

## EXCAVATIONS IN NORWICH – 1973.

### THE NORWICH SURVEY – THIRD INTERIM REPORT.

By A. Carter, M.A., J. P. Roberts, B.A. and Helena Sutermeister, M.A.

#### INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The work of the Norwich Survey continues to be possible only through the co-operation and participation of many individuals and institutions, particularly the various departments of the Norwich Corporation. Not all of these can be thanked here, but we remember with gratitude the contribution of supervisors, draughtsmen and volunteers on the sites, and that of the group of people working in the Record Office.

Sites for excavation were made available through the courtesy of the City Council, D. R. Burrell (Builders) Ltd., Bywell's Ltd., the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral, the Eastern Gas Board, and Marshall Securities Ltd. The work was financed by grants from the Department of the Environment, Norwich City Council and the Norfolk Research Committee; considerable help in kind was also received from Marshall Securities Ltd., Norwich City Council, and the University of East Anglia.

The smooth running of the excavation was largely due to Mary Karshner who in addition to handling administration, both before and during the dig, was responsible for directing work on the finds. The thankless task of continuing the Pottergate excavation into the winter was Peter Donaldson's, who latterly acted as assistant director.

During the winter of 1972-3 work continued on the re-sorting and analysis of material stored in the Castle Museum, preparatory to the publication of the Norwich medieval and post-medieval pottery catalogue. For ease of reference each excavation, and every site for which there are records of observation, has been given a serial number which replaces the old site code. These numbers, followed by the parish code N (Norwich) conform with the system adopted by the Norfolk Museum and the Norfolk Archaeological Unit for the county as a whole. The County Numbers of all published Norwich sites are given below<sup>1</sup> and also shown on Fig. 1. In future all references to sites will normally be by these numbers alone.

Fig. 1, prepared by Norwich City Planning Department from our information, is an up-dated distribution map of the finds of Roman and Saxon material from the city. The implications of this pattern are discussed below in the three 'Background to the excavations' sections on Westwick, Norwich north of the river, and Conesford. That on Conesford comments on the abortive excavation in the Cathedral Close, otherwise the eight excavation reports follow their sectional introductions. A short note on the buildings of Norwich will be found on p. 48.

Our knowledge of the form of the late Saxon town has increased considerably as a result of excavations both in Westwick and to the N of the river. An expanded hypothesis for the form of the transpontine settlement and the nature of its defences (to be tested by excavations planned for 1974-5) should be read with pages 444-8 and 463 of the 1972 interim report. (Here it should be noted that the



caption to Fig. 1 of that report should read '16. St. John the Evangelist 17. St. Vedast . . . 18. St. Edmund Fishergate.'

Individual contributions to the text (which incorporates the results of much discussion with others, to whom we hope credit has been given) are indicated by the initials A.C., J.P.R. and H.S. Barbara Green's collaboration with J.P.R. is also noted (E.B.G).

#### THE BACKGROUND TO THE EXCAVATIONS – WESTWICK.

A hypothetical sequence of development for Westwick was put forward in the 1972 interim report.<sup>2</sup> This now has to be modified in the light, *inter alia*, of the 1973 Pottergate excavation, which produced no Middle Saxon, and little Late Saxon, pottery. It is still felt that St. Gregory's (A on Fig. 1) is likely to be the focus of the Middle Saxon Westwick, but the form of this settlement, its relationship to that in the vicinity of St. Benedict's Gate, and their development in the late Saxon period are still open to question. If the Middle Saxon settlement postulated for the vicinity of St. Gregory's church exists, and as yet there is no archaeological evidence for it, it would have to lie on St. Benedict's Street/Charing Cross (to either side of B on Fig. 1). The area to the S.W. and S.E. of the church can now be ruled out on the evidence of the Pottergate excavation and the observation of a number of building sites (See Fig. 1), but it should be noted that, with the exception of one small site, there has been no modern redevelopment to the N.E. and N.W. of the church.

There has been little modern redevelopment on the central section of St. Benedict's Street, but the evidence of sites 147N, 160N, and 162N suggests that there is no Middle Saxon occupation in this area. This leaves the question of the handful of Middle Saxon sherds from sites 152N and 153N. In 1963 Hurst suggested,<sup>3</sup> from the evidence of 152N only, that "the banks of a small tributary of the Wensum, between the later sites of Heigham (C on Fig. 1) and St. Benedict's Gates, was an early focus of settlement for what later became the village of Westwick." This statement can now be modified in the light of new evidence. The 'small tributary' (which almost certainly followed the line of Willow Lane – D on Fig. 1) did not cross the site of 153N or 157N and so must presumably follow a line at least 40m. to the E of St. Benedict's Gate. The small number of Middle Saxon sherds, particularly when compared to the quantity from the area of the Cathedral Close, suggests that they are peripheral to the main distribution of this material. The absence of further material to the E of Barn Road, where there has been extensive modern development, points to a site lying to the W of the medieval defences. This can tentatively be located in the area of the medieval suburb outside Heigham Gate (C on Fig. 1) which lies in an extramural extension of St. Benedict's parish.

Further excavation of late Saxon sites on St. Benedict's Street may answer the question as to whether this 'Heigham' settlement, rather than that hypothesised for St. Gregory's, was Westwick. As of December 1973 there is a marked concentration (25 sherds) of imported 9th to early 12th century pottery, largely red-painted wares, in the vicinity of St. Benedict's Gate. This is matched in Norwich only by the concentration to the N of the Cathedral, where more than 90 sherds of Reliefband amphorae and red-painted wares have been found. The St. Benedict's Gate concentration suggested to Hurst that he was dealing with a trading centre, and that this was Westwick. There is however an increasing scatter



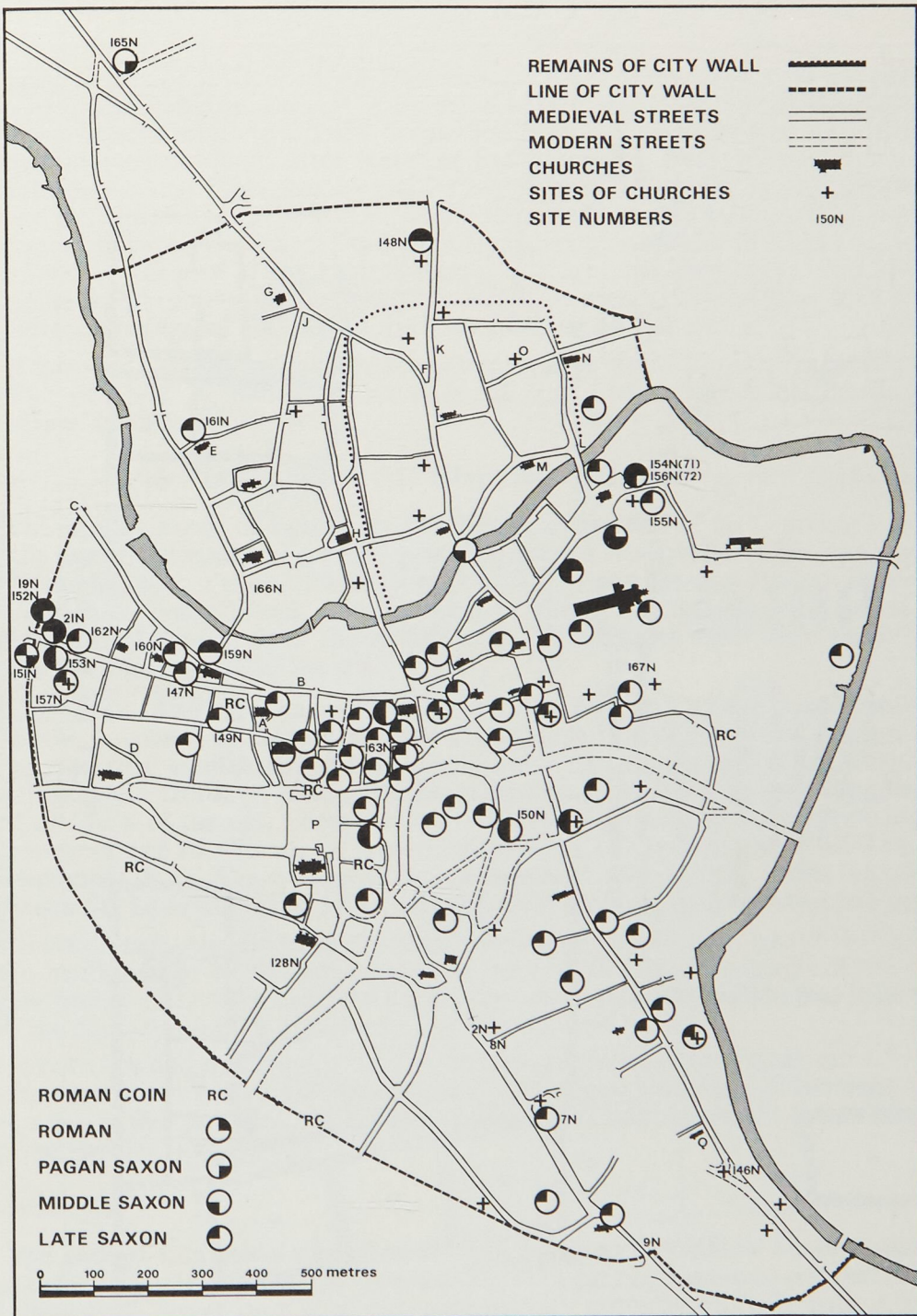


Fig. 1  
 Published excavations and the finds of Roman to late Saxon pottery in Norwich.  
 Letters A-Q and the symbol ( ? Saxon defences N of the river) are text references.



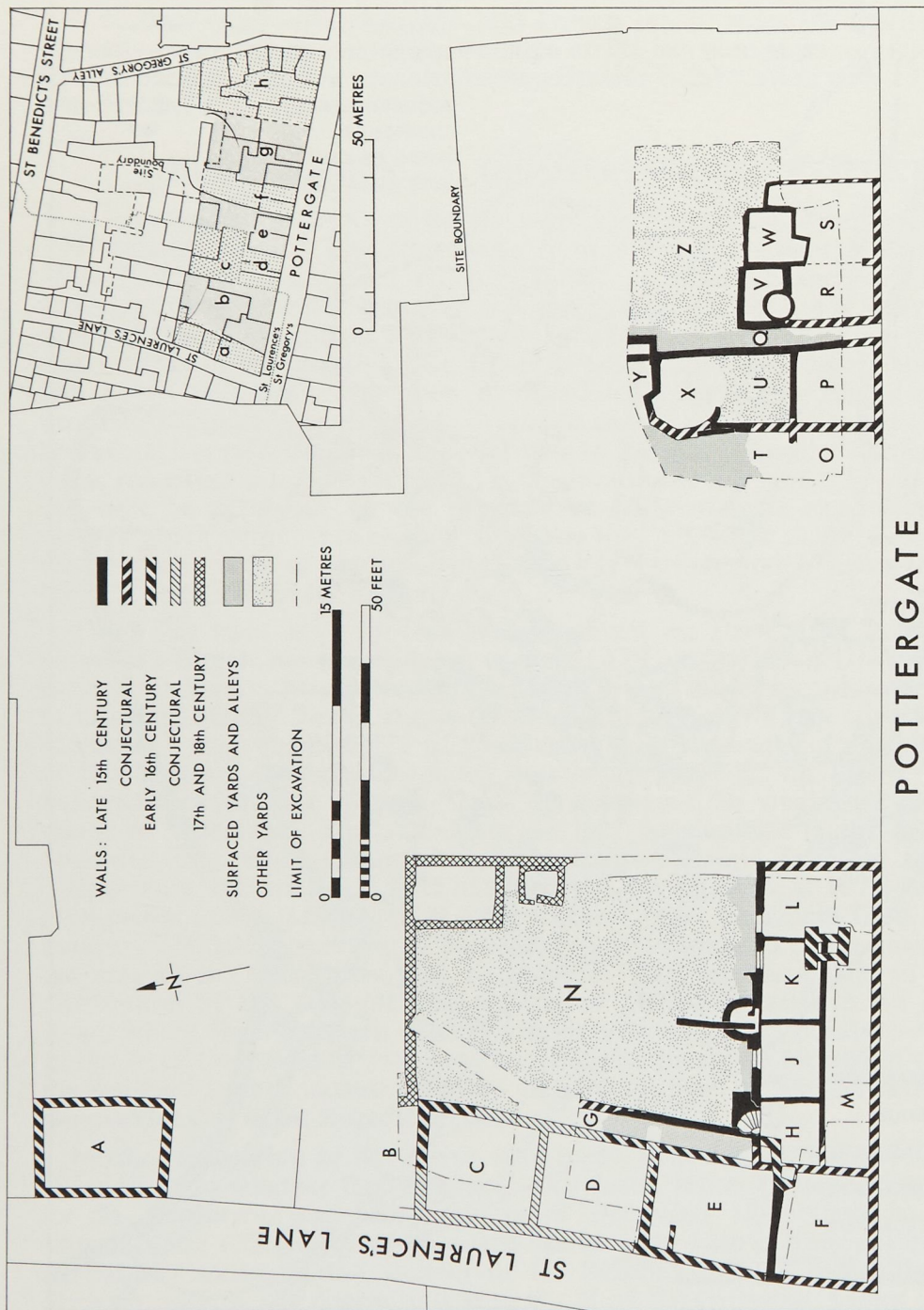


Fig. 2.  
Outline plan of 149N, 31-55 Pottergate. Inset shows reconstructed tenements.



of early imports from the St. Benedict's Street area, (1 sherd from 147N, 6 sherds from 159N and 11 from 149N) and other parts of the town which weakens this thesis.

