

dated to the late 8th century, had a striking dragon's-head terminal and a runic inscription.³⁶

Thirdly, when the animal bones from the site were first studied it was observed that head and foot bones of cattle and foot and lower leg bones of sheep were particularly common in the assemblage.³⁷ These were interpreted as 'commercial debris' representing body-parts of little value that had been trimmed off and discarded before carcasses were sent elsewhere for consumption. From this it was concluded that the site was a farm that probably sent some of its produce to 'the city of London'. In the late 1980s, however, the putative destination of the produce changed to Lundenwic, which was much closer to the site and had a large population to support.³⁸ The description of the waste as 'commercial' may also need to be revised given that the local economy in the early 9th century may not have been entirely governed by market forces. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that Lundenwic and other Anglo-Saxon trading centres were provisioned from food-rents.³⁹ Thus, it may be argued that the Treasury site was a royal centre from which the redistribution of food-rents may have been organised.

From the evidence it would seem that the Treasury is the strongest candidate for a Middle Anglo-Saxon royal site in central London, although this view needs to be tested by further fieldwork. In particular, it would be helpful to undertake a controlled excavation of the western half of the annexed hall, which lies beneath a tree on the Treasury Green. Given the problems of access to such a high-security site there may be a long wait ahead. In the meantime it is sobering to reflect that the royal association with Westminster and Whitehall might antedate the founding of Edward the Confessor's palace on Thorney Island by more than two centuries, and that nearly 1,200 years ago a king's reeve may have been collecting taxes there much as Gordon Brown and the Treasury staff do today.

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Thanks are due to Michael Green for generously allowing the use information from the Treasury site ahead of publication, to Lyn Blackmore, John Hines and Gustav Milne for commenting on the text, and to Nathalie Cohen and Dick Malt for additional advice and assistance. Sophie Lamb prepared the illustrations for a forthcoming volume, funded by English Heritage, in the MoLAS Archaeology Studies Series.

ROBERT COWIE

NORWICH CASTLE FEE

Norwich Castle was one of more than forty Norman urban fortifications founded before 1100. By the mid-14th century, it lay at the heart of a walled city that covered an area larger than intramural London (Fig. 4). The castle overlies a substantial part of what had become one of the dominant towns in England by 1066 and was to remain the only royal castle in Norfolk and Suffolk for nearly a century. This was one of the finest Norman fortifications in England, serving as the administrative centre of an extremely wealthy area, and was constructed in two major building campaigns (c. 1067/70–c. 1094; c. 1094–c. 1121). A substantial area of Crown land (*Feodum Castelli*: the Castle Fee or Liberty) was defined immediately around it and royal jurisdiction was maintained over the whole

³⁶ Webster, *op. cit.* in note 22, no. 179.

³⁷ R. E. Chaplin, *The Study of Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites* (London, 1971), 135–6.

³⁸ R. Cowie and R. Whytehead, 'Lundenwic: the archaeological evidence for Middle Saxon London,' *Antiquity*, 63 (1989), 706–18, at p. 714.

³⁹ T. O'Connor, 'On the interpretation of animal bone assemblages from *wics*', 54–60 in D. Hill and R. Cowie (eds.), *Wics: The Early Mediaeval Trading Centres of Northern Europe* (Sheffield, 2001).

