

MASTER WILLIAM PYKENHAM, LL.D (c. 1425-97) SCHOLAR, CHURCHMAN, LAWYER, AND GATEHOUSE BUILDER

by CHARLES TRACY

IN THIS PAPER William Pykenham's social background, intellectual and administrative abilities, and career as an ambitious cleric will be reconsidered. The social pretensions, expressed through his buildings at Ipswich and Hadleigh, will be highlighted. The accepted image of him as a social parvenu is dissolved by the discovery of his prosperous Essex professional and gentry birth.

ANTECEDENTS

William was the son of John and Katherine Pykenham, née Barrington of Otes manor, High Laver, Essex. They were an affluent gentry family with considerable landed interests, thanks to the one half of the Otes estate, which had been made over to them.¹ The property had been in Katherine's grandmother's family, at least since the time of her great-grandfather, Sir Thomas Enfield, and great uncle Richard Enfield (Fig. 62). In addition to Otes manor, it consisted of Brent Hall and the lands and tenements called Wantonlands, Piershall and Aungre.² Sir Thomas's property, as well as his brother Richard's land and tenements, in Hatfield Regis, Matching, White Rothing and Rothing Abbess, were bequeathed to Elizabeth Battail, née Enfield.³ The estate that Katherine's parents inherited must have been very large indeed, even though, for reasons which will soon emerge, she was not to receive a half share of Otes manor until more than two decades of her marriage had expired. Notwithstanding that she had at least five siblings, she would have benefitted from the fortunes of her great-grandfathers, Sir John Battail, who had lived at Ongar Park, Essex, and Sir Thomas Enfield, who had brought Otes Manor into the family, not to mention her grandfather, Thomas Battail, who had been a mercer by profession.⁴

Katherine's grandfather appears to have made over the Otes estate to his son, John, during his lifetime. The latter, however, died young, and his will enjoined that his two sisters, Margaret, married to John de Boys, and Alice, Katherine's mother, married to John Barrington, should each have a half share. No sooner was the testator dead than the bitterest dispute was entered into by both parties to wrest control of the whole. This lasted for nearly twenty years, and was finally settled by arbitration according to John Battail's wishes.⁵ In the event, since Margaret and John de Boys were childless, of John Barrington's daughters, Elizabeth, wife of John Sulyard of Eye and Katherine, wife of John Pykenham, each inherited half of Otes manor.⁶

Notwithstanding the eventual size of his wife's fortune, John Barrington must easily have been able to match it with resources of his own. On the death of his brother, Edmund, he inherited a substantial landed estate in Essex and Hertfordshire. The Barringtons were a family of some prestige and antiquity in the county of Essex. Lowndes informs us that Edmund senior had received letters patent in 1376 from Edward III 'confirming to him all his grants, that his ancestors had received from Kings Henry the First, Stephen, Henry II and III, of the office of woodward and forester of the forest of Hatfield, as held originally under William de Mountfichet and also all the lands held under the Crown in Hatfield, Writtle and elsewhere'.⁷

Surely, Katherine would have also benefitted from her share of her father's estate, when Sir John Barrington died in 1426. John Pykenham's will was made in 1436, some time after his wife's demise.⁸ It confirms that the couple was well endowed with landed property and rents. Many of the place names referred to are illegible, but it is recorded that John, the eldest son, 'shall have my manor of

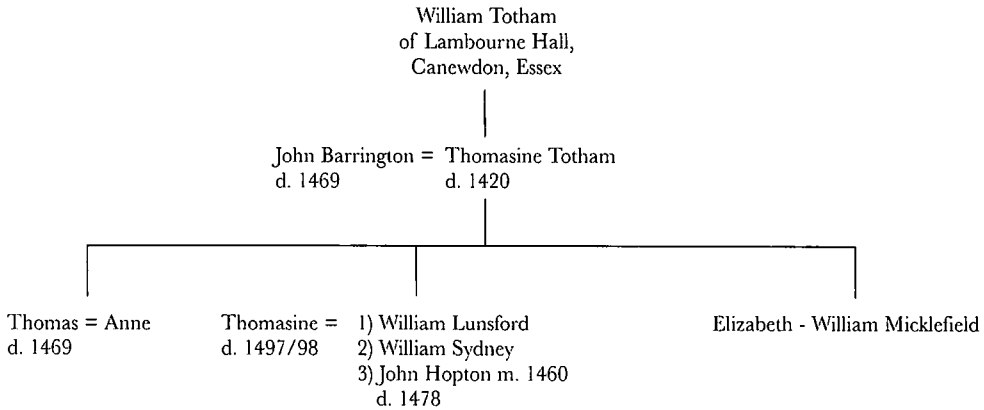


FIG. 63 – The Rayleigh, Essex, Barringtons in the 15th century.

Otes, in the parish of High Laver and my other (illegible) manor'.⁹ Thomas, the second son, was to have an annual rent of ten marks, generated by two properties, both illegible. An unnamed daughter (there seem to have been at least three of them) was to have at the time of her marriage the sum of £40. William and Henry 'my sons (were) to have my (illegible) manor, near Finchingfield, between them'. Thomas was to receive a monetary bequest of £20 at the time of his marriage. Half of the income for the boys, presumably William and Henry, was to be for their maintenance, and half to marry them off. Thomasine was to receive £40 for her marriage. There was little mention of the distribution of personal effects and property, apart from the jewels, which were to be divided amongst them. One further bequest of special interest was the testator's own purse, containing his signet ring, which was left to William. William and Henry were probably still children, and the former may have been a favourite with his father.

Three of the four executors of John Pykenham's will can be identified. William Passlew was the vicar of Hatfield Broad Oak 1423-65.¹⁰ His successor was appointed by John Pykenham's eldest son, John.¹¹ A Thomas Battail, who must surely have been Katherine's aforementioned grandfather, is listed as executor. He was then at least sixty years of age, having outlived his granddaughter, who, not being mentioned in John Pykenham's will, must have predeceased her husband. The third executor was William's uncle, John Sulyard, husband of Katherine's sister Elizabeth. The fourth executor, and first to be mentioned, was William Pomafreyt. He has not been identified.

