydons (see Table 1) who occupied the castle are well documented both in contemporary correspondence such as the Bacons' and Pastons' letters (including some replies written from Baconsthorpe) and in national history where they played a notable and sometimes colourful part as soldiers, lawyers and politicians. However, it would not be appropriate to repeat here what has already been well covered by historians such as Hassell Smith in his *County and Court* (1974). Indeed four of the Heydons have merited entries in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1891). On the family itself there are two detailed pieces of research, by Barbara Batten (c.1960, unpublished) and by Mother Gregory (1963). The latter is mainly concerned with West Wickham Court, the Heydons' other principal estate (for which some building records do survive).

By contrast, the documentary sources for the architectural history of Baconsthorpe Castle are poor or non-existent (like those for the majority of the minor castles in England and Wales that were neither royal nor acquired by institutions such as the church). No building accounts or manorial records survive which might have contained details of building works. Until now, the standard account of Baconsthorpe, both historical and descriptive, is still the official guidebook by Stuart Rigold (1966). What follows in this chapter is based partly on the works already mentioned, and partly on some hitherto unused sources.

Baconsthorpe Hall, only recently called a castle, took its name from the village of Baconsthorpe between Holt and Norwich. The name derives from the Bacon family who owned two manors in the village at the time when William Heydon bought them in the early fifteenth century. John Leland (1540), tells us that 'The father of John Heydon [William] began the front of the gatehouse of the new manor place of Baconsthorpe and died without further building there. Henry son of John Heydon performed with an exceeding cost the whole house, whereof John Heydon began only the front'. The Norfolk historian Blomefield's history of Baconsthorpe is probably based on that of Leland, but he additionally tells us that 'Sir Henry Heydon... built the hall, or manor house at Baconsthorpe, a spacious, sumptuous pile, entirely from the ground, except the tower (which was built by his father) in the space of six years' (1807, 6, 506). The building of the whole house in only six years, however, was probably based on the supposition that the work would have to have been finished before Henry VII's revival of the Statutes of Livery and Maintenance in 1486 which 'effectively stopped private fortification' (Rigold 1966, 4). This, however, is a misconception, and recent scholarship has shown that the Crown had nothing against private castles as such, but only against the private armies that some of them housed (Coulson 1993 and Thompson 1987, 68-9). This means that the date of completion of the main house, at least, is a more open question than previously thought. The details of the building sequence are dealt with in Chapter III. There is a reference to a barn at Baconsthorpe in Henry's will of 1503.

The next documentary reference to major building work at Baconsthorpe is a licence to crenellate (see Appendix II). This was obtained in 1561 by Sir Christopher Heydon I, and is usually taken to be contemporary with the building of the outer gatehouse and courtyard. These are not actually fortified — the licence was a symbol of status only. At the same time a licence was granted to empark 1400 acres of land around Baconsthorpe, and this may well mark the beginning of the formal gardens indicated by the earthwork survey.

Sir Christopher's son, Sir William Heydon II made a map of the estate in 1588 (Plate II). It was 'made in haste, 1 May 1588', when Sir William was in charge of local preparations against the Spanish Armada (Cozens-Hardy 1941, 262). While the details may not be accurate, for example of the outer gatehouse, it gives a very clear overall impression of Baconsthorpe (discussed p.11). One other important illustration exists — an engraving by J. Page, made in 1781, also showing the outer gatehouse (substantially altered by this time — see Plate III).

During Sir William Heydon II's time parts of the estate were sold to cover debts and bad investments. His son, Christopher II (d.1623), refitted the inner gatehouse and dismantled and rebuilt parts of the castle. He may also have been responsible for the narrowing of the front moat around the bridge (see p.28). He preferred, however, to live at Heydon Hall, Saxlingham, about seven miles west of Baconsthorpe (Rose 1984 and 1987).

In the sixteenth century the Heydons became one of the sixteen magnate families of Norfolk, advancing their fortunes by the well proven methods of wealthy marriages and lucrative practices at the law. Their income can be presumed to have come from three main sources: sheep; corn; and the perquisites normally accruing from positions of authority such as both William II and his father Christopher I had held. Both men were involved in attempts to put down piracy, in the defence of the realm and in the control of corn prices. William II held a number of offices including that of high sheriff and vice-admiral. Christopher II was knighted with his brother John at the sacking of Cadiz in 1596. A curious account of a duel between John Heydon, the brother of Sir Christopher II, and Sir Robert Mansfield near Norwich in 1600 in which the former lost his hand (still preserved in Norwich Castle Museum) is in the British Library (Add. MS 27961). Thirty-one years later John III and his brother William served on the Ile de Rhé expedition where the latter was killed.

Clearly, in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Heydons of Baconsthorpe were a swashbuckling, autocratic lot, and like some of the other great Norfolk families, religious but worldly, powerful and very wealthy. The materialist composition of the wills of the later Heydons is in marked contrast to the pious bequests in the will of Sir John, the founder of Baconsthorpe (see Appendix II). Besides Baconsthorpe, they owned West Wickham Court in Kent, a turreted mansion and estate of comparable grandeur. At Saxlingham, seven miles west of

Baconsthorpe, Christopher I built Heydon Hall in about 1550, which also had a courtyard (Rose 1984 and 1987). They had other houses at Holt and Mannington and several properties in and around King Street, Norwich (Elizabeth Rutledge *in litt.* 17.3.1991), in one of which lived Thomas Heydon, third son of Sir John II, whose probate inventory survives (Appendix II). Richard Heydon (d.1544), a lawyer at Lincoln's Inn, owned two cottages at Baconsthorpe. Sir William Heydon and his brother Sir John III lived for much of their active lives in a house at the Minories in the City of London near Heydon Street and Heydon Square, which may have been named after them (Tomlinson 1922, 136). Several brasses and monuments to the Heydons survive in Baconsthorpe Church (Linnell 1952) and there is a portrait of Anne, wife of Sir Christopher II (in private possession).

During the civil war, in 1643, Sir John Heydon III was certified as 'delinquent' by the Parliamentarians when his personal goods and chattels were in part inventoried and sold by sequestration. The inventory document is reproduced in Appendix II but it is not known whether the items listed were actually at Baconsthorpe. The sequestered estates were bought back, but the demolition of Baconsthorpe began, in order to sell its building materials to recoup the losses. Blomefield says 'the chief part of this hall was pulled down in 1650, that which is now standing was the tower or gatehouse' (Blomefield 1806, 6, 511; Cozens-Hardy 1960, 167). In 1654 a contract (reproduced in Appendix II) was signed between Charles Heydon and John Cressey for all the building materials from Baconsthorpe which the latter began to remove by the cartload. In the account book of the steward to John Wyndham (1622-1665) there is an account of building material being taken to Felbrigg Hall from Baconsthorpe in 1654 — there were twenty-nine cartloads of stone for which £30 were paid (Ketton-Cremer 1961, 91). Blomefield also says that the estate was sold before the death of Charles' younger brother, William Heydon III, the last of the male line. It was sold c.1680, probably to a Mr Bridges, and soon after it was sold to Mr Zurishaddai Lang.

The other documentary light shed on Baconsthorpe's buildings is found in the passing references to particular rooms and their contents in the Heydons' wills (Appendix II). In the longest will, of Sir Henry Heydon (d.1504), there are several references to a chapel (presumably over the inner gatehouse, where the sculpture was found), with its 'jewels, books and apparel'. There are also references to 'riding horses in my stable', to a barn, to 'brewing vessels and utensils', implying the existence of a brewhouse, and to 'harnesses and guns', which could, presumably, have been fired from the many gunloops of the early courtyard house. At the time of the death of his wife, Anne, the rooms of the house were luxuriously furnished with silverware, linen, 'hangings in her chamber' *etc.* The will of his son, John II (d.1550), mentions 'all my harness and other artillery and utensils for the wars,... the ornaments of my chapel, that is a silver cross, two silver cruets, two silver candlesticks, a silver pax and all the books and vestments used in my chapel, two silver saints, one pair of silver censers,... the hangings and the feather beds in the chapel chamber, the lord's chamber and the great chamber; also the hangings in the parlour and all my other stuff of household.' Sir Christopher Heydon I (d.1579) bequeathed to his wife the then rare luxury of a coach and horses and left 'beds, bedding, stuff and hangings in my chamber

called the lord's chamber, another chamber called the low tower chamber, and the inward chambers to every of them;... and hangings and furniture in the dining or great chamber.' In a codicil to the will he left 'all my books or library to my grandson, Christopher'. Regrettably, the grandson's will does not survive, but in 1604 he presented the Bodleian Library with a fine thirteenth-century moralising Bible, which it still has (Bodley 270B), and an early fifteenth-century paraphrase of the Bible in French (Bodley 971).

The importance of the Heydons' wills also lies in the picture they give of their wealth and possessions. Interspersed and sometimes coupled with bequests of corn, livestock, riding horses *etc.*, are references to quantities of jewellery, gold, silver, fine clothes, bed linen, hangings, books and other precious objects, and sums of money. Sir Henry Heydon's will lists twenty-two different silver bowls, salts, jugs *etc.*, a gold chain and 'English Books'. His wife Anne's will lists even more silver, much of it parcel-gilt. Richard Heydon bequeathed thirteen gold and silver objects in addition to twelve gold rings and other jewellery with an iron bound chest in which his valuables were presumably kept. Christopher I (d. 1579) mentioned specifically two gilt silver cups with covers which were his christening and new-year presents from the Queen and fifty-two pieces of gold, both English and foreign coins. Jewellery in the wills contained amber, chalcedony, coral, diamond and blue sapphire. The glittering picture of the contents of Baconsthorpe which emerges from these wills is in marked contrast to the finds made on the site and published here. There are no references, for example, to Venetian glass or the fine imported pottery which the dredging of the mere produced. The riches of the earlier wills are also in marked contrast to the will of John III, some of whose goods were sequestered by the Parliamentarians. Both the inventory document and his pathetic will of 1653 give some idea of the now meagre possessions of almost the last of one of Norfolk's great families. In place of his ancestors' silverware, only pewter is listed.

There remains to be mentioned only one other relevant documentary source. From Blakeney, the nearest port to Baconsthorpe, a fairly complete set of port books running from 1565 to the eighteenth century survives in the Public Record Office (E 190/471-). They contain only two particular references to goods shipped from London by Sir Christopher Heydon I but they do also contain a number of general references to shipments from abroad at the time. Sir Christopher's ships brought mainly ale, wine and household things (see Appendix II) while the majority of the accounts show considerable trade between Blakeney and several other English and foreign ports. The English ones ranged from Newcastle, the major source of coal, to Newhaven, whence in 1566 the *Antelope*, a ship under Robert Little, merchant of Cley, unloaded amongst other commodities 'two vats containing eight dozen glass bottles' (13s 4d), one case of fifteen dozen drinking glasses made in France (10s) and one small crystal glass for the exceptional price of 13s 4d. English ships also brought in foreign goods. In the same year the 30-ton *Mary Ann* of Cley imported 'one ton of vinegar (46s 8d), two cases of Normandy glass (40s) [probably 'crown' window glass — see p.71], one puncheon of prunes weighing two hundredweight (20s) and four hundred ells of brown Normandy canvass'. In 1617 a French ship from Rouen

imported 'twenty small stones called French stones [presumably querns] and thirty dozen earthen bottles covered with wicker' (*i.e.* Martincamp flasks — see below p.48), while from Enkhuisen (North Holland) another ship brought Gascony wine, prunes, treacle, various spices, various vegetables, brown paper, Spanish salt *etc.* Most of the direct overseas trade was with Holland, with ships coming mainly from Antwerp, Flushing and Rotterdam, but the precious items such as were found at Baconsthorpe seem more likely to have reached England via London. In 1600 a ship from London brought 'soap, vinegar, grocery wares, iron, sixteen baskets of stone pots and drinking

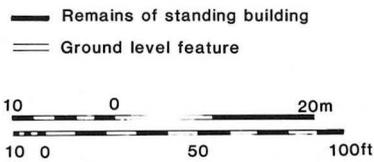
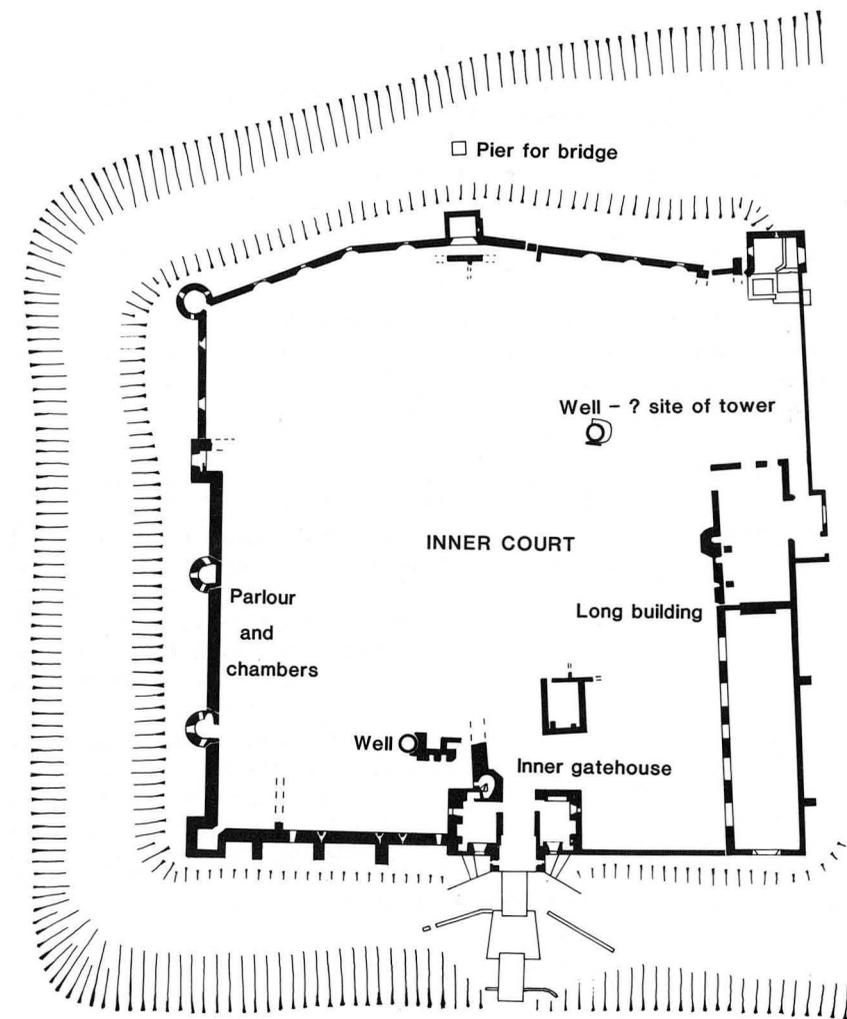
glasses, and other utensils' and a very similar load is recorded in the following year. In 1613 one London ship brought Spanish salt and four cases of glass and another brought French wine and four baskets of pots and glasses. 'Glasses' may mean bottles as opposed to drinking glasses. Such entries as these, and others in the Blakeney port books, could well refer to items destined for the Heydons at Baconsthorpe but there can be no proof. Three chests and two trunks belonging to Sir Christopher Heydon II were seized by H.M. customs officers at Great Yarmouth in 1596, but their contents are not stated.

	Thomas Heydon	Occurs 1221 as a Justice Itinerant in Norfolk
	William	
	William	
	Simon	
	David	
	Hugh	Of Heydon, Norfolk
	William	
	Robert	
c.1400	William I	Bought manors of Baconsthorpe temp. Henry IV
d.1479 W.	John I	Built original inner gatehouse and square curtain wall. Founded Heydon Chapel in Norwich Cathedral. Eminent lawyer. See <i>DNB</i> .
d.1504 W.	Sir Henry	Extended curtain wall N. and E. Rebuilt Salthouse Church 1497–1503. Built West Wickham Court, Kent, 1469. Knighted 1485. Buried in Norwich Cathedral. See <i>DNB</i> .
d.1550 W.	Sir John II	A founder of Gonville and Caius College. Buried at Baconsthorpe.
d.1579 W.	Sir Christopher I	Lord Lieutenant, 1560. Obtained licence to crenellate and to empark, 1561. Added outer court, outer gatehouse and barn. Built Heydon Hall, Saxlingham. Exploited corn laws. A wool-magnate. Died in debt. Memorial brass in Baconsthorpe Church.
d.1593 W.	Sir William II	High Sheriff 1583. Deputy lieutenant and vice-admiral. Active in Armada threat. Sold West Wickham Court and lands at Baconsthorpe to pay off debts. Involved in Sheringham sea defences scandal. Monument in Baconsthorpe Church.
d.1623	Sir Christopher II	Made alterations to Baconsthorpe. Preferred to live at Saxlingham, where he built a fantastic monument to his wife Anne in the church. Soldier. Knighted at sack of Cadiz, 1596. Interested in astrology. See <i>DNB</i> .
d.1653 W.	Sir John III	Soldier and mathematician. Royalist. Goods sequestered. See Appendix II and <i>DNB</i> . Baconsthorpe began to be demolished.
d.1630?	Sir Charles	Signed contract for demolition of Baconsthorpe.
d.1689	Sir William III	Sold remaining family estates c. 1680. Last of the male line. Died intestate. Tombstone in Eye Church, Suffolk (see p.108).

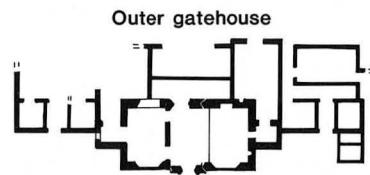
Note

Christopher I was the grandson of John II. The son of John II was another Christopher who predeceased him in 1540 (Linnell 1952, 29). Sir William III was the younger brother of Sir Charles. 'W' denotes will surviving and transcribed in Appendix II. For fuller pedigrees of the Heydons see Batten n.d., Linnell 1952 and Bodleian MSS Rawlinson B76, 48-9; B393, 36-7.

Table 1 The Heydon Owners of Baconsthorpe



OUTER COURT



OUTERMOST COURT

Figure 2 Plan of standing remains. Scale 1:750

Chapter III. The Standing Remains

by Jackie Hall and P. J. Drury, with contributions from David Sherlock and Carolyn Dallas

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the remaining fabric of Baconsthorpe Castle and to come to a better understanding of the dating, phasing and functions of the buildings than has hitherto been attempted. This concentrates on the life of the castle before its swift decline in the seventeenth century. The analysis is preceded by a brief description of the remains, and a consideration of the types of evidence available and the problems of their interpretation.

I. Present Appearance

The following account draws largely on the late Stuart Rigold's guidebook (1966), now out of print.

Baconsthorpe today has the appearance of a sixteenth-century manor arranged around three courts: an inner court within a moat; an outer court to the south; and a third court south of this (Pl. I, Figs 1 and 2). Approached from the south, the outermost court, or farmyard, is still bounded on the west by a long buttressed barn (Pl. IV) and to the north by the outer gatehouse (Pls III and V). The foundations of late extensions lie either side. Parallel to the gatehouse is a late low flint wall, which divides this court into an inner and an outer section. Towards the east two further walls remain, on the same orientation. The gatehouse itself was described in detail by Rigold:

Originally the Gatehouse comprised a gate-passage, with a lodge on either side (one wall of the passage, with a door and a hatch survives) and a large first-floor chamber with a garret over it, the whole flanked by two identical turrets. When the main castle was dismantled the Gatehouse was turned into a dwelling house: the front gate-arch was removed and replaced by a two-storey porch, and this in turn was removed early last century and replaced by a front door in Jacobean-Gothic style with embattled top, and a walled forecourt was formed in front. Most of the rear gate-arch remains, having been embedded in the partition between the original Gatehouse and the rooms added at the back when it was converted into a dwelling.

The Gatehouse is faced in knapped flint, galleted with small chips. The ashlar-work, cut with typically East Anglian precision, is still entirely Gothic in style but certain details, such as the quarter-round moulding on the gate-arch, and the projections or 'kneelers' at the base of the gables, which once carried small twisted columns, show that it is not medieval but conservative 'Perpendicular' of the Elizabethan period. The use of the turrets to extend a symmetrical facade and, indeed its very position on a spacious axial layout confirm this late date — probably in the 1560s — when similar turrets were being built at Melton Hall and elsewhere in East Anglia. The remaining turret has a square base, with a blocked external door on the ground floor which led to a stairway to the upper chamber (the present odd

internal arch is not original); the octagonal upper part has three small windows, and is crowned by an ogee cupola ringed with lunettes, one of which carries the arms of Heydon (Rigold 1966, 7).

To the north of the outer gatehouse and barn is the outer court, which lies in front of the moat. It now shows little sign of having been anything other than an open space, bounded by the moat to the north, the garden to the east, and the outer gatehouse to the south. The present west boundary is formed by a field boundary continuous with the one that runs along the outer lip of the west arm of the moat. The earthwork survey (see below) indicates garden features within this area.

Immediately across the moat one is faced by the inner gatehouse (Pls VI and VII):

This dominates the whole scene, as a massive three-storeyed tower now bereft of its parapet. It is faced externally with fine knapped flintwork in the best East Anglian manner, and internally with unbroken flints.... The ashlar dressings, including a string-course and chamfered plinth, are of good quality and include brick for the alternate voussoirs of the lower windows (a local late medieval mannerism), while the internal dressings are entirely of brick. The ground-floor contains the gate-passage, originally vaulted, the corbels bearing plain stone shields. The chases for horizontal baulks to carry the drawbridge-chains and the blocked shafts for their counter-weights can be seen. Immediately within the gateway is a vaulted half-bay with recesses to receive the door-leaves; in front is a projection or porch, vaulted in a different manner, with two stone seats and loops covering the line of the moat; on either side of the passage are two vaulted lodges, self-contained dwellings, with fireplaces, privies, wall-cupboards and recesses to receive the doors when opened, all in brick [Pl. VIII]; the western, and slightly larger, one was perhaps for the steward, the eastern for the porter. Above this is a spacious suite of chambers which was accessible from the western lodge but normally approached by a stair-turret from the courtyard within.... The main rooms were doubtless a parlour and a great chamber above it, both with garderobes or privies and fireplaces. The windows, slightly differing on the two faces, have plain, four-centred heads to the lights and hood-moulds. The small room over the porch, separated from the parlour by an arch moulded towards the small room only and which must have contained a timber screen, has its own fireplace and a large, but high-set, east window. It was probably a domestic chapel: the piscina would have been in the destroyed south wall and there would have been room for a reredos below the east window — the sculpture of the Virgin Annunciate that has been found near by may well be part of it [see p.83]. A door from the great chamber gives access to the parapet over this room (Rigold 1966, 8–9).

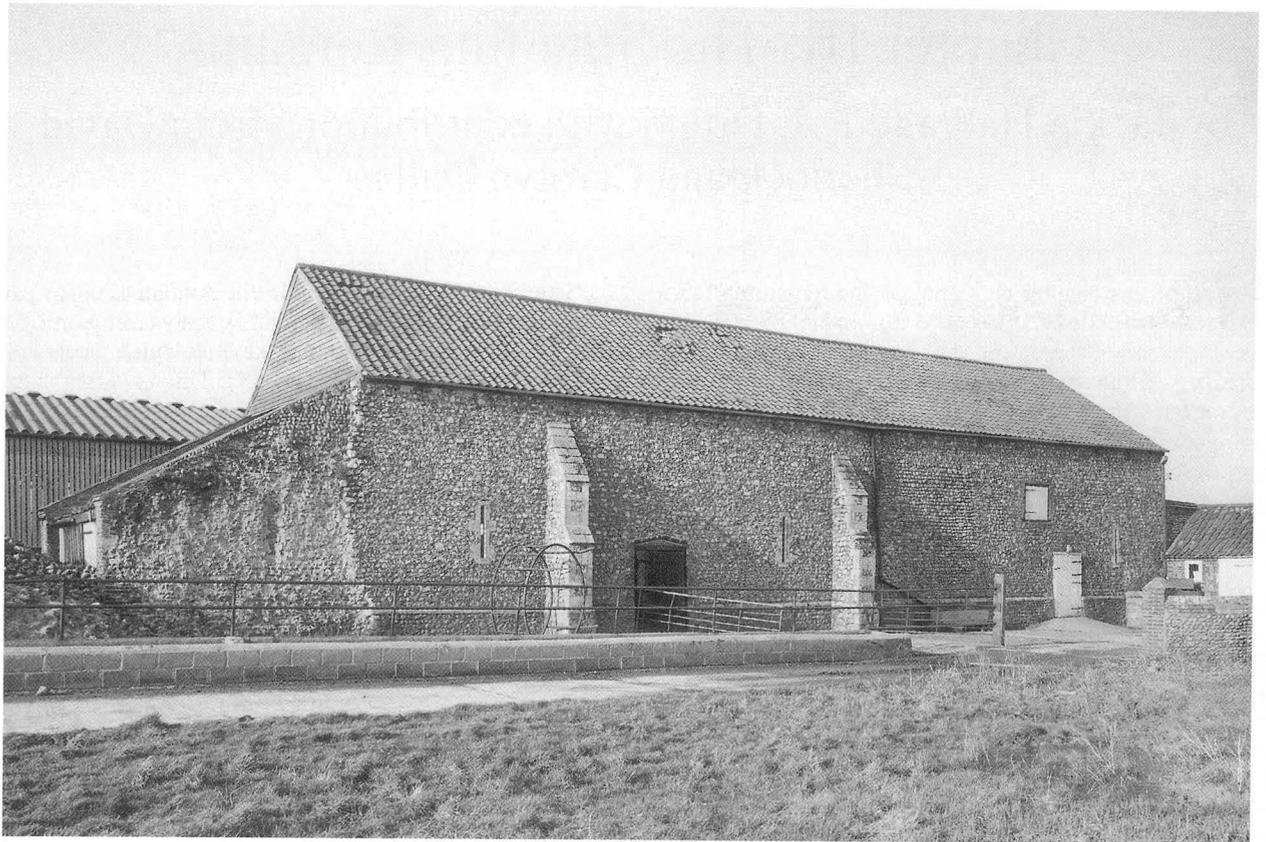


Plate IV The barn, looking north-west



Plate V The outer gatehouse

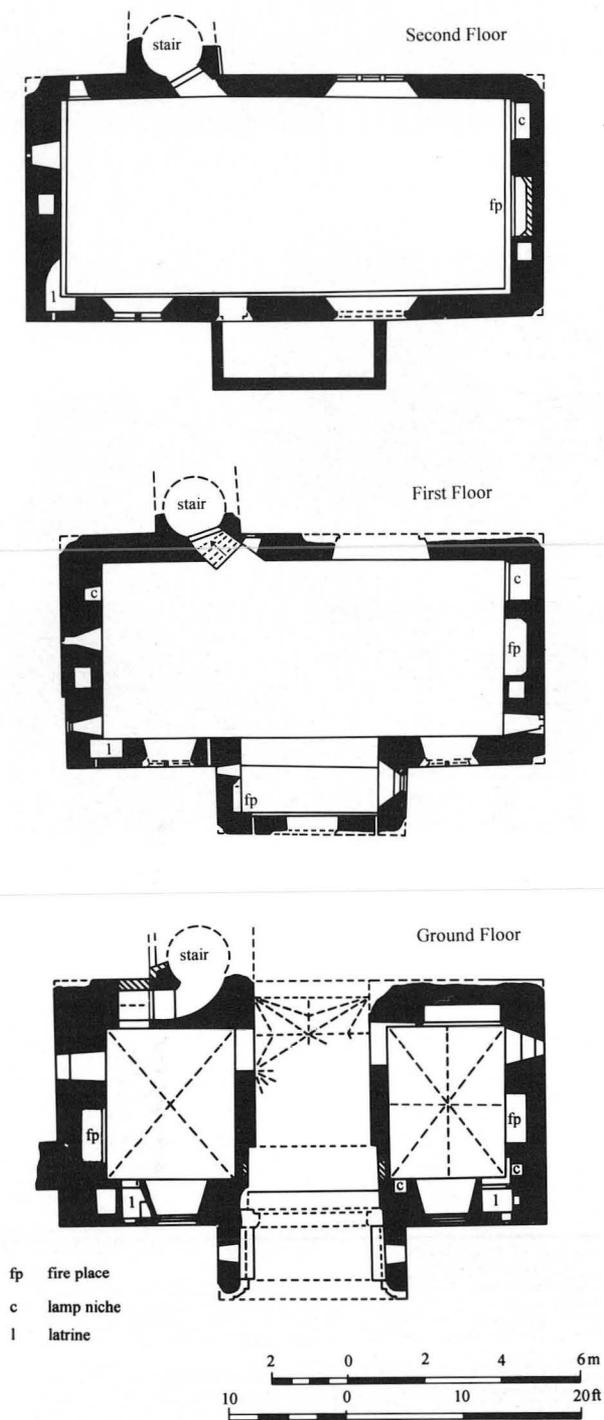


Figure 3 Plan of each floor of the inner gatehouse.
Scale 1:200

Detailed plans of all floors of the gatehouse can be found in Fig. 3. Either side of the gatehouse the curtain wall extends to enclose almost the whole moated area. With the exception of an apron of land on the east, which looks across the mere, only a thin strip of land lies outside the walls. The enclosed area is c.56m x 56m (184ft x 184ft). The perimeter walls all survive to comparable height, mostly in the region of 2.5–5m (8ft–16ft), or between one and one and a half conventional storeys, though they have a more derelict appearance in places, particularly in the north-east quadrant. Remains of five towers can be seen along the west curtain (Pl. IX): a square tower at the south

end and two thirds of the way up; two round towers between them and a further round tower at the north end. Three stories remain of the tower in the north-east corner of the curtain (Pl. XVII), the lowest now permanently flooded. This tower has brick quoins and the top storey is clearly added. Only the foundations of a central north tower survive, which once blocked a small postern gate. The towers give Baconsthorpe a military aspect that is enhanced by the six gunloops in the south curtain, west of the gatehouse. The central four are divided internally to allow two men to use them simultaneously (Kenyon 1981, 226–7). A further gunloop, of a ‘keyhole’ type, survives in the north-west square tower (Pl. X). This is undoubtedly representative of many others in all the western towers, of which only the soffit arches now remain. The curtain wall between the north-east tower and the north-west square tower also contains a number of double-splayed gunports with wide curving embrasures. (Following Kenyon (1983) ‘gunloop’ has been used for small embrasures intended for handguns or small cannon and ‘gunport’ for large embrasures intended for cannon.)

The south curtain, east of the gatehouse, and the east curtain wall present a more domestic appearance, apparently undefended and with a large domestic window in the south end of the east range. Within the curtained enclosure it is only this east range that survives above foundation level. The ‘south long room’ is an undivided space with a central door opening into the court. It was lit by mullioned and transomed windows on its west and south sides. The brick jambs of the western windows were rendered to simulate stone. The building was originally of two storeys and two sets of joist holes are still visible. Its north wall contains two recesses and a steeply sloping sill apparently connecting it with the ‘north long room’ to the north (Pl. XIX). Only foundations survive of the north long room but these include a wall thickening and a projection intended to support a bay window or porch.

Aside from these, the curtained enclosure is remarkably bare of foundations. There is a small rectangular building to the north of the gatehouse; a well and associated foundations in the north-east quadrant of the court; a second well and foundations just north-west of the gatehouse. Only a few wall stubs survive; one heading north from the gatehouse stair turret, another from the south curtain west of the gatehouse, and two more associated with the north-east tower.

The poor survival within the curtain wall gives an initial false impression of a single court. Anything beyond a cursory look, however, reveals that this is not the case. The curtain comprises a number of clearly disparate elements: the gatehouse; the south curtain west of the gatehouse and the west curtain as far north as the square tower (the ‘early curtain’); the north curtain wall including the remainder of the west side; the north-east tower; the east curtain from the north-east tower to its abutment with the north long room; the east curtain south of this; the south end of the south long room; and finally the south curtain east of the gatehouse. Of these only the gatehouse and the early curtain appear particularly substantial. The walls of the north curtain and the north-east tower are somewhat narrower while the remaining walls seem flimsy by comparison. These elements will all be considered in more detail below. However it is useful at this stage to comment on the general division of space within the curtained enclosure.



Plate VI The inner gatehouse, looking north



Plate VIII Interior of the east lodge of the inner gatehouse

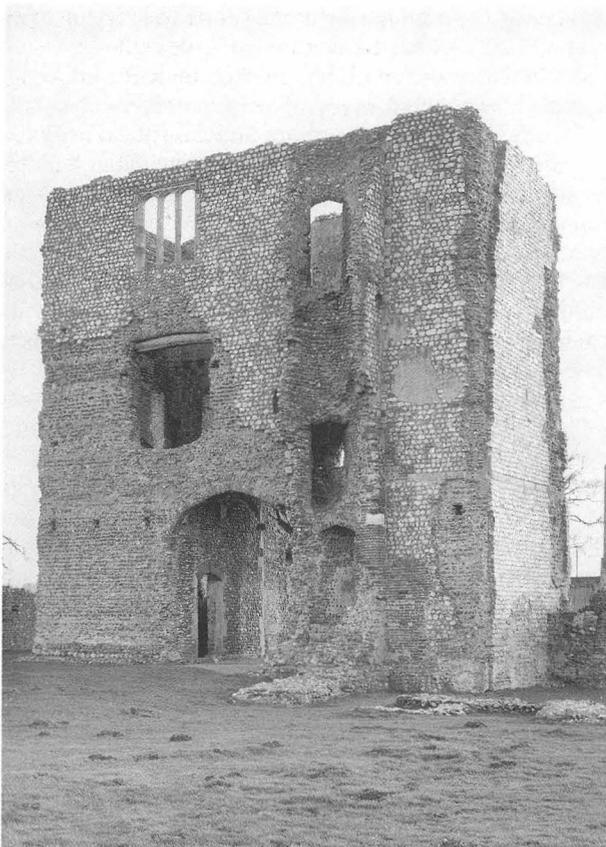


Plate VII The inner gatehouse, looking south

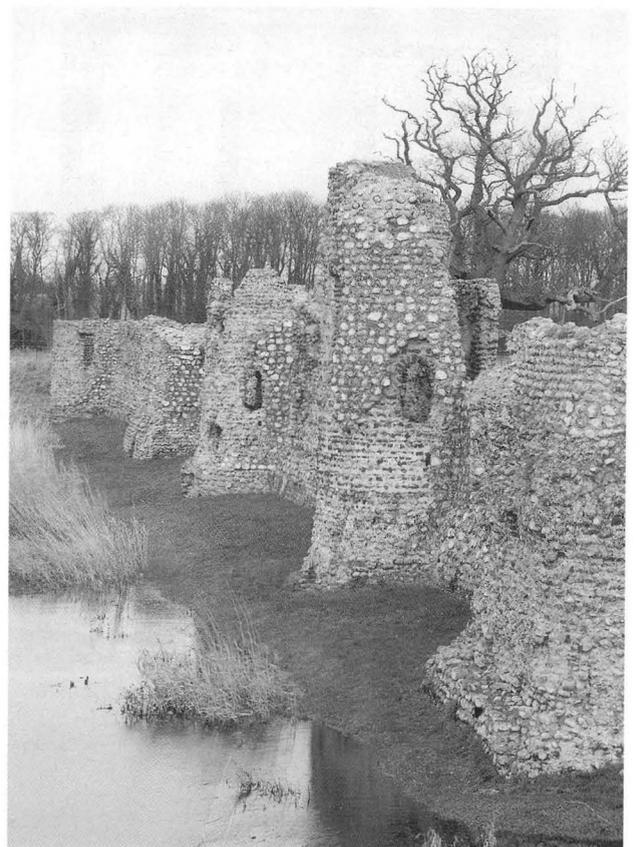


Plate IX The west curtain wall, looking north

After the gatehouse, the primary element is the main house (Period 2), which was disposed around a courtyard in the south-west corner of the island. This is represented by the early curtain and the wall stub heading north from the gatehouse stair turret. To this relates an eastern courtyard (Period 3), through which entry to the main house was gained. This was defined by a thin flint wall and soon colonised, on its eastern side at least, by subsidiary service buildings. Finally, a northern courtyard was developed (Periods 4–5), which was probably a garden court.

II. Evidence and Interpretation

From the above description, it is clear that large and important sections of Baconsthorpe Castle have been destroyed.

Only the south long room, the north-east tower, and the gatehouses survived dismantling in the mid-seventeenth century. A conscious part of that dismantling was to leave intact a walled perimeter for what became a garden. There is clear evidence of eighteenth-century maintenance and partial reconstruction of this perimeter on both the east and west sides, and the introduction of contemporary details, *e.g.* a ramped change of level of the coping on the east side.

Consolidation between twenty and forty years ago only adds to the problems of interpretation. Whilst there are some clear sequences between surviving structural elements, others are absent. It is, for instance, difficult to relate local sequences, *e.g.* in the east range, to stages in the development of the main elements of the buildings, now that the links between them have been lost. This means that, as with so many archaeological studies, a number of developmental sequences could be suggested which agree with the stratigraphic evidence. The structural relations between the different building phases is (largely) shown in matrix form in Fig. 4.

The interpretation does not rely only on structural sequences and conjecture, of course. There is a new and accurate survey of Baconsthorpe, of which Fig. 5 is a simplified version, and which has enabled arguments based on alignment to be accepted or rejected with confidence. Building materials, architectural style, documentary history and illustrations have played a part, and these are considered below. The final building sequence, and the evidence for it, have been summarised in Table 2. It is hoped that with the aid of this, the matrix, and the main text below, the reader may, if she or he wishes, come to a different conclusion from the authors. For each building period, the building materials and the manner of construction are described. Although local building methods and materials, using pebble and knapped flints, with brick and ashlar dressings, were current during all the building periods, some distinctions can be seen. In addition, the period of development of the castle spans the transition from bricks made from alluvial silts in the Flemish tradition, with a very fine fabric firing from yellow to red/purple, to those made from brickearth, firing orange to red—the standard ‘Tudor’ and later brick. In accordance with the ‘shorthand’ terminology established in the Norwich Survey (Drury 1993), these will be referred to here as ‘early’ and ‘later’ bricks respectively. Of course,

there was a period of overlap when both fabrics were in use, and old bricks were recycled whenever possible. Evidence from building materials then can only be used with confidence in conjunction with other evidence.

Architectural style is a useful indicator, particularly in dating buildings not structurally related to other buildings, *e.g.* the outer gatehouse. The gunports also helped in dating the north curtain. In many areas, however, the degree of architectural detail remaining is slight and the building of the first four periods within about forty years, at a time when architectural development was slow, limits the use of this evidence. The documentary evidence has been discussed in detail in Chapter II. Nevertheless it is useful here to summarise the main points that relate to the building of Baconsthorpe. The principal documentary clue comes from Leland, who in 1540 ascribed the building of the front of the house to John Heydon (died 1479), the front of the gatehouse to his father (William I) and the ‘whole house’ to his son Sir Henry Heydon (died 1504). The assumption here must be that the inner gatehouse was finished before Sir Henry started work on the castle in 1480 or thereabouts. As already discussed, it can no longer be assumed (as stated by Blomefield), that the house was completed in only six years. A licence to crenellate was not obtained until 1561, a date that relates well to the architecture of the outer gatehouse, but only ninety years later parts of Baconsthorpe were pulled down and the stone sold.

The last type of evidence relating to the buildings at Baconsthorpe is pictorial. Page’s engraving of 1781 (Pl. III) is useful for its depiction of the outer gatehouse as it was then, but of more importance is the 1588 defence map (Pl. II). The overall appearance of the house is conveyed very clearly with a massive tall pile of building in the south-west corner of the enclosure (evidenced on the ground now by the thick sections of the surviving curtain wall), with the south-west tower and the gatehouse rising slightly higher than the main south range. The principal rooms in the south range were clearly at first floor level (upper ground floor) and lit by large windows, no evidence of which now survives. To the east of the gatehouse was a low curtain wall (which survives) extending to the south long room, the latter gabled to the south. The outer court to the south was essentially a walled enclosure with small corner turrets (of which no evidence remains) and a substantial gatehouse. Estate buildings, including the barn which also partially survives, lay yet further south. Though the illustrations add significantly to our understanding of Baconsthorpe they are so late in the building sequence that they are of little help in deciphering that sequence. Beyond a sequence, of course, all the evidence informs about the nature of Baconsthorpe, and life there in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The remaining point concerning evidence, is what has been left out. In particular, the mass of late rebuildings and repairs to the curtain undoubtedly means that some genuinely early features have been missed. Some parts of the structure are very complex and not all elements can be accounted for. Although this complexity has been represented as far as possible, for clarity’s sake it has sometimes been necessary not to mention every detail.

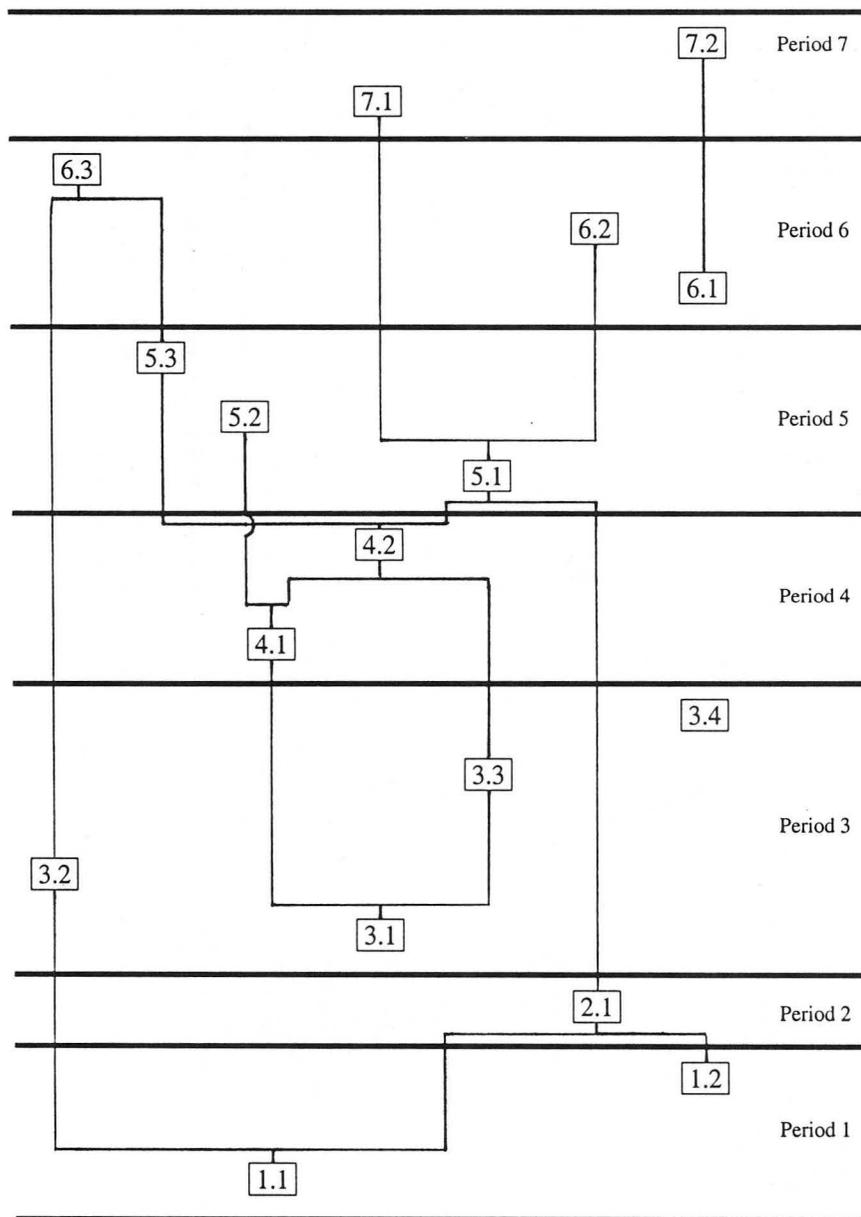


Figure 4 Matrix showing the structural relationships between building phases

<i>Period</i>	<i>Buildings</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Evidence</i>	<i>Comments</i>
1.1	Inner gatehouse	1460–1475	Structural Documentary	pre 2.1 and 3.2 Leland: front of gatehouse built by William Heydon I
1.2	Moated platform and early foundations	1460–1475	Structural Documentary	pre 2.1 and 5.1 Leland: front of house built by John Heydon I
	Earlier barn	<i>ante</i> 1503	Documentary	Will of Henry Heydon
2.1	The courtyard house	1475–1500	Structural Documentary	post 1.1 and 1.2, pre 5.1 Leland: Sir Henry Heydon built whole house
3.1	Southern half of east curtain wall		Structural	pre 3.3 and 4.1
3.2	South curtain wall, east of gatehouse		Structural	post 1.1, pre 6.3
3.3	The north long room		Structural	post 3.1, pre 4.2
3.4	Building north of gatehouse			
4.1	North-east tower and northern half of east curtain		Structural	post 3.1, pre 4.2, 5.1 and 5.2
4.2	Buttress on north-east tower and building of north long room in stone		Structural	post 3.3 and 4.1, pre 5.1 and 5.3
5.1	North curtain	<i>c.</i> 1540	Structural Architectural	post 1.2, 2.1, 4.1 and 4.2, pre 6.2 and 7.1 Gunports
5.2	Raising of north-east tower		Structural	post 4.1
5.3	North long room built in stone to first floor, south long room built in timber		Structural	post 4.2, pre 6.3
6.1	Outer gatehouse and barn	<i>c.</i> 1561	Architectural Documentary	Elizabethan Licence to Crenellate obtained 1561
6.2	North postern and tower		Structural	post 5.1
6.3	South long room		Structural	post 3.2 and 5.3
7.1	West range, minor alterations		Structural	post 1.1 and 5.1
7.2	Alterations to outer gatehouse	seventeenth–nineteenth century	Structural Materials	post 6.1 Bricks

Table 2 Evidence associated with the building periods

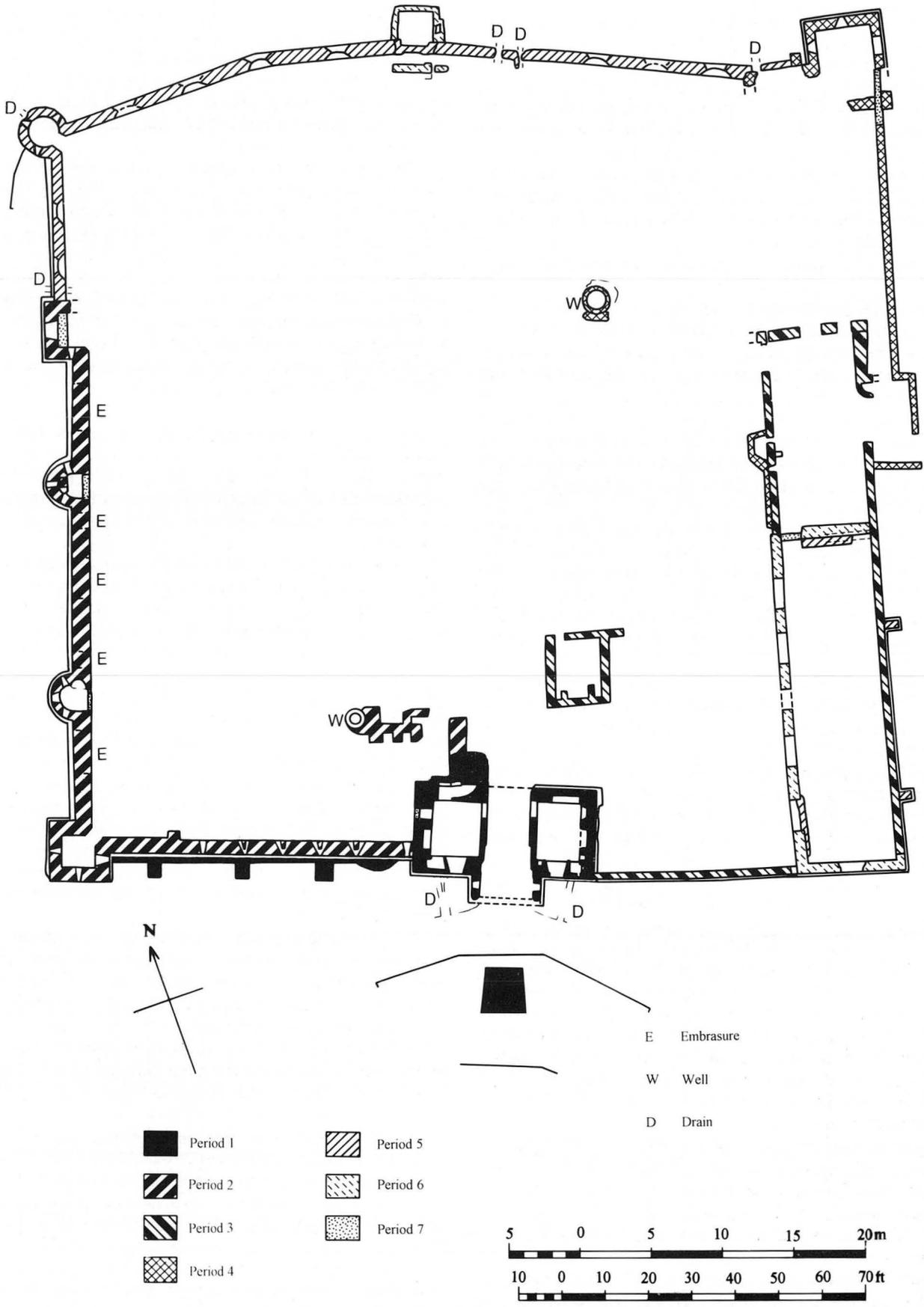


Figure 5 Simplified survey of buildings within the moated area, showing phase information. Scale 1:400

III. The Building Sequence

There is no structural evidence now visible of the earlier medieval house, 'Wood Hall', known to have existed at Baconsthorpe, although medieval pottery has been found at the site. The analysis below, therefore, is concerned only with the visible masonry structures, which are divided into seven periods, shown in Fig. 5. The period sub-divisions (1.1, 1.2 *etc.*) do not imply chronological succession, merely different areas of activity within the same period.

Period 1 The Inner Gatehouse and Moated Platform

Period 1.1 The Inner Gatehouse

Characteristic materials: external walls faced in knapped coursed flint with galleted joints, to a very high standard, with oolitic limestone dressings. Internal wall faces are finished with small round pebbles, coursed, and incorporating the occasional brick. Much brick is used for vaults and dressings internally. The wall cores contain substantial numbers of brickbats in a buff lime mortar. All bricks are late bricks, c.230 x 110–15 x 50mm (9 x 4.5 x 2in).

The documentary evidence, discussed above, means that the gatehouse has always been accepted as belonging to the first period of building. Its central position in the entrance elevation of the moated enclosure supports this tradition. It looks as though it was intended to be a central, axial, gatehouse tower to a very large house, in the manner of Oxburgh or Layer Marney, the obvious difference in the walls to either side being explicable as a subsequent change of plan under Sir Henry to produce a rather smaller house.

The building itself shows that it was intended to be freestanding. It stands quite high relative to the courtyard; it is bucket shaped; it has flushwork on all its sides (though in many places this has fallen off) with a continuous string course backed with a double course of bricks. Where the string survives on the west, it has been hacked back flush with the wall face — evidence that it is earlier than the south range here. It was, however, on its west side, clearly bonded expertly with the curtain wall. It is likely that the keying for a curtain wall was in place before the existing south range was built, although at a high level the curtain blocked a small window in the gatehouse. Also on the west, the low floor level of the south range reveals the rough foundation work 0.50m (1ft 8in) below the plinth level of the gatehouse indicating that this was not intended to be seen (Pl. XII). At its north-west corner this foundation respects a vertical timber socket that may have been associated with the original laying out of the gatehouse. Adjacent to this is a vertical scar rising to the top of the ground floor, indicative of a north-south wall, perhaps associated with early service buildings. East of this wall, a door, now blocked, led from the west lodge to the court behind (visible in Pl. VII and Fig. 3).

The external plinth level of the gatehouse is 0.57m (1ft 10in) lower outside the curtain than it is inside. This implies that the moated platform was begun when the gatehouse was built and that a curtain wall was part of the original design. The plinth on the south face continues eastwards beyond the east wall of the gatehouse, presumably because it was planned to build a wall here shortly afterwards which would continue the plinth (Pl. VI). There may have been a

similar feature on the west, abandoned after the design was changed in Period 2.

The axis of the gatehouse is misaligned by 2° to 4° with respect to the curtain wall, and indeed with respect to the moated platform as a whole. This could suggest that, although the platform had been at least partially levelled, the moat had not been dug at this stage.

The stair turret of the gatehouse led to the two large chambers on the first and second floors (Fig. 3). These chambers would have been divided into smaller rooms by movable partitions. The chambers, and the presence of a chapel over the porch, suggest that the gatehouse was occupied from an early stage by the lord and his family, while the rest of the house was being built. A perimeter fence of some sort would have been constructed as soon as the moated platform was complete, together with at least the minimum number of service buildings — kitchen, stables and accommodation for servants.

Period 1.2 The Moated Platform and Early Foundations

Characteristic materials: flint pebbles in whitish lime mortar; in the south wall incorporating a few coping bricks intended for a half brick thick wall, presumably small scale crenellations. The east buttress retains some knapped flint facework.

At the ground level from which the south wall of the main house was eventually built are visible the remains of its predecessor. It consists of an east–west wall, which diverges slightly southwards from the line of its successor towards the west. It incorporates three substantial rectangular buttresses (Pl. XI) and, towards the east, one segmental projection. The latter appears to have been formed within a trench dug from a level higher than existing ground level. It is apparent that these foundations are earlier than the existing south wall since the courses of the latter visibly rise over the remains of the buttresses (most easily seen in the easternmost one). In addition, the openings in the extant wall are in conflict with the positions of the buttresses in its predecessor. It appears, therefore, that this earlier structure had been demolished down to contemporary ground level before the later, and still extant, south wall was built.

It is probable that this structure represents an earlier curtain wall replaced by the Period 2 courtyard house. It is unlikely to be the remains of an earlier medieval building, for its foundation level relates to the terracing of the moated platform deeply into the natural slope of the valley side. Though these foundations could be seen as the front of the house said by Leland to have been built by Sir John, they could equally have been built by his father, with Sir John beginning the house that still stands.

The small section of wall foundations, apparently a revetment wall, beneath the north-west tower of the Period 5 north curtain, must represent work associated with the terracing of the moated enclosure. This suggests that the whole curtained and moated area was envisaged from early in the development of Baconsthorpe Castle, even if, at a still earlier stage, a courtyard house with a symmetrical facade was briefly planned, as suggested by the earthwork survey. Both the 1588 map and the earthwork survey (p.32 and Pl. II) point to the original existence of a moat, rather than a mere, on the east side of the castle.

Period 2 The Courtyard House

This phase represents a major change of plan, with the division of the moated area into three courts, not two, and the building of the main courtyard house in the south-west corner, not across the middle.

Period 2.1 The Principal Courtyard House

Characteristic materials: walls of flint and brick rubble, in buff lime mortar, faced with mixed pebble and knapped flint, heavily galleted. On the south wall, the facing mortar is mixed with black ash, and on the west with crushed brick dust. External dressings, including quoins, are of oolitic limestone, with alternate blocks to internal angles. Internal faces have dressings of early bricks, c.235 x 115 x 50mm (9.25 x 4.5 x 2in), to walls generally faced in roughly coursed pebble flint, originally plastered. The incorporation of brick rubble into the cores is generally associated with the use of brick dressings to internal openings, and so is particularly visible in the round towers of the west front. The cores here also contain some plain roof tile.

The surviving south and west curtains, with an array of towers along the west wall (Pl. IX), form the major remains of the primary house, whose overall plan can nonetheless be surmised (Fig. 6). A stub of the east wall, projecting from the stair turret of the inner gatehouse, shows that it ran nearly parallel with the west curtain. The widths of the east and south ranges are fixed, approximately, by the massive foundation that embraces the well. This occupied the south east corner of the courtyard and was probably covered by a wellhouse carried up as a stair turret. The width of the west range is established by a stub of masonry projecting from the interior of the south wall. The stub reflects only the thickness of wall at the back of a low arched recess, the springing for the head of which survives, giving a total thickness of 1.54m. This is actually thicker than the outer walls, but these walls have a broadly battered base to support them, a method unlikely to have been used inside the courtyard. The depth of the north range has been reconstructed on plan to reflect that on the south, and an entrance suggested in the only obvious position, in the middle of the east range. The presence of a tower in the north-east corner is entirely conjectural. Although superfluous once the moated complex was complete, it may well have been considered desirable while only a wooden paling surrounded the other courts — quite apart from any aesthetic or social considerations.

This design is very different from that suggested by Rigold, whose interpretation is reflected in a plan drawn by the late Arthur Whittingham (Fig. 7). Both plans, however, reflect the almost total absence of archaeological features resulting from late gardening.

The close keying of the house with the earlier gatehouse has already been mentioned. It is probable that the south curtain wall of the south range reused the keying intended for the earlier curtain wall. Below the external plinth of the gatehouse the angle is turned in brick in alternate courses, and above the plinth, in stone. The junction of the Period 1 gatehouse stair turret with the Period 2 courtyard house east wall is also well-bonded. In the angle between the turret and the gatehouse, however, the quoins of the turret were removed for the insertion of a door at the ground floor level of the new south range (Pls VII and XII). It was probably at this time that the external ground floor door into the stair turret via the north gatehouse wall, was

blocked (also using early bricks; Fig. 3 and Pl. VII) and replaced with the door from the west lodge.

That the main house was later than the gatehouse is clear however, and the evidence for this has already been rehearsed: the flushwork on the gatehouse; its hacked-off string course; the foundations exposed by the south range; the blocked gatehouse window.

The south range of the courtyard house is rare among the buildings at Baconsthorpe in having a cellar or lower ground floor, the offset for which still exists. The levels of this range can be seen in relation to other buildings in Fig. 8. Lit by gunloops, the lower ground floor was clearly only for storage, with principal rooms in one or two storeys above. The door between this range and the west lodge may have been inserted now (Pl. XII). The 1588 map suggests that there was only one principal storey above the cellar, lit by tall windows, with a steep roof above. Two chimneys are shown projecting from or behind the range. The western chimney may have been housed in the wall dividing the south and west ranges and the eastern chimney in the wall between the south and east ranges. The first floor of the south range was probably the great chamber (the medieval hall) of Baconsthorpe. If this were the case, the gatehouse could have remained the lodging of the lord and his family since we know that there was a door from this room to the stair turret of the gatehouse. To an extent this is implied in the will of Sir John II where the chapel chamber, the lord's chamber and the great chamber are all mentioned in a single clause. His son's will (Christopher I, d.1579) also implies private family accommodation in the tower, with the juxtaposition of 'the lord's chamber' with the 'low tower chamber', followed by the 'dining or great chamber' (see p.104). The low (service) end, however, is unlikely to have been housed in the superior west range, inconveniently far from the service court so the Heydons may have had to cross a screens passage to enter the great chamber.

The west range of the house is clearly divided into a north and a south section — probably two separate but connected buildings. The ground floor of the southern part is c.0.95m (3ft 1in) lower than the main floor of the south range and c.0.70m (2ft 4in) higher than the northern part of the west range (Fig. 8). The evidence for this can be found in the still extant floor level in the south round tower, and the blocked jamb of the north round tower. The heights of the windows/gunloops in the round towers also differ from each other by c.0.60m (2ft). This difference is continued in the square corner towers. Each corner tower is separated from the floor levels of the nearest round tower by only a step: to the south-west tower a step up and to the north-west one a step down. The finely cut brick jambs (Fig. 9, Pl. XIII) of these two towers match exactly, implying that the north and south parts of the range were conceived together and that the outer wall at least was built in a single campaign. The partition wall, of which no trace exists, was almost certainly a masonry division and must have butted the curtain wall.