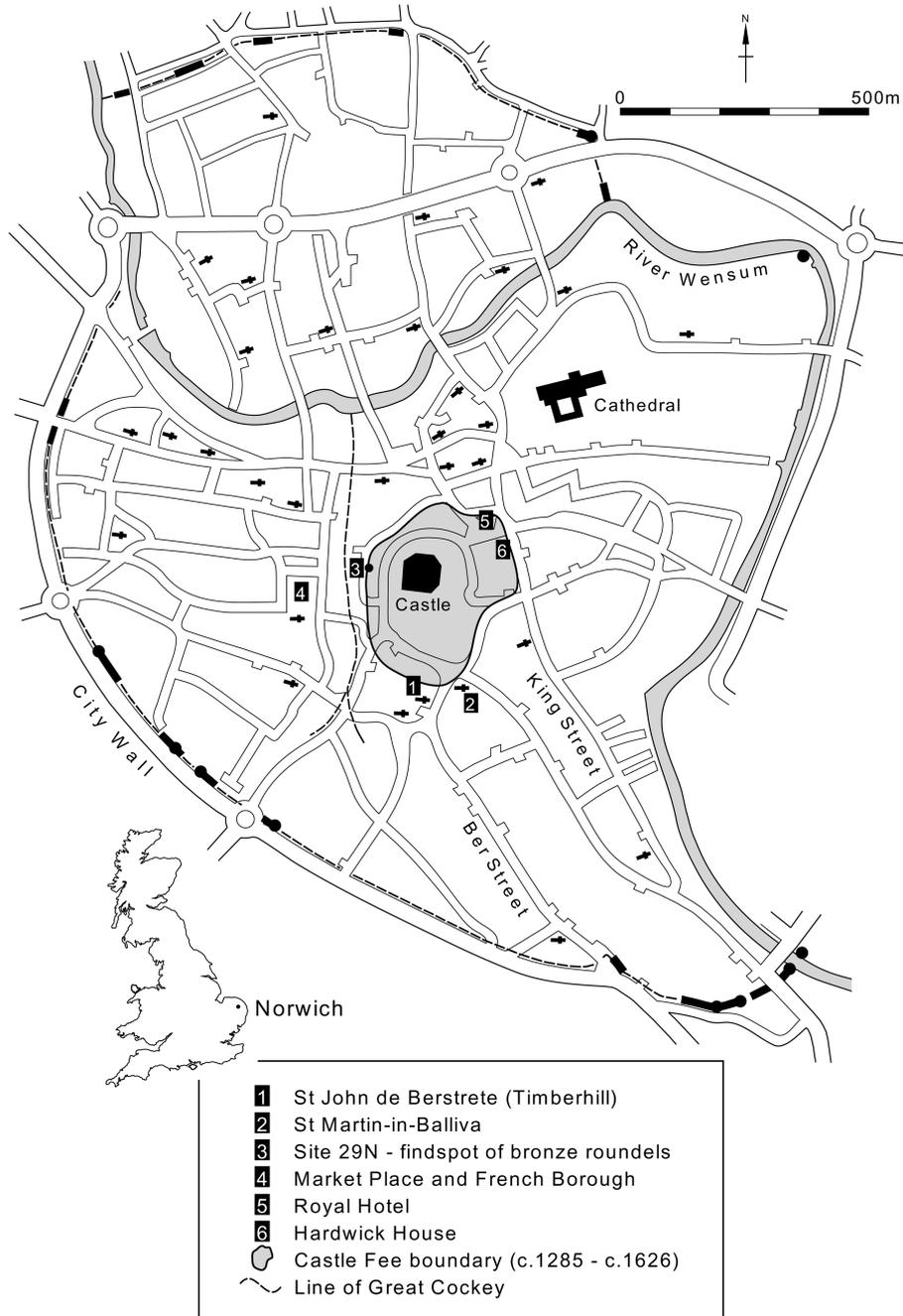


FIG. 4

Map of Norwich, showing the city walls, the location of the castle and other relevant features. The Castle Fee boundary indicated relates to its documented position in the period c. 1285–1626. Scale 1:1250. *Drawn by David Dobson.*

enclosure until 1345. Two large baileys were laid out to the south and north-east, the latter being known as the Castle Meadow throughout the medieval period and beyond. A barbican complex was added to the defences in the 13th century. At its largest extent, the entire castle precinct encompassed about 9.3 ha (23 acres) and lay physically constricted between the valley of the Great Cockey stream to the west and a pre-existing road (Superior Conesford, now King Street) to the east.

Extensive excavations at Norwich Castle by the Norfolk Archaeological Unit between 1987 and 1991 took place in advance of redevelopment for a massive underground shopping centre (Castle Mall; Site 777N; TG 2320 0837 centre; Fig. 5). They encompassed a substantial part of the Castle's Fee and S. bailey, the barbican and part of the NE. bailey, along with the fringes of the adjacent urban settlement. This was the largest archaeological excavation ever undertaken in Norwich and one of the largest urban excavations in Europe.⁴⁰ Supplementary work undertaken at the adjacent Golden Ball Street site (Site 26496N; TG 2321 0828 centre) in 1998 took place prior to redevelopment for a cinema complex.

Until the recent excavations, most research into the Castle Fee had been based on documentary evidence from the late 13th century onwards when sources are plentiful. Of particular note amongst the antiquarian work is the invaluable manuscript and tenement maps produced by F. R. Beecheno, who was born within the Fee.⁴¹

The concept of the Castle Fee was probably defensive in origin, forming a military enclave within an urban area.⁴² Antiquarians had long recognised that Norwich Castle's Fee enclosed an extensive area around the motte and baileys,⁴³ and a ditch located during various minor interventions west of the castle was interpreted as the Fee boundary. The possible displacement of other ditches contained within the enclosure was plotted in the 1970s.⁴⁴ In the 1980s it was noted that 'little is understood of the nature of this land save that it lay in the jurisdiction of the castle rather than the town . . . It is unclear whether it was an open space between the castle and the town or contained the houses of castle officials'.⁴⁵ It seems unlikely that vernacular buildings would have been permitted to encroach upon the defences at an early date and 'whatever its physical nature, the area must have provided a *cordon sanitaire* between the Castle and the town which only gradually became anomalous as the Castle developed from an 11th-century demonstration of Norman power to a late medieval administrative headquarters'.⁴⁶ It had long been believed that the 'Men of the Fee' were accommodated within the castle baileys.