The pattern of settlement on Westwick becomes much clearer in the period 1050-1150. It would appear that St. Benedict's Street was more or less continuously built up along its length by *c.* 1050. Expansion from this linear settlement probably gained momentum only after Norwich had recovered from its post-Conquest disruption, so that the settlement of Pottergate and, to a lesser extent, Westwick Street, can be dated to *c.* 1080-1150. This is suggested not only by the archaeological evidence, but also by that of property boundaries (which, it is suggested, were fossilised by the end of the 12th century). This is clearly seen in the inset to Fig. 2, where the properties on St. Benedict's Street are seen to extend 40m. back from the street frontage, in contrast to the 25m. of those on Pottergate.

It is hoped that the points discussed above will be clarified by the excavation in 1974-6 of 21-35 St. Benedict's Street, a site N of Charing Cross, and the site of the Duke's Palace.

#### 149N. 31-55 POTTERGATE. TG 22760871

The site lay north of Pottergate and largely to the east of St. Laurence's Lane, on the superficial sand and gravel deposits covering a chalk hillside. The site sloped to N and W, with a drop of 6m. from S to N.E. across the site. Modern terracing for buildings had cut back into the base of this slope, removing up to 2m. of archaeological deposit from the middle of it. The summer water table was *c.* 9m. below the lowest point of the site.

Excavation of a single tenement to the W of St. Laurence's Lane was abandoned after the discovery of massive modern disturbance to a depth of 2m. Within the remaining area, similar disturbance was found in the centre, and at the E end of the Pottergate frontage, also, with the exception of building *A*, over the greater part of the N of the site. These areas of disturbance defined two excavation areas, the western one of 475 sq. m. (tenements *a* & *b*), the eastern one of 200 sq. m. (tenements *f* & *g*). The E edge of the western area followed the parish boundary between St. Laurence's and St. Gregory's parishes (shown on the inset to Fig. 2).

Unstable soil conditions, in proximity to heavily used roads, meant that a 2m. wide baulk had to be left largely unexcavated on the street frontage of the site. These undug areas were observed during the commercial excavation that followed and the conjectural lines of walls on Fig. 2 confirmed.

In both this and the documentary report, excavation areas or rooms are referred to by upper case letters *A-Z*, tenements by lower case letters *a-g*. (Tenements *c*, *d* and *e* lay in the disturbed central area of the site.) These are shown on the general plan of the site (Fig. 2).

#### SUMMARY

The earliest find was a stray Roman coin. There was no Middle Saxon material, and the site clearly lay S of the area of 10th/11th century domestic occupation on St. Benedict's Street, and W of the contemporary potteries on Pottergate. A good sequence of 12th-15th century pit and yard levels were unassociated with buildings, which had presumably been destroyed when the Pottergate frontage was completely rebuilt in the late 15th century. These buildings represent a type of late medieval



structure not previously known in Norwich. In the early 16th century, probably in 1507, the whole area was devastated by fire and the levels associated with this produced a spectacular series of finds. Rebuilding of the site between 1507 and 1528 was restricted to the W end of the site, but included an extension along the previously unbuilt-up St. Laurence's Lane frontage. With modifications these buildings survived into the 20th century. The E end of the site remained open until 1718 and was not completely rebuilt until the mid-19th century. A discussion of the Pottergate house types in relation to other Norwich buildings is followed by a report on the documentary evidence for their ownership between 1286 and 1626.

### THE EXCAVATION

The earliest structures on the site were of the late 15th century. These had destroyed all evidence of the lines of the 12th-15th century buildings, which can be inferred from the survival of floor-levels of these periods in areas *L*, *P*, *R* and *S*. The yards of these buildings, although honeycombed by pits, could be seen over considerable areas in blocks *N*, *T*, *U* and *Z*. They were normally of trodden earth, but in the E half of *N* there were rammed chalk surfaces. The divisions between yards were related not to individual buildings, but to what are now shown from documentary evidence to be tenement boundaries. The most striking example of this was the boundary between tenements *b* and *c/d*. This showed up as an undisturbed strip of chalk along the E edge of areas *L* and *N*, the southern 10m. of which was also the parish boundary.

Below the earliest yard surfaces small areas of a late Saxon ground surface survived which was cut by 11th and 12th century pits. Most of the Late Saxon and Early Medieval pottery, however, came from more than 750 12th-18th century pits. This material included 10 sherds of red-painted wares, more than 20 of Andennes Ware, and a stray find of Thetford Ware kiln furniture. Another stray find was an abraded Roman coin from the make-up of a late 15th century floor.

Of all the pits, only two groups could be said to have been dug for a specific purpose. Among the earlier pits were a group of above average size and depth, concentrated in the S half of area *N*. Between 2 and 4m. in diameter, most were more than 2m. deep, and all cut well into the natural sand or chalk. These, like those found on 153N, were almost certainly quarry pits. None dated to later than the early 13th century and most were of the 11th/12th century. The second group consisted of 5 successive wells concentrated in the N.E corner of area *N*. Between 1.4 and 1.6m. in diameter, each was at least 4m. deep, beyond which excavation was not continued. Each well appears to have had a life of 150-200 years, after which it was filled in and a new one cut adjacent to it. The last of the series, built in the late 18th century, was in use until the 1930s.

The soil dug from these, and other pits on the site, was processed using a simple but effective form of flotation<sup>4</sup> to produce a large volume of botanical and micro-faunal remains (notably fresh-water fish bones). As yet this material is unanalysed but it is expected that the results will add considerably to our knowledge of medieval diet in Norwich.

Similarly our knowledge of late medieval house types in the city has been considerably modified by the discovery of 9 buildings of the period *c.* 1470-1507, and 4 dating to *c.* 1507-1528. These dates have been arrived at through a combination of the archaeological and documentary evidence. The earlier buildings, found on the Pottergate frontage only, can be discussed in four groups: *F*, *H-M*,



*O/P*, and *R/S* with *V/W*. Of these, *F* (tenement *a*) was seen only in part during excavation, and most of its plan was recovered during subsequent commercial operations. It was a simple rectangular building, measuring 5.4 by 4.6m. internally, with a small square cesspit in its N.E. corner. The building was butt-jointed against the W wall of block *H/M*. Behind it, on the St. Laurence's Lane frontage, was an open yard extending to the wall to the E of *G*.

The large rectangular block *H-M* (tenement *b*) was of a single build, with the exception of the staircase in the N wall of *H*. The internal wall to S and E of block *H-K* was bonded with the external walls but the partitions between *H*, *J* and *K* were butt-jointed to the walls to N and S. The joints, however, were covered with the original plaster that extended over all internal wall faces, and the method of construction, mortar etc. was similar (if not identical) in all walls. These were of mixed brick and flint construction and had apparently been continued above ground level to form a plinth, on which a timber framed building had been constructed.

Heavily burnt fragments of this oak framing were found in the ash and debris fills of cellars *H*, *J* and *K*, together with panels of 30-50cm. thick wattle and daub infill and the remains of the thatched roof. The evidence of building materials and fittings (door hinges etc.) together, suggested that the buildings had been two-storied (see Fig. 3. 2 for a sketch reconstruction).

The archaeological evidence confirms the impression gained from documentary sources (see p. 52) that tenement *b* was an investment property, and further suggests that it was divided into four separate tenancies. The front range of the building (*M*) was heavily disturbed and no evidence for structural divisions within it was found. There were, however, clear differences in the nature of the floor levels from E to W, corresponding with the divisions between *H*, *J*, *K* and *L*.

It should be emphasised that there was no conclusive evidence for the E-W spine wall, the retaining wall of cellars *H-K*, rising above ground level, but if it did not it is difficult to explain why the cellars were restricted to the N side of the block. That it did so was suggested by the distribution of daub panels in the cellar fills of *H-K*, not all of which can have fallen from the N wall of the block, (the relative original position of the panels could be determined from the orientation of the wattling.) A tentative interpretation of the three western units would suggest a workshop on the street frontage, a small room behind it over a cellar, with a first floor room extending over both ground floor rooms.

The cellars were originally reached by ladder, but before 1507 stairs had been constructed in *H* and *K*, in both cases blocking an earlier window. A comparable window, blocked after 1507, survived in *J*, as did lamp niches in the S walls of all three cellars. The staircase into *K* had been of wood, framed into the rebuilt wall of its N.E. corner, and was probably of a single steep flight of steps. That into *H* was of substantial, brick-built, newel construction, which had been butted against the boundary wall of the tenement's yard and run down through the enlarged window opening.

Blocks *J* and *K* had relatively sophisticated sanitation (paralleled in block *R/V*). A brick lined shaft with a domed top had been built against the back wall of the building. From this a rectangular shaft, presumably bifurcating at ground or first floor level, led up into the thickness of the wall. The consequent weakening of the wall had been compensated for by inserting an horizontal relieving beam in the



wall, and by buttressing the wall face. It should be noted that, like the partitions between *H*, *J* and *K*, the cess-pit appeared to be a secondary feature; the wall shaft and buttresses however were clearly part of the primary structure. Another cess-pit was discovered in *H* during commercial operations, but it could not be seen whether its arrangement paralleled that in *J/K*.

Block *L*, unlike *H-K*, was uncellared, and there was no evidence for there having been a workshop on its street frontage. A door opening through its rear wall onto a gravel surfaced yard had been blocked before 1507. Only a 15cm. height of the blocking survived and it is probable that it represented a heightening of the doorstep to take account of the accumulation of rubbish on the yard surface. Part of this accumulation might be accounted for by the absence of a cess-pit associated with this building.

To the E of block *H-M* was a large area of modern disturbance. Extending to a depth of 5-6m. this had completely destroyed the archaeology of tenements *c*, *d* and *e*, and the western part of tenement *f*. In the surviving area of tenement *f* were the minimal remains of two houses of a single build, *O* and *P*, and a bakehouse, *X/Y*. *O* had been almost totally destroyed by an early 18th-century cellar, but its gravelled yard, *T*, was largely intact. The lowest levels of this, which produced mid-15th century pottery, overlay a complex of late medieval pits, some of which extended into area *U*.

Building *P* (see Fig. 3. 4 for a sketch reconstruction) had a hearth in its N.E corner, and there was some evidence for a door in the centre of its rear wall. Its yard, *U*, was enclosed by walls, unlike that of any other building on the site at this period. At the far end of the yard were the remains of two, possibly three, ovens one of which, *Y*, was floored with fragments of lava stone. These were from either large querns or small mill-stones. An interpretation of these structures, which demands reference to detailed plans and sections, is not attempted here, but it should be noted that the property was owned from 1480 onwards by the Cory family, who were bakers. There can be little doubt that they did not live on this property, and it is best seen as a tied cottage for perhaps a journeyman baker.

The boundary between tenements *f* and *g* was one of the most marked on the site. The foundations of the wall separating *U* from *Q*, unlike the *T* to *U* boundary, rested on undisturbed ground. Medieval pits cut close to its line from both sides, but none encroached on it. Similarly this wall was the only feature at the E end of the site which was rebuilt after the 1507 fire. To its E was a gravel and rammed chalk surfaced alleyway, *Q*, giving access to the yard *Z*. This would appear to have been a common yard for the, probably leasehold, buildings of tenement *g*. Only two of these, *R/V* and *S/W*, survived. The frontage of these buildings had been heavily disturbed, but sufficient remained to justify the plan and section reconstructed on Fig. 3. 3. Unlike *H-M* they were not of a single build. This might suggest that, rather than being constructed by the owner of the tenement, they were erected under the terms of a reverting lease.

*R/V* was the first unit constructed, *S/W* being butt-jointed against it. The evidence from cellars *V* and *W* suggested strongly that these were sub-basement lean-tos with tiled roofs, built against the back of two-storied thatched buildings of timber framed construction (see below for a discussion of this building). The foundations of these were all of mortared flint construction with occasional bricks. Both buildings had a cess-pit, into which a garderobe shaft had presumably



discharged. That in *V/R* was within the cellar, while in *S/W* (where the S wall of the square cess-pit had been destroyed) it was to the E of the cellar.