Externally, rough outlines of the bottom of embrasures for substantial windows can be seen (Pl. XIV). They are now blocked internally, probably in the eighteenth century. There are three embrasures between the round towers and one either side. Although the sill levels can no longer be accurately measured, there is once again a clear difference between the southern and northern windows, the division occurring south of the central window. The windows relate

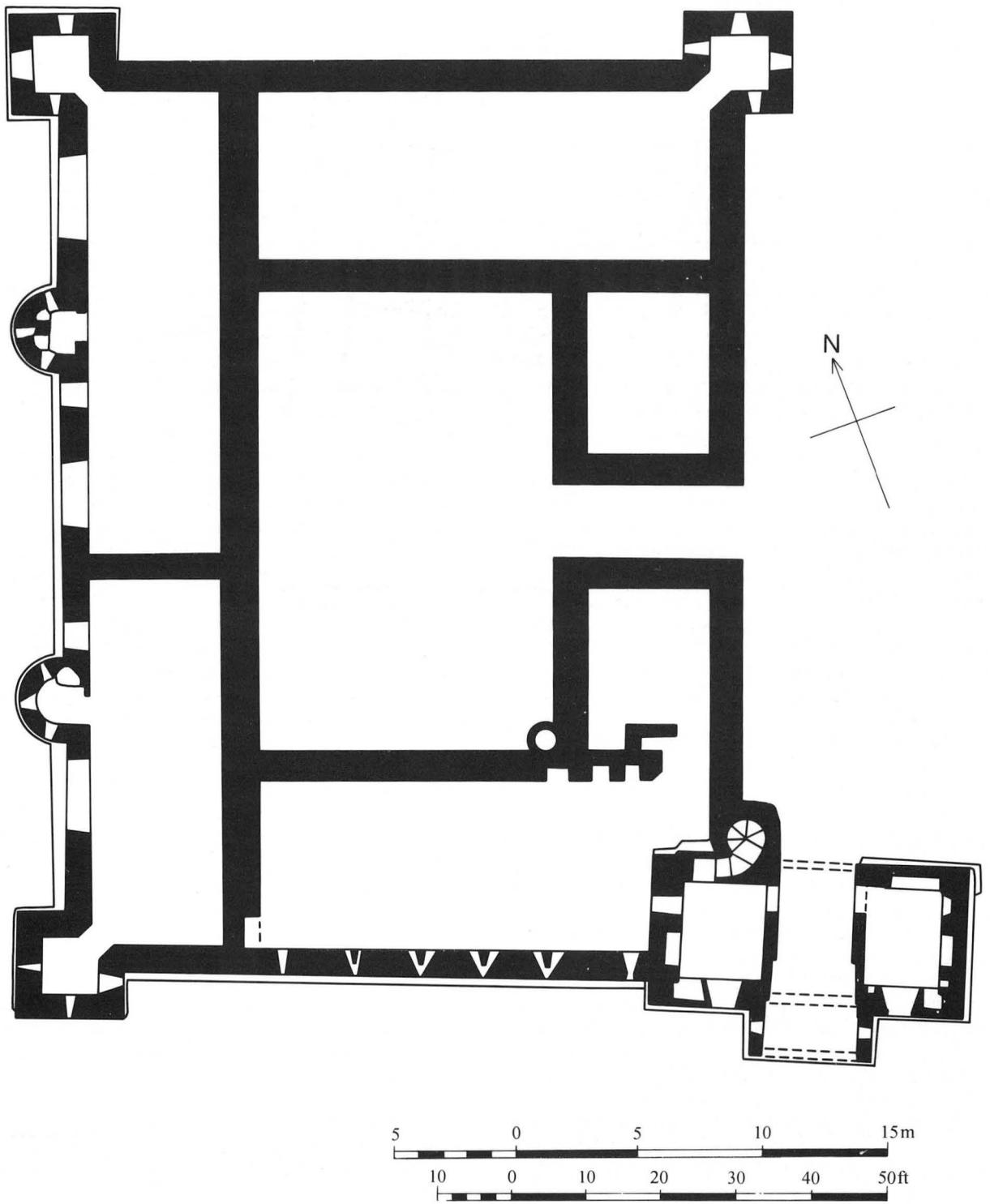


Figure 6 Reconstructed plan of the courtyard house, built in period 2.1. Scale 1:250

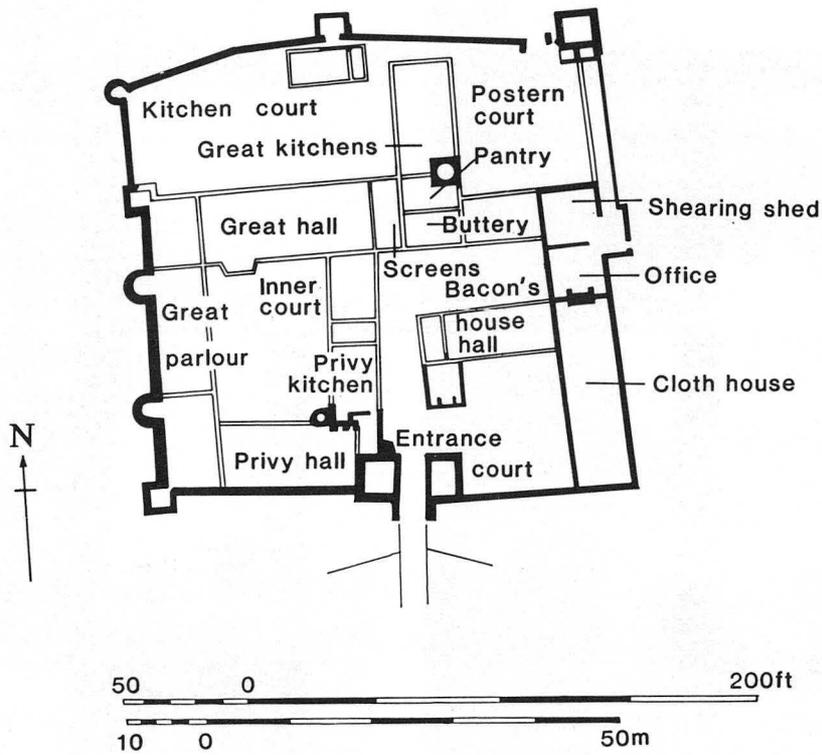


Figure 7 Arthur Whittingham's conjectural layout of the internal buildings redrawn. Original in Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery. Scale 1:1000

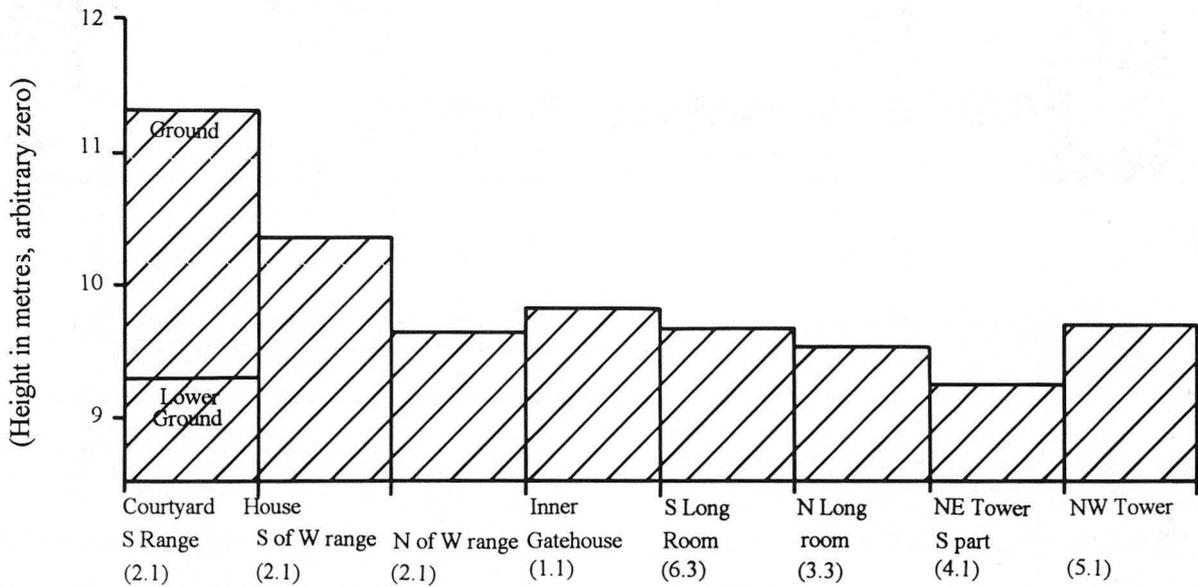


Figure 8 Graph showing ground floor levels of south range in relation to other ground floor levels at Baconsthorpe



Plate X Keyhole gunloop in north-west tower of early house

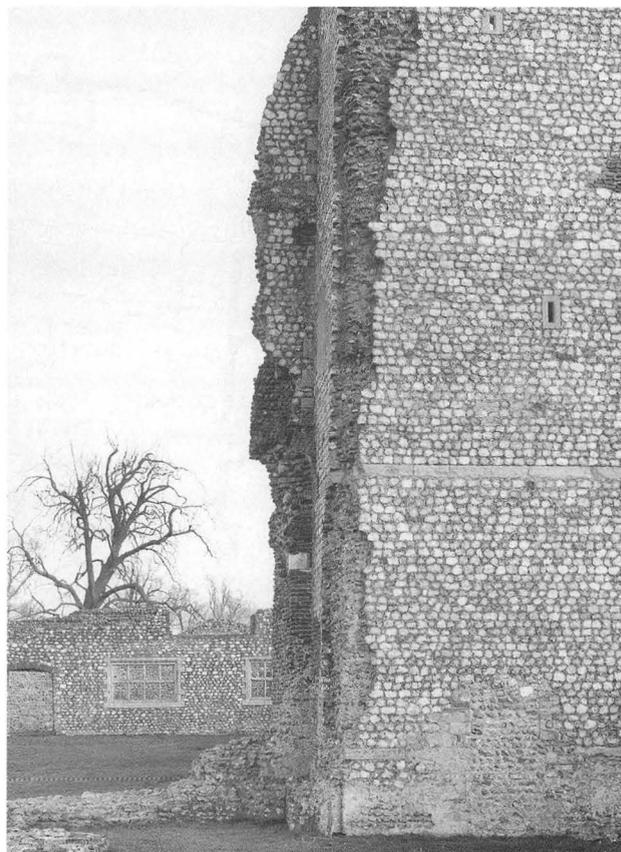


Plate XII The inner gatehouse, looking east

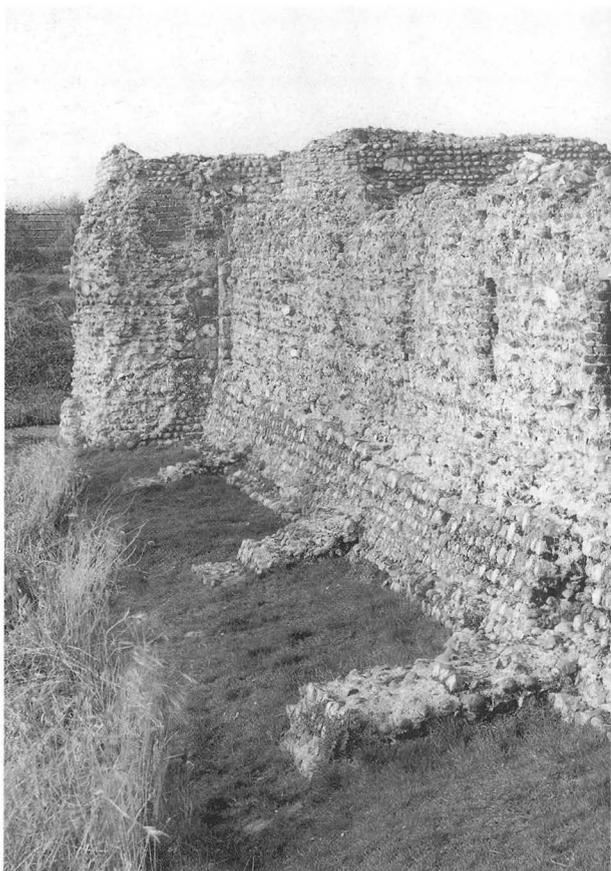


Plate XI The south curtain wall, west of the gatehouse



Plate XIII The finely cut brick jamb in the south-west corner tower

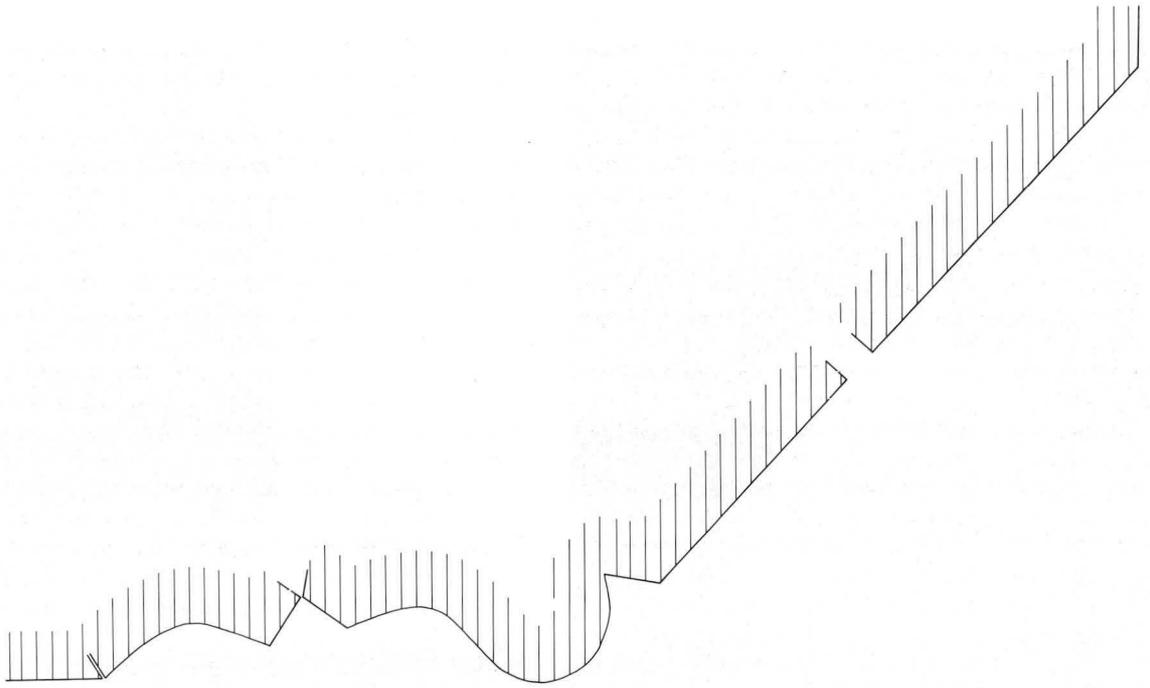


Figure 9 Profile of brick jamb in the north-west corner tower of the courtyard house. Scale 1:4



Plate XIV Embrasures between the latrine towers of the west curtain wall

reasonably to the measured floor levels. In the southern building, the sill stands c. 1.10m (3ft 7in) above the floor. The difference between floor and sill level is somewhat greater in the northern building, which, with its lower floor, was presumably to prevent a too-easy entry or attack from outside.

The presence of large windows in the west range suggests that there were principal rooms at ground floor level, while the remains of latrine shafts in each of the round towers attest to at least one upper floor. The higher floor level of the southern building could suggest that this building had a cellar, like the south range, but the lack of low external openings and the presence of gunloops on the ground floor point to a different interpretation.

The projecting round towers, containing latrine shafts and the arches for gunloops, are of some interest. At the bottom of each tower is a vault with an opening into the moat. In the south tower the vault occupies the front two-thirds of the available space, with the shaft running behind (one large shaft, possibly subdivided at the first floor). In the north tower the vault occupies the inner two-thirds of the tower with the shafts in front, one each side of the central gunloop, leaving the artillery-man in a somewhat uncomfortable position.

Previously, these towers have always been considered as additions to the main range and contemporary with the north curtain (Rigold 1966, 10). This was principally because of the presence of tile in the rubble core (also visible in the round north-west tower) and because the building lifts of the core do not follow through from the curtains into the towers. However, the knapped facing is undoubtedly well bonded. The putlogs of the towers, which are only to be found close to the junction with the curtain wall, are at a different level from the putlogs of the curtain. The lower putlogs are at a steeply raking angle, suggesting that they held timbers to brace the still extant scaffolding of the main walls, from which the towers were also built. The towers, therefore, were probably planned at the same time as the curtain and built shortly afterwards. The presence of tile in the latrine towers and its absence in the curtain may only indicate the *ad hoc* availability of materials for corework throughout the buildings at Baconsthorpe. The dressings of these towers are made of identical bricks to the rest of the early curtain and the one surviving jamb is made of cut early bricks, similar to the jambs of the square towers, though here the jamb is only chamfered.

Nothing can be said with certainty of the north and east ranges of the courtyard house.

Viewed as a whole the evidence gives two distinct impressions. The first, external, impression is of a high fortified house. The south wall bristles with gunloops; there are four loops of Y-shaped plan sandwiched between two others, of which only the arches survive. The west range is defended by gunloops in each of the towers. Apart from the soffit arches, only one gunloop survives, 'of the early "key-hole" type, already beginning to look old-fashioned at that date' (Rigold 1966, 9) in the north-west tower (Pl. X).

The second impression is of a very up-market courtyard house with a great chamber in the south range and private chambers in the gatehouse and in the west range. Although there is only evidence for one masonry partition, there may have been more and the existence of three latrine shafts, servicing four latrines, in the west range implies four self-contained suites — for the lord's entourage and members

of his family. Though there are no chimney flues in the surviving curtain wall, fireplaces were probably provided in the partition walls.

The presence of principal chambers with large windows on the ground floors of the west range could indicate a less serious military purpose as the building progressed northwards. It is tempting to see this as due to the change in ownership from John Heydon I (d. 1479), whom Rigold tells us was feared and hated (Rigold 1966, 3) and might therefore have felt in need of protection and whom Leland tells us built the front of the house, to his son Sir Henry. Vertical breaks in building, reflecting common building practice, can be seen along the whole length of the curtain. The decisive break in build could be close to the end of the south range, although the lower courses of the south west tower appear to have been laid out at an early stage.

Sir Henry is said to have completed the whole house. It is not unreasonable to suppose that such a major project took in the region of twenty years, *i.e.* most of the time between the death of his father and his own death in 1504.

Period 3 The Eastern Service Court

A service court must have been planned at the same time as the courtyard house, but in the absence of direct stratigraphic links, it is treated here as a separate phase.

Period 3.1 The East Courtyard Wall

Characteristic materials: smallish rounded flint pebbles, coursed to both faces, laid with wide joints, not galleted, in a buff pebbly lime mortar similar to that used in Period 2.1 for the main castle walls. The masonry incorporates a few brick fragments.

The principal surviving element of the service court is its east wall, later forming the east wall of a range of buildings, but originally constructed as a free standing wall, tapered on both faces, with no openings of any kind.

Period 3.2 The South Curtain, East of the Gatehouse

Characteristic materials: smallish rounded flint pebbles, coursed to both faces, laid with wide joints and not galleted; brick dressings internally.

Butting the east side of the gatehouse, this wall is clearly much reconstructed (including, probably, all the external knapped flint areas), but does nevertheless retain some early features. In particular, the remnants of at least three small arched openings can be seen internally, now well disguised by later work (Fig. 10 and Pl. XV). The east jamb of the most easterly of these was lost when the wall was cut into, to receive the adjacent long room. In all likelihood these blocked features represent gunloops built to balance those west of the gatehouse. Here though, with such a flimsy wall, the intention could only have been aesthetic. These gunloops therefore seem to have more in common with the gunports of the north curtain, than the more serious gunloops of the curtain west of the gatehouse. This stretch of wall has been assigned to this period however, due to the similar construction to the east courtyard wall and on the assumption that the whole of the service court would have been enclosed in stone at more or less the same time.

Part of the original stone courtyard wall can still be seen in the south gable of the south long room — an area of flint core beneath window sill level, clearly cut into by the corners of the long room (Pl. XVI).



Plate XV Blocked gunloop at the east end of the south curtain



Plate XVII The north-east tower, looking east

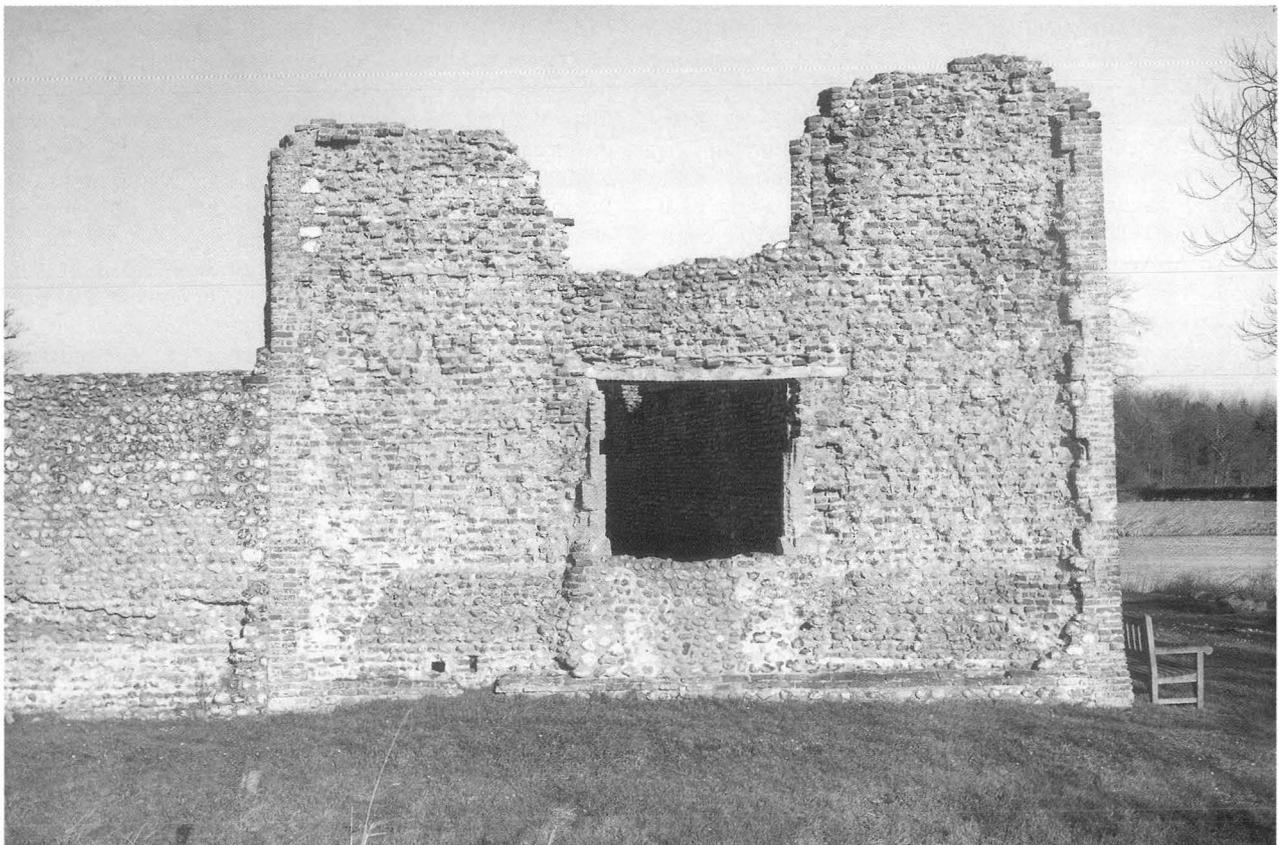


Plate XVI The south gable of the south long room

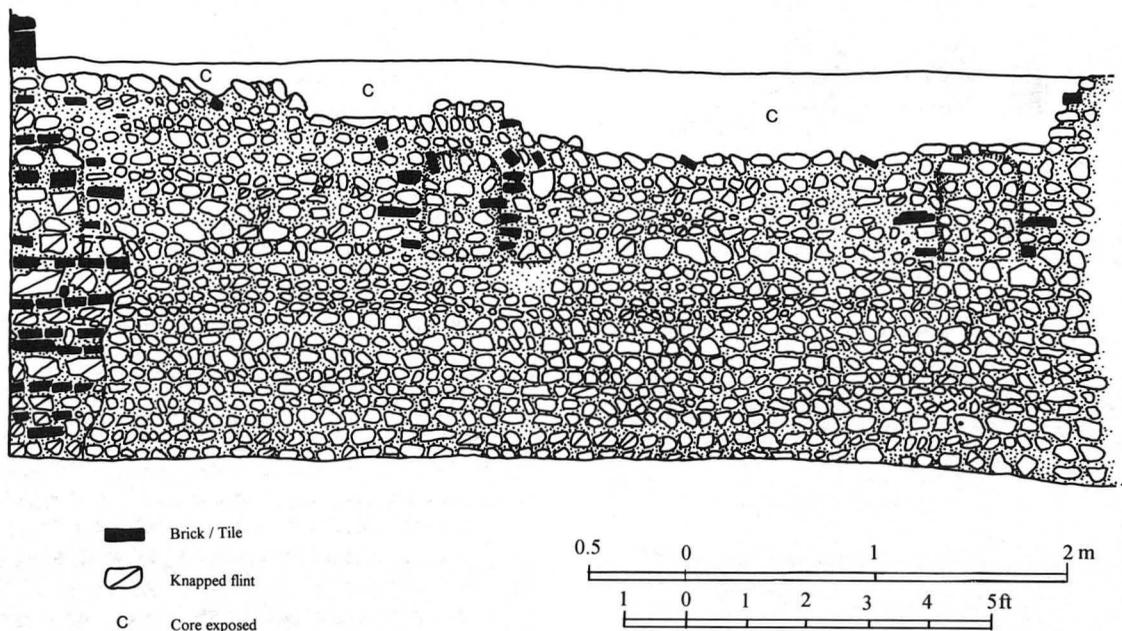


Figure 10 The south curtain wall, east of the gatehouse, with traces of three former openings. Scale 1:40

Period 3.3 The North Long Room

Characteristic materials: flint and brick rubble in buff mortar, including early bricks 120 x 50 mm (4.75 x 2in) in section.

The earliest traces appear to be narrow foundations, some brought to a smooth surface at ground level, suggesting that the superstructure, of a rectangular building in the north-east corner, may have been wholly or partly timber-framed. This building used the courtyard wall as its own east wall. A return at the north-west corner of the building suggests the existence of a wall heading west, which marked the northern boundary of the service court.

There were probably many timber-framed structures, some of them perhaps extant for only a short time, within this service court. The whole of the east range is likely to have been colonised shortly after the courtyard wall was completed.

Period 3.4 Building to North of Gatehouse

Characteristic materials: flints in buff mortar.

Also probably of this period, although not stratigraphically related to anything else, is the small building north of the gatehouse, whose plan suggests that a large fireplace occupied most of its southern wall. It is tempting to see this building as the kitchen for the inner gatehouse, prior to the construction of the courtyard house and service range. The odd alignment of the gatehouse has been discussed, however, and this small building aligns not with the gatehouse but with the courtyard house (see Fig.5) which suggests a slightly later date.

Period 4 Extension into the Northern Court

Period 4.1 The North-East Tower and the East Curtain

Characteristic materials: the walls below plinth level are of early brick, c. 230 x 115 x 45mm (9 x 4.5 x 1.75in), plus a few larger late bricks with a projecting brick course below the water-table moulding. At higher levels, the walls are faced with mixed pebble and knapped flint, together with the occasional brick; the joints are galletted, and have a tendency to coursing. Dressings are of oolitic limestone. Internally, the walls are faced with pebble flint, roughly coursed with brick and flint dressings.

The earliest masonry element of the north court is the north-east tower (Pl. XVII). The tower consisted of three compartments, a northern one, which largely survives and two southern ones, of which only some of the foundations remain (Figs 5 and 11). The south-eastern part was at least three storeys high, since an obvious later raising of the northern compartment was abutted against its now lost northern wall. However, at ground floor level the division between the north and south parts is not clear — late rebuilding of the east wall has hidden the relationship on that side while on the west there is no obvious scar showing where a wall once stood. A ground floor chamfered brick jamb (visible in Pl. XVII) shows the division between the two southern compartments, and their connection. It is possible that only the eastern half was a tower. The north, extant, part of the tower appears to have a basement, now flooded, but in fact it was a ground floor of one and a half storeys. This is indicated by the deep splays on the sills of the ground floor windows. There are candle niches below.

The design of this complex is strange, and its function open to question. Viewed from the outside the impression would have been of an L-shaped tower, the south-eastern third of which rose above the northern third by a storey.

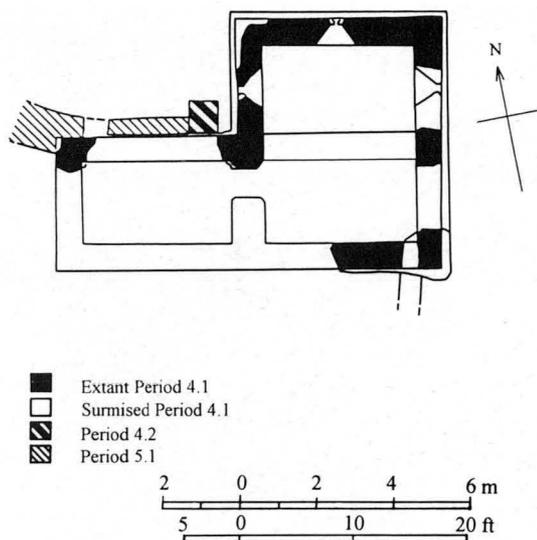


Figure 11 Reconstruction plan of the north-east tower, also showing the abutment of later phases. Scale 1:200

The height of the western part is not known. Although the tower was later used for wool processing — Rigold found fuller's earth and pins there as well as the sunken floor, which he thought was for a tank (Rigold 1966, 11) — its original purpose remains unclear.

The north-west corner of this complex survives, clasped by the later north curtain, and sufficient remains to show that the west wall aligned reasonably with the Period 3 west wall of the east range to the south (the north long room). The north-east tower could have formed the north end of a range running southwards to meet the earlier structure. The majority of the east wall as it now stands was rebuilt in the eighteenth century — part of it overlies the foundations of the tower — but there is nothing to suggest that it ever had the substance of the north-east tower. It is probable that the tower formed a masonry north end, probably incorporating latrines, to a largely timber-framed building that occupied and defined the east side of the moated area north of the east court. The east curtain wall, built in flint, appears to have clasped the Period 3 buildings on the east, terminating in a projection looking eastwards over the moat.

Rigold (1966, 10) believed that the north half of the east curtain was originally in line with the more substantial southern half, which would bring the curtain into the north-east tower part of the way along its south face, rather than at its south-east corner where the present thinner wall meets it. The rectangular projection then becomes a tower like that built across the north postern (Period 6.2), although its walls are rather thin for such a function. This suggestion, however, appears to rest on considerations of alignment rather than on excavated evidence.

A link to the north-east tower of the main house by a pentice or gallery along the north side of the east courtyard wall is highly probable, indeed suggested by a short length of foundation south of the well in the north court. A covering structure was probably a deliberate element of the design of the link, which may have included a first floor gallery as for example at Helmsley Castle (Yorkshire), whose gallery was built 1525–1540 (G. Coppack, pers. comm.).

Period 4.2 Later Additions to the Northern and Service Courts
Characteristic materials: small coursed flint with some brick and tile, in buff lime mortar, flushed up and crudely galleted.

There survives a buttress to the north wall of the north-east tower, incorporating a crude array of material, which pre-dates the north curtain. Possibly at the same time the sill walls of the Period 3 north-east building (the north long room) were thickened and raised in an equally crude way, with roughly coursed flint and brick rubble (including late bricks 245 x 115 x 55mm; 9.6 x 4.5 x 2.2in). The whole of the ground floor was probably raised in stone, with a timber first floor above. In addition a central bay window or projecting porch was added. The south wall at ground floor level was more than doubled in thickness towards the north — probably to provide the base for a chimney stack, although there are no obvious signs of this at a higher level. Most of these walls have since been reduced to foundations again, but parts of the south wall, much altered and consolidated, and the south end of the west wall still survives. Although the west wall and the Period 6 wall to the south use a very similar construction technique — heavily galleted, with roughly coursed knapped and pebble flints — the division between them is clear; even more so in the footings which are quite different (Pl. XVIII). The whole sequence in the east range is shown in Fig. 12.

Period 5 The Completion of the North Court and Other Changes

Period 5.1 The North Curtain

Characteristic materials: the external face is finished with knapped and pebble flint, incorporating some bricks, roughly coursed but heavily galleted. Dressings are a mixture of oolitic limestone and brick (the latter most notably to the north west tower). Internal faces are of ungalleted pebble flint, with brick dressings. The cores are of brick rubble and flint, with, on the west, bricks similar to those used in the Period 1 gatehouse. This gives way to recycled early bricks c.225 x 115 x 50mm (8.9 x 4.5 x 2in), and, further east, as these gave out, recycled roof and floor tiles, the latter plain yellow or dark green Flemish types of fifteenth-century date, 125mm (4.9in), 150mm (5.9in) and 200mm (7.9in) square from a geometric floor.

At 1.00–1.10m (c.3ft 6in), the polygonal wall of the north curtain is only slightly narrower than the early curtain (without its battered foot), and it is wider than the walls of the north-east tower. It ran from the old (Period 2) north-west tower to a new north-west corner and thence to the north-east tower. There was a small round tower at the north-west corner, probably incorporating a latrine at ground level. Along the walls were perhaps twelve recesses, shallowly segmental on internal plan with a double-splayed, asymmetrical opening, *i.e.* suggesting, despite the slenderness of the wall, that they were designed as gunports. They are all much damaged, but it has been possible to reconstruct their original form (Fig. 13). Andrew Saunders (*in litt.* 7.1.1994) comments that the splays suggest a late date since before 1500 splays tend to be single, while an external splay shows greater confidence in the manoeuvring of the gun. The north curtain could be linked to the 1539 invasion scare, although it might be as late as the 1588 Armada period.

The central opening on the north is much altered, and may have incorporated a small gateway from the outset.



Plate XVIII The division between the north and south rooms of the east range

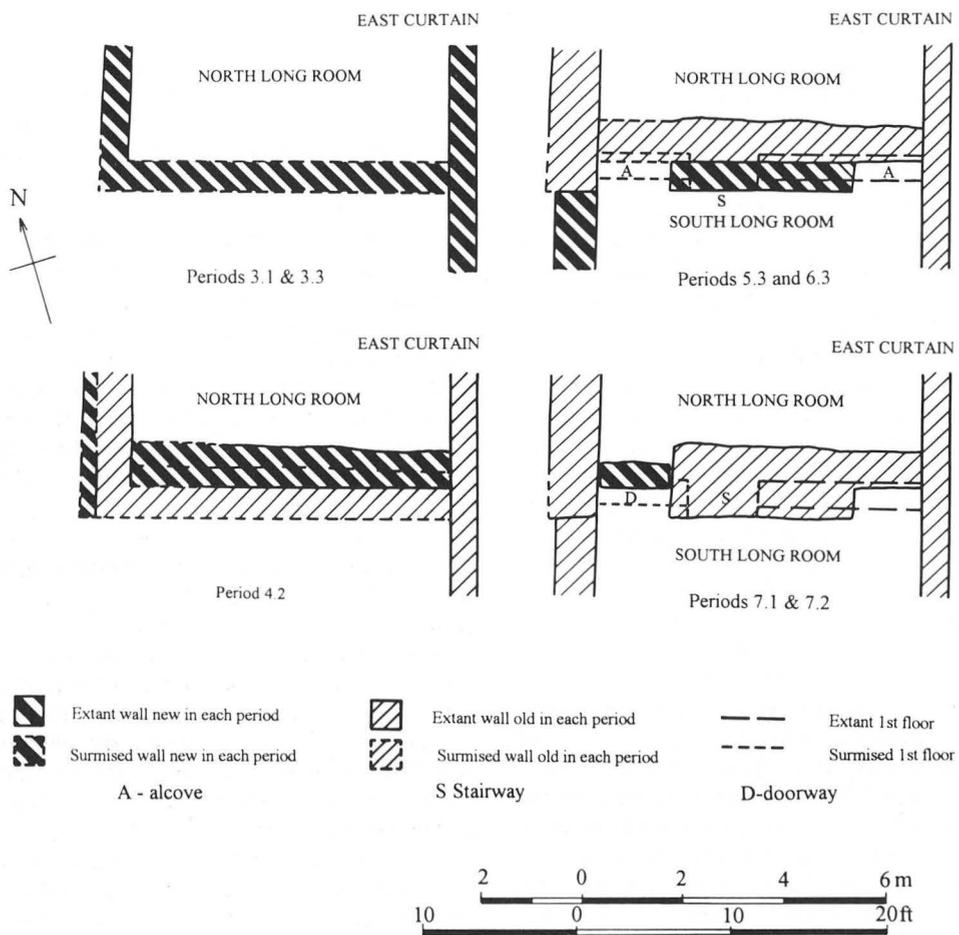


Figure 12 The development of the east range. Scale 1:150

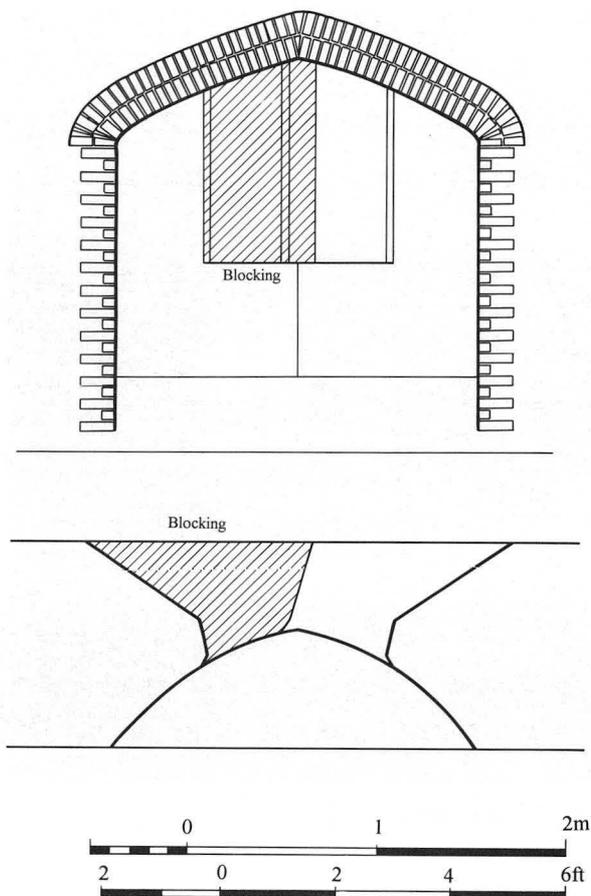


Figure 13 Reconstruction of a gunport in the north curtain. Scale 1:40

The wall clasps the Period 4 construction at the north-east corner, including the added buttress (Fig. 11). The small and deliberate gap between the wall butting the buttress and the wall clasping the north-west corner of the tower was probably to respect a pre-existing drain. There is no sign of any attachment of cross walls or of the curtain originally forming part of building ranges. It seems much more likely that a pentice or gallery was formed inside the wall, once the threat of invasion had passed and the gunports had been partially blocked (Fig. 13). The space between the pentice and the earlier buildings would have formed a garden in the manner of the privy garden at Thornbury Castle for example. Thus there seems to have been a distinction in use between the eastern service court and the northern garden court.

Period 5.2 Raising of the North-East Tower

Characteristic materials: walling of coursed small pebble and knapped flint, galleted, with some brick; limestone dressings to exterior, brick dressings to interior.

The construction of this additional storey to the northern compartment of the north-east tower is quite different from that of the primary work below, and clearly abutted with a straight joint the now lost primary north wall, the abutment being formed largely in brick (Pl. XVII). It cannot be placed within the sequence with any precision, but is assigned to Period 5 as it is clearly later than Period 4.

Period 5.3 Alterations to the East (Service) Range

Characteristic materials: small flint and average 'later' bricks, c.230 x 115 x 50mm, coursed, with brick quoins and dressings.

The old south wall of the north long room was taken down, leaving the wall thickening to the north. A new south wall was built, which abutted the thickening to the north and rose over it to first floor level. Viewed from the north (Pl. XX) the abutment of the wall with the east curtain is also clear to see. This suggests that the east curtain was also raised in this phase (since the east end of the crossing wall is neatly finished), with two major brick buttresses to stabilise it. The north and west walls of the north long room were surely raised in stone to first floor level as well.

In the new south wall, at ground floor level, there was a deep recess on each side, backed by the old wall thickening (visible in the east recess; Pl. XIX). Between the recesses are a tall plain jamb and a steeply sloping sill (Pl. XXI) — probably the base of a stair ladder connecting the first floor of the north building with the ground floor of the south building. The ground floor of the partition wall is offset to support the joists of what was probably mainly a timber building to the south, in the position of the current south long room. A few joist positions can be seen in the partition and the blocked main timber positions are still visible in the east curtain (Pl. XX).

In the south-west corner of the south long room, beneath the southernmost window in the west wall, is some earlier masonry that may belong to this phase of building, and which incorporates two long timber positions. Rigold interprets these as 'the supports and the chases for the plumbing of a great wooden sink' (1966, 11), associated with the woollen industry. Equally, however, its original use may have been as part of a drying floor within a brewhouse and bakehouse, with granaries above. Not only is a brewhouse essential to a manorial estate, reference is even made to one in the will of Henry Heydon (d.1504, see p.4), showing that the stone building of this phase was only a replacement to an earlier brewhouse or brewhouses. The stair at the north end could have communicated with accommodation for the foreman.

The detail of the alterations visible in the partition between the north and south rooms of the east range is unusual at Baconsthorpe (Fig. 12). It probably gives a truer reflection of life here than the other extant remains in the moated area. Particularly in the service court, buildings would have been continually erected and altered to suit the needs of the inhabitants and the estate.

Period 6 The Addition of the Outer Courts and Other Modifications

Period 6.1 The Outer Gatehouse and Barn

Characteristic materials: facing of knapped flint, galleted and roughly coursed, with oolitic limestone dressings. Internal wall faces of small flint pebble, with brick dressings and walls to carriageway passage, using 'late' bricks 235 x 115 x 60mm (9.25 x 4.5 x 2.4in) with double struck pointing.

The outer court and yard to the south, now represented by the gatehouse and the northern end of the barn, represent a major expansion southwards from the earlier walled area, though the outer court probably existed in some form before. Although the earthworks in this area are only garden features (see below), they probably hide traces of timber-framed



Plate XIX The partition wall between the north and south long rooms, looking north



Plate XX The partition wall between the north and south long rooms, looking south-east

farm buildings which may have stood in this court before. There is a reference to an earlier barn in Henry Heydon's will of 1503 (see p.95).

The similarity of construction of the barn and the gatehouse suggests that they belong to the same campaign (see Pls IV and V). The alignment of the north gable of the barn with the front of the gatehouse could suggest that they were planned to define two sides of a court or farmyard that lay to the south of the outer court of the castle. However, the barn and outer gatehouse do not lie square to one another and while the present north boundary of the field to the south runs parallel with the front of the gatehouse and suggests a third side to the court formed either by the field boundary itself or by a road along it, there are no indications of a fourth side on the east.

Clearly, the gatehouse and barn have no structural link with the buildings of the moated enclosure and their place in the building sequence must rely on other evidence. This is principally architectural, based particularly on the turrets of the outer gatehouse — see Rigold's description above — and documentary. The grant of a Licence to Crenellate to Christopher Heydon in 1561 probably relates to the construction of the outer court. It is arguable, however, whether the licence was applied for before or after the court was built. The 1588 map (Pl. II) shows the outer court to have been walled.

The gatehouse has been described in detail above (p.7). All that needs adding to Rigold's description is the original existence of heraldic glass, sketched by Richard Gough in the eighteenth century, in the windows of the 'kitchen, parlour and in the chamber over the parlour' (Bodleian MS 18086, Gough, Norfolk 34 f.64). At the same time as the outer gatehouse was built minor changes may have been made to the inner gatehouse — witness the spandrels with leaf carving (see p.77 and Fig. 44).

The Barn

by David Sherlock

The extant barn (Fig. 14) is now the only part of Baconsthorpe still in use, a reminder of the former wealth of one of Norfolk's great landed families. Like the near-contemporary barn at Channons Hall (c.1570; Baggs 1969, pl. opp. 9) or the earlier barn at Hales Court (Pevsner 1962, 184), it was sited at the end of a former southern approach (preserved in the lines of the track shown on the first edition of the OS 25-inch map). It was as much a symbol of lordship to impress the visitor, as to serve the needs of intensive farming. The west and north elevations, which were not visible on the approach, had only a rough flint facing that was probably originally plastered, windows only of brick, and fewer or no buttresses. Because it is still in use and not open to the public, the barn has not hitherto received as much study as the castle. The existing roof is modern and much of the original walls are now obscured by cement rendering and partitioning for its current use as a dairy and cow shed. The east and west walls once continued beyond the present south wall, which is set back between them.

The surviving barn measures 8.8m x 31.5m (29ft x 103ft) externally. It contains two windows in the original north end wall and pairs of windows between buttresses along the side walls. One pair of original cart entrances (now blocked) survives and there are signs of a second pair with brick jambs where the long east and west walls now stop (Pl. IV). The original pitch of the roof is shown in

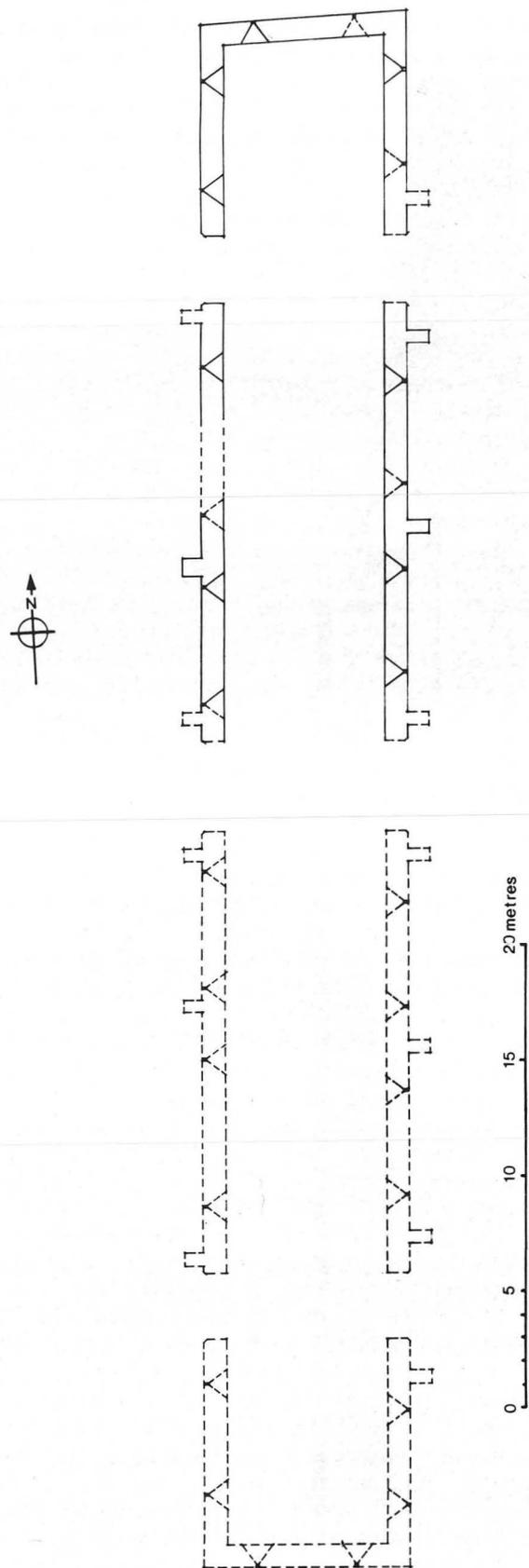


Figure 14 Plan of the barn showing a conjectural reconstruction. Scale 1:300

Page's engraving of 1781 (Pl. III). Assuming that the barn was planned to be symmetrical, the spacing of the surviving buttresses, entrances and windows suggest that the second pair of entrances were originally in the centre, thus making the barn some 64m (210ft) or nine bays long. It would then have comfortably spanned the west side of the putative outermost court or farmyard. A 'dog leg' in the field boundary at the end of the southern approach supports this suggestion. If the barn was not symmetrical the southern end may have contained sheep pens, stables or even workers' living accommodation as at Hales Court barn which measures 54m (177ft) long. Compared with Baconsthorpe, the great barns at Paston (1581) and Waxham (c.1570) are about 48m (157.5ft) and 55m (180.5ft) long respectively (NCC 1985, 4).

Period 6.2 The North Postern Gate and Tower

Characteristic materials: flint rubble foundations, incorporating late bricks identical to those in the outer gatehouse.

A small tower was constructed athwart the north curtain wall. It certainly included a postern gate, for to the north a brick pier was found within the moat (see p.41), which clearly gave intermediate support to a bridge. The bridge and postern themselves, however, may belong to the same period as the north wall. There was probably one storey above the gate passage, served by a latrine whose shaft survives at foundation level. The south wall, inside the curtain, may have supported a stair leading to the first floor. This tower is likely to have been linked to the corner towers by a pentice or gallery.

Period 6.3 The South Long Room

Characteristic materials: walling either of brickwork, or roughly coursed flint, knapped and galleted to the courtyard, and brick with brick dressings, the bricks are late, 235 x 115 x 47mm (9.25 x 4.5 x 1.9in), in a deep reddish purple fabric. Dressings of openings to the west wall are of brick with thin lime plaster in imitation of stone; the window in the south wall is of Magnesian limestone.

The south long room (the putative brewhouse and bakehouse) were rebuilt in stone (this could correspond with the debris found in the moat by Rigold, see below). The west wall was rebuilt entirely, while the south gable incorporated only a small amount of earlier masonry (see Period 3.2 above). The drying floor may have continued in use for a period of time. The first floor of the new building was 0.92m (3ft) above that of the old. The new positions of the main beams can be seen in the east wall and the wall above was refaced (Pl. XX). The offset of the partition between the north and south rooms was also raised to take the newly raised joists (Pl. XXI). This room formed a long narrow space, well lit from the west through oak-framed mullioned and transomed windows on each of two floors. The good lighting may have resulted from an early conversion of the south long room for the wool industry, particularly for the use of spinners and weavers.

Although the south courtyard wall appears externally to abut the south gable of the east range, the abutment within shows that the courtyard wall indeed pre-dates the structure, as the curtain wall was clearly cut back and then rebuilt (Fig.10). The gunloops in the south curtain wall may have been blocked at the same time.



Plate XXI Detail of the sill and jamb of the stair ladder between the north and south rooms of the east range

Period 7 Alteration and Decline

Period 7.1 The West Range of the North Court

Characteristic materials: mixed coursed rubble, including brick laid herringbone fashion, very crudely constructed.

At some stage after the construction of the north curtain, the openings in its west side and the westernmost in its north side were crudely infilled (Pl. XXII). The northern wall of the north-west square tower was cut back to the line of the curtain, and this line extended southwards across the tower to form a latrine shaft serving upper chambers. This alteration to the old north-west tower makes no sense except as part of a much larger scheme — the extension of the west range of the main house northwards, presumably to answer the Period 4 eastern range. The fate of the old north range of the courtyard house is not clear. Such drastic changes late in the life of the castle imply a major change in use, and may date to the time of Sir Christopher Heydon II (1593–1623), who is said to have dismantled parts of the castle (see above p.3). Unfortunately no clear evidence remains of any changes in the rest of the old courtyard house beyond some minor alterations to the latrines in the round towers.

The narrowing of the moat may also belong to this period as may the construction of brick chutes for the gatehouse latrines, other minor alterations to the gatehouse and the knocking through of a doorway in the back of the western recess in the partition between the north and south rooms of the east range. The construction of the mere and the gardens now would also fit in with the changes in use elsewhere.



Plate XXII Blocked gunport in the north curtain



Plate XXIII Interior of the outer gatehouse, looking east

Period 7.2 Alterations to the Outer Gatehouse and Other Late Changes

Characteristic materials: seventeenth- to nineteenth-century brick.

The outer gatehouse as it survives today is a mass of alterations, particularly when viewed internally (Pl. XXIII). These are mainly the result of the conversion of the structure into a dwelling house. The occasion for this was either the demolition of the inner court in the middle of the seventeenth century, or the sale of the estate in about 1680.

While the rear arch of the gate passage survives, the front arch has almost entirely been removed due to the addition of a two-storey porch — see Page's engraving of 1781 (Pl. III). Even the front façade has apparently been raised, as indicated by a discontinuous string course, while the middle first floor window at least has been replaced. Also on the first floor, the eastern rear window has been blocked, to allow for the insertion of a chimney for a fireplace at ground floor level, which has itself later been reduced in size. Similarly, on the first floor, in the east wall, a later fireplace replaces an earlier one, at the same time blocking access to the east tower/stairwell. On the ground floor, external access to the east tower was blocked with the addition of further buildings to the rear, and replaced by a large arch inside the original east lodge.

The building appears to have been extended with considerable regard to its symmetry. The additions on the west are not shown on Page's engraving of 1781, suggesting further alterations after this time. In the early nineteenth century, the porch was replaced by a doorway

in Jacobean style. The outer gatehouse continued to be inhabited until its north turret collapsed in 1920.

In front of it, dividing the outermost yard into an inner and outer section, is a low flint wall, parallel with the front of the gatehouse. There is an entrance opposite that of the gatehouse and the wall has returns that line up with the ends of the late seventeenth-century extensions. The remains of two further walls on the same orientation, run off to the east towards the earthworks of the formal garden, and it is possible that they were part of a layout designed to bring the garden into the area associated with the converted gatehouse.

The date when the barn was half demolished is not known but it had been shortened by the time of Page's engraving of 1781 (Pl. III).

These changes in the outer court were paralleled by changes within the moated enclosure. The new door between the north and south long rooms was blocked and, following a period of decay, the north side of the partition was partially refaced and capped with a brick coping. The door between the south range and the west lodge of the gatehouse was blocked and everywhere buildings were reduced. The curtain as it now exists is a mass of blocked features, inserted features, and rebuildings too numerous to list.

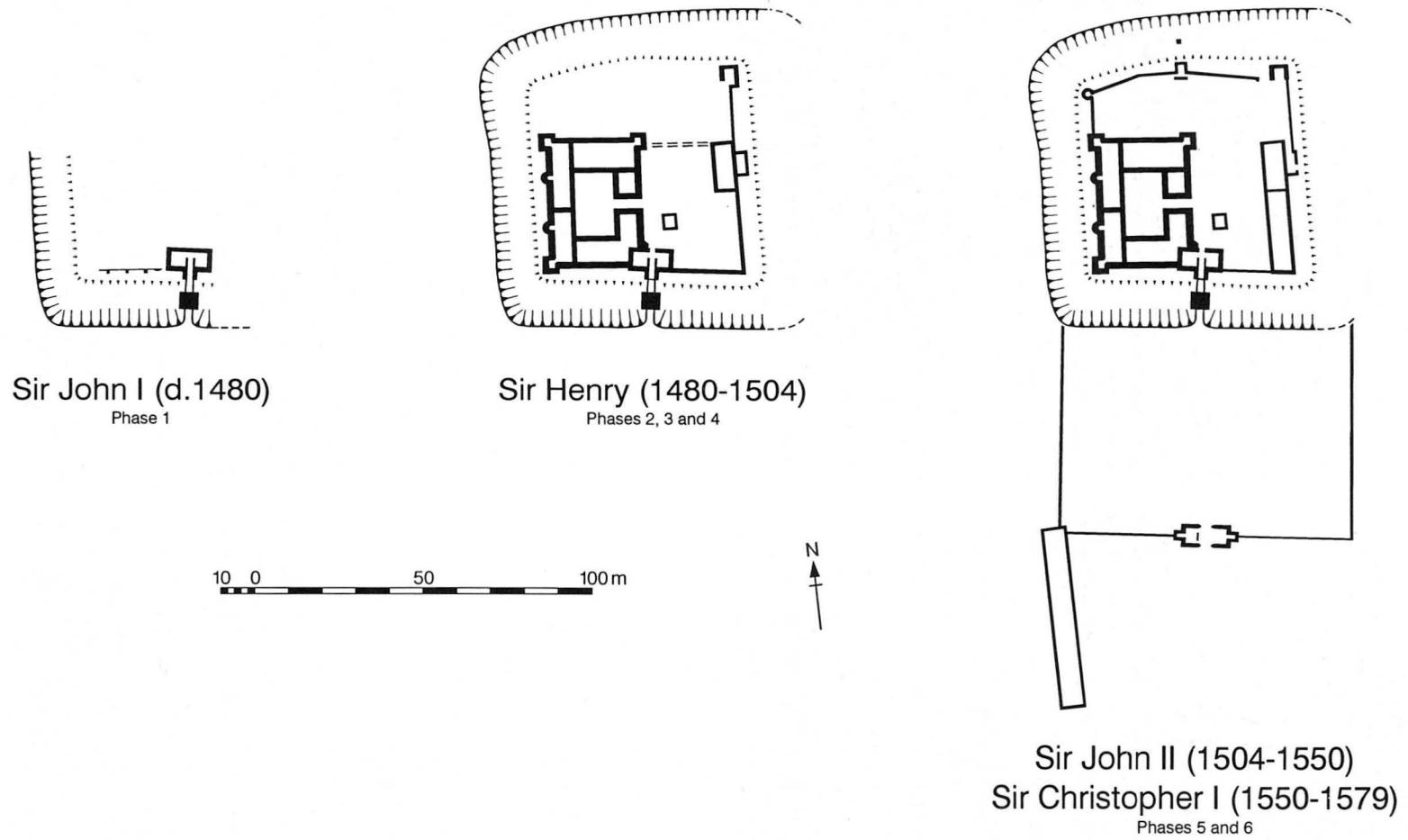


Figure 15 Conjectural phase plans. Scale 1:2000

IV. Conclusions

(Fig. 15)

All the evidence combined — structural, documentary, architectural and pictorial — points to two main periods in the development of Baconsthorpe. The first, encompassing perhaps the last forty years of the fifteenth century and the work of three Heydons (William I, John I and Henry), saw the development of the moated platform, the inner gatehouse, the main courtyard house, the service court and the north-east tower. This was followed by a lull, at least in stone buildings, before work started again forty years later. This new period saw the completion of the north court (c.1540 or later), the construction of the outer gatehouse and barn (c.1560) and the development of the east range of the service court. This work took place within twenty-five years and must be associated with Sir John Heydon II and his son Sir Christopher Heydon I. After this the decline of Baconsthorpe began: Sir William Heydon II sold off part of the estate; Sir Christopher Heydon II undertook some work at Baconsthorpe (1593–1623, Period 7.1) but preferred to live at Saxlingham Hall nearby; the castle was sequestered from his son after the civil war (but bought back) and dismantling began c.1650.

The study of the extant buildings reveals more about Baconsthorpe than this rough outline of its development, however. The functions of the different areas of the castle have already been discussed, but beyond this there seems to be a basic tension at Baconsthorpe between its role as a house and estate-centre, and its role as a defensive structure.

The first structure to be built, the inner gatehouse, though strong and impressive, had large windows and no gunloops. This contrasts strongly with the next building phase. The main courtyard house, although it also has large windows, is supplied with a welter of gunloops. In the next building period, the service court is developed with an apparently undefended east curtain, swiftly followed by an equally undefended north-east tower. Only the south curtain east of the gatehouse is provided with loops and these may have been only a balance to the west side of the gatehouse. When building started again, after a forty-year pause, there was a return to defensive considerations, with the provision of twelve gunports in the north curtain, but these were swiftly reduced and twenty years later the decidedly undefended outer gatehouse was built.

This oscillation between defended/undefended is very much a sign of the times. Previously, a castle was undoubtedly a sign of high status — higher than that of the relatively undefended manor, but this was a time during which even large castles were being replaced by courtyard houses and palaces (Thompson 1987, ch.4). For a long time however, a castle-like appearance remained an important indicator to the world of the owner's social status. Here this is indicated by the late building of the north curtain in response to an invasion threat. Like most English residences, Baconsthorpe could not have withstood cannon, yet a wall was built with gunports to provide an appearance of defensibility.

Leland described Baconsthorpe as a 'manor' not a 'castle', and he did, apparently, perceive a clear distinction between the two (Howard 1987, 22). It is possible that when Leland saw Baconsthorpe, the north curtain had not been built and this, together with the domestic appearance of the east side of the castle, would be enough to account for his description. Whether his description of Baconsthorpe

as a manor reflects his belief about the architecture or about the social status of the owners is debatable however. From the Heydons' point of view, the important factor was that Baconsthorpe did declare its owners' status in its scale (larger than Kirby Muxloe, Oxburgh or Caistor), its massive and impressive gatehouse and its military pretensions. Interestingly, a Licence to Crenellate was only obtained for the last major expansion of Baconsthorpe — the outer gatehouse, which had no pretensions to defensibility whatsoever. This is not unusual since the majority of castles and fortified houses were built without a licence, but indicates the degree to which the social significance of crenellation outweighed its military significance at this time.

Parallels are inevitably drawn between Baconsthorpe and Caistor, built by Sir John Fastolf c.1432–45. Caistor has parallels with *Wasserburgen* of the lower Rhineland and low countries, as Barnes and Simpson demonstrated (1952, though this has recently been doubted — Thompson 1987, 80–81). Not all of these were of high aristocratic origin. One example at Altera near Delft grew to the characteristic plan through the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Bult 1987), with buildings including a principal round tower at one corner of the main island in the moat, and subsidiary buildings contained within a thin curtain wall with round corner towers on a second island forming an outer court.

Some influences on Baconsthorpe from the *Wasserburg* plan imported to Caistor are clear: the major earthworks to form the moat to give the essential setting dominated by water; considerable height in the early building, with its proliferation of projecting round and square towers, and the entry via an outer court at right angles to the main entry into the house. But the characteristic moat arm dividing the two islands, and the very tall round corner tower, are absent, although the gatehouse and the added north-east tower must to some extent have made up for the absence of the latter. Whilst, therefore, the influence of the low countries is present, as it is in so much building, especially secular building, in East Anglia, it is nowhere near as direct as at Caistor. Baconsthorpe is much closer in general concept, and date, to the quadrangular defensible houses of Kirby Muxloe and Oxburgh, belonging to the early 1480s. The north court, as here interpreted, galleried and probably framing a garden, is paralleled most obviously in the privy garden to the south of the inner courtyard range at Thornbury, Avon, c.1508–21 (Howard 1987, 79).

The decision to build Heydon Hall at Saxlingham, only seven miles away, in 1550, deserves comment. It is likely that it reflects on the nature of the apartments at Baconsthorpe. In a time of ever-increasing desire for privacy, including a desire to provide private apartments for one's retinue and one's most important servants, the facilities at Baconsthorpe may no longer have been adequate, though there is evidence for at least some private chambers (see Period 2.1 above). Even more likely, however, the move to Saxlingham was probably due to an increasing desire to live apart from the noise and sight of the industry associated with the estate. There is very clear evidence that much of this industry took place in the service court at Baconsthorpe — a court through which owners and their guests had to pass to enter the main house. Though the archaeology of Heydon Hall has not, as yet, provided much information (Rose 1984, 1987), it is possible to speculate that the hall was an elegant house far from the bustle of the agricultural industry.

Chapter IV. The Earthworks

by P. Everson and W. R. Wilson-North

The earthworks that surround and to a large extent constitute the site of Baconsthorpe Castle were surveyed by staff of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, Keele office, at 1:1000 scale in late November and early December 1986 at the request of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission (English Heritage), to provide a plan (Fig. 16) for the present publication and specifically to throw light on suggested formal garden remains in the Outer Court. The survey was generated within a traverse framework established with a Wild TC 2000 informatic theodolite and GRE3 automatic recording data terminal; the data was plotted by a Hitachi 672 plotter; all archaeological and topographic detail was supplied by normal graphic methods. Original records are deposited in the National Monuments Record at Swindon under the site reference TG13 NW1. This report is unrevised since its submission immediately following fieldwork.

The earthworks associated with the site have been altered, degraded and otherwise made difficult to interpret with confidence, both within the guardianship area by dredging the water features and associated dumping, and outside by normal agricultural cultivation for improved grass and by dyking. Nevertheless they undoubtedly reflect, confirm and add to the site's development sequence as understood from its architectural and documentary history.

I. Moat

The site occupies a shallow valley formed by the River Glaven, here flowing north, not far from its source and at a point where a subsidiary stream feeds into the valley from the south-east. Its moated core is represented by the present south and west arms of the moat from 'a' to 'b' on Fig. 16. These form a good right angle that corresponds closely with the alignment of the principal courtyard house, the broad curtain and square towers running west and north from the Inner Gatehouse. At 'a' the south side of the mere kicks away with a slight change of alignment and steeper diminished scarp, and similarly at 'b' both inner and (more obviously) outer scarps defining the moat kick out in a way suggesting an addition or alteration, and this corresponds to the early north-west square tower. If a regular moated enclosure had been intended north from 'a' and east from 'b' it would have measured approximately 85 x 70m and allowed a regularly planned rectangular castle of typical mid-fifteenth-century type with central gatehouse and symmetrical façade. This core is set deeply into the west and north-west slope of the valley. In consequence, the south and west moat arms, though fairly consistent in width at 12–15m lip to lip, are bounded by strikingly differing scarps. At the south-west corner the outer scarp stands 3–4m high while the inner is 0.5m or less: the outer diminishes only slightly north and east, while the inner acquires substance only east of the gatehouse, rising to 1.5m perhaps through deliberate levelling up of the moated island. The early curtain, therefore, and the court it

enclosed, is completely overlooked from the south-west in a way that reflects tellingly on the seriousness of its military pretensions.

North from 'b', the moat extends the alignment of the western arm to a length of c.85m (lip to lip), then turns eastwards on a gently curving alignment that mirrors the configuration of the narrow north curtain. This is polygonal and consists (as it survives) of three lengths of walling measuring approximately 12, 14 and 22m externally with changes of alignment of approximately 15° and 11° between them. The north moat arm maintains a consistent width of approximately 14m until a little west of the modern sluice, when the outer scarp begins to swing slightly away northwards on the alignment that forms the north edge of the mere. This arm is dammed against the slope falling north and east by a massively broad bank, up to 15m across, now much spread and degraded by ploughing and cattle trampling. Local information reports large quantities of flint chippings appearing when it is ploughed. This broad dam does not extend the full length of the north side of the mere, but appears to turn or terminate and to be overlain by the mere's dams. This may indicate that the mere was added to the moated enclosure at a later date. In contrast to the other three sides, the east side of the island is now a low-lying D-shaped apron extending a maximum of 15m outside the standing walls and supporting several mature trees. But close to the walls and following their alignment is a substantial scarp, now somewhat pulled and obscured by dumps of dredged material which presumably marks an earlier eastern limit to the island. Certainly the Tithe Award map of 1839 (PRO, IR 29 and 30/23/24) indicates quite a straight north-south waterline closer to the walls. By contrast, an earlier estate map of 1807 (NRO, MF/RO 389/7) depicts a marked and apparently quite deliberate semi-circular bulge forming the south end of the east side of the island and the apron outside the walls densely planted with trees. Some remnant of this bulge may survive in a diagonal north-east facing scarp halfway down the apron, but otherwise its outline results from the recent dredging and dumping of soil around the remaining established trees, consolidating a configuration clearly depicted in close to its present form by the Ordnance Survey in 1885 (1st edition 25-inch sheet Norfolk XVIII.3). The origin and purpose of the bulge is uncertain, unless ornamental and related to the mere and gardens, perhaps (for example) as a viewpoint or location for a boat house; but it is an additional indication of the alteration and remodelling that has affected the east side of the Inner Court.