By the late 13th century the Fee was encircled by lanes and roads, with the exception of the area to the north of the Church of St John de Berstrete (also known as St John at the Castle Gate and, later, St John the Baptist, Timberhill) where the boundary appears always to have been marked by a ditch. New evidence suggests that in its earliest form the Fee was demarcated by a ditch and bank around its entire circumference, with the later addition of a circuit of posts or a palisade utilising purpose-made boundary markers. Subsequently, a reduced form of the Fee may have been demarcated by stone pillars.

⁴⁰ E. Shepherd Popescu, *Norwich Castle: Excavations and Historical Survey 1987–1998, Part I: Anglo-Saxon to c. 1345 and Part II: c. 1345 to Modern* (E. Anglian Archaeol., forthcoming); M. Tillyard with E. Shepherd Popescu, *Norwich Castle: Excavations and Historical Survey 1987–98, Part IV: Supplementary Documentary Evidence* (E. Anglian Archaeol., forthcoming).

⁴¹ F. R. Beecheno, Notes on the Ditches of Norwich Castle (Norwich Castle Museum, unpubl. MS, 1908), map 1; new work relating to the recent excavations (Tillyard with Shepherd Popescu, op. cit. in note 40) draws in particular upon Beecheno's study, substantiated by property deeds, leases, court records, wills and other evidence.

⁴² N. G. J. Pounds, *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales* (Cambridge, 1990), 211–12.

⁴³ F. R. Beecheno, *Notes on Norwich Castle* (Norwich, 1888), 15–17; idem, op. cit. in note 41, map 1.

⁴⁴ E. B. Green and J. P. Roberts, 'The background to the excavations — Conesford and the street pattern', 63–5 in A. Carter, J. P. Roberts and H. Sutermeister, 'Excavations in Norwich 1973', *Norfolk Archaeol.*, 39 (1974), fig. 7.

⁴⁵ B. S. Ayers, *Excavations within the North-East Bailey of Norwich Castle, 1979* (E. Anglian Archaeol., 28, 1985), 5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