All of the buildings described above were destroyed simultaneously by fire, presumably on April 25th 1507, after a life of probably only forty years. The finds from the resulting destruction levels are of exceptional interest, not only for their closely dated context, but also for their number and variety (see Plate 1). The richest group was that from cellars *H-K*, which lay directly beneath a burning building. The group included the complete contents of a kitchen, (chimney-crane, cauldron, skillet, frying pan etc.), a large number of tools, (including wool cards) and many of the fittings of the three houses (hinges, door bolts, decorated window glass etc.). Two of the more unusual finds were a devotional medallion, and a fragment of a terracotta mask (probably of an ancient philosopher) thought to have been made in an Italian workshop in the 1490s.<sup>5</sup>

After the fire only the W end of the site was rebuilt, and this appears to have been carried out fairly rapidly. The ash and debris fills of cellars *H-K* were covered over with a clay floor, after the window in *J* and the staircase in *H* had been carefully blocked. With the exception of the N.W angle of *H* and the E end of the N wall of *F*, both of which appear to have collapsed, the new building went up on the old foundations. Little of the rebuilt structure survived except the chimney stack which had been inserted between *K* and *L* at a later date, probably the mid-to late 16th century.

The rebuilding of the angle between *F* (tenement *a*) and *H* (part of tenement *b*) is of interest in the light of the documentary evidence. It is not certain whether in 1397 John Manning held one or both tenements. By *c.* 1470 when *F* and *H* were rebuilt, the archaeological evidence suggests strongly that they were either in separate ownership, or treated as such. By the time the staircase into *H* was built, in the period 1470-1507, the properties may have been amalgamated as the upper part of the staircase had to project over tenement *a*. After 1507 it was possible to rebuild *H* in such a way that tenement *a* encroached onto it, and by not later than 1523 Richard Freeman was definitely holding both *a* and *b*.

In addition to the rebuilding of the Pottergate frontage there was an expansion onto St. Laurence's Lane, the first time this frontage had been built up. The archaeological evidence for the dating of cottages *A-B* and *C-E* on the lane suggested a date of before 1550. This fits well with the evidence for Richard Lee owning property (not *C-E*) on St. Laurence's Lane, which in 1538 was described as 'new built'.

The cottages were all of a similar pattern; simple rectangular structures measuring 4.3 to 5m. by 5.3 to 6.2m. internally. Only small patches of their floors survived, and only in *E*, where it was in the N.E corner, was there any evidence of a hearth. Behind block *C-E* was a narrow passageway, *G*, with a rammed chalk surface. Access into this, and into the yard *N*, was possibly through a tunnel-entry on the S side of *E*.

After the mid-16th century there were few changes in the layout of the site until 1718, the date of the rebuilding on a different plan of *O* and *P*. After this, judging from map evidence, there appears to have been major encroachment of buildings onto the former yard areas before 1789, but little physical evidence of this survived. What did survive was the evidence for an 18th century rebuilding of the yard walls to N and E of the yard *N*. These, which had already been rebuilt



since c. 1528, perpetuated the property boundaries which had originally been established in the 11th or 12th centuries.

A.C.

### THE BUILDINGS AND THEIR SOCIAL CONTEXT

No coherent programme of research into the buildings of Norwich has yet been undertaken. Valuable work was, however, carried out by A. P. Baggs<sup>6</sup> in the 1960s, and this was followed up between 1971 and 1973 by a pilot study undertaken by the Norwich Survey. On the basis of this work it is possible to make some general statements on the development of housing, some of which are considerably affected by the results of the Pottergate excavation. These relate to the materials, the 'life-expectancy', and the groundplans and sections, of buildings earlier than c. 1730. The evidence for these statements is so scattered that, to avoid overburdening the text, references have been kept to a minimum.

The earliest buildings in Norwich, with the exception of a limited number of stone buildings, were either of clay-lump or framed timber construction. The posts of the latter were set in the ground and were subject to rotting. The 'life-expectancy' of these, or the clay-lump buildings, was probably not more than 150 years, and even this length of life could only be achieved by periodic replacement of rotten posts etc.

After the mid-13th century buildings were generally constructed on flint and mortar plinths or ground sills, set on foundation trenches filled either with gravel and sand, or mortared flint. In some cases houses were built to their full height in solid building materials, including clay-lump, but until the 18th century most were of daub infilled framed timber. From the 14th century onwards brick was in use as a subsidiary material, and its use increased markedly after the late 15th century. It was not however until the later 17th century that buildings were first constructed throughout in brick, and even then not commonly.

It has become increasingly clear in Norwich that the original building dates of surviving houses do not, as one might expect, form a continuum. Instead they fall into three distinct groups. The first consists of a small number of large buildings erected in the period c. 1300-1450. This is followed by a greater number of buildings, most of them large, built between c. 1470-1530. There is then a marked gap until c. 1670-1730, with few new buildings but much modification of older houses in the intervening period. It is only from this last phase of building activity that relatively small buildings survive. This would suggest that, with the exception of the largest and best-built examples, a cycle of almost total rebuilding occurred at 150-200 year intervals.

The regularity of this cycle, which can be explained partly in terms of the life of building materials, was probably heavily accentuated by two processes. The first of these was the rapid adoption in the period 1250-1300 of the use of non-timber ground sills. If, as a result of fashion, most buildings in Norwich were rebuilt on this principle within a short period, they would all tend to reach the end of their useful life at the same time. Replacement, on the basis of both archaeological and documentary evidence, seems to have been under way in the 1470s, e.g. Pottergate. This process was rapidly accelerated by the fires of 1505 and 1507 which certainly destroyed 20% of the houses in the city, and more probably destroyed over 40%. This included not only derelict or near derelict buildings, but also those, like Pottergate, only 30-40 years old. A period of rapid rebuilding like



that of 1250-1300 occurred but this time through necessity rather than fashion. The appearance of the city after this rebuilding is perhaps, after all, close to that shown in Cuninghame's 1558 perspective view of Norwich, which has previously been thought to have underestimated the number of surviving buildings of medieval form.

No fires, or similar disasters, can be found to account for the rebuilding of *c.* 1670 onwards, which emphasises that underlying the sharply accentuated peaks of earlier rebuilding there was a general cycle of replacement due to normal decay. It should be noted also that while building activity slowed down in the 1730s there is no such sharp break as appears to occur in the early 16th century.

In attempting to identify the owners and original builders of surviving houses in Norwich earlier than 1600 it became clear that most, if not all of them, belonged to a well defined class. This included, in addition to the mayors, aldermen and councillors of the city, other wealthy burgesses who had avoided the expenses of civic office. These were few, and for convenience the group can be referred to loosely as 'the office-holders'. Never forming more than 1% of the city's householders (and from *c.* 1500 onwards not more than 0.5%), neither they nor their houses can be considered typical. Before *c.* 1500 the commonest house-type associated with this group was built on an L-plan, with a two-storied parlour/chamber (or buttery, pantry/chamber) block on the street frontage and, at right-angles to this, an open hall. (Fig. 3. 1). The L-plan continued after 1500 but there was a rapidly increasing tendency for the building to be two-storied throughout. These buildings, and others of different types, were built by the wealthiest people in the community, presumably using the best materials and craftsmanship. Their owners were also those who could most easily mobilise assistance when fire threatened. It is for such reasons that the buildings of the 'office-holders' survive.

Little could be visualised of the buildings of other classes of late medieval society until the 1973 Pottergate excavations. Of the 13 buildings excavated none of them were of L-plan, all consisting of a single block, sometimes subdivided. The variations between them (Figs. 2 & 3) can be explained in terms of the relative wealth of finds from each house. The occupants, all of them thought to have been tenants, appear to have ranged from well above average wealth (houses *M/H-M/K* and *L*) to less than average wealth (declining from houses *R-S* and *A-F* down to house *P*). None of the tenants would appear to have been poor, particularly when judged on the evidence of food remains (animal bones etc.).

On Fig. 3 the reconstructed sketch sections and plans of three of these houses are compared with the section and plan of a contemporary 'office-holders' house (in fact that of a mayor). If the variations in detail, e.g. the presence or absence of workshop or cellar, are ignored, a general type can be abstracted from the buildings represented by Nos. 2 and 3 on Fig. 3. This would consist of one room, including any subdivisions, on each of two floors. This type would cover all but two of the buildings excavated, including *A-E* and *F*, which are known from living memory to have been two-storied. The range in size within this group is partially a function of date, partly a reflection of the social status of the occupant. The pre-1507 group (*F*, *H/M-K/M*, *L* and *R-S*) had a ground-floor area of between 11 and 25 sq. m. with a median and average value of 19 sq. m., while the post-1507 group (*A-E*) ranged from 26 to 31 sq. m. with an average value of 27.5 sq. m.



An analysis of the Norwich probate inventories<sup>7</sup> for the period 1580-1730 had shown that a building similar to this, i.e. one room on each of two floors, with increasing use of the attic space throughout the period, had once been extremely common. The type as reconstructed from the documentary evidence was strongly associated with craftsmen, and the only surviving example of this type so far discovered (dated 1670) was built for a worsted weaver.<sup>8</sup>

It can now be seen that a type of building first reconstructed from documentary evidence, and known only from a single surviving 17th century example, was comparatively common in the late 15th and early 16th century. It was certainly as common, and far more 'typical' than the L-plan buildings of the 'office-holders'. The only building(s) on the Pottergate site which did not fall into this general type were *P*, and probably *O*. The single room plan of *P* was similar to, but smaller (15 sq. m.) than the plans of *A-F*, but there is no doubt that it was single-storied. The finds from this building were the least impressive on the site, and it is tempting to see this type (which elsewhere may be difficult to distinguish archaeologically from its two-storied counterpart) as being associated with the poorer craftsmen and the 'labour aristocracy' of late- and post-medieval Norwich.

A.C.

#### A NOTE ON THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE POTTERGATE SITE

The site excavated formed the southern part of a large city block bordered by Pottergate on the south, St. Gregory's Alley on the east, St. Laurence's Lane (formerly Smallgate or Small Lane) on the west and St. Benedict's Street (formerly Upper Westwyk) on the north. The parish boundary runs north-south through the block, making two short right angle turns to follow property boundaries. On the earliest large scale Ordnance Survey map, that of 1885, the Pottergate frontage, which was excavated in 1973, comprised three separate tenements in St. Laurence's parish on the west and ten in St. Gregory's to the east; moreover, the whole block was densely built up and intricately subdivided, including many small properties of irregular shape in the interior.

The present line of St. Gregory's Alley, which gives a sloping side to the block on the east, suggests that it has been diverted from its original line by the addition of properties on the Pottergate end, filling in part of the churchyard. The documentation suggests that this took place in the early 14th century. The advowson of the church was the property of the Infirmerer of Holy Trinity Priory, donated by Walter, son of Bernard, knight, in an undated document of mid-13th century hand, now in the Dean and Chapter Records.<sup>9</sup> Our first mention of building in the cemetery is in the abuttal of a deed of 1336-7,<sup>10</sup> the Infirmerer's accounts for the earlier part of the 14th century show no income from this site, but by 1345-6 the Priory was receiving sixty six shillings and fourpence from the development of property within the churchyard.<sup>11</sup> This probably included not only the corner of Pottergate and St. Gregory's Alley, but also tenements built against the chancel of the church itself (later to become almshouses) and the important property at the north west entry to the churchyard, which was owned in the 16th century by the Mayor, John Reed.<sup>20</sup> Nine separate tenements were listed in 1440-1.<sup>11</sup>



The evidence suggests that the whole Pottergate to St. Benedict's block was fairly well built up as early as the first half of the 14th century. Several deeds refer to small pieces of land without street frontage, evidently carved out of larger tenements as pressure on the land increased. In 1286, for example, Peter le Chaucer sold Thomas de Huningham a patch measuring 36 feet by 48 feet in St. Gregory's Parish, probably behind one of the Pottergate tenements. It is difficult, however, to assess how many individual houses may have stood along the Pottergate frontage in the 14th century, because some families clearly held large blocks of property, probably comprising several houses. In the 13th century, for example, the two tenements which lay astride the parish boundary and faced respectively on to Pottergate and Upper Westwyk to south and north, were in different ownership but each passed between 1322 and 1329<sup>12</sup> to Adam Perers of Holt, who then held a complete strip from one street to the other. The same build up and dispersal of groups also took place along the street frontages.<sup>13</sup>

From the evidence of the abuttals, it is possible to build up a succession of at least seven tenements along Pottergate from the corner of St. Laurence's Lane up to and including the Priory property on the corner of St. Gregory's churchyard. The evidence is incomplete and the total number may have been larger or individual holdings might have comprised several houses rented to different people. It is not possible to pin down any of these properties on the ground with any certainty, except in the case of *c* and *d*, which lay directly on the parish boundary, comprising a tenement in St. Laurence's and cottages in St. Gregory's (but see the inset to Fig. 2, which attempts a reconstruction on the basis of 19th and 20th century deeds. A.C.)