Although John Pykenham's landed wealth was probably overshadowed by his father-in-law's, it is certain that he would have had monetary resources of his own, as he was a lawyer by profession, and a successful one at that. Linda Woodger highlighted the payment in 1434-35 to a John Pykenham of a 40s annuity, by Anne, countess of Stafford, in a document relating to the expenses of the manor of Hatfield Regis, Essex.¹² She also identified another lawyer of the same name, who, she suggested, must have been related to both John and William. This was Henry Pykenham, who is recorded in 1475 as having acted as an attorney for the earl of Essex.¹³ It is inescapably evident that John Pykenham was William's father, and Henry, William's younger brother. The latter is quite possibly the Henry Pykenham, 'Gentleman of London', whose will was proved on 13 January, 1506.¹⁴

As already mentioned, Katherine's grandfather had been a mercer by profession, but what was John's social background? In 1358 Thomas de Pykenham and others were 'appointed to receive the ransom of Burgundy'.¹⁵ In 1361 John Pyol and Thomas de Pykenham, citizens and merchants of London, entered into a bond.¹⁶ In 1371 it was recorded that the manor of White Roding had been

acquired from John de Pykenham the younger, citizen and mercer of London.¹⁷ In 1384 we encounter Walter Pykenham, 'citizen and skinner of London', in connection with tenements in 'Cornhill street'.¹⁸ This limited evidence supports the hypothesis that the Pykenhams were business people, who mostly needed to live in the metropolis.

William had three Barrington uncles, and at least a similar number of Barrington aunts. Sir John Sulyard's will of 1487 confirms the close link with the Hatfield Broadoak Barrington family; in it he describes William Pykenham, archdeacon of Suffolk, as *cognatus meus*.¹⁹ We also need to find out, if possible, his relationship with the Rayleigh, Essex, side of the family (Fig. 63). The Rayleigh Thomas Barrington, in his will of 1469, left to William Pykenham, 'consanguineo meo' (my kinsman), a silver basin and ewer.²⁰ Thus it is certain that the offspring of John and Thomasine (née Totham) Barrington,²¹ were related to him in some way, even though the blood line was probably thinner than in the case of the Hatfield Barringtons.

From 1457, when Thomasine Barrington, the younger, was married, for the third time, to John Hopton of Blythburgh and Cockfield manor, Yoxford, William Pykenham started a life-long personal and business relationship with his cousin and her new husband.²² They both needed his legal services, Hopton particularly valuing his skills as an expert in marine law, in connection with the perennial problem of the establishment of a harbour at Dunwich, and the projected making of a new cut. On Pykenham's death, the relationship with Thomasine would have existed for at least forty years. It was not unreasonable for Colin Richmond to suggest that, on that occasion, she might have taken responsibility for the manufacture of a memorial for him in Hadleigh Church, a subject returned to below.

Pykenham's legal expertise was based on a period of study at both Cambridge and Oxford lasting fifteen years, from 1450-65; in 1454 he was made a fellow of All Souls College. He emerged with ordinary degrees in civil and canon law (B.C.L. and B.Cn.L.), and a doctorate in canon law (D.Cn.).²³ As Richmond observed, his intellectual bent must have been spotted early, and, inevitably, he would have received an excellent preparatory education. In Pykenham's case, it seems more likely that he would have been sent to London than to Cambridge for his schooling. Richmond has pointed out that the first cousins, William Pykenham and Sir John Sulyard were evidently very close throughout their lives. This is not surprising since, kinship apart, they were probably almost of the same age, their fathers dying within two years of each other. We know that Sir John Sulyard entered Lincoln's Inn at the normal student entry age. Is there not a strong possibility that both cousins went there together as boys? On the other hand, it is possible that William Pykenham attended the grammar school at the hospital of St Thomas of Acre, or Acon, in the City of London, which had established links with the Mercers. William's great-grandfather on his mother's side was a mercer, as was possibly also his grandfather on his father's side. The fact that Pykenham left money in his will to the hospital, and gave them his most precious religious manuscripts, certainly implies a special relationship.

CAREER AND PATRONAGE

Pykenham was a thorough-going pluralist, holding some sixteen ecclesiastical posts during his career. He had at least four influential patrons, amongst whom Thomas Bourchier (c.1412-86), appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1454, and his elder brother, Henry, lord Bourchier, later first Earl of Essex, d. 1483, were supremely important.²⁴ Each of the brothers presented him to a living, Henry to Little Hallingbury, Essex in 1461, and Thomas to East Peckham, Kent in 1464, while he was still a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford. Woodger suggested that Henry Bourchier might have financed Pykenham's last few years at the university.²⁵ In 1462 Pykenham received a third benefice, at Rayleigh, Essex, from his cousin, Thomas Barrington, the brother of Thomasine (Fig. 63).

In 1472 Henry Bourchier was instrumental in Pykenham's presentation to a canonry at St Paul's Cathedral, and the prebend of Wenlakesbarn in the diocese of London. The latter, also in his gift, was in the parish of the hospital of St Giles, Maldon.²⁶ Thomas Bourchier was even more liberal, granting William the rectorship at Hadleigh in 1470, the living at Wrotham, Kent in 1479, and the

Chancellorship and Prelocutorship at Canterbury in 1483. Finally, there is the patron singled out as such in the archdeacon's will - Walter Lyhart, bishop of Norwich 1446-72. In 1471 he presented Pykenham to the Chancellorship of the diocese of Norwich,²⁷ and in the following year to the archdeaconry of Suffolk.

William's benefactors expected something in return. Able lawyers were always in demand. Woodger demonstrated William Pykenham's professional relationship with Henry Bouchier: 'William Pykenham was a trustee of Earl Henry's estates from 1475-93, and ... went on to become feoffee of his sons'.²⁸ High ecclesiastics also needed lawyers, especially canon and civil lawyers, hence Thomas Bouchier and Walter Lyhart's patronage of Dr William Pykenham (D.Cn.L. and B.Cn.L.).