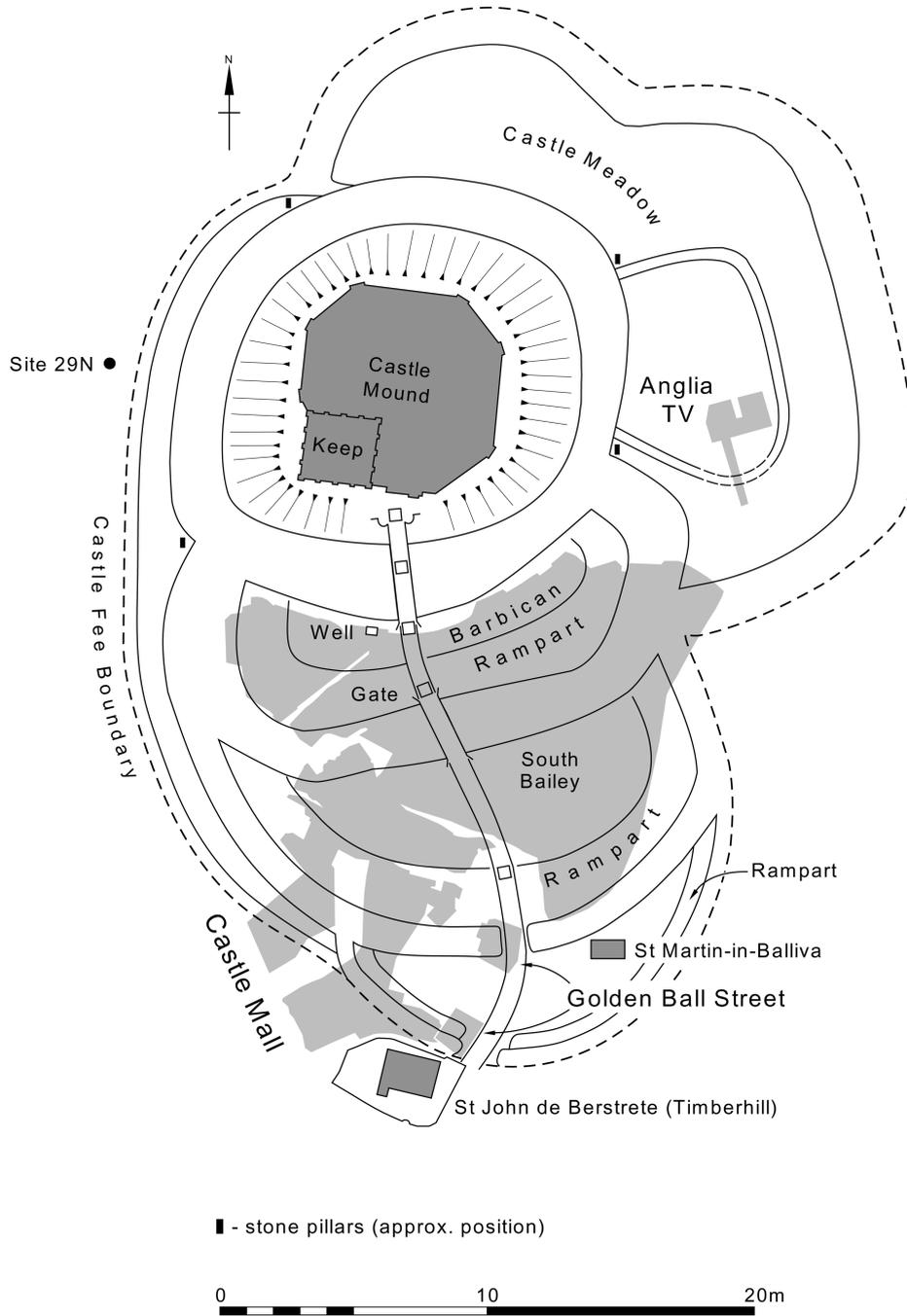


FIG. 5
Location of the archaeological excavations, the Castle Fee boundary and the major castle ditches (all periods). Scale 1:2500. *Drawn by David Dobson.*

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Evidence recorded at both the Castle Mall and Golden Ball Street sites demonstrates the presence of ditchwork which may have defined the initial limit of Norwich Castle's Fee (c. 1067/70–c. 1094), within which additional earthworks have now been investigated. The outermost ditch to the south (just to the north of the Church of St John) reflected the possible course of Late Saxon defences and would effectively have cut off the northern end of the natural ridge on which the castle was placed. This ditch lies some distance to the south of the Castle Fee boundary as understood by Beecheno and later writers,⁴⁷ a discrepancy which appears to relate to the later constriction of the Fee and subsequent use of the S. bailey ditch (a secondary insertion) as the Fee boundary marker.

The initial earthwork would have been about 8 m wide and 3.5 m deep, with a roughly V-shaped profile. Excavations at Golden Ball Street prove that the ditch terminated at its junction with the castle approach road, implying the presence of a causeway.⁴⁸ At its recorded junction with the later south bailey ditch, this part of the Fee ditch had been infilled during the late 11th or early 12th century, perhaps being recut to form a hornwork around the S. gate of the castle in a redefinition associated with the construction of the spectacular masonry keep c. 1094–1121.⁴⁹

As noted above, the same Fee boundary earthwork may be represented by previous observations to the west of the castle which indicate the presence of a ditch at least 9 m wide (30 ft) recorded 4 m (14 ft) below street level. An associated bank appears to have run along the inner side of the ditch. Little dating evidence was recovered during these observations.

Although in its earliest form the Castle Fee would have enclosed a large area around inner ditchwork, a rather curious arrangement is implied by the reworking of the defences noted above, leaving a narrow strip of land excluded from the revised ditches (Fig. 5). The decline of the earlier defensive boundary along this western section, which may only have been utilised in the very early years of the castle, could relate to the increased security provided by the presence of the French Borough to the west (which appears to have been established soon after the creation of the castle). The possible recut element around the S. gate was deliberately infilled in the late 12th to 13th centuries and, by the end of the 13th century, this part of the ditch had virtually disappeared.

To the east of the castle approach road (now Golden Ball Street), it is probable that the outer ditchwork enclosed the church and cemetery of St Martin-in-Balliva (or St Martin at Bale).⁵⁰ This area has not been archaeologically excavated and the course of the ditch remains uncertain (cf. below).