The holders of these properties in the late 13th and 14th century followed a wide variety of callings, but none of them appears to have been a potter. In the block as a whole, two trades predominated in the first deeds, the sherrers, after whom the east end of Upper Westwyk was named 'Shergate' and Charing (or Shering) Cross, and the bakers, who were chiefly concentrated in this and St. Stephen's parish. There were at least two bakeries along the Upper Westwyk side of the block, one of them belonging to William de Merkeshale near the centre of the block, another on the north east corner originally belonging to Robert de Weston, which passed in the mid-14th century to the city's leading property magnate, Thomas Bumpstead.<sup>14</sup> This site was still used for baking in the late 15th century under the ownership of Robert Bulle, clerk.<sup>15</sup>

Of those who owned the Pottergate frontage in the late 13th and 14th century, only one is definitely known to have been a baker, John Goluard, who held *c* and *d* in 1320.<sup>16</sup> It is, however, very likely that tenement *f*, which was certainly a bakery by the 15th century, was owned in the early 14th century by the baker Richard Weston, who died in 1312, leaving several tenements in this parish. Certainly, the property was in the hands of his family for nearly a century, beginning with Robert de Weston in 1297-8. After this it passed through the hands of Alexander, Agnes and, finally, John Weston, who held it in 1378-80.<sup>17</sup>

Other holders of property along this street included a leatherworker, a fuller, a cobbler, a chaplain and one merchant, Henry de Heveringland. None was a man of the first rank of civic importance, none held office as Bailiff, but they were generally prosperous individuals. In almost every case it is possible to trace their names in the enrolled deeds as owners of other tenements in this parish or elsewhere.



The documents do not allow a clear picture of who owned these tenements during the 15th century, except in the case of *c/d*, which went to Robert Fale by 1397 and Jacob Note and John Man by 1480. The abuttals, however, suggest that *a* and/or *b* and also *g* were in the possession of John Manning in 1397. He owned four tenements in this parish in the Landgable list of that year and can probably be identified with the hosier and Mayor of 1409, 1415 and 1422. If so, the area was evidently attracting the attentions of the wealthiest citizens in Norwich. We cannot, unfortunately, suggest who owned these properties at the time of their destruction by fire.

The evidence of the Infirmerer's accounts at the Priory suggests that the fire which caused this destruction took place in the first decade of the 16th century. In 1497-8 the Priory received thirty shillings rent from its tenements in the parish of St. Gregory, but in 1511-12 only 17 shillings and eightpence, perhaps from properties which survived the fire or were very speedily rebuilt.

(Blomefield<sup>18</sup> has some further information on this point, although the documents on which he bases his account, with the exception of the Almoner's accounts, can no longer be traced. He quotes first the Almoner's account to the Prior of Norwich for 1505: 'Received this year from the rents belonging of the almoner's office which were formerly 10 l. a year, and after that 5 l. a year, only 33s. because many tenements are burnt', and goes on to say 'after the great fires, they were reduced to 19s.4d. a year'. He then describes the 'great fires': '. . . on the 25th day of April 1507 a fire broke out, which burnt with continual violence four days . . . on the 4th of June following . . . another lamentable fire, which burnt two days and a night, as an old roll in the Herald's Office informs us.. "Norwich was byrned with fire at twey times, to the noubir of xviii score howsholdys and mo. and most parte of their goodys." But I find by the evidences that the city was almost utterly defaced, that there were 718 houses burnt in the parishes of . . .'. A list of 16 parishes follows; four are on Colegate and Magdalen Street, the others on the area extending west from Tombland to St. Giles and St. Margaret's, Westwick, but including St. Peter Mancroft and St. Martin in the Bail. These are clearly the areas of the two separate fires of 1507, one including the Pottergate site.

Holinshed,<sup>19</sup> although saying that the fire was in 1508, locates the fire of June 4th as having started in the parish of St. George Colegate. It is thus highly likely that the Pottergate fire can be dated to April 25th 1507.

A.C.

Three surviving landgable lists, for 1549, 1570 and 1626, make it possible to trace the ownership of the Pottergate frontage through the 16th and early 17th century.<sup>20</sup> At the date of the first list it is clear that much of the area was void ground and the total number of properties along the street front, including the Priory's tenement on the east, had been reduced to five. On the west, at the corner of Pottergate and St. Laurence's Lane, was a large property belonging to John Hill in 1549 and formerly to Richard Freeman. It probably included both *a* and *b*, comprising excavation areas *C* to *L*, with houses facing on to both streets. Richard Freeman was probably the owner responsible for the rebuilding of these cottages after the fire, for he owned the area before 1523. In his will of that year he mentioned a wife and daughters, but his only son, John, was apparently a



monk at Walsingham, and all his property in the city was sold, including this tenement, reserving only one other tenement in the parish, for the use of his daughters.<sup>21</sup> It was probably bought in 1523 by the Hill family,<sup>22</sup> of whom Robert was a calunderer. By 1570 the property had passed to a widow, Margaret Myles, who was evidently a lady of considerable property, for she paid on £8 worth of goods in the tax of 1576 and was thus the fourth largest tax payer in the parish.<sup>23</sup> She, or perhaps a daughter, still held the tenement in 1626. Clearly, neither Freeman nor Margaret Myles was living on this property; presumably the houses were built and maintained as a source of income for these already prosperous citizens.

The next two tenements to the east made one payment together in the Landgable accounts, although they were clearly separate and one lay in St. Laurence and the other in St. Gregory's Parish, so it seems fairly certain that they can be equated with properties *c* and *d*. They were described as 'tenements and voide ground late old Dunstons and part Spendloff and Thomas Corye', which suggests that this property might have been expanded to include *e*, that is, the whole of the disturbed area along Pottergate and perhaps also *f*. The Corye family certainly owned *f* and may also have held *e* at one point.

In 1549, however, the northerly tenement, *c*, formerly Dunston the Mason's, was held by Richard Lee, who had enrolled as a mercer in 1524-5<sup>24</sup> and was a man of some property. ('Old Dunston' is probably the man who appears in the Chamberlain's accounts for 1534-5, 'Dunstan and his man for iii dayes work making and ransakyn the synke in the women's prison'.) Lee also held a stretch of St. Laurence Lane, where the houses were described as 'new built' in 1538,<sup>25</sup> so may also have been a landlord of rental property. In 1570 the owner of *c* was John Goodwyn, a city alderman and a man worth £6.13.3 on goods in the tax of 1576 (top tax payer in St. Laurence on goods).<sup>23</sup> By 1626 the tenement had been amalgamated with *d* and the joint tenement was held by Thomas Pye.

Edmund Warden, who held *d* from 1549 to at least 1570, was a colleague of his neighbour, Goodwyn, on the city corporation and also a wealthy man, paying five pounds on lands in 1576.<sup>23</sup> In his will,<sup>26</sup> proved in 1582, his son Thomas inherited most of his property, except one tenement for his daughter, which probably lay immediately to the north of *d*, facing on to Upper Westwyk. Almost certainly, he lived in the parish, for he asked to be buried in St. Gregory's church. Thomas Pye was probably the most notable of all the property holders along this frontage. He was a grocer, enrolled in 1567-8, who married the daughter of the Mayor, Christopher Soam, and came to be Mayor himself in 1597. With his second wife, of 1612, he founded a set of almshouses designed to serve the parishes of St. Peter Mancroft, St. Giles, and Mary Coslany. Blomefield described their position as in 'the South west corner of that Churchyard, on the other side of the street there',<sup>27</sup> but they were probably the same almshouses that appear on the landgable lists at the east end of St. Gregory's chancel.

Continuing eastward along Pottergate, the next property was described in 1549 as 'Tenement or gardens late Thomas Davy and Thomas Corye vocatum Bakhousyerd' and is almost certainly to be equated with the Weston family property. Davy was enrolled as a Baker in 1522-3 and Cory, also a baker, in 1517-18<sup>28</sup> and it seems likely that they held land side by side,<sup>29</sup> Cory on the west, since his name was mentioned in relation to *e*, and Davy on the east, perhaps in *g*, bordering on the Priory's property, *h*.



Although the trade of Baker was hardly amongst the high status crafts, the Cory family appears to have been prosperous. Nicholas, probably father or grandfather of Thomas, held at least two tenements in this parish in 1480,<sup>15</sup> probably including *f*, and was the most likely owner or builder of the bread oven excavated. Thomas himself was buying property elsewhere in the city in the 1520s.<sup>30</sup> He died before 1537, for his widow, Margaret, was buried beside him in St. Gregory's church that year and left 10 marks for the repair of the roof.<sup>31</sup> Edmund Cory, who appeared as the second highest taxpayer in the parish in 1576,<sup>23</sup> was probably Thomas's son, but apparently sold off the bakehouse tenement before 1549, for Edmund Warreyn appears as its owner in the landgable list and was thus in possession of a stretch of street frontage including tenement *f* and, probably, tenement *g*, although there is strong archaeological evidence for a physical division between *f* and *g*.<sup>32</sup>

Nothing in the documents suggests that there were necessarily any buildings on properties *c* to *g* in the century after the fire; indeed, they are continually referred to as void ground, yet their owners were evidently prosperous men. Presumably they were not reconstructed because the demand for housing had declined in the area, or perhaps their owners, who usually lived close by, preferred to keep the ground open. The main Cory dwelling house, for example, was in the north west corner of the same block, so that the 'bakehouse' tenement could easily have been employed as a kitchen garden.

H.S.

#### 147N. 29-31 ST. BENEDICT'S STREET. TG 22680829

A 5 by 7 m. square area in the centre of this site (See Fig. 1 for position) was to be extensively disturbed to a depth of *c.* 1 m. An excavation, restricted to this area, was undertaken to see whether, unlike the area immediately to the N.W.,<sup>33</sup> Saxon and medieval levels survived. This could determine whether further excavation would be worthwhile in the large area surrounding it (21-35 St. Benedict's Street) which was likely to be redeveloped after 1974.

Undisturbed late Saxon levels with clear evidence of post-built structures were found below the level to which disturbance was planned, and the excavation of these has been deferred until the larger area becomes available.

The area excavated lay to the N of what are thought to be two small buildings of medieval origin fronting onto St. Benedict's. The line of their rear (N) wall lay outside the excavation but it is thought that they were *c.* 7 m. deep from the frontage. That there were two buildings, each *c.* 5 m. wide, was strongly suggested by the sharp break in stratification along a N-S line bisecting the excavated area. To the E of this was a sequence of gravelled yards; to the W a sequence of chalk and beaten earth surfaces (also probably yard surfaces). These levels dated from the 12th to 16th century, and were found immediately beneath 19th-century rubble.

A tentative interpretation of the site suggests a building pattern similar to that seen at the E end of the Pottergate excavation (buildings O-S on Fig. 2).

A.C.



## 162N. 73 ST. BENEDICT'S STREET. TG 22500886

The site lay to the E of the 1948-55 Jope and Hurst excavations (19N & 152N) and N of that carried out in 1971, in an area of proposed road works. Only the area of the site directly threatened by the road was excavated.

The site produced evidence of occupation from the 10th or 11th century onwards. The most significant point to emerge was the change in alignment of buildings between the 11th and 12th centuries, followed by a fossilisation of building lines, and hence property boundaries. This is of considerable importance for our understanding of the behaviour of parish boundaries, which were almost certainly established by the mid-12th century.

The earliest occupation on the site was represented by a series of rectilinear trenches of 10th/11th century date, which were probably the wall-trenches of timber buildings. Their form exactly parallels those found to the E by Hurst.<sup>34</sup> The evidence suggested a rectangular building (A - Fig. 4), rebuilt at least once in its life, with a kitchen? (B) to its N, and on the N side of this a square well. After the building went out of use its W wall-trench was cut by a large pit (46) containing *inter alia* 11th/12th century red-painted wares of Pingsdorf type.<sup>35</sup> No trace survived of the building presumably associated with the later 12th century well 128, which suggests that the 13th-century walls of block C were superimposed on the 12th century plan. This later flint walled building is thought to have been of L-plan (cf. No. 1 on Fig. 3), with the area excavated representing the service end of the hall (C) with a, rebuilt, pantry/buttery (D) to its N. In the early to mid-16th century a brick and flint walled block (E), rebuilt in the 17th century, was added to the N of the medieval block. This had two doors and a large window in the E wall of the first phase. There is a strong possibility that this block represents a separate tenancy and not the addition of a parlour/chamber block to an already large house. The evidence for this will probably be confirmed when research on the documentation of this site is completed.

A.C.

#### THE BACKGROUND TO THE EXCAVATIONS – NORWICH NORTH OF THE RIVER

This area, the medieval *Ultra Aquam*, is an archaeological wasteland. There is no reason why its archaeology should not be as rich and varied as that S of the river, but to date there is very little evidence of this. The area was heavily industrialised in the 19th century and large areas of these factories remain. The redevelopment that has occurred during the period that the Norwich Museums have been observing sites has largely been either on the relatively uninteresting marsh fringes of the area, or to the N of what appears to be the main Saxon and medieval occupation area. This situation (see Fig. 1) is likely to change dramatically over the next 5 years, with redevelopment planned for what may prove to be critical areas, and a review of the evidence is called for.