The narrow flint curtain wall east from the Inner Gatehouse to the south-east corner of the Long Room is actually of two unequal stretches (approx. 13.5m and 6m long) at a slight angle (of the order of 2°), which may associate it with the polygonal north curtain (although this is not the interpretation favoured in Chapter III). Within the curtain a multiplicity of very slight scarps, the most coherent of which seem to define a raised path running

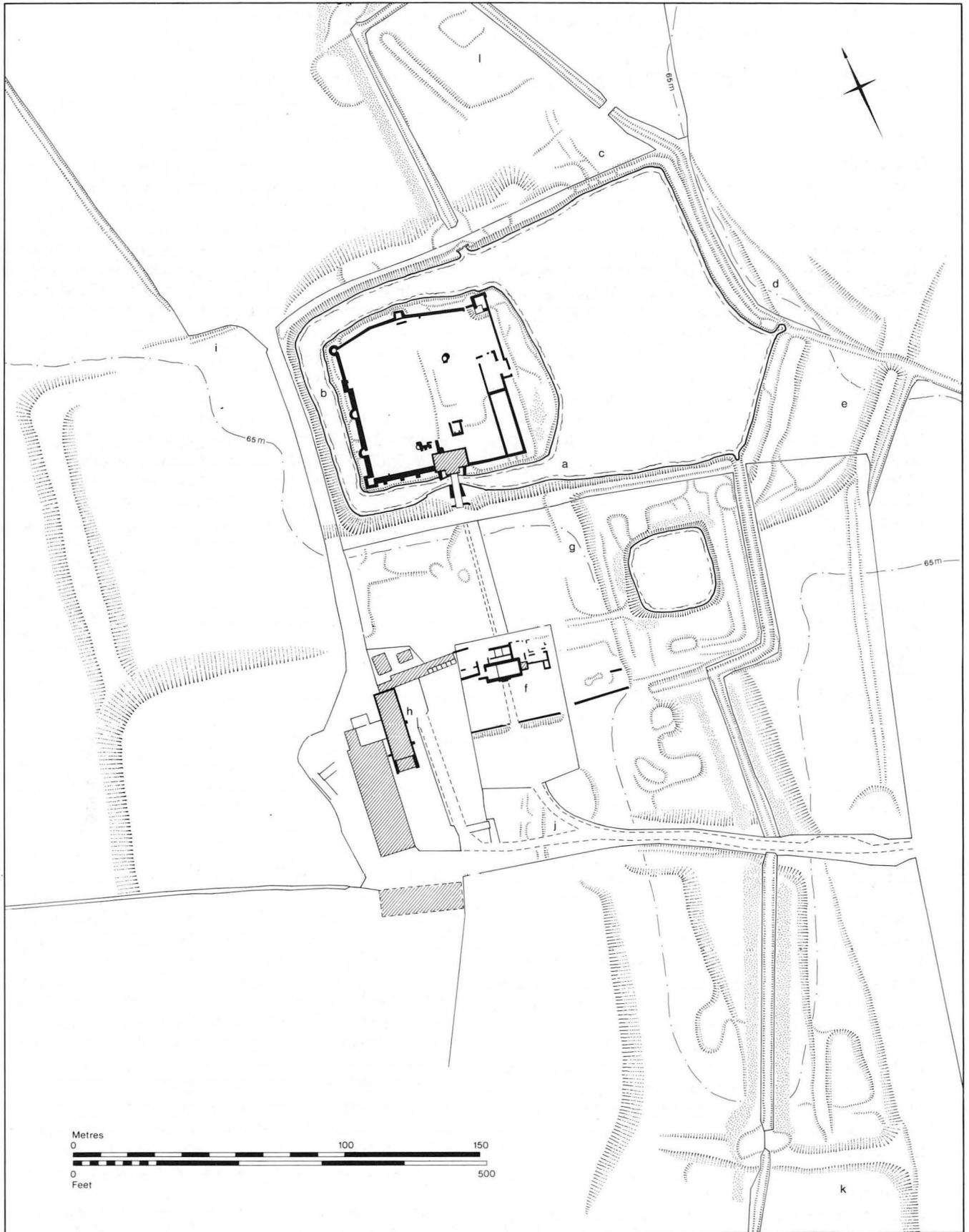


Figure 16 Baconsthorpe Castle, earthwork survey. Scale 1:2500. *Crown copyright National Monuments Record*

north from the gatehouse and bisecting the area, probably derive from the use of the enclosed area as a walled garden. It is depicted divided into quadrants by a cruciform pattern of paths on the Tithe Award map, and a network of paths was mapped in 1885.

II. Mere

The mere lying to the east of the castle appears from the relationship noted above to be an addition to an existing moated enclosure. It was still water-filled in 1839 and at that date retained by the landowner rather than the tenant farmer resident on the site, presumably for its sporting value. It subsequently became drained and had dykes cut through it to carry the two feeder streams (as OS 1:2500 1972). It was dredged and reflooded in 1972 (see p.37).

The mere extends to approximately 1ha and occupies the bottom of the valley, thereby drawing on both feeder streams that come together at this point, whereas the moat is likely to have been fed only by the main stream from the south. It is created by damming across the valley on its north side, on a line that continues the line of the bank along the north side of the moat but on a less massive scale. At 'c' on Fig. 16, there are traces of a former outflow channel below the dam: it is at this point that an outflow (?weir) seems to be indicated in the mid-nineteenth century and the gap is now filled by a dam section of narrow, steep-sided and evidently recent construction. The north-east edge of the mere is of recent creation, leaving behind it a dry deep channel which until 1972 formed the continuous dyke that carried the south-east stream into the watercourses below the mere. East of this again a long slight scarp in the rising ground (at 'd' on Fig. 16) may mark the mere's earlier extent. Similarly, the south-east mere edge is recently created, but immediately behind it is a broad low bank, less than 0.5m high, which may be the earlier limit.

III. Dam or Pond Bay

Some 50m south-east of the mere along the feeder stream, at 'e' on Fig. 16, a massive dam or pond bay stands within the edge of overgrown woodland. It is very well preserved on the south side of the stream, with a built length of 45–50m, averaging 12m broad at the base and 2–2.5m high. On the north, the land has been subject to intensive cultivation for improved grassland, and only a very spread rise marks the stub of the dam, its south-east side continued by a slight scarp that marks the course of a former field boundary across the field. The north-east side south of the stream continues as a substantial scarp, curving westwards until truncated by the dyked stream. The low-lying boggy area defined between the mere edge bank and the dam (which are almost parallel) may have formed a further formal pool, and the dam itself presumably created another pond south-east along the side valley, no longer definable as earthworks because of land cultivation. Is it possible that this arrangement, which contributes most to the distinctive shape of the mere, was a planned vista, focused on and designed principally to be visible from the north-east tower of the castle?

IV. Formal Garden

Along the south side of the moat and mere lies a distinctively rectangular layout within which lies the Outer Gatehouse ('f' on Fig. 16). It is defined on the east and south-east by the modern dyke forming a dog-leg: traces of scarps outside the dyking at the south-east angle that form a better right-angle and a length of dyking going westwards (probably re-dug, but seemingly following an established alignment which is continued again by a 22m length of flint wall foundation) confirm that the configuration is not a modern creation; and it was certainly shown in this form in the Tithe Award map of 1839. At this east end it represents a control and diversion of the natural stream course, cutting into the east slope of the valley, which was accompanied by the construction of a large rectangular platform across the natural valley and raised to a level above the valley bottom to its south. Despite the effects of cultivation, this platform is still defined on its west by a low degraded scarp dropping east, 'g' on Fig. 16, whose alignment (perhaps significantly) is that of the buildings and curtain of the east side of the inner castle and corresponds with the change of direction between moat and mere at 'a'. The area defined is not precisely rectangular since it narrows in east-west dimensions from c.65m in the north to c.55m in the south and in north-south dimension from c.80m to c.75m, but its regularity and surviving traces of associated features mark it as a formal garden. The principal of those features is a pond (now a cattle pond), lying centrally in the garden and retaining a marked rectangular shape despite dredging, cattle trampling and perhaps enlargement. It now measures approximately 33 x 35m; in 1839 it was shown as precisely rectangular and approximately 22 x 25m; in 1885 it was less regular and with a maximum dimension of 28m both north-south and east-west. It was mapped in 1807 as a rectangular pond. To its south, a low sub-oval platform-like mound, more markedly scarped on its north and west sides than elsewhere, is approached from the east by scarps following the outline of the garden, that may have defined raised walks leading to a form of viewing platform. Elsewhere within the garden, low scarps that similarly mirror its overall shape are now too fragmentary and degraded to allow confident detailed interpretation. But west of the scarp 'g' and parallel with it, a minimum scarp falling westwards appears to hint at a broad low terrace-like walk: this turns eastwards and narrows to a bank along the mere edge and north side of the garden. This was probably a raised walk, latterly planted with a line of horse-chestnut trees, now mature.

The areas west of the garden remains seem to have been more affected by the conversion and occupation of the outer gatehouse into this century. South-east of the outer gatehouse, slight scarps and traces of masonry foundations indicate structures which were no longer extant in 1839 but just might be those shown south-east of the outer court on the map of 1588 (Pl. II). To its north-west, much of the very slight and amorphous scarping seems to take the form of low mounds and hollows that result from tree-planting and their removal. There is just the suggestion of a low raised terrace along the west and north sides of the close.

On the west side of the whole complex, in a field that is now arable and was also so in 1839 (then *Old Orchard*, as also in 1807), very long degraded scarps define an

approximately rectangular raised plot some 80–100m square. Possibly the sixteenth-century barn ('h' on Fig. 16) stood on its east edge, its show side towards the gatehouse, its functional side towards a stable or farm court. North from this, a very low spread bank extends for some 100m before turning east on the line of the north arm of the moat and its dam. A length of bank, now trimmed to 4m wide and 0.75 high and sharply truncated by cultivation at its west end, surviving buried in the hedgeline at 'i' on Fig. 16, lies on the alignment and may indicate the form of this boundary. In 1807, this north boundary still existed as a hedgeline that continued westwards. Any subdivisions of this enclosure have not survived: its function is perhaps indicated by the field name.

The approach to the castle was from the south, along the west side of the river valley. When the pasture field in that direction is ploughed, a linear metalled surface is observable whose alignment is taken up by a double hedgeline and footpath further south (information from Mr John Seaman, the tenant farmer). The north end of this road may be indicated by much-disturbed and fragmentary features at 'j' on Fig. 16, which are perhaps the remains of a causeway. This direction of approach gives the viewpoint of Page's engraving of 1781 (Pl. III).

The artificially raised nature of the platform supporting the formal garden and its occupation of the valley bottom create a marked dam-like scarp across the valley on its south side. It is possible that this indeed served to pond back a sheet of water in the valley as an additional ornamental feature. No field details can convincingly be adduced to support this: the immediate east side of the valley is marked by a natural slope affected by dumping of dyke dredgings, the west side is cut into by a series of scoops — perhaps seeking building flint or simply material for levelling or causeways — with associated irregular spoil heaps. Similarly the causeway that now carries the east-west farm road might have originated as a dam, though again the valley sides to its south seem to be either natural (on the west) or formed by the digging out of material in quite regular bays (on the east), and its alignment at a skew both to the garden and to the valley itself suggest its late development (a road was in existence by 1807) for the purpose it now serves. The broad flat-topped bank that crosses the valley 120m south again (at 'k' on Fig. 16), standing up to 1m high and c. 12m across its base, also has the appearance of a causeway rather than a dam, both in itself and in the lack of evidence for ponding on its upstream side. The valley-side scoops on its north side may have been for materials.

To the north of the mere, a hollow wet area (at 'l' on Fig. 16) seems also to originate from the getting of subsoil material, rather than being a deliberate feature in itself.

V. Park

The outline of a park, indicated by the licence to empark of 1561 and the indenture of 1582 (Appendix II), is suggested by long, continuous, sinuous runs of field boundaries on the 1807 estate map, commonly respected by roads and lanes, parts of which survive today. On this evidence it lay to the west and north-west of the moated residence, extending into the parishes of Hempstead and Bodham. It encompassed nearly 300 acres (approx 120 ha): a markedly continuous east-west hedgeline within this area, shooting west from the south side of *Old Orchard*, might be a subdivision (or a limit of earlier or later date). No field names within the suggested boundary contain clear allusion to emparking, but what may be a park pale portrayed on the plan of 1588 (Pl. II) lies west of the residence and roughly on the line suggested. No fieldwork has been undertaken to check for physical remains.

VI. Conclusions

The earthworks indicate a sequence of development and progressive elaboration of the site. A regular rectangular moat may have been originally intended, though probably not completed (see p.14): it was cut into the west slope of the valley and presumably fed in its south arm from the main stream. The northwards extension of the moat also probably belongs early in the sequence (see p.14), to the time of Sir Henry Heydon (1480–1504) or before.

Much later a mere was added to its east side. The finds from the dredging in 1972 may indicate a *terminus ante quem* for its creation; but the 1588 picture of Baconsthorpe Castle (Pl. III), whose detail where checkable seems good, is clear in not showing a mere or a formal garden. This suggests that Sir Christopher I's work was limited to the Outer Gatehouse and Court, with the mere and garden forming subsequent additions, perhaps by Sir William II (d. 1593) or more probably Sir Christopher II (d. 1623), whose attentions elsewhere to the castle are thought by Rigold (1966, 10) to have included narrowing the south moat arm for ornamental effect and whose astrological and symbolic preoccupations (Heydon 1603) are likely to have made him susceptible to the contemporary high fashion for lakes as settings for courtly spectacle and drama (Strong 1979, 125ff). The mere's creation meant extending the earthworks right across the valley, drawing on and controlling both available streams, most obviously through the ponds on the south-east stream. Either at the same time or as a further addition (less plausibly, even though, in plan, the two do not sit entirely comfortably together), the garden layout on the south side of the mere impinged on and entailed controlling the main stream. Several features of alignment and focus point to a relationship between the development of the mere and gardens and alterations to the east curtain and buildings of the castle which put them out of orientation to its earlier features.

Baconsthorpe Castle Section key

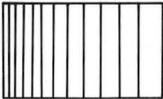
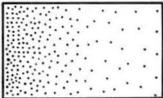
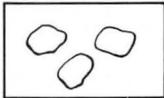
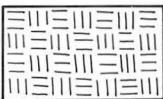
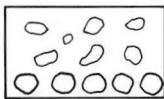
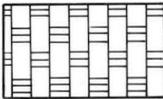
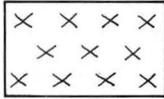
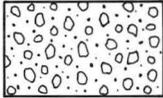
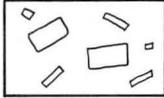
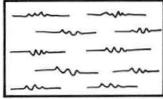
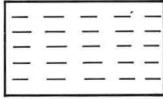
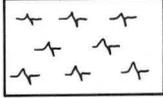
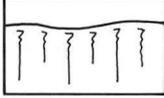
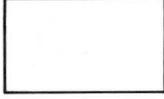
	Loam darker – lighter		Iron pan flecks
	Sand darker – lighter		Stone
	Clay		Flint/Cobbles
	Clay/Loam		Mortar
	Gravel		Brick/Tile
	Peat		Shell
	Silt		Wood section
	Organic material		Topsoil and root disturbance
	Iron pan		Modern disturbance

Figure 17 Key to conventions in section drawings

Chapter V. Archaeological Work

I. Investigations by S. E. Rigold, 1951–1969

In the 1950s the site was cleared of rubble, ivy and undergrowth by the Ministry of Works (now English Heritage), mainly under the archaeological supervision of the late S. E. Rigold, inspector of ancient monuments. Records of site visits and proposed repairs mention excavations, although no records of findings survive and the few photographs are not labelled (English Heritage file AM 46352/05).

Foundations were often exposed and consolidated, e.g. against the south wall of the inner gatehouse in 1951, the south wall of the north-east tower in 1957 and the outer gatehouse in 1965. Drains were found leading into the north-east tower in 1957 and the 'south long room' in the south-east corner of the inner courtyard in 1962. General trenching in the inner courtyard seems to have taken place in 1960, with special concentration on the south side west of the inner gatehouse in early 1961. 'Isolated sections of masonry *etc.*, which were exposed during excavations' are mentioned, but some of this work might have involved revealing footings and lower parts of the inner gatehouse and curtain wall because Rigold noted 'in the interior the sandy loam has devoured everything, and the plan is largely deduced from features on the external walls' (Rigold 1980, 331). In 1953–4 the inner gatehouse and long building in the south-east corner were 'cleared' and sections were dug in the south and west arms of the moat. A summary of the excavation stated that 'cross-trenches were dug on both faces and, though hampered by water, revealed unproductive silting for up to 18 inches at the centre of the moat, above which, particularly on the south face, was a layer of building debris, tiles and ashlar, suggesting a thorough demolition and reconstruction of interior buildings.' The date was apparently about or soon after 1600: the layer contains, especially where piled up under a drain from the gatehouse, a most useful collection of stoneware (consistently of Elizabethan rather than seventeenth-century types), local pottery, glassware, but no pipes (Norfolk Archaeological Unit file, site 6561). A note was published (Clarke 1957, 413) but there are no surviving site records. The finds are included with the present material, but are unprovenanced. In 1956 the bridge abutment at the southern entrance to the inner courtyard was excavated prior to restoration. Mr Rigold noted that 'the abutment is now shown to have had a back facing the outer lip. Behind this it was filled with seventeenth-century rubble, as is the moat in front of the abutment. The back wall contains more brick than the other three' (English Heritage file AM 46352/05, folio dated 24.9.56) what had originally appeared to be the south abutment was thus shown to have originally been the central support, embedded in the seventeenth century in the extended south side of the moat which was revetted by wing walls from the support.

Further mention is made of excavation trenches in the banks of the moat in 1962. In 1969 Mr Rigold dug a section across the southern moat in front of the inner gatehouse but

it was probably abandoned because of flooding (information from Mr Dennis Mynard). Excavations also took place in the mere in 1957 probably including the area of the 1972 Trench 9 (see below).

II. Excavations by Susan Arthur in 1972

The 1972 work began with Trenches 1, 2 and 3 dug by hand in the sides of the mere, followed by mechanical excavation of the fill of the mere by tractor-shovel. Later, Trenches 4–10 were hand-excavated into the moat and the rest excavated by dragline. During the mechanical clearing of the moat a support for a bridge on the north side was revealed and Trench 11 was excavated by hand to investigate it.

Trench 1 (Figs 1 and 18). Across south side of mere. The bank was made of layers of clay with rubble, sandy soil and clay. The mere was waterlogged and filled with clayey earth over a flint-packed bottom. Modern pottery in layers (3) and (5) could be the result of tree root disturbance.

Trench 2 (Figs 1 and 19). West side of mere. The bank comprised dark red-brown loam over clay layers, with rubble throughout. On top of the clay there was a scatter of broken tile and mortar chippings which thinned out away from the castle. The mere was waterlogged and filled with clayey earth over a flint-packed bottom.

Trench 3 (unlocated). North side of mere but precise location unsure. The bank was made of earth and rubble above sandy layers with some clay. A layer of bog peat (?) with decayed wood ran under the bank, implying that the bank was made up artificially. The mere consisted of clayey silt with a flint and gravel base.

Trench 4 (Figs 1 and 20). Southern moat, east end. The inner bank consisted of earth with rubble over a layer of broken tiles. Beneath this there was a thick layer of well-packed cobbles (14). Beneath this were layers of silt and sand, one of which contained tile, mortar and flint cobbles (20). The outer bank had a layer of well-packed cobbles on top. Beneath this were two layers of mortared cobbles (23) and (25) with soil in between. This was separated by two layers of sandy clay from a wall (27) running east-west. This wall was made of flint and brick with a facing of round cobbles. A construction trench was found on the south side (31) which appeared cut through an old ground surface of clayey earth (37 and 26). The moat contained layers of silt.

Trench 5 (Fig. 1; Pl. XXIVa). Southern moat, west end. The inner bank consisted mostly of layers of brown soil with brick and tile, containing eighteenth-century pottery. The foundation trench for the curtain wall was cut into natural ground and sealed by all other layers. The outer bank produced a firmly packed upper layer of flint cobbles, over several layers of earth with chips of tile and mortar. Beneath this was an irregular, roughly-laid layer of cobbles, not mortared as in Trench 4. More earth separated this from what appeared to be a layer of mortared cobbles.

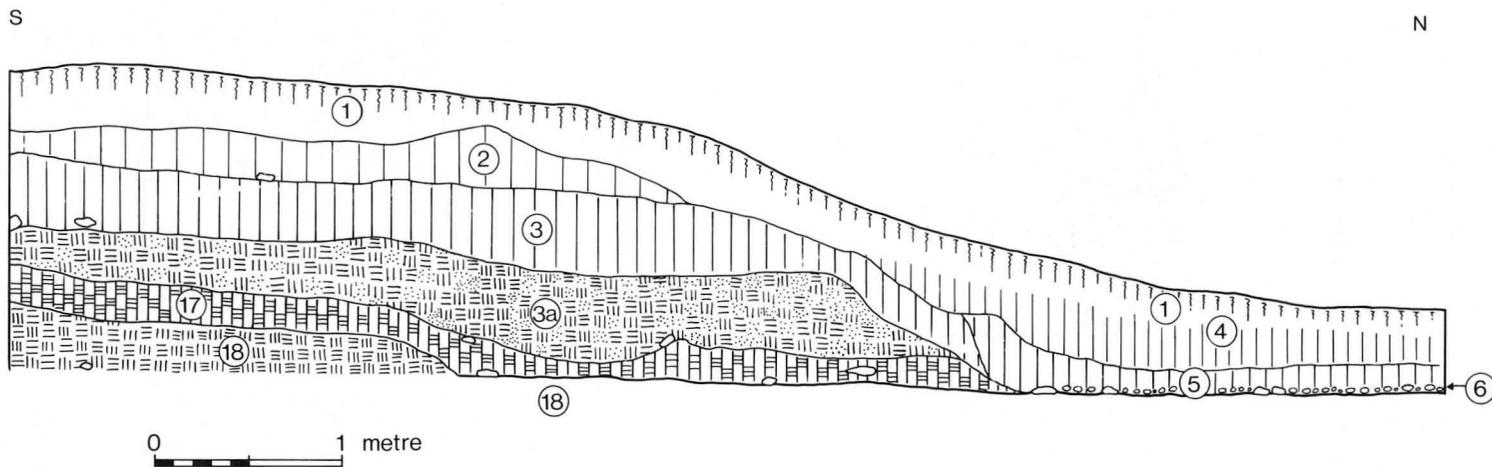


Figure 18 Trench 1, west face, section. Scale 1:40

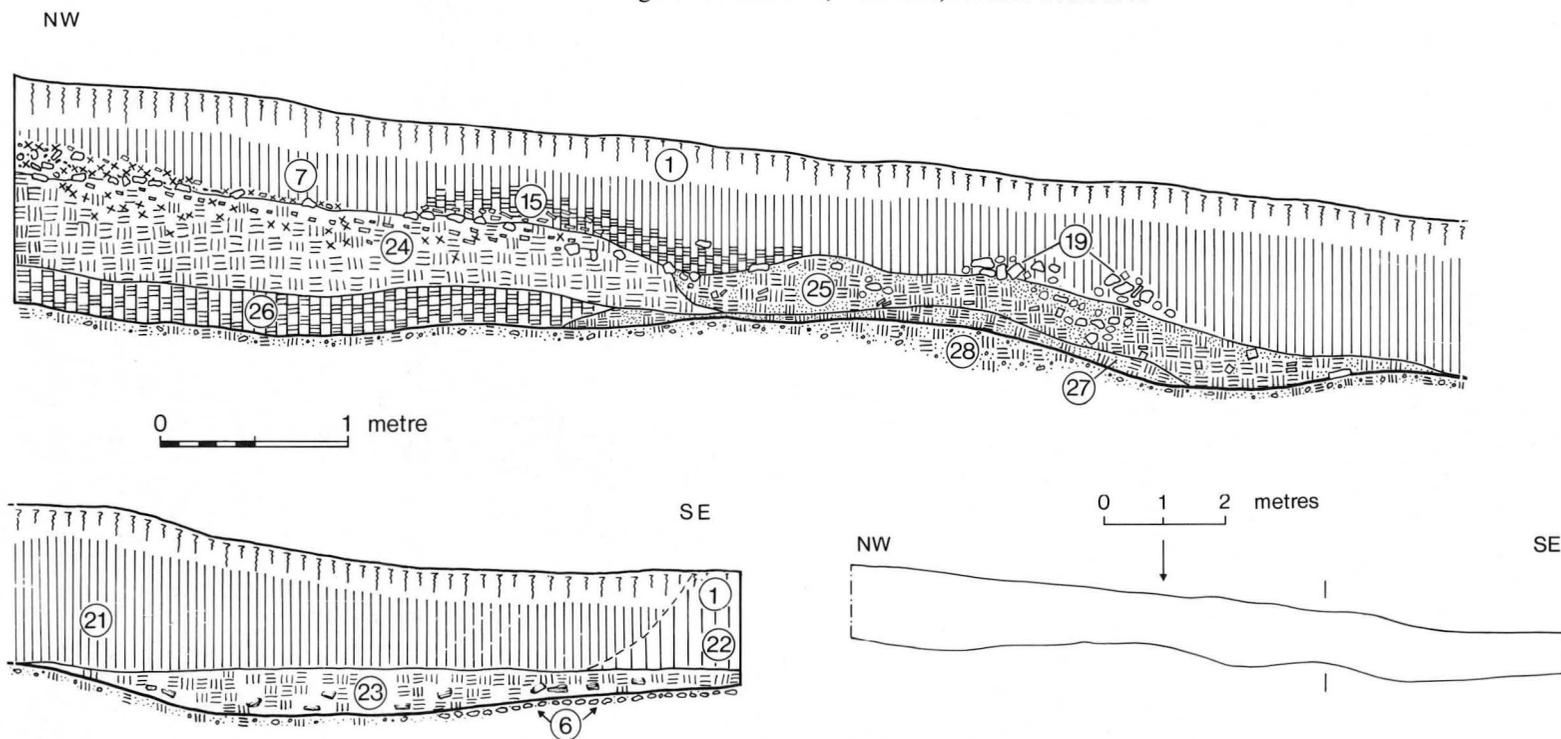


Figure 19 Trench 2, north face, section. Scale 1:40

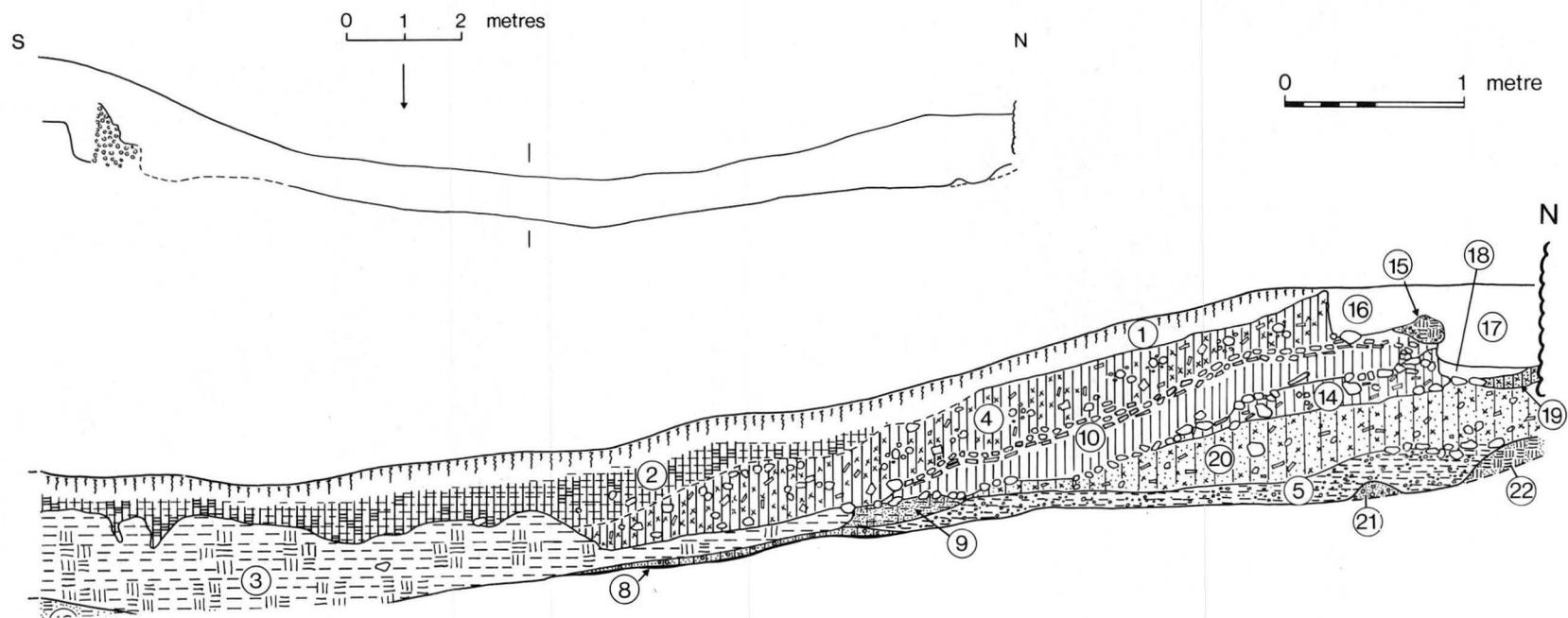
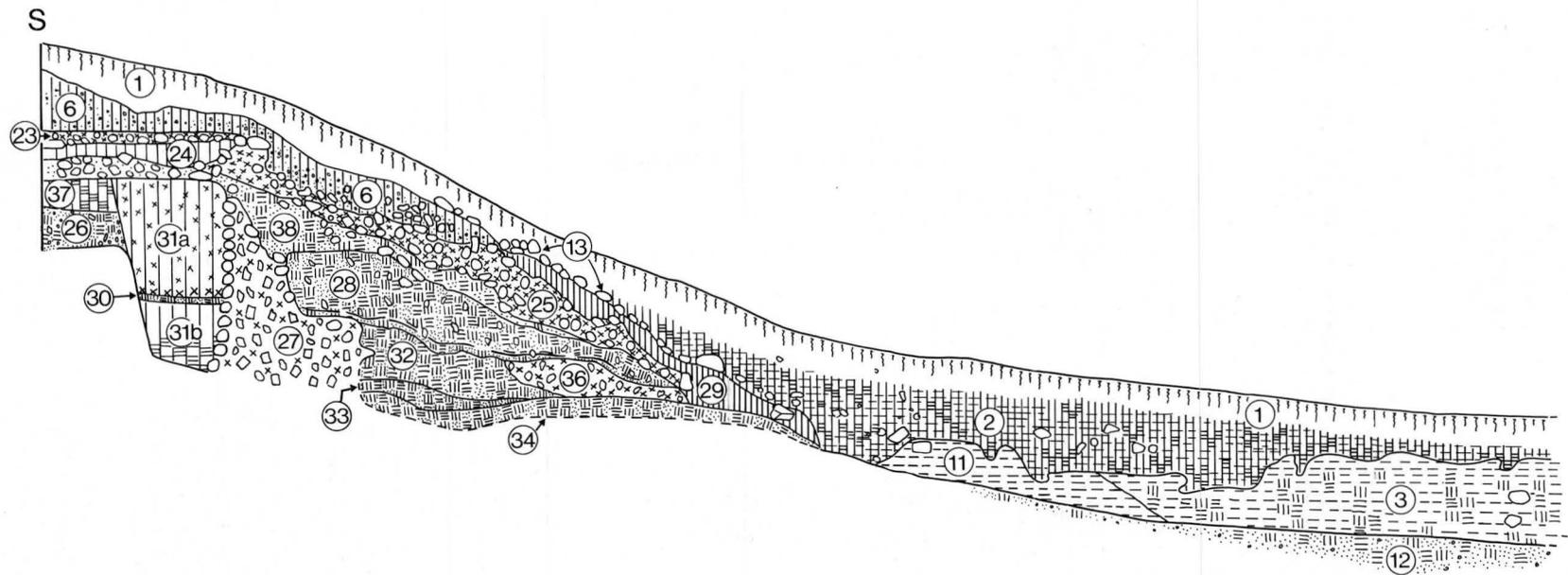


Figure 20 Trench 4, west face, section. Scale 1:40

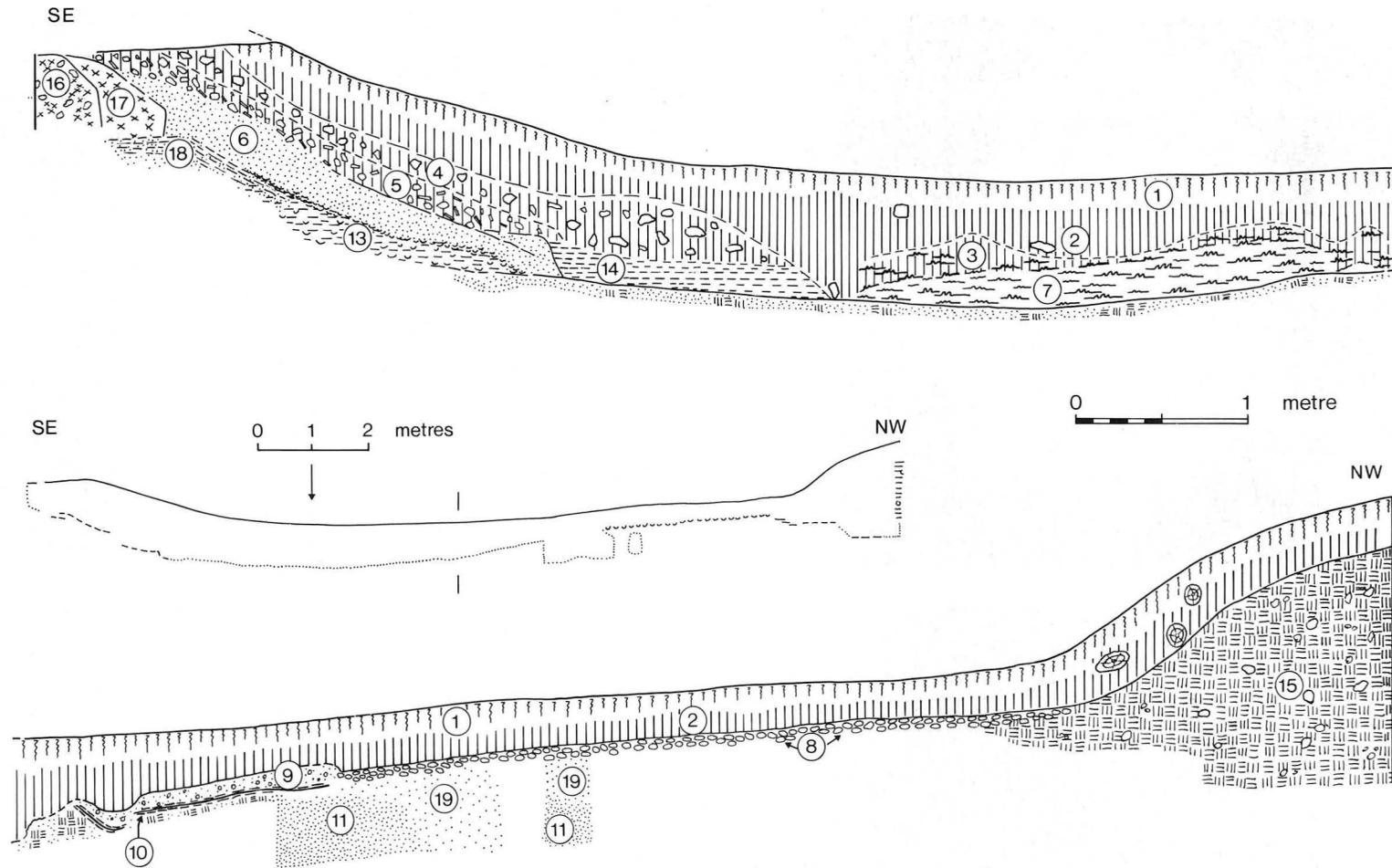


Figure 21 Trench 7, south-west face, section. Scale 1:40



Plate XXIVa Trench 5, general view looking south showing cobbling (27) and wall (25)



Plate XXIVb Trench 11, looking south showing mortared brick pier in front of blocked north postern

Stratified beneath this was a wall made of flint rubble with some bricks in the west end. A construction trench (not fully excavated) was found on the south side. The moat was filled with layers of grey silt and soil.

Trench 6 (Fig. 1). Western moat, south end. The inner bank consisted of silty layers containing building rubble such as tile, brick and mortar. The foundation trench of the curtain wall was cut into natural clay. The outer bank was simply earth over yellow clay and flints. The moat was filled with dark silt.

Trench 7 (Figs 1 and 21). North-west corner of moat. The inner bank had upper layers of earth with building rubble. Beneath this was yellow sand and a brown silt deposit which must have been the old ground surface (13). The outer bank consisted of orange clay with gravel and flints. The moat layers comprised silts and peaty material with a layer of broken flints on the bottom.

Trench 8 (Fig. 1; Pl. XXVa and b). Northern moat, east end. The inner bank consisted of upper layers of soil with small rubble over layers of clay and silt. The lowest dark grey clay layer seemed to be the old ground surface. Several post-holes were found cut into the natural clay near the castle wall. Some still contained posts which were presumably for a revetment. The outer bank was not fully excavated but layers of earth and sandy clay were found. The moat was filled with silts.

Trench 9. Precise location unknown. It was dug to determine the depth of the drainage channel north-east of the castle. The area was found to have been already excavated by the Ministry's workmen.

Trench 10 (Fig. 1). Southern moat, centre. This trench, which was cut only into the moat, produced upper layers

of sandy earth over layers of silt. It would seem to have been in the area excavated by Rigold in 1969 or in 1953-4 (Rigold 1966, 8). The finds include modern material at all levels, and nothing survives which can be attributed to the layers which ran beneath the revetment walls and the culverts.

Trench 11 (Fig. 1; Pl. XXIV b). Northern moat, centre. The moat was filled with silty layers. A square brick feature just under two metres across, found in this trench, seems to have been the support for a bridge to the blocked postern on the north curtain which pre-dates the later addition of a tower. A spread of mortar over this feature continued beneath the earth and rubble sides of the castle bank.

III. Discussion of 1972 Excavations

Before excavation the mere was waterlogged with a drainage channel running across it from the south-east corner to the sluice north of the north-east corner of the curtain wall (Fig. 1). Three sections (Trenches 1, 2 and 3) suggested that the bank was built up artificially and that the bottom of the mere was little deeper than the original ground surface. Trenches 1 and 2 revealed a bank mainly of clay whereas the bank in Trench 3 seems to have been sandy. The mere was shown to have had a flint-packed bottom, but no dating evidence was forthcoming.

The moat throughout was filled with layers of silt, often containing pottery which indicates that the silt accumulated mostly after about 1650.

The inner face of the moat consisted of made-up layers, the uppermost of which contained recent pottery and building materials and which must have accumulated



Plate XXVa Trench 8, south end, near vertical view of revetment posts clay bank beside wall



Plate XXVb Trench 8, south end, section showing a revetment post

during later phases and/or the decay of the buildings. Beneath this were various deposits of clay, sand and silt which appear to have been a deliberate building up of the south-east part of the castle platform. The inner face of the moat on other sides was dug into natural subsoil, but the top of the natural, apparently truncated, is considerably lower than the interior of the castle. At the same time, the west part of the interior is considerably lower than the ground surface outside to the west. It appears that the moated and walled enclosure was terraced into the valley side, cutting down on the west and building up on the east.

True old ground surface was not clearly defined (with the possible exceptions in Trenches 7 and 8), but it seems likely that the present ground surface is mostly of post-occupation accumulation. There was no evidence of the disposal of spoil from the moat unless this is the source of the mere bank.

There was no archaeological dating evidence for the levelling of the castle platform but from the documentary evidence (Chapter II) and the standing structure (Chapter III) it probably dates to the third quarter of the fifteenth century. There was no dating evidence from the foundation trenches. They were cut into the natural clay and subsequent layers had built up against the castle walls.

On the southern side of the moat two phases of revetted outer bank were found (Trenches 4 and 5). The first phase consisted of a flint and rubble wall about 0.8m wide. The building technique seems similar to that of the extended north curtain. It was obviously not well maintained as its

top and front were damaged and buried under layers of soil and rubble (28, 38, 32 and 33 in Trench 4, Fig. 20) which were revetted by a layer of flint cobbles (25). It seems possible that this second phase is associated with the narrowing of the moat by the addition of wing walls to the bridge support. Rigold thought from his investigations that this had probably been done about or soon after 1600 (1966, 8). No evidence of revetment walls was found in the north or west arms of the moat, but the timbers in Trench 8 may have performed the same function.

The brick bridge support found in the centre of the north moat (Trench 11) must have been contemporary with the use of the postern in the extended north curtain wall, prior to its covering by a tower. The sealing of the bridge support by a layer which ran under the layers of the inner bank is unlikely to be of much significance as these layers (as elsewhere on the site) contained rubble indicating that they belong to late and post-occupation phases, and the early date of this feature is already demonstrated here by the tower replacing the postern.

The first, intended, phase of the moated platform (indicated by the earthworks) seems never to have been completed beyond the points 'a' and 'b' on Fig. 16. Not only was no return recorded at point 'a' when the moat was cleared out by mechanical excavator in 1972, but major subsidence would be expected within the inner courtyard over any fill-in ditch line. These are problems which further, more satisfactory excavations might be able to answer.

Chapter VI. Artefacts

I. Introduction

All the finds with the exception of the architectural stonework which remains on site, and the organic remains which are in English Heritage's Nottingham store, have through the generosity of the late owner, Sir Charles Mott-Radclyffe Bt, been presented to Norwich Castle Museum (accession no. NWHCM 1989.58). The finds are published here by material. Six-figure Ancient Monument Laboratory numbers are given in brackets for metalwork, glass and leather. In the ironwork report, appended lower case letters indicate unillustrated objects. Colour conventions used in finds drawings are shown on Figure 22.

J.G. Hurst last revised his text on imports in 1994 so it does not take into account recent research, in particular Gaimster 1999 which shows that some South Netherlands Maiolica may be Italian but confirms that Malling jugs are Netherlandish. Gaimster 1997 is a seminal volume bringing together many facts previously scattered through the German literature quoted in the bibliography.

Key to contexts of finds catalogues:

BA	north-west side of mere, unstratified
BC	west edge of mere, unstratified
CB	1972 Trench 4, layer (4), rubble at top of castle bank
CE	1972 Trench 5, layer (1), topsoil
CG	1972 Trench 5, layer (8), silt in moat
CH	1972 Trench 5, layer (7), soil in castle bank
CQ	1972 south-west moat, machine removal of silt layers
DB	1972 south-west moat, machine removal of silt layers
DC	1972 south-east moat, machine removal of silt layers
DD	1972 Trench 10, layer (3), silt in moat
DF	1972 Trench 10, layers (6) and (7), silt in moat
DG	1972 Trench 10, layer (1), topsoil
DH	1972 Trench 10, layer (4), silt in moat
DI	1972 west moat, northern half, bottom silt, machine removal of silt layers
DK	1972 Trench 8, layer (3), silt in moat
DL	1972 west moat, southern half, machine removal of silt layers
DM	1972 west moat, northern half, machine removal of silt layers
DO	1972 Trench 9, layer (1), topsoil?
DR	1972 Trench 10, layer (15), silt in moat
DT	1972 north-west moat, machine removal of silt layers
DW	1972 north moat, middle, unstratified
DY	1972 Trench 10, unstratified
EB	1972 south moat, between revetment walls and privy outlets, previously excavated by Ministry workmen
EC	1972 south-west, removal of silt layers by the Ministry workmen — this came from the dark silt immediately above the moat bottom in front of the privy outlets.
EE	1972 Trench 8, layer (14), soil in castle bank (with later material)
EF	1972 Trench 10, layer (3), silt in moat
EG	1972 Trench 8, layer (12), sandy soil in castle bank (with later material)
EH	1972 Trench 10, layer (6), greyish silt in moat (with modern pottery)
EI	1972 Trench 10, layer (14), silt in moat
EL	1972 Trench 10, layer (15), silt in moat
EN	1972 Trench 10, layer (4), silt in moat
EO	1972 Trench 10, layer (8), silt in moat
ER	1972 Trench 8, layer (17), rubble in top of castle bank?
ES	1972 Trench 10, layer (6), silt in moat
ET	1972 south moat, unstratified beneath drawbridge and in front of the west garderobe outlets
EX	1972 as ET
EZ	south moat, eastern half, raking down of banks after excavation
FB	Rigold, north-west corner of moat, distance 6ft 0in (1.82m), depth 1ft 6in (45cm)

Colour Symbols

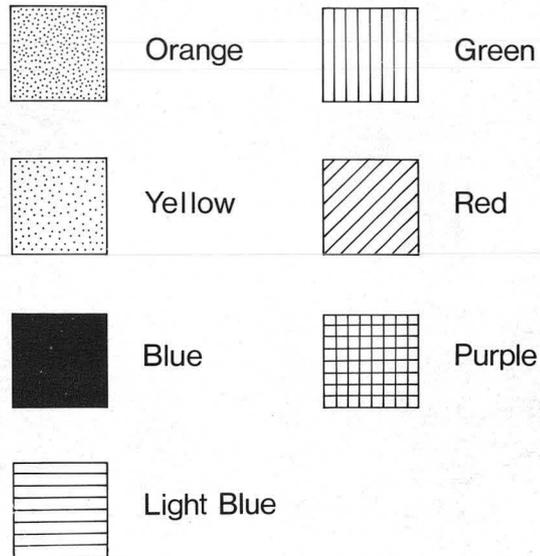


Figure 22 Key to colour conventions in finds drawings

FF	Rigold, south moat
FG	Rigold, unstratified, high levels, south moat
FH	Rigold, unstratified, lower levels, south moat
FK	Rigold, from building debris
FM	1972 moat, raking down moat banks after excavation
FN	1972 as FM
FO	1972 as FM
FP	1969 Rigold and Dennis Mynard, south moat, section through bank against wall on east side of bridge by inner gatehouse, on sandy clay with pebbles under rubble levels

Table 3 summarises the contexts of the finds in the published catalogues. While due allowance must be made for material, particularly coarse pottery body sherds, which has not been catalogued, and the fact that a similar table showing all finds may be different, there is a clear concentration of finds of all material in the south moat. Even though this was most intensively excavated, both by Rigold and Arthur, it is obvious from the paucity of finds in the west and north arms of the moat and the mere (BA, BC, DI, DK, DL, DM, DT, DW, DY, EE, EG, ER) that this apparent concentration is significant. Some context codes, such as ET and 'Rigold moat', constituting groups of finds of one material only from a rather vaguely-defined area, probably reflect some erratic form of collection.

<i>Context</i>	<i>Coarse pottery</i>	<i>Imported pottery</i>	<i>Copper alloy</i>	<i>Iron</i>	<i>Pewter</i>	<i>Glass</i>	<i>Leather</i>
BA		Malling b	81				
BC		65					
CB						132	
CE				101			
CG		31, 33, 36f, 72				154	
CH		33, Malling a		92b		113, 124, 126, 127, 130, 134, 137, 147, 148, 150, 153, 155, 156, 163	
CQ						140	
DB		29d, 30, 33a, 33e, 36g				125, 145, 152, 157, 160	
DC							
DD		43, 62, 70		95, 100			
DE							199
DF		32, 43, 61					
DG				88, 91, 102			
DH		44					
DI					107		
DK		36a					
DL	18, 22, 27	71					
DO				87			
DR		70					200
DT	12						
DY						141	197, 198
EB	3, 9, 25	30a, 42, 58, 61, 73		89, 89a			202, 203, 204, 205
EC					106	162	
EE	15					159	
EF	15	75, 76					
EG				99			
EH	1, 2	61, 62					
EI							
EL	17						
EN							201
EO		73					
ES		41					
ET				96, 96a, 96b, 97, 103, 103a, 104, 104a			
EX				90			
EZ						131, 135, 164	
FB		29c					
FF		74					
FG		29d, 33d					
FH	5, 6, 7, 14, 17, 21, 23, 26	29, 29a, 29c, 29d, 31a, 33b, 34, 35, 36b, 36c, 36d, 36e Delft, Saintonge, 74					
FK		77, 79					
FM				92			
FN			82				
FO						165	
Rigold Moat		78		87a, 88a, 94a, 95a		111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 128, 129, 136, 138, 139, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149, 151, 158	

Note

Entries refer to numbers in the published catalogues

Table 3 Summary of catalogued finds by context

II. Pottery

by Carolyn Dallas (local wares) and J.G. Hurst (imports)

Introduction

There are approximately 2875 sherds from this site apparently all from work on the moat and mere by both Rigold and Arthur. Of these, at least forty-nine sherds (1.7% of the site total) would seem to pre-date the life of the castle. They include one sherd of St Neots-type ware and a few Thetford-type ware but are mostly Medieval wares from Grimston and other local (unknown) kiln sources. A further 269 sherds (some 9.3% of the site total) certainly post-date the occupation of the main castle, and there may be more pots which belong to this category as the local earthenwares often follow conventional traditions and are not closely datable. The diagnostic late sherds include local glazed wares, the later type of manganese-glazed wares, tin-glazed earthenwares, late (including English) stonewares, and porcelain. Material is recognisable from Yarmouth, Lambeth, Nottingham and Staffordshire.

Pottery of the late fifteenth to seventeenth Centuries

The pottery which seems to match the period of the site's occupation by the Heydon family comprises a) local and ?local coarseware, b) Netherlands maiolica c) German stonewares, and d) some other sherds imported from the continent and other parts of England (Table 4).

Pottery group	Approx. vessels	% of group	% of site total
Coarse wares			
Late Medieval	7	2.1	1.1
Late Grimston	19	5.6	3.0
LMT	17	5.0	2.7
Lincolnshire?	9	2.7	1.4
Bichrome	6	1.8	1.0
Iron-glazed	6	1.8	1.0
Misc. EPM	227	67.3	36.1
Dutch-type	9	2.7	1.4
GRE	27	8.0	4.3
Misc. PM	10	3.0	1.6
Sub-total	337	100	53.6
Imports			
Mediterranean	1	0.3	0.1
SW France	1	0.3	0.1
N France	21	7.2	3.4
Netherlands	59	20.2	9.4
Germany	208	71.3	33.1
England	2	0.7	0.3
Sub-total	292	100	46.4
Total	629	200	100

Table 4 Pottery of the fifteenth to seventeenth century by vessel estimate

Local Wares

The local coarse wares (847 sherds, 29.5% of the site total) would seem to be mainly regional in origin, although some vessels may have come from as far afield as Lincolnshire, and this group includes some possible Dutch wares difficult to distinguish from local imitations. The coarse wares can be roughly divided into the following categories.

Late Medieval?

Some seven jugs from unknown kiln sources (0.3% of site sherd total). Fig. 23 Nos 1 and 2.

Late Grimston ware

(Clarke and Carter 1977, 233-5) sandy grey ware with green glaze (1.1% of site total). Rim fragments of one jug and five jars. Bases both sagging and flat. About nineteen vessels (Fig. 24 No. 15).

Late Medieval and Transitional wares

(LMT, Jennings 1981, 61). Fine sandy fabrics with mica, usually oxidised with green glaze (2.5% of site total). Forms present are mostly jugs but several fragments may be from jars. About seventeen vessels. Not illustrated.

Lincolnshire wares?

(0.5% of site total). Three vessels of 'Tattershall-type' ware with mottled green and orangish-brown glaze, possibly a jug, a bowl and a jar. A further six vessels with copper spots in the glaze may be from the Fenland area or west Norfolk, including body sherds from large jars and two lids, but their origins are unclear. Not illustrated.

West Norfolk bichrome

(Jennings 1981, 148; Clarke and Carter 1977, 238). This characteristically has different internal and external green and yellow glazes, from unknown sources (1.1% of site total). Six vessels, probably all pipkins or jars. Fig. 24 Nos 24 and 25.

Iron-glazed

(Jennings 1981, 150). These black-glazed wares have an orange or red sandy fabric (0.2% of site total). Some six vessels seem to be early in the sequence, and are all tygs or mugs. Fig. 23 No. 4.

Miscellaneous Early Post-Medieval wares

Some 59% of the coarse ware sherds are in sandy fabrics with green or yellow glazes and are wares assumedly of local origins not yet assignable to specific kiln sources (18.6% of site sherd total). A variety of forms are present, excluding jugs which seem to be Late Medieval.

- Jars.** Some thirty-two vessels seem to be present. Rim fragments include one jar with a horizontal thumbled strip around the outside of the neck, two bifid rims, and two almost straight-sided vessels. One flat base from a narrow straight-sided (or slightly tapering vessel) has an internal deposit which indicates industrial (or alchemical?) use. Ten flat bases were found which may be from jars but two have pierced holes. Fig. 24 Nos 16-21.
- Large storage jars.** Eleven vessels, including one which may be a late Grimston product. These are thick-walled with flat bases and have applied side handles. Fig. 24 Nos 13-14.
- Chafing dishes and fuming pots.** One pierced pedestal base, one curved horizontal handle showing the pierced upper part of a vessel and one nearly complete example of a fuming pot. Fig. 25 No. 28.
- Lids.** One example Fig. 23 No. 3. (See also Lincolnshire wares?, above).

- e) **Pipkins and skillets.** This is the most common form, with a variety of vessel sizes, rim forms, and handle details, from approximately 119 vessels. Fig. 24 Nos 22, 26-27.
- f) **Bowls, dishes and pancheons.** Some sixty one vessels, including rims from about nineteen bowls, eight dishes and four pancheons. Fig. 23 Nos 5-11.

Dutch-type wares

(Jennings 1981, 134-142). These have a reddish-orange sandy fabric and patchy thick lustrous glazes (2.0% of site total). Some nine vessels, probably all small cauldrons (Fig. 24 No. 23).

Glazed Red Earthenware

(GRE, Jennings 1981, 157-185). Common post-medieval wares in sandy reddish-orange fabrics with yellowish-brown glazes (2.4% of site total). Some twenty-seven vessels. Rims include four jar forms, three bowls, five pancheons, and one possible lamp fragment (*cf.* Jennings 1981, fig. 79 no. 1316). Fig. 23 Nos 8 and 12.

Miscellaneous Post-Medieval wares

(0.8% of site total). Some three vessels with orangish-brown or brown glaze and seven unglazed jars with reddish-orange sandy fabrics.

Netherlands Maiolica

(115 sherds, 4% of the site total, from 54 vessels).

These comprise five South Netherlands Maiolica vessels of the first half of the sixteenth century, an unusual group of forty-seven pharmaceutical vessels of the second half of the sixteenth century (Fig. 26 Nos 29-36) and three sherds from Malling jugs (not illustrated).

German Stonewares

(1406 sherds, 48.9% of the site total, from 206 vessels).

This type of pottery was found in great quantities on this site, and there are many large pieces from the same vessels, especially from Raeren and Frechen which constitute most of the collection. There are no sherds from Siegburg. There are five sherds which are most likely to have come from Langerwehe (Fig. 27, No. 37) and these are the earliest stonewares on the site (probably fifteenth or early sixteenth century). A few other sherds could be from either Langerwehe or Raeren.

Raeren stoneware usually first appeared in England in the late 1480s and was very common in the early 16th century (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 196-197). Two Raeren vessels found on this site are dated: 1578 (Fig. 31 No. 67) and 1579 (Fig. 30 No. 66). Over 600 sherds from sixty vessels of Raeren pottery were found on this site (Figs 29-31, Nos 60-67), with even more sherds (*c.* 800) from 125 vessels imported from Frechen (Figs 27-28, Nos 38-39, 41-54).

Frechen stonewares are mostly found in England from the mid sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century. Some jugs from this site have inscriptions, associated with acanthus leaves and medallions, and these probably date to the middle of the sixteenth century (Fig. 27, Nos 41-2). *Bartmann* jugs are common on the site and are late sixteenth to seventeenth-century in date (Figs 27-28, Nos 40-54). Also present are about ten vessels from Cologne, with plant decoration, probably dating to *c.* 1500-1550 (Fig. 29 Nos 55-8).

There are some late sixteenth to seventeenth-century Westerwald vessels on the site with cobalt blue decoration (Fig. 32, Nos 68-69).

Jugs are the most common forms in all fabrics, with few mugs, tankards or chamber pots (Figs 27-32, Nos 37-69).

Other Imported Wares

(189 sherds, 6.6% of site total, from twenty-nine vessels). At least two vessels of *Surrey White Ware* were found (Fig. 32, No. 72), and the imports of continental origin are as follows:

Anglo-Netherlands Delftware

(Jennings 1981, 196). Fragments from two seventeenth-century panel dishes. Not illustrated.

North Holland Slipware

(Jennings 1981, 85). One bodysherd was found in a red sandy fabric with horizontal lines of yellow and green glaze (probably from a dish). Not illustrated.

Dutch White Slip Green Glaze

(Jennings 1981, 90). Two bowls (fifteen sherds) were found in this red slightly sandy fabric. The internal glaze is pale mottled green drawn over a white slip. Fig. 32, Nos 73, 74.

Weser Slipware

(Jennings 1981, 82). There are five sherds which seem to represent two vessels of this pottery from Germany. The fabric is buff and creamy with green and brown internal glaze over a slip. Decoration occurs as plain or zig-zag horizontal lines. The forms both seem to be bowls. Fig. 32, Nos 75, 76.

Martincamp Flasks

(Jennings 1981, 75). 167 sherds were found in this ware from north-western France, representing at least twenty vessels. Two types of these flasks (Hurst 1966) seem to be represented with three times as many sixteenth- as seventeenth-century examples. Fig. 32, Nos 77-9.

Saintonge

One costrel fragment. Not illustrated.

Beauvais

(Jennings 1981, 96). One base of slipware was found in this ware, also from north-western France. It is in a white fabric with green glaze and incised line sgraffito decoration. Fig. 32, No. 71.

Mediterranean

The star costrel is an unusual find. Fig. 32, No. 70.

Conclusions

There is insufficient early material to demonstrate that the site was occupied prior to the Heydons' occupation of the site. Nearly all of the pottery (*c.* 89%) is fifteenth- to seventeenth-century in date, with later material derived from the continued occupation of the other gatehouse after the main part of the site was abandoned. The decrease in the quantity of pottery in the later post-medieval to modern period emphasises this change of usage.

The fifteenth- to seventeenth-century pottery includes both tablewares and kitchenwares. Nearly half of this material (Table 4) was imported from the continent, with many vessels of German stoneware, a quantity of French

Martincamp flasks, and in the sixteenth-century tin-glazed Netherlands Maiolica. There are also occasional vessels from Holland, Germany, France and the Mediterranean. There are a number of decorated vessels among the German stoneware and the site pottery can be argued to reflect considerable wealth. They may have contained various commodities, such as wine, oil, treacle or honey, and were not imported for their own sake only, and may to a small extent reflect diet as well as fashion. By contrast, the coarser wares seem rarely to have included vessels from beyond the limits of the county. In this group, hollow-wares seem slightly more frequent than flatwares and these vessels were perhaps more commonly used in the kitchen and dairy activities.

The pottery is nearly all unstratified, with very few pieces which can be attributed to a layer and these last are of little use as dating evidence. Most of the material occurs in large fragments, and there are often many pieces from the same vessels. It therefore seems likely that broken pottery was thrown into the moat during the occupation of the castle: this does not preclude the digging of rubbish pits elsewhere, but none are mentioned as having been found in the work around the site by Rigold (see p.37). The position of the hall seems possibly to have been in the western half of the inner court, perhaps with the kitchens in a central position near the wells with at least one kitchen area probably 'just north-west of the gatehouse' (Rigold 1966, 12). It is noticeable that most of the pottery was found near the main drawbridge in the centre of the southern moat, and it is probable that this was the most easily accessible point to dispose of unwanted rubbish. It is true that more excavation work has taken place in that area, but less pottery was found in the trenches dug elsewhere on the site. It would seem, therefore, that broken pottery was usually thrown over the side of the drawbridge into the water. This also seems to have been the most common place to dispose of glass, metal objects, leather and animal bones, although it is not clear whether pits might have been dug for other organic waste such as fruit and vegetable peelings and cess.

Summary of the Imported Wares

by J. G. Hurst

Table 5 shows the distribution of the imported pottery by time and place of origin. It will be seen that of the 292 identified vessels the main concentration (188) is datable to the second half of the sixteenth century, eighty-two to the first half of the sixteenth century and only eighteen to the first half and four to the second half of the seventeenth century. This fits in quite well with the fortunes of the Heydon family, but there are some interesting points. Looking at the pottery assemblage as a whole, less than 2% of sherds are datable before the fifteenth century and only 10% date to post-Heydon times. In the main occupation period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 46.4% of the vessels are imported (Table 4): 7.2% from Northern France, 20.2% from the Low Countries and 71.3% from Germany. This is a very high percentage of imports, dominated by German stonewares. The Baconsthorpe assemblage benefits from a major clearance of the moat but even so the total number of sherds recovered, amounting to fewer than 3000, is not large in relation to quantities recovered from other rural or urban sites. This makes the numbers of imports, especially the stonewares and a number of unusual types, quite remarkable and

demonstrates the standing of the Heydons and their attempts to acquire not only the latest good quality pottery available but to go out of their way through several generations to buy pottery as a status symbol of their wealth and influence.

Some of the pottery, listed in Table 5 as first half of the sixteenth century, could date to the last quarter of the fifteenth century and therefore be linked to the time of Sir Henry Heydon, and the building of the courtyard house (1480–1504). But in view of the fact that no import need be before 1504 it is more likely that this pottery is datable to the period of Sir John Heydon II (1504–1550). The distinct lack of typical fifteenth-century types, like Langerwehe stoneware, suggests that earlier vessels were disposed of elsewhere and that these rubbish deposits have not so far been located.

The assemblage acquired by Sir John II is typical in general for early sixteenth-century deposits, as it includes a small quantity of South Netherlands Maiolica and a large amount of stoneware with a few other single imports. But if the actual composition of the imports is considered then it is very unusual. If there had been five South Netherlands Maiolica flower vases with the typical wide blue band and polychrome decoration this would not have excited comment. But the Baconsthorpe group comprises a jug, an overall blue albarello and three two-handled flower vases with the unusual decoration of thin blue lines on white. The typical run-of-the-mill type found ubiquitously in most early sixteenth-century contexts does not appear at all. This suggests a special purchase or gift of out of the ordinary types.

The early sixteenth-century German stoneware looks at first sight fairly typical, with sixty of the common classic Raeren drinking jugs and ten decorated Cologne types. Except for the large number for any one site this is quite a reasonable proportion. Cologne jugs are normally decorated with oak and rose patterns but the Baconsthorpe examples include other exotic plant forms which are most unusual. Taken together with the unusual maiolica there seems to have been a definite attempt to obtain unusual types, which would not normally be found in a typical household of the period. These may simply be due to Sir John's desire to impress and be different but it is also possible that in his visits abroad with Henry VIII he either had the opportunity to buy exotic pottery types or received them as gifts.