The date at which the double ditched enclosure of the NE. bailey or Castle Meadow was established remains equivocal: the relatively small (6 m wide) inner ditch, recorded at the Anglia Television site in the late 1970s is undated,⁵¹ while pottery recovered from early fills of the outermost, much larger ditch (c. 20–27 m wide by 9.5 m deep) recorded during the Castle Mall excavations dates to the 12th century. Upper fills of ditchwork around the perimeter of this enclosure were noted beneath the southern end of the Royal Hotel in 1902 and beneath Hardwick House in 1866 (Fig. 4). Although the Castle Mall observation apparently supports the long held belief that this bailey was a later insertion, such an interpretation brings into question the size and shape of the earliest Fee. Rather than representing an extension of the castle footprint, this second bailey may have been placed in an area of initial ground clearance already identified as the Fee.

⁴⁷ Beecheno, *op. cit.* in note 41, fig. 1; Green and Roberts, *op. cit.* in note 44.

⁴⁸ Shepherd Popescu, *op. cit.* in note 40.

⁴⁹ Cf. J. Campbell, 'Norwich', 8 in M. D. Lobel (ed.), *Historic Towns* (London, 1975), map 3.

⁵⁰ Shepherd Popescu, *op. cit.* in note 40.

⁵¹ Ayers, *op. cit.* in note 45, fig. 2.

Prior to excavation at the Castle Mall site, it was envisaged that evidence for the settlement of the Men of the Fee would be revealed within the outer baileys. Although few building remnants proved to have survived, the discovery of more than 80 pits containing both 'domestic' and craft waste attributable to the late 11th and early 12th century indicates a permanence of activity rather than sporadic garrisoning or maintenance of open space. The associated artefacts and ecofacts are consistent with the presence of a 'village'-type community.

Probable evidence for later medieval demarcation of the Fee was provided by the discovery in 1964 of four large copper-alloy repoussé roundels, each originally colourfully enamelled with the Arms of England on a shield between wyverns. The group was found by workmen on the western side of Norwich's Castle Street (Site 29N; TG 2305 0855; Figs. 4–7) and the presence of nail holes around the edges of the plaques led to the suggestion that they were originally attached to posts or a palisade demarcating the circumference of the Fee.⁵² When originally published, the decorative detail of these markers was obscured by corrosion: the items have now been conserved and partially cleaned for display and a re-examination of the roundels by Steven Ashley (below) indicates a probable date of manufacture in the late 13th or early 14th century.

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The date at which the Fee was established remains uncertain: the first documentary reference to it appears to be made in the *Liber Cartarum et Placitorum* (Book of Charters and Pleas) which may have originated in the 12th century or later and which details the rights and duties of those residing within the Fee.⁵³ As noted above, by the latter part of the 13th century the castle's S. bailey ditch seems to have demarcated the southern limit of the Fee boundary. There is a reference, however, to the presence of *terra mole* (soft land) to the south of the Church of St Martin-in-Balliva,⁵⁴ which may confirm the existence of an earlier, more southerly ditch, supporting the archaeological evidence.

Dwellings existed around the fringes of the Fee from the middle of the 13th century and probably long before: such practice was evidently well established by the time of the first documentary reference to it in 1221.⁵⁵ A total of 71 Castle Fee properties are known, lying within the seven parishes that met at the castle.⁵⁶ Each tenancy was subject to a fixed annual charge known later as the Castle Fee rents and the earliest record of one of these properties changing hands occurs in 1255.⁵⁷ Several encroachments into the Fee were converted into leases during the first half of the 14th century and an assessment of Norwich in 1332 details Castle Fee tenants at the time.⁵⁸

During the late 13th and early 14th centuries, 'the municipal authorities were anxious to get control of pieces of unused ground . . . which in principle belonged to the Crown'.⁵⁹ An example of this occurred at Norwich Castle in 1345. Although considerable alterations were made to the castle during the 13th century, with the completion of the city walls in 1344 it no longer held its former military significance. Perhaps emboldened by the completion of the city walls, Norwich's citizens made a direct petition to the Edward III who was in the city on 27 December 1344. On 16 June 1345, an Inquisition was formed with the objective of establishing whether the king would suffer if he acceded to the request.

⁵² B. Green, 'Bronze plaques from Norwich', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 9 (1965), 163–4.

⁵³ Written between 1174 and 1221 according to F. Blomefield, *The History of the City and County of Norwich* (Norwich, 1745), 14.

⁵⁴ Tillyard, in Shepherd Popescu, *op. cit.* in note 40.

⁵⁵ Blomefield, *op. cit.* in note 53, 45 and 576.