It is still thought that the area is crossed by 2 N-S Roman roads, one on the line of Oak Street, the other following Magdalen Street (see p. 59). The relationship of the putative Oak Street road to the Pagan Saxon cemetery at Eade Road (165N) is to be investigated in April 1974. There is still no evidence for the



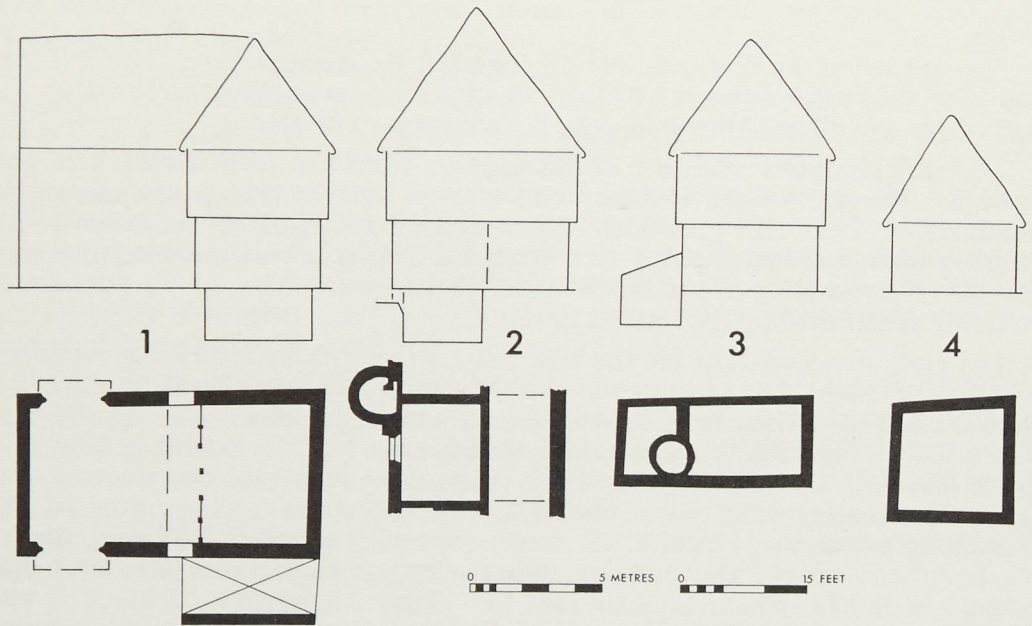


Fig. 3.  
 Outline plans and sketch sections of Pykerell's House (1) and three of the Pottergate, 149N, buildings: J/M (2), R/V (3) & P (4).

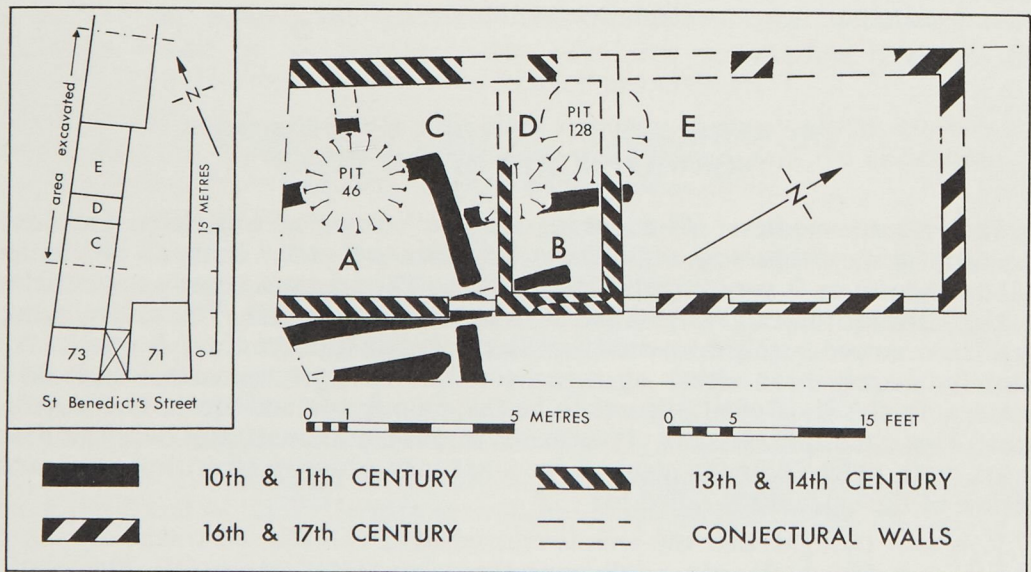


Fig. 4.  
 Outline plan of 162N, 73 St. Benedict's Street.



settlement associated with this cemetery but if, as is possible, it lay to its W then it almost certainly lies under an extensive modern rubbish dump.

There is little archaeological evidence for the Middle Saxon settlement associated with the name *Coslany*. First recorded in 1146-49, this name is probably of pre-850 origin and means Cost's long island. In the medieval period *Coslany* is specifically applied to the area straddling Oak Street<sup>36</sup> so that the early settlement to which the place name is referring could have been anywhere on the river to its W. If, as elsewhere in East Anglia, there is a shift in the site of the settlement in the mid-7th century, away from that associated with the Eade Road cemetery, then a likely position is near the church of St. Martin at Oak, an apparently early dedication.

This church lies just to the S of the defensive ditch first postulated in 1963,<sup>37</sup> and now apparently located on St. Martin's Lane (161N, see p. 58). Originally this ditch was thought to run almost due E to pass just to the S of Stump Cross (F on Fig. 1). This line was suggested by the Y-junction of Magdalen Street with Botolph Street (a classic topographical indication of a gate site), and also by the dedication of a former church at Stump Cross to St. Botolph – a dedication almost invariably found at or near the gates of a settlement. Further evidence for this ditch line was thought to be given by the application in the 13th century of the name *Mereholt*<sup>38</sup> (marsh, or boundary, wood) to an area on Botolph Street to the W of Stump Cross.

A re-examination of the topography of this area with its parish and property boundaries suggests that this hypothesis should now be modified to produce a defence system such as is shown schematically on Fig. 1. The case for this will be argued fully in the 1974 interim report (after details have been checked by excavation) but the following points should be noted. The ditch system is almost certainly of two periods, with the St. Martin's Lane element being secondary. The primary ditch is focussed on Magdalen Street and controls both the Fyebridge and Whitefriars Bridge (L on Fig. 1) crossings. There is good evidence to suggest that the 10th century occupation area of 154N and 156N extended, via Whitefriars bridge to the vicinity of St. Edmund's church (M on Fig. 1) and probably westwards to St. Clement's church and Fyebridge. The excavation of 148N (see p. 59) showed that, contrary to what had been suggested in the 1972 interim report, there was little evidence for Saxon occupation N of Stump Cross.

It is unlikely that any sites will become available in 1974 within the probable area of *Coslany* but at least two will be excavated in, or on the periphery of, the Magdalen Street settlement. The excavation on Botolph Street (J on Fig. 1) may establish that this is an area of 11th/12th century expansion associated with the foundation of St. Augustine's church (G). The Cowgate/Magdalen Street site (K) will help to define more clearly the 'empty area' to its N and W, which probably extends from 148N to the area first settled in the 12th century around St. Paul's church (O). The site should also provide indirect evidence for the date of All Saints' church to its N. This site should represent the northernmost extent of the linear suburb of Magdalen Street. This should now be seen as developing from the existing riverside settlement (I to M and westwards), which had itself probably developed simultaneously with the growth to urban status of the Middle Saxon settlement to the S of the river.

In the course of establishing the pattern of settlement N of the river it is almost certain that further church sites will be investigated. Of the 17 churches



that once existed there, nine survive, and of these all but one will become redundant in the next ten years. It may be useful to state the criteria that will determine whether or not we will attempt archaeological investigation of both the churches now becoming redundant, and those that disappeared in the past.

The first of these is that the fabric, or the underlying archaeological deposit, has to be threatened with destruction or large scale alteration. Research rather than rescue investigation, while it may be justifiable on academic grounds, cannot be considered with our present limited resources. This reduces the number of churches to be considered, in the city as a whole, from 59 to c. 40 (of which c. 15 are standing buildings.) Within this group the churches selected will be those known either to have disappeared early and to be relatively undisturbed, or those (preferably with good documentary evidence) thought to be among the earliest churches of Norwich. The value of the first group is that they should not pose the problems of fragmentarily surviving evidence that bedevilled the St. Benedict's excavation. This is of particular importance when the existence of an early, possibly timber, church is suspected. This group will also hopefully produce undisturbed and well dated burial groups, such as we had hoped to find for the church of St. Margaret *in combusto* (see p. 59).

The reason for excavating churches at all is often questioned. Its value is however undeniable for the history of the standing churches of Norwich which, with few exceptions, reveal only the final stages of what has almost certainly been a long and complex building history. In addition, as has clearly been shown at Winchester,<sup>39</sup> it is possible to reconstruct the development of liturgical arrangements for which no documentary evidence survives. The archaeology of the parish church and its burials is as integral a part of the development of a town as the archaeology of its streets and defences, its secular buildings, and its once-living population.

A.C. & J.P.R.

161N. 49-59 ST. MARTIN'S LANE. TG 22750923

## SUMMARY

Excavation to the N of St. Martin's Lane produced evidence of what is probably the early northern defensive ditch of Coslany. To the N of this was a small medieval ditch of unknown function. The site was first built on in the 17th century. For the position of the site see Fig. 1.

## THE EXCAVATION

Two trenches were dug. The first, 30 m. long, was mechanically excavated at the E end of the site at right angles to St. Martin's Lane. It was clear from the levels that had survived modern disturbance that no E-W linear feature crossed the line of the northern 29 m. of the trench. At the S end of the trench, immediately adjacent to the street, was the lip of what could have been either a pit or a ditch disappearing under the street. This was cut by medieval pits but itself produced no material. A water main separated this trench from a second one opened up to the W. The S face of this cut down vertically from the back of the pavement line. Disappearing into this section along the length of the trench was a sloping cut into a buried ground surface i.e. sand loam overlying natural sand and gravel. This feature was seen along a total length of 12 m., and almost certainly represents the



lip of a ditch rather than the edge of a large linear pit. Its intermediate fill, the lowest excavatable, produced Late Saxon and Early Medieval pottery below an upper fill containing 13th-century sherds. No material came from the buried ground surface cut by the ditch.

Overlying the infilled ditch and the old ground surface was an accumulation of medieval soils, none of which appeared to be occupation levels. Cutting these were a number of rubbish pits and a round-bottomed trench, 50 cms. deep and 1.3 m. wide, running from E to W across the site. Parallel to the street, but only 3.5 m. to the N of it, this is best interpreted as a drainage ditch. Cutting this, and a further accumulation of soils, were a number of post-medieval pits over which were the fragmentary remains of a 17th-century building. This was the earliest occupation of the site.

A positive identification of the, only partially seen, ditch on St. Martin's Lane as part of the northern defences of the Saxon settlement can only be made after further sections have been cut across its line, (when full drawings will be published.) It is, however, significant that the limited extent of the upper fill so far examined should have produced 13th-century pottery. This is contemporary with the construction of the 1253 bank and ditch (on the line of the later wall) and would suggest that the early defences, in Coslany at least, were only finally allowed to silt up after the construction of their replacement.

J.P.R.

#### 148N. 132 MAGDALEN STREET. TG 23150957

Until 1973 this site (for its position see Fig. 1) was occupied by the Norwich Blind Institute, a massive building apparently built in the late 19th century. Before demolition the building was investigated and proved to be a casing and extension of 1889 around two 16th and 17th century buildings. (These are to be published elsewhere.) The site was traditionally that of the church of St. Margaret Eyebridge, known alternatively as *in combusto* or *ubi sepeliuntur suspensi*. The church is first recorded in 1254, and became redundant in 1468.<sup>40</sup> The site was dug in an attempt to locate the church, and to investigate its relationship to what was thought to be an area of late Saxon settlement. Preliminary investigation of the documentary evidence for the site was abortive, producing no evidence for the location of the church, or for the pattern of secular ownership in adjacent areas.

The stratification of the site was shallow and had been massively disturbed by the building and later modification of the Blind Institute; this included the digging of cellars under the surviving 16th and 17th century buildings, and the excavation of a corridor (J) to their E. Within the area available for excavation, archaeological deposits survived in two areas; a block of 175 sq. m. on the street frontage, and a block of 130 sq. m. in the N.W. corner of the site.

The feature numbers, and area letters, which appear on Fig. 5 are normally given in the text inside brackets.

#### SUMMARY

The evidence for a Roman origin for Magdalen Street was strengthened by the discovery of several 2nd century sherds to its W. During the late Saxon and early medieval periods the site was used for sand quarrying. It was first occupied in the



13th century when the site was probably divided into three tenements. On the central one of these was a fragmentary L-plan building, to the S of which was a bronzesmith's workshop. To the S of this was a remnant of the churchyard of St. Margaret. The church itself was not located but is thought to have lain immediately to the S of the excavated area. In the N.W. area of the site there was slight evidence for medieval industrial activity of unknown function.

Modification or rebuilding of the houses on the street frontage occurred in the late 15th century. In the late 16th and 17th centuries, after an amalgamation of tenements, and a possible further rebuilding of the street frontage, two large buildings were erected at the rear of the site.

### THE EXCAVATION

The earliest finds on the site were three Roman grey-ware sherds of mid-2nd century date,<sup>41</sup> which came from residual contexts in the N.W. area of the site. Apart from these the site is discussed, as far as possible, chronologically by area starting in the S.