The Heydon generations (1504, 1550, 1593 and 1653) fit quite well with the arbitrary divisions created in fifty-year periods by pottery specialists but although the intermediate divisions (1579 and 1623) might also be very convenient, it is often not possible to date general pottery types to twenty-five rather than fifty years. For the second half of the sixteenth century, therefore, it is hard to tell whether pots were acquired by Sir Christopher I (1550–1579) or by Sir William II (1579–1593). This is important, for it is on this division that it has to be decided whether each Heydon made exotic purchases or whether it was mainly Sir John II in the early sixteenth century and Sir William II in the late sixteenth century. On historical grounds it is possible to argue that Sir Christopher I, as a peaceable landlord husbanding his sheep, primarily used the classic plain Frechen drinking jugs available to most households, while Sir William II as High Sheriff and Vice-Admiral had more opportunity and desire to acquire unusual pots. This is partly confirmed by the two dated pots

<i>Total</i>	<i>Continental imports</i>	<i>1479–1504 Sir Henry</i>	<i>1504–1550 Sir John II</i>	<i>1550–1593 Sir Christopher I Sir William II</i>	<i>1593–1653 Sir Christopher II Sir John III</i>	<i>Post 1653</i>
1	Mediterranean (Total 1)				1	
1	SW France (Total 1)		1			
	N France (Total 21)					
1	Beauvais			1		
20	Martincamp			15	5	
	Netherlands (Total 59)					
5	South Maiolica		5			
	North Maiolica (Total 49)					
47	Pharmaceutical		47			
2	Malling		2			
2	Delftware				2	
3	Slipware		1	1	1	
	Germany					
	Stoneware (Total 206)					
5	Langerwehe		5			
64	Raeren		60			
10	Cologne		10			
125	Frechen			118	5	2
2	Westerwald					2
	Germany					
	Earthenware (Total 2)					
2	Weser				2	
	Regional imports (Total 2)					
2	Surrey Border Ware				2	
292			82	188	18	4

Table 5 Summary of imported pottery by vessel estimate

(1578 and 1579) which could well have been acquired by Sir William soon after he came into the property. The Blakeney port books (Appendix II) show an extensive trade with foreign ports from which pottery might have been acquired, and London, where much, especially stoneware, was trans-shipped.

Although it is again a large number, the 118 plain Frechen jugs are as typical of the second half of the sixteenth century as the Raeren jugs were of the first. Also, if they are spread over the fifty years, the apparent quantity is somewhat reduced. Martincamp flasks are common but twenty at Baconsthorpe is quite unusual. In view of the record of the importation of thirty dozen of these from Rouen in 1617 (above p.4 — these are the earthenware bottles covered with wicker) it is likely that all the examples found at Baconsthorpe were imported direct from Dieppe and Rouen. The four decorated Raeren jugs are a reasonable proportion in relation to the plain Frechen. Peasant dance jugs are fairly common but the Venus and Cupid is a more unusual type. So the late sixteenth-century imports show a typical range, with a few special items for show.

The most remarkable part of the late sixteenth-century assemblage, however, is the forty-seven pharmaceutical vessels in Netherlands Maiolica. Although South Netherlands Maiolica is common on many sites in Britain in the first half of the sixteenth century, and Netherlands delftware is even more common in the seventeenth century, later sixteenth-century maiolica is almost unknown except for the odd foliage jug from London and a number of Malling jugs, of which there are two at Baconsthorpe.

Pharmaceutical vessels are likewise almost unknown in Britain at this time, so the discovery of no less than forty-seven is quite remarkable. Unfortunately they are hard to date, and although there are both early and late features it is more likely that they are a group of the last quarter of the sixteenth century than a small number spread over the fifty years. It is rather improbable that both Sir Christopher I and Sir William II would regularly buy these over a period when no one else in Britain was doing so. It is therefore most likely to be a single group purchased at one time by Sir William II. The problem is what they were used for. Similar groups elsewhere have been mainly urban and identified as the contents of apothecaries shops. It is therefore hard to see why there are so many on this manorial site. Although they vary in size from large storage albarelli to quite small ones usually used for dispensing, they are all of a type used for dry drugs or ointments. There are no jars or jugs for oils. It is possible that Sir William II was hypochondriac and was a regular purchaser of drugs, but it must also be considered whether they might have contained chemicals for experiments. In this connection, attention should be drawn to Sir Christopher II's (1593–1623) interest in astrology and other strange learning, which might have included alchemy (Heydon 1603). Although the vessels are basically sixteenth-century, it is possible that the group might be advanced in date to the period 1590–1610 to just fit in his period if they were not used by Sir Christopher living at Baconsthorpe before he became owner. It is also possible that the very unusual vessel No. 38 might be connected with alchemy.

The other imported pottery acquired by Sir Christopher II (1593–1623) and William III and John III before the sequestration by Parliament and the demolition in the 1650s is quite normal for a site of the period, including only five Martincamp flasks, two delftware dishes (in marked contrast to the forty-nine sixteenth-century maiolica), two German slipware bowls, only five *Bartmänner* and a single Mediterranean costrel. With the large quantity of sixteenth-century Raeren and Frechen jugs purchased, far more *Bartmänner* should be expected. The small numbers therefore suggest a lack of interest in acquiring foreign pots in the seventeenth century which perhaps is hardly surprising in the time of William III and John III who, with their military careers, may not have spent much time at Baconsthorpe.

The post-Heydon imports are minimal and comprise only four German stoneware vessels, reflecting the modest establishment of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century but emphasising the contrast with the imports of the Heydons in their prime.

Catalogue of Coarse Wares

by Carolyn Dallas
(Figs 23–25)

Fig. 23

- Jug. Sandy, light grey core, interior and margins orange, external light green glaze turning darker at edge of sherd near handle and spilling over inside of rim. Incised lattice decoration. Late medieval? Local. EH.
- Jug. Coarse sandy. Orange and grey core, reddish brown surfaces, external green glaze. Plain incised hole in lower front. Almost complete. Late medieval? Local. EH.
- Lid. Fine sandy, purplish red underside, top thick green glaze with some small orange patches. Three evenly-spaced brown glaze marks adhering to top from kiln firing. EB.
- Mug. Sandy, orange with thick dark brown glaze on interior and exterior. Iron-glazed. Not marked, probably Rigold.
- Small dish. Sandy, grey core, orangish-red margins and basal surface, thick green glaze covering all of interior and most of exterior. Irregular diameter. FH.
- Bowl. Fine sandy with silver mica, light orange, internal yellowish-brown glaze with small dark brown flecks (of iron?). Stamped decoration. FH.
- Bowl. Fine sandy, dark red, internal dark brownish-green glaze. Soot inside rim, probably occurring after breakage. FH.
- Bowl. Fine sandy, dark grey core, dark red surfaces, internal dark yellowish-brown glaze. Probably burnt Glazed Red Earthenware (Jennings 1981, 157-8). Not marked, probably Rigold.
- Bowl. Fine sandy, orange, internal green glaze. EB.
- Pancheon. Fine sandy, reddish-orange, internal green glaze. Not marked, probably Rigold.
- Pancheon. Fine sandy, yellowish-orange, internal green glaze. FP.
- Bowl. Coarse sandy, orange, thick orange glaze on interior and exterior. Glazed Red Earthenware (Jennings 1981, 157-8. DT.

Fig. 24

- Jar. Sandy, grey and orange core, surfaces purplish red at rim and base, rest covered on interior and exterior by green glaze with occasional orange spots. One mark in centre of side from contact with another pot in the kiln. Not marked, probably Rigold.
- Jar. Sandy, orange with purplish red surfaces, rim and exterior brownish-green glaze with dark green spots of copper. FH.
- Jar. Sandy, grey with yellowish surfaces, internal and external green glaze. Late Grimston Ware, sixteenth century (Clarke and Carter 1977, 233-5). EE and EG.

- Jar. Sandy with fine silver mica, orange, external green glaze. Soot on rim and interior. FH.
- Jar. Fine sandy, core grey and purplish-red, surface purplish-red where showing on interior, internal and external thick green glaze with dark green copper spots. EL.
- Jar. Sandy, orange with grey margins, rim and exterior green glaze. Soot from burning after breakage. DL.
- Jar. Sandy, light greyish-brown, rim and exterior mottled green and black glaze. Burnt. Not marked, probably Rigold.
- Jar. Sandy, light pinkish-orange, bichrome with external light green glaze mottled with darker green spots and internal yellow glaze with occasional small specks of brown iron and green copper. Not marked, probably Rigold.
- Jar. Fine sandy, orange with surfaces of rim purplish-red, orangish-brown glaze on interior of rim and part of exterior. FH.
- Jar or pipkin. Sandy, orange with purplish interior and dark grey exterior surfaces, mostly covered on interior and exterior by green glaze. DL.
- Jar or cauldron. Fine sandy, brownish-orange, orange glaze on inside of rim. Exterior sooted. Dutch-type. FH.
- Pipkin. Sandy, orange, bichrome with internal brownish-green glaze with dark brown streaks and external green glaze mottled with darker green copper spots. West Norfolk bichrome. Not marked, probably Rigold.
- Pipkin. Sandy, part of core dark grey, rest light grey to whitish with light greyish-brown exterior, bichrome with internal medium green glaze with some small dark green spots, and external dark green glaze with very dark green streaks. Exterior sooted. Marked on base from contact with other vessels in the kiln. West Norfolk bichrome. EB.
- Pipkin. Fine sandy, orange, internal dark orange glaze with dark green copper streaks. FH.
- Skillet? Sandy, orange with purplish-red exterior, rim and interior thick brownish-yellow glaze with occasional small brown specks (of iron?). Possibly Dutch. DL.

Fig. 25

- Fuming pot. Sandy earthenware, dark orangish-red body, completely covered in patchy dark green glaze. Internal glaze very dark and dull — from burning? White slip under external glaze. Upper pattern probably cut out when leather hard. Stand possibly thrown separately. Source uncertain. Not marked, probably Rigold; found during Ministry clearance work (Moorhouse 1970, 66).

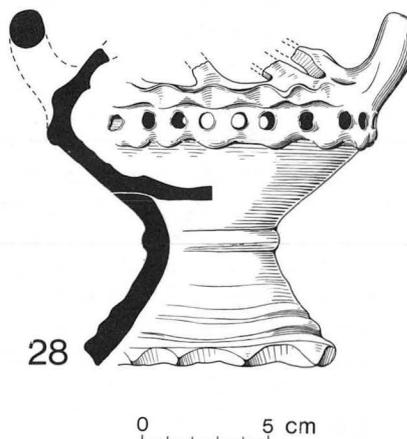


Figure 25 Pottery, fuming pot. Scale 1:3

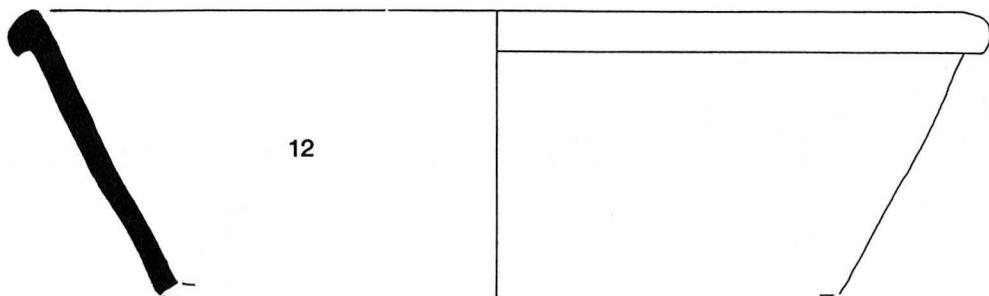
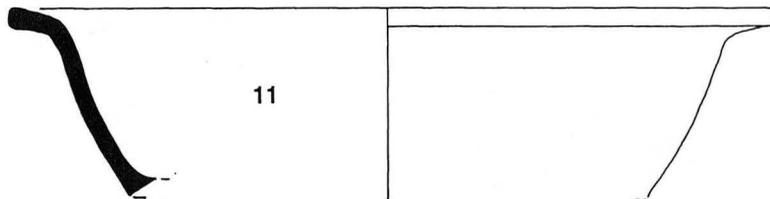
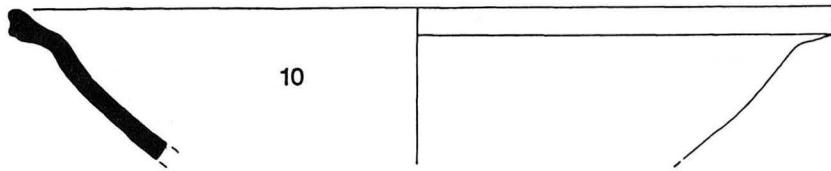
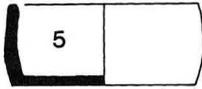
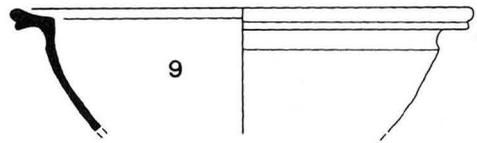
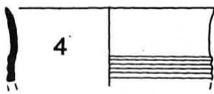
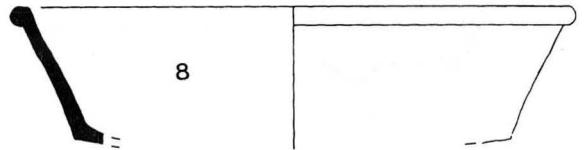
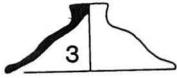
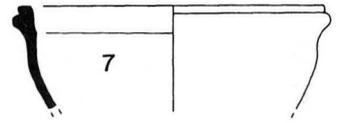
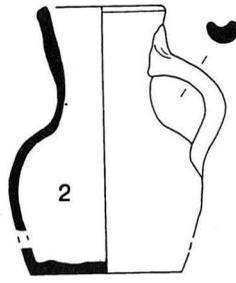
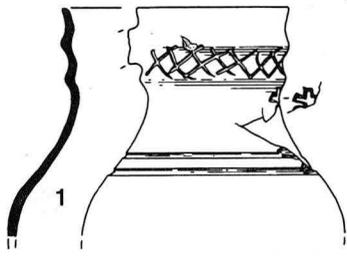


Figure 23 Pottery, local coarse wares. Scale 1:4; stamp 1:1

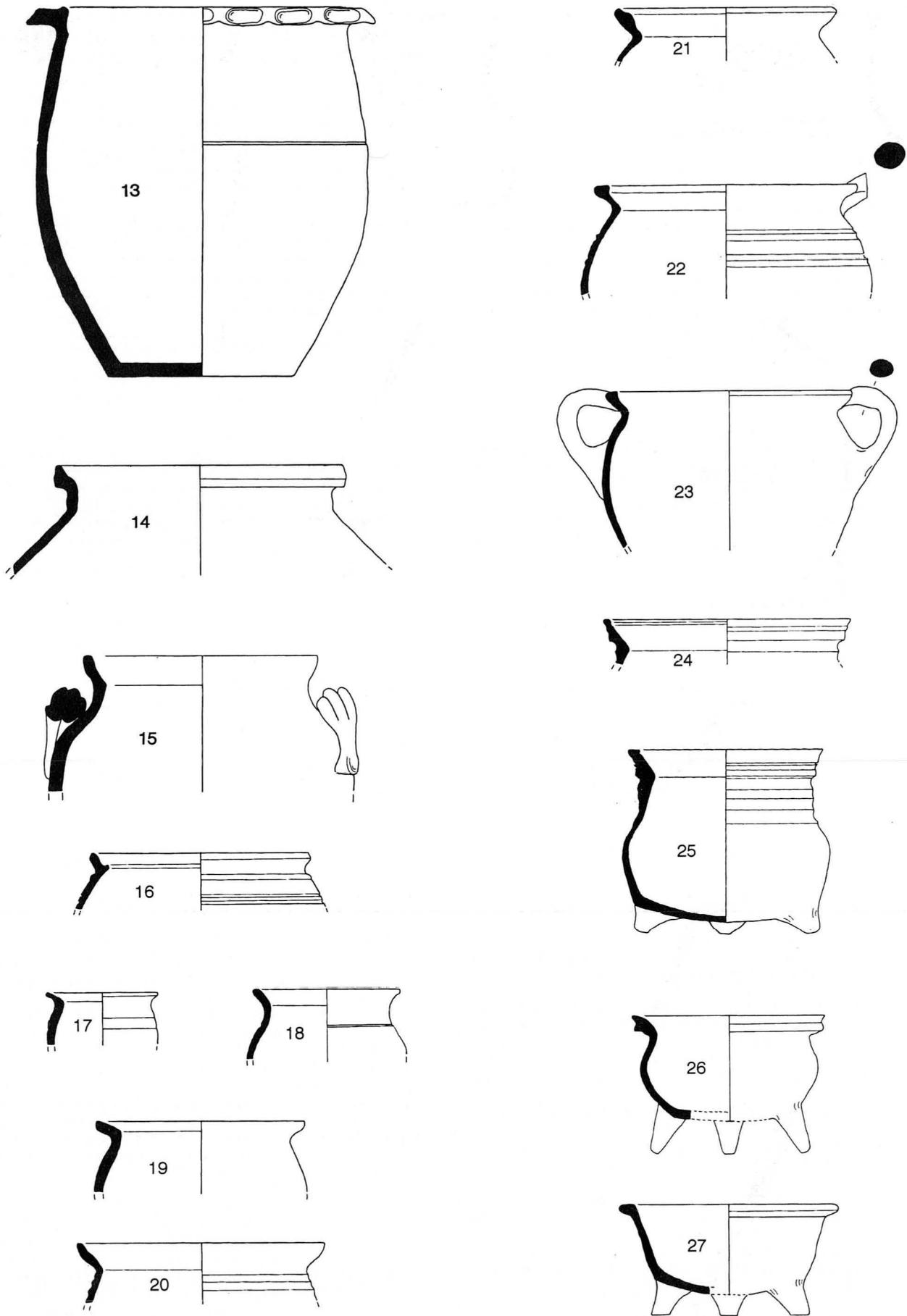


Figure 24 Pottery, local coarse wares. Scale 1:4

Fig. 26

South Netherlands Maiolica 1500-1550

29. Bodysherd from the lower part of a pear-shaped polychrome jug showing the instruments of the Passion arranged in trophy form set in a ladder medallion. Buff fabric, interior off-white tin glaze, exterior pattern of dark blue, light blue, green and orange. This design is well known in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century and can be reconstructed with some confidence from other examples. The surviving fragment clearly shows the three hills of Calvary with the base of the cross, a scourge on either side, the bases of two spears and to the left the base of the ladder, set in a typical South Netherlands Maiolica medallion. The closest parallel is a very similar pear-shaped jug from Bergen op Zoom in the Van Beuningen de Vriese Collection (VB80) which has the same large hills with the design set in a ladder medallion. Because of the constricted space on a jug or vase the pattern is more common on dishes. There is a dish fragment showing the same lower part of the scene from Faversham Abbey, Kent, in a context before the dissolution of 1539 (Hurst 1968, 58–59, fig. 18.157). The full pattern may be seen on a complete dish from the Charterhouse in Delft in a context before the dissolution in 1570 (Renaud 1975). There is an unassociated albarello fragment in the Museum of London (Hurst 1968, 58-59, fig.18.158). Other examples include the fragment of another bowl from Bergen op Zoom, also in the Van Beuningen de Vriese Collection (VB81), and a more complete bowl from Utrecht (VB495) and another fragment from Oude Krabbendijke. As it is found in England the Passion scene is likely to put this jug in the first half of the sixteenth century before the Reformation. But the pattern was still current in the Netherlands in the third quarter of the sixteenth century as is shown by two wasters recently found in Utrecht (Hoekstra 1985, 192.138c and d). FH.

In addition there are (not illustrated but listed below, a–d) fragments from three flower vases and a small albarello. Flower vases are the most common form of South Netherlands Maiolica being found on over 100 sites in Britain (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 117). The three Baconsthorpe examples, however, are unusual as they fall into a group of vases which are mainly white with decoration in thin blue lines while the main bulk of examples found are more fully decorated with wide blue bands. The third type in overall blue is not represented (but see the albarello below).

- a) Thin simple upright rim fragment. Fine buff fabric, interior off-white cracked tin glaze, exterior bluish-white with single blue stroke from fan-shaped foliage. 1500-1550. FH, as the Passion jug no. 29.
- b) Three thick base fragments. Fine buff fabric, interior bluish-white tin glaze, exterior off-white tin glaze on the side but unglazed under the footed base. Three horizontal blue bands on the base with vertical thin lines above defining blue line medallions with the start of a polychrome pattern, possibly foliage, in orange, green and blue. The fragments of base, each with a medallion, are from different sides of the vessel demonstrating that this was a vase with a medallion each side and not a jug with a single medallion on the front as No. 29. It would be natural to assume that (b) was the base of (a) but the glaze and colouring are different suggesting that they were a pair. 1500– 1550. FH. as (a).
- c) Shoulder fragment from a third vase with neck and shoulder junction. Thin fine buff fabric, interior unglazed and heavily grooved, exterior bluish-white tin glaze, two groups of blue strokes from widely splayed fan-shaped foliage with a blob between. 1500–1550. FB.
- d) Eight sherds from the rim, shoulder and body of a small albarello. Fine buff fabric, interior blue and pink tinged tin glaze, exterior dark blue overall with no pattern. Blue vases and albarelli are fairly common but still unusual compared with the more normal blue band type which is not represented at all at Baconsthorpe. Although the sherds are from three different contexts these are all from the south moat and their similarity suggests that a single albarello, or an identical pair, is represented. 1500-1550. DB, FG, and FH.

These five South Netherlands Maiolica vessels are of considerable interest for they include a jug and a small albarello which are both unusually exported forms. The two-handled vases are much more common but the white type with blue lines is rare and to have three on the same

site is most unusual. As is usual in Britain, dishes and bowls are not represented. These are very rare. So, although South Netherlands Maiolica is a common type of pottery of the first half of the sixteenth century, the Baconsthorpe examples are unusual and suggest a special purchase either in England or abroad. One immediately thinks of Sir John II's visits abroad attending Henry VIII but they could have been bought in London, when he was at court, or ordered specially for local importation via Blakeney.

North Netherlands Maiolica Albarelli and Drug Jars 1550-1600

- 30. Albarello. Fabric buff with pinkish-buff base interior greyish-white tin glaze, exterior dark blue, purple, turquoise and yellow central patterns of arcades with thin line fan foliage with horizontal bands, line of dashes below the carination of the base. This is typical North Netherlands Maiolica pattern (De Jonge 1947, 77, fig.47 left). DB. *Running total 1*
 - a) There is another (not illustrated) with similar decoration which may have formed a pair. EB. 2
- 31. Small albarello. Fabric off-white, interior off white tin glaze, exterior central decoration of purple waves with light blue chevrons above and below, and line of dashes below the base carination. CG. 3
 - a) There is another (not illustrated) in a brown-buff fabric with the same purple waves with orange-brown chevrons below and blue above. Eight horizontal bands below the base carination instead of the dashes. This is also similar enough to have formed a pair with No. 31. Wave and chevron patterns are typical (Korf 1969, 57, fig. 56 and Leeuwarden 1971, 45, pl.41) but, like many of the patterns, continue into the seventeenth century in London (Drey 1978, 115, pl.58C and Britton 1987, 104.22). FH. 4
- 32. Small albarello. Off-white fabric, interior white mottled with grey specks, exterior blue over white mottled with grey specks possibly caused by post deposition discolouration, central blue foliage design with alternate thick and thin horizontal bands above. This is another typical pattern with thin stalks with flowers between half fan-shaped foliage (Leeuwarden 1971, 43, pl.38).DF. 5.
- 33. Albarello. Fabric buff, intruder greyish-white, exterior dark blue, light blue, purple, turquoise and orange central decoration of fruit with lattice centres between thin scrolled foliage. This is a basic early sixteenth-century pattern but the lattice is usually later sixteenth-century. The crossed lines above are also typical. CG and CH. 6

Fragments from six other similar albarelli (not illustrated) with central scrolls and fruit.

- a) A shoulder sherd with crossed lines from DB. 7
 - b) Another with lattice fruit from FH. 8
 - c) Another with scrolls and splayed leaves, unstratified. 9
 - d) Another shoulder with blue, green, orange and yellow horizontal bands and scrolls from FG. 10
 - e) Three sherds from a body with scrolls and orange and green fruit outlined in blue from DB. 11
 - f) A base with dashes like No. 30 and orange scrolls. 12
- 34. Albarello. Fabric pinkish-buff, interior greyish white, exterior pale blue, yellow, orange-brown on white. Very dull decayed glaze. Alternate hanging blue and upright orange pyramids, formed by horizontal strokes, between running yellow chevrons. This is another typical pattern which continues in a debased form into the seventeenth century in London (Hume 1977, 25-26, pls. 12 and 13 and Britton 1987, 103.20). FH. 13
 - 35. Base of a drug jar. Pink-buff fabric, interior and exterior decayed glaze, central design of orange fishbone foliage in hanging blue arcs with faded yellow lattice between, row of blobs below the base carination. This is an unusual decoration but it may be compared with another drug jar which has a design intermediate between the fishbone and fan-shaped foliage but set in chevrons not arcs (Leeuwarden 1971, 45, pl.40). FH. 14
 - 36. Part of body or similar drug jar. Dark and light blue central decoration or alternate upright and hanging half serrated leaves between waves and horizontal blue and purple bands. This is a more realistic version of the basic half fan-shaped foliage found in a similar pattern between waves (Drey 1978, 115, pl.58A) or chevrons (De Jonge 1947, 76, pl.46). Wide squat drug jars like Nos 35 and 36, though a common seventeenth-century type, are known from sixteenth-century contexts and were one of the forms made at Aldgate, London, from 1570 (Alan Vince pers. comm). 15

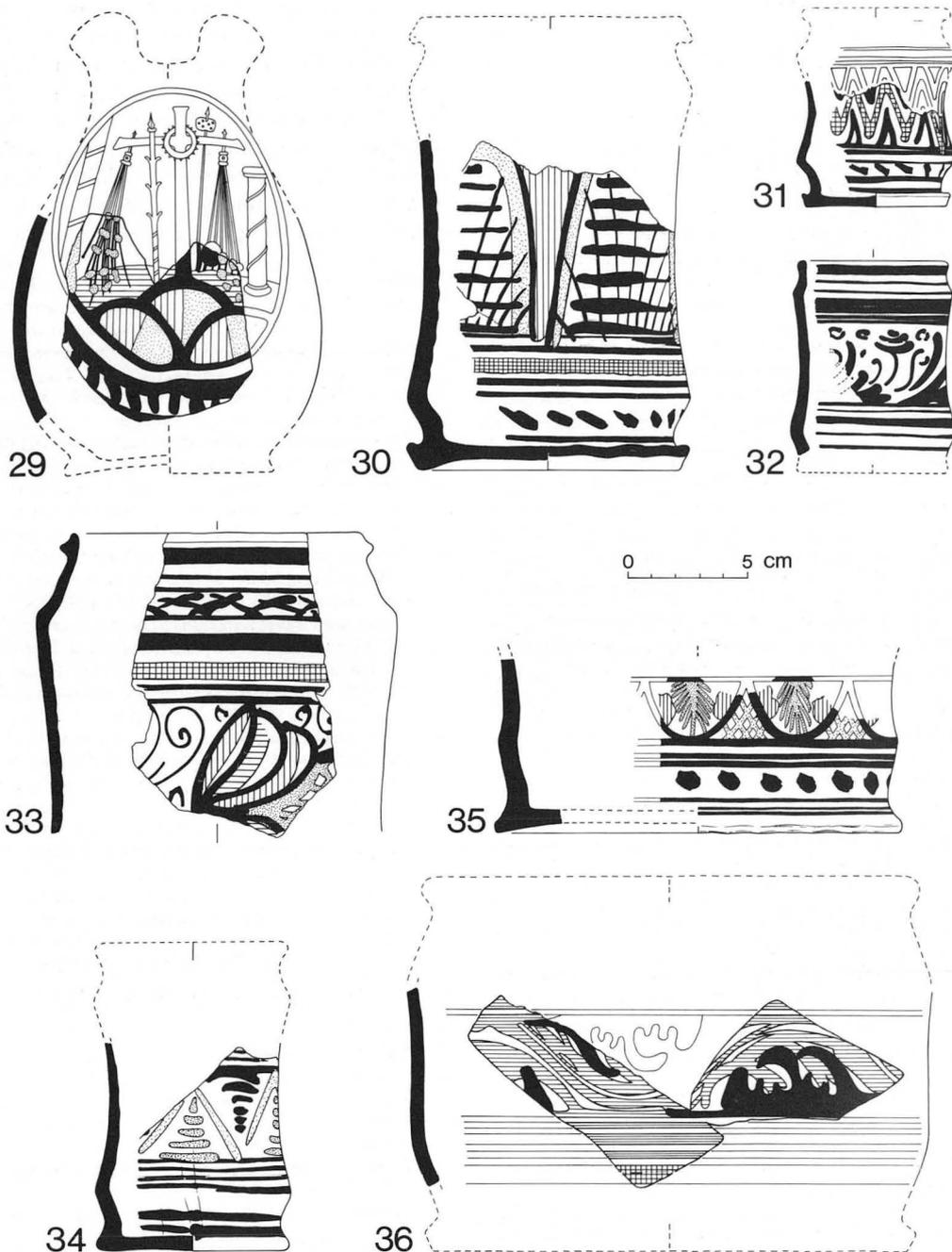


Figure 26 Pottery, Netherlands Maiolica. Scale 1:3

Other unillustrated sherds include:

- a-b) A base with horizontal guilloche band between blue bands from DK and another base but unusually with a sgraffito guilloche on a wide blue band from FH. These curvilinear patterns are unusual, especially in sgraffito, as opposed to the more common angular crossed lines as No. 33, 16, 17
- c) Small albarello. Off-white fabric, interior greyish glaze, exterior with overall horizontal bands alternately blue and orange. These are very typical of mid sixteenth-century Antwerp and Middelburg types which often have the same rough base as this example (Laurent 1922, pl.4 and Leeuwarden 1971, 45, pl.42). FH. 18
- d-f) A shoulder from FH and the base of an albarello also from FH and another drug jar base from CG, with zig-zag bands between blue lines as No. 33, 19-21
- g) A base with blobs between blue bands, and above with yellow above and blue below chevrons in triangular zones as No. 31, from DB.22

Four bases from one large jar, two large albarelli and one small albarello. Nine rims from drug jars and albarelli with blue bands, two with blobs and one with purple bands. Miscellaneous sherds from twelve other vessels making a total of forty-seven albarelli and drug jars all together.

It is not possible to identify positively any of these albarelli to the first half of the sixteenth century. While many of the patterns continue into the seventeenth century, when similar types were made both in the Netherlands and London, all the Baconsthorpe examples seem to be datable to the second half of the sixteenth century and form a single group. They all have fairly carefully drawn designs but more particularly the waisted forms of the sixteenth century. These may be compared with the large group of seventeenth-century drug jars from Norwich which are

datable to the second quarter of the seventeenth century (Jennings 1981, 203–208), especially the group from the apothecaries' shop in 13–25 London Street (site 215N) where there were no longer albarelli and the drug jars have the characteristic seventeenth-century convex rather than concave profile, with similar but more debased patterns. Unfortunately the recent finds of North Netherlands Maiolica wasters of the second half of the sixteenth century at Utrecht only contained a single albarello base with a sharp angle like No. 30 but with uncharacteristic straight sides (Hoekstra 1985, 191.14).

North Netherlands Maiolica of the second half of the sixteenth century is rarely found in Britain with single examples recognised from scattered sites. This assemblage of forty-seven albarelli and drug jars is therefore unique in this country. Unfortunately it is not possible to date any of the vessels closely enough to say if they are all of the same period or were lost over a period of time, but it is most unlikely that they are in fact all one batch purchased about the same time and thrown out together. It is hard to explain why there should be so many at Baconsthorpe, or to say if they belonged to the time of Sir Christopher I or Sir William II. If anything they tend towards the last rather than the third quarter of the sixteenth century which is the date of the two dated Raeren jugs (1578 and 1579) so they may have been obtained by Sir William II who perhaps had more opportunity as Sheriff and Vice-Admiral.

Malling Jugs 1550-1600

Not illustrated are sherds from two Malling jugs.

N.iii. Two base sherds. Fine buff fabric with tiny round voids (from quartzite?), interior off-white lead glaze, with occasional blue specks, exterior blue and orange mottled tin glaze. CH.

N.iii. Body sherd. Fine buff fabric, medium grey at edges from secondary burning, interior light greyish off-white lead glaze, exterior purple mottled tin glaze. BA.

The origin of Malling jugs has long been a problem but there is now increasing evidence that they are Netherlandish not English (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 126–127) so the two jugs may be regarded as continental imports going with the North Netherlands albarelli and providing at least a partial redressing of the almost complete predominance of a single type. While previously examples were almost entirely confined to silver gilt mounted examples in art museums, Malling jugs are now increasingly being found in excavations both in the Netherlands and Britain. However, none were found at the recent find of North Netherlands Maiolica wasters in Utrecht (Hoekstra 1985).

Anglo-Netherlands Delftware 1625–1650

N.iii. Rim fragment from a dish, thick off-white fabric, exterior matt greyish-white lead glaze, interior crackled glossy bluish-white tin glaze with decoration in blue. Chinese type panel border with sacred symbols and floral designs. A bowl from Norwich (Jennings 1981, fig. 86 1387) has an identical pattern (on the left), also at King's Lynn (Clarke and Carter 1977, fig. 124.300). FH.

N.iii. Two other rim sherds with similar panel designs and a base fragment with part of a design too small to identify. It is quite impossible to tell if these are English or Dutch but a Netherlandish origin is the most likely.

Fig. 27

German stonewares

Langerwehe

37. Langerwehe type, two-handled cup. Light grey with partly light brown exterior, interior light grey glaze. Late Langerwehe or early Raeren 1475–1525 (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 184 and fig. 92.285). After the

drinking jugs these cups are the most common type of Langerwehe stoneware to be imported (Jennings 1981, fig. 45. 742). Not marked, probably Rigold.

N.iii. In addition there are two frilled bases, a rim sherd and a rouletted sherd which look more like late Langerwehe than Raeren.

As Langerwehe stoneware is reasonably common in fifteenth-century deposits (Jennings 1981, 109–112), its scarcity at Baconsthorpe suggests there was little pottery prior to 1500.

Frechen

38. Jug. Interior light brown turning darker brown inside rim at top, exterior mottled dark brown, horizontal incised bands with waves between separating rows of complex rosettes. The top two lines of rosettes are very dark brown, lower two lines same as the rest of the body. There is a loss of the usual sharp shoulder. This should be Frechen from the mottled glaze but is hard to parallel. Pear shaped jugs are known from the second half of the sixteenth century (Göbels 1971, 121) but the complex rosettes are usually associated with Cologne (Fig. 29 No. 58), and the horizontal decorated bands are rare. The closest parallel is a Malling jug in the Princessehof Museum in Leeuwarden which may have been copied from an original in pewter (Van Dam 1988, 15). 1550–1600. There is a straight-sided bottle with a narrow neck from the Frechen kiln excavated in 1981 (Jurgens and Bos 1983) with similar horizontal bands with waves (Antonius Jurgens pers. comm.). So we have here a general mixture of Raeren, Cologne and Frechen traits. It is so far an unique import to England, though not of high quality.

These flowers have four petals unlike the more usual Cologne rose jugs (Fig. 29 No. 56). Richard Gulliver suggests that there are at least three possibilities: 1) They may be stylised and not meant to represent any specific flower; the question then arises as to why the number of petals is varied. 2) If the four petals are correctly depicted this means that the flower should be a member of the cabbage family (*Cruciferae*). A likely candidate is honesty (*Lunaria annua*); this is a native of southern Europe: it is grown widely as a garden plant in northern Europe and is now naturalised in Germany. Its status in the sixteenth century, and possible medicinal value, is not known. Another possibility is wallflower (*Cheiranthus cheiri l.*) which is illustrated in five of the twenty-two sources studied by Harvey (1981, 3). Alternatively, the flowers could be individual speedwell (*Veronica spp.*) flowers. These have four corolla lobes, which give the appearance of four petals. Though the individual flowers are small, their brilliant blue colour (present in most species) makes them extremely conspicuous to even the casual observer. In the United Kingdom this conspicuous nature is reflected in a wealth of local names. Rigold, unprovenanced.

39. Drinking jug. Medium grey core, light grey, glazed interior, speckled light brown exterior. This is a typical plain Frechen jug. This globular type without a rat tail handle is likely to date to 1550–1575 (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 216). This is the most common stoneware type at Baconsthorpe with examples of about eighty-four in all. It is also the most common stoneware import of the second half of the sixteenth century over England, as is also seen at Norwich (Jennings 1981, fig. 49. 801-808) when it replaced the early sixteenth-century Raeren drinking jug (Fig. 29 No. 62). Not marked, probably Rigold.

Cologne

40. Foliage band *Bartmann*. Buff core and interior, light yellowish-brown speckled exterior, cheese-wired base, interior clay patch under handle. Foliage band jugs with acanthus leaves and human bust medallions and naturalistic Type I masks were mainly made at Cologne but also at Frechen (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 210–212). 1525–1550. There are only two examples (though some of the sherds listed under No. 42 may be from foliage band jugs): the other has a medium grey core, yellowish-brown interior, dark brown mottled exterior. Single jugs are usual on most sites of the period in England (Jennings 1981, fig. 48. 792). Rigold, unprovenanced.

Frechen

41. Inscribed band *Bartmann*. Medium grey core, yellowish-brown interior, dark brown speckled exterior. The second main type of jug has an inscribed band datable between 1550–1575. These were mainly made at Frechen after the move from Cologne of potters about 1550 (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 216 and 219). The inscription reads DRINKCK.VND:ESTGODES:NITVER(GE)ST. (Drink and Eat, forget not God) (See Hurst *et al.* 1986, 219, pl.42). This is a common

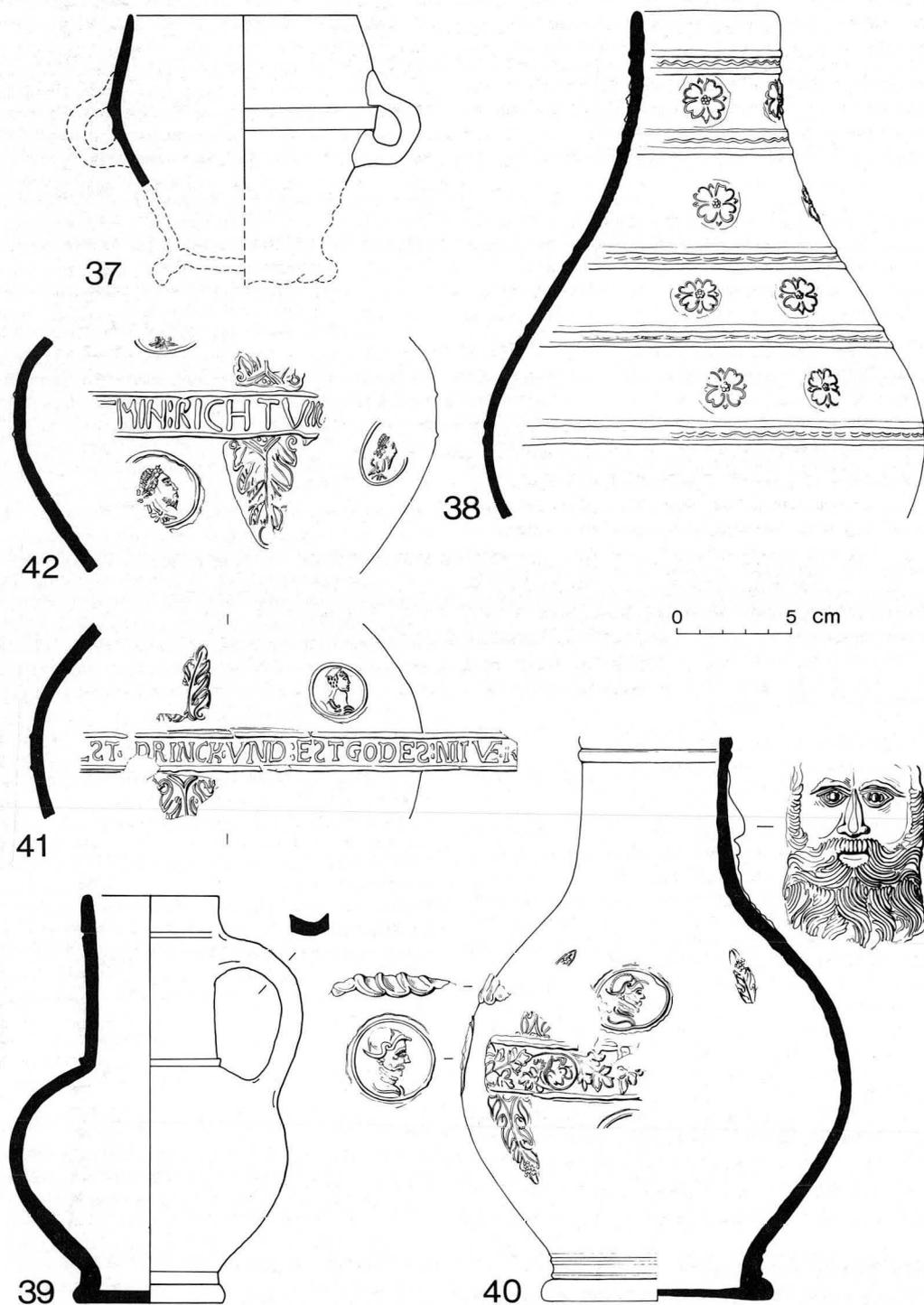


Figure 27 Pottery, German stonewares. Scale 1:3; masks and medallions 2:3

inscription (Kommern 1968, 174 and 180; Jennings 1981, fig. 48.797). This is significant in suggesting a *floruit* for Frechen imports between 1550 and 1575 with only one earlier foliage jug. Inscribed band jugs are also found regularly on most English sites in small numbers (Jennings 1981, fig. 48.790–791 and 797). Rigold, unprovenanced.

42. Inscribed band *Bartmann*. Core medium grey, interior very light greyish-brown, exterior medium brown with speckled and mottled areas. Part inscribed band reading MIN:RICHTVM. 1550–1575 as No. 41. This is another common inscription (ARM VND FRVM

IST) MIN:RICHTVM (It is better to be poor and pious than rich). (Kommern 1968, 173). EB.

- N.iii. Inscription: NIT:VER(GEST) as the last part of the inscription on No. 41. There are nine other sherds with inscribed bands including ND:ERUM:IST as the first part of the inscription on No. 42, the start of an inscription WAN GOT as a jug in the Rheinische Landesmuseum Bonn (Zons 1972, 79.73), and two unidentified parts of inscriptions, STMENIS and IL:ME. There are further proverbs from Norwich (Jennings 1981, 117).

N.ill. There are sherds from another fourteen jugs with acanthus leaves and human bust medallions but as the bands do not survive they cannot be typed. For the drawing of a male bust medallion see Fig. 28 No. 52 and for an unusual animal medallion Fig. 28 No. 53. Another unusual medallion is in blue copying Raeren so must date after 1582 (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 114). There is only one sherd, not illustrated, from the third type of band jug which has a geometric pattern (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 213). Not marked, probably Rigold.

Fig. 28

43. *Bartmann*. Core pink and grey, interior light pinkish-brown, exterior dark brown, speckled, iron wash dripped towards base. Same medallion repeats three times, coat of arms of Amsterdam. The medium sized neck and base, the naturalistic type II mask, rat tail handle and the actual coat of arms suggests a date of 1575–1625 (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 22). The Amsterdam arms is one of the most common designs found in England (Jennings 1981, fig. 50. 822–823). Joining sherds from Rigold and 1972 excavations DD, DF.
44. *Bartmann*. Core and interior grey, glazed inside neck, exterior speckled medium brown and grey on and near rim, cobalt blue on face mask and medallion fragment. 1575–1625 as No. 43, but must be after 1582 with the addition of Raeren-type blue (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 224). Joining sherds from Rigold's excavations and 1972 DH.
45. *Bartmann*. Core light grey, interior pinkish-brown, exterior speckled light brown. The Janus medallion was a popular Renaissance motif (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 180, fig. 89. 265 and 211, pl. 39). The globular shape and large medallion suggests this would have had a type I or II mask and date to 1575–1625. Rigold, unprovenanced.
46. *Bartmann*. Core and interior light brownish-grey, exterior medium brown. The Rosette medallion repeats; there are at least two, and may have been more dotted about (Göbels 1971, 141 left). 1550–1600. Rigold, unprovenanced.
47. *Bartmann*. Core and interior light grey, exterior dark brown speckled. 1575–1625. Rigold, unprovenanced.
48. *Bartmann* medallion. Core light grey, interior pinkish-brown, exterior medium brown. The coat of arms suggests a date 1575–1625 as No. 43. There is another similar medallion not illustrated. Complex coats of arms medallions (Jennings 1981, fig. 50. 818–819) are not so common as the simple or schematic examples (Jennings 1981, fig. 50. 820–829). Rigold, unprovenanced.
49. *Bartmann* medallion. Core light grey, interior pinkish-brown, exterior brown speckled. Damaged scar where attached to another pot in the kiln. As this medallion may be schematic a date between 1600 and 1650 is likely. Rigold, unprovenanced.
50. *Bartmann* medallion. Core medium grey, interior light purplish-brown, exterior dark brown speckled. Schematic rosette medallions are datable between 1625 and 1675 (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 220) and are one of the most common types found in the middle of the seventeenth century (Jennings 1981, fig. 49. 815–816). Rigold, unprovenanced.
51. *Bartmann* medallion. Core medium grey, interior yellowish-brown, exterior dark brown speckled. 1625–1675 as No. 50. Rigold, unprovenanced.

Cologne/Frechen

52. Medallion bust. Core and interior medium grey, exterior dark grey speckled. From an inscribed or foliage band jug as Nos 40–42. 1550–1575. Rigold, unprovenanced.
53. Medallion animal. Core and interior medium grey, exterior light brown cf. Nos 40–42. The animal instead of the usual human bust is unusual. 1550–1575. Not marked, probably Rigold.
54. *Bartmann* mask. Light grey, external glaze has collected in greenish-grey pools. Debased mask 1625–1675 (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 220). Not marked, probably Rigold.

In addition to those *Bartmänner* illustrated here there are three early and three late masks making a total of fifteen *Bartmänner*. Ten of these are likely to be late sixteenth century and five date to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Fig. 29

Cologne

The most common decoration on Cologne jugs comprises either rose flowers and leaves, or acorns and oak leaves (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 209) on two scrolled stems set either side of a central stem (Allan 1984, 161). Oaks, roses and thistles are common gothic designs in the fifteenth century, best seen in illuminated manuscripts with many other naturalistic

floral patterns. Von Falke (1899, 36–9, summarised in 1908, 54) suggested that the Cologne oaks and roses were copied from pattern books. I am greatly indebted to David Gaimster for drawing my attention to Peter Quentel's *Musterbuch*, published in Cologne in 1527, which shows floral designs at a time when these jugs were the height of fashion. Lichtwark (1888, 117) illustrates a plate from Quentel with botanical patterns on spiral stems like the Cologne jugs. I am also greatly indebted to Richard Gulliver for looking at these and suggesting tentative possible identifications. One looks convincingly like a rose. The details of the developing fruits is very realistic. Although the number of leaflets is usually five or seven for rose species, three is possible; also the stylistic simplification to three seems quite a natural thing to do. The other illustration is nothing like oak but Richard Gulliver suggests that it might be buckwheat (*Fagopyrum esculentum*) whose leaves are almost exactly that shape. This was grown for cattle and hen food and for human consumption. Acanthus, like Nos 50–2, is also shown (Lichtwark 1888, 121) but scrolled not flat. The second edition of 1547 interestingly does not show these designs suggesting that they had gone out of fashion, being replaced by the new Renaissance motifs. The fluruit for Cologne oak and rose jugs seems to be in the 1520s and 1530s but they appear to have started by 1500 as the archaeological evidence suggests. Quentel's pattern book was not necessarily the first representation of these designs. These representations are in any case stylised, since neither oaks nor roses grow like this. Furthermore roses have leaves of five or seven leaflets, not single leaves. It is possible, if these designs are an attempt at representing real plants, that the so-called roses may be cultivated rock rose (or gum cistus *Cistus ladaniferus*), see No. 56. The representation of the flower is also suggestive of rock rose. *Cistus* spp. (cultivated rock roses) do not appear in Harvey (1981) but are listed in Anthony (1972). Other types of flowers on leaves are rare (Reineking-von Bock 1986, 251 and 271). It is therefore quite remarkable that there are three jugs from Baconsthorpe (Nos 38, 57 and 58) which have forms other than the usual rose and oak.

Another different plant form has recently been found on a green-glazed jug from Nuremberg (Koschik and Miller 1987). If the representation of six petals is to be believed, then Richard Gulliver suggests that it is either a) a monocotyledonous plant e.g. a lily: or b) a member of the buttercup family (*Ranunculaceae*), several species of which do not have a fixed number of petals, so six is possible on some flowers. It is unlikely to be a monocotyledonous plant as all monocotyledons have narrow strap-shaped leaves which are completely unlike those shown. Conversely it is possible that the plant represented is a wood anemone (*Anemone nemorosa*) which would have approximately the right shaped leaves, or perhaps a garden species of anemone. There is clearly scope here for further study, if these jugs were attempts to show a wide variety of plants rather than the usual rose and oak. It is possible that, as with the other exotic items at Baconsthorpe, unusual plant representations were ordered or purchased. It is hoped that further work on this problem will be undertaken in co-operation with Richard Gulliver. In connection with identifying the plants and with David Gaimster over the origins in pottery books and illuminated manuscripts.

Fig. 29

55. Drinking jug. Oak leaves and acorns. Core and interior very light grey, exterior light grey and light brown speckling with one dark brown spot. Scar on base from rim of another jug. 1500–1550. There are two main types of early sixteenth-century drinking jugs, with oak (Nos 55 and 57) and rose (Nos 56 and 58) designs (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 208–209). Single examples of each are common on most English sites (Jennings 1981, fig. 48. 784–793) together with the more common Raeren jugs (Fig. 29 No. 62). Rigold, unprovenanced.
56. Drinking jug. Rose leaves and roses. Light grey throughout. Part of a leaf and a stem missing before firing. The Cologne rose jugs have five-petal flowers. Richard Gulliver suggests that these may be stylised roses, but the presence of the undivided leaf suggests that they may be gum cistus (*Cistus ladaniferus*) which was a source of gum used both for perfume and medicinally. Rigold, unprovenanced.
57. Drinking jug. Oak leaves. Core medium grey, interior light brown, exterior light grey with some traces of light brown. 1500–1550. The representation of oak leaves on early sixteenth-century jugs varies considerably in accuracy and detail. In some (e.g. Hurst *et al.* 1986, 209.326) the straight midrib is well shown, the proportions of the leaf are correct, and the lobing and side veins are well represented. In others (e.g. Allan 1984, 161.1737) these various elements are shown in a more stylised form. In fragment No. 57 here a particularly debased representation can be seen with a curved midrib, incorrect leaf proportions, and the layout of the lobing badly represented. However, the leaves shown on No. 57 are clearly similar to (if cruder than) motifs from other jugs which are associated with acorns, and

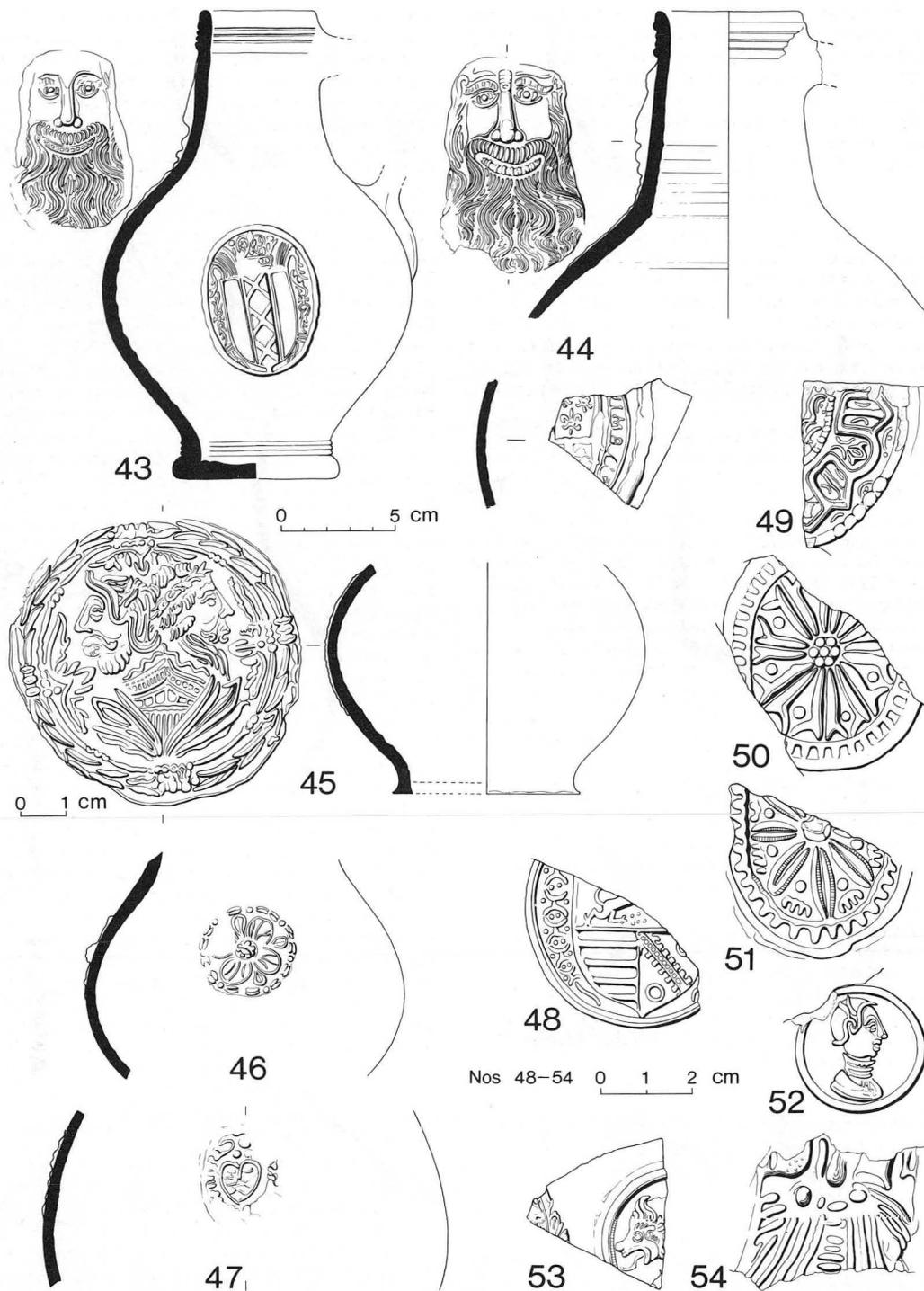


Figure 28 Pottery, German stonewares. Scale 1:3; masks and medallions 2:3

are therefore obviously meant to represent oak leaves. Rigold, unprovenanced.

58. Drinking jug. Core medium and light grey, interior light grey glazed, exterior light brown. 1500–1550. Oaks (No. 55) and roses (No. 56) are the most common type of Cologne decoration but more complex leaves and flowers are known (Reineking-von Bock 1986, 251 and 271). Richard Gulliver suggests that if these leaves are really meant to represent a specific plant rather than stylised leaves, and their detail and complexity suggest that this may well be the case, then there are several possibilities. One is meadow buttercup (*Ranunculus acris*) — see parallels at Southwell Minster,

Nottinghamshire (Pevsner, 1945); another is a very stylised Hautbois strawberry (*Fragaria moschata*). Palmate leaves seem to have appealed especially to the medieval mind: they are over-represented in the leaves carved on the capitals at Southwell compared with their presence in the plant kingdom as a whole. Examples from Southwell include field maple, meadow buttercup, hop, vine, ivy and white bryony. Turning to the flowers on No. 58, the fact that the sepals appear to be visible between the petals is suggestive of the rose family (*Rosaceae*) which includes strawberry; rather than the buttercup family, (*Ranunculaceae*). EB.

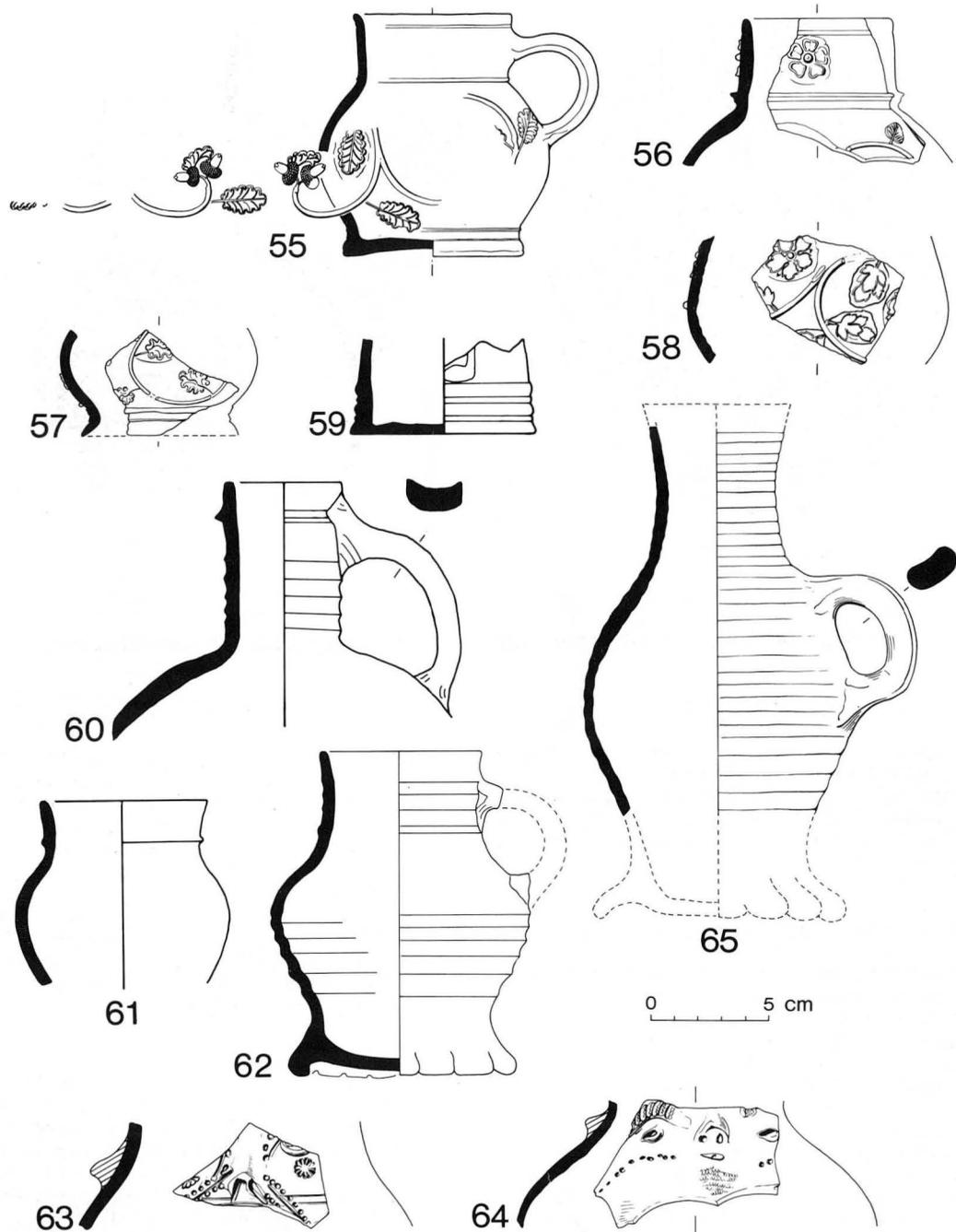


Figure 29 Pottery, German stonewares. Scale 1:3; masks and medallions 2:3

Frechen

59. Tankard. Light grey with light brown exterior, cheese-wired on base. Small tankards, called *Pinten*, were made at several centres in the second half of the sixteenth century (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 198–199). The cheese wire marks on the base suggest a Frechen source. They are rare in Britain where the plain mugs mainly cornered the market (Fig. 24 No. 39) as is clearly shown here by the proportions of 84:1. As at Norwich (Jennings 1981, fig.48. 783 and 786), only single examples are usually found. Not marked, probably Rigold.

Raeren

60. Jug. Core and exterior light grey, interior light orange. 1550–1600. Late sixteenth-century Raeren jugs, especially those with a narrow

neck, were rarely imported as most come from Frechen. Not marked, probably Rigold.

61. Jug. Very light grey with dark grey core, exterior brown slightly speckled glaze. EB, DF, EH, ES.

62. Drinking jug. Core and interior light brownish-grey, exterior light brown and light grey. This is the classic Raeren drinking jug which is common in the first half of the sixteenth century but can date as early as 1480 (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 196–197, fig. 94.300). There are sherds from about sixty others. This is the most ubiquitous find on any site of the first half of the sixteenth century (Jennings 1981, fig.48. 794–762) so to have sixty while there are eighty-four later sixteenth-century examples from Frechen (Fig. 24 No.39) suggests less importation of pottery in the earlier than the later sixteenth century. 1500–1550. Joining sherds DD and EH.