⁵⁶ Tillyard with Shepherd Popescu, *op. cit.* in note 40.

⁵⁷ V. D. Lipman, *The Jews of Medieval Norwich* (London, 1967), 135.

⁵⁸ PRO E179 149/9; transcribed and discussed by Tillyard, *op. cit.* in note 40.

⁵⁹ Campbell, *op. cit.* in note 49, 12.

Two enquiries showed that the king had nothing to lose and found in favour of the citizens. On 19 August 1345, the Second Charter of Edward III transferred the Fee to the city, with the exception of the Castle, Motte and Shirehouse (lying within the S. bailey). The Charter states that:

because the men living & residing in divers places inhabited about the ditches of our castle . . . which are of the fee of the said castle . . . are exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bailiffs of the said City, very many felons & evil doers indicted or accused of felonies & trespasses in the same city fly to the said fee & there are harboured by those residing under the jurisdiction of our Sheriff of Norfolk and his bailiffs . . . so that justice cannot be done by the Bailiffs.⁶⁰

The fee-farm rent was increased to provide the king with compensation for the loss of profit.

After 1345, parts of the Fee were leased out to be built upon, a process which is fully detailed in the forthcoming Norwich Castle volumes.⁶¹ The Castle Fee rents, taxes and 'aids' were now collected by the City Chamberlains and eight rent lists can be found in their accounts, the first dated 1397 and the last 1626.⁶² By 1288, Norwich had been subdivided into four Leets, each divided into Sub-Leets. Although the Castle Fee was not one of the original Leets, it became one after 1345.⁶³

Evidence for the presence and position of four large stone posts possibly defining the post-1345 Fee is provided by sources dating to the 18th century. In 1766, when the city justices maintained and repaired the castle mound, the boundary with the city was noted to consist of 'several free stone pillars'.⁶⁴ The posts 'within the County of Norfolk' were noted again in 1773, while an undated plan (possibly of c. 1780) shows the pillars ranged around the motte ditch.⁶⁵ While the boundary between city and county clearly remained a sensitive issue, it appears unlikely that the counties' occupants would have troubled with the expense of setting up such markers (although Crown property, during the 17th and 18th centuries such items would probably have been funded by the county). No record of their construction has been traced in the Quarter Sessions records from 1650 to c. 1720. The posts may rather have been of some antiquity and were perhaps erected as early as c. 1345.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Castle Fee leases were gradually bought up, although Castle Fee rent continued to be paid on some properties until the mid-18th century. It was not until 1806 that the 'fee of the liberty of the Castle' (i.e. the motte and keep) was passed to the justices for the County of Norfolk by George III, ending over seven centuries of Crown ownership.⁶⁶

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Perhaps the most obvious parallel for Norwich Castle Fee is that at Chester Castle, where the Fee enclosed a large area around the castle's defences.⁶⁷ At Reigate, the castle ditch was used to mark the boundary between the castle and the town,⁶⁸ while at Lincoln,

⁶⁰ W. H. Hudson and J. C. Tingey, *The Records of the City of Norwich I* (Norwich, 1906), xlii and 23–4.

⁶¹ Opp. cit. in note 40.

⁶² A copy of the rent list is in the Norfolk Record Office volume of the Domesday Book (NRO Case 17).

⁶³ Hudson and Tingey, op. cit. in note 60, map 1; W. H. Hudson, *Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich* (Seldon Society, 5, 1892), Note F, xciii. The previous annual court, held by the Sheriff or the Constable, was continued by the city Bailiffs under the name (*Veredicta*) *Lete novi feodi Castri* [Leet of the New Fee of the Castle]. The name appears from 1391 (K. L. Sandred and B. Lindström, *The Place Names of Norfolk: Part 1, The Place-Names of the City of Norwich* (English Place-Name Soc., 1989), 5).

⁶⁴ NRO C/5aa2/6, which includes another reference to the stone pillars in 1769.

⁶⁵ NRO C/5aa2/3 and C/5aa2/7.

⁶⁶ NRO C/5aa2/9. This document again mentions the four stone pillars.