Modern disturbance had cut down to the surface of natural sand and gravel over the whole of the southern 15 m. of the street frontage trench. Below this disturbance was a large pit (9 – probably a quarry) containing only Late Saxon pottery, a grave (HB) and two large charnel pits (7 & 8), one of which cut another *in situ* human burial. The burials, and the re-interred bones, must date from before 1468 when St. Margaret's was amalgamated with All Saints', Fyebridge. The charnel pits contained no dating evidence, but may be of the 17th century, when house F/G/H was constructed. More human remains were found during commercial excavation at the S end of area J, but no other *in situ* burials were found. It seems likely that the church was to the S of the site, not in its N.W. angle as suggested by the Ordnance Survey map of 1885. The 2 *in situ* burials when contrasted with the number of bones in the charnel pits (representing over 20 individuals) suggests an uneven and relatively sparse distribution of burials within the churchyard. This could be explained in terms of burials starting relatively late, perhaps as an overflow from a churchyard to the S of the church.

To the N of the charnel pits was a modern drainage trench, which ran along the line of the boundary between the churchyard and the first tenement. In the area N of this, and earlier than the medieval tenement boundary-wall 92, were two large quarries (175 & 270). These, and other large pits thought to be quarries in the N.W. corner of the site (232, 278, 297 & 312), all contained small quantities of Early Medieval pottery in their deep, naturally-silted, fills. Some of these quarries may have been used for the extraction of the heavy iron-panning that occurred on the site as a result of leaching from the iron-rich sand surface.

The first buildings on the site were 13th-century in date, and can probably be considered as occupying three separate tenements. The southernmost ran from the 'cemetery' to the modern wall 92, i.e. c. 9 m. wide. This had a narrow passage (175) on its N side and a small rectangular building (C – of which only the N & W walls were seen) measuring c. 7 by 5 m. on its street frontage. In the centre of this building, which must have been single-storied, was a bronze-working hearth. Ash and debris from this was scattered in the yard to the W of the building.

The next tenement to the N was 8.5 m. wide, between the modern wall 92 and the modern continuation eastwards of the medieval wall 45. From what remained (walls 75 & 389, chalk floors in both A & B, and a gravelled surface to the N of



wall 389) it is possible to reconstruct an L-plan building (*cf.* No. 1 on Fig. 3). The street frontage block (A), including the width of the tunnel-entry presumed to have existed on its N side, would have measured 8.5 by *c.* 5 m., i.e. a ground-floor area of 42.5 sq. m. At right angles to this, the 'hall block' (B) was 4 m. wide, and could have been up to 8 m. long. In the angle between the two blocks would have been a surfaced yard, reached through the entry in A. In the late 15th century the 'hall block' was widened to *c.* 5 m. (wall 76 replacing wall 389) and the whole building may have been reconstructed from the ground up. Wall 76 was of mixed brick and flint construction, in contrast to the earlier walls on the site which had all been of mortared flint.

No medieval buildings were found on the northernmost tenement, i.e. to the N of wall 45, as the area excavated was probably within the yard of a building which lay under the still standing 134 Magdalen Street. Within this severely disturbed area the medieval levels were characterised by a series of ashy surfaces, some of which were associated with the hearth 230. The date and function of the series of trenches at right angles to each other (198, 212 etc.) is uncertain. The three E-W trenches (211, 212 & 338) were between 0.5 and 1 m. wide and *c.* 50 cms. deep; the 2 N-S trenches (198 & 247) were wider, 1.5 m., and deeper, 60-70 cms. Their fills were also different, 198 & 247 containing mortar and brick rubble with some burnt material, while 211-238 were filled with burnt debris: flints, mortar, burnt clay, ash and charcoal. The stratification of these features suggested that they were related to the medieval levels yet they contained 16th and 17th century pottery. This was also the date of a layer of ashy soil which covered the N.E. corner of this N.W. area. It is suggested that the trench complex was part of an, unspecified, industrial process which continued until large scale demolition, following burning, occurred in the later 16th or possibly the 17th century.

It is not certain whether at this period there were still buildings on the street frontage, for nothing survived above the minimal remains of 15th century activity. The Hochstetter map of 1789 does however show buildings on the frontage. By this date there had been a marked change in the pattern of tenements. The southernmost medieval tenement (C etc.) seems to have expanded to the S to take in the previous 'cemetery', while the northern two tenements had been amalgamated, (they were re-divided on a different basis in the 19th century.) It is suggested that this amalgamation and expansion of tenements took place during the depressed years of the early to mid-16th century, the period from which the evidence of demolition in the N.W. area probably dates.

The evidence for the shift in tenement boundaries comes from the 16th/17th century buildings which stood, encased in the Blind Institute, until 1973. They had been considerably modified, if not rebuilt, up to first-floor level, but above this their plan was easy to reconstruct. The division between the two buildings was along a line continuing wall 92 to the W. To the N of this, building D/E ran straight over the medieval boundary (wall 45), and to the S, building F/G/H, which was of one build, extended over the 'cemetery'. The late 16th-century building D/E had a two-roomed plan, with a central chimney stack (46), a staircase to the W of the stack and, presumably, a lobby entrance to the E of the stack. This would have opened straight onto the medieval boundary. Building F/G/H, which was late 17th-century, consisted of one large and two small rooms, a fairly typical plan for a larger building of this period.

J.P.R.



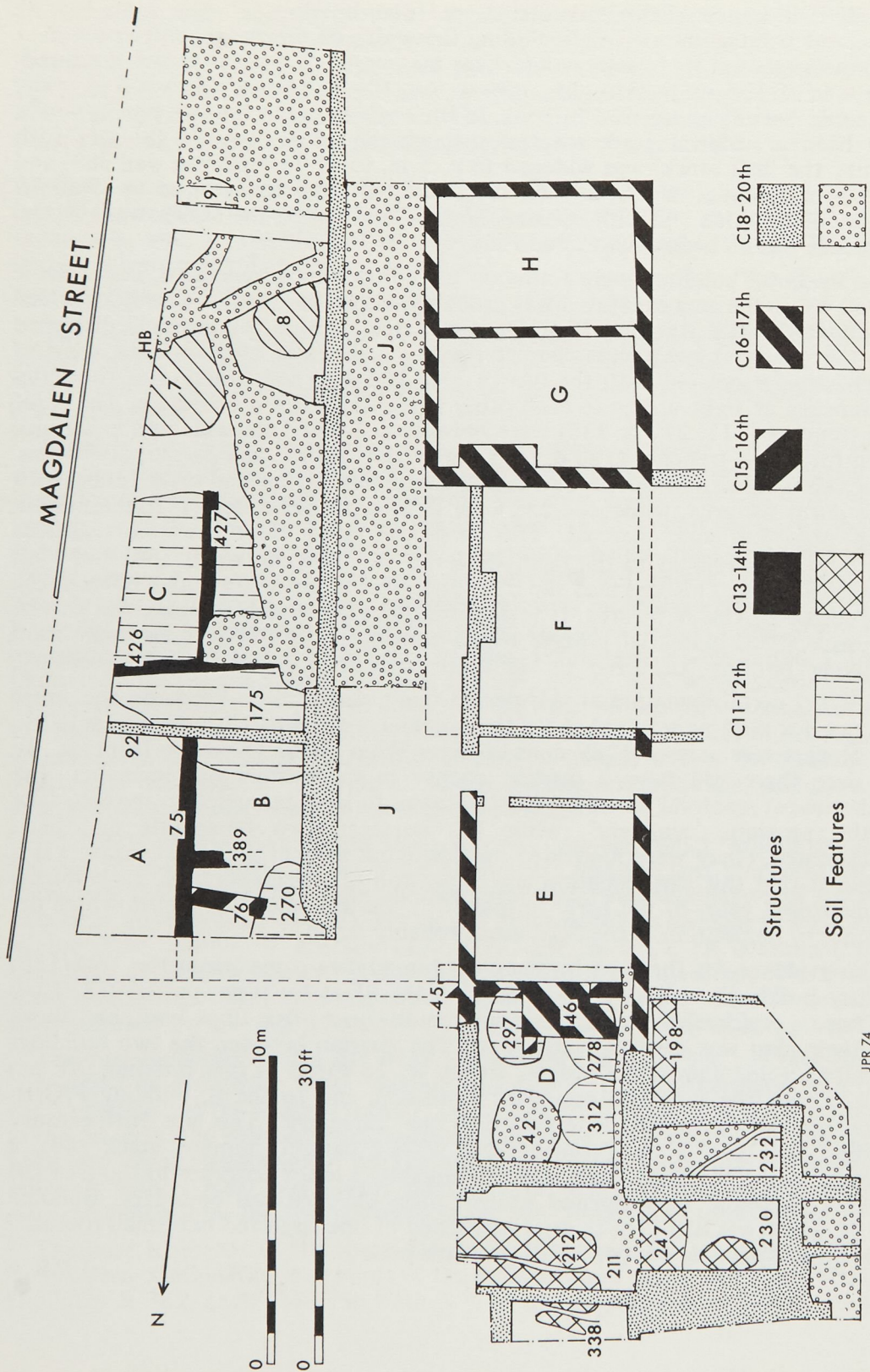


Fig. 5. Outline plan of 148N, 132 Magdalen Street (for letters and numbers see text).



THE BACKGROUND TO THE EXCAVATIONS –  
CONESFORD AND THE STREET PATTERN

Conesford has been used here loosely to denote that part of Norwich which lies S of the river and E of the Norman Provision Market (P on Fig. 1). It includes the E part of the 13th/14th century leet of Wymer, Conesford leet, and the Castle and Priory Fees.

It was suggested in the 1972 interim report<sup>42</sup> that a banked and ditched enclosure, the *burh*, was constructed in the early 10th century between the Ber Street spur, on the N end of which lies the castle, and the river marshes, where it controlled three major river crossings – Fyebridge, Whitefriars bridge and Bishopgate bridge. The first and last of these almost certainly represent Roman crossings, and the lines of these roads (the N-S Magdalen Street/King Street and the E-W ‘Holmstrete/Westwick Way’) appear to have influenced the pattern of probably 10th-century streets associated with the *burh*.

The circumstantial evidence for the 10th-century date of these streets was argued, from later documentary sources and from the dates of buildings lining the streets, in the 1972 report. Unsuccessful attempts were made in 1973 to identify the N-S street leading S from Whitefriars bridge (site 167N, L on Fig. 1), and to confirm the date of King Street (site 146N, see below p. 65).

There are a number of slight shifts of alignment, perhaps the result of encroachment, along the length of King Street, the most marked being adjacent to St. Etheldreda’s church (Q on Fig. 1). Increasing commercial exploitation could have led, in the 13th century, to a need to widen the street, probably on the W side because of encroachment on the E. This seems the most likely explanation for the absence of Roman and Saxon levels and for the presence of 13th-century material on a fresh-cut chalk surface. A Roman date for this street on its original alignment is supported by the discovery of 2nd century sherds on Magdalen Street (148N, see p. 59). Evidence for a Roman road along the Ber Street line is not, as suggested in the 1972 report, supported by a scatter of Roman material.<sup>43</sup> Re-examination of this has shown it to be later. The material includes, from sites 2N and 8N at the junction of Thorn Lane and Ber Street, evidence for a kiln producing tin-glazed wares in the late 16th century.

In the 1972 report the settlement in the N.E. part of the *burh* and that in the vicinity of St. Etheldreda were suggested as being of Middle Saxon, perhaps 8th-century, origin.<sup>44</sup> Material from building sites and from the Shirehall car park excavation (site 150N, see below p. 69) has indicated the possibility of further scattered occupation of this date in Conesford (see Fig. 1). A rapid expansion in the later 10th and 11th centuries along the line of King Street and S.E. of the *burh* is indicated by the distribution of Late Saxon pottery and domestic debris. Domesday Book records that nearly a hundred dwellings were in the occupation of the castle, of which some, at least, were destroyed.<sup>45</sup>

Another question raised in the 1972 report was the existence of an industrial suburb to the W of the *burh*, where pottery-making was a major industry.<sup>46</sup> The fragmentary remains of a kiln producing Thetford-type wares was recorded in 1973 beneath 21 Bedford Street (163N on Fig. 1). The concentration of late Saxon material to the W of site 163N as far as Lower Goat Lane, and E to St. Andrews Hill is largely kiln debris, and lies along the line of Pottergate and Bedford Street. The line between Pottergate/Bedford Street and Queen Street had to be shown in



a reconstructed form on Fig. 1 of the 1972 report. The confusion and modification of the Saxon and medieval street pattern at this point is perhaps largely due to the presence of major defensive works, of different periods, to the S.

An Iron Age origin for part of the defences of the Norman castle has been suggested many times, but with little evidence. The existence of an earlier oval banked and ditched enclosure at the N end of the Ber Street spur would account for a number of anomalous features in the layout of the Norman castle defences, (see Fig. 7).