Pykenham's parochial benefices came mainly during the first decade of his career. The more lucrative, however, followed from his appointment as archdeacon of Suffolk in 1472, particularly his preferences to St Paul's, Ely, Canterbury, Lincoln and Lichfield cathedrals. His last appointment, as dean of the college of St John the Baptist, Stoke-by-Clare in 1493, was made by Bishop William Goldwell, Lyhart's successor at Norwich. This appointment was clearly important to him. As we shall see, in his will he left the institution financially and otherwise well provided for.

WILLIAM PYKENHAM'S MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL LEGACY

There is no record of where he died, or is buried, and Stoke-by-Clare and Hadleigh have traditionally laid claim. His testament, dated 6 April 1497, stipulated that he was to be interred where he died, but no named memorial was prescribed.²⁹ Dr David Wilkins, dean of Hadleigh, 1719-45, wrote that the tomb on the north side of the high altar in that church (Fig. 64).

is commonly reported to be Dr Pykenham. The greatest Objection against this is the great State and Magnificence of the Monument, not allowed to priests at the Time. But whether the Great and Particular Benefaction and Settlement which He made to the Poor of the Town, might not passe for Sufficient Reason to His Friends or the Town in Gratitude to exceed the Ordinary Pomp of the Clergymen, to keep up the Memorial of So considerable a Benefaction. Mr Robert Ryce would have it to be Duke Guthrum's ... Dr Pykenham dyed A(nno) 1497 and was buried at Stoke by Clare'.³⁰

Richmond argued that the archdeacon is likely to have died and been buried at Hadleigh, given that the first witness to his testament is John Ashwell, parochial chaplain of the church, and that the testament was proved at Lambeth only a month later on 8 May.³¹ Thus, it was undoubtedly a death-bed testament. Sue Andrews has put forward two other possible testators of the same period, for whom the tomb might have been intended, one, the manorial lord of Topplesfield, and the other, a Hadleigh clothier.³² We will return to this question below.

William's will, also dated 6 April 1497, deals with the mechanics of establishing on a firm financial footing the twelve Mawdelyn (now George) Street almshouses for twenty-four men and women in the town, as well as setting out the ordinances for its conduct.³³ This amounted to a re-foundation, given that there probably was already a poor house on this site.³⁴ Pykenham's confraternity was founded as a powerful engine of prayer for his soul, the souls of 'John and Katheryne', his father and mother, his principal patron, Walter Lyhart, and for his other benefactors and for all Christian souls. The institution had an important charitable role, to house the destitute men and women of the locality. The will contains a precise delineation of the lands and tenements which Pykenham had bequeathed to fund the running of the almshouses and chantry. The nominated trustees included George Pykenham, d. 1500, the archdeacon's nephew (Fig. 62), as well as Edmund and Catherine Wale, from a local gentry family. The will also makes provision for the dean, chapter and college of Stoke-by-Clare to receive the 'Rents, Revenues and Profits' from Pykenham's premises in the 'towns of Whatfield, Aldham, Newton, Elmsett, Hadley and Semer', in the event of the parson and wardens of

Hadleigh failing to administer the almshouses, after the deaths of the original feoffees.³⁵

The testament sets out Pykenham's requirements in respect of the conduct of the funeral, and of the chantry masses:

I wish the funeral provision to be made at the time of my obsequies and burial not to be excessive, but sufficiently moderate, so that there are no riches and abundance of provision, but sufficient to relieve the needy and frail.

I wish there to be celebrated a thousand masses of requiem for my soul and the souls of my parents, and all the faithful departed, by a thousand priests, each priest to have for his celebration of each mass 4d, and to the major clerks present at the obsequies and masses 2d, and the minor clerks (boys) 1d. To each of the poor coming to my burial or obsequies and seeking alms 1d.³⁶

Pykenham also bequeathed 'All my books of civil and canon law and theology' to the College of Stoke-by-Clare, and to the chapel of St Mary in Stoke a gold ring. He gave money to a number of conventual and parish churches, including Little Hallingbury, Essex and East Peckham, Kent, to the hospital of St Thomas of Acre, London, to 'the prior and convent of Campsea', to Bruisyard nunnery, and to 'the houses of Friars' and Holy Trinity Priory, Ipswich. Amongst his bequests to individuals, one stands out in particular, that of £10 and two long gowns to Thomasine Risley. He characterises her as *sorori mee*. What are we to make of this? We know that she was not Pykenham's sister, and that he had no recorded step sister.³⁷ Finally, he left money to his nineteen servants. George Pykenham is listed at the head of the executors, followed by Edward Sulyard, the grandson of Sir John Sulyard, who had been an executor of John Pykenham's will, and was William Pykenham's cousin.³⁸

We are fortunate to know about two other gifts to institutions, which must have been made prior to the archdeacon's death. As already mentioned, the hospital of St Thomas Acre, London, was presented with four religious manuscripts, now in the British Library.³⁹ The second gift was 'a gret Bassyn of sylver parcell gilt for the fonte', weighing 102 oz, given to the college of Stoke-by-Clare.⁴⁰ This was probably presented at the time of his appointment. Given its value of about £17, it was an extremely generous one. Its supposed function is not at all clear. St John Hope discussed a similar vessel made in the year of his death for John de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford (1442-1513), with whom William Pykenham would certainly have been acquainted.⁴¹ This was described as 'a great bason of sylver wt bollions parcel gilt for a founte', weighing 137 oz., and valued at £22 16s 8d. A third example of this extremely rare type of gold plate was one belonging to Henry VIII.⁴²

'Hollywater stokys gilte'. 'Item received of Quenes grace for a founte callid in hir indenture A wyder or a disshe chased wt bestis men and fowlis di gilte w'oute a cover, waiyng in the said indenture clxxiiij oz. di to the whiche founte oon William hollande (xliij) hath made a Cover gilte chase wt men bestis and fowlis waiyng c oz. di and wayeth now to gidders in all cclxxv oz'.⁴³