⁶⁷ Pounds, op. cit. in note 42, fig. 8.7.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 211.

the word 'castle' was used to define a much larger area than the physical site itself — perhaps the whole of the upper city which was known from the 12th century onwards as 'the Bail'.⁶⁹

At Norwich, it appears that the 'Men of the Fee' supplemented the regular garrison in time of attack. A colourful account of the defence of the castle during the 1170s is given in the *Liber Cartarum et Placitorum*:

When the [Pikars] *Picards* . . . came into England and took the city of Norwich, and besieged the castle of the said city, then entered the men of the fee . . . into the castle, and saved the castle honourably to the use of the king which it then was. For some of them were good men of arms, some good arbalisters, some good archers, and the others forcible in defence, wherefore all those which were then and since infeoffed have enjoyed their franchises, and ought so to do most honourably in all points.⁷⁰

The reference to the 'men of the fee' entering the castle implies a distinction between the outer part of the Castle Fee, within which these men may have been housed, and the defensive features set within it. A similar settlement is known at Chester, where the Fee encompassed a hamlet. Other examples occur in various contexts: for example, at Richard's Castle, Herefordshire, a village enclosure was added in the 12th century, and at Kilpeck in Herefordshire, a relatively unimportant castle had five baileys and a village enclosure.⁷¹

One of the primary reasons for the existence of the Norwich Fee may have been that the castle lay within a city which was not yet walled, although it may have been set at the edge of a pre-existing bank and ditch enclosure. Little is known of Norwich's defences prior to 1253. A new ditch was constructed around at least part of the city during Stephen's reign (1135–54),⁷² while Conesford Gates were in existence before 1175–86 and Ber Street gate may have been mentioned in 1146.⁷³ In the latter part of the 12th century, Norwich Castle was therefore set well within the defended city, rather than on its fringes as had earlier been the case. A city ditch was referred to in 1235 and, according to a source of about 1272, Norwich's citizens gained a licence to build a new ditch in 1252–3.⁷⁴ Its course, accompanied by nine timber gates, may have been similar to that followed by the later stone walls which were eventually constructed between 1297 and 1344 around those parts of Norwich not protected by the River Wensum.

A driving force in the definition of the Castle Fee may have been the need to distinguish royal jurisdiction not only from the English population but also from the new French borough (established before 1075) whose tax was farmed out to Waleran.⁷⁵ Although every royal castle would effectively have been a fee or franchise (with its jurisdiction being held by the castle Constable), the intriguing question is why these words were actually mentioned in so few instances. They may simply have been used when a Fee was physically larger than a castle itself, as was the case with the royal castle at Norwich and the comital castle at Chester. Such areas may originally have marked the area of original clearance for castle construction and, in the first few decades after the Conquest, the need to maintain a clear area outside the defences.

⁶⁹ D. Stocker and A. Vince, 'The Early Norman Castle at Lincoln and a re-evaluation of the original west tower of Lincoln Cathedral', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 41 (1997), 223–33.

⁷⁰ Quoted by S. Woodward, *The History and Antiquity of Norwich Castle* (London and Norwich, 1847), 31.

⁷¹ B. K. Davison, 'Early earthwork castles: a new model', *Chateau Gaillard*, III (1969), 37–47, at p. 38; D. J. Cathcart King, *The Castle in England and Wales: An Interpretative History* (London, 1991), 47.

⁷² References imply the presence of a ditch in the Westwick area, any remaining course being unknown (Campbell, *op. cit.* in note 49, 10).

⁷³ E. M. Jope, 'Excavations in the City of Norwich, 1948', *Norfolk Archaeol.*, XXX (1952), 289 and fig. 1; although see caveats in Campbell, *op. cit.* in note 49, note 30.

⁷⁴ Campbell, *op. cit.* in note 49, 11.

⁷⁵ Campbell, *op. cit.* in note 49, 9; P. Brown (ed.), *Domesday Book: Norfolk* (Chichester, 1984), 1.63, 117b.

As yet, the positioning of demarcation markers such as the Norwich Castle plaques and stone posts appears to have no direct parallel. The marking of boundaries in this manner is, however, known in other contexts. At Bury, four crosses defined the limits of the liberty of St Edmund.⁷⁶ Dunstan's charter (a probably mid-12th-century or later forgery) refers to the precinct of the church of St Margaret's, Westminster, which is 'marked out by crosses, ditches and other marks'; the gold crosses depicted at the charter's edges represent boundary markers.⁷⁷ Crosses may also have been used to demarcate Norman liberties known as *banleucas* or *leucas*.⁷⁸ Early examples of such liberties in Normandy include those at Argences, Cambremer, Condé, Conches, Lisieux and Brionne.⁷⁹ Nine such liberties are known in England, of which most are ecclesiastical. Many covered a wide area around, for example, a monastery and might extend up to seven miles in radius. Four secular instances of such liberties are known and include the boroughs of Colchester and Maldon, along with the castles of Tunbridge and Pevensey each with their league or so-called league.⁸⁰ At Tunbridge, the leuca is known to have been extensive; it stretched from five miles N.–S. to six miles E.–W. Such precincts, as was evidently the case at Norwich, included the right of sanctuary.