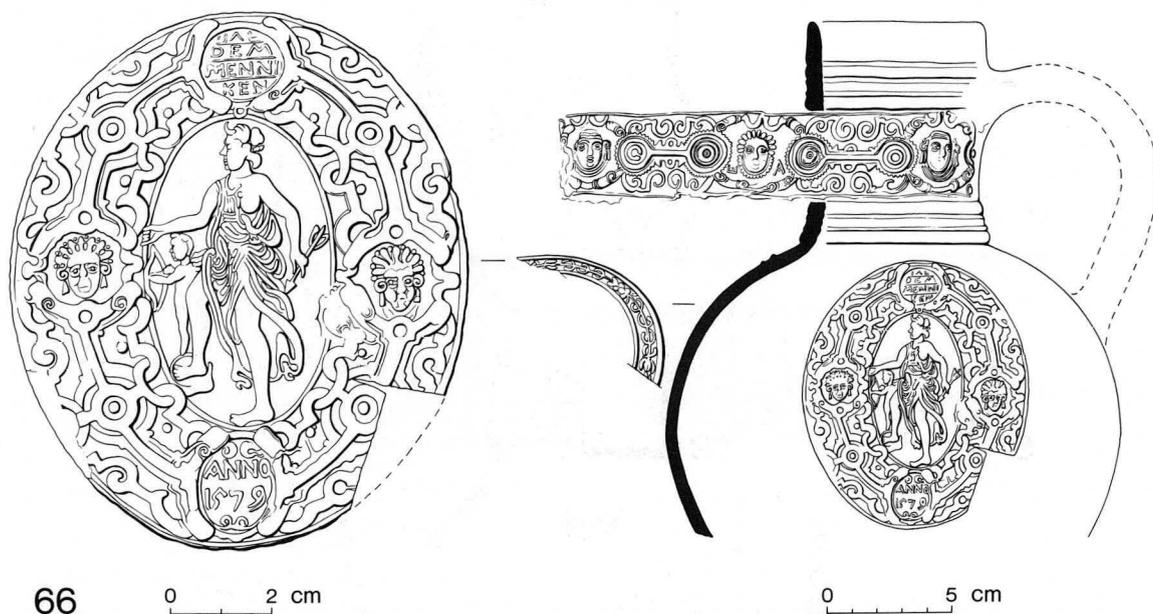


Figure 30 Pottery, German stoneware, Raeren dated jug. Scale 1:3; medallion 2:3

63. Face fragment. Core medium grey, interior light grey glazed, exterior medium brown, slightly speckled. Sixteenth-century. 1475–1525. These incised and applied faces, on drinking jugs like No. 62, are fairly common (Jennings 1981, fig.46. 767 and 770) but are not usually found in large numbers on any one site as here. They have a floruit in the early sixteenth century (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 196–197, fig.94.302 and Kohnemann 1982, 335–345). Not marked, probably Rigold.
64. Face fragment. Core medium grey, interior light orangish-brown, exterior medium brown. 1475–1525 as No. 63. DW.
- N.iii. Two sherds which are too small to readily indentify. Light grey with some light brown on exterior. Decoration of stabs between vertical incised lines which are hard to parallel. They do not seem to come from a face jug (Fig. 26 No.63) as these are decorated with an incised line between stabs. 1475–1525. Not marked, probably Rigold.
65. *Trichterhalskrug*. Light grey. Heavy horizontal rilling all over the outside, flattened strap loop handle on the shoulder. Funnel-necked jugs with flared rims, loop handles and large frilled bases are typical products of Siegburg in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century they tend to be more squat and globular (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 178.261), then in the later sixteenth century they become smaller and decorated (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 179). In the last part of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century, funnel-necked jugs became tall, more ovoid, and heavy rilling is typical. Examples have been found at Norwich (Jennings 1981, fig.45. 728). The form was also made at Raeren in dark grey stoneware with grey or brown saltglaze (Jennings 1981, fig.47. 782). This jug is of this type and therefore falls into the first half of the sixteenth century with the mass of Raeren material. BC.

Fig. 30

66. Jug. Core medium grey, interior light brown, exterior mottled light grey and brown. Initials EA in centre of frieze. 1579. This design is not closely paralleled in the Kohnemann corpus (1982, 239–314) but face masks divided by geometric patterns are typical (Jennings 1981, fig.47. 776–777, fig.96. 313). This type of jug with the disposition of the medallions is shown in Hurst *et al.* 1986, 220.313. These large medallion decorated jugs are rare and usually only found singly as here. There is a very similar one of 1580, but with a coat of arms, from Norwich (Jennings 1981, fig.47. 773).

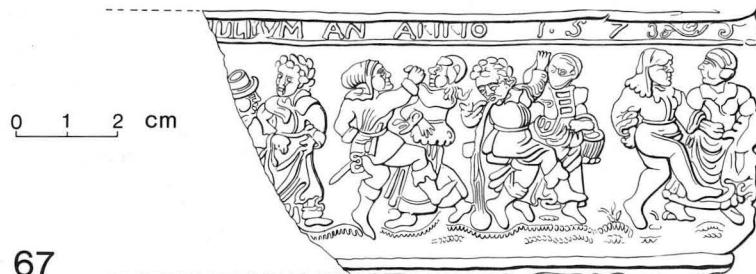
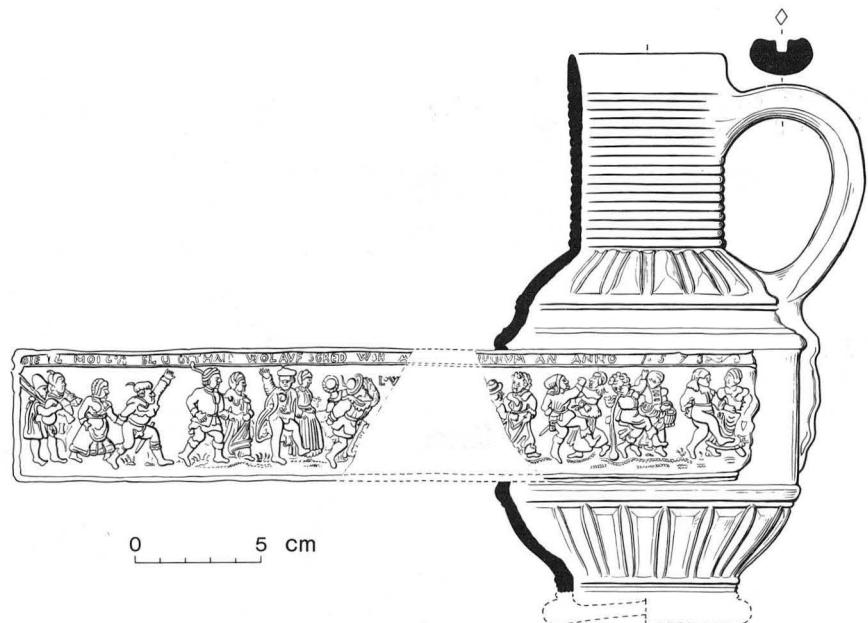
Venus and Cupid medallion dated 1579 from jug No.66. An identical example from other side not illustrated. This jug would have had three medallions, one on the front and one on each side. The medallion is signed BALDEM MENNIKEN ANNO 1579. He was one of the main Raeren

master potters who was active between 1575 and 1584 (Hannover 1925, 216). There is an almost identical medallion from Raeren (Kohnemann 1982, 133) including BALDEM MENNICKEN unusually in full, but it is not the same mould as the cupid is full face not sideways. The motif is also used by Jan Emens on a jug in the Hetjens Museum, Düsseldorf, but the scene is reversed with Venus and Cupid panel facing right (Koetschau 1924, 39). This Venus and Cupid design is also found on Siegburg *Schnellen* of the same period (Klinge 1972, 269 and 280; Kommern 1968, 54.158) which is signed LW, as is the Raeren jug No. 67. There is a further *Schnelle*, also signed LW and dated 1572, with Venus and Cupid in a four-lobed medallion, in the Cologne Stadt Museum (Brühl 1985, 159.132). Rigold, unprovenanced.

Fig. 31

67. Peasant dance panel jug signed LW 1578. Light grey core and interior, interior glazed, exterior mostly light brown with some patches of light grey. Rat tail handle with diamond shape cut in top. The peasant dance is a common panel design but the inscription is not the usual one (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 202. 314; Jennings 1981, fig.47. 778; and Kohnemann 1982, 190–198). It seems to read DIE Z MOI ?:: SLU GTTHAN WOLAVF ?GHED WOH A..... IULHVM AN AIHIO 1.578. Which is a garbled illiterate version of DIS MONAT SEIN GEDAN WOL AVF GRED WIR FANGEN WIDEROM AN ANNO 1558 (These (twelve) months are finished. Let us go Gred, we will start another). (Hellebrandt 1977, 102, no.54). There is, however, another jug in the Rehker collection in the Raeren Töpferei Museum (62 55) with a similar inscription reading DEIZ MONAT SEIN GETHAN WOLAVF GRED WIR FANGE. This provides a closer version to the Baconsthorpe jug with the DEIZ and GETHAN. It is a Siegburg jug signed by Hans Hilgers (HH). There is also another Hans Hilgers Siegburg jug with a fuller inscription, so a different mould, in the Hetjens Museum Düsseldorf (Koetschau 1924, 29 right and Klinge 1972, 309), and a fragment in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Cologne (Reineking-von Bock 1986, 193.239).

The Raeren Baconsthorpe jug is signed LW, a Raeren monogramist whose name is not known. He may have been Wolter or Williams (Hellebrandt 1977, 70). He was confusingly contemporary with the Siegburg monogramist LW who was active between 1572 and 1579 (Reineking-von Bock 1986, 55). Another LW was the merchant Lucas de Wael whose name appears on the frieze of a Raeren jug of 1597 (Van Beuningen 1975). This is one of the most common types of panel jug to be imported, though usually, as here, only singly. Not marked, probably Rigold.



67

Figure 31 Pottery, German stoneware, Raeren dated peasant dance panel jug. Scale 1:3; panel 2:3

Fig. 32

Westerwald

68. Grey foliage and purple flowers on cobalt blue background, light grey and cobalt blue. Purple was added to the Westerwald blue and grey by 1665 (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 223) and this floral pattern is typical of the last quarter of the seventeenth century. 1675–1700. Not marked, probably Rigold.

69. Jug. Light grey and cobalt blue. 1675–1700. Not marked, probably Rigold.

Westerwald is common on most English sites of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century so its rarity at Baconsthorpe confirms the lack of a major occupation at this period.

Other imported wares

Mediterranean

70. Star costrel. Fine fabric, buff with pinkish-brown core, exterior thin lead glaze on upper half. These costrels with a blue, red or yellow star are typical of the first half of the seventeenth century (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 63). They are usually only found singly and there are few outside southern England so this is an unusual import into East Anglia. DD, DR.

Northern France, Beauvais

71. Small albarello with double slip sgraffito decoration. Smooth white fabric with fine quartz sand, very occasional larger particles (Maximum inclusion size 1.5mm), interior mottled light green glaze, exterior brownish-orange slip, with mottled light green and dark green glaze over white slip, incised line on base. Compare an example from Southampton (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, II, fig. 190, no. 1073 and Hurst *et al.* 1986, 108–114). Sixteenth-century Beauvais sgraffito is not common and is then more usually a bowl or dish (Jennings 1981, 96). Albarelli are very rare (Hurst *et al.*

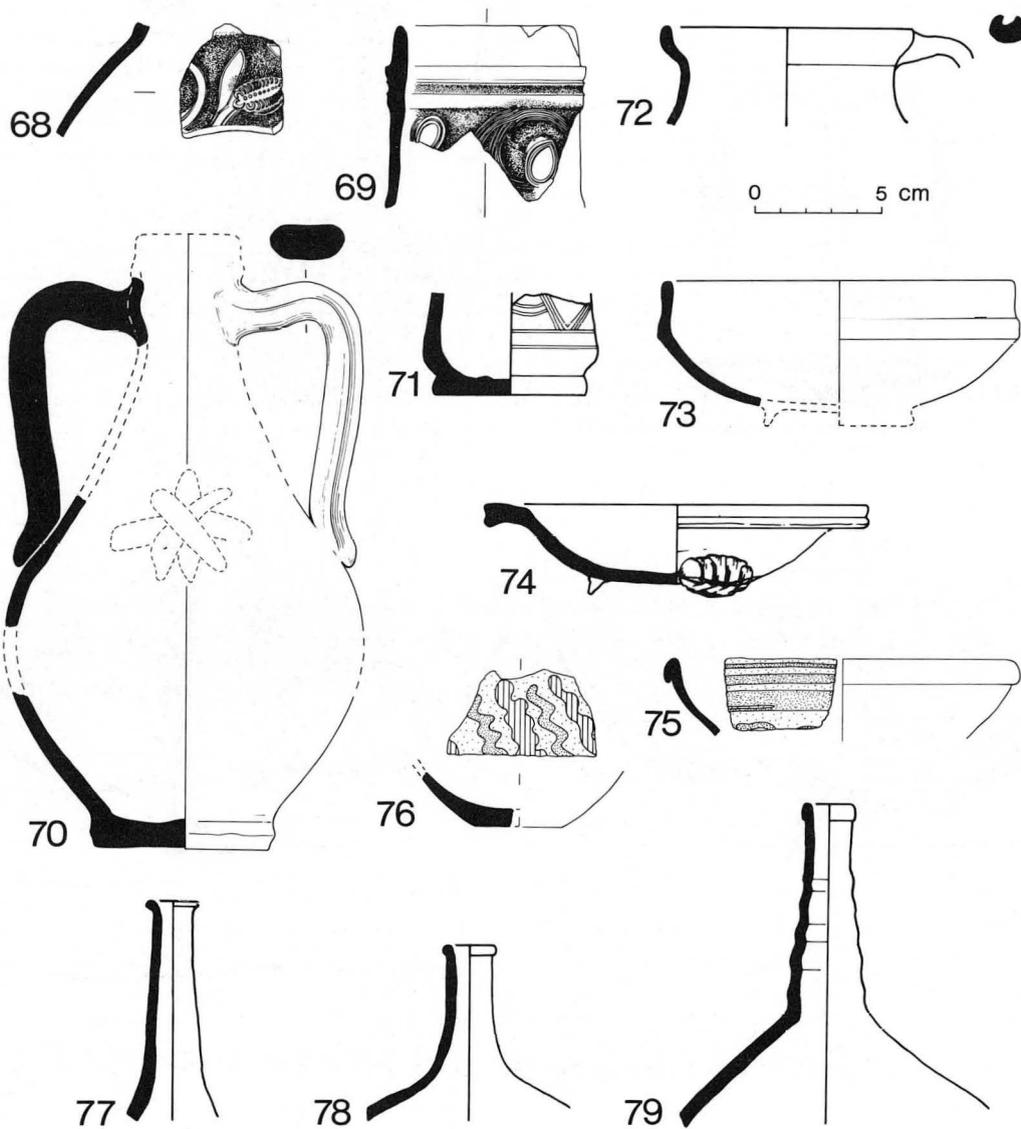


Figure 32 Pottery, miscellaneous imports. Scale 1:3

1986, 108–114), so the purchase of this example may be linked to the North Netherlands Maiolica. DL.

South West France, Saintonge

N.iii. A part of a plain undecorated barrel costrel with a spout near to the end so it was quite small. 1450–1550 (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 76–78). Imports of this period are rare and are more usually jugs. FH.

England, Surrey

72. Small handled vessel. Pinkish-white fabric with occasional small (less than 1mm) red inclusions, internal and external glossy green glaze. Probably Surrey White Ware type. CG.

N.iii. There is also a large hollow pipkin handle thumbed to the side of a thin-walled, heavily grooved vessel. Surrey wares are common at Norwich (Jennings 1981, 129–133) but are usually seventeenth-century. The lack at Baconsthorpe therefore confirms a seventeenth-century tailing off in occupation material. EB.

Netherlands, Slipware

73. Bowl; white slip green glaze. Fabric quartz sand, core pale orange, exterior medium orange, rim yellowish-brown glaze with dark green spots, interior light mottled green glaze over white slip. *cf.* No. 74. Sixteenth-century. EO, EB.

74. Dish, flanged feet, white slip green glaze. Reddish-brown. Sixteenth-century. The thumbed, flanged feet (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 151, fig.69. 229) become plain in the later sixteenth century (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 156, fig.71, 231) so a date before 1550 is likely. 1500–1550. FF, FH.

N.iii. There is also a small sherd of a North Holland Slipware dish with green and yellow bands (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 154–168). Plain and decorated Dutch slipwares are again common in seventeenth-century contexts at Norwich (Jennings 1981, 85–94).

Germany, Weser Slipware

75. Bowl. Fine fabric, core pinkish-white with red inclusions. Exterior yellow with patches of orangish-brown slip. Interior and rim light green glaze and orangish-brown stripes. Probable white slip under glaze. Possibly same bowl as No. 76, 1590–1620. (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 250–259). FF and FH.

76. Bowl. Fine fabric, core pinkish-white, exterior orangish-yellow slip with trickles of green glaze, interior light green glaze with dark green and orangish-brown wavy lines, white slip under glaze, cheese wire marks on base. May be same bowl as No. 75. 1590–1620. The alternate wavy green and brown lines are characteristic of Weser (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 250–259). Two other sherds have different rim decoration and basal treatment so there are at least two bowls. Likewise Weser is common at Norwich (Jennings 1981, 82–85) and

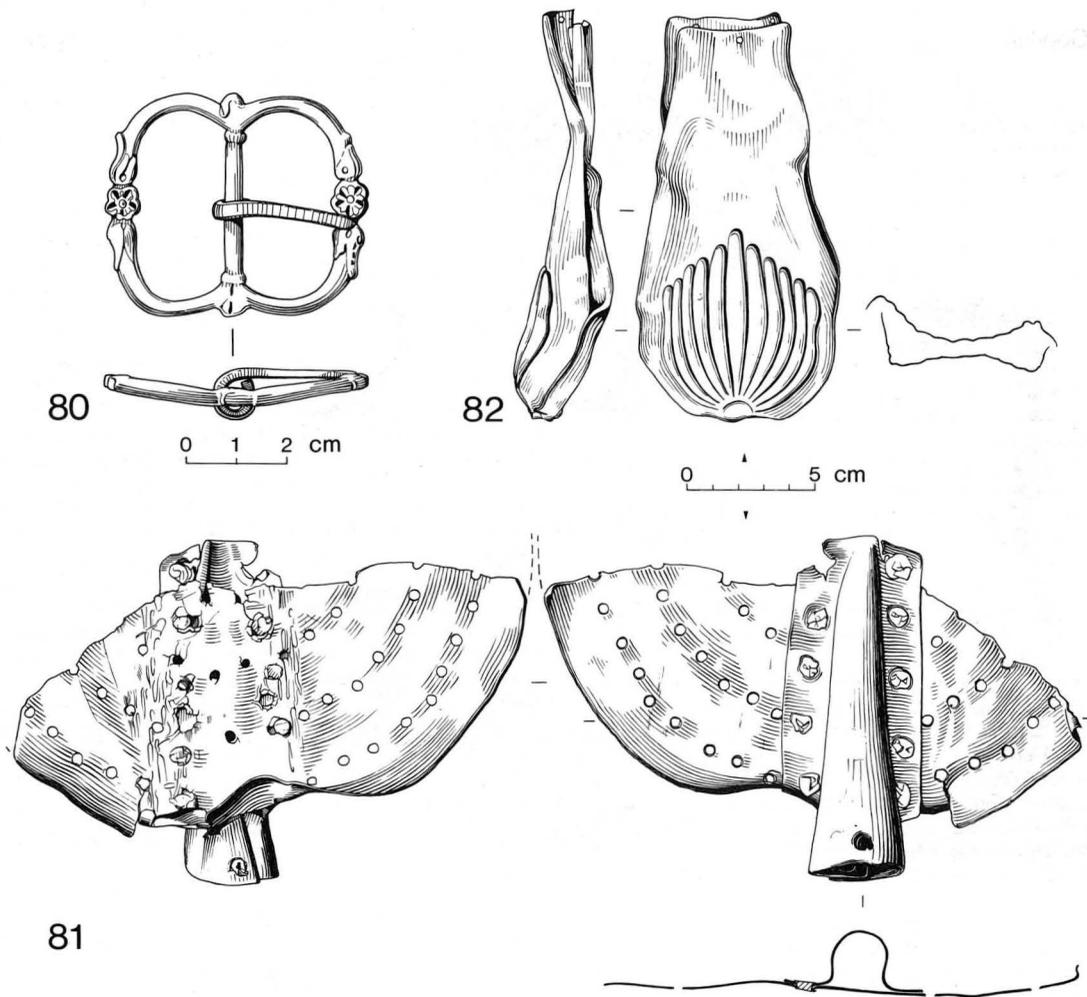


Figure 33 Copper alloy objects, Nos 80-82. Scales 80, 2:3; 81-82, 1:3

it is surprising there is no Werra at Baconsthorpe as this is also common at Norwich after 1600 (Jennings 1981, 78-82), again suggesting a tailing off of imports in the early seventeenth century which is important for the dating of the Netherlands albarelli (Fig. 23). EF.

Northern France, Martincamp

- 77. Type III flask. Very hard earthenware, fine mica in fabric. Red core, greyish-brown surfaces. Seventeenth-century (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 102-104). There are also fragments from about four other Type III flasks. These are the earthen bottles covered with wicker recorded in the Blakeney Port Book for 1617 (see above, p.4 and Appendix II). These are common finds over many parts of Britain as single vessels but not usually so many as at Baconsthorpe (Jennings 1981, 75). FK.
- 78. Type II flask. Stoneware. Core and interior light grey, exterior dark brown iron wash, vitrified burnt patch on rim. Sixteenth-century. Not marked, probably Rigold.
- 79. Type II flask. Stoneware. Internal grooving. Light grey throughout. Sixteenth-century. FK.

There are also fragments of about fifteen other Type II flasks which shows an interesting preponderance of sixteenth over seventeenth-century examples. There are no buff earthenware Type I flasks which are datable to the early sixteenth century.

III. Copper Alloy

Fig. 33

- 80. Buckle of gilt copper alloy. An example found at Humberstone, Leicester, in a Tudor context appears to have come from an identical mould (Rahtz 1959, fig. 13. 3). (557001). Rigold, 1955, 'buckle handed in by workmen and not certainly from sealed deposit in the moat connected with the rebuilding of c.1600.'
- 81. Perforated spoon for skimming milk, stirring beer mash or taking the fat off stew *etc.* A milliprobe examination by Justine Bayley showed that the strainer is made of brass, and the handle and rivet are low tin bronzes. This would have had a long wooden handle (Goodall, A.R. 1981, 66). A similar example has been found in Norwich (Hurst and Golson 1955, 99, fig. 24. 14). They were in use from the fifteenth century onwards. (728240). BA. Found by machine in yellow-grey silt just above the base of the mere.
- 82. Powder flask. This is moulded in halves and has traces of solder on the inside. It is made of brass, with a secondary copper plating. It may originally have had a horn dispenser at the top, and it is late in the series being early nineteenth or possibly late eighteenth-century in date. (733722). FN. 1972.

IV. Iron

by Ian H. Goodall

Fig. 34

83. Axe with lugged socket and flaring blade, the socket formed by drawing the iron out and wrapping it round and fire-welding it to the side of the blade. The type is an established medieval type (Ward-Perkins 1954, 59–63, fig.13; Goodall, I.H. 1981 53, fig.51. 4) with a continuous history since (Moorhouse and Goodall 1971, 44, fig.19. 59; Salaman 1975, 46–66; Grew 1984, 98, fig. 49. 28). (706460). Rigold, 1970, unprovenanced.
84. Ladle with deep, oval bowl, now incomplete and distorted, and a broken, solid handle. (706463). Rigold, 1970, unprovenanced.
85. Socketed hoe with incomplete blade. (706464). Rigold, 1970, unprovenanced.
86. Sword with broken tang and blade, the latter single-edged and with shallow grooves immediately below the back. (706465). Rigold, 1970, unprovenanced.
87. Key with kidney-shaped bow and solid stem stepped above the originally symmetrical bit. A late medieval type which continued in use well into the seventeenth century (Moorhouse and Goodall 1971, 39, fig.18, 34; Goodall 1976a, 26, fig.13. 18, 20, 22; Fox 1986, 231, fig.155. 1). (728209). DO.
- N.iii. Key with internally kidney-shaped bow and hollow stem with grooves at the base of the stem and around the collar at its head. Separately applied bit. Non-ferrous coating. Length 73mm (546015). Rigold, 1954, Moat.
88. Crinkle-edged iron ring from patten retaining one of the two terminals through which it was riveted to the wooden clog. The two rivets of the terminal are surrounded by the iron-impregnated wood of the clog. Pattens, which served to raise the wearer's feet above dirt, were used during and after the seventeenth century; until the early eighteenth century the crinkle-edged type (see Goodall 1976b, 63–4, fig.9b. 45; Swann 1982, 21, 30; Grew 1984, 106, fig.53. 57–8; Fox 1986, 240, fig.155. 1) was the usual form, but it was then superseded by the plain oval ring (Lindsay 1964, 75, figs 423–4). (728216A). DG.
- N.iii. Shoe buckle with decoratively-pierced, rectangular frame, curved in side view, retaining much of the chape but without the opposing tongue. Post-medieval, probably eighteenth-century (Hughes *et al.* 1972; Abbitt 1973). Length 60mm, width 47mm (546008) Rigold, 1954, Moat.
89. Horseshoe with worn toe and one thickened tip. The single nail has a head which expands to a flat top, and is therefore of a type of both late medieval and post-medieval date. The horseshoe, because of the thinness of its arms is, however, of post-medieval date, probably of the eighteenth or nineteenth century (Chappell 1973, 104–16, figs 1, 5, 6). (728227A). EB.
- N.iii. Rowel spur with straight, D-sectioned sides and neck, all broken. Overall length 67mm. (728227E). EB.
90. Padlock bolt with circular head and three spines, at least one of which when found retained a double leaf spring (now lost). Copper-base brazing spelter survives on the head. This type of bolt was used only with barrel padlocks with shackles, a type which, though of medieval origin, long outlasted the period (Hume 1969, 249–50, fig.78; Goodall 1983, 248, fig.7. 121; Goodall 1985, 54, fig.33. 52). (733718). EX.
- N.iii. Strap with irregular, convex sides and seven unequally-set holes; one end broken. The form suggests that the strap was used to reinforce timber construction, not as part of a hinge. Length 258mm, maximum width 43mm, thickness 5mm (546011). Rigold, 1954, unprovenanced.
91. Fragment of base of a cast-iron cooking vessel with founder's mark on base. It was originally labelled 'PATENT No. 5 1/2' which indicates, according to information from Carolyn Dallas, that it must date to after 1880. (728216B). DG

Fig. 35

92. Scissors with offset finger loops, curved arms and short blades, the complete one with a rounded end. This type of scissor had a specialised gardening use similar to secateurs, and the curved arms suggests a nineteenth or twentieth-century date, since earlier scissors almost invariably have straight arms and usually have centrally-set finger loops (Hume 1969, 267–9, fig.87; Moorhouse and Goodall 1971, 38, fig.17. 16; Goodall 1975, 63, fig.29 6–11; Goodall 1976a, 26, fig. 13. 8; Goodall 1976b, 60, fig. 9a. 8–10; Goodall 1983, 246, fig.6. 87–9; Grew 1984, 98, fig.50. 29–30; Fox 1986, 231, fig. 145.12). (733721). FM.

N.iii. Scissors with finger loops and arms similar in form to No. 92, but with blade though incomplete, of more conventional length. Overall length 91mm. (546005). Rigold, unprovenanced.

N.iii. Broken, straight scissor arm with centrally-set loop. Probably of seventeenth or eighteenth-century date. Length 66mm. (728938). CH.

93–104 Knives and knife handles

Close dating of such utilitarian knives and handles as Nos 93–4 and 97 is not possible, but there is every probability that many of the other knives, most of which have a bolster between blade and tang, could date from the main period of the castle's occupation which ended about 1650. The bolster was an innovation in hafting which was introduced during the sixteenth century, and the shapes and forms of those on the Baconsthorpe Castle knives can all be paralleled in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, although some also continued in use later in the seventeenth century and perhaps beyond (Hayward 1957, 4, 13–15, pls II–VIII; Moorhouse and Goodall 1971, 36–8, fig. 17. 1–11; Goodall 1977, 65, 70, figs 27, 29; Goodall 1975, 61–3, fig. 29. 2–4; Goodall 1976a, 26, fig. 13. 3, 4, 6, 7; Goodall 1983, 242, fig. 6. 73–84). The gold and silver decoration on the bolsters of Nos 95 and 104 is a feature found on other high quality early seventeenth-century knives (Hayward 1957, 6–7, 13–15, pls IIe–VIII; Goodall 1977, 65, fig. 27. 89; Goodall 1983, 242, fig. 6. 76; Somers Cocks and Blair 1979, cat. nos. 23, 24A–B, 25, 32, 33, 43, pl. 1, illus. 2, 5, 6) as well as such other contemporary objects as swords, spurs and buckles (Ellis 1974, 34, fig. 19. 40, pl. Ia, b). The use of elephant ivory for the handles of Nos 95 and 104, even if it is not carved or inlaid, further confirms the value of the knives. The identification of Nos 99 and 101 as coming from knives is based on their likely pre-1650 date. It was not until the late seventeenth century that the table fork, hafted as a pair with a knife, was used at all widely. Two of the knives, Nos 95 and 97, have cutler's marks, neither of them inlaid. Unless the inlay has been lost, its absence suggests a sixteenth-century or later date.

93. Knife with whittle tang and slender, broad but incomplete blade. Rigold, 1970, unprovenanced.
94. Knife with whittle tang and slender, broad but incomplete blade. Rigold, 1970, unprovenanced.
- N.iii. With a broken blade and tang, is 232mm long, the blade 40mm deep. (706461, 706462; 546007). Rigold, 1954, Moat.
95. Knife with whittle tang with end-cap identified as brass, fragment of wooden handle and an inlaid, octagonal-sectioned bolster. The blade has a cutler's mark which is not inlaid. Microscopic examination and X-ray fluorescence analysis revealed patches of gold leaf on the bolster and small fragments of silver. Copper was present as an alloy in the nobler metals. Microphotographs show cross-hatching of the iron surface to hold the gold leaf in place. (728204-5). DD.
- N.iii. Knife with bone handle, whittle tang and circular-sectioned bolster similar to that of No. 103. Length 142mm, blade depth 14mm. (546009) Rigold, 1954, Moat.
96. Knife with whittle tang with end-cap identified as brass, a shaped and octagonal-sectioned bolster, part of the wooden handle and a broken blade. The handle was identified as *Buxus* sp. (box) with a curly grain. (733709). ET.
- N.iii. Two knives with broken whittle tangs, medium length bolsters of circular and heater-shaped section, and broken blades. 78 and 95mm long. (733711; 733706). ET.
97. Knife with whittle tang and cutler's mark, not inlaid, in the form of a six-pointed star. (733712). ET.
98. Knife with broken blade, circular-sectioned bolster and wooden handle held in place by three iron rivets through the scale tang. The scales are probably *Acer* sp. (maple). Examination with a microscope revealed traces of resin-like material which may be the remains of a protective coating or varnish applied to the handle either when in use or during more recent conservation. (546006). Rigold, 1954, unprovenanced.
- N.iii. Knife with remains of wooden handle, scale tang and broken blade. The tang, which retains iron rivets, is unusual in being set at right angles to the plane of the blade. Length 97mm (546013) Rigold, 1954, unprovenanced.
99. Knife handle with bone scales and iron rivets. (728939). EG.
100. Knife with broken blade, circular-sectioned bolster and handle with shaped and decorated scales, more probably of antler than bone, held by iron rivets. (728206). DD.
101. Knife handle with decorated antler scales, held by iron rivets. An end-plate held by two pins, which were of iron on the evidence of corrosion products, has been lost. (728208). CE.

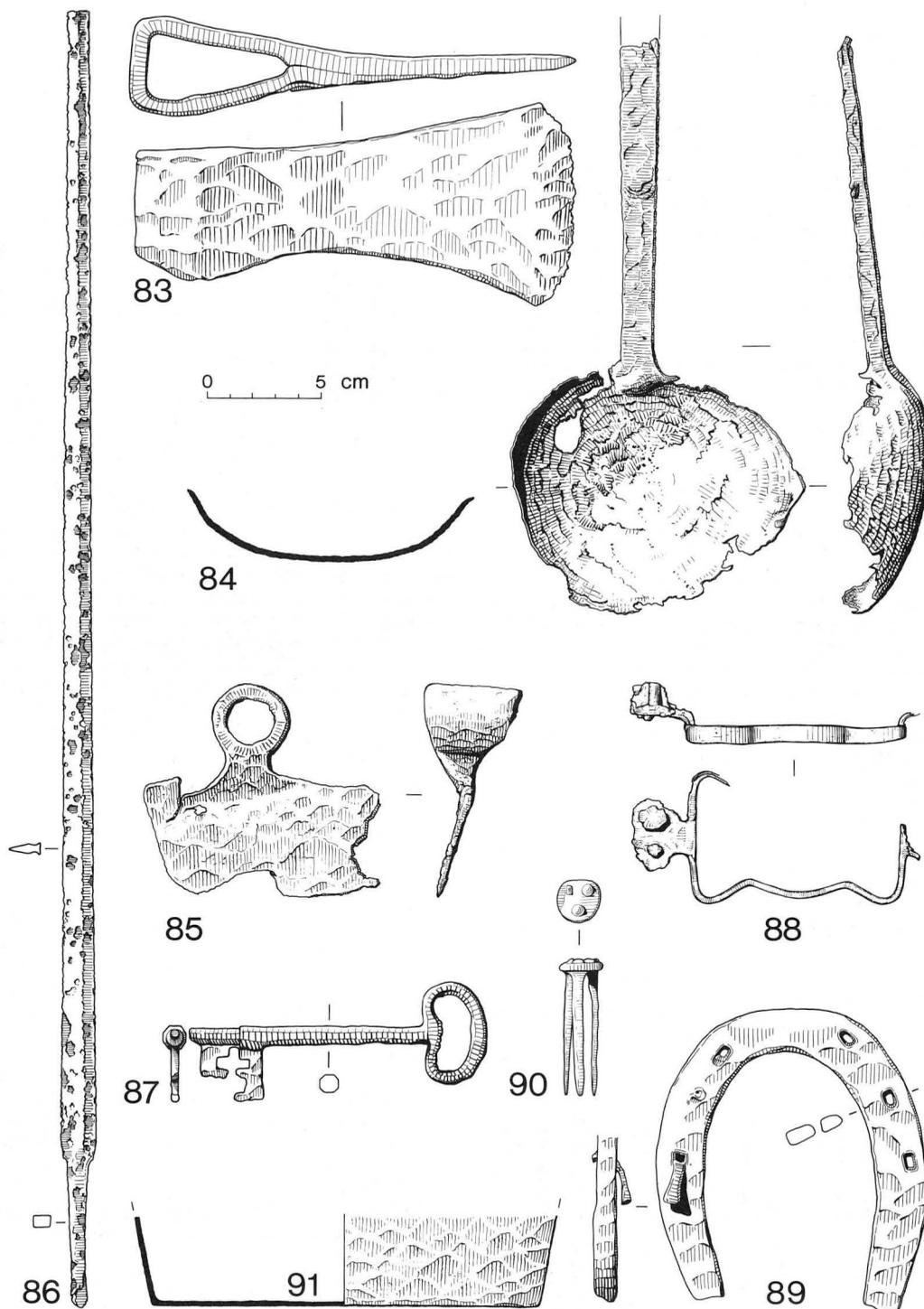


Figure 34 Iron objects, Nos 83-91. Scale 1:3

102. Knife with broken blade, oval-sectioned bolster, and shaped and decorated antler scales held by iron rivets and closed with an iron end-plate. (728207). DG.
103. Knife with broken blade, octagonal-sectioned bolster and whittle tang with shaped elephant ivory handle, the end-cap identified as brass. (733704). ET.
- N.iii. Knife with long, rectangular-sectioned bolster and broken blade, tang lost. Length 60mm. (733707). ET.
104. Knife with broken blade, circular-sectioned bolster and smooth elephant ivory handle set on a whittle tang. The bolster has traces of

gold leaf and silver decoration (confirmed by X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy) in the form of scroll and leaf patterns. (733705). ET.

N.iii. Knife blade fragment. Length 115mm, maximum depth 19mm. (733710). ET.

N.iii. Folding knife with bone handle, iron rivets and broken, angle-backed blade. Length 109mm. (546012). Rigold, 1954, unprovenanced.

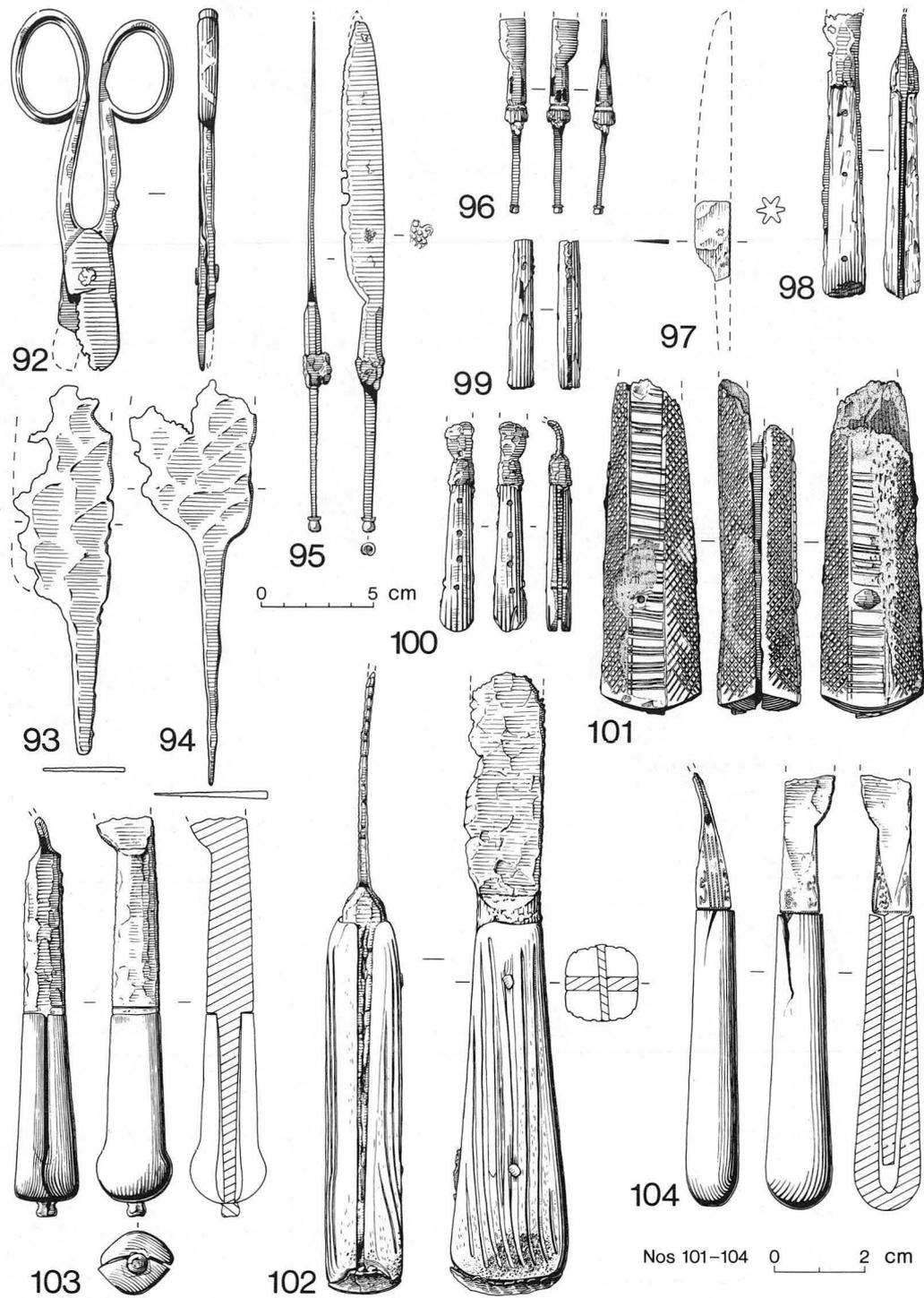


Figure 35 Iron scissors and knives, Nos 92–104. Scale 1:3 except Nos 101–104, scale 2:3

Cannon Balls

(not catalogued or illustrated)

Nine iron cannon balls were discovered in 1981 at the back of the Department of Environment's works compound situated to the west of the outer gatehouse. Enquiries made amongst the Department's labour force failed to find out anything more about their origin. The balls are hollow, *i.e.*

they were grenades which were filled with gunpowder, lit by a fuse and then thrown by hand or fired from a musket or cannon. Their diameter is 3ins (76mm) which when allowance is made for windage means they could have been fired from a 4lb gun. Date: roughly late seventeenth to first half of the eighteenth century. See also under Artefact Stone.

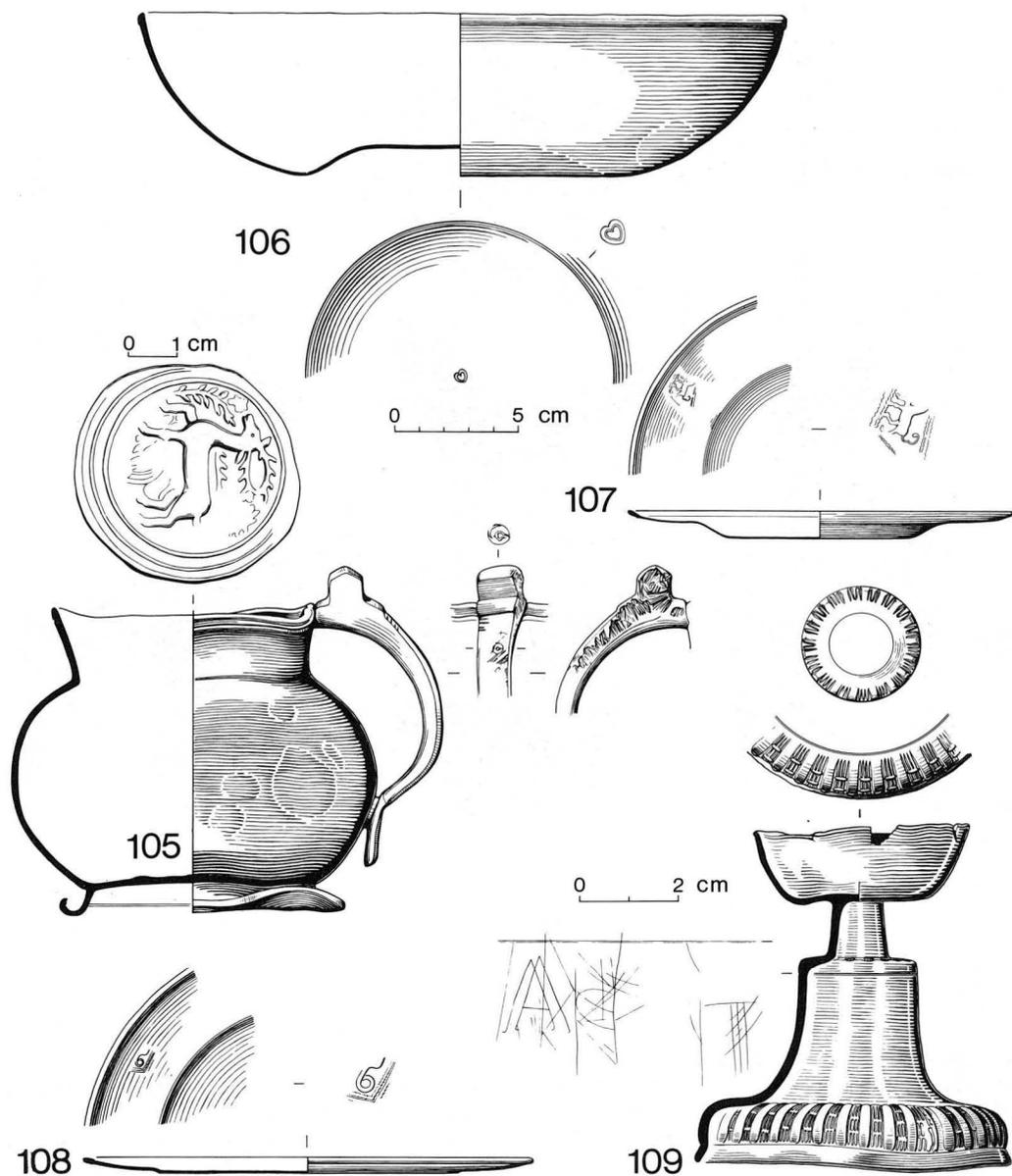


Figure 36 Pewter vessels, Nos 105–109. Scale 1:3 except No. 109 and stamps and marks, scale 2:3

V. Pewter

by R. F. Homer
(written in 1983)

Fig. 36

105 'Pot-bellied' vessel. This resembles very closely an otherwise apparently unique vessel of similar size recovered from the Mary Rose which sank in 1545. It also has stylistic resemblances to Dutch fifteenth/sixteenth-century vessels described as chamber-pots, particularly the thumb purchase and the overall form of the handle. The Baconsthorpe piece is probably English for the following reasons:

(1) It has a horizontal soldered seam around the body. This is the invariable manufacturing practice on later English bellied vessels. More often than not continental vessels have vertical seams and this is true of the Dutch fifteenth/sixteenth-century 'chamber pots' (Amsterdam 1979, 235 and 296 for illustrations and descriptions of five vertically seamed vessels of this type).

(2) It has a very small (c.5mm diam.) maker's touch mark on the back of the handle, probably a letter 'C' or 'G', and this resembles

the touches found on early English spoons. Further, the back of the handle is the usual place for English touch marks on the earliest surviving flagons of the first decades of the seventeenth-century. While some Dutch touches are found there, these are normally larger and embody a town's arms or a device.

(3) The cast medallion inside the base, which is a separate disk of pewter let in, resembles the medallions found in the bases of English baluster wine measures of the sixteenth/seventeenth-century (Homer and Shemmell 1983, 7 and 9). These are normally regarded as the housemarks of the owner or the tavern. It should however be said that medallions also appear in the bases of continental vessels of this period.

The Dutch 'chamber pots' could equally well be domestic jugs or drinking vessels. Whatever its purpose, the Baconsthorpe vessel shares with that from the Mary Rose the distinction of pre-dating by well over 100 years any other English jug, handled drinking vessel or chamber-pot of pewter. (546003). Rigold, 1954, unprovenanced.

106. Bowl. There appear to be no known parallels to this very interesting piece. It has a 'bumpy bottom' such as is usual on plates and dishes of fifteenth and sixteenth-century date and the small touch mark on the underside is similar to spoon marks of this period. (728257). EC.

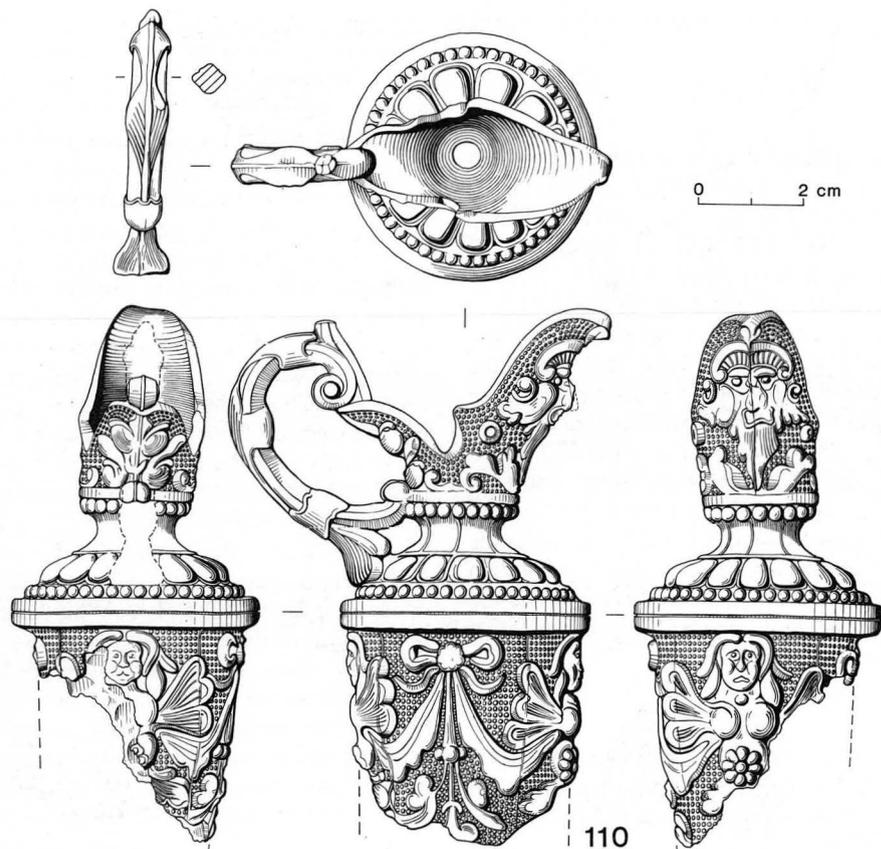


Figure 37 Victorian zinc ewer, No. 110. Scale 2:3

- 107** Plates. Little can be gleaned from these. No. 107 is fragmentary but **and** retains part of a punched mark on the upper face of the rim which **108** appears to be a lion. That part of the similarly placed mark on No. 108 which is not obscured by corrosion products appears to be the same device. Taken together the two marks can be read as probably representing a curly-tailed lion in a hexagon. No. 107 (728258), DI; No. 108 (546004). Rigold 1954, unprovenanced.
- 109**. 'Footed Cup'. This is a puzzling piece which appeared without parallel until the recovery in 1985 of an identical object from the Thames foreshore in London (private communication). Its possible identification as the lower half of a chalice, which had come apart at the joint around the knob of the stem, thus seems less likely. Assuming it to be complete, it appears too small to have been anything other than a salt, though its style differs markedly from any known type of salt. The gadrooning around the foot is unusual in its pattern and the piece may not be of English origin. (557000). Rigold 1954, unprovenanced.

- 108**. Plate. Essentially pure tin.
- 109**. 'Footed cup'. Approximately 95% Sn. 5% Pb, trace Cu. In effect, tin lightly alloyed with lead.
- Dr Homer comments: 'These results conform with the use of lead-containing alloys for hollow-ware and copper-containing alloys for flatware as laid down in the 1348 Ordinance of the London Pewterers (Welch 1902, Vol. I. 3). Other quantitative analyses of copper-containing pewter reveal typically 1–3% of copper and often a similar amount of lead (Carlson 1977 *passim*).'

Fig. 37

- 110**. Zinc ewer, possibly copper plated. Victorian, c. 1851 (Great Exhibition). The type copies Italian Renaissance ewers in precious metals. (525000). Rigold, 1952, unprovenanced.

Pewter Analysis by B. Knight and P. Wilthew

The pewter objects from Baconsthorpe Castle were examined by qualitative energy-dispersive X-ray fluorescence in the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, with the following results:

- 105**. 'Pot-bellied vessel'. Approximately 85% Sn. 15% Pb, trace Cu — a true pewter. The handle has the same composition as the vessel.
- 106**. Bowl. Essentially pure tin. trace only Cu, Pb, Fe.
- 107**. Plate. Essentially pure tin, trace only Cu, Pb.

VI. Coins

- N.iii.** Henry VIII, gilded penny, 'Sovereign' type, mint London 1509–26. Fragmentary, pierced for suspension and gilded afterwards. (868643). Provenance 'Baconsthorpe' (Rigold).
- N.iii.** Elizabeth I, half-groat, mint mark: martlet (North 1975, no. 1987), 1560–61 (868779). Provenance: '10ft south of north boundary wall, 2ft deep' (Rigold).

VII. Glass

by R.J. Charleston

Introduction

The glass from Baconsthorpe Castle comprises types, the main bulk of which may be dated comprehensively to the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, with a few presumably intrusive items (e.g. Nos 143–4, 152) which are of eighteenth- or even nineteenth-century date.

The most practical way of dividing the material is to consider two groups — the first comprising colourless transparent ‘crystal’ glass, whether the soda-lime ‘*cristallo*’ of the Venetian period (c.1450–1675) or the lead-crystal ‘flint glass’ of the English-dominated period after 1675; the second embracing the unrefined green potash-lime glass of the north European ‘Forest’ tradition. In a general way, the former category provided the luxury table glass of the wealthier classes of society, the latter the table glass of the commonalty and the purely utilitarian needs of all classes, including window glass. Most of the topics mentioned in this report may be found discussed at greater length in Charleston 1984.

Venetian Crystal

‘*Cristallo*’ was perfected about the middle of the fifteenth century, but for a while shared the luxury market with coloured glasses of various types, both colourless and coloured glasses being decorated by means of painted enamelling supplemented by gilding. This type of luxury glass is represented at Baconsthorpe by a single group of fragments (No. 111 below) which come from the bowl of a wine-glass. This was originally decorated with enamelling which can now be discerned only in a series of pittings in areas from which the enamel flaked away leaving the glass below vulnerable to further deterioration by weathering. Enamelling passed out of general fashion in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and was replaced as a decorative mode by the use of mainly opaque-white stripes of glass incorporated in the substance of the *cristallo*. Coloured threads (mainly blue) were also occasionally combined with the opaque-white, and, by the chances of archaeology, two separate examples of this type of decoration were found at Baconsthorpe (Nos 136 and 137).

The middle of the sixteenth century, however, witnessed a widespread use of *cristallo* by and for itself, at first in simple pure shapes, sometimes of exquisite grace, and subsequently supplemented by various forms of mould-blown (No. 127) and applied (No. 123, 140) ornament, in varying degrees of complication. The earlier phase of the process just sketched is probably represented by the heavily ribbed rim fragment (No. 124), the simple pedestal foot-cum-stem typical of the first half of the sixteenth century (No. 112) (Charleston 1975, 207), and the slightly more elaborate pedestal stem fragment (No. 113).

The development of the drinking glass in the second half of the sixteenth century was typified by the three-piece construction consisting of bowl, stem and foot, seen at Baconsthorpe in the considerable series of fragments of such glasses, mostly stems (Nos 114 to 123), the hollow-blown ‘lion-mask’ stem (No. 114) being typologically relatively early in the series, although such stems certainly survived well into the first half of the seventeenth century (Moorhouse 1971, 63, 65).

Characteristic of this period are the tall ‘cigar’ stems (Nos 118–121), which seem to belong to the first half, and more particularly the first quarter, of the seventeenth century (Charleston 1979, 286–7), the heyday of the monopoly of the English glass industry enjoyed by Sir Robert Mansell. A single example of a more elaborately wrought stem (‘of extraordinary fashions’, in the parlance of the age) is No. 123, on which a thick thread applied on a triangular plan is obviously the substructure for an elaborate open-work stem section below the bowl. Nos 126–130 represent a good cross-section of the bowl forms current in the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century (No. 130, however, may come from a beaker rather than a wine glass; and No. 128 probably comes from a wine glass of c.1670–75).

Goblets used for ceremonial purposes were normally furnished with a cover, and Baconsthorpe has produced two fragments of these (Nos 131–2), one decorated with a not particularly elegant finial, the other showing the characteristic outward fold which located and held firm the cover on the rim of the glass. With the exceptions already noted, most of these glasses were plain, but Nos 125, 129 and 127 were decorated with mould-blown ribbing, horizontal on the first two, vertical on the last. The same mode of decoration was employed on one or two of the drinking vessels other than three-piece wine glasses found at the Castle (Nos 133, 135). Fragments of a third beaker (No. 134) showed a mesh design of lozenges within a lattice.

The use of coloured opaque threads as decoration, referred to above, is found on two of the Baconsthorpe glasses — a wine glass bowl (No. 137) decorated by a horizontal band consisting of a cable formed of blue and opaque-white threads twisted together, laid between two outer bands of plain opaque-white; and a far more complex glass (No. 136), perhaps a beaker rather than a wine glass bowl, decorated with blue, red and white stripes lightly embedded in a colourless matrix and deflected in the working from a vertical to a diagonal ‘wrythen’ arrangement; like the previous glass, it is further decorated with applied horizontal bands of blue-and-white cables between outer bands of opaque-white.

The use of *cristallo* for other than drinking glasses is demonstrated by the fragmentary dish No. 138. Such small dishes, probably to be identified as ‘spice plates’, have come to light on a number of English sites (Charleston 1984, 70). A more enigmatic object of colourless glass is the curved fragment No. 139, apparently cut from a vessel with sloping sides, its edges deliberately scalloped, presumably cut with a diamond point. No convincing suggestion can be advanced as to its use.

The most important find among the Baconsthorpe glasses, and one apparently unique in British archaeology, is a pouring vessel of greyish-colourless lightly bubbled glass, made in the form of a fantastic bird, the body of the bird forming the body of the vessel, its head and neck acting as a handle, and its pouring spout forming a ‘tail’ (No. 140; Plate XXVI). Two wings are made of applied strips of self-coloured glass notched by the glassman’s shears, and the body is further decorated by three applied pads of glass (‘prunts’) impressed with a rosette motif, possibly originally intended to be finished with a blob of turquoise glass applied centrally (see below). The bird’s head is tooled to shape and then decorated with similar applied prunts for eyes and with a tooled crest in



Plate XXVI Venetian glass theriomorphic pouring vessel (No. 140)

self-coloured glass. The vessel may originally have stood in a pedestal foot, for a circular hole in the base could be explained by the breaking away of such a foot. An applied pad on the breast of the bird shows a breakage, and it is impossible now to surmise what its original shape was.

Theriomorphic pouring vessels of this kind have a long history. Already in Roman times, mainly in the third century AD, small flasks with trumpet-shaped orifice were made in forms variously identified as mice, pigs, squirrels and fish (Lucerne 1981, nos 433–6; Isings 1957, 112–3, form 95). The animal forms were normally rendered standing on their four feet, but there was a second type of container, usually identified as an *askos*, which consisted of a flattened barrel-shaped body on which the vessel stood, a vertical trumpet-mouth, and a ‘tail’ turned upwards in an S-curve (Yacoub 1972, 36, fig. 21; Hayes 1975, no. 197). In both known instances the ‘tail’ is blocked off at the end and could not serve as a spout, access being through the trumpet mouth only, as on the Baconsthorpe glass.

The theriomorphic type of pourer can be traced through the Islamic period, when the representation of the animal takes on a distinct air of caricature (Saldern 1974, no. 298; 1980, no. 183). The animal stands on four feet and the pouring lip forms part of its head: a new feature is that a loop is fixed in the middle of its back, as a handle. The tradition passed, perhaps from the Islamic Near East, to Venice. Four examples are known with the white-striped decoration already referred to, called for convenience a

filigrana. The technique, although coming to the fore in the first half of the sixteenth century, survived well into the seventeenth. The pieces in question are:

(a) A ‘tortoise’ with flattened body on three feet, with pouring spout at its rear, the head apparently stopped off. The back is decorated with plain ‘raspberry prunts’, which also serve the creature for eyes (Brussels, Musees Royaux; see Liege 1958, no. 288).

(b) A closely similar vessel with plain white stripes, decorated in the centre of the back with an applied pad impressed with a human mask and surrounded by four applied pads with central turquoise ‘jewels’, similar pads also serving to represent the animal’s eyes (Haynes 1966, pl. 27, g. Now in the Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio).

(c) A similar vessel with two heads, one with applied ‘wattles’ in opalescent glass, and a pouring spout shaped like a horse’s head, both with eyes formed by bead canes of concentric opaque-red, white and translucent dark blue glass. The piece, like (a) above, is decorated with alternating plain stripes (*a fili*) and cables (*a retortoli*), stands on four feet, two pairs facing in opposite directions. It is distinguished from the other two examples in having a filling hole in the middle of the back, between two applied loop handles (Weiss, 1971, 110; *J. Glass Stud.* 1960, 141, no. 17).

(d) A fantastic fish with a pouring spout as ‘tail’, (Nesbitt 1878, 64, pl. XIII), with fins of applied and notched *crystallo* and eyes from bead sections.

The third of these pourers introduces a new feature in the form of the filling hole occupying the centre of the back. This may be seen again in a number of vessels made of colourless glass in Venice or elsewhere in the *'façon de Venise'*. Best known of these, because so often reproduced, is a horse in the Museo Vetrario in Murano, with a double-swelling body, pouring spout at the tail, and applied blue-green finishing touches to the ears, eyes and the rim of the filling hole (Mariacher 1961, pl. 51; Mentasti 1982, fig. 104). This horse stands well clear of the ground on four legs. In the same Museum, however, is a pouring vessel without filling hole, in the form of a bird, with three vestigial feet, pouring lip at the 'tail', and elaborate pincered decoration on the neck and head, all these details being in blue-green glass (Mentasti 1982, fig. 104).

Theriomorphic containers with such filling holes have of late tended to be identified as lamps (Mariacher 1959, 58; Charleston 1977, 116–8), a function suggested by the appearance on a number of them of attached discs which might be thought to have acted as reflectors or draught shields. It has recently been suggested, however, that these discs were intended to diffuse the vapour of a perfume decanted from the container (Rückert 1982, I, 56), whereas the pouring spout combined with the filling holes on other models, without the disc, suggest a pouring vessel rather than a lamp. It is, perhaps, unprofitable to pursue too utilitarian a line in an interpretation of the possible uses of such containers. They are primarily for surprise and amusement and numbers of designs for such vessels are to be found among the projects for fantastic glasses executed by such artists as Giacomo Ligozzi (d. 1626) (Zecchin 1961, 57ff) or Giovanni Maggi (c.1603) (Barocchi 1977, *passim*) — some of them too complicated for actual execution in glass. In the company of such fantasies the Baconsthorpe glass seems sober enough, but it must have struck a sufficiently alien and exotic note in the Norfolk of the seventeenth century.

Deliberately Coloured Glass

A strong blue is seen in the small flask neck No. 141 with its decoration of roughly but forcefully 'wrythen' mould-blown ribbing. More sophisticated, and of long lineage, is the *calcedonio* glass of the small base fragment No. 142. This type of glass, imitating the markings in natural semi-precious stones such as agate, was first made in the mid-fifteenth century, and seems to have been revived in the seventeenth, being described in the epoch-making technical manual *L'Arte Vetraria* by Antonio Neri, published in Florence in 1612 (Gasparetto 1958, 90–1; Mentasti 1980, 33–48).

English Crystal

With the development of lead crystal in England in the last quarter of the seventeenth century (Charleston 1984, 109–26), the old *cristallo* of the Venetian tradition was superseded by the more solid and brilliant material. One or two pieces (Nos 143–4) in this glass are probably to be regarded as later than the main life of the castle.

Natural Green Glass

In the Middle Ages, England formed part of a large area in northern Europe where local demand for glass was met by a complex of glasshouses situated in the woodlands which supplied their raw materials — wood for firing and to

produce thereby the ash which was the main flux used (Charleston 1984, 17–18, 29–38). Local sand was also used as far as possible, the only imported materials being refractory clays for making the glass pots (if indeed the pots were not brought in readymade). This potash-lime glass normally showed green owing to the natural iron impurities in the sand used, and was relatively susceptible to 'weathering' when exposed to damp conditions. In extreme cases, buried glasses may be completely denatured, turning to a light and friable black or brown substance which holds its original shape until subjected to pressure or friction. The medieval technology seems to have been improved after the middle of the sixteenth century, perhaps owing to the immigration of glassmakers from the Continent, but green glasses of even seventeenth-century date often show marked degradation as a result of burial.

Of this material were made some of the utilitarian vessels of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Although humble enough, it was probably more expensive than wood, leather or pottery, and its use was reserved to many of the categories for which glass is normally used today. In the medieval period it was the chosen material for hanging lamps (Charleston 1984, 31) but this use declined in the sixteenth century and no lamp fragments are identifiable at Baconsthorpe. A second use to which the qualities of the material ideally lent themselves was for urinals, those bottle-like vessels with convex base which are usually represented in the hand of Saints Cosmas and Damian in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings. The glass, blown thin to the point of colourlessness, enabled inspection of the contents by transmitted light. Although not infrequent on seventeenth-century sites, only one example (No. 145) seems to have occurred at Baconsthorpe, the up-turned lip and convex base being typical. Although two or three different shapes ran concurrently in the Middle Ages, there seems to be no topological development which has significance for dating (Charleston 1983, 113–4).

Probably the commonest glass vessel was the bottle, characterised by a more or less globular body, with a shallower or deeper re-entrant 'kick' in the centre of the base, and a cylindrical or tapering neck with out-turned lip, often cut off aslant (Charleston 1984, 33–6). Baconsthorpe produced a number of necks of such bottles (Nos 146–150), one of them decorated with vertical mould-blown ribbing 'wrythen' diagonally in the work (No. 150). There is no means of knowing just how the bodies of these bottles looked. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the use of square or polygonal moulds produced vertical-sided bottles with a short neck, often with the slant wise finish to the lip (Charleston 1969, 89). Bottles of square section were well adapted to fitting into the compartments of wooden cases, giving the 'chest of glasses' not infrequently mentioned in seventeenth-century inventories (No. 151) (Charleston 1984, 91–2 and below, Sir John Heydon's inventory of 1643). About the same time green glass began to be put to the use of apothecaries and others in various versions of the 'albarelllo' form, some with concave-profiled sides, others cylindrical, but all with wide out-turned rims (Nos 153–4), over which could be tied a protective cover of paper or parchment: occasionally these wide-mouthed jars were blown in moulds of square section, for economy of space on the shelf or in a case (Charleston 1984, 93).