All three of these vessels seem, on the face of it, to have been for use at baptisms, except, perhaps, for the royal piece, whose decoration seems more secular than sacred. In the case of Stoke, however, the college chapel was distinct from the parish church and, like the earl of Oxford's chapel, had no baptismal rights. Moreover, in the inventory, 'the vessel is entered in a list of plate and jewels at the end of the chapel stuff and the beginning of the domestic plate, to which latter the Stoke vessel suggests that it belongs'.⁴⁴ St John Hope suggested some practical applications which such a piece might have had in a secular context:

The terms 'A wyder or a disshe', in Queen Katherine's case, suggest that its use at the 'voyde', to contain broken meats and pieces of bread left upon the trenchers and platters. The word 'font' seems, however, rather to be connected with washing or cleansing, and these great basons might have been used for washing the spoons during meals; or even the hands, at a time before forks came into fashion and the fingers used instead'.

Finally, St John Hope pointed out that the term 'font' or 'fount' appears very rarely to have ever been used for an item of plate. Although his search had been inconclusive, it has provided an insight into a costly predilection on the archdeacon's part.

Apart from this spectacular piece of plate, and the manuscripts, it is impossible to comment on the quality and value of the possessions that Pykenham might have collected during his professional

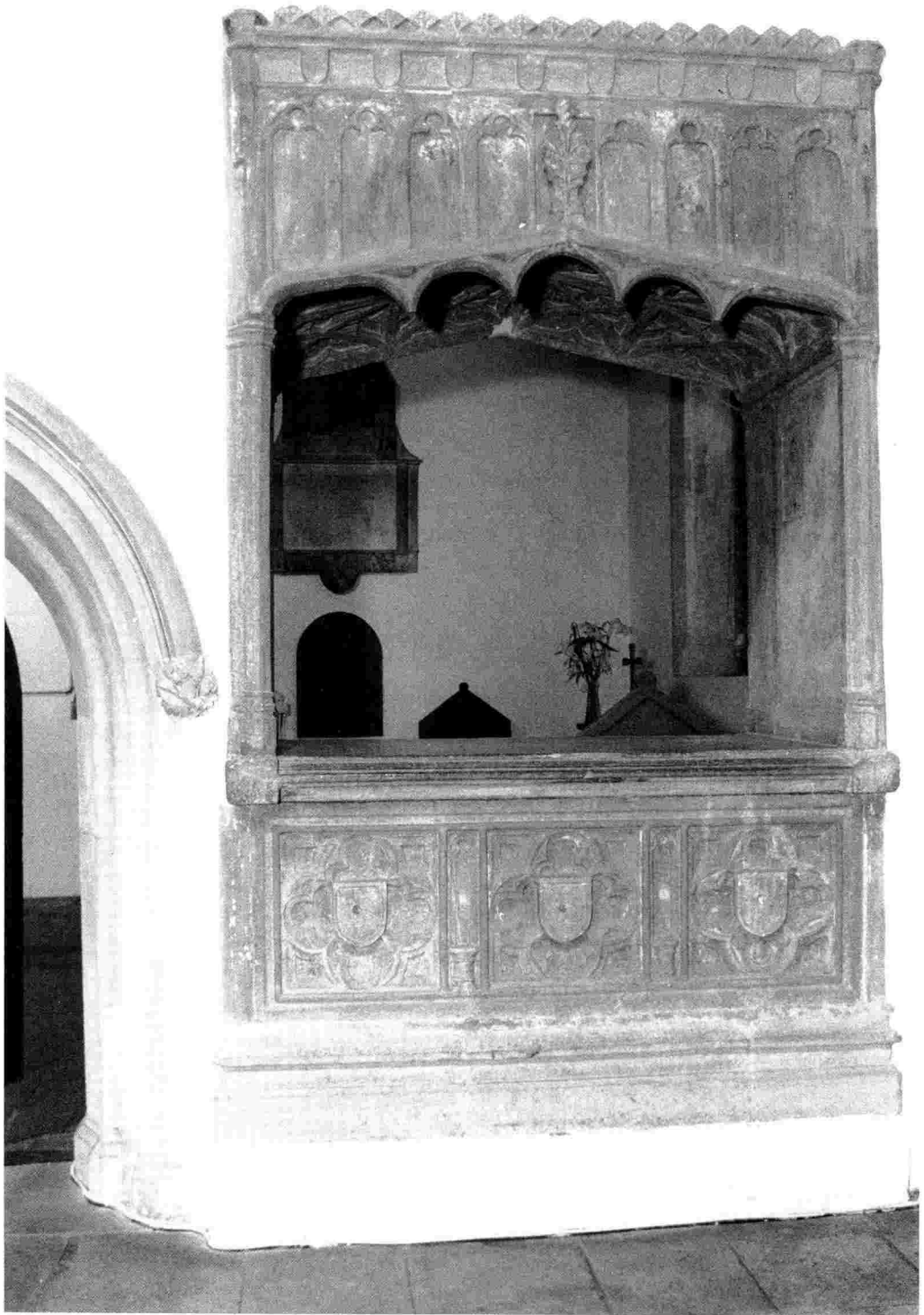


FIG. 64 – St Mary, Hadleigh, Suffolk. Monument on north side of chancel, probably containing the remains of William Pykenham.

career. However, he seems to have spent much of his considerable wealth, garnered from the ecclesiastical benefices, and the professional fees that he would have received during a thirty-year career in the law, on acquiring landed property in Suffolk (left to the college at Clare and settled on the Hadleigh almshouses). The formidable gate-tower of the Deanery at Hadleigh is a permanent reminder of his status, wealth, munificence and taste. Pride may not have been a principal motive, the gate-tower at Hadleigh, unlike many others of its kind, making no overt attempt at self advertisement. On the other hand, the double V in flared bricks over the entrance arch, and elsewhere on the building (Fig 78), may have had a subliminal apotropaic function.⁴⁵