To conclude, the new research at Norwich Castle demonstrates the changing physical and administrative character of its Fee and provides evidence for the liberty's influence on the developing urban topography, its interaction with the surrounding city and the occasional conflicts that its presence engendered. For the first time, it has been possible to correlate the rich documentary and historical evidence for the great institution of Norwich Castle and its Fee with extensive archaeological remains. The findings amply demonstrate the changing means of demarcation of the Fee, the processes of its development and, ultimately, the reasons behind its eventual disappearance.

THE BOUNDARY PLAQUES

By STEVEN ASHLEY

Each of the four plaques (Figs. 6–7) bears the arms of England [*Gules*] *three lions passant guardant [Or]* on a shield between three wyverns. The markers are 78–80 mm in diameter and only 1 mm thick. Each roundel is pierced around the outer edge by a number of nail holes, some of which retain iron nails. The presence of the nail holes led Green to suggest that these markers would have been set 'either at intervals along a palisade or on four sides of posts set at intervals, thus defining the fee boundary'.⁸¹

The roundels were evidently damaged and burnt at some time subsequent to their manufacture. The enamelling has melted and discoloured and has a purplish green appearance. As noted, the original tincture of the field shown in these arms would have been red (*Gules*) and it is likely that the background colour for the surrounding wyverns was blue (*Azure*). There is no trace of the treatment of the exposed metal surface, which would originally have been gilded (*Or*). The lions have engraved features, which vary slightly on each cast roundel, all four of which were produced from the same mould.

⁷⁶ T. A. Heslop, 'Twelfth-century forgeries as evidence for earlier seals: the case of St Dunstan', 299–310 in N. Ramsay, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown (eds.), *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult* (Woodbridge, 1992), 309.

⁷⁷ W. B. Sanders (ed.), Ordnance Survey, *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, II, (Southampton 1881), Westminster V.

⁷⁸ The term 'banleuca' derives from the Teutonic *ban* and the low Latin *leuca*, designating the area or league over which the lord's right of jurisdiction (*ponendi bannum*) pertained: the term's meaning in practice remains obscure, although it 'apparently came into common use in Normandy and other parts of France in the last half of the eleventh and in the twelfth centuries, where it is found as the name for the privileged circuit of many towns, castles and monasteries': M. D. Lobel, 'The ecclesiastical banleuca in England', in *Oxford Essays in Medieval History Presented to Herbert Edward Salter* (Oxford, 1934), 122–40, at p. 122.

⁷⁹ C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (New York, 1960), 49.

⁸⁰ Lobel, *op. cit.* in note 78, 124.

⁸¹ Green, *op. cit.* in note 52.



FIG. 6

Copper-alloy roundel from 2–4
Castle Street, Norwich: possible
Castle Fee boundary plaque. Scale
1:1. *Drawn by Steven Ashley.*

The arms shown were in use 1198–1340. They were subsequently quartered with those of France to illustrate the English claim to the French throne, thereby producing *Quarterly Azure semé-de-lis Or and Gules three lions passant guardant Or*. The employment of wyverns around the shield demonstrates the way in which the space created when a shield was placed on a circular background was often filled with beasts or monsters, on seals for example.⁸² Two wyverns can be found depicted in a similar manner on either side of the arms of England on a seal bag of 1319.⁸³

An upsurge in the use of heraldry in applied arts during the second half of the 13th century was given added impetus by the increase in availability of small-scale enamelling.⁸⁴ This development was essential for the proper emblazoning of arms on metal objects. Enamelled arms are most commonly seen on horse furniture and their widespread use has been linked with the campaigns of Edward I.⁸⁵ A probable date of manufacture for the roundels would appear, therefore, to lie somewhere in the late 13th or early 14th century.

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⁸² Cf. R. H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Personal Seals*, 1 (London, 1978), 7 and pl. 3, no. P76.

⁸³ A. Payne, 'Medieval Heraldry', 55–59 in J. Alexander and P. Binski (eds), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400* (London, 1987), fig. 28.

⁸⁴ Payne, *op. cit.* in note 83, 55–9.

⁸⁵ S. Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk* (E. Anglian Archaeol., 101, 2002); M. Campbell, 'Metalwork in England c. 1200–1400', 162–8 in Alexander and Binski (eds.), *op. cit.* in note 83, 164.



FIG. 7

Copper-alloy roundels from 2–4 Castle Street, Norwich: possible Castle Fee boundary plaques.
Scale 3:4. *Photo: David Wicks.*

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