Fig. 7 shows the relationship of the castle ditches and Fee boundary to the street pattern. During the late Iron Age the sea level was probably at least ten feet higher in relation to the land than it was in the late 11th/12th centuries. The difference in height between Castle Meadow and the Back of the Inns – Castle Street is about nine feet. Evidence from building sites suggests that the valley of the Great Cockey, from Orford Hill to London Street at least, was broad and marshy. It is suggested that, in the late Iron Age, the approximate line of Castle Meadow marked the edge of the upland. By the late 11th century it was possible to extend the defences further W, because of the relative fall in sea level, to the Great Cockey which then ran along the Back of the Inns – Castle Street line. This suggested W extension of the defences would account for the curious kink in the line of London Street just to the W of its junction with Bedford Street and St. Andrews Hill (see Fig. 7). The N.W. corner of the Iron Age defences would thus have marked the E boundary of the industrial suburb, the siting of which was probably controlled by the availability of clay and water in the valley of the Great Cockey.

The plan of the castle defences published in 1962<sup>47</sup> was based upon documentary sources, and 18th to 20th century records of partial ditch sections and the discovery of masonry. The curving ward and parish boundary, running from the E edge of the motte ditch near the Shire Hall to Cattle Market Street, almost certainly preserves the line of a ditch which, in part at least, is unrelated to the defences of the later medieval period. The S extent of the possible Iron Age ditch is uncertain. It might have formed, as shown on Fig. 7, part of the outer bailey ditch, or have marked the S boundary of the Castle Fee, thus incorporating the E section of the ditch marked by the ward boundary (or, if the fort were bivallate, ditches could have followed both lines). It is impossible to be certain from surviving documents if the two castle baileys were contemporary. An unpublished excavation carried out in 1963 across the counterscarp of the main bailey ditch (99N on Fig. 7) produced evidence for the construction of this bailey in the 11th century. The N.E. bailey, which extended to King Street, could be a later development, perhaps as a result of the 1075 revolt,<sup>48</sup> or alternatively after the granting of the 1194 charter, when the city was granted self-government and only the Castle Fee remained under the control of the Sheriff of Norfolk.<sup>49</sup>

It was hoped in 1973 to carry out the first of the extensive excavations necessary to test the validity of these hypotheses. However, the area to be examined had to be reduced drastically (site 150N on Fig. 7) and only the upper part of the S bailey ditch was located (see below p. 69). Despite documentary evidence for extensive medieval occupation between the Castle Fee boundary and the bailey ditches, the earliest evidence for dwellings on this site were the footings of two 17th-century buildings, one of which lay over the infilled ditch (see Fig. 6). The 'Castle Ditches' was used as a stock market from the second half of the 17th



century until 1960. Soon after 1850 the remaining earthworks were levelled, many of the buildings cleared and the street pattern remodelled.

E.B.G. & J.P.R.

#### 167N. THE LOWER CLOSE. TG 23526878

A limited extension was made to an E-W gas main trench at a point where the trench would have crossed the line of a possible 10th-century street running S from Whitefriars bridge. In a trench 1 m. wide it was not possible to go deeper than 1.8 m. and the cutting had to be abandoned when still in post-medieval levels of indeterminate nature.

#### 146N. KING STREET. TG 23710786

In 1963-4, during the redevelopment of the area between Ber Street and King Street, a section of King Street, S of St. Etheldreda's church, had to be realigned to meet the newly constructed Rouen Road. This provided a rare opportunity for an excavation across a medieval street. A trench 2 m. wide and 8 m. long was laid out across the old street line, but unfortunately it was impossible to investigate the full width of the street. Electricity cables (12 on Fig. 6) limited the excavation to the S.W., while a gas main, sewer and drainage trenches (20, 31, 32 and 33) occupied the N.E. end, where all stratification had been destroyed. Only in the central area (c. 1.80 m. long) did the full sequence survive down to the chalk.

The earliest material from the site consisted of 13th-century sherds in a layer of gravel lying directly on a fresh-cut chalk surface. Six cobbled surfaces were recorded, each presumably marking major repairs to the street.

#### THE EXCAVATION

A succession of some twenty layers of flint cobbles, gravel, sand, chalk and loam were recorded beneath the modern asphalt surface (layer 22), which was itself buried when the site was regraded in 1964 (layer 2). These are shown in a simplified form on Fig. 6. Apart from residual Late Saxon (Thetford-type) pottery the earliest material from the site consisted of 13th century sherds in a layer of gravel (base of 26) lying on a fresh-cut chalk surface.

If, as suggested above, the trench exposed a section through the western widening of the street, pre-13th century levels would be expected only towards the E end of the cutting, (where modern disturbance [20, 31 and 32] has destroyed all stratification). It was not possible to define any street frontage, but the thinning of layer 11 towards the S and the slope of the levels above this does raise the possibility that King Street has been rewidened more than once.

Six cobbled surfaces were recorded (three in level 26, layer 11, layer 8 and layer 5), each almost certainly marking a major repair to the street surface. In the limited area investigated it was impossible to be certain how many of the intervening layers represented make-up for the new cobbled surfaces, how many temporary repairs of gravel and sand spread over worn cobbling and how many



were layers of refuse left to rot in the street. Most of the Late Saxon and medieval pottery and tile, together with organic material, was found in loam layers in level 26 and could represent accumulations of rubbish at a time when little street cleaning was carried out. Medieval pottery and tile fragments were also found on cobbled surface 11. The two street surfaces above this indicate a higher standard of workmanship. Cobbled surface 8 lay upon a *c.* 30 cm. thick layer of rammed chalk, while cobbled surface 5 was set in sand overlying *c.* 10 cm. of mortar containing crushed brick and charcoal and *c.* 7 cm. of a creamy yellow mortar. No pottery was recovered from either of these two roads.

J.P.R.

#### 163N. 21 BEDFORD STREET. TG 23070866

During the last decade large quantities of Thetford-type ware wasters have been recovered by members of the Castle Museum staff from a number of building sites along Pottergate and its continuation Bedford Street, indicating this to be the centre of the late Saxon pottery-making industry in Norwich. However, apart from fragments uncovered on the site of 2-4 Bedford Street in 1963, no sign of any kiln had been found. In 1973 a small excavation at 21 Bedford Street produced a fragmentary plan of part of a Late Saxon kiln in addition to a large quantity of Thetford-type ware. Subsequent rubbish pits and structures had destroyed all but one corner and part of the side of the burnt clay kiln wall, plus a patch of adjacent burnt clay kiln floor. The kiln appeared to have been constructed by lining a pit with 2-3 cms. of clay, but other details, such as the arrangement of flues and pottery stacking, and the size of the structure, could not be recovered.

Unfortunately, a 14th century undercroft immediately to the north had been dug below the level of the chalk and thus any more extensive examination of the site would have produced no additional kilns. There will be few future opportunities to excavate in this area as major redevelopments have already taken place along the south side of the street and there seems little immediate prospect of any more clearance on either side. There is also extensive cellarage which will have further reduced the chances of finding a late Saxon kiln intact.

J.P.R.

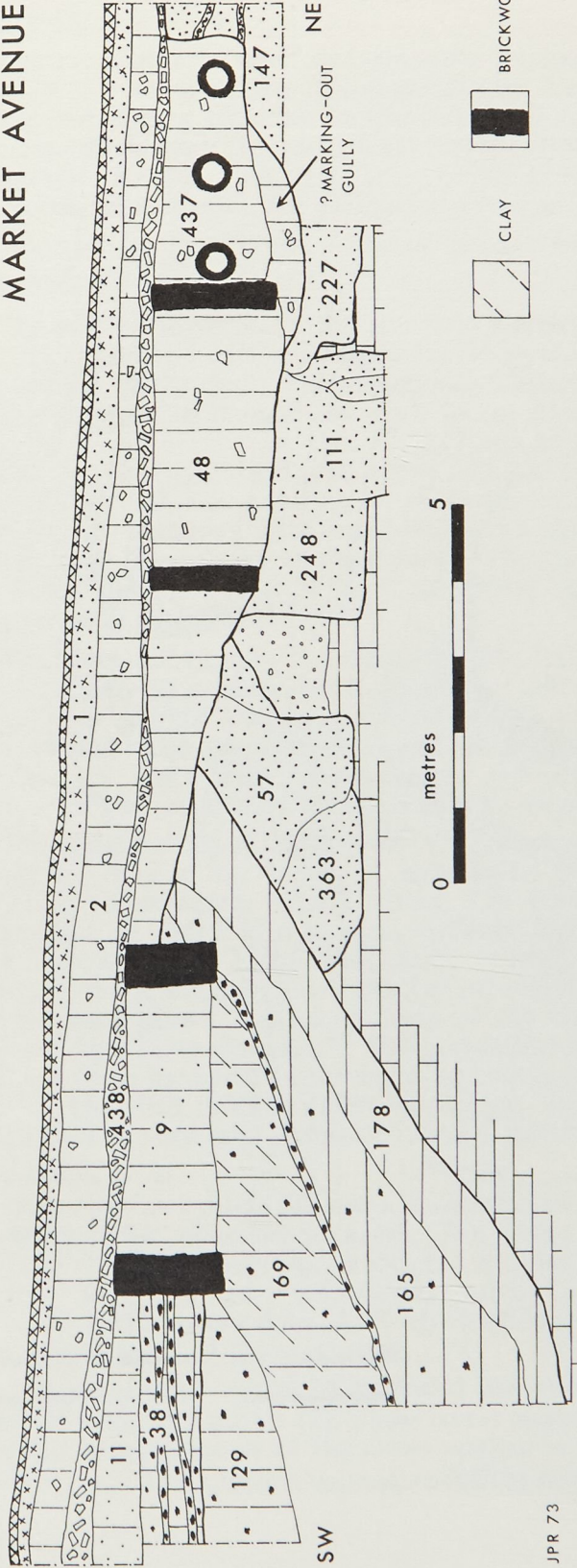
#### 150N. SHIREHALL CAR PARK, MARKET AVENUE. TG 23280848

In 1973 planning permission was granted for a large scale redevelopment on the Shirehall car park to the W of Anglia House. A large excavation was planned for this area to check the position, size and date of the bailey ditches, to locate and examine some of the late Saxon buildings destroyed when the castle was constructed (see above, p. 64) and to test the hypothesis of the existence of an Iron Age fort at the N end of the Ber Street spur. Planning permission was withdrawn soon after the excavation began and work had to be restricted to a single section, 18m x 3m, in the S.W. corner of the car park.

Fig. 6 shows the recorded section in a simplified form.



MARKET AVENUE



JPR 73

KING STREET

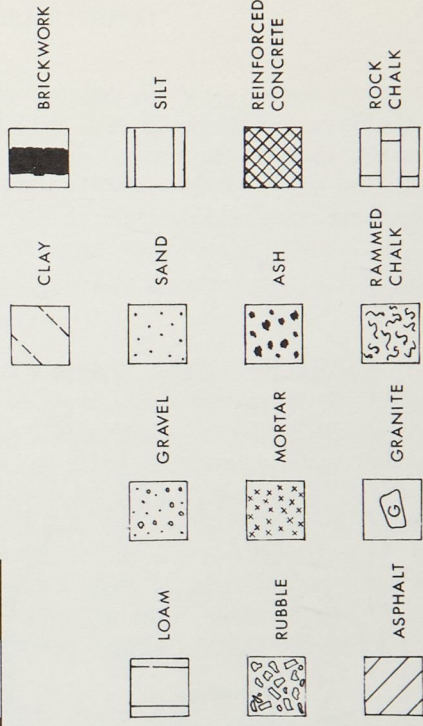
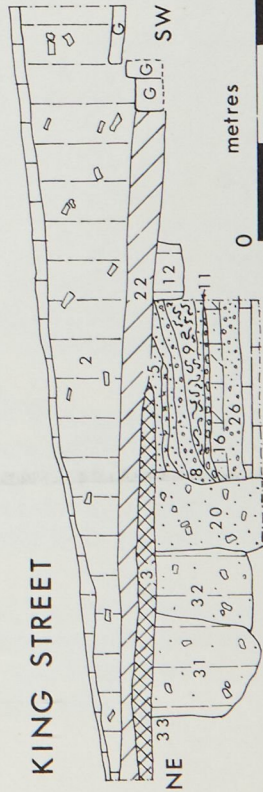
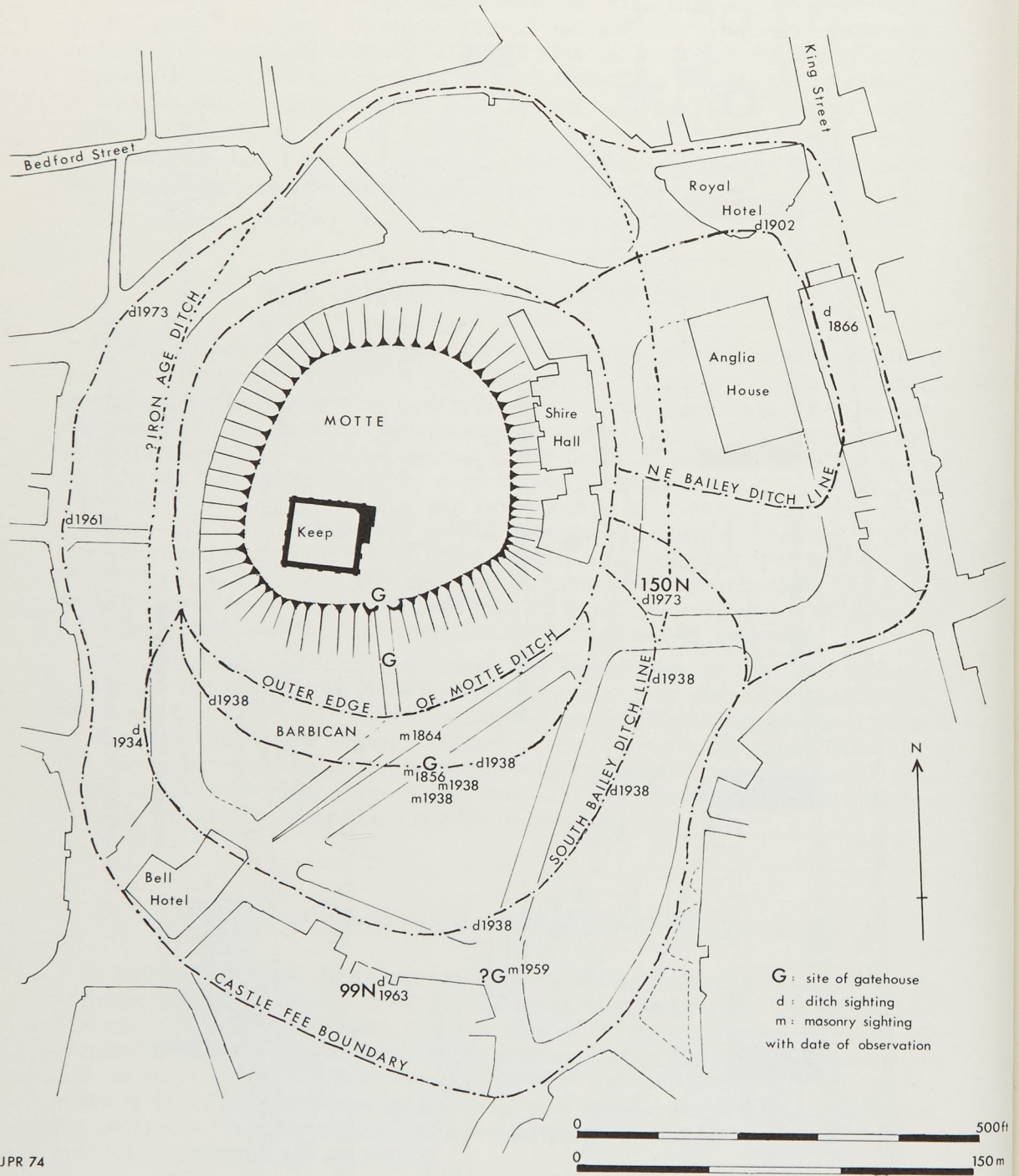