PYKENHAM'S 'TOMB' AT HADLEIGH CHURCH (Figs 64-67)

This Purbeck marble monument stands on the north side of the high altar. It has a moulded stone plinth, now resting on a plastered and white-painted base, 220mm high, which was probably originally in limestone.⁴⁶ Its overall height, including the plinth, is 2960 mm, its width 1770 mm and its original depth c. 1140mm. It is in three parts; firstly, the chest (Fig. 65), composed of three panels with cusped quatrefoils enclosing shields, with two shallow statue niches in between (the plain top is provided with a cavetto indent for a brass strip to carry an identifying legend); secondly, an empty open-canopied section above the chest, never apparently filled, the side panels incorporating various brass indents, mainly on the west side, and an eight-compartment cusped and traceried flat depressed-arch ceiling above; and thirdly, a superstructure consisting of a row of blank trefoil arches surmounted by a frieze, with simple foliate cresting above. Unfortunately, the arched section, is a poorly-executed 19th-century restoration, in a fine-grained limestone, painted grey to match the Purbeck marble (Fig. 66).⁴⁷ There are traces of red and blue paint on the surviving side of the chest, and in the upper frieze. Doubtless the whole monument would originally have been painted. The shields have been crudely defaced. Formerly, they would have carried carved heraldic arms. Finally, the brass indents on the canopy sides consist of a plain rectangle to the east, and four more of various shapes to the west. The latter consist of a plain rectangle in the centre at the top and three others, which are potentially revealing (Fig. 67).

According to Hugh Pigot, Hadleigh's curate at the time, the existing front was 'with considerable trouble ... removed from the north aisle in 1859 and fixed in its present position'.⁴⁸ In fact over a century earlier, the entire original south front of the monument had been brutally hacked off, for his own purposes, on the orders of the 18th-century incumbent, Dr Wilkins.⁴⁹ Pigot explained:

In 1744 the then rector, Dr David Wilkins, erected at the cost of £150, a handsome altar-piece of wainscot, with the Communion Table affixed to it, by Messrs Kirby and Harris, adding at the same time a new set of rails which were carried straight across and raising the space within another step ... The north and south sides of the chancel also were covered with wainscot of nearly the same height as that on the eastern side, which blocked up the first row of lights in the magnificent east window. The whole was handsome, but in addition to spoiling the proportions of the great windows, it was objectionable as being of Grecian design; and therefore it was taken down in 1859, when a favourable opportunity, occasioned by the fresh plastering of the walls, aided the promptings of a better taste'.⁵⁰

A final confirmation of the tomb's later radical reorientation is provided by the fact that the indents for the most important brasses are now on the west side of the canopy, rather than the east. From the female profile of the lateral indents it is possible to say that the figure on the right side must have depicted the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child. The former was Hadleigh's dedicatee.⁵¹ In the Middle Ages the space behind the archdeacon's tomb at the north-east end of the church was the Lady Chapel.⁵² But which female saint was depicted on the companion female brass on the left side? Andrews has plausibly suggested that the appendage of St Catherine of Siena (1347-80) to the former dedication of the Mawdelyn Street chapel to St Mary Magdalene, may have been in honour of Pykenham's mother.⁵³ Could it have been that St Catherine was depicted here in the company of the church's patron saint?



FIG. 65 – St Mary, Hadleigh, Suffolk. Monument on north side of chancel, probably containing the remains of William Pykenham. Detail of chest.



FIG. 66 – St Mary, Hadleigh, Suffolk. Monument on north side of chancel, probably containing the remains of William Pykenham. Detail of superstructure.

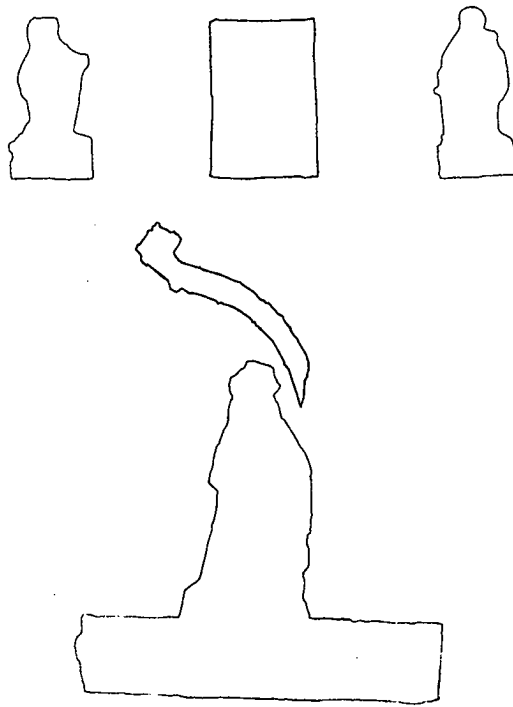


FIG. 67 – St Mary, Hadleigh, Suffolk. William Pykenham's 'tomb'. Diagram of brass indents now on the west side panel of the canopy opening.

The intervening panel between these two figures may have represented the Crucifixion.⁵⁴ Significantly, St Catherine's dictated letters, or Dialogue, was centred upon this very image.⁵⁵ The profile of the 'St Catherine' figure at Hadleigh indicates that she was gesturing to the centre. This Dominican tertiary is usually depicted in the habit of the order, which could have been the case here.⁵⁶ The curious flatness at the crown of her head, instead of the curved halo, which one might expect, may indicate that she was wearing her usual headdress of the Crown of Thorns. Finally, the 'donor' figure at the base of the panel resembles a cleric, and appears to be wearing a doctor's bonnet,⁵⁷ under which is an inscribed legend. Surely, it represents the archdeacon.