Just before the middle of the seventeenth century a new type of bottle evolved in England, made of thick green glass and provided with a glass thread applied below the neck rim in order to anchor the pack-thread or wire by which the cork was secured (No. 152). This made possible the storage, and ultimately the binning of wine in bottles, and the bottling of effervescent beverages such as ale, mineral waters, *etc.* (Charleston 1984, 93–6).

A further extension of the bottle-form comes in the shape of the cruet, or small ewer, with handle and spout, known from paintings but not hitherto certainly identifiable on English sites. Neck and handle fragments have, however, been recognised in Chichester and at Basing House and the spout No.155, to which the base No.156 may well belong, probably formed part of a vessel of this sort (Charleston 1981, 226, no.24; Moorhouse 1971, 64–6, nos 16–17).

The use of green glass for making drinking glasses seems not to have occurred in England much before the middle of the sixteenth century (Charleston 1984, 86–9). The main shape — no doubt imported from the Continent — was a tall cylindrical glass rising from a pedestal foot made by pushing in the bottom of the ‘paraison’ (or bubble glass) to make a concave base of double thickness (Nos 157–161) (Charleston 1984, 86–9). It is sometimes difficult, however, to be sure that a base of this construction was not used for a flask, bowl or some other shape (Nos 160–1). These backers were often decorated by means of mould-blowing (No. 158).

Window Glass

Throughout the Middle Ages two traditions of window glass blowing seem to have co-existed, their development occurring at different times in different places (Chambon 1963, 165–78). The first method consisted of blowing a sphere of glass, transferring it to a pontil (a solid iron rod) and widening the hole left by knocking off the blowing iron at the opposite side of the paraison. After repeated reheating the paraison was opened out by spinning the pontil so that centrifugal force produced a large circular panel, much thickened in the centre where the pontil had been attached. The large scar of such a pontil is to be seen in the centre of No. 162 which was probably used as a ‘bull’s eye’ window panel, although it is not impossible that it was the base of a very large vessel. ‘Crown’ glass made by this method was distinguished by uneven thickness but superior surface brilliance owing to the ‘fire polish’ obtained by repeated reheating. The circular panel was cut as economically as possible into lozenge-shaped (No. 164) and triangular (No. 165) ‘quarries’.

The second process consisted of blowing a long bladder of glass, opening up the bottom and enlarging it to the diameter of the rest of the cylinder. A special disc pontil was attached at this point and the paraison knocked off the blowing iron, the resultant hole being enlarged to match the cylinder in diameter. The cylinder was then removed to a separate furnace for annealing (gradual cooling). When this process was completed the ‘muff’ was moved to yet another subsidiary furnace, where it was slit longitudinally, reheated and opened out into a flat rectangular sheet. The advantages of this in making possible a series of rectangular panels is obvious: the disadvantage was that the flattening process, using tools to press down the glass, marred its surface brilliance by comparison with panels made by the ‘crown’ process.

Characteristically, the sheet derived from the ‘muff’ had a slightly thickened seam down each edge, and this feature may be seen in the small oblong panel No. 163. The remaining edges of this, as with the lozenge-shaped quarry No. 164, were reduced to the exact shape and size required by the glazier’s ‘grozing’ iron, a slotted tool with which the edge of the glass was, as it were, nibbled into the required shape. The quarries were held in place in the window by means of leaden ‘comes’ of H-section soldered at their point of junction (No. 165).

Catalogue of Glass (Figs 38–42)

Fig. 38

111. Three fragments of greyish-colourless *cristallo* showing traces of enamelling. Venetian; early sixteenth century. (546048). Rigold, moat.
112. Foot of probably biconical goblet, made by pushing in the base of the paraison, greyish-colourless *cristallo* with iridescent weathering. Venetian; first half of sixteenth century. (546031). Rigold, moat.
113. Foot of a goblet with inward-turned rim, greenish-grey *cristallo* with dull overall iridescent weathern. Probably Venetian; mid-sixteenth century. (788277). CH.
114. Wine glass stem, greyish *cristallo* blown into a two-piece mould patterned with lion masks alternating with festoons below rosettes. *Façon de Venise*; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (546022). Rigold, moat.
115. Foot and hollow-blown stem of a wine glass, greyish *cristallo*. Probably English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (546024). Rigold, moat.
116. As 115, with iridescent weathering. (546028). Rigold, moat.
117. Part of glass as 115, but with folded foot. (546026). Rigold, moat.
118. Foot and hollow-blown ‘cigar’ stem of a wine glass, the foot with folded rim. Probably English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (728292). EB.
119. Base of bowl and hollow-blown ‘cigar’ stem of a wine glass, brownish *cristallo*. Probably English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (546018). Rigold, moat.
120. Fragment as 119, but with shorter stem and case of conical bowl, greyish *cristallo*. Probably English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (546020). Rigold, moat.
121. Top of hollow-blown ‘cigar’ stem of a wine glass, greyish *cristallo*. Probably English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (546021). Rigold, moat.
122. Hollow-blown inverted baluster stem of a wine glass, greyish *cristallo* with overall silvery weathering. Probably English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (546019). Rigold, moat.
123. Hollow-blown inverted baluster stem of a wine glass with applied self-coloured decoration above, brownish *cristallo*. Probably English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (546017). Rigold, moat.
124. Rim fragment of a goblet, with mould-blown ribbing, greyish *cristallo*. Probably Venetian; first half of sixteenth century. (728277). CH.
125. Wall fragments of a wine glass bowl, greenish *cristallo* with iridescent weathering, with horizontal ribbing. *Façon de Venise*; c.1550-1650. (728289). DB.
126. Base of conical bowl of a wine glass, greenish-grey *cristallo* with dull overall iridescent weathering. Probably English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (727277). CH.
127. Base of spreading hemispherical bowl of a wine glass, greyish *cristallo* with light iridescent weathering. Mould-blown with light vertical ribbing. Probably English; first half of seventeenth century. (728277). CH.
128. Base of round-funnel bowl of a wine glass, *cristallo* with overall silvery iridescent weathering. Probably English; c.1670-75. (546047). Rigold, moat.
129. Bowl fragment of drinking glass, *cristallo*, probably mould-blown with horizontal ridges. Venetian or English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (546016). Rigold, moat.
130. Rim fragment of wine glass or beaker, greenish-colourless glass with overall dull silvery weathering. Probably English; first half of seventeenth century. (728277). CH.

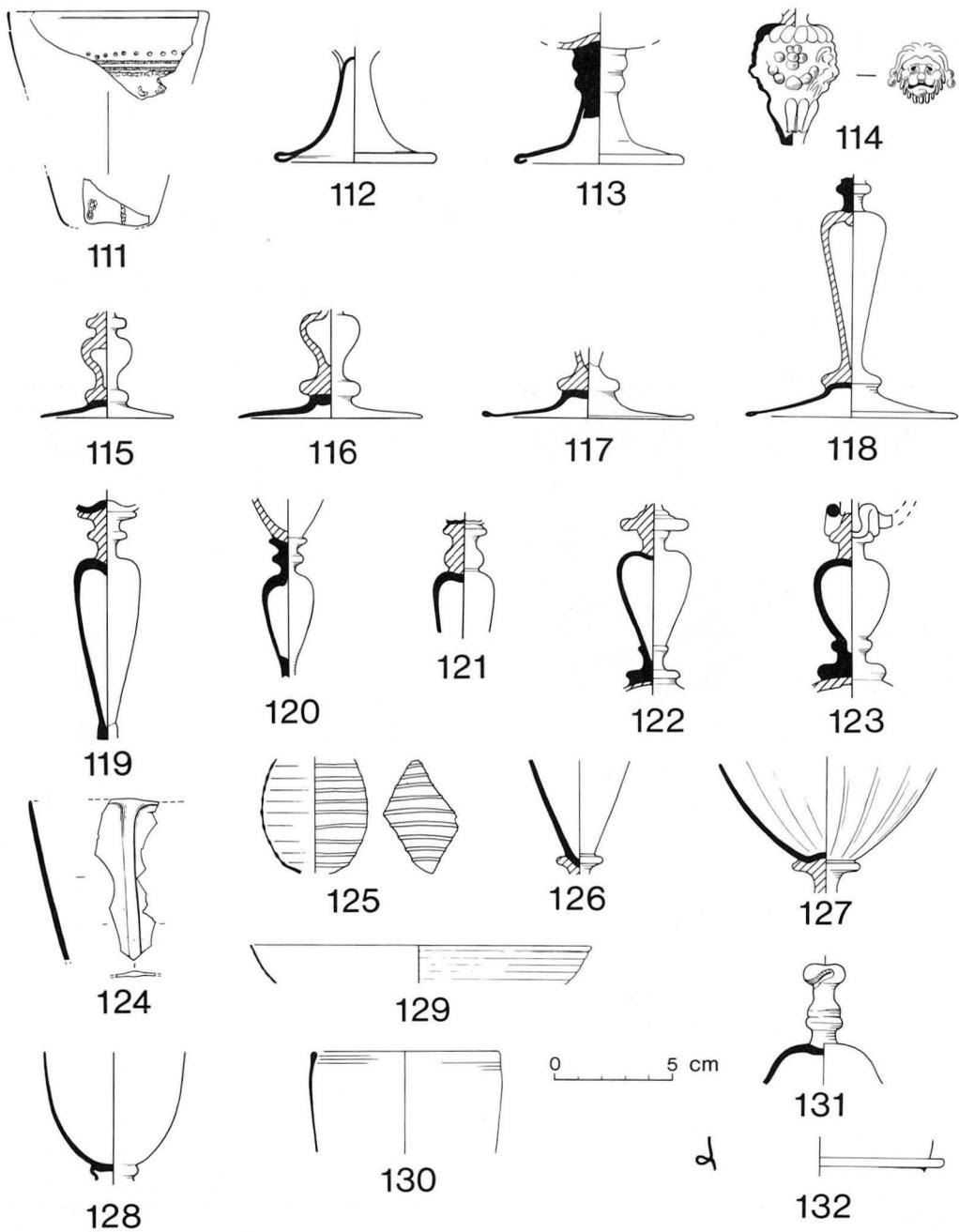


Figure 38 Glass vessels, Nos 111–132. Scale 1:3

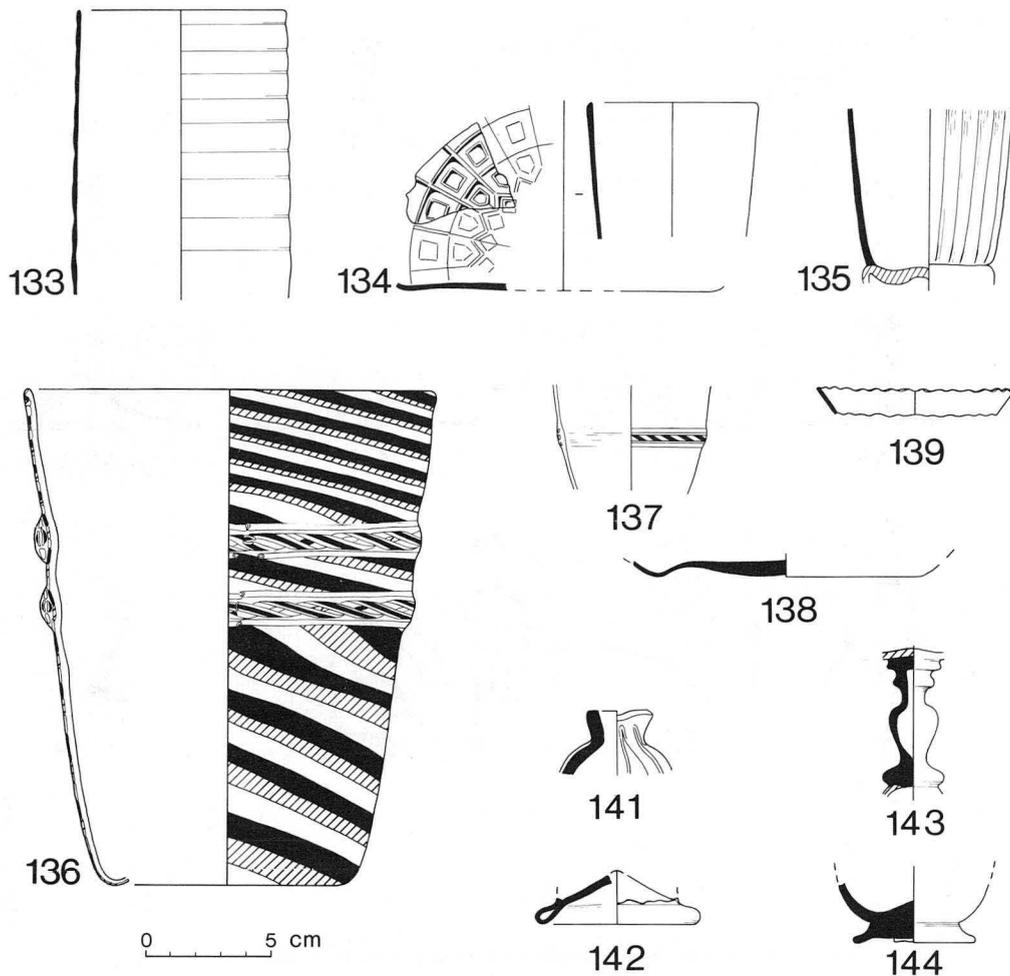


Figure 39 Glass vessels, Nos 133–139, 141–144. Scale 1:3

131. Fragmentary cover of goblet with solid finial, greyish *cristallo*, with pontil mark on underside. Venetian or English; first half of seventeenth century. (733702). EZ.
132. Fragment of cover of goblet, *cristallo*. Probably Venetian; first half of seventeenth century. (728274). CB.

Fig. 39

133. Wall fragments of beaker, greyish *cristallo* with slight iridescent weathering, with horizontal ribbing. Probably English; first half of seventeenth century. (546042 and 546044). Rigold, unprovenanced.
134. Base and rim fragments, perhaps of the same beaker, green-greyish *cristallo*, the base showing mould-blown diaper design. Netherlandish or English; first half of seventeenth century. (728276). (For this type, see e.g. Chambon 1961, 39–49; Terlinden and Crossley 1981, 189, 191). CH.
135. Body and base fragment of a beaker, green-greyish *cristallo*, the bowl with mould-blown vertical ribbing, the base with pontil mark below. Netherlandish or English; first half of seventeenth century. (733703). EZ.
136. Body fragments of large goblet bowl or beaker, made of alternating threads or opaque-red, -blue and -white on a *cristallo* base, spirally 'wrythen' and decorated by two applied horizontal bands each composed of a blue and opaque-white cable between two opaque-white threads. Probably Netherlandish; first half of seventeenth century. (546045). Rigold, moat.
137. Bowl fragment of goblet, *cristallo* with applied horizontal band composed of a blue and opaque-white cable between two opaque-white threads. Venetian or perhaps Netherlandish; first half of seventeenth century. (728277). CH.

138. Base fragment of dish, greyish *cristallo*, with slight iridescent weathering, with pontil mark below. Probably Venetian or English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (546050). Rigold, moat.
139. Fragmentary ring of uncertain use, greyish *cristallo*, the edges scalloped. *Façon de Venise*; late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century (546041). Rigold, moat.

Fig. 40

140. Fragmentary pouring vessel (for description see pp.68–70). Venetian; probably first half of seventeenth century. (Pl. XXVI). (728200). CQ.

Fig. 39

141. Neck fragment of a heavily ribbed small bottle, deep cobalt blue glass. Probably Venetian or English; seventeenth century. (728292). EB.
142. Base of a cup or bowl, marbled brown glass (*calcedonio*). Venetian; seventeenth century. (546040). Rigold, moat.
143. Stem fragment of a goblet, greyish lead crystal. English; about 1700. (546051). Rigold, moat.
144. Base fragment of a small bowl, lead-crystal with dulled surface, rough pontil mark below. English; first half of eighteenth century (546052). Rigold, moat.

Fig. 41

145. Rim and base fragments probably of the same urinal, pale green glass with some iridescent weathering. English; late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century. (728289 and 546016). Rigold, moat, and DB.

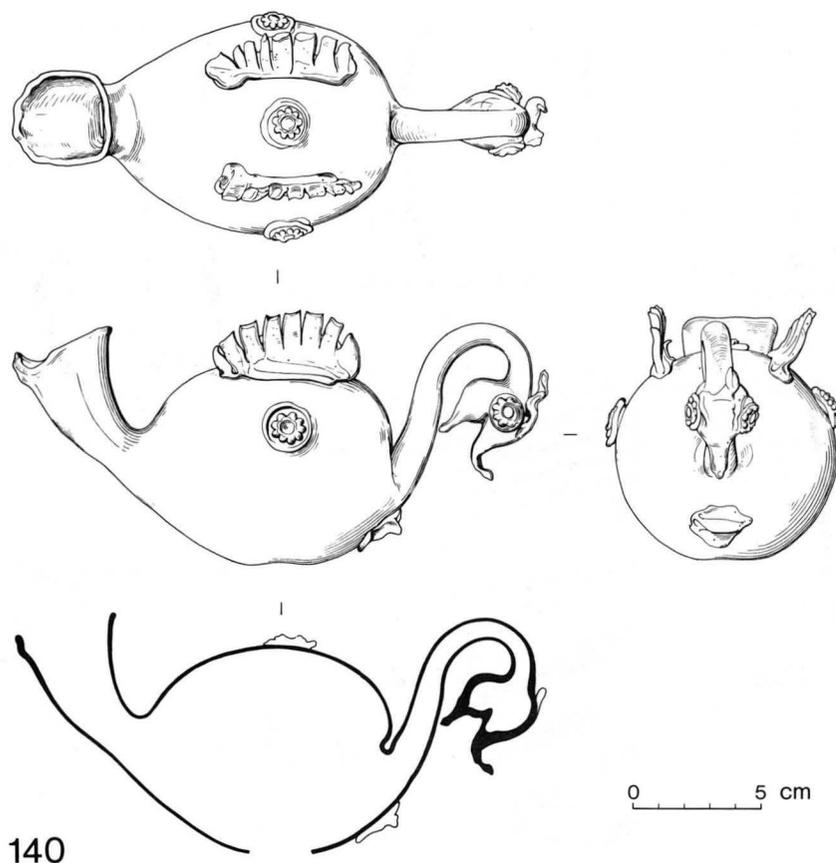


Figure 40 Glass pouring vessel, No. 140. Scale 1:3

146. Bottle neck with out-turned lip, green glass with iridescent weathering. English; late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century. (546036). Rigold, moat.
147. As 146. (728277). CH.
148. As 146. (728277). CH.
149. As 146. (546035). Rigold, moat.
150. As 146, but blue-green glass with flaking brownish weathering, decorated with 'wrythen' mould-blown ribbing. (728277). CH, as 113.
151. Neck and base fragments of a case bottle, pale green glass with flaky buff and silvery weathering. English; seventeenth-century. (546034). Rigold, moat.
152. Bottle neck with applied 'string rim', thick dark-green glass (found with other fragments of same fabric). English; middle or second half of eighteenth century. (728289). DB.
153. Rim fragment of wide-mouthed jar, pale yellowish-green bubbly glass with patchy iridescent weathering. English; seventeenth-century. (728277). CH.
154. As 153, but pale green with silvery weathering. (728275). CG.
155. Spout of a cruet, pale green glass with flaky brownish and iridescent weathering. English; probably first half of seventeenth century. (728277). See 156. CH.
156. Base fragment, perhaps of No. 155. (728277). CH.
157. Beaker base of pushed-in construction, pale green glass with iridescent weathering. English; c.1600. (728289). DB.
158. As 157, but with vertical mould-blown ribbing. (546032). Rigold, moat.
159. Fragment of base as 157. (728298). EF.
160. Doubled foot rim of a (?)bowl or flask, pale green glass with patches of brown and iridescent weathering. English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (728289). DB.
161. As 160. (546033). Rigold, moat.

Fig. 42

162. 'Bull's eye' (?) from the centre of a panel of 'crown' glass, pale green glass covered with beige and silvery weathering. English; probably seventeenth-century. (728297). EE.
163. Panel of 'muff' window glass, pale green with silvery iridescent weathering, with edges partially 'grozed'. English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (728277). CH.
164. Quarry of window glass, almost colourless with much patchy brown/orange weathering, with grozed edges, slightly over 1mm thick. English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (733700). EZ.
165. Triangular quarry, greenish-colourless glass with iridescent weathering, grozed on the two short sides, still retaining its lead comes. Approximately 2.5mm thick, English; late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century. (733720). FO.

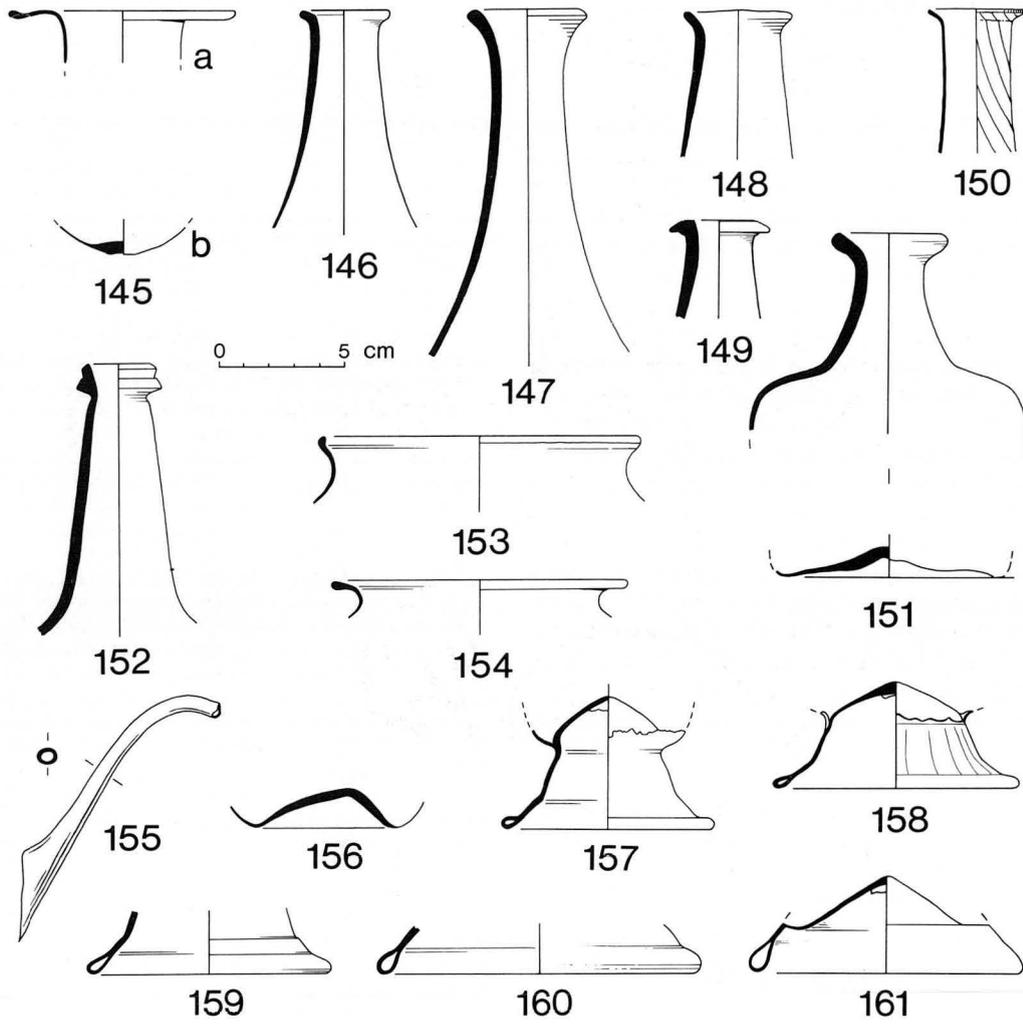


Figure 41 Glass vessels, Nos 145–161. Scale 1:3

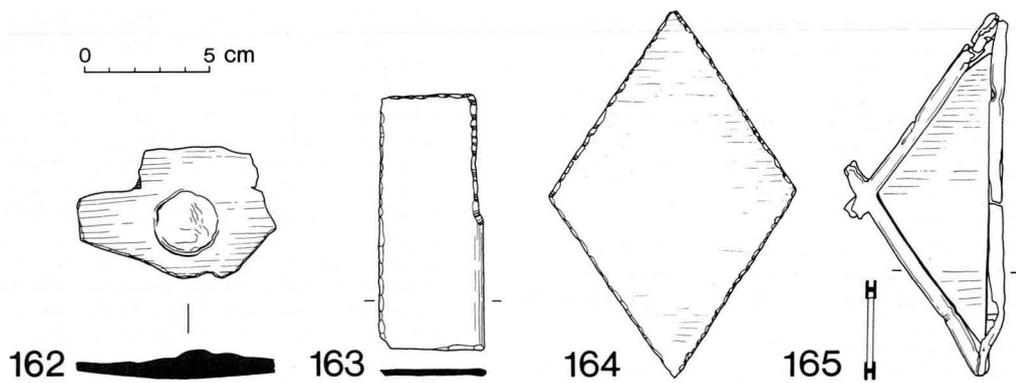


Figure 42 Window glass, Nos 162–165. Scale 1:3

VIII. Clay Tobacco Pipes

by Susanne Atkin
(not illustrated)

The majority of the twenty-two provenanced fragments (seven from the bank, fourteen from the moat, one from the mere) are undatable. The only datable fragments are a small complete bowl from the castle bank (Trench 5, layer 7), comparable to Atkinson and Oswald's London typology (1969) fig. 1, no. 4, 1610–40; two rim fragments from the castle bank (trench 8, layer 12) and from the west edge of the mere, both probably from the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century; and a spurred bowl fragment from the moat (Trench 10, layer 3), probably from the mid- to late eighteenth-century. The stems offer no firm dating evidence apart from two narrow-bored (5/64th) fragments (castle bank, trench 4, layer 7) suggesting an eighteenth-century date based on a study of large numbers of pipes and stem bores in Norwich.

The thirty-five unprovenanced fragments (possibly from machine clearance of the moat) include a worn, mid-seventeenth-century bowl c.1640–70; three eighteenth-century bowls and base-types, marked with the initials, WA, HW, [JH]; one late eighteenth-century spurred bowl with a long body, one probably late eighteenth/early nineteenth-century spurred and fluted bowl, and one heavily smoked nineteenth-century bowl.

All types are paralleled by bowls found in Norwich, which is the most likely place of manufacture. The initials WA correspond with a recorded Norwich maker, William Adamson, a freeman in Norwich c.1767 (Karshner 1979, 311).

IX. Ceramic Building Materials

by P. J. Drury

Bricks: Flemish

1. ? x 110/20 x 45/50mm, low density pink/yellow/purple fabrics, made in unsanded forms on surface covered with (?) hay, and thus equivalent to Norwich Early Bricks Group B, although here a sunk margin is usual.
2. ? x 95 x 45mm, pink/buff hard fine fabric, sunk margins.
3. Coping bricks (Fig. 43), 215 x 100 x 100mm, highly fired purple fabric.

Typically Flemish bricks have a distinctive fabric derived from recent alluvial or estuarine clay, and were imported between the late thirteenth and late fifteenth centuries. Dating of the various sizes and sub-types is as yet uncertain but group 1 above would be consistent with the fifteenth century. The copings, for a half brick wall, and thus most likely part of a crenellated parapet or stepped gable then a continuous structure, are so far unique.

4. As Norwich LBI (*i.e.* c. 215/235 x 105/115 x 45/50mm, orange to red sandy fabric); typically c.1475–1625+.

Bricks: Local

5. ? x 125 x 50+mm (worn on face); orange red fabric with cream streaks and grog lumps, of Norwich LB2, but these are larger.

Floor Tiles

6. More than 100 tiles and fragments are sufficiently consistent in their fabric and general finish to imply that all originated from the same source at approximately the same time. They have a rather sandy orange to purple fabric, with many small voids and a few lighter streaks; the bases retain fine sand from the stock table, and the edges are variable in their angle of trimming. Sizes and colours are as follows:
 - A. 125–30mm sq. 25–7mm thick, 4 nail holes, yellow or mottled green, 7 examples.
 - B. 150–55mm sq. 25–7mm thick, 5 nail holes, brown or mottled green, 3 examples.

C. 200–05mm sq. 25–30mm thick. 5 nail holes, yellow or mottled green, 13 examples.

One overfired fragment (B or C green) has the edge of another tile adhering to the face. There is also a Flemish brick 215+ x 102 x 50mm, with a hard, dense, purple-red fabric with cream streaks, covered with glaze runs and with signs of floor tiles of this type having adhered to it. This seems to have been used as a kiln prop. Despite their presence however, there can be little doubt of the Flemish origin of these tiles. Not only was a nailed board used to grip them in trimming, but their fabric and finish are entirely consistent with the mass of Flemish tiles from eastern coastal sites. Very probably this material was 'accidentally' included in what must have been a very large consignment of tiles to form the primary floors of the new buildings, at some time between 1450 and 1490.

The study of similar tiles from many sites in East Anglia has shown that all fall into three size ranges; 100–135mm, 160–180mm, and 200–265mm square. Of these, the small and the large are much more common than the medium size. The normal pattern of English use was to lay tiles of a single size in two colours chequerwise; and although at many sites tiles of two or even three of the size groups are present, they are all so different in the details of their fabrics and finishes as strongly to suggest primary use at different times. Baconsthorpe provides the only clear instance of the contemporary importation to, and by implication use in a single building, of all three sizes at the same time.

To understand the implications of this it is necessary briefly to review some of the continental evidence. In the mid to late fourteenth century there was a fashion in the Low Countries for mosaic floors composed of simple rectilinear elements, generally based on sub-divisions or multiples of a module of c.60mm. These floors also included some slip-decorated and tin-glazed vert-et-manganese tiles. One centre for their manufacture was Utrecht, and they occasionally reached eastern England, for example Norwich (FT15), and Hadleigh Castle in Essex c.1368. It is from these that the sizes of plain tile derived, being originally 2, 3 and 4 times the basic module (*i.e.* 120, 180, 240mm). Some of these pavements had borders composed of simple patterns using only complete plain tiles, and it seems probable that other contemporary examples were formed wholly in this way. Such simple arrangements outlived the more elaborate mosaic, and the use of single sizes of tile in two colours to produce patterns more elaborate than a chequer, and of three sizes of tile (usually no longer in any strict modular relationship) to produce simple patterns persisted through at least the fifteenth century. Presumably the latter was done at Baconsthorpe; if so, the floors would have been, so far as we know, unique at this date in East Anglia.

7. Three fragments of yellow glazed tiles (30–35mm thick) similar to Group 6 (but because of minor differences in the fabric probably from a different source) were also present; perhaps acquired subsequently for, *e.g.* repairs.
8. Unglazed pavement tile, 230mm sq. 40mm thick, pinkish streaky fabric; another fragment, 27mm thick, fine orange fabric, edges as moulded. Both post-medieval, seventeenth/eighteenth-century.
9. Dutch polychrome tin-glazed tile fragments, c.late sixteenth-century (Fig. 43).
10. Klinkarts c.145/50 x 60/65 x 30mm, worn on one edge, and so used in the standard way for paving. Early records of these are lacking, but they are mentioned in mid-eighteenth-century builder's handbooks.

Roof Tiles: Flat

11. Standard flat peg tiles in red, variously sandy fabrics, (Norwich, RT4) are ubiquitous; one is 225 x 140 x 12mm, but generally 155–180mm wide; normally with two peg holes, occasionally one; also complementary ridge (18mm thick knife cut edges) and hip tiles.

Variants are:

12. Distinctive very hard, ill-mixed fabric with grog inclusions, variegated colours, dark grey/red/buff, core generally reduced, surface cream/pink; 150–175mm wide; several wasters present (Norwich RT1).
13. Harsh sandy fabric containing small pebbles and grog lumps; yellow streaked purple, with greyish yellow surfaces; ? x 155 x 15mm, two peg holes (similar to, but smaller than, Norwich RT5).
14. Pink fabric with buff streaks, containing grog lumps, largely buff surfaces (Norwich RT7); one fragment only.
15. Very harsh red fabric containing many transparent quartz sand grains; 15mm thick (not recorded in Norwich).
16. Ridge tile fragments, fine red fabric with grey core, 12mm thick, with orange glaze becoming sparse away from ridge; made in unsanded form. Resembles the probably thirteenth-century Norwich RT2 glazed roof tiles, especially in the use of an unsanded form.

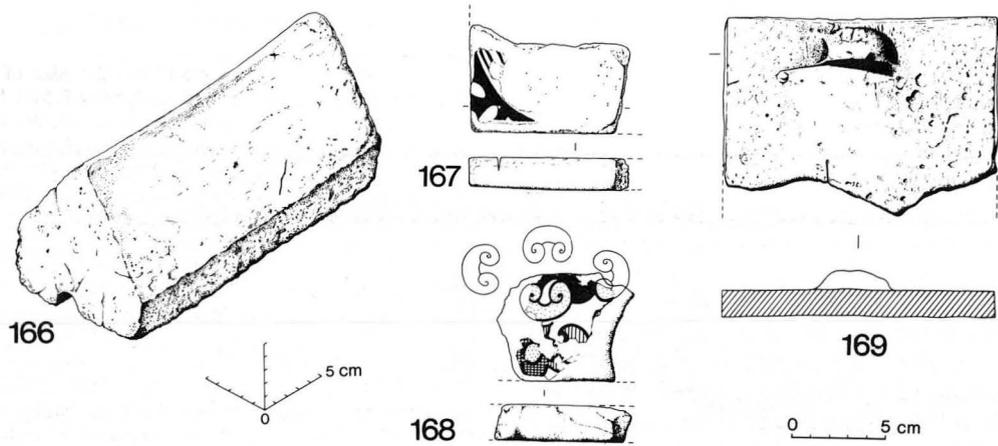


Figure 43 Coping brick, No. 166. Isometric scale. Dutch floor tiles, Nos 167–168; roof tile, No. 169. Scale 1:3

Roof Tiles: Nibbed

17. Fine orange fabric with small voids and orange flecks; 140–50mm wide, c.200–220mm long, 14–15mm thick, made in finely sanded form with sinking in bottom to produce the single nib; which, like the edges of the tiles, is often trimmed with a knife in finishing (Fig. 43); complementary valley tiles occur. The equivalent of Norwich RT 8C, there rare.
18. Standard pantiles; unglazed examples (Norwich RT10) occur in modest numbers, with a few black glazed fragments (RT11).

Unglazed pegtiles are the standard regional type c.1350–1650; most rare in red fabrics (11). The use of visually distinctive clays (12–15) offers the possibility of tracing the marketing areas of individual production centres. The fact that three out of four of these distinctive fabrics also occur in Norwich provides the first indication of the scale of the trade in the area. Provisional dating from Norwich sites suggests that our groups 12 and 14 were current around the early sixteenth century; nine is important numerically at Baconsthorpe so groups 12–15 may all be associated with minor repairs. The fragment of an early glazed ridge tile (Group 16) probably reached the site as rubble.

In contrast to, for example, Essex, where nibbed tiles are often early, it seems probable that the Group 17 tiles are late medieval. Similar tiles (TR8B) occur c.1450–75 in Norwich, so these may be contemporary with the building of the castle. Pantiles both glazed and unglazed (18), are definitely in use these by the middle of the seventeenth century. Nine other pieces of polychrome, hand-painted tin-glazed tiles were also recovered from unstratified contexts. They are of Dutch manufacture and the designs can be paralleled on the continent. The use of manganese on one fragment supports a date after c.1700 for this piece but the rest may be late sixteenth-century in date. They were used no doubt to decorate a fireplace. (This paragraph kindly supplied by L. J. Keen.)

X. Artefact Stone

- N.ill.** Fragment of limestone quern. Internal diameter 30cm, height 23cm; wall 4.2cm thick. A.N. Moore Catalogue (see below) no. 1162. Provenance unknown. From site finds hut.
- N.ill.** Double cresset lamp, the holes each approximately 11 by 8 by 6cm deep. A. N. Moore Catalogue no. 1155. Provenance unknown. From site finds hut.
- N.ill.** Stone cannon ball 4ins in diameter. Provenance unknown. From site finds hut.

XI. Architectural Stone

The stones in store at Baconsthorpe were first catalogued by A. N. Moore in 1973 for the Department of the Environment (the numbers in the following list are from his official catalogue) but he was unable to ascertain where any of them came from except for the most obvious such as those from the west pinnacle of the outer gatehouse and

four large fragments of vaulting, each with bosses and ribs, from the inner gatehouse passage. All the stonework is in good-quality limestone, presumably from Northamptonshire. The selection of carvings and mouldings here illustrated in Figs 44–48 show conventional Perpendicular styles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The spandrels with leaf carving (Fig. 44, Nos 170–172), if indeed from the inner gatehouse, cannot date from the original build but could belong to Sir Christopher Heydon I's work at Baconsthorpe (1550–1579) since the style of the foliage is renaissance, not gothic. The style may be compared with the decoration of the porch at Old Gorhambury mansion (Herts), built by his friend Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1563–68 (Pevsner 1977, 147). Two of the decorated stones (Fig. 46, Nos 176 and 177) were re-cut and a third (Fig. 47, No. 178) had its carving filled in with mortar, all three very soon after they were first carved. The three could have come from a late medieval religious building, perhaps a chantry founded shortly before the Dissolution. Sir John Heydon II paid £400 for Weybourne Priory in 1545 and c.1559 Sir Christopher I purchased the free chapel of St Dunstan's in Saxthorpe which had been dissolved in 1546 (Blomefield 1805–10, 6, 507 and 9, 450). We can now only speculate where most of these stones actually came from.

Catalogue of carved stonework (Figs 44–48)

Fig. 44

170. Part of the left-hand spandrel of a four-centred arch, carved with a three-pointed oak leaf sprig with central roundel. 1164.
171. Another fragment of the spandrel. 1164.
172. Part of right-hand spandrel of same arch. 1200. The inner arch of the inner gatehouse seems the only place to which these three fragments of spandrels could have once belonged. This archway is now 3.05m wide while the estimated width of the arch formed by these stones is nearer 2m.

Fig. 45

173. Fragment of lunette with rosette design. From former west pinnacle of outer gatehouse. 1173.
174. Fragment of another lunette with part of its cornice. From same source as last. 1150 a and b.
175. Section of Ionic cornice with scrolled and triglyphed dentil. 1172.

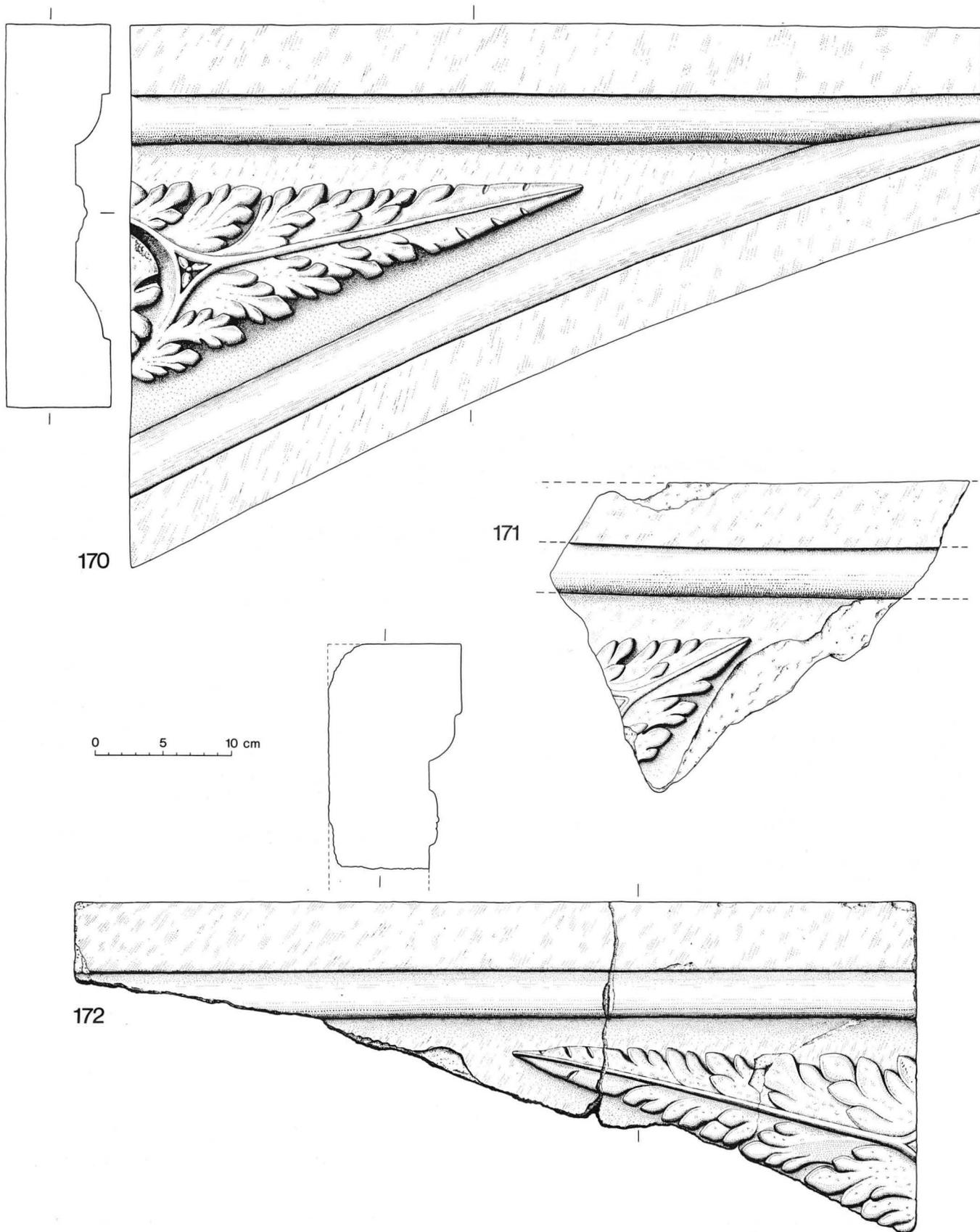


Figure 44 Carved stonework, Nos 170–172. Scale 1:4

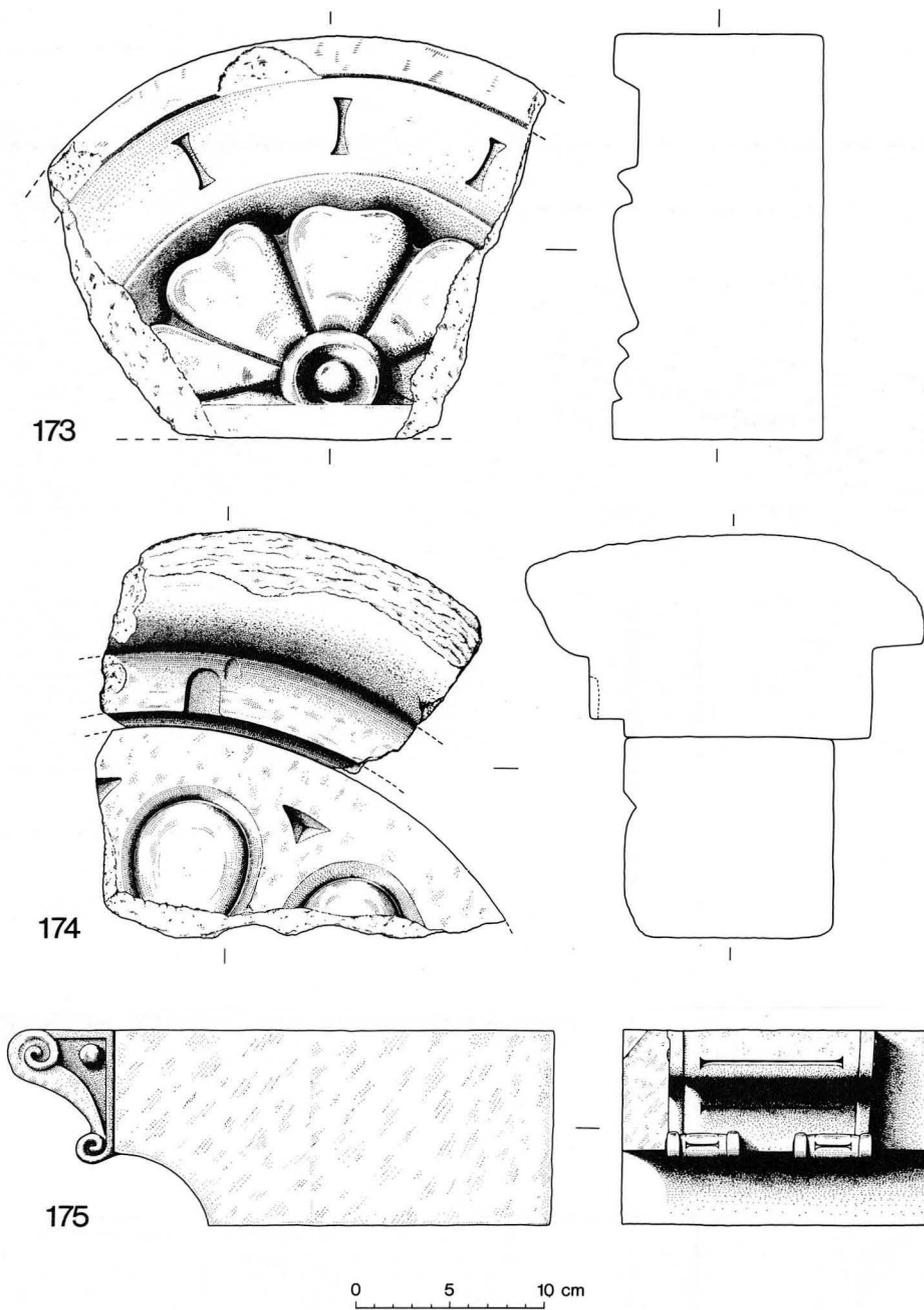


Figure 45 Carved stonework, Nos 173–175. Scale 1:4

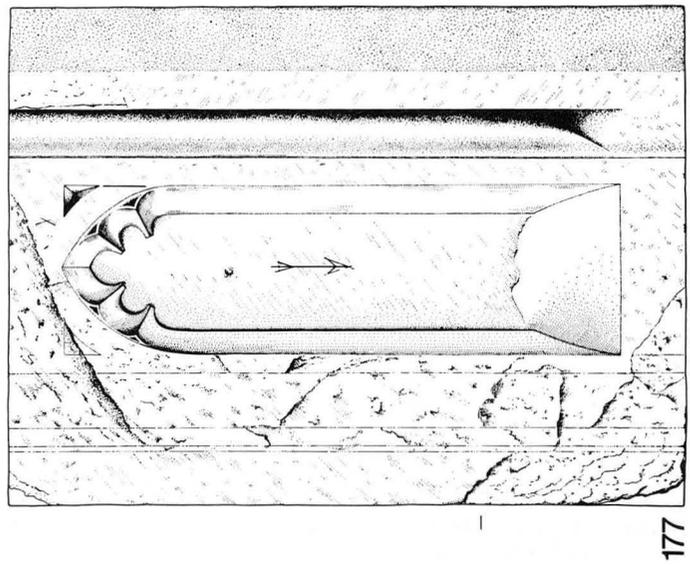
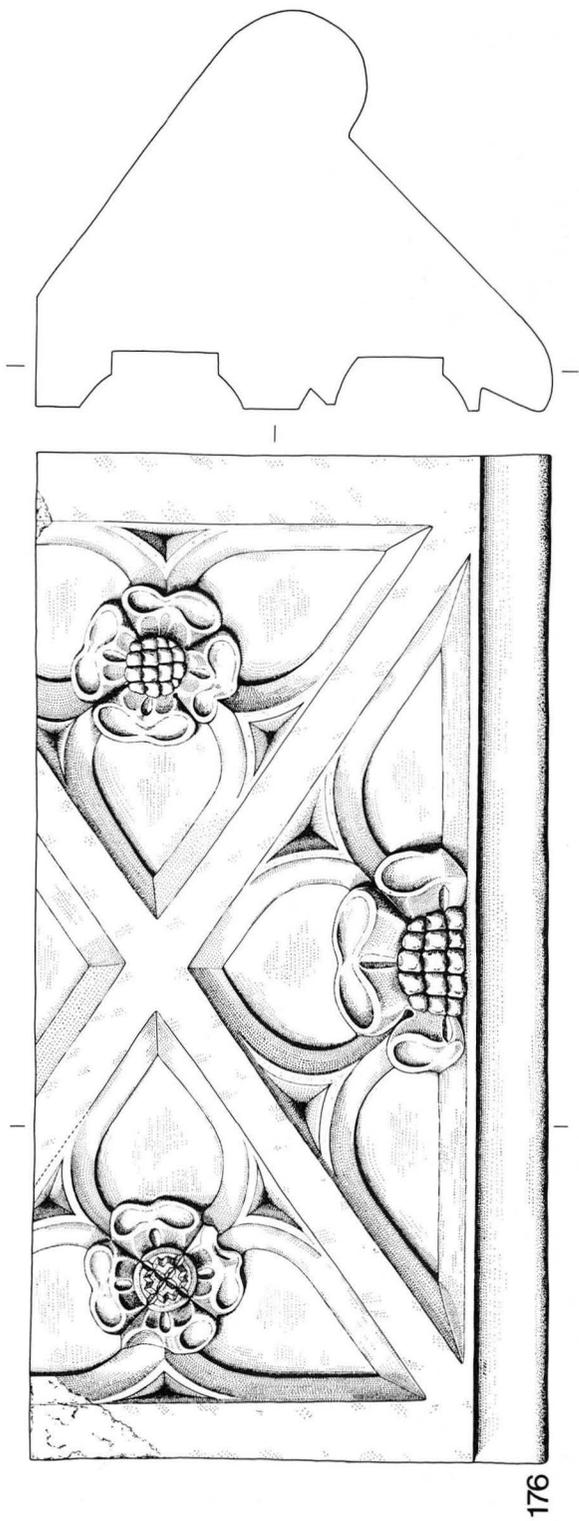


Figure 46 Carved stonework, Nos 176–177. Scale 1:4

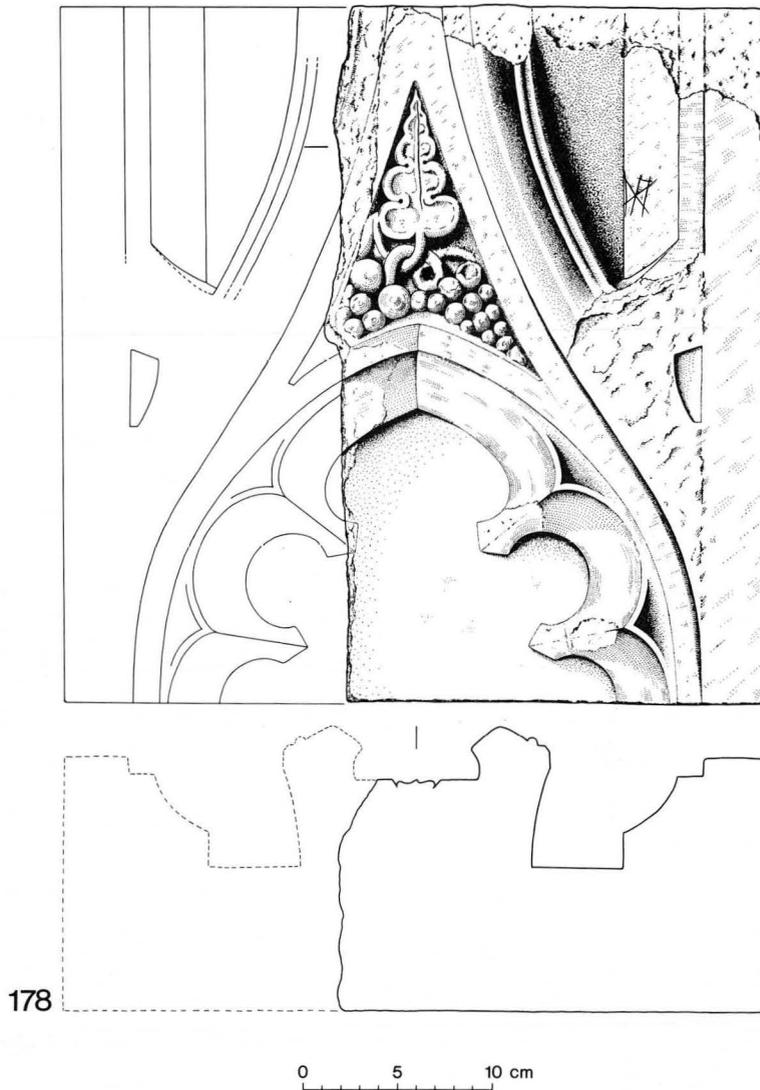


Figure 47 Carved stonework, No. 178. Scale 1:4

Fig. 46

- 176.** Section of blind tracery with cusped saltire and Tudor rose design, turned and re-cut to form a coping stone with a profile similar to Fig. 48, No. 181. There are two pieces of a similar design, but with IHS in the centre of the saltire, in the stone store at Binham Priory. 1166.
- 177.** Section of Perpendicular blind arcading with cusped cinquefoil head. The panel has traces of red paint and an arrow incised down the centre. Above the arrow is a slight depression, perhaps intended for the fixing of a statuette. Turned and re-cut to form a window jamb with slot for glazing and hollow chamfers. 1165.

Fig. 47

- 178.** Section of blind arcading forming a cusped ogee arch and fruit motif above. Mason's mark to right. 1144.

Fig. 48

Architectural stone mouldings

- 179.** Square ogee finial, top and bottom missing. 1146.
- 180.** Square base for pinnacle with under-cut ogee offset. 1104.
- 181.** Coping stone, probably from outer gatehouse gable, with moulding similar to Fig. 46, No. 176. 1118.

- 182.** Keyed coping stone. 1168.

- 183.** String course with rolls and hollow chamfer. 1161.

- 184.** String course with roll, hollow and chamfers. 1127.

- 185.** String course with ogee and chamfer. 1134.

- 186.** String course with ogee and roll. No number.

- 187.** Jamb with roll and hollow chamfer. 1124.

- 188.** Jamb with rolls and hollows. 1125.

- 189.** Jamb with multiple rolls and hollows. 1114.

- 190.** Jamb with ogee, roll and hollow. 1110.

- 191.** Jamb with rolls and hollows, turned and re-cut with hollow chamfer. 1167.

- 192.** Window jamb, chamfered. 1108.

- 193.** Window jamb with hollow chamfers and rebate. No number.

- 194.** Window mullion with hollow chamfers. 1163.

- 195.** Window mullion, half chamfered. 1140.

- 196.** Vaulting rib with hollow chamfers. 1156. One of nine. This is not the same as the moulding of the surviving vaulting in the inner gatehouse.

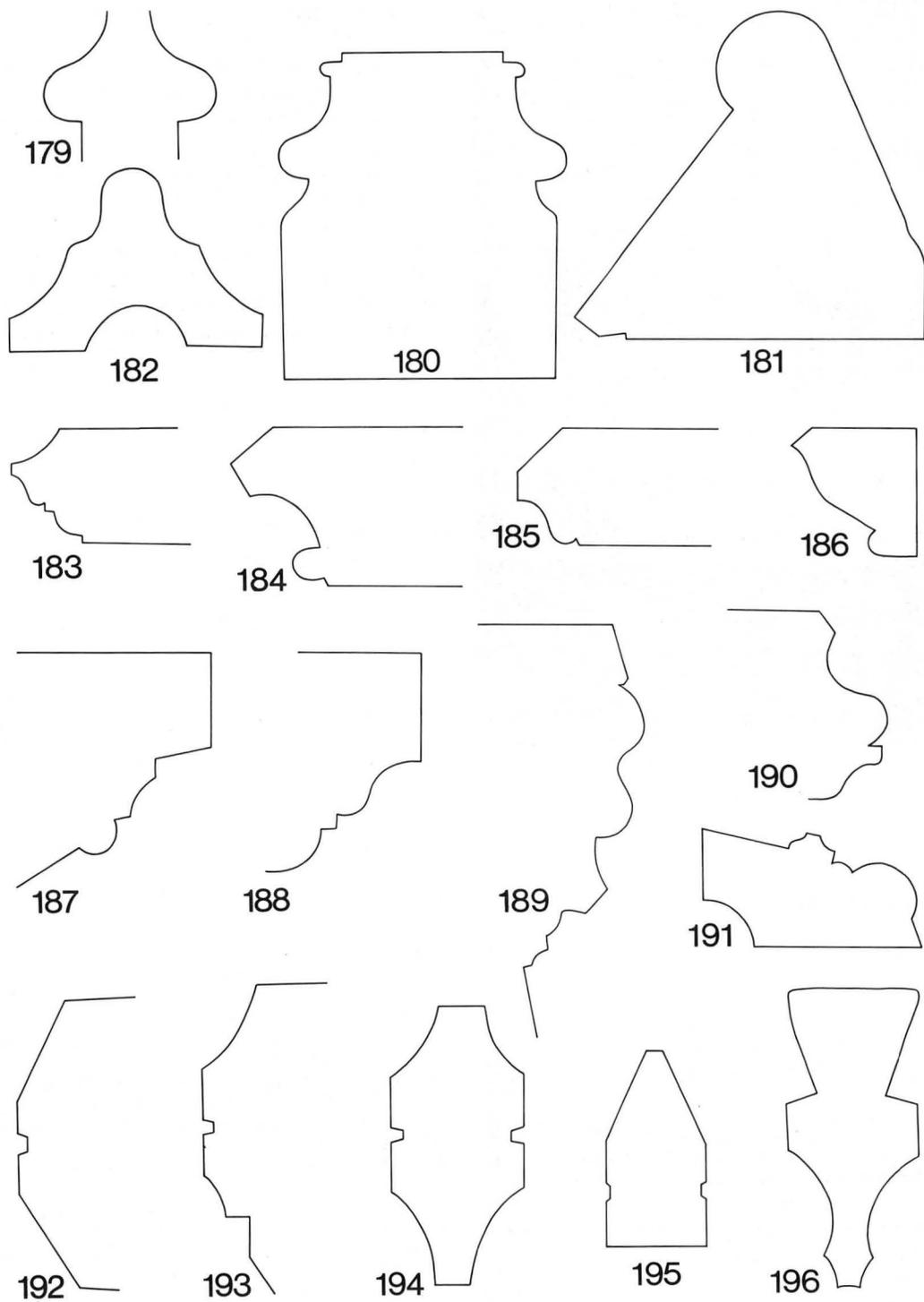


Figure 48 Architectural stone mouldings, Nos 179–196. Scale 1:6



Plate XXVII Stone panel carved with an Annunciation scene

XII. Sculptured stone

Pl. XXVII

Fragment of clunch panel carved with part of an Annunciation scene. Maximum dimensions 40 x 24cm (15¾ x 9½ ins). No sign of paint. Found at some time between 1945 and 1950 in a blocking in the so-called chapel above the inner gatehouse. Mentioned in Rigold (1966, 9) but otherwise unpublished. 1174.

The carving shows the Virgin Mary kneeling on a cushion before a panelled altar or prayer desk. Her arms (the hands are missing) are raised in gesture towards a damaged carving of what was probably a scroll with words emanating from the missing angel Gabriel. Behind her head are large flower petals and a dove in flight. The complete carving could have fitted comfortably on the 57ins-wide east wall of the chapel and formed a reredos. Presumably it is contemporary with the building of the gatehouse by John Heydon I in the later fifteenth century and was concealed at the Reformation. A chapel at Baconsthorpe is mentioned in the will of John Heydon II (d.1550).

Representations of the Annunciation, the first great miracle of the Christian faith, are common in medieval art and it is not surprising to find one at Baconsthorpe. The scene is portrayed on an early twelfth-century seal from

Binham Priory nearby, and on thirteenth- to fifteenth-century pewter badges from Walsingham where a supposed replica of Mary's house (where the miracle took place) became a feature of the pilgrimage there. It is worth noting that Sir John Heydon I bequeathed 10 marks to the poor of Walsingham and 5 marks to the Franciscans there. The causeway between Thursford and Walsingham was built at the expense of Sir Henry Heydon (Blomefield 1807 (6), 506).

The Baconsthorpe scene is similar though less sophisticated in style to contemporary carving in Nottingham alabaster but because it is incomplete close comparisons of treatment are not possible. For example, two alabasters show the prayer desk to the right of Mary and a lily, her symbolic flower, in a pot beneath a scroll which is carried in one example by a dove emanating from the mouth of God with Gabriel standing below, and in the other, by Gabriel flying down from above alone (Gardner 1951, figs 607–8). The Baconsthorpe flower is clearly not a lily but the position of the bird beside the head can be paralleled by examples of the scene in stained glass.

XIII. Leatherwork

by the late J. H. Thornton

Fig. 49

- 197** Left welted sole and matching insole. The left sole (198) shows the and typical and marginal sole stitching with holes c.8mm apart set 'in channel' c.7mm from edge. A second set of holes indicates a repair addition. Worn away at usual places inside toe and outside heel. A diagonal impression at the heel seat shows where a repair piece was added. The corresponding insole (No. 197) shows the coarse edge/flesh welt seam, holes c.8mm apart, and the sinking in between the margins due to foot pressure. Length of insole c.220mm (8.7 inches, a size 1 adult's). The welted construction puts the shoe after 1500, but as the toe has worn away the shape is difficult to determine. The outside edge of sole toe and inside edge of insole toe suggest a fairly pointed toe rather than the early sixteenth-century very round or square toe: so the shoe may be late sixteenth-century. (728251). DY.
- 199.** Welted insole. ?Right foot, man's. The welt stitching seam (6mm) is set in a rib about 6mm from the edge suggesting a seventeenth-century date (earlier ones have an edge/flesh seam as for turnshoes). There is also some indication that a heel was used and this, plus the almost 'straight' (symmetrical) shape, suggests the seventeenth or even eighteenth century. Three holes across the waist indicate that a repair 'clump' was added. Length c.240mm (c.9.5 inches or size 4 adult's). (728252). DE.
- 200.** A small triangular piece with edge/flesh holes suggesting the toe-end of a very pointed fifteenth-century shoe sole. Some diagonal grooves on the flesh side could be the impression of lasting string. (728253). DR.
- 201.** Welted sole (?left foot). The sole has the square toe with ears typical of the middle Tudor period (c. 1545±10). The sole/welt seam has holes c.3.5mm apart 'in channel' set in 4.5mm from edge. Hole in centre of waist and forepart may indicate where the sole was attached temporarily to insole and last before stitching. The fashionable 'ears' and fine sole stitching suggest a high quality shoe. There is also little wear apparent (except where left corner of toe is missing). The 'eared' square-toe shoe appears on tombs between c.1535 and 1555. (728254). EN.
- 202.** Welted sole, probably left foot with wear at inside toe end and outside heel seat. Rounded toe, almost symmetrical shape. Stitch holes 'in channel' c.3mm apart and set in c.4mm from edge. (cf. No. 203 insole). (728255A (a)). EB.
- 203.** Welted insole belonging to No. 202. Edge/flesh welt seam c.7mm stitches. Length 225mm (size 2). (728255A (b)). EB.
- 204.** Welted insole, toe-end missing. Possibly left foot, very narrow waist (cf. No. 198 insole). Welt seam holes 7–8mm apart. (728255A (e)). EB.
- 205.** Washer or toggle. Seven-sided with central hole. (728255A (g)). EB.