Fig. 6.  
Sections of 146N, King Street and 150N, Shire Hall Car Park (the Castle).





JPR 74

Fig. 7.  
Outline plan of Norwich Castle showing possible ditch lines.



## SUMMARY

The excavation revealed an incomplete section of the S bailey ditch, which cut through a number of late Saxon gravel pits. The ditch was gradually infilled by silting and tipping after the decline in the military importance of the castle from the mid-14th century. In the 17th century the remnant of the ditch was deliberately filled and the area built over. These buildings were demolished soon after 1850 when the cattle market was enlarged and reorganised.

No trace of late Saxon domestic occupation was found in the excavation.

## THE EXCAVATION

The earliest features on the site were a series of large, irregularly shaped pits (57, 227, 248 and 363, see Fig. 6) dug down through natural sand and gravel into the surface of the chalk. Their apparently deliberate backfilling, of layers of clean sand and chalk, contained few finds of any kind, suggesting that they had been dug for gravel extraction. Pits 57, 227 and 363 contained a few sherds of Late Saxon pottery (Thetford-type ware) and pit 248 some unglazed Saxo-Norman sherds also, but secure dating for them depended on the relationship of pits 57 and 363 to the bailey ditch, and pit 248 to a gully apparently associated with the bailey ditch (see below); all three were cut by the later features. Pit 227 could not be firmly dated. A residual sherd of Middle Saxon pottery (Ipswich-type ware) was found in pit 248.

The large ditch running N-S across the S.W. half of the excavation was identified as the S bailey ditch of the castle. More than half of it was found to lie beneath the junction of Market Avenue and Rose Avenue and thus could not be examined: it is estimated to be over 20m. wide and 5m. deep. Running parallel to it, about 5m. to the N.E. was a gully, about 80cms. wide and 30cms. deep, containing Late Saxon pottery in its silty fill. This may be interpreted as a marking out feature.

The earliest ditch fill excavated (178) was a thick layer of very clean silt which produced only a few sherds of Late Saxon pottery (Thetford-type ware) and probably represented natural silting. The build-up shown as 165 on Fig. 6 contained, in addition to residual sherds of Middle and Late Saxon pottery, ash and bone and some 13th/14th century pottery. It seems likely from this that the infilling of the ditch by the tipping of rubbish began after 1345 when the citizens of Norwich gained control of much of the Castle Fee, and the defences were allowed to fall into disrepair.<sup>50</sup> The proportion of ash and domestic rubbish in the silt and loam increased in the build up containing 15th and 16th century pottery (169). The final infilling (129), apparently to level the site, consisted of large quantities of very ashy domestic rubbish, including 17th-century pottery, in sand and loam.

Over the final ditch fill was a succession of yard surfaces of sand, loam, and rammed chalk, all containing ash (38). These produced 17th to 19th century pottery and must have been associated with buildings of which a 17th and a 19th century cellar (48 and 9 respectively) survived. Three brick culverts of late 18th or early 19th century date (437) had been laid to the N.E. of cellar 48 to drain the area to the N of the excavation.

A layer of brick rubble (438) sealed the whole of the area. Over this lay c. 80 cms. of loam with rubble (2). These layers marked the demolition of the buildings and the reorganisation of the cattle market in the mid-19th century. A layer of mortary sand (1) formed the bedding for the concrete surface.



No trace of any domestic occupation earlier than the 17th century was found and the extensive late Saxon gravel quarrying suggests that the contemporary housing known from Domesday Book<sup>45</sup> must lie beneath another part of the castle earthworks. The 1973 excavation did not cross any of the suggested lines of the hypothetical Iron Age fort, and extensive further excavation is a prerequisite for an understanding of the site in all periods of its development.

J.P.R.

March 1974

<sup>1</sup>Published sites and their County Numbers:

128N St. Stephen's (Malthouse Lane).

9N Ber Street Gates.

7N Ber Street.

19N Barn Road, N of St. Benedict's Gates.

in E. M. Jope, 'Excavations in the City of Norwich, 1948', *Norfolk Archaeology* XXX, iv (1952), 287-323.

151N St. Benedict's Gates, S.

152N St. Benedict's Gates, N.

in J. G. Hurst and J. Golson, 'Excavations at St. Benedict's Gates, Norwich, 1951 and 1953', *Norfolk Archaeology* XXXI, i (1955), 1-112.

21N Barn Road.

in J. G. Hurst, 'Excavations at Barn Road, Norwich, 1954-5', *Norfolk Archaeology* XXXIII, ii (1963), 131-179, hereafter: Hurst, 1963.

153N St. Benedict's Street, S.

154N Bishopgate, N.

155N Bishopgate, S.

in A. Carter, 'The Norwich Survey. Excavations in Norwich-1971-an interim report', *Norfolk Archaeology* XXXV, iii (1972), 410-16, hereafter: Excavations, 1971.

156N Bishopgate, N.

157N St. Benedict's Church.

159N Westwick Street, N.

160N Westwick Street, S.

167N Coslany Street.

in A. Carter and J. P. Roberts, 'Excavations in Norwich-1972. The Norwich Survey-second interim report', *Norfolk Archaeology* XXXV, iv (1973), 443-468, hereafter: Excavations, 1972.

<sup>2</sup>Excavations 1972, 453-4.

<sup>3</sup>Hurst, 1963, 134.

<sup>4</sup>D. Williams, 'Flotation at Siraf', *Antiquity*, XLVII, No. 188 (1973), 288-292, describes the machine and the method.

<sup>5</sup>A suggestion made by T. W. I. Hodgkinson, Keeper of Architecture and Sculpture, Victoria and Albert Museum.

<sup>6</sup>To whom I am grateful for advice and the loan of material.

<sup>7</sup>Work carried out by a dedicated group of amateurs, with the advice and encouragement of the staff of the Norfolk Record Office, and Helena Sutermeister.

<sup>8</sup>The house of William Watson at 63 St. George's Street.

<sup>9</sup>Norwich Dean and Chapter Records. St. Gregory's Deeds, No. 970.

<sup>10</sup>Norfolk Record Office. Norwich City Court Roll 13, m. 13d. Stalun to Brunn.

<sup>11</sup>N.D.C.R. Infirmer's Accounts, 1345, 1440.

<sup>12</sup>N.R.O. Court Rolls 9, m. 21d; 12; 1, m. 1d.

<sup>13</sup>N.R.O. Court Roll 12, m. 15.

<sup>14</sup>N.R.O. Court Roll 2, mm. 10d, 12. Landgable List 1397, Domesday Book, fol. xlix. Case 17b.

<sup>15</sup>N.R.O. Landgable List 1480 (Chamberlains' Book, 1470-90) p. 142. Case 18c.

<sup>16</sup>N.R.O. Court Roll 9, m. 9.

<sup>17</sup>N.R.O. Court Rolls 6, m. 5d; 9, mm. 4d, 8d; 12, m. 2. Kirkpatrick's notes on St. Gregory's. Case 21f.

<sup>18</sup>F. Blomefield, *History of the City and County of Norwich*, I, (1806), 182, hereafter: Blomefield I, or II.

<sup>19</sup>Holinshed, *Chronicles of England . . .*, III (1806 edn.), 539.

<sup>20</sup>N.R.O. Landgable Lists, Case 18c.

<sup>21</sup>N.R.O. Consistory Court of Norwich Wills, Albaster 209.

<sup>22</sup>N.R.O. Court Roll 21, m. lxxxiiid.

<sup>23</sup>N.R.O. Assessment of 1576, Case 7i.

<sup>24</sup>J. L'Estrange, ed. W. Rye, *Calendar of the Freeman of Norwich, from 1317-1603* (1888) 86, hereafter: *Freemen 1317-1603*.



- <sup>25</sup> N.R.O. Court Roll 21, m. lxxxxii.
- <sup>26</sup> N.R.O. Consistory Court of Norwich Wills, Cawston 390, Moyse 557.
- <sup>27</sup> Blomefield, II, 222.
- <sup>28</sup> *Freemen, 1317-1603*, 37, 41.
- <sup>29</sup> N.R.O. Court Roll 20, m. 87.
- <sup>30</sup> N.R.O. First Docket Book, 67, 72.
- <sup>31</sup> N.R.O. Consistory Court of Norwich Wills, Godsvalve 242.
- <sup>32</sup> N.R.O. Consistory Court of Norwich Wills, Moyse 282.
- <sup>33</sup> Excavations, 1972, 463.
- <sup>34</sup> Hurst, 1963, 135 and Fig. 2.
- <sup>35</sup> Hurst, 1963, 147-50.
- <sup>36</sup> J. Kirkpatrick, *The Streets and Lanes of the City of Norwich*, ed. W. Hudson (1889), 72-3; hereafter: *Streets and Lanes*.
- <sup>37</sup> B. Green and R. M. R. Young, *Norwich, the growth of a city* (1968 edn.), 9.
- <sup>38</sup> *Streets and Lanes*, 77-8.
- <sup>39</sup> M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1970', *Antiquaries Journal* LII, i (1972), 104-7.
- <sup>40</sup> For the earliest date, and the reference to those hung outside Magdalen Gate and buried there, W. Hudson, 'The Norwich Taxation of 1254', *Norfolk Archaeology* XVIII (1910), 107. For *in combusto* and its redundancy, Blomefield, II, 439.
- <sup>41</sup> The parallels are with S. 18 and S. 34-6 in, D. Atkinson, 'Roman pottery from Caistor-next-Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeology*. XXVI (1938), 217-19 and unnumbered 3rd and 4th plate.
- <sup>42</sup> Excavations, 1972, 445-8.
- <sup>43</sup> Excavations, 1972, 454.
- <sup>44</sup> Excavations, 1972, 446.
- <sup>45</sup> W. Page (ed.), *Victoria County History of Norfolk*, ii, (1906), 46, fol 116b.
- <sup>46</sup> Excavations, 1972, 448.
- <sup>47</sup> B. Green, *Norwich Castle, a fortress for nine centuries*, 2nd ed. 1969, unnumbered 5th page, hereafter, *Norwich Castle*.
- <sup>48</sup> D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway eds., *English Historical Documents 1042-1189*, (1959), 157.
- <sup>49</sup> W. Hudson and J. C. Tingey, *The Records of the City of Norwich*, I, (1906), xviii-xx.
- <sup>50</sup> *Norwich Castle*, unnumbered 15th page.

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