Given its compromised state, there is not a great deal to be said about the style of this monument. However, it is fashioned in an expensive material. The tombs of John Hopton at Blythburgh and John de La Pole, Duke of Suffolk, at Wingfield, are the nearest in design, both having quatrefoiled tomb sides, but only Blythburgh has the intervening weeper image housings, is open-sided and also made from Purbeck marble.⁵⁸ A comparative stylistic analysis of the Hopton and 'Pykenham' monuments, even allowing for the poor-quality-19th-century restoration of the latter's superstructure, reveals a wealth of expensive decorative carving at Blythburgh, and the modesty of artistic ambition at Hadleigh. The brasses at Blythburgh would have looked impressive. On the tomb top, there were the figures of John Hopton and, flanking him, two of his three wives.⁵⁹ Their wooden-plugged rivets betray the former existence of engraved brass strips between the linenfold decoration and the double-wave-moulded cornice of the chest. The shields on the chest sides must have held brass escutcheons. The putative fan-vaulted canopy ceiling is well-conceived.

At Hadleigh and Blythburgh the superstructure of the tombs is quite different. Hadleigh's graduated arches, frieze and cresting are decidedly less ambitious, although the execution of Blythburgh's attractive 14th-century-type superstructure is somewhat disappointing. Hopton's tomb is larger than Pykenham's. If the latter was constructed between William and Thomasine's death, as Richmond has suggested, there are no obvious signs of haste.⁶⁰ On the other hand the tomb gives the impression of having been commissioned 'off the shelf', an increasingly common practice in this period. Its relatively modest design would not have posed too many problems in assembly, although it would have involved the piercing of a substantial hole through the massive north chancel wall.

As already mentioned, a rationale for the construction of such a grand monument for an archdeacon has been that open-canopied tombs sited on the north side of the high altar, such as those also at Long Melford and Blythburgh, usually doubled as the receptacle for an Easter sepulchre.⁶¹ David Dymond and Clive Paine stressed that, at Long Melford 'The Blessed Sacrament rested for three days each year above one's own mortal remains'.⁶² An alternative motivation, suggested by Bridget Cherry, is that the increase in the numbers of such 'empty' but identified tombs at this period may suggest a development in religious attitudes away from the private chantry chapel to the placement of a commemorative structure in a part of the church directly associated with the most important ceremonies of the church calendar.⁶³

A variety of opinions have been expressed for and against the hypothesis of Pykenham's burial at Hadleigh in this effigyless 'tomb'. Some of the convincing parallels with the Hopton monument, and the possibility that Thomasine Hopton may have been privy to Pykenham's own wishes and could have commissioned his tomb,⁶⁴ coupled with the identities of the brass indents adduced here, may now make it possible to establish a stronger consensus that the archdeacon was buried at Hadleigh. It is, surely, even possible in the circumstances that he had commissioned his own tomb before his death.

THE ARCHDEACON'S IPSWICH GATEHOUSE AND RESIDENCE

There have been archdeacons of Suffolk since the 12th century and references to an Ipswich residence ever since. However, before the Reformation, office holders tended to be non-resident, and the appointment was subject to confirmation by the Pope. In 1381, when the premises were attacked during the Peasants' Revolt, the absentee archdeacon, Guillaume Noellet, was a member of the Papal college of cardinals, and cardinal deacon of S. Angelo in Pescheria, Rome.⁶⁵ He was, thus, safely out of danger.

For well-nigh the quarter of a century that William Pykenham served as archdeacon of Suffolk, he lived in the official residence at Ipswich. He was an important and powerful figure. At St Mary-le-Tower, situated on the south side of his garden, he held court, dealing with administrative and legal matters, where he had the authority to fine, and even excommunicate offenders against church law.

The gatehouse in Brook (now Northgate) Street was an addition to the earlier complex of buildings by the new incumbent, soon after his appointment in 1472 (Fig. 69). For reasons that will become clear, it is the only building that he would recognise today. The residence stood just inside the rampart, an earth bank surmounted, presumably, by a wooden palisade, which enclosed most of the town (Fig. 68).⁶⁶ On the other side was a deep ditch and, farther off, the Augustinian Priory of Holy Trinity (Christchurch), and the parish church of St Margaret. The North Gate had a stone gatehouse, protecting the passage through the rampart into Northgate Street, down which ran the open stream that gave its name to Brook Street. Although, owing to later alterations, it is difficult today to comprehend the former residence, which stood on the sloping bank of this stream, the extent of it can be made out from the 'Taske', or tax, book of 'St Mary at the Tower', Ipswich, dated 1610.⁶⁷ The entrance was punctuated by the gatehouse (Fig. 68), which was originally emphasised by a pair of large buttresses (Fig. 70), and by the fact that, unlike today, there was no adjoining building on the south side, while the former structure on the north side, most probably being single-storied, would not

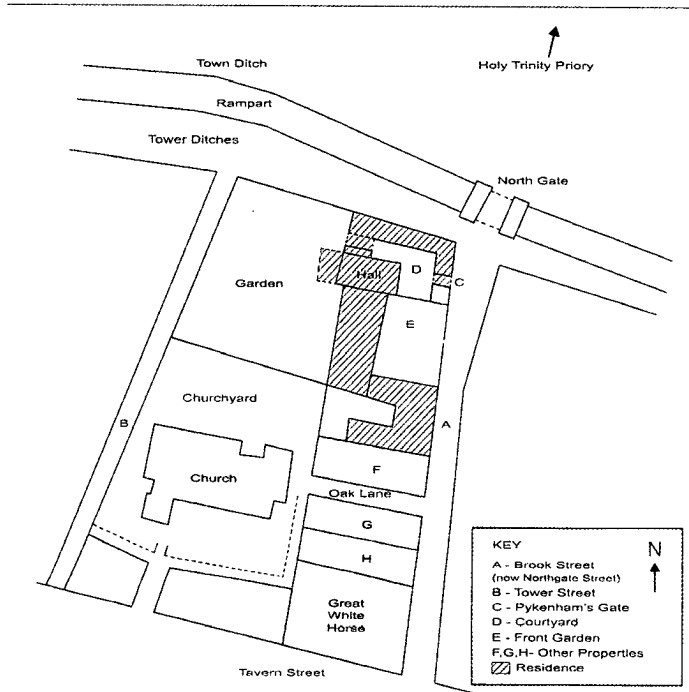


FIG. 68 – Ipswich, Suffolk. Schematic ground plan of north-east corner of the medieval town, showing the block of property bounded by Northgate Street, Tavern Street, Tower Street and Tower Ditches. Within it is St Mary-le-Tower and, at the north end, the archdeacon of Suffolk's residence. After John Fairclough (drawing: Max Howard).

have threatened to over-top it, as it does now (Fig. 71). The roof line of the latter was almost certainly no higher than that of the later extension on the south side.