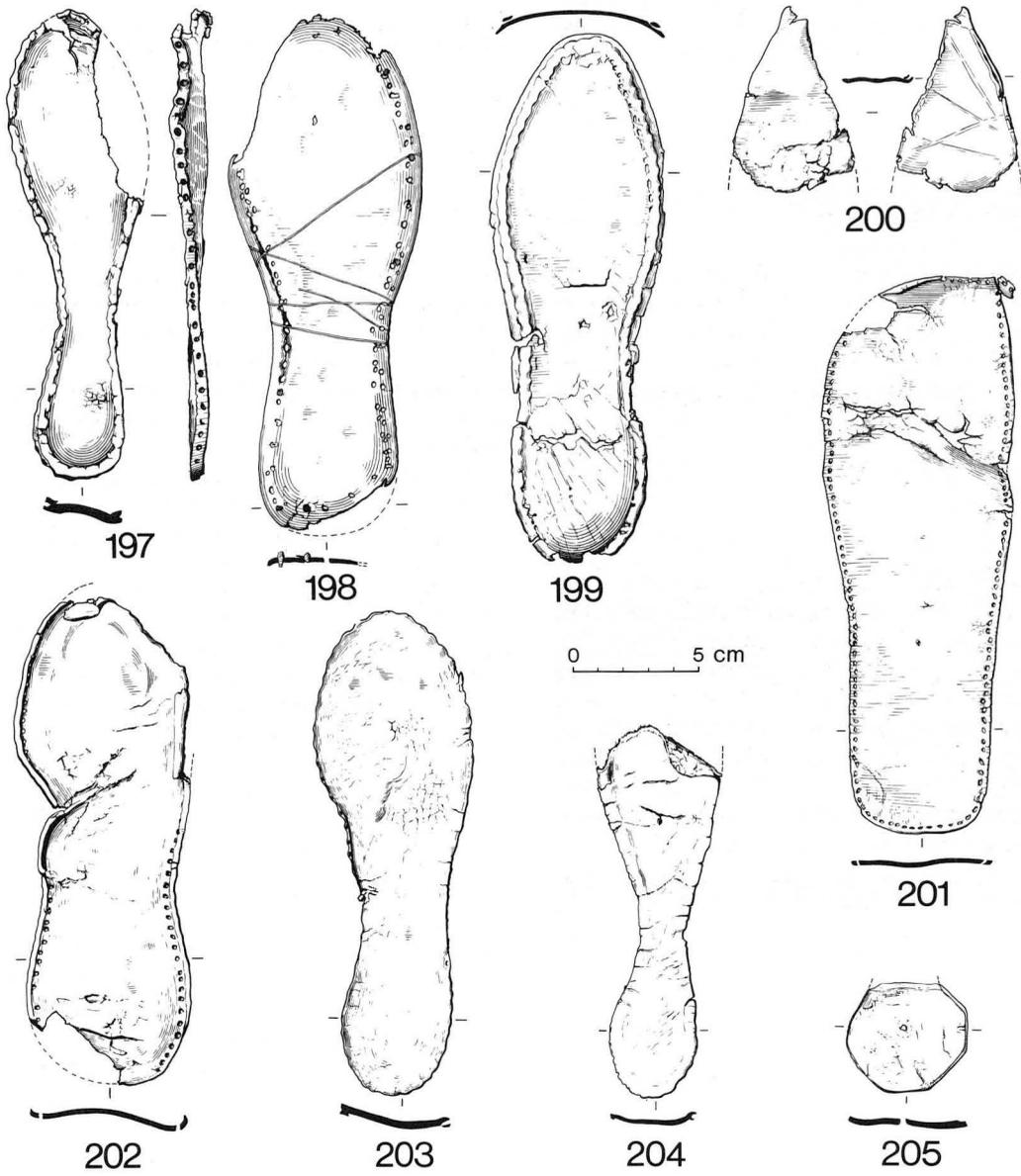


Figure 49 Leather soles and toggle, Nos 197–205. Scale 1:3

Chapter VII. Zoological Evidence

I. Animal and human bone

Bones of domestic animals were found in the 1972 excavations but they have not been studied as they cannot be dated simply by visual examination and their contexts are not sufficiently discrete as to be informative. Box AML 733723 contains a human frontal bone from a young adult, probably male. No provenance.

II. Mollusca

by J.G. Evans

Non-food mollusca were identified from two contexts, the base of the bank and the moat. Several small samples from each location were sieved, including sediment from inside *Anodonta* (freshwater mussel) valves from the moat (see Table 6 below), and shells hand-picked during excavation.

Both assemblages suggest fairly substantial bodies of water, well vegetated and not especially prone to drying out. The presence of certain species, such as *Valvata* and *Bithynia*, suggests the possible influence of a nearby river. There are practically no slum, marsh or terrestrial species.

Other biological material supports these conclusions, although the ostracods suggest that there may have been some drying out in the summer. Valves of this group were

present in all samples and thirty of these were kindly identified by Dr Eric Robinson. The commonest species is *Candona pratensis* Hartwig, originally described from northern Germany from shallow field ditches and the margins of permanent water bodies liable to dry out in summer. The others, represented by only two valves each, are *Candona candida* (O.F. Müller) and *Herpetocypris reptans* (Baird). Both usually live in still waters rich in plant debris.

Also present in abundance were the oospores of the freshwater algal group, Characeae, caddis-fly larva cases (Trichoptera), fish scales and a variety of plant debris including well preserved seeds.

These ecological conclusions are supported by the fine state of preservation of much of the material which indicates gentle conditions of deposition. Several intact pairs of ostracod valves were present, many of the mollusc shells preserved intact periostracum (the outer protein covering, usually destroyed) and the Characeae oospores were extremely fragile.

Food molluscs derived from various contexts, but most came from the moat or material from the bank. Detailed contexts are listed in my Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report (No. 3202). The following summarises the information:

<i>Ostrea edulis</i>	edible oyster	159 lower valves 168 upper valves
<i>Cerastoderma edule</i>	edible cockle	7 valves
<i>Neptunea antiqua</i>	buckie	2
<i>Anodonta cygnea</i>	swan mussel	13 left valves 14 right valves
<i>Helix aspersa</i>	common snail	2

Ostrea, *Cerastoderma* and *Neptunea* are marine intertidal species and were common food shellfish from Roman times onwards. The oysters are large with a mean width for the lower valve of 85mm (sigma = 1.84), the largest being 130mm. *Anodonta* is a freshwater species. It was probably living in the castle moat and may have been farmed there. *Helix aspersa* is a terrestrial species and although known to have been eaten, being sold in West Country markets as 'wallfish' in the early twentieth century, the specimens at Baconsthorpe may be from animals that were living on the site adventitiously.

III. Plant Remains

Four soil samples containing plant remains were taken during the excavations within the mere and moat but unfortunately their origin is now unrecorded. They contain a reasonable quantity of well preserved seeds, many of which are native aquatic species; also a few edible seeds such as fig, so it would seem as though some human faeces or domestic waste may be represented.

	Bank	Moat
<i>Valvata cristata</i>	3	1
<i>Valvata piscinalis</i>	30	14
<i>Bithynia tentaculata</i>	64+ 167 ops	60+ 34 ops
<i>Bithynia leachii</i>	1	-
<i>Carychium minimum</i>	-	1
<i>Lymnaea peregra</i>	11	28
<i>Planorbis carinatus</i>	+	27
<i>Gyraulus albus</i>	4	59
<i>Armiger crista</i>	5	1
<i>Hippeutis complanatus</i>	-	4
<i>Discus rotundatus</i>	-	1
<i>Vitrea crystallina</i>	-	1
<i>Zonitoides nitidus</i>	2	-
<i>Helix aspersa</i>	1	-
<i>Anodonta cygnea</i>	+	+
<i>Sphaerium corneum</i>	13	15
<i>Pisidium casertanum</i>	2	4
<i>Pisidium subtruncatum</i>	2	-
<i>Pisidium nitidum</i>	5	2
<i>Pisidium spp.</i>	5	6

Note

+ = non-apical fragment; ops = opercula;
numbers for *Sphaerium* and *Pisidium* are of individual valves

Table 6 Land and freshwater mollusca

Chapter VIII. Discussion and Conclusions

When William Heydon bought the two manors of Baconsthorpe from the Bacons in the fifteenth century there may have been a manor house, Wood Hall, on the site which was later to be occupied by the Castle. But if so, no archaeological traces of it have been recorded and the forty-nine or more sherds of coarse pottery which pre-date the life of the castle are not of themselves enough to suggest intensive occupation. The principal use of the site takes the form of the fortified manor house of the late fifteenth century attributable to the main to Sir Henry Heydon.

The surviving remains suggest two major phases of building, each with both domestic and military aspects. The first main phase comprised the inner gatehouse, the main courtyard house, the service court and the north-east tower. The second comprised the completion in stone of the north court, the addition of an outer court (or the replacement of an earlier one in stone), and the continued elaboration of the service court, possibly all by Sir Christopher I (1550–1579). His work also included the building of the great barn and the licence to empark, indicating an expansion of both domestic and agricultural facilities on the site. A third phase, of modification, can be postulated from the narrowing of the moat, alteration of the garderobe outlets from the inner gatehouse, and possible changes to the west and north ranges of the courtyard house, possibly by Sir Christopher II (1593–1623). He also undertook some work in the interior of the inner gatehouse, including the decoration of one of the windows with his wife's coat of arms. The development of the mere and gardens, elucidated for the first time by the earthwork survey published here, may also belong to this period.

Given the poor quality of the records of pre-1972 excavations, the value of the excavation work described in this volume rests largely on the details of the structures associated with the moat, revealed in 1972, and on the finds. Considering the relatively small number of finds, their quality and intrinsic interest is considerable, reflecting the social status of the site under the Heydons. Though rich by archaeological standards they are, however, meagre when compared with the valuables mentioned in the Heydons' wills, particularly those of Henry (1503) Anne (1510) and Christopher (1580), which give a detailed picture of the Heydons' prosperity and some of the furnishings of the castle. The finds present a valuable complementary picture, since none of the find-types examined here were mentioned in the wills.

The finds do present some problems, however, not least being the bias in numbers towards those from the moat: almost all finds with recorded provenances came from the moat or deposits on the moat side, consistent with large-scale rubbish dumping into the water. Most of these were from the south moat, particularly in front of the inner gatehouse, which can reasonably be explained in terms of ease of access; the contrast between south moat and the rest of the moat, where finds were much scarcer, is not too surprising. What is less easy to explain, however, is the absence of finds from provenances inside the inner court or the outer gatehouse. It is possible that, following

common practice of the 1950s and early 1960s, smaller sherds were not collected and therefore the restriction of finds to the moat reflects its use as the primary rubbish dump. Any finds from the interior would have been more fragmentary and more likely to have been discarded by the Ministry's labourers during the clearance of the site in the 1950s.

It is the collections of imported pottery and glass which are particularly worthy of note, and they might be expected to reflect the periods of greatest prosperity on the site, or at least the periods when the site was most open to luxury goods. As far as the imported pottery is concerned this was the sixteenth century, and particularly the periods of Sir John II and Sir William II. The unusual nature of part of the collection, the maiolica albarelli, might reflect the scientific leanings of Sir Christopher II, although chronologically they would fit more easily into the time of his predecessor, Sir William II. The absence of imports of fifteenth-century date is presumably the result of the site being in course of construction at that time and not yet fully functioning as a noble house. Their scarcity in the early seventeenth century, which would only partly be offset by attributing the forty-seven albarelli to Sir Christopher II (1593–1623), may then be seen as a sign of both the family's declining fortunes and their residence at other manors. The very low proportion of finds of any sort datable to the post-Heydon period is a reflection of the move of the main living quarters to the outer gatehouse, from whence rubbish would be much less likely to accumulate in the moat.

There is a degree of inconsistency between the dating of the imported pottery and the glass. Of the total of imported pottery 92% are attributed to the sixteenth century; by contrast, of the fifty-one glass vessels represented, four (8%) are dated to the sixteenth century, twenty-three (45%) to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, twenty-one (41%) to the seventeenth century, favouring its first half, and three (6%) to the eighteenth century. It is unlikely (R.J. Charleston, pers. comm.) that this is a genuine chronological trend, the result of changing fashions, since the two materials were used for vessels of such different functions. This consequently implies that the glass and pottery should be broadly contemporary and that the conventional dating of one or the other, or even of both, has become skewed.

The broad dating pattern of the imported pottery, with the most prolific imports coinciding with the periods of Sir John II and Sir William II, two of the most outgoing Heydons, fits the historical picture well. The glass presents a very different picture but reflects the general scarcity of drinking glasses in the sixteenth century: they only became really popular in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century.

Given the importance of the finds and the impressiveness of the structural remains, it is a matter of regret that the development of Baconsthorpe cannot be dated more precisely. This applies also to the earthworks around the site, to the drainage and damming system

controlling the flow of the streams through the valley and finally creating the mere, and to the formal garden east of the outer court which seems to overlie some of them. However, the analyses of the earthworks and the standing structure, of the relevant documents and the finds go a long way towards expanding our appreciation and understanding of Baconsthorpe. They combine to give the

beginnings of a picture of the changing circumstances of a late medieval Norfolk family, as portrayed by their property. There may be no Heydons at Baconsthorpe now, but the remains of their work still testify to their domination of the countryside, just as the finds and the items bequeathed in their wills testify to the wealth which they largely derived from it.

Appendix I: Pictures of Baconsthorpe up to 1946

<i>Date</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Source</i>
1588	Baconsthorpe from the south-west, showing inner and outer courts, barn and row of cottages.	Detail from a plan of Weybourne fortifications now at Hatfield House (see Pl. II and Cozens-Hardy 1941).
1781	Hall and barn with inner gatehouse in the distance.	Engraving by J. Page in J.A. Mostyn <i>Antiquities of Norfolk</i> , 1781 (reproduced in Rigold 1966; and see Pl. III).
1807	Map of the estate of John Thruston Mott, by Isaac Lenny, surveyor.	Norfolk Record Office MF/RO 389/M.
1833	View of outer gatehouse from the west (without turrets shown in 1781 engraving). View of inner gatehouse with bridge and curtain wall to right, from south-east.	Watercolours in Norfolk Record Office MS 4577, f.89R and f.90R.
1888	Inner gatehouse from the south, almost totally obscured by ivy.	Photograph in Haydon 1888.
c.1900	Baconsthorpe Hall viewed from the south.	Woolnough Collection Vol. 47, 16, Suffolk Record Office (Ref. qs 9).
1938	Twenty-one general and close-up views of various parts of the castle, much ivy, trees and other vegetation obscuring the remains.	Photographs by Ministry of Public Building and Works in blue albums in English Heritage Historic Plans Room, Swindon.
1946	Fifty-six photographs of similar views in similar conditions to those of 1938.	As last.

Appendix II: Selected list of documents relating to the Heydons of Baconsthorpe in Norfolk Record Office, Public Record Office, British Library and Bodleian Library

* = Transcribed here below.

Deed

Deed relating to Baconsthorpe, 1353. BL Add. Charter 53561

Grants of Land (all British Library)

Late twelfth century	Add.MS 22571
1370	Add.MS 14867
1408	Harl. 52 c17
1416	Add.MS 14820
1417	Add.MS 14821
1659, 1674	Add.MS 19266

Charter Indented — Grant

John Heydon to Robert Granweye alias Goos of Baconsthorpe and Thomas at Hayle of the same, half an acre in the south field at Baconsthorpe. 1447/8. NRO, NRS 13972. 28 F3

Licence to Crenellate

Licence, for the service of Sir Christopher Heydon, the queen's servant for him, his heirs and assigns to build houses, walls and towers in the manor of Baconsthorpe, and to embattle and crenellate the same. Also licence to enclose and impark 200 acres of land, 200 acres of meadow, 500 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood, 100 acres of marsh and 300 acres of furze and heath in Baconsthorpe, Bodham and Hempstead; also grant of free warren in all the demesne lands now belonging to Heydon in Baconsthorpe, Bodham, Hempstead, Salthouse, Holt alias Holt Market, Kelling, Saxlingham next Langham and Cley next the sea; no one to enter their parks or warrens to hunt without their leave under forfeiture to the crown of £10; so long as the lands be not within the bounds of a royal forest. 24 November 1561. PRO CPR 976 m 1

Survey of Woodhall Manor, Baconsthorpe

Survey of lands and tenements of Thomas Howes. Sixteenth century. NRS 23226. Z 91 – Hobart

Port Books *

Extracts from the Blakeney Port Books (a sub-section of those for Great Yarmouth) for ships arriving from London in 1565 and 1572 with goods for Sir Christopher Heydon. PRO E190/471/2 – E190/473/3

Probate Inventory *

Probate inventory of Thomas Heydon of Norwich, third son and executor of Sir John Heydon, 1581. NRO Basil Cozens-Hardy 14/4/1960

Copy of Indenture *

Indenture of settlement made by William Heydon on marriage between Christopher Heydon and Myrable his wife, 5 April 1582. NRO, NRS 8578. 21 C.1 – Hobart

Deed of Feoffment Indented

Sir William Heydon of Baconsthorpe Kt and Anne Heydon to George Dyxe of Baconsthorpe, land in Baconsthorpe. 17 September 1589. NRO, NRS 23392. Z 100 – Hobart

Deed of Quitclaim

Dame Anne Heydon of Thursford, widow of Sir William Heydon deceased, to Nicholas Howse of Baconsthorpe, husbandman, land in Baconsthorpe. 8 March 1598/9 NRO, NRS 17158. 32 E5

Note

Note that Sir Christopher Heydon owes Nicholas House 46s 8d. 6 July 1607. NRO, NRS 13955. 28 F3

Letter

Letter from Sir Christopher Heydon to Samuel Ward, fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, concerning the coldness of the winter of 1607/8 at Baconsthorpe *etc.* Bodleian MS Rawlinson B75, 247.

Charter Indented — Feoffment

Sir Christopher Heydon of Baconsthorpe Kt, to Nicholas House of Baconsthorpe, land in Baconsthorpe. 15 July 1609. NRO, NRS 23389. Z 100 – Hobart

Indenture — Feoffment

1. Sir Christopher Heydon of Baconsthorpe 2. Nicholas House of Baconsthorpe, Yeoman, a parcel of meadow with drain cut in Baconsthorpe. 21 August 1609. NRO, NRS 23263. 292

Inventory *

An inventory of part of the goods and chattels of Sir John Heydon, 28 July 1643. BL Add.MS 28,191D

Receipt

Mary Heydon of Covent Garden (Midd.), widow of Sir John Heydon of Herron (Midd.), received of her son Charles Heydon of Baconsthorpe the sum of £15 for rent of lands in Norfolk. 22 June 1654. NRO, MS 20098, 38 C 3

Indenture - Bargain and Sale

1. Charles Heydon of Baconsthorpe Esq, lord of the manors of Baconsthorpe, Bacons and Woodhall; 2. Edmond Britiffe of Baconsthorpe, gentleman, a messuage and land in Baconsthorpe. 16 December 1655. NRO, NRS 23266. Z 92 – Hobart

Account Book

Account Book of the Steward to John Wyndham of Felbrigg Hall, 1622–1655. NRO, WKC 6/6 410 × 4

Bill in Chancery *

Contract between Charles Heydon and John Cressey of Blakeney for the sales of 500 loads of building materials from Baconsthorpe Hall. 4 June 1660. PRO, Chancery Procs before 1714, C8 316/75

Surviving Wills * all transcribed here below

Dates proved

- 1480 Sir John Heydon
NRO, NCC Wills, 49, 50/A Caston
- 1504 Sir Henry Heydon I
PRO, PROB 11/14
- 1510 Lady Anne Heydon, wife of Sir Henry I
PRO, PROB 11/16 f.220
- 1541 Christopher Heydon
NRO NCC Wills, 9–10 Thynkyll
- 1550 Sir John Heydon II
PRO, PROB 11/34
- 1554 Richard Heydon Esq, uncle of Sir Christopher I
PRO, PROB 11/36
- 1577 Lady Anne Heydon, widow of Sir Christopher I
PRO, PROB 11/59
- 1580 Sir Christopher Heydon I
PRO, PROB 11/62
- 1594 Sir William Heydon
PRO, PROB 11/84
- 1623 Note that Sir Christopher Heydon died intestate
PRO PROB 6/11.f.77
- 1627 Nuncupative Will of Sir William Heydon
PRO, PROB 11/52 f.362
- 1653 Sir John Heydon, grandson of Sir William
PRO, PROB 1P/239

Extracts from the Blakeney Port Books

1. PRO E190/471/2. Michaelmas 1565 – Easter 1566
From London

In nave vocata Le Peter honeris xvij dollinorum, unde Davye Jenynges est magister, intraverunt iij^o die mensis Septembris. Christoferus Haydon miles inde discariavit hic octo hogshead et unum dollinum servi, unum hogshead vini, duodecem barrellos, unum barrellum suger et centum housholde stuffe, onerata apud portum London in nave procedenda versus Blakenye.

‘In the ship called the Peter of 18 tons burden, of which Davye Jenynges is master, they entered on the 4th of September. Sir Christopher Heydon unloaded from it 8 hogsheads and 1 tun of ale, 1 hogshead of wine, 12 barrels [item missing] 1 barrel of sugar and a hundred(weight?) of household goods, loaded at the port of London in the ship making for Blakeney.’

2. PRO 190/473/3. Easter to Michaelmas 1572.
From London

In nave vocata le John de Blakenye honeris xvj dollinorum, unde Galfridus Causye est magister, intraverunt xxvij^o die Maij, Christoferus Heydon miles discariavit hic unum trunck et unum chyst cum apparell, unum panum lanei proliveris, unum male, duo hamper et duo baskettes utensiles, iij hogshead vascon, tres runlettes seck et unum dulces, tres barellos soopes, unum hogshead vineger, unum poncion prunes unum dollinum ferri, unum last pytches cum ceste utensilibus, onerata apud in (sic) portum London usque Blakeneye.

‘In the ship called The John of Blakeney of 16 tons burden, of which Geoffrey Causye is master, they entered on the 28th of May. Sir Christopher Heydon unloaded 1 trunk and 1 chest with clothing, 1 length of woolen livery cloth, 1 bag, 2 hampers and 2 tool baskets, 4 hogsheads of Gascon wine, 3 casks and 1 (of?) sweet wine, 3 barrels of soap, 1 hogshead of vinegar, 1 large case of prunes 1 ton

of iron, 1 last of pitchers(?) with 6 utensils, loaded at the port of London for Blakeney.’

Extract from List of Goods seized by Customs Officers, 4 September 1596 (Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 44/60, HMC Vol. VI):

‘An abstract of goods seized by diverse officers of her Majesty’s Customs and others in sundry Port Towns.

Chests and Trunks unsewn.

Yarmouth. Three Chests Two Trunks.
Owner. Sir Christopher Heydon’.

Probate Inventory, 1581, of Thomas Heydon of Norwich, third son and executor of Sir John Heydon

NRO Basil Cozens-Hardy 14/4/1960

An inventory made the 28th day of August in the 23rd year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen (5) of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith *etc.*, concerning all such goods and chatels implements and utensils of household as were Thomas Heydon late of Norwich Esquire deceased at the time of his death priced by Thomas Husband, Richard Lath, (10) Hugh Diconson, Anthony Butler and Thomas Barry as followeth:

First an old cloth gown with a yard of velvet thereon priced at	20s
Item 1 short gerograme gown furred	16s
(15) Item 1 short black cloak	10s
Item 1 old gown	5s
Item 1 bushel and a half of wheat	3s
Item in coals and wood to the value of	6s
Item 3 shirts	10s
(20) Item an old felt hat	6d
Item an old riding saddle	2s
Item an old pair of boots	12d
Item an old casting net	2s
Item 2 Statute books	5s
(25) Item 1 chronicle of Fabians	2s 6d
Item 1 other of Harding	16d
Item 2 psalters of daily service	2s
Item 2 stamps with arms thereon	4d
Item a blowing horn with a green lace	6d
(30) Item an old little dial	2d
Item a gown of vellure	40s
Item a gown of houscourt(?)	6s 8d
Item 2 jackets whereof one is furred	20s
Item a doublet	13s 4d
(35) Item 2 cloth caps	4s
Item 2 satin night caps whereof one an old one	3s 4d
Item a taffeta hat	20d
Item 2 pairs of canvas sheets	24s
(40) Item a wood knife, the pommel and chapes damask	6s 8d
	Summa £10 11s 4d

Debita desperata

Item 1 bill obligatory made from Mr Wymondham Knight to Sir John (45) Heydon Knight deceased for the payment of £10 to him and his heirs, executors and assigns and due to Mr Thomas Heydon Esquire deceased as executor of the last will and testament of the said Sir John (50) Heydon deceased, £10. Item 1 bill obligatory of £22 made to the

deceased Thomas Heydon Esquire from William Bromefield Esq of Horton, £22. Item 1 debt of £15 lent by (55) the deceased Mr Thomas Heydon unto one Mr Henry Spillman late of Congham in the county of Norfolk deceased and owing at his death £15.

Summa debitorum desperatorum £47
Summa totalis £57 11s 4d

Copy of Indenture, 1582

NRO, NRS 8578, 21C1 (1582)

A copy of the indenture made by William Heydon Esq., unto Christopher Heydon his son, upon his marriage Anno 24 Regine Elizabethae as follows:

This indenture tripartite made the first day of April in the 24th year of our sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith *etc.*, between William Heydon of Baconsthorpe in the county of Norfolk Esq., of the first part, Sir Thomas Ryvett of (5) Chippenham in the county of Cambridge Knight of the second part and Christopher Heydon, son and heir apparent of the said William Heydon and Myrable now wife of the said Christopher and eldest daughter of the said Sir Thomas Ryvett of the third part, witnesseth that as well in accomplishment and performance of certain articles of agreement indented bearing date the 20th day (10) of October in the 23rd year of her Majesty's said reign, made between the said Sir Thomas Ryvett of the one part and the said William Heydon of the other part, as also for and in consideration of a marriage before the day of the date hereof solemnised between the said Christopher Heydon and Myrable and also for and in consideration of the sum of £1500 of lawful (15) English money in hand paid by the said Sir Thomas unto the said William Heydon, of which such sum of £1500 and every part thereof the said William Heydon acknowledgeth himself fully satisfied, contented and paid and thereof and of every part thereof clearly acquiteth and dischargeth the said Sir Thomas Ryvett his heirs, executors and administrators for ever by these presents and also for the tender love and natural affection that the said William beareth towards the said Christopher and for a competent jointure of the said Myrabel and likewise for diverse other good and reasonable causes and considerations him the said William especially moving the said William Heydon for him, his heirs executors and administrators covenanteth and granteth by these presents to and with the said Sir Thomas Ryvett his executors and administrators that he said William or his heirs shall and will before the latter end of Michaelmas Term next coming after the date of these presents lawfully and sufficiently convey and assure all that his capital or mansion house called Baconsthorpe Hall and all that his park called Baconsthorpe Park and all and singular the lordships, manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments with their and every of their appurtenances hereafter in these presents specified to Sir John Cotton of Landwade in the county of Cambridge Knight and Roger Townshend of East Rainham in the county of Norfolk Esq., and to their heirs or to their executors or one of them to such use, uses, intents and purposes with such limitations and remainders over and in such sort, manner and form and under such conditions, provisions, and limitations as in these presents hereafter here set down, limited, expressed and declared and to none other use, uses intents or purposes, that is to say, the said capital or mansion house of Baconsthorpe called Baconsthorpe Hall and the park called Baconsthorpe Park,

the manors or lordships of Baconsthorpe, Bodham, Hempstede, Loosehall, Clay-iuxta-Mare, Hempstead, Netherhall, Letheringsett-cum-Hunworth, Saxthorpe, Loundhall, Salthouse, Pensthorpe and Oulton with their and every of their appurtenances in the said county of Norfolk and also all and singular lands, tenements, courts leets, privileges, liberties, franchises and all premises and commodities whatsoever part, parcel or member or accepted, reputed taken or known as part, parcel or member of the said manors or any of them or within or upon the said manors or any of them or any part or parcel of them to be had, taken or enjoyed or with the said manors or any part of the same usually occupied, demised or letten or to the said manors or any of them belonging or in any wise appertaining to the use of the said William Heydon for term of his natural life without impeachment of waste, and after his decease to the use and behoof of the said Christopher Heydon and the heirs males of his body lawfully begotten *etc.*

Ex vera copia

Note:

The original of this copy is in the custody of Mr James Hobart by reason of Holt and Clay purchasing. This copy I had from him Anno 1603 upon the purchase of Salthouse and Hempstead that year.

A common recovery is suffered by William Heydon in Trinity term Anno 24 Eliz. wherein Sir John Cotton and Roger Townshend were demandants. The writ of entry beareth teste 22 May Anno 24 Elizabeth: retornatum termino Trinitatis.

Inventory of Sir John Heydon, 1643

BL, Add.MS.28191D

From the Inventories of the goods and chattels of delinquents, collected by sequestration. Sir John Heydon, owner of Baconsthorpe during the Civil War, was a Royalist and as lieutenant-general of the Ordnance, served with King Charles at Oxford. His estates were subsequently sequestered but he discharged the sequestration with a compounding payment of £294 (*DNB*).

An Inventory of the Part of the Goods and Chattels of Sir John Heydon, Knight, taken 28 July 1643.

Item 2 old bedsteads, a feather bed and bolster, a flock bolster, a green rug, a table, a cradle rug, 3 flock pillows, a court cupboard, a case for bottles, a pair of curtains and valence of old darnex [woollen fabric].	2.10.00
Item a bedstead, curtains and valance of green and white wrought, a feather bed and bolster, a parcel of old leather hangings gilt, a flock bolster and feather pillows, 1 old plain rug, 1 old quilt, 4 elbow chairs, 7 back chairs, 7 back stools, 1 low stool, 1 trundle bedstead, 2 round tables, a box with drawers, 3 pictures, a pair of iron creepers [creepers].	6.10.00
Item 1 drawing table, 2 court cupboards, a small gilded table, a couch frame sutable [stitched], 5 elbow chairs, 13 back stools, 12 stools of red cloth and Turkey work, 3 small Turkey carpets.	8.5.00
Item a napkin press.	00.10.00
Item 1 iron chest and a parcel of old hangings.	3.00.00
Item a round table and court cupboard, 4 pairs of old hangings of tapestry, 1 iron cradle for scales, 3 pictures.	3.5.00

Item 2 tables with drawers, a chair table, a case with 6 pewter bottles, 3 chairs, 4 small pieces of pewter on a cabinet, 2 globes, a pair of creepers [andirons], 2 curtains and a curtain rod, a moll [mould?], and other things.	4.15.00
Item 3 odd trunks and brass for andirons.	00.10.00
Item a cabinet, a desk, a case for drawers, 1 old trunk, 2 small tables of stripe stuff, 2 chairs and a folding stool and a cyprus standish [inkstand].	3.5.00
Item a jack, 2 weights, 2 racks, a bar of iron.	1.10.00
Item a chest, a trunk, a small box with drawers, 2 old boxes with instruments and a desk.	3.00.00
	£37.00.00

The Goods of Edward Stevens, servant of Sir John Heydon Knight

Item 1 old bedstead, 1 small feather bed and bolster, 1 blanket and rug and chest of drawers, 1 round table, 1 trunk and desk, 1 folding table, 1 old wooden chair, 3 old hats, a picture, a chaffing dish, a basin and candlestick, a chamber pot, a dark lantern, a close stool and pan.	5.00.00
Item 1 old suit and cloak lined with plush, a black suit and cloak, a parcel of books and 10 yards of red Kersey.	6.00.00
	£11.00.00

Mr Batonsbye, his Inventory annexed to his bill of Sale.

Bill in Chancery

PRO Chancery Proceedings before 1714, C8 316/75

These legal proceedings are confirmed by references in the account book of John Wyndham of Felbrigg of 1654. In June of that year his steward paid 2s 6d to a mason called Henry Natt for 'one day measuring stone at Baconsthorpe' and 2s for 'the expences there' of three other men. A week later he paid 6s 'for beer at Baconsthorpe for the carters belonging to 18 carts' and a further 1s for beer to three more carters. In August eleven carters received payments for bringing stone to Felbrigg and for the inevitable beer. The actual payments for the stone, £25 in November and £10 in the following March, were made to John Cressey who is here in dispute with Charles Heydon, son of Sir John, over his right to demolish Baconsthorpe (Ketton-Cremer 1961, 91-2).

4th June 1660

To the Right Honourable Sir Edward Hyde, Lord Chancellor of England.

Humbly complaining sheweth unto your good lordship your daily orator Charles Heydon of Baconsthorpe in the county of Norfolk, Esq, son and heir of Sir John Heydon Knight deceased, that whereas your orator on or about the month of April AD 1654 had a conference and treaty with one John Cressey of Blakeney, otherwise Snitterley, in the said county of Norfolk, merchant, for and concerning the bargaining and selling of the materials of the building of your (5) orator's capital messuage or house commonly called Baconsthorpe Hall in Baconsthorpe aforesaid, and after some communications about the same, there was an agreement made and concluded upon by and between your orator and the said John Cressey, which said bargain or agreement, by certain articles of agreement indented made and agreed upon between your orator and the said John Cressey, bearing date on or about the 11th April in the

aforesaid year 1654, and sealed and delivered each to the other as their act and deeds, was ascertained, ratified and confirmed, wherein or whereby your orator did grant, bargain and sell (10) unto the said John Cressey all the materials of the building of this aforesaid capital messuage or house, with such provisos, exceptions and reservations as are in the said articles expressed; in which said articles there are also divers provisos, covenants, clauses and agreements to be observed, performed, fulfilled and kept on the part and behalf of your orator to the said John Cressey as on the part and behalf of the said John Cressey, and furthermore because the said John Cressey at the same time did make some scruples and doubts of his quiet and peaceable holding and enjoying the said premises so bargained and sold to him as aforesaid, by reason of some (15) pretended right, title, claim or demand of Dame Mary Heydon, the then relict of Sir John Heydon and your orator's mother, who since is deceased, or some other person or persons claiming by, from or under the said Sir John Heydon or the said Dame Mary or one of them, your orator, for the better securing the said John Cressey, that he should have and enjoy the aforesaid bargained premises, according to the true intent and meaning of the aforesaid recited articles, did by indenture bearing date on or about the said 11th day of April AD 1654, grant, enfeoff and confirm unto the said John Cressey and his heirs several enclosures of land, meadow and pasture ground (20) of your orator's, lying and being in Baconsthorpe aforesaid to the value of seven or eight hundred pounds at the least. Nevertheless upon this express proviso and condition that if the said John Cressey, his executors, administrators and assigns, shall and may from time to time during the space of 3 years next coming after the date of the said indenture, quietly and peaceably have, hold, take and enjoy all and every the materials of the buildings of the said capital messuage aforesaid, and so much thereof as are meant, mentioned and expressed, to be bargained and sold by your orator to him, the said John Cressey, in the aforesaid articles of agreement made and concluded between them, according to the (25) true meaning of the said articles without the lawful let, disturbance or eviction of your orator, or his assigns, or of the said Dame Mary Heydon his mother, or of any other person or persons whatsoever claiming by, from or under him, or her, or of the aforesaid Sir John Heydon, or any of them. Or otherwise if your orator, his heirs or assigns shall within convenient time after request made, make restitution to the said John Cressey, his executors or assigns for such and so much of the said materials so bargained and sold as aforesaid as he the said John Cressey or his assigns shall be debarred and anyways lawfully be hindered or kept from, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the said articles, that then and from thenceforth your orator's (30) said grant and feoffment and everything therein contained should be utterly void and of none effect as in and by the said deed, relation being thereunto as may and doth more fully appear. But now so it is, may it please your Lordship, that although the said John Cressey hath had, taken away and enjoyed all and singular the aforementioned bargained premises, according to the true intent and meaning of the said article of agreement, without the lawful disturbance of your orator or any other person claiming by, from or under him or the said Sir John Heydon or Dame Mary, or any of them; and notwithstanding that the said John Cressey hath since the aforesaid articles of agreement and deed of mortgage (35)

made by your orator to him as aforesaid, entered into other articles of agreement with your orator, bearing date on or about the 13th day of May in AD 1654, and hath thereby discharged all or most of the covenants and agreements contained in the former articles, and hath likewise had and enjoyed whatsoever was contained in the last recited articles of agreement which on your orator's part was to be done and performed, according to the true intent and meaning of the said articles. Yet the said John Cressey doth refuse and deny to deliver up unto your orator the aforesaid deed of feoffment so made and delivered by your orator to the said John Cressey only as a co-lateral (40) security for his quiet enjoying the aforebargained premises according to the intent and meaning of the said articles. Although your orator hath often times in a friendly manner requested the same, he the said John Cressey sometimes pretending that he hath not the said deed by him at that present, but that within a short time it should be delivered to your orator, other times alleging that one William Crowe (to whom your orator hath granted amongst other things a lease for years of that ground and yards whereon the said capital messuage was built) hath hindered him the said Cressey from taking and carrying away one load or two of stone, parcel of the materials and premises so sold to him as aforesaid, (45) and that he hath converted and disposed of them to his own proper use, contrary to the aforesaid articles of agreement made between the aforesaid John Cressey and your orator, by reason whereof he doth not only detain and keep the said deed of feoffment but also give the out in speeches that he will enter into and seize your orator's said land for breach of the said covenants and articles made between them although your orator hath often times declared and proffered to give him recompense and satisfaction for whereinsoever he hath been damnified by your orator and his assigns, contrary to the said articles of agreement, and is still ready and willing to do the same. And your orator (50) to testify [word illegible] and desire that the said Cressey should enjoy his said bargain, according to the agreement, did cause the said William Crow, your orator's lessee, to enter into a covenant with your orator, at the time when your orator did demise the said premises to the said Crowe, that the said Cressey and his assigns may have and enjoy all and every the liberties in the said articles of agreement mentioned for the taking and carrying away of the materials aforesaid, without the let, interruption or disturbance of the said William Crow or his assigns. All which said actings and proceedings of the said Cressey are contrary to equity and good conscience, in tender consideration whereof, and for that your orator cannot be (55) relieved by the strict rules of the common laws of England, either to recover the said deed feoffment or to hinder the said Cressey from entering into the said lands so mortgaged to him as aforesaid, although the damage which he hath sustained by reason of the breach of the aforesaid article doth not amount to 5s. and that the lands so mortgaged are worth about £800, and seeing it hath been the usual and constant course of this honourable court to give relief in all such cases; to the end therefore that the said John Cressey may upon his corporal oath set forth whether there were not articles of agreement made and concluded between your orator and him after the first articles made the 11th April 1654, (60) and whether the said Cressey did not release the first article to your orators and also that he may set forth whether he hath not enjoyed the said bargains according to his said last articles, and if not

by whom he was so hindered or interrupted from enjoying the same, and how and when, and in what manner, and the several particulars thereof, and that he may in particular discover wherein the said William Crowe hath interrupted or disturbed the said Cressey from enjoying his bargain to the aforesaid agreements and whether the said Crowe hath not informed him that he hath had several directions and letters from your orator that he should not molest or hinder the said Cressey from enjoying the said bargain; and likewise that he may set forth whether your orator hath not several times declared the same unto him (70) or used words to the like effect, and whether the said Cressey hath not told your orator that he should have his said deed of feoffment delivered unto him, and in particular whether he did [words illegible] upon payment of £10 unto him for 500 loads of rubbish in pursuance of the said second articles faithfully promise to send the said deed to London to your orator the term then next following by — Wilson, an attorney at law, and that the said Cressey may a true and perfect answer and discovery make to all and singular the premises, and that your orator may have the said deed of mortgage delivered to him and be relieved therein according to right equity and good conscience.

May it please your Lordship, the premises considered, to grant unto your orator a writ of subpoena under the seal of this honourable court to be directed to the said John Cressey, thereby commanding him at a certain day and under (80) a certain pain therein to be limited personally to be and appear before your Lordships in the High Court of Chancery then and there to answer the premises and to stand to and abide sure further. Order concerning the premises as to your Lordships shall some meet and your orator shall ever pray *etc.*

J. Barrington.

Will of Sir John Heydon I, died 1479

NRO, NCC Wills 49, 5A Caston

Testamentum Johannis Heydon de Bakonesthorp, Armigeri.

In dei nomine Amen. In vigilia annunciacionis beate Marie virginis anno regni Regis Edwardi IV, 17. Ego Johannes Heydon in sanitate mentis et corporis gratia et misericordia Dei existens condo testamentum meum et ultimam meam voluntatem, omnia alia testamenta et ultime voluntates (5) per me antea facta revocanda et adnlanda. In primis commendo animam meam summe et individue Sancte Trinitati, beate matre virgini, sanctis Johanni Baptiste, Johanni Evangeliste, Georgio, Thome Cantuariense, Marie Magdalene, xj millia virginium et omnibus sanctis corpusque meum sepelia(ndum) in ecclesia cathedrale sancte Trinitatis Norwici in loco per priorem eiusdem assignando. Item volo et requiro executores (10) meos quod debita mea plenarie persolvantur. Et si quid iniuste vel contra bonam conscienciam fecerim seu quid facere debui et id in facta negligenter omiserim id volo emendari prout bona consciencia requirit per discrecionem executorum meorum. Item volo quod in die sepulture mee disponentur £20: viz priori ecclesie illius 20s si presens fuerit ad exequies et missam suppriore (15) 10s cuilibet alio monacho eiusdem ecclesie presbitero tunc presenti 5s, et cuilibet alio monacho presbitero non existenti 40d, scilicet tunc presentes. Et simili modo distributur cuilibet monacho eiusdem ecclesie in cellis et in scolis existentibus,

viz presbitero 5s, non presbitero 40d. Residuum vero distribuatur inter presbiteros, clericos et laicos eiusdem monasterii (20) tunc ibidem presentes ut ipsi orent pro anima mea parentum, amicorum et benefactorum meorum et specialiter pro animabus quibus et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum, proviso quod si aliquis monachus vel alius causa (page 2) infirmitatis tunc ibidem interesse non potest nichilominus habeat et recipiat sicut presens foret. Nolo autem quod fiat aliquod convivium (25) vel communis roga vel commune dole sed loca ipsorum volo quod £20 expendantur in vesturis et lectulis pauperum in civitate Norwici suburbis eiusdem et villis prope in quioribus qui ad commune dole ibidem veresimiliter venient ubi magis necesse executoribus meis videatur ut ipsi orent ut supra. Item volo quod quilibet ordo fratrum mendicantium in eadem civitate habeat 40s, (30) hospitale Sancte Egidii 40s, capella collegiata in campis 2 marcas ut ipsi eodem tempore in ecclesiis suis dicant exequies et missam et non veniant ad exequies *etc.* missam et in ecclesie cathedrale dicendas. Item cuilibet alio presbitero in Norwico ad dicendum exequies secretum in suis ecclesiis et capellis 6d. Item lego monasterio de Syon 10 marcas (35) ut ipsi dicant exequies et orent ut supra. Item lego cuilibet leproso et leprose in comitate Norffolciense civitate Norwici unam togam de russet cum capucio. Item cuilibet sorori de Normannes 40d, et cuilibet dimidie sorori ibidem 6s 8d. Item cuilibet moniali de Norffolcia et Sympyngnam annuitatem non habenti 40d, et cuilibet priorisse domorum illorum 6s 8d et cuilibet sorori (40) hospitalis Sancte Egidii in Norwico et cuilibet pauperi paralitico ibidem 40d ut ipsi orent ut supra. Item lego 100s ad distribuendum inter incarceratos infra comitatu Norffolciense et Norwici ut ipsi orent ut supra. Item lego anachorite iam de Carrowe 20s. Item volo quod distribuatur 20 marcas in vesturis et lectulis pauperum et specialiter tenencium (45) et firmariorum meorum in Heydon, Oulton, Hacford, Dallying et aliis villis adjacentibus infra compotum meum ibidem specificatis. Item in Bonwell, Carleton, Tybenham et aliis villis infra compotum meum ibidem £10. Hokham 5 marcas, Thyrstord, Berney, Walsyngnam, Pensthorp et aliis villis infra compotum illum specificatis 10 marcas, (50) Baconsthorp et aliis villis in compotum ibidem specificatis 20 marcas, Northreppes et Southreppes 40s. Item lego fratribus minoribus in Norwice pro uno annuali quolibet anno dicendo pro conventum in quadragesima durante 5 annos, viz quolibet anno 5 marcas. Item cuilibet alie domi fratrum mendicantium in Norwico, Lenn, Brunham, Walsyngnam (55) Blackeney et Jernemuth 5 marcas pro consimili annuali per conventus suos celebranda. Item lego altari de Heydon 20s, Oulton 10s, Corpsty 6s 8d, Hacford 10s, Refham 10s, Hokham 10s. Tybenham 5s, Carleton 5s, Bonwell 6s 8d, (page 3, 60) Pensthorp 6s 8d, Baconsthorp 20s, Hempstede 10s, Bodham 10s, Salthous 10s, Thyrstord 10s, Berney 5s. Item lego Gilde Sancti Petri in Heydon 40s. Item lego cuilibet filio et filie Edwardi (*or* Edmundi) Moor consanguinei mei 10s. Item volo quod executores mei non incomittant de aliquo debito seu compoto inter priorem Norwici et me sed omnes securitates quas de eo habeo sibi liberentur. (65) Ita tamen quod idem prior ordinet et solvat et pro tumba mea secundum suam discrecionem et pro cera expendendum circa sepulturam meam exequies et missam. Item volo quod £200(?) de terris et tenementis meis levandas post obitum meum disponantur pro maritagiis filiarum Henrici

filiis mei per discrecionem ipsius Henrici. Si autem maritate non fuerit tunc disponentur (70) pro anima mea per discrecionem executorum meorum. Item volo quod illi quibus vendidi vel escambiavi aliqua terras et tenementas habeant legitimum statum de terris et tenementis illis iuxta conventionem inter ipsos per me factam prout ratio deposcit. Si autem videntur executoribus meis feoffatis aut heredibus meis quod si qua terre et tenementa possideo vel aliquem redditum retineo contra (75) bonam conscienciam quod id reformari faciant iuxta bonam conscienciam videlicet illa recto heredi vel ius habenti vel valorem eorundem restaurandum prout ratio deposite. Item volo quod servientibus meis donetur et remunerabitur iuxta discrecionem executorum meorum habitum respectum ad eorum bonum servicium michi factum. Item volo quod Domine Boleyn et aliis specialibus amicis meis aliquid (80) detur per discrecionem executorum meorum. Executores autem huius testamenti constituo Henricum filium meum, Thomam Cosyne capellanum et Edwardum Calwe quibus Thome et Edwardo remunerare volo utriusque eorum 10 marcas, et plus si voluerunt secundum suam discrecionem et conscienciam ut ipsi perimpleant presens testamentum meum et distribuatur et exequantur (85) omnia premissa pro anima mea parentum meorum et omnium aliorum quibus teneor et omnium fidelium defunctorum. Isto testamento et ultima voluntate preempletum et magistro Johanni Morton archidiacono Norwici cui supplico huius testamenti esse supervisore ostento volo quod omnia maneria, terre et tenementa, bona et catalla mea cedant dicto Henrico filio meo et heredibus. Et lego dicto supervisoris quoddam jocale precii £10.

Proved at Norwich 20 June 1480.

Will of Sir Henry Heydon, died 1504 PRO PROB. B11/14

In the name of our Lord Jesus our other Saviour. I Henry Heydon knight the 20th day of February in the year of our Lord Jesus 1503 and in the year of the reign of King Henry VII the 19th, being in good and whole mind to God and to all the world and of good memory make this my testament and my last will in the manner and form following, that is (5) to say: first gracious Jesu I a sinful creature knowing why my sinful soul, by reason of my merits not worthy to be accepted to the holy company of Heaven to continue in that blessed place, Lord, without thy great and large mercy and grace the which thoroughly thy passion to every Christian man lowly asking graciously grantest; and also thou most merciful Lord not willing that the soul that thou with thy precious blood didest redeem to be of none effect but rather in everlasting life, there thee to honour and convey thanking without end. Wherefore now being of my full mind and steadfast (10) faith and in perfect charity ask and cry thee Jesu and all the world mercy, trusting thereby that through thy passion and with thy succour and release of that gracious Lady thy mother and maid to sinners calling for help of her great pity very comfortable and in such requests of thee not denied, St Ann, Mary Magdelene, St John Baptist and St Christopher mine of ours to whose preserving and help I commit my soul, trusting thereby that through these means I shall be none of the damnable number, but at the lest in the Way of Salvation and my sinfull casket if I die in (15) Norfolk to be buried in the Cathedral Church of the same shire in the chapel whereat my father's body lyeth buried, that is to say against the west

end of his grave. And if I happen to decease in London then I [am] to be buried in the city field of London in the Chapel of our Lady. Item I will that first afore all other things to be done that all the debts that I owe be truly content and paid and that all wrongs and hurts done by me to any person against good conscience be reformed (page 2) upon examination thereof to be taken by mine executors. And thereof a quiet end and satisfaction (20) made in discharge of my soul, and I charge and require my wife, John Heydon, William Heydon and Henry Heydon my sons upon my blessing that they suffer every manner with whom or to whom I have covenanted, sold or granted any lands or tenements either by deeds or to hold at will or to farm, that they in no wise interrupt or contrary any of my said conveyances or grants, but suffer every man that have any such grant or have made any such covenants with me to enjoy and have all such grants and covenants according to my covenant (25) and grant therefore made *etc.* Item I will that no general dole be made for me the day of my burying above the sum of 10 marks; but in the stead thereof I will that £20 be conveyed or disposed by the discretion of my executors in array and bedding for poor folks in the city there as it shall happen my body to be buried and in the next town thereto adjoining for the soul of me and the souls of my father and mother and of all those that I am most bounden to pray or to do any alms deeds for. Item I will that there be conveyed to every priest of the house whereat (30) my body shall be buried being present at the time of the Dirge and Mass of my burying 40d. And the prior of the same house 6s 8d. And to the supervisors 5s. And to every other monk that be no priest 20d. And to every secular priest of the said city of Norwich if I be buried there 6d., he to say secretly and devoutly in their own parish church at the time of my burying a Dirge with a Mass of Requiem for my soul and the souls of my father and mother and all restless souls. And if I be buried at London then to the priors and subpriors as above rehearsed (35) and to every other priest of the same house 8d. And to every monk of the Charterhouse there 12d, they to say and pray as it is above rehearsed. Item I bequeath to each of the four orders of friars of the City of Norwich 40s. And to the Greyfriars everyone that in the next year after that in the beginning of Lent 5 marks, all the said 4 orders to say Dirge and Mass of Requiem in their churches for my soul and the souls of my father and mother as above and in the likewise at London if I be buried there. Item I bequeath to each of the sisters of Normanspital in Norwich 40d (40). And to every leper house of Norwich and in Norfolk and Suffolk gowns with a hood of Fyese or cotton. Item I will that as soon as it may be after my decease one of the best and virtuous priest being of the house where at my body shall lie buried sing Mass in the chapel whereat my body shall lie and pray for my soul and the souls of my father and mother *etc. ut supra*, during years next following after my decease, taking yearly for his labours £6. Item I will that in likewise as soon as it may be after my decease that there be provided seven priests of devout and virtuous (45) merit and some of them of the Charterhouse in London if it may be, or some at Cambridge and in Norfolk to sing Mass and pray *ut supra* during one whole year next after my decease taking each of them for his labour a black gown with an hood in the beginning of that year and 10 marks in money for his labour for the said year quarterly to each of them to be paid. Item I will that there be as hastily and as goodly as it may be done after my decease disposed in array to the poor folk

being my towns and dwellings in my possessions as in Brandon 30s, (50) Barnham Broom 13s 8d, Barford 30s, Runhall 20s, Naveton 40s, Hedenham 20s, Oxwick 20s, Little Snoring 40s, Hindringham 13s 4d, Thursford 20s, Saxthorpe 20s, Corpusty 20s, Heydon 20s, Oulton 20s, Resham and Hackforth 30s, Kelling and Salthouse 40s, Little Barningham and Wolterton 30s, Plumstead 10s, Baconsthorpe 20s, Hempstead 20s, Bodham 13s 4d, Bunwell and Carleton 40s, Little Hockham 13s 4d, Northrepps 13s 4d; in Kent in West Whickham 40s, Hayes and Keston 40s. (55) Item I will that there be given and disposed to the churches hereafterwritten as in being of vestments, books and other possessions, that is to say of Baconsthorpe 40s, Hempstead 40s, Bodham 40s, Wiveton 40s, Gayton 40s, Heydon 40s, Little Snoring 40s, Kelling 20s, Oxwick 20s and of Keston 20s; to the churches of these said parishes as soon after my decease as they may have knowledge to keep upon a holy day a Dirge and a Masse of requiem for my soul and the souls of my father and mother *etc. ut supra*. And (60) to one parson of every church saying such divine service 12d; and to every priest of the said parishes being present and saying Dirge and Mass as above rehearsed 8d. Item I will that mine executors buy and make up at my costs the whole suit of the vestments that my father gave to Christchurch in Norwich. Item I bequeath to the high altar of Baconsthorpe in full recompense of mine altarage behind 20s. Item I bequeath to the parson of Bodham in full recompense of mine altarage there behind 10s. Item I will that within 4 years (65) next after my decease there be disposed by the discretion of mine executors £10 in the reparation of the chapel where my father's body lyeth to the most necessary things. And besides that 5 marks for 2 vestments whereof the one to be black. Item I will that any gentleman that is and hath been in service with me 3 years continually next afore my decease have 20s, beside his wages. And in like wise every yeoman 13s 4d and every groom 6s 8d immediately after my decease, they to pray for my soul *etc.* Item I will that my godson (70) Henry Mynter have £10 that his father's executors owe yet to me, which £10 I will be disposed in the reparation of his place at [the] town of Barningham by the discretion of mine executors. Item I will that all such cattle and grains as at the time of my decease shall be or remain in every barn, solar or garner as growing upon any ground of mine within my manors of Baconsthorpe, Hempstead, Bodham, Salthouse and Kelling and in all other towns which aforetime have been wont to be charged and (75) accounted parcels of my account of Baconsthorpe aforesaid with the moiety of the manor of Kelling being the most profitable wise, kept and occupied, and all the wool coming off my sheep going upon the same ground shall be sold and that those sheep of the said sheep that all be aged or not profitable (page 3) to keep be sold or changed to the most profit of and to the exhibition of the household of Baconsthorpe or in any other place if my wife being sole and unmarried keep household during a whole year after (80) my decease so that the stock of the sheep be not lost as the said year end past the number in all of 200 sheep. If it happens them not to die by reason of murrain and after the end of the said year I will that John Heydon my son have to his proper use all the cattle and grains thereof them every remaining. And if it happens the said John before the end of the said year to be deceased then I will that the said cattle, wool and grains then as aforesaid ever remaining be sold by mine executors *etc.*

Item I will that my wife if she live sole (85) and be unmarried keep household at Baconsthorpe or in any other place that it shall please her by the space of a year next following after my decease. And if it happens her to decease or to be married within the said year then I will that she depart from Baconsthorpe and that mine executors keep and support the said household after that during the said year. Item I will and require all my feoffee of and in all my manors lands and tenements in Baconsthorpe, Bodham, Hempstead, Salthouse and Kelling and in all other towns that have been wont to be charged and accounted (90) as parcels of the account of the said manor of Baconsthorpe with all the appurtenances and in my manor in Salthouse *etc.*, Kelling, Little Bardwell and in the moytie of the manor of Kelling that they suffer my wife as long as she is the householder at Baconsthorpe aforesaid or in any other place where it shall please my wife if she live sole (95) and be unmarried or else by mine executors as aforesaid, and also that they shall support all manner exhibitions of Henry my son during the aforesaid whole year next following after my decease. And one that my wife if she be alive and unmarried mine executors to support all manner of reparations of all the houses, dikes and hedges of the said manors, lands and tenements and bare and support all manner of the charges thereof to be paid or done as well to the King as the chief lords of the fees during all the said time that the household shall be kept. And after (100) the end of the said time of household keeping all the said manors, lands and tenements to remain according as I have assigned afterwards by my will. Item I will that my wife if she live sole and be unmarried let mine executors have and occupy my stuff and utensils of mine household within my manor of Baconsthorpe to the occupation and sustentation of mine household as aforesaid during all the said time that mine household shall be kept except all such stuff and utensils thereof as I have otherwise afore or hereafter bequeathed to any other, and that all my said stuff and utensils (105) of households and all mine hanging after the breaking up of the said household be divided in two parts by my brother Sir William Boleyn and by such two of mine executors as he shall take to him, except all my plate and all other jewels, books and apparel of my chapel and all manner of apparel and necessaries for husbandry and all my brewing utensils afore and hereafter assigned and bequeathed. And that my wife if she live sole and be unmarried have the first choice of the other half of the said stuff and utensils, she to have it to her own use. And I will (110) that John my son have the other half thereof with all manner of apparel and for husbandry and brewing vessels being within my said manor of Baconsthorpe to his proper use. And if it happen that the said John to decease within the said time of mine household keeping then I will that all the said half of the stuff and utensils of household and apparel and necessaries of husbandry to him as afore bequeathed after the breaking-up of the said household shall remain to him or to her that shall please God to be mine next heir of the said manor to have the deliverance (115) thereof, when he or she come to the full age of 21 years. And if it happen my wife to be married within the said year then I will that the part of the said utensils and stuff of household to her bequeathed. Item I will that each of William and Henry my sons have a feather bed and a transom delivered to them after my decease. Item I will that all my gowns of silk be made in vestments and all the vestments thereof to be made to be disposed and given to

the churches of the towns that I am lord of that mine executors shall think have most need (120) to have any. Item I will that all the residue of mine apparel of my body be disposed in such wise as my wife shall think be best. And she is to do the which at her pleasure. Also I will that my wife have all her arrange, rings and jewels except my plate and jewels of my chapel to her own bequeathed afore nor hereafter to any other. Item I will that John my son have my best chain of gold under this condition that he shall give to William my son the chain of gold that I gave him. Item I will that William Heydon my son (125) have three little bowls all gilt and chased with a cover which were Walter Ingham's. And also three little bowls chased, of parcel-gilt which were Walter Ingham's with a cover and of the 3 common silver salts with a cover. Item I will that whereas John my son hath two bowls with a cover late Walter Inghams I will that he (130) deliver them again to mine executors to the preformation of this my testament and last will for as much as he shall have other plate as hereafter followeth. Item I will that my daughter Katherine Heydon have my two best silver pots. Item I will that my wife chose to her of what silver plate that she will chose to the value of £120 worth of the ounce of the silver plate that is all gilt and of the ounce that is not gilt or parcel gilt 3s 4d. (page 4). Item after that choice had by my wife I will that John my son chose as much of the residue of my plate (135) as shall be worth £100 price of the ounce as it is afore promised to my wife he to have it to his own use. Item I will that all the residue of my silver plate be divided between my 5 daughters by the discretion of my wife, Sir William Boleyn, John Heydon, Robert Fermoyes and Thomas Langdon and will that each of my daughters, Dorothy and Brigett and Anne Quinary have for her rate more than any of mine other 2 daughters. Item I will that all the apparel, vestments, jewels and books of my chapel be divided in two parts by Sir William Boleyn (140) and by such of mine executors as he shall chose to him and that they after that my wife shall chose and have the one part thereof and John my son to have the other part thereof. Item I will that my wife divide and give all mine English books amongst my children as she shall deem, but first she (is) to chose for herself such thereof as she will have. Item I will that my wife have all my utensils and stuff of household being within my manor place of West Wickham to her own use. Item I will that my wife have in money £100 and thereof half in hand (145) and within a year after that the other half. And also that she have all the debts that be owing me in Kent to her own use. Item I will that John my son have £100 in money and thereof half in hand and the other half within a year after that; and also that he have all my sheep in my fields of Heydon and Holwood. Item I will that William my son have £50 in money, and thereof £25 in hand and £25 within a year after that. And also I will that he have all the arrears that be owing to me at Hockham and Illington and all my sheep in my fields (150) in the same towns. Item I will that Henry my son have £50 when he comes to the age of 24 years. Item I will that the church roof of Brandon be new leaded at my cost except the township shall [bare] the cost of all manner of charges thereof beside the money that I will that mine executors dispose in building or in some other necessary easement or reparation that shall injure at the houses of lepers by Magdalene Gate at Norwich to the most ease and profit to the said houses of lepers, the sum of (155) 50s in recompense of 2s of rent alms which they claimed to have

at Hempstead in discharge of my father's conscience and mine. Item I will that mine executors do buy copes to make up an whole and like suit to the vestment that my father gave Christchurch at Norwich. Item I will that mine executors pay to the executors of Sir Roger Townsend £13 6s 8d and that mine executors ever that dispose in priest's singing and in other alms deeds for the soul of the said Sir Roger Townsend in discharge of my conscience the sum of £26 13s 4d. Item I (160) will that mine executors pay to the prior of Christchurch as money behind of the money that Hugh Ferme bequeathed to the reparation of the chapel of the said church £20 and that I discharge the said house of all my fee of the said place behind and unpaid for 20 years and more past. Item whereas Newgate of Holkham and Candler of Pickenham owe to Hugh Ferme £90 thereof I have received which I have accompted £51 6s 8d; also I have received which I have not yet accompted by estimation £20 13s 4d. which I will that mine executors (165) dispose in Masses, singing and in other alms deeds for the souls of the said Hugh Ferme. And so that said Newgate and Candler worth yet by estimation £18 *etc.* and I suppose more money. Item whereas I received of young Essex for Hugh Ferme £98 beside 40s by estimation owing yet by Fisher, gentleman usher to the King, thereof I have paid and accounted as it showeth by my little black book £75 and so I owe yet £23 which I will that mine executors dispose in Masses, singing and in other alms deeds for the soul of the said Hugh Ferme (170). Item I think in conscience that the prioress of Fritcham worth to have for a release under her conscience shall beforehand of all her right and title which the same place had in certain lands in Deopham and Morley beside £10 by me paid afore £20, which lands William Purchase hath, and therefore me seemeth that he oweth to pay to him the said £20 in discharge of all conscience, and if William Purchase refuse to pay the said £20 then I will that my said executors pay thereof £10 and he to pay the other £10 and £100 (175) for land to be purchased to the Chapel at Thetford and thereof to be paid £20 by year till it be paid of the Master of Thetford Chapel, or the mayor or his brethren there provide and buy the said land and mortise it to the said chapel according to the last will of Dame Isabel Galyon. Item I will that mine executors dispose in the reparation of the highways that lead from London to West Whickham as alms deed for the soul of the said Dame Isabell Galyon £6 13s 4d. Item I will that mine executors pay to Pope's wife of Mildenhall or to her next (180) heir in discharge of my conscience and not for no right that they have in certain lands in Kent but that there is evidence to discharge it so that her said heir release all his rights therein *etc.* beside the money by me paid afore £40. Item I will that mine executors in the discharge of my conscience pay £10 to the executors of one Savy of Malling in Kent for full recompense for the manor of Oxwick which I purchased off him and paid him therefore but not to the value by my conscience of £10 by the wife of Master Bacton for I suppose (185) there would be no executors. Item I will that mine executors dispose in Masses, singing and in other alms deeds for the soul of my father £40 which is yet to dispose. Item I will that John my son have all mine harness for wear and all my guns to his own use. Item I will that Sir John Paston have my best horse, and all the residue of my riding horses in my stable to be divided by my

brother Boleyn between my wife and John, William and Henry my sons. Item I will that Thomas Langton have for his labours in the making and engrossing (190) up of this my last will and testament in ready money 5 marks. Item I forgive to John Colby all the money that he oweth to me and is behind for his purchase. Item I will that Robert Hotte have beside the money afore bequeathed to him 40s. Item I will that William Grundisburgh receive yearly all the profits of my (page 5) houses, lands and tenements that I have assigned to the reformation of testament and last will taking yearly for him wages and costs thereof 40s and a gown. Item I bequeath to Richard Winter 40s. Item to Thomas Hermit 40s. Item if (195) my manors of Little Hockham and Illington which the yearly value of my sheep there extend not to the yearly value of £40 by year then I will mine executors purchase with my goods as much land to the manor that John shall buy in Illington and to the said manor as shall extend with the said manors and sheep to the value of £40 yearly and William to have them in like wise as he hath Hockham and Illington. Item if my manors, lands and tenements in West Wilby, Metton, North Repps and other towns thereto adjoining extend not to the yearly value of £40 then I will that mine executors (200) purchase as such lands assent as it may reasonable be had and purchased thereto for Henry my son at the yearly value thereof which the said manors lands and tenements shall extend to £40 yearly; and I will Henry my son have them in like wise as he hath the foresaid manors, lands and tenements in Norfolk, Coleby Metton and Northrepps aforesaid. Item I will that mine executors pay to the executors of Banyards and to Thomas Bartram all the money to them due and behind for the purchase of the manors that I purchased of them. And I bequeath to Sir Thomas Lovell (205) for his help and wisdom in the execution of this my said testament and last will firstly a silver standing cup gilt with a cover as mine executors shall chose for him and to Sir William Boleyn for his like help and wisdom such a pot of silver as mine executors shall chose for him. Item I bequeath to James Hobert for his help and wisdom in the said execution £20 whereof to be paid in hand 100s and yearly after that 100s till it be paid; and to Robert Fermoy's William Grundisburgh and Thomas Langton for his labours to each of them 100s, whereof to be paid to each of them in hand (210) 20s and yearly after that 20s till it be paid. And if it happen any of my said executors to decease before all the days of payment of their said legacies become them I will that he or them that so happen to decease before the days of payment thereof be come, shall nothing have of the payments of the said days thereof to come. Also I bequeath to the said Master Edmund Bacton for his labour and wisdom a black feather gown with an hood and 40s in money in like wise to be paid and all the residue of all my goods and chattells and issues and possessions of (215) all my forsaid manors, lands and tenements to be perceived I give and bequeath to Anne my wife, James Hobert, John Heydon, my son, Edmund Bacton clerk, Robert Fermoy's, Williams Grunisburgh and Thomas Langton whom I ordain and make mine executors of this my said testament and last will to the intent that they shall dispose them to the most pleasure of God and health to my soul. Also I ordain and make Sir Thomas Lovett Knight and Sir William Poley Knight supervisors of this my said testament and last will.