Within the gatehouse was an open courtyard (Fig. 68). Most of the original roof structure of the medieval residence survives within the premises of the Ipswich & Suffolk Club. Pykenham's main public room was a common hall, running east-west, with its east end in line with the gate and its west end projecting into the garden. Its roof, with its fine crown post, covered a space of about 30 ft. in width, and the entire room would have been open to the ground floor. The structure which abuts it from the south must have contained the ceremonial apartments essential for an archdeacon, that is an audience chamber, dining chamber, bedchamber, closet and chapel. The roof indicates that the building of this wing was an additive process, and discloses a later two-storied structure.⁶⁸ Given the evidence of another crown-post, however, this space must have been another open two-storied hall. The courtyard buildings to the north are mostly later in date. They were probably mainly 2-storied, and ran from the north side of the common hall across the vehicle passage, from the courtyard to the garden,⁶⁹ to the corner of the courtyard directly north of the gatehouse. Their function may have been servants' accommodation on the first floor and stables below. We know nothing about the U-shaped block at the southern end of the site, although it probably contained lodgings for officials and staff.

It is difficult to say anything definitive about the building which formerly joined up the gatehouse on the north side with the north range of the courtyard. The extant 20th-century two-storied building provides no clues whatsoever about its predecessor. All we can say for sure is that the gatehouse staircase debouched within it at its south-west end, just under 3 ft. above the present ground floor level. Access to the building from the courtyard was probably via a door at the north-west end for the public, and probably a private entrance for the archdeacon at the south-west end.



FIG. 69 – Ipswich, Suffolk. Former archdeacon's residence. View of gatehouse from east.



FIG. 70 – Ipswich, Suffolk. Former archdeacon's residence. View of gatehouse from east. Engraving after Sears, 1830. From G.R. Clarke, *The History of Ipswich*, Fig. before p. 353 (courtesy of Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich). Photo: Tony Hill.



FIG. 71 – Ipswich, Suffolk. Former archdeacon's residence. View of gatehouse from west.



FIG. 72 – Ipswich, Suffolk. Former archdeacon's residence. View of gatehouse from south. Note the prominent half-timbered extension, c. 1500.



FIG. 73 – Lidgate, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk. Suffolk House. Carved or moulded brick diapered strapwork on side of end gable facing south-west.

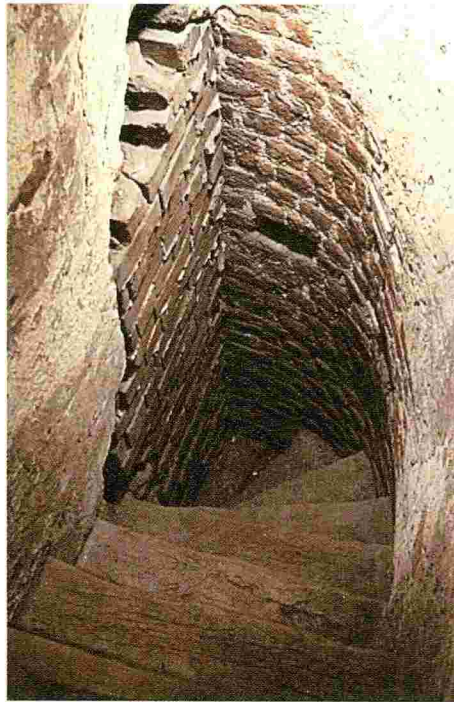


FIG. 74 – Ipswich, Suffolk. Former archdeacon's residence. Stairway on north side of gatehouse chamber
(photo: Tony Hill).

The gatehouse chamber would have commanded views to the east, above other adjoining properties, and to the countryside beyond. There was also a window on the south side, which would have provided a townscape of central Ipswich, the river and docks beyond.⁷⁰

Early maps of Ipswich are inconsistent and contradictory about the site. John Speed's map of 1610, shows a concentration of buildings at the north-east corner of the area surrounding St Mary-le-Tower. John Ogilby's, of 1674, indicates the layout of the buildings more precisely, including the gatehouse, residence and gardens, but omits the earlier range, which abutted the archdeacon's hall from the south. It shows the vehicle passage from the street into the courtyard, as well as the extensive gardens on the west side of the property. The legend on Pennington's map of 1778, 'Archdeacon's House' does not necessarily imply that at that period the office-holder was still in residence. Indeed, a century earlier a certain John Robinson was in occupation. His funerary monument can still be seen in St Mary-le-Tower.

The archdeacon's house seems to have extended southward to a point almost in line with the north-east corner of the church, and faced on to a large garden and the churchyard at its southern end. It is possible that part of the garden was created out of a formerly larger churchyard. Since the archdeacon held his court within the church, direct access would have been desirable. Between the house and Northgate Street, there appears to have been a front garden with its own pedestrian entrance, quite possibly reserved for the exclusive use of the archdeacon (Fig. 68, E). An unrelated property, bordering Northgate Street and Oak (formerly St Mary's) Lane, known as 'Bennetts', extended from Northgate Street to the churchyard (Fig. 68, F).⁷¹ On the south side of this lane there were two more properties (Fig. 68, G and H) and then the Great White Horse Inn. Along Tavern Street, beyond the latter, there were two substantial blocks of property separating the street from the churchyard. The disposition of all the tenements enclosed by Tavern Street, Northgate Street, Tower Ditches, and Tower Street is illuminated by the 'Taske' book of 1610, and Blatchly has pointed out that remarkably little has changed since.⁷² It was in the churchyard of St Mary-le-Tower that the people of Ipswich received the royal charter in 1200, and this is still recognised as the town's 'civic church'.