Will of Anne Heydon, wife of Sir Henry Heydon, 1510
PRO PROB. 11/16

In the name of God amen. I Dame Anne Heydon, widow, being in my whole mind and also good memory, the 17th day of December AD 1509 and in the first year of King Henry VIII, do make this my testament and last will in manner and form following, that is to say first gracious Jesu, I as a sinful creature by reason of my demerits not worthy to be accepted into the holy company of heaven to continue in that holy (5) place, Lord, without thy great and large mercy and grace the which through thy passion to every Christian man meekly and lowly asking graciously grantest, wherefore I now being in my full and whole mind and in perfect love and charity and in steadfast faith ask and cry thee Jesu, our Lady St Mary the blessed mother, all the holy company of heaven and all the world, mercy, trusting verily that through thy passion and with the succour and relief of that gracious lady thy mother and maid to sinners to her calling for help of her great pity, greatly and very comfortable; wherefore (10) blessed Jesu, I commit my soul to thee and to thy blessed mother and lady St Mary and to all saints of heaven through the mean and help of St John Baptist, St Anne, St Mary Magdalene and St Christopher mine avowers, and my sinful body to be buried in the chapel of St Luke in the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity (page 2) of Norwich if I die in Norwich or in Norfolk. Item I give and bequeath to the reparation of the said cathedral church £10 of lawful money with this condition that the prior and monks of the said church suffer me to have my sepulture (15) in the said chapel of St Luke and also that they keep once in the year a solemn Dirige and Mass of requiem in the said church during the term of three years next after my decease. Item I bequeath to the prior of the said place 6s 8d, to the sub-prior 3s 4d, to every of the said monks priests 20d, and to every monk there that is no priest 12d, they to say Dirge and Mass and to pray for my soul at my burying day. Item I will that mine executors make no comman dole for me at my burying but that they give in the stead thereof 10 marks to poor people keeping households in (20) Norwich, most specially to those that be dwelling within the parish that I dwell in. Item I give to the Blackfriars 40s, to the Whitefriars 20s, to the Greyfriars 20s and to the Austen Friars in Norwich 20s, they to pray for my soul. Item to every sister of Normanspitel 12d. Item to the nuns of Carrow 20s to pray for me. Item to the reparation of the house of friars of Blakeney 40s and they to pray for my soul. Item that there be provided 12 bedesmen of the poorest persons to hold light above mine hearse and each of them to have a black gown of frise and 5d in money, and each of them to say (25) at Dirge and at Mass at my burying, Our Lady's psalter and 5 Pater Nosters, 5 Aves and a Credo. Item I will that mine executors provide or buy a convenient stone, plain of marble for my grave with an image and a scutcheon of mine arms most conveniently to be set there upon. Item I bequeath to the church of St Peter of Hundgate in Norwich an image of St Erasmus in alabaster, an image of the Trinity of alabaster and to the high altar of the same church 20s and a carpet with mine arms and my husband's to lie before the high altar in the said church and a mass book to the parish (30) church of print. Item I give to the said church a vestment to the value of 20s. Item I bequeath to the reparation of Campsey Abbey 66s 8d. Item I bequeath to Anne Wynter there nun, 66s 8d. Item I will mine executors provide

immediately after my decease as they may conveniently 5 honest and virtuous priests to sing and pray for me and my friends by one whole year, one at the chapel of St Luke where my body shall be buried daily to say Dirge for me and my friends, and one at the parish church of St Julian's in Norwich before the altar, and 3 to sing for me at Cambridge (35) and to their learning, the one to be my scholar Master English, the second to be Master Briggs, prior to the Blackfriars, and the third to be Master Calle, a friar minor, each of them to say Mass in the week and oftener if they may intend Dirge for me and my friends and to have for stipend each of them 10 marks, and I will my chaplain, Sir John Caley, have the service in the chapel of St Luke until my place be sold, if it be sold within that year. Item to Dr Hugh to sing for me and pray 3 years after my decease 20s by year, and if he decease within the said 3 years then the money to him bequeathed (40) not satisfactorily sung for to be disposed to the performance of this my testament and last will. Item to the Blackfriars in Norwich to buy therewith a vestment or else to be disposed in other reparations or things that shall be most necessary for the place 10 marks. Item I will that mine executors give and pay yearly to the anchoress of St Julian's parish in Norwich weekly to her finding 4d during her life. Item I will that mine executors give and pay to Margery Porter 20s during her life in money to be paid to her quarterly 5s to pray for my soul. Item I give and bequeath to Thomas Hermyte 40s and that stuff that pertaineth to his bed to pray for my (45) soul. Item I will that black gowns by the discession of mine executors at my burying only be given to my sons daughters kinsfolk that be nigh allied to me that be at my burying and that to all my household servants and to none other. Item I will that my household be kept whole at my cost and charge one quarter of the year next after my decease and that all the faggots, astleys [firewood] and coals not expended in my household after that it be left that it be given to poor people in Norwich. Item I will that my place in Norwich late purchased of the executors of John Crome by mine executors be sold and the money that shall come thereof to (50) be to the finding of a secular priest for to sing and pray for my soul, my husband's Sir John Heydon's soul, our fathers' and mothers' and for all the benefactors' souls in the chapel of St Luke in the foresaid cathedral church, the which secular priest I will shall be my chaplain Sir John Caley as long as it shall please God to send him life if the money may extend so long, and for his stipend I give him 10 marks by year duely to say Dirge for me and my friends and Mass if he be disposed, and also in other deeds of pity as mine executors shall think that may be to the most pleasure of God and profit to my soul, and I require (55) my feoffees in the said place which that be and shall be enfeoffed that when they be required by mine executors to make lawful state or feoffment to the performing of the premises. Item I give to my son John Heydon all my stuff of household in my place in Kent. Item I bequeath to my daughter Dorothy Cobham 3 goblets of silver and gilt with one cover to the same, a psalter covered with blue velvet, 1 pair beads of gold, my chain of gold, 1 cellar and tester with the covering of blue damask, 3 curtains of blue sarsnet, 1 cushion of tawny and purple velvet, 1 pair fustions [blankets], 6 pairs sheets, mine hanging (60) of cloth of arrays. Item I bequeath to my son Paston 2 silver pots. Item I bequeath to my daughter Bridgetter Paston 1 of the best feather beds and the bolster, 1 pair of fustions, 1 sperver of

green sarsnette, 1 board cloth of diaper, 5 of the best wardnappies [table mats], 3 towels a long towel of diaper, 2 pairs of the best sheets, 2 salts of silver parcel gilt, 1 cover of silver parcel gilt and 2 pillows. I give to my son Dimmock 1 bowl of silver parcel gilt. Item I bequeath to my daughter Anne Dimmock one standing cup with its cover and one cross of gold made like to an Agnus Dei. Item I bequeath to my son Henry Heydon my worser silver basin and the (65) ewer, 2 feather beds, 1 of the best and of the worse and the bolsters, 1 pair fustions, 1 pair of fine sheets and 1 head sheet, 2 bord clothes of diaper, 2 towels, 12 wardnappies, 6 pair of coarse sheets, 1 sperver [bed canopy] of yellow and red and red [sic] the hanging of yellow and red in the great chamber. Item, I give to my daughter Margery Heydon 2 pairs blankets 1 covering of verdurys [tapestry], 2 pillows, 3 cushions or verdurys, 1 pair chalice of silver and gilt, 1 vestment of red cloth of brocade, all that pertaineth to the altar except that is bequeathed before and after. Item I bequeath to my (70) nephew George Cobham my 2 best salts of silver and gilt of with a cover to be delivered to him when he cometh to the age of 21 years and in the meantime I will that my son Paston have them all in keeping to the foresaid day. And if it fortune to the said George to decease before he cometh to the said age then I will that my said daughter Cobham have the said 2 salts to her own use. Item I give and bequeath to the exhibition of the same George 100s to be paid yearly 20s during the term of five years to be delivered to my daughter Cobham. Item I give to my niece Margery Cobham one harness of gold. Item to my niece Anne (75) Cobham to her in marriage 66s 8d. and her mother to have it paid to the use of the same Anne immediately after my decease and if she decease before the time of her marriage then to the use of her mother. Item I bequeath to my niece Frances Gurney yearly 26s 8d to her exhibition until she be married and to the said Frances I bequeath a feather bed with the bolster, 1 of the best except before named, 2 pairs of blankets, a sperver of board Alisander with the covering of the same, the hanging in my chamber of red saye, 6 pairs of sheets thereof, 3 (80) pairs of the fine sheets and 3 pairs of coarse sheets, board cloth of diaper, 2 board cloth of plain cloth, 12 wardnappies, 3 towels, 6 spoons of silver overgilt with the cover that I had of William Heydon, £20 in money to her marriage, 2 pillows, a black coffer late (page 3) the parson of Swanton's, and all my gowns, kirtles and furs except those that be bequeathed, cushions with images in the midst and the half part of all mine utensils of household except those that be bequeathed to be divided after the discretion of mine executors. Item I bequeath to Richard Whyntter 20s. Item I give and bequeath to Elenor Heydon my goddaughter (85) 66s 8d to be paid to her when she is married and if she decease before she be married then I will the said money be divided amongst my son's other children. Item I give to Leonard Heydon my godson 66s 8d. Item I give to Anne Paston my goddaughter 66s 8d. Item I give to Henry Winter one celure [canopy, tapestry, hanging etc.] and tester with the covering of green say with white in the midst and 3 curtains belonging to the same. Item, I bequeath to my niece Anne Pultere one bowl of silver and gilt, with the covering having my mother's arms. Item I bequeath to Anne Hayward 20s, one of (90) my gowns, 2 pairs of sheets, board cloth, 1 towel. Item I bequeath to Margaret Colwyle one of my gowns furred with mink and in money 66s 8d. Item I bequeath to Elizabeth Thomas servant with my daughter Cobham 20s.

Item I give to Margery Herwood the wife of Robert Herwood of Boton one pair beads of amber of twice 50. Item I bequeath to Elizabeth Mudde 20s and a black gown furred. Item I bequeath to each of my servants that be gentleman []. Item to Robert Hotte 66s 8d and all stuff pertaining to a bed and to the residue of my servants to each of them 20s. Item I (95) bequeath to Cecily Brigs 2 pairs of sheets. I bequeath to Elizabeth late the wife of Clement Herward one pair of beads of coral gawded with chalcedony. Item I bequeath to Anne Hubbard one standing cup gilt and enamelled like a goblet. Item I give to Thomas Landon's son for a primer that I had of his father 10s. Item I bequeath to the reparation of the north aisle of the parish church of West Wickham in Kent 10s. Item I give to Dame Katharine Backton of Bungay 6s 8d. Item to the reparation of the same place 20s. Item I give to Robert Herward of Boton all my horses except I give to James Mary's (100) wife one of them. Item I bequeath to the poor people of the town of West Wickham in Kent 11s 8d to be given [where] there most need is and to the parson or curate of the same town 20d. I bequeath to the poor people of Keston-iuxta-Wickham 5s and to the curate there 20d. Item to the poor people of the parish of Hedenham 11s 8d and to the parson there 20d. Item to the poor people of the parish of Woodton-iuxta-Hedenham 11s 8d and to the curate there (105) 20d. Item to the poor people of the parish of Branden-iuxta-Barforth 11s 8d and to the curate there 20d. Item to the poor people of the parish of parish [sic] of Barforth 11s 8d and to the curate there 20d. Item to the poor people of Northrepps 11s 8d and to the curate there 20d. Item I bequeath to each of the leppers without the city gates of Norwich there abiding 8d. Item I give to Dr Backton 3 silver spoons. Item I give to Dr Jeffrey 3 silver spoons. Item I give to Margery Whyntter 6s 8d and one of my gowns. Item I will that mine executors perform the testament of my son Williams Heydon and that they receive all such debts as is owing to me for him and dispose them so that they may (110) please God best and profit the soul most after their discretion in deeds of pity and mercy. Item I will the prisoners of the castle in Norwich have weekly the time that my household endure in meat and drink after my decease to the value of 12d. Item I will the prisoners of the guildhall in Norwich have weekly the time my household shall endure after my decease weekly to the value of 5d in meat and drink. Item I bequeath to the chapel of Feld in Norwich 40s. Item I bequeath to the chapel of St Luke in the cathedral church one vestment of crimson velvet there to remain (115) for ever. The residue of all my goods, moveable and unmoveable, as my debts to fall in any manner wise owing before not given or bequeathed I commit wholly into the hands, good disposition and discretion of mine executors, they to dispose them to the most honour, worship and pleasure to almighty God and to my soul in deeds of pity and charity after their discretion, whom I ordain and make my trusty, faithful and well beloved friends in Christ William Paston Esq., and Thomas Edeman, clerk, parson of Whyntter (?) and to the said William Paston and Thomas (120) for their labours such goods as I have delivered them and bequeathed, and I give to them their expenses and charges necessary for such causes as shall concern this my present testament and last will, to be taken out of the goods and debts above written. In witness hereof I have sealed this present testament and last will with my seal.
 Probate at Canterbury, 16 May 1510.

Will of Sir Christopher Heydon, 1540
NRO NCC Wills, 9–10 Thynkyll

In the name of God amen. The 17th day of December in the year of our Lord God 1540 and in the 32nd year of our sovereign Lord King Henry the VIII. I Christopher Heydon Knight being of good and perfect (5) memory knowing more certain than death *etc.* first I commit and bequeath my soul to Almighty God *etc.* And whereas my son Christopher Heydon Esquire standeth and is bound for me to pay to my father Sir John Heydon Knight £20 sterling yearly during his natural life, it is my will and also I (10) give and bequeath to Dame Anne my wife all my obligations that my father Sir William Drury standeth bounden to me for the payment of 400 marks sterling as it shall appear more at large by certain indentures of convenants of marriage [space] indented made between my said father (15) Sir John Heydon Knight of the one party and the said Sir Christopher Heydon Knight on other party and the said Sir William Drury Knight of the third party, so that she the said Anne my wife therewith yearly pay to my said father Sir John Heydon my father Knight the said £20 sterling all his natural life *etc.*, and for the (20) exoneration and discharging of my said son Christopher. Also whereas my said son Christopher Heydon Esquire standeth bound to me by his writing obligatory in the sum of £600 sterling for the payment of 600 marks of lawful money of England to be paid to my two daughters (25) Mary Heydon and Katherine Heydon at such days and times as I the said Sir Christopher shall express and declare in this my last will as by the endorsement of the same writing obligatory shall appear more at large. Now it is my will that my said son Christopher Heydon shall pay (30) unto my said daughter Mary Heydon 100 marks, when she the said Mary shall come to the age of 15 years. And so yearly 100 marks to be paid to the said Mary unto [*sic*] she shall receive the whole sum of 300 marks. And likewise it is my will that my said son Christopher Heydon shall (35) pay unto my said daughter Katherine Heydon 100 marks when she the said Katherine shall come to the age of 15 years, and so yearly 100 marks to be paid to the said Katherine unto [*sic*] the said sum of 300 marks be fully paid to her the said Katherine, provided always that if my said father (40) Sir John Heydon Knight shall be alive when my said daughters Mary and Katherine come to the age of 20 years then it is my will that my son Christopher Heydon shall not stand charged with the payment of the said sum of 600 marks or any parcel thereof during the life natural of my said father Sir John (45) Heydon Knight. But it is my will my son Christopher shall then within one year next and immediately ensuing the decease of my father pay yearly to my said daughters Mary and Katherine 100 marks unto either of them shall receive 300 marks. And if the said Mary Heydon and Katherine Heydon (50) or either of them depart out of this world before they or either of them shall accomplish the said age of 15 years or before the decease of Sir John Heydon Knight then it is my will that all such payments as shall be due to them so departing from henceforth to cease and not to be payable (55) any bond[?] or declaration heretofore made to the contrary not withstanding and so much as in this my said last will be comprised certain declarations concerning the payments of diverse sums of money as well for the discharging of £20 yearly to be paid to my said (60) father Sir John Heydon Knight and other sums to my said two daughters Mary and

Katharine and the charge thereof is touching my said son Christopher; therefore it is my will that this my testament and last will shall be indented and there one party thereof to remain with my son Christopher (65) and the other part thereof to remain with my executors by protestation that I hereafter shall not make any will, testament or declaration contrary to the intent here of whereby my said son Christopher shall be defrauded. The rest of my goods not bequeathed (70) I give to the disposition of my executors except and reserving such legacies and bequests as I hereafter shall give and bequeath by a schedule hereunto annexed and to be subscribed with my hand. And I ordain, constitute and make Anne my wife my executrix and some (75) such persons or person as she shall name to be with her as executors. Witness Christopher Heydon Esquire, Thomas Heydon Esquire and Thomas Knowles notary.

Proved 18 March 1541, Norwich. The annexed schedule does not survive.

Will of Sir John Heydon II, died 1550
PRO PROB 11/34

In the name of God amen. The 1st day of September in the 36th year of the reign of our sovereign lord Henry VIII by the grace of God King of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith and of the church of England and also of Ireland, in earth the supreme head, and in the year of our Lord God 1544. (5) I John Heydon Knight, being of whole and perfect mind and memory, do make and ordain this my last will and testament as doth hereafter ensue. First I do bequeath my soul to God trusting in his infinite mercy to grant his forgiveness of all my inexorable and wretched offences in this transitory world committed and done, and to be partaker of heaven with the holy and blessed company there, through the bitter passion of Christ and my (10) Lady, to be buried where it shall please God as shall be thought convenient by my executors. I will mine executors do make restitution for all wrongs by me committed and done as shall be reasonably provided. I will my debts I owe to any man be paid. I will mine executors do distribute in charitable deeds for the soul of Robert Brownes £9. I will mine executors pay to the executors of Burke of Brandon £8 which the executors (15) say is yet owing. I will mine executors do pay to the executors of Thoresby of Lynne £11 that is yet owing as Thoresby said. I give to Elenor Sibsey 20 marks. I will mine executors do pay my daughters Ursula and Briget £20 at such time or times as to mine executors shall be thought convenient to pay for. I will mine executors do bestow in the finding of George Townsend to (20) borrowing £20 if he be grieved by mine executors. I give to John Waterson my servant 40s. I give to Katherine Elward 20s, to John Coniston 20s. I give (page 2) to Hugh Burkett 5 marks. I give to old James Waterson 40s. I will that mine executors shall have all my leases and that they with the profits thereof containing do pay yearly to my sister 14 marks, to my brother Henry Heydon £14 (25) during his life, and that mine executors do discharge and save harmless my servants without suit or trouble of and for the yearly sum of £40. I will also that with the profits coming of my said leases my son Richard shall have £100, my son Thomas £100, my son William £100 and my son Leonard £20. I will also that mine executors with the profits of my (30) said leases coming after my debts paid, my bequests, legacies and payments before rehearsed, discharged and paid, do purchases manors, lands and

tenements to the clear yearly value of £40 by the year, which manors, lands and tenements so purchased and bought I will that my forenamed sons Richard, William and Thomas shall have to them and the longer liver of them and to their heirs. I give to Christopher Heydon all my harness and other (35) artillery and utensils for the wars, my gown of velvet and with the fur, my basin and ewer of silver parcel gilt, with mine arms thereon, my two great pots of silver with mine arms on them, one cup, one goblet, the ornaments of my chapel, that is a cross of silver, two cruets of silver, two candlesticks of silver, one pax of silver and all the books and vestments used in my chapel, two saints of silver, one pair of censers of silver. I (40) will and also give to the said Christopher Heydon all the fines due and owing to me for the grants made in my courts for copyhold, and my mind and intent is also I will than if the said Christopher Heydon do disrespect or by any means trouble my executors or cause that mine executors be troubled in the execution of this my will and testament, that then I will that the said Christopher shall not have the forsaied gifts, legacies (45) or bequests, nor any part or parcel of them by this my will and testament before given or assigned to the said Christopher Heydon. I give to my daughter Ursula two pairs of sheets, one pair of blankets, one pillow and one coverlet. I give likewise to my daughter Briget two pairs of sheets, one pair of blankets, one pillow and one coverlet. I give to the forsaied Christopher Heydon the hangings and the feather beds in the chapel chamber, the (50) lord's chamber and the great chamber; and also the hangings in the parlour and all other my stuff of household I give to mine executors to order according to their discretion. I will mine executors with the permission that I gave towards my household keep household at Baconsthorpe the time and space of one quarter of a year next after my death and during that time my servants to have meat and drink and wages for so many of them as will (55) tarry; and after that quarter of the year ended, then I will the said Christopher Heydon shall have all my grain there remaining at Baconsthorpe, all my milk neats, my ploughs, horses and other necessaries belonging to husbandry towards the maintenance of the household of the said Christopher Heydon. I give full power and authority to Sir Edmund Wyndham Kt, and to mine executors to minish and to augment this my will and (60) testament either for the payment of money by me before bequeathed or restitution to be made or other things concerning this my will and testament. The residue of all my goods and chattels unbequeathed I put to the order and distribution of mine executors to distribute to my children and servants and friends as they do so need according to their discretion. I ordain and make mine executors of this my last will and testament Richard Heydon (65), Thomas Heydon and William Heydon my sons, and I desire and beseech my lord of Norfolk to be supervisors of this my last will and testament; and to my said Lord of Norfolk I give and bequeath my double dishes of silver with mine arms on it desiring his good Lordship to accept so poor a remembrance. And I bequeath to the said Sir Edmund Wyndham for his pains to be taken the time of three years about this my will and testament (70) every year one pipe of wine. Also I bequeath to the said Sir Edmund Wyndham a black gown or 40s at his pleasure. In witness of this my last will and testament I the said Sir John Heydon have hereunto subscribed my name the day and year first above written, per Johannem Heydon.

Proved at Canterbury, 20 November 1554.

Will of Richard Heydon, died 1554

PRO PROB 11/36

In the name of God amen. The 10th day of January in the year of our Lord God 1552. I Richard Heydon of London Esquire being of sound mind and perfect remembrance, thanks be to God, remembering that I must depart out of this transitory life and know not when, do therefore revoke, renounce, deny and presently forsake all (5) testaments and wills heretofore by me made, spoken or declared and order this to be my very testament and last will and no other, in manner and form following: First I bequeath my soul to almighty God, creator and redeemer of the same, and my body to be buried whereat it shall please God to call me to his mercy. Item I give and bequeath to my lady my niece Dame Anne Heydon an ale jug with a cover all gilt that was my lady of Rutland's. Item I give (10) to my brother Thomas Heydon's wife a standing cup grasse[glass?] fashion. Item I give to my sister Ursula Heydon one chain of gold. Item I give to my brothers Leonard Heydon and George Heydon to each of them a cup of silver of five pounds. Item I give to my brother's daughter and to my sister his wife each of them a dish of silver with my lady of Rutland's arms thereon. Item I give to my nephew Brian's daughter a ring of 13s 4d. Item I give to my niece and goddaughter Katherine (15) Heydon a chain enamelled remaining in her custody. Item I give to my cousin Elaine Sibsey all my tithe corn in Weybourne and 5 score comb of malt remaining in my nephew Sir Christopher Heydon's hands. Item I give to my niece Katherine Townsend 3 mazer bottles lent unto my Lady Parker and with her yet still remaining. Item I give to my sister Townsend a pepper box of silver parcel gilt with a scripture about it. Item I do forgive (20) Thomas Philip all that he owes unto me; also I give the said Thomas Philip 22 and 20 wethers. Item I give to Hugh Brickett other 20 ewes. Item I give to Roger my servant all my sheep in Norfolk and one of my cottages at Baconsthorpe. Item I give to William Anwood (?) another of my cottages at Baconsthorpe. Item I give to Thomas Simpson 10 combes of wheat, part of the corn being in my nephew Sir Christopher Heydon's hands. Item I give to Mr John Donne (25) my riding coat, my doublet of fustien and 20s in money. Item I give to my servant Cobb my other coat. Item I give to my servant John Welchman (?) a coat and £4 in money besides his wages due unto him. Item I give my brother Thomas Heydon my great nag. Item I give to Mr William Harris my great grey ambling gelding. Item I give unto Mr Richard Ruckwood my black ambling gelding. Item I give unto Harry Gunstead my servant my bay (30) trotting cattle and 20 withers, my study gown, my gown furred with budge and three shirts at his own choice; and also 5 stone of wool remaining in Kent. Item I give to Sir John Herman, chaplain at Lincoln, my medley gown lying behind the hangings of my chamber at Lincoln, my trussing bedstead and my great coffer in my said chamber. Item I give to Spencer the corsest bed of my beds and 20s in money and my trundle bed. Item I give to Mr Francis (35) Ruckwood my doublet of crimson satin. Item I give to Sir Ralph Warren Kt and to my lady his wife either of them a ring of gold of 20s. Item I give to Mr Richmond and to mistress Richmond either of them a ring of 20s. Item I give to mistress Batcher a ring of 20s. Item I give to old mistress Herne all the silver spoons that she hath in keeping of mine. Item I give Mr William Herne's wife a ring with

a ruby that I bought of her. (40) Item I give to mistress Brown 40s in money, and unto Mr Brown her husband 5 marks of the money, which he owes unto me by his bill. Item I give unto mistress Elizabeth Herne, sister of the said William Herne all my sheep in Kent not afore bequeathed; also I give unto the same Elizabeth both my coffers remaining at mistress (?) at Bachores with all the linen cloth in them. Item I give unto mistress Mabel her sister a ring of 20s. Item I give unto the said (45) mistress Rickwood my tablet of gold with the perfume in it. Item I give unto Robert Beddingfield my bed that I lie in at Lincoln's Inn with the coverlet to the same. Item I give to Mr Roper a ring of gold of 20s. Item I give to my said brother Thomas Heydon []. Item I give to the said Elizabeth Herne wife of the said Mr William Herne the cup with the cover all gilt that their grandmother gave me. Item I give unto Prymes wife of Southwark (50) a piece of linen cloth being at Lincoln's Inn containing 19 els or 20, being somewhat coarse. Item I give to Mr Henry Betcher a ring of gold of 20s. Item I give to the said old mistress Herne a quarter of my great codd or haberdyn sent hither to London. Item I give to my cousin Mr Clement Passon all the money that he doth owe unto me. Item I give to my cousin Mr Clement Passon a ring. Item I give to mistress (55) Alice Herne the wife of the said William Herne a brooch of gold and all my agletts [ornaments] of gold. Item I give unto old John Cawston and to his wife 20s. Item I give unto Anthony Cawston my doublet of canvas and 10s in money. Item I give to mistress Jane Coket one of my rings of gold of 20s. Item I give to the poor households in Wickham 20s. Item I give to my said brother Thomas Heydon my iron chest (60) in my study at London. Item I give to my said sister Ursula all my stuff and linen being at Baconthorpe not before bequeathed; and also all my linen at Lincoln's Inn in like sort not before bequeathed. Of this my last will and testament I ordain and make my brother Thomas my only executor, giving him all my goods, chattels and debts not before bequeathed by me, Richard Heydon. Teste me Johanne Fryer; teste me Thome Hayes.

Proved at Canterbury, 28 April 1554.

Will of Lady Anne Heydon, died 1577

PRO PROB 10/Box 91

In the name of God Amen. The 25th day of March in the year of our Lord God 1577 and in the 19th year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith etc. I Dame Anne Heydon of Thusford in the county (5) of Norfolk and diocese of Norwich, widow, late the wife of Sir Christopher Heydon knight, deceased, being of whole mind and perfect remembrance, lauded be almighty God, not willing to depart this transitory life intestate, do ordain and make this my present testament and last will, in manner and form following. First I commend my soul to Almighty God and to his son our saviour, Jesus Christ, through whose passion I trust to have everlasting salvation and I will my body to be buried in the (10) parish church of Great Snoring next whereat my said husband lieth buried, to the reparations of which church I give 40s. Item I give to the reparations of Thursford church 40s. Item I give to my son Sir Christopher Heydon, knight, £100 in gold and all my corn both sown and unsown and also all my horses, geldings, mares, colts, fillies and foals. Item I give and bequeath to my daughter Katherine Corbet, the wife of

Miles Corbet esquire, £50 (15) in gold to make her a chain of gold withall, which said chain I will she shall have the use of during her natural life and after her decease I will the said chain shall be equally divided amongst the children of my said daughter the eldest, viz Christopher Corbet, only excepted. Item I give unto my said daughter Katherine Corbet all my linen of what kind or nature soever it be of (except such linen as hereafter I shall give in this my said testament). Also I give unto my said daughter (20) all my apparel (except my best black velvet gown, which gown I give unto my daughter-in-law Dame Temperance Heydon the wife of my said son Sir Christopher Heydon). Item I give and bequeath unto William Heydon esquire and Henry Heydon his brother, my two nephews, to either of them £10 apiece. Item I give to Christopher Corbet my nephew my basin and ewer of silver parcel gilt. Item I give unto Thomas Corbet, Francis Corbet and John Corbet my nephews (25) to every of them one bowl of silver apiece. Item I give unto Christopher Heydon the son of William Heydon aforesaid and to John Wentworth the son of John Wentworth esquire, my nephews, to either of them one bowl of silver apiece. Item I give unto my nephew Christopher Heydon, the son of my said son Sir Christopher Heydon one feather bed with all the furniture thereto belonging and 4 pairs of sheets. Item I give to Mother Grace, Audrey Domesday, William Jurden and Ralph Dyker my servants, to every of them one milch cow a piece. Item to Thomas Thompson my servant I give two milch neats and all the rest of my milch neats, bullocks, heckford bulls and yearling calves. I give unto the said Miles Corbet esquire, my son-in-law, Mary Blenerhayset the wife of Thomas Blenerhayset esquire and Jane Heydon, my two neats to be equally divided amongst them. Item I give unto Christopher Corbet, Thomas Corbet, Francis Corbet, John Corbet, Henry Corbet and Clement Corbet, my nephews, the sons of the said Miles Corbet, all my sheep to be equally and indifferently divided amongst them. Item I give unto my niece Anne Heydon, the wife of the aforesaid William Heydon, esquire one plain goblet of silver with a cover and a ring of gold with a table diamond. Item I give unto Elizabeth the wife of Christopher Knolles my servant £6. And to the said Christopher Knolles I give £4. Item I give to Roger Salisburie my servant 40s. Item whereas one [] Cooke of Great Snoring hath one cow of me in farm I give him the said cow and forgive him the farm thereof. Item I give to every poor household within the towns of Thursford, Great Snoring, Little Snoring, Kettleston and Saxthorpe 12d to be paid them twice by the discretion of my executors, and to every poor household within the towns of Bryston and Barney 6d apiece likewise to be paid twice. Item I will there be dealt to the poor people at my burial day £5. Item I give unto John Stanley gent, my other silver tankard. Item I give unto the poor people of Henningham 6s 8d and to the poor people of Cockley, Walpole, Upperton, Bunwell, Carleton, Rode and Tibenham Longrow, to every of the towns 6s 8d a piece. Item I give to everyone of my servants to whom I have not given any legacy before in my said testament three quarters wages beforehand. Item I give unto Jane Ryvet, the wife of Thomas Ryvet my servant one dozen of silver spoons with knops of two sorts. All the residue of my goods, plates, jewels, ready money, rings, gold and obligations remaining after the charges of my funeral and my debts and legacies paid and deducted I give and bequeath unto my said son Sir Christopher Heydon knight and to my daughter

Katherine Corbet to be equally divided between them. Also I do ordain, constitute and make my said son Christopher Heydon knight my sole and only executor of this my testament and last will requiring him as he will answer at the general day of Judgement to pay my debt and legacies and to see this my testament and last will truly performed. It is further my will and mind that all such legacies heretofore by me given in this my testament and last will shall be paid and delivered by my executors within one half year next after my decease, or else so soon after as conveniently may be. In witness whereof I the said Dame Anne Heydon, widow, have set my seal, these being witnesses per me Johannem Cosyn Clericum, Henry Armiger, Robert Balye, Thomas Revet.

Probate 27 April 1577 by oath of Christopher Heydon, knight, executor. Teste me Christofero Knolles 27 April 1577.

Will of Sir Christopher Heydon I, died 1579 PRO PROB 11/62

In the name of God amen. I Sir Christopher Heydon of Baconsthorpe in the county of Norfolk Knight the 9th day of December in the year of our Lord God 1579 and in the 22nd year of the reign of our sovereign lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith *etc.*, being in whole mind both to God and all the world and also (5) of good and safe memory, I knowing nothing more certain than the dissolution of this terrestrial life and revoking and admitting by these presents all former wills and testaments heretofore by me made by word, writing or otherwise, do make this my present testament and last will in manner and form following: That is to say first to Almighty God our Lord Jesu Christ I as a most sinful creature knowing verily my sinful soul by reason of my wickedness and manifold iniquities it is not worthy to be accepted once amongst the blessed and trusty, (10) without (Lord) thy most bountiful and large mercy and benign grace, which through thy most blessed passion to every Christian man being penitent faithfully assigns, doest vouchsafe graciously to grant, and thou most merciful lord not willing the death of a sinner or that the soul which with thy precious blood diddest redeem, to be of none effect, but rather to be in everlasting life; to yield thee honour and thanks world without end. Wherefore now being as aforewritten in my whole mind (15) and steadfast faith, and in perfect charity, I call and cry thee Jesu mercy, and ask all the world forgiveness, trusting only through thy most blessed passion and high mediation to be none of the damnable but to be one of the least way among the elect number of salvation. And as for my sinful carcass, if I depart this transitory life in Norfolk I would it should be buried in the parish church of Baconsthorpe aforesaid as near the place where my late loving wives are buried as maybe, or else where my executors (20) shall think most meetest by their discretions. Item my will and special desire is that all my debts which I owe be truly paid at the very days of payments or before, without further delay, except it be by the consent of them to whom it is owed. Item I will that if it be found by due examination of my executors or any two of them that any wrong or injury hath been done by me to any person contrary to equity or good conscience, that then these the said executors or two of them, immediately shall (25) make a quiet end and satisfaction or agreement to and with any such person upon

the proof of any injury. Item I will that no general dole be made for me above the sum of £20 but instead of it in all my manors and lordships, where most need shall be thought by the discretion of my executors, every year there to distribute by the space of ten years next after my decease £10. Item I give unto my daughter Jane £500 of lawful money of England, to be paid unto her at the (30) day of her marriage so that and upon condition that the said Jane doth marry with the consent of Dame Agnes, now my wife, and Miles Corbett Esq if they then be living or one of them if the other shall not then be living. And I will that in the meantime and until her said marriage that my executors shall yearly pay or cause to be paid unto the said Jane 40 marks of lawful money of England at two usual festivals in the year, that is to say at the feast of St Michael the Archangel, and the Annunciation (35) of our Lady by even portions. Item I give unto my daughter Agnes £200 of like money over and besides £300 which my son William Heydon and others are bound by their writing obligatory to pay unto the said Miles Corbett to the use of the said Agnes my daughter to be paid unto her at the full age of 17 years or at her day of marriage which of them shall first happen, so that she marry not before the age of 16 years. And if it shall happen the said Jane my daughter to depart this life before her said marriage (40) then I will that the said £500 shall remain and be paid over to my said daughter Agnes or to her use as her said age of 17 years or at her day of marriage which of them shall first happen, provided always and my will is that if it shall happen both my said daughter last before remembered to depart this present life before the said legacy shall be due and payable in the lifetime of my son Henry, that then all the legacies in money last remembered that is not due at the death of my said daughters to be paid unto them (45) by this my testament and last will shall be given and paid to my said son Henry at such time and times as it ought to have been paid in case my said daughters had lived. And if my said son and (page 2) daughters shall depart this present life before their several ages and the times of payments of the legacies last aforesaid, then I will the said legacies last aforesaid shall be paid and given to such persons and person as mine executors or two of them or the executors or administrators of the survivors of them (50) shall think meet and convenient. Item I will and bequeath to every gentlemen and gentlewomen being in service in household at the time of my decease 53s 4d of lawful money. And to every yeoman and to every other women servant being continually in my house or entered into my household book to take wages at the time of my decease 26s 8d. And to every groom dwelling in my house 13s 4d. Item I do also give and bequeath unto the said Dame Agnes my wife the occupying use and (55) profits of all my leases, grounds, lands and tenements in Saxlingham for so many years as the said Dame Agnes shall live and after her decease I will the said lease and term of years and the said lands and tenements to remain to my next heir for the residue of the years or terms then going. Item I give also and bequeath unto the said Dame Agnes all such her jewels and apparel as were mine which she hath used to wear during the time she hath been married to me. Also I give, will and (60) bequeath unto her all my dairy neats being at Saxlingham and five of my best cart horses with collars, traces and other necessities belonging unto them, and two carts the choice of the said horses and carts to be made by my said wife. And whereas I am seized for term of my life and uncertain

years after my decease of and with the manor and parsonage of Waybourne and other lands, tenements and hereditaments there and near thereabouts, the reversion of them belonging to my son Henry (65) Heydon, I do give and bequeath that my said son Henry immediately after my decease shall have all such terms of years as shall be then to remain of and in the said manor and parsonage and other the last recited permissions. Item I give to everyone of my executors £20 of lawful money of England. Item I will that my wife and my executors shall keep and maintain my house and household as it is now kept at the charge of my executors for and during one quarter of a year next after my decease. Item I (70) give and bequeath unto the said William Heydon my eldest son one gilt basin and ewer of silver, two gilt livery pots, a nest of my great gilt bowls of silver with one cover to them and my best salt cellar of silver all gilt. Item I give also unto my said wife my best basin and ewer of silver being parcel gilt and 2 silver pots parcel gilt, and a nest of my gilt bowls of silver with one cover to the same, and a salt cellar all gilt, and my 2 best maudlyn boxes of silver. Also I give to my said wife my coach (75) with two grey stoned horses for the same, and all the furniture to it. Item I give and bequeath unto the said William Heydon my eldest son, all my beds, bedding, stuff and hangings in my chamber called the lord's chamber, another chamber called the corner chamber, another chamber called the low tower chamber, and the inward chambers to every of them, and all other furniture belonging or used or occupied to and with them and every of them. Item I give and bequeath also unto my said son William Heydon all those my (80) hangings belonging or lately used or occupied in or to my dining or great chamber with the carpets, cushions, tables and all other furniture to the same. Item I give unto the said Dame Agnes my wife all the stuff and bedding as remaineth in my house at Saxlingham as well that which is mine as that which was hers before I married her. Item I give unto my said son Henry Heydon one gilt cup (85) with a cover which I had as a christening gift from the Queen. Item I give unto John Stanley, gentleman, my servant, one cup of silver with a cover all gilt which I also had of the Queen her Majesty for a New Year gift. And further I the said Sir Christopher Heydon will and devise and my intent and meaning is that my executors or two of them or the executors or administrators of the survivors of them shall sell all or such of my manors, land and tenements and hereditaments in the county of Kent to and for the best performance and execution of this my present testament and last will as to my said executors or (90) two of them or the executors or administrators of the survivors of them shall seem needful or be meet or convenient. And whereas also I the said Sir Christopher Heydon have by my deeds tripartite indented bearing date the 22nd day of October in the year of our Lord 1567 conveyed and assured unto the right honourable Sir Walter Myldemaye, Knight, one of the Queen's most honourable privy councillors and chancellor of her highest court of the Exchequer, Sir William Cordell, Knight, master of the rolls of the court of chancery, Sir James Dyce, (95) Knight, chief justice of the common bench, Anthony Brown now deceased one other of the justices of the said bench, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Sir John Wentworth, Sir Robert Drury, Sir William Buttes, Knight, William Paston, James Hubbard, Ralph Shelton, George Davies, Michael (page 3) Hare, Henry, Hevingham, Drew Davers, John Wentworth, Henry Drury, Miles Corbet, and Henry

Welbert Esq. All my manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments in the county of Norfolk comprised in the said (100) indentures to have and to hold to them and to their heirs to such uses, interests, purposes, declarations, limitations, provisions and conditions mentioned in certain indentures to the said annexed. In which indentures it is provided, covenanted, granted and agreed amongst other things that I the said Sir Christopher by my last will and testament subscribed and sealed with my own proper hand in the presence of two witnesses may nevertheless assure, appoint, limit, grant, assign or convey to any person or persons any rent or rents or other profits to be (105) issuing out of the said manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments or any parcel of them, and also to limit, alter, change, dispose, declare, appoint or assign the use and uses of the said manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments or of any parcel thereof, and of every parcel thereof to any person or persons in fee simple, fee tail, life, lives, years or otherwise at my free will and pleasure, the said tripartite deed indented and indentured thereto annexed or anything in them contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding, and that (110) immediately after any such limitation dispossession, declaration, altering, changing, appointing, granting or assigning as is aforesaid of any new use or uses, conditions limitations or intents of the provisions or any part or parcel thereto to any person or persons the said feoffees, their heirs and assigns shall stand and be seized thereof to such only uses, conditions, limitations and intents as thereof in my said last will shall be mentioned, contained and declared, as by the said tripartite deed indented and indentures thereunto annexed (115) more at large appeareth. I the said Sir Christopher Heydon according to the liberty and authority aforesaid do devise, will and bequeath unto my son Christopher Heydon one annuity or yearly rent of £30 of good English money to be issuing and going of my manors of Cley and Blakeney to have, hold, perceive and enjoy unto the said Christopher my son the said yearly rent of £30 for and during the space and term of 21 years next after my decease, yearly at the feasts of St Michael the Archangel (120) and the Annunciation of Our Lady by even portions. And if it happen the said rent or any part thereof to be behind and unpaid in part or in all at any of the said feasts in which it ought to be paid that then and so often it shall be lawful unto the said Christopher my son into the said manors of Cley and Blakeney, and into every parcel of them to enter and distrain. And the distress or distresses so there taken to lead, drive and carry away and with him otherwise to determine and keep until the said yearly rent (125) and every part and parcel thereof so being behind and unpaid be unto my said son Christopher and his assigns together with his costs and damages in these behalfs sustained well and truly satisfied, contented and paid. And I the said Sir Christopher Heydon do also give, will and devise unto my said son Christopher Heydon one other annuity or yearly rent of £30 of good English money to be issuing and going out my said manor of Cley and Blakeney, to have, hold, perceive, take and enjoy unto my said son Christopher for and (130) during the space and term of 21 years from and after the end of the said 21 years next after my decease yearly at the feasts of St Michael the Archangel and the Annunciation of Our Lady by even portions, and if it happen the said yearly rent last above said to be behind and unpaid in part or in all at any of the said feasts in which it ought to be paid, that then and so often it shall be lawful to

the said Christopher my son into the said manors of Cley and Blakeney and into every part and parcel of them to enter and distrain, and the distress or distresses there so taken to lead, drive and carry away and with him or them to detain and keep until the said yearly rent and every part thereof so being behind and unpaid together with the cost and damage in that behalf sustained be unto my said son Christopher and his assigns well and truly satisfied, contented and paid. And I the said Sir Christopher do also will, give, bequeath and devise unto my said son Christopher one other annuity or yearly rent of £30 to be issuing and going out of (140) my said manors of Cley and Blakeney, to have, hold, take, perceive and enjoy unto my said son Christopher and his assigns for and during the space and term of 21 years from and after the end of and determination of the rent last above mentioned yearly at the feasts of St Michael the Archangel and the Annunciation of our Lady by even portions with like liberty of distress for the non payment of the said yearly rent, and of every part and parcel thereof at the feasts in which it ought to be paid as is (145) above mentioned. And I the said Sir Christopher Heydon do further will, give, bequeath and devise unto my said son Christopher one other annuity or yearly rent of £30 to be issuing and going out of the said manors of Cley and Blakeney, to have, hold, take, perceive and enjoy unto my said son Christopher and to his assigns for and during the space and term of 21 years from and after the end and determination of the rent last above mentioned yearly at the feasts of St Michael the Archangel (150) and the Annunciation of our Lady by even portions with like liberty of distress for the non payment (page 4) thereof and of every or any part thereof as is above mentioned for any of the rents above granted, provided always, and my full intent and meaning is that so soon as it pleaseth Almighty God to take my son Christopher from this transitory life, that then and from thenceforth this my present devise unto my said son Christopher to be frustrate and void, anything above mentioned to the contrary notwithstanding. And further I will that the said estate and assurance made by (155) the said tripartite deed shall be; and that the said feoffes shall stand and be seized of the manors of Thursford and all other lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever with all and singular their appurtenances, Thursford, Berney and Hindringham after my decease to the use of my daughter Anne Heydon wife of the said William Heydon during her natural life and after her decease then to such uses and intents as in the said indentures tripartite is mentioned and declared. And I the said Sir Christopher do further will that my said daughter Anne Heydon (160) shall have my manor of Mountgrace in Field Dalling and all my other lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever together with the appropriation in Dalling aforesaid, Gunthorpe, Bathely (?), Barney, Binham and other towns adjoining, to have and to hold the said manor and other the last said premises unto the said Anne Heydon and her assigns during the natural life of the said Anne, and after her decease to such uses and interests as are in a feoffment heretofore made of the last said permission by me unto Sir William Paston, (165) knight, and Miles Corbet Esquire expressed and declared. And I further will that my said daughter Anne Heydon in further argumentation of her jointure and living shall have my manors of Rosses and Heydon in Reepham, Hackford, Whitwell, Salle and other towns adjoining and the advowson of the church and rectory or benefice of

Hackford with all and singular the appurtenances from and after the determination of the interest and authority of my executors for and during the natural life of the said Anne, and after her decease to such uses and interests (170) as in the said tripartite indentures are expressed and declared. Item I the said Sir Christopher do also give and bequeath unto my said daughter Anne Heydon the use, profit and commodity of my leases which I lately had of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church of the manors of Wultertons and Gibbs in Field Dalling aforesaid and of the said manor of Wultertons and Gibbs with their appurtenances from and after my decease during the natural life of the said Anne Heydon. Item I also will that my said daughter Anne Heydon shall have my (175) manor of Gunners in Cromer and all other my lands, tenements and hereditaments in Cromer aforesaid and also one close called the Beef Close, late John England's, lying in Aldborough or Bassingham or in both of them from and after my decease during the natural life of the said Anne. Item I will that my wife shall have during her natural life all those my manors, and tenements and hereditaments in Saxlingham and Letheringsett with their appurtenances and also one annuity issuing and going out of my (180) manors of Wighton and Cley of £40 of lawful money of England with authority to distrain for the same during her natural life. Also I will that my said wife shall have my fold course and sheep's pasture in Cley aforesaid during her natural life, paying unto my said son William Heydon, his executors and assigns £8 of lawful money at two usual feasts by even portions. Item I will that mine executors shall during the space of 10 years next after my decease (185) have, use and take the profits of my manors of Kelling, Salhouse, Hackford, Rosses and Heydon to and for the better execution and performance of this my present testament and last will. Item I will that my son Henry Heydon shall have during his natural life my manors of Little Snoring with the appurtenances. The residue of all my goods, chatels, plate, money, jewels, utensils of household and all other my goods and corn as well moveable as otherwise not before given nor bequeathed and my said debts (190) and legacies paid I do wholly give them to my executors whom I ordain and make the said Dame Agnes my wife, my said son William Heydon and my brother-in-law Miles Corbet and the right honourable my very good lord the Earl of Sussex, lord chamberlain of the Queen her Majesty, most honourable supervisor of this my present testament and last will, to whom I give for his pains to be taken therein a poor remembrance, a gilt cup with a cover of the value of 20 (195) marks. In witness hereof I the said Christopher have hereunto put my hand and seal the day and year first herein mentioned. In the presence of James Hobart, William Dix, Richard Stubb, John Stanley, Thomas Armiger and others.

A codicil or an addition to be annexed and joined unto my last will and testament made by me (page 5) Sir Christopher Heydon Knight, the 10th day of September 1579. Imprimis I the said Sir Christopher Heydon do give (200) and bequeath unto William Heydon, my eldest son, in consideration of £300 of lawful money of England which the said William and others by his and their writing obligatory stand bound to pay unto my brother Miles Corbet Esquire as a thing due to myself, the custody, marriage and bringing up of Christopher Heydon the eldest son of my son William Heydon and all my right, title, interest, use, benefit and all manner of advantage and commodity which I have or may have in or to the (205)

said Christopher, the son of the said William, or in, for or by one indenture bearing date the 28th day of April in the 17th year of the reign of our sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth, had and made between the said William on the one part and the said Christopher on the other part. Item I do further give and bequeath unto Dame Agnes my wife 52 pieces of gold of English and foreign coins now in the custody of the said Agnes, which amount by estimation to the sum of £30. Item I also give (210) and bequeath unto my daughter-in-law Anne Heydon a ring of gold called a blue sapphire and a little silver piece. Item I give unto the said Christopher, the eldest son of my said son William all my books or library. Item I give unto my daughter Hazel one gilt cup which I had of the Queen for a new years gift. Item I give to Prudence Hubbard, the daughter of James Hubbard Esquire, £10 of lawful money of England. Item I give unto my servant William Inglott £5. Item I give to Henry Carson (215) gentleman my servant £3 13s 4d of like money. Item I give to Father Denning late of Saxlingham £4 of like money. Item I give towards the repairing and maintenance of the churches of Salthouse and Little Snoring to each of them £5. Item I give unto Thomas Gurney gentleman my servant in consideration of the use of certain money of his £10. Item I give unto Richard Stubb gentleman 40s. Item I give and bequeath unto Christopher Russell gentleman my servant one annuity or yearly rent of £4 of like (220) money for and during the life of the said Christopher Russell issuing and going out of my manor of Salthouse and Kelling. Item I give unto my son Henry Heydon in full satisfaction of all such plate, money, chains or jewels which he does, shall or may claim or demand in, from or by my late wife Temperance or niece Ursula Heydon, deceased, and so that he shall not claim or demand any manner of thing, plate, money, chain or jewels in for or by the said Temperance or niece (225) Ursula Heydon, deceased, £40 of lawful money of England to be paid unto him within half a year next after my decease. In witness whereof I the said Christopher Heydon have herewith put my hand and seal in the presence of William Dix, John Stanley *etc.*

Probate 27 June 1580 by oath of William Heydon, Knight, executor, *et al.*

Testamentum Christoferi Heydon Militis.

Will of Sir William Heydon II, died 1593

PRO PROB 11/84

In the name of God amen. I Sir William Heydon of Baconsthorpe in the county of Norfolk, Knight, the 16th day of March in the 36th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith *etc.*, (5) knowing with myself the certainty of all mortal creatures subject to death and changes every hour when it shall please God to take them, and looking also unto my worldly affairs and estate subject unto manifold dangers by means of the sundry contracts and sums of money I do owe and am indebted in unto diverse and sundry men to the peril of utter undoing of diverse of them to whom I stand indebted if I should depart out of (10) this life without good order first taken, set down and by me duly appointed for fair satisfaction of my several creditors, suites and debts from me to any person or persons due or payable. Wherefore for the discharge of my conscience to God and to the whole world in this behalf and for the true and wise satisfaction with a

said good conscience of person to whom I stand or am indebted in any sum or sums of money as also in full discharge (15) of all persons that stand for me by any means in danger or indebted in any sum or sums of money to any person or persons whatsoever, I the said Sir William Heydon, Knight, being in whole mind and of good and safe memory both to God and the world do by these presents revoke, annihilate and disannul all former wills and testaments by me made heretofore by word, writing or otherwise, and in and by these presents do make through my (20) present last will and testament in manner and form following, that is to say: First I acknowledge myself from my conception for the scale of my manifold sins continually committed against God my creator, saviour and redeemer and purifier (if thou Lord God my saviour shouldst in thine eye enter into judgement with me) to have deserved Hell, death and damnation, and that there is no other means to free me from the curse (25) of the law whereto my sins have brought me, but only the mediation and intercession of the sole saviour of all the beloved that faithfully trust in him alone to be saved, my saviour and redeemer Jesus Christ, by whose only mediation and intercession I trust undoubtedly to be saved and to obtain remission of my sins and thereby be one of the elect saints of my eternal God in heaven there to sing praise and thanks unto him (30) everlastingly. And as for my corruptible body I will it shall be buried in the parish church of Baconsthorpe aforesaid next to the place where my ancestors be buried. Item I will devise to Anne my beloved wife my executrix hereafter named towards the payment and satisfaction as well of all and singular my debts which either in law or in good conscience I do owe to any person or persons, as also of such bonds, entries and sums of money (35) which any person or persons, for any debt or as my surety stands bounden to any person or persons all those my manors of Baconsthorpe, Hempstead, Saxlingham, Salthouse, Hackford, Reepham, and all other my manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments with all and singular there appurtenancies in the county of Norfolk whereof I stand seized of any estate in fee simple in possession, reversion or remainder of which said manors, (40) lands, tenements and hereditaments with all and singular their appurtenances to the intent to enable me to declare this my last will. I suffered a common robbery in the term of the Holy Trinity in the 33rd year of Her Majesty's reign, to have and to hold the said manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments with all and singular their appurtenances unto the said Anne my beloved wife her heirs, and assigns for ever; and that (45) she, the said Anne at her will and pleasure, shall and may sell and alien such and singular of my said manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments as shall suffice to and for the full satisfaction and payment of all my said debts and of the said sums of money and duties whatsoever. Item for the more speedy payment and satisfaction of my debts which I owe to any person or persons for the discharge of my convenience generally (50) and for the reasonable charges of my executors according to a certain clause or proviso specified and contained in certain indentures tripartite bearing date the 7th day of October in the 8th year of the reign of our sovereign lady the Queen's (page 2) Majesty that now is made between Sir Christopher Heydon knight, father of the said Sir William late of Baconsthorpe deceased on the one party and Sir Walter Mildmay knight, (55) one of Her Majesty's most honourable privy councillors and diverse others of the

other parties as by the said indentures tripartite formed verbatim in the office after the decease of the said Sir Christopher more plainly doth and may appear. I further will and devise to the said heir my beloved wife all those manors, lands tenements and hereditaments in Bodham, Clay, Holt, Snetterley, and Blakeney and all hereditaments accepted, reputed or (60) taken as part and parcel or belonging to any of them to have and to hold the said manors and other hereditaments in Bodham, Clay, Holt, Snetterley, and Blakeney with their appurtenances as aforesaid unto the said Anne my beloved wife and her assigns for and during the term of 7 years from and after the decease of me the said Sir William fully to be completed and ended provided always my wishes, intent and full meaning is that (65) if my son Christopher Heydon shall within 6 weeks next ensuing after my decease out of this mortal life make, perform and execute such good and sufficient assurance unto the said Anne my beloved wife as shall be thought meet and reasonable by the advice and devise of Edward Cooke, Esq her Majesty's Solicitor General for the payment and satisfaction of all and singular my debts which either in law or good conscience I do owe to any person (70) or persons as also of such bonds, duties and sums of money which any person or persons for my debts as surety standeth bond for any person or persons; and also if the said Christopher Heydon my son shall well and sufficiently within 6 months next ensuing my decease convey and assure to the said Anne my beloved wife and her assigns for and during the term of her natural life from and after the decease of Dame Agnes Clere now wife of Sir (75) Edward Clere, knight, one capital messuage wherein I do now inhabit in Saxlingham in the county aforesaid and all those manors of Saxlingham and everything there appertaining together with all lands, tenements and hereditaments in Saxlingham and aforesaid not comprised nor specified in certain indentures tripartite bearing date the 1st day of April in the 24th year of the reign of our sovereign lady the Queen's Majesty that now (80) is made between me the said Sir William Heydon knight by the name of William Heydon Esq of the first party Sir Thomas Rivett knight of the second party and the said Christopher Heydon my son on the third party and also if the said Christopher Heydon my son shall consent, satisfy and pay or cause to be consented, satisfied and paid within the said 6 months space to the said Anne my beloved wife the sum of £100 of (85) good and lawful money of England that then all and singular the aforesaid manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments in manner and form aforesaid in and by this my present last will and testament to the said Anne my wife her heirs and assigns given and bequeathed shall distraint, remain be and come to the said Christopher Heydon my son and heir apparent and to his heirs and assigns forever any thing, clause, article present or bequest whatsoever (90) to the contrary in this my last will and testament formally mentioned or specified in anywise notwithstanding. Item I give and bequeath to the said Anne my beloved wife (my debts paid) all and singular my goods and chattels of what kind or nature soever, which said Anne I constitute and make my sole and only executrix in whom by good deserving and praise I repose my whole trust and confidence for the performance of (95) this my last will and testament also I do desire my chosen and good friend Edward Cook Esq, Her Majesty's Solicitor General, to be supervisor of this my last will and testament to whom I give for his payment 100 marks, willing also that all his charges



Plate XXVIII Monument to Sir William Heydon (d.1593) and Anne Heydon in Baconsthorpe Church
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shall be borne for any pains he shall take touching this my will. Also I give unto Mr Edmund Stubbe £40 paying him to be a continual helper to my wife (100) in the absences of Mr Cook and that his charges be borne for anything that he shall do for my said wife touching this my said will which I desire of all love and friendship may be put in execution according to my good meaning and that she dispose of all things I put her in trust with according to her good meaning being sure that I can do no more for her. I desire her also to be good to my servants that have served me faithfully and honestly according to the schedule (page 3; 105) hereunto annexed. In witness whereof I have set my hand and seal hereunto visually to these three sheets of paper the day and year first above written which these witnesses to the same which have subscribed their names William Heydon witnesses hereunto. Edmund Stubbe, Thomas Croft, Christopher Sivanne.

The schedule annexed to the will of me (110) Sir William Heydon knight expressing my meaning according to the purports of my said will within written.

First I bequeath to Jane Cross £50 (115). Item I bequeath to Robert Jervice £50. Item I bequeath to Ralph Playsted £20. Item I bequeath to Edmund Barker £13 6s 8d. Item I bequeath to Richard Thompson £10. Item I bequeath to Richard Moore £3 6s 8d. Item I bequeath to Thomas Betts £3 6s 8d. Item I bequeath to Robert Maddy £4. Item I bequeath John Higgins £5. William Heydon, Edmund Stubbe, Thomas Croft, Christopher Sivanne.

Probate at London 20 November 1594.

Sir Christopher Heydon II, died 1623 intestate
PRO PROB 6/11 f.77

The following entry in the Administration Act book for February 1623/4 notes that Sir Christopher died intestate, the administration of his estate being granted to one of his sons, Miles. The lack of his will is more to be regretted since it could well have shed light on both Baconsthorpe and Saxlingham where he preferred to live (see above p.4).

Christopherus Heydon miles. Undecimo die emanavit commissio Milone Heydon filio naturali et legitimo domini Christoferi Heydon militis nuper de Baconsthorpe in comitatu Norffⁱ defuncti habentis etc. ad administrandum bona jura et credita dicti defuncti de bene etc. jurat'.

Nuncupative Will of Sir William Heydon, died 1627
PRO PROB 11/52 F.32

This will makes no mention of Baconsthorpe, only that being prepared to go in the voyage with the Duke of Buckingham, Sir William Heydon 'made a statement in the presence of two witnesses that he intended to make a will and if he did not do so, this should be his will, viz that his brother John Heydon should be his executor and should possess his whole estate'.

Treated as a nuncupative will and probate granted accordingly.

Will of Sir John Heydon III, died 1653
PRO, PROB. 11/239

Lampton 10/11 October 1653

Finding myself much oppressed with the colic it then was and still is intended to be my will, that in case God shall take me out of this life before I shall obtain an end of my suits in Chancery and settlement of other my rights and interests, that my whole estate in (5) Norfolk shall be sold and by a special order of Court either so much of the money as may answer the yearly alimony allowed my wife to continue in the hand of the purchaser, or otherwise to remain deposited to that use as the Court shall think fit to order during her life. At the expiration whereof that money to be as justly disposed according to this my will as any of the rest towards the (10) payment of my debts and legacies for the 5 children by her deserted. The 2 manors and 2 parsonages, Baconsthorpe and Bodham, to be first sold by manumising the copyholders and freeholders *etc.* or otherwise plus of rent for the payment of my debts and to put out her children. The 20th day of March 1653 English style. By the Judges for probate (15) of wills and granting administrations lawfully authorised were granted letters of administration to Dame Mary Heydon the relict of the within named Sir John Heydon Knight deceased, to administer the goods, chattels and debts of the said deceased according to the tenor and effect of the said will, there being no executor named in the same, she being first sworn truly to administer the same.

+

*Here lyeth Interrd the body of
Mirabella Lomax wife to Laurence Lomax Esq^r
and Second daughter to the Antient and noble
S^r John Haydon of Baconsthorp in Norffⁱ Kt.
& Generall of the ordinance to King Charles y^e first
and one of his privy Councell
who departed this life the 2^d day of may
in the Sixty third year of her age
Anno Dom 1702*

*Here alsoe lyeth the body of
Will'm Heydon Esq^r Second son to S^r John Heydon
and last male of that ffamily
who departed the 17 day of Septemb^r
Anno Dom 1689*

Requiescant in pace Amen

Figure 50 Transcription of lettering on a black marble tombstone near the east end of the south aisle in Eye Church, Suffolk

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