Between the north wall of the archdeacon's property and the rampart was probably an open space, known as 'Tower Ditches', giving access to the ramparts, but later encroached on by shops. The valley of the brook is marked by the sharp drop from Tower Street into the archdeacon's garden, now the Club car park, and the adjoining churchyard.

The façade and flanking walls of the gatehouse are constructed of brick, laid in English Bond. From the minute traces which survive on the south elevation, sheltered by the later extension, we can say that the brickwork was painted with a red-ochre limewash, known as 'ruddling', and the joints 'pencilled' in black. The building, which is covered with a peg-tile roof, is of timber-framed construction, in-filled on two sides with wattle and daub. The roof of the gatehouse 'hall' consists of an exposed dragon beam in the south-west corner, and the floor joists for the chamber above. The original double gates on the street side, have been replaced by a pair of 19th-century panelled leaves, mounted, at least at the base, upon a pair of substantial original iron hinges. By the 18th century timber framing was not considered to be a prestigious building technique, and exposed timber-framing was habitually rendered over with sand and lime. This occurred in the early 19th century on the west side of the gatehouse.⁷³ As part of the 1983 restoration by the Ipswich Buildings Preservation Trust, the external timberwork was re-exposed.⁷⁴

The pair of deep buttresses, which flanked the entrance, were cut back in the 18th century to make space for pedestrians (Fig. 70). They would have looked imposing, and one wonders if their purpose was structural or ostentatious. Since their reduction, the building has remained stable. The stacked lozenges in carved or moulded brick 'strapwork' exhibit a decorative technique which seems to have been rarely used as early as this, although it is often employed from the second decade of the 16th century, as on the chimneys of the manor house at East Barsham, Norfolk, and St Osyth's Priory, Essex. The end gable of a much more modest, but highly attractive building, Suffolk House, Lidgate,

near Bury St Edmunds, demonstrates the technique to good effect (Fig. 73). The brick stepped gables at Ipswich were rebuilt, and most of the chimney flue removed when the buttresses were pared down. It is clear, from an early 19th-century drawing, that originally the chimney stack debouched from the apex of the gable. 'Dutch' gables were a common feature in Suffolk at the turn of the 16th century. They existed at the north-east end of St Mildred's Church, Ipswich (later the Hall of Pleas), and are visible on many contemporary brick buildings in the county. The loss of the town's north gate at the end of the 18th century, in the interest of better traffic flow, is a regrettable diminution of context.

The west and south elevations are jettied (Fig. 72), and make a complete contrast with the entrance façade. The absence of a corner post on the north-west corner indicates that the gatehouse must have abutted a coeval building. It will be suggested that both structures were erected at the same time. This is not surprising since the contingent plot would have been integral with the archdeacon's demesne. This conclusion tallies with the fact that the partially blocked flight of steps leading from the gatehouse chamber on the north side originally provided access to this adjoining structure.

The stairway is generously wide, given the modest dimensions of the room, and most of the steps are still furnished with their original oak treads (Fig. 74).⁷⁵ Originally, it must have been provided with some kind of balustrade on the side opposite the wall, to prevent a fall into the stairwell. At the bottom, the staircase with its ancient retaining brick wall on the south side, gradually inclines in an arc towards the north. At this point there is the remains of what must have been a doorway, with cusped brick head, punched into the coeval parti-wall.⁷⁶ From here a second flight of probably only four steps would have taken the visitor down to the modern floor level.⁷⁷ This costly feature must have had some importance over and above a purely utilitarian one. It needs to be taken into account, along with the provision in the chamber of no fewer than three windows, and a fireplace, the latter positioned asymmetrically to the south of the east window, with its hinged window shutters. The room was almost certainly panelled, making it warmer and transforming its appearance from what we see today.

Gatehouse chambers need to be both dry and secure. In secular houses and academic colleges, they were most commonly used for the storage of muniments, particularly deeds of title. An intriguing but only speculative possibility is that the archdeacon used this chamber himself as a private study and library. A number of objections could be raised against this, however, not the least that a study in his own private suite of apartments in the north-south range would have offered greater comfort and privacy, not to mention a view over the garden. More likely, the northern single-storied extension to the gatehouse would have functioned as an administrative area of the steward's office, and a waiting room for people wanting an audience with him on business. Probably the chamber upstairs was the steward's private office, although from time to time it may have been used for similar purposes by the archdeacon. As the public entrance is hypothesised as being at the north end, the visitor who was permitted to enter the waiting room would have been suitably impressed by the elaborate access to the upper chamber, with its doorway raised above floor level by a short flight of steps. In the minds of all ranks and callings of visitors, by this means a respect for authority would have been instilled.

As will be shortly discussed, the apartments in the gate-tower at Hadleigh include a study and oratory on the first floor, and a bedroom and dressing-room on the second floor, with a latrine ensuite at both levels. They confirm Pykenham's predisposition for prestigious display, combined with up-to-date creature comforts. The nature of the arrangements observed in the Ipswich gatehouse predicates a similarly entrenched mind-set even at the outset of the archdeacon's twenty-five-year period of office in Suffolk.

To the rear of the western archway of the Ipswich gatehouse, the spandrels exhibit two shields with, on the north side, a fish and an animal (Fig. 75), and on the south, a mullet or five-pointed star (Fig. 76). Supposing that the fish was a pike and the animal a pig, early interpreters identified this as a rebus on the name Pykenham. Moreover, the 1764 edition of Kirby's *Suffolk Traveller*, stated that 'The initial Letters of his Name are still upon the gateway'. Unfortunately, they have long-since disappeared. Powerful Englishmen, from abbots to merchants, had employed rebuses freely during



FIG. 75 – Ipswich, Suffolk. Former archdeacon's residence. Gatehouse entrance from west. Detail of spandrel on north side of archway.

FIG. 76 – Ipswich, Suffolk. Former archdeacon's residence. Gatehouse entrance from west. Detail of spandrel on south side of archway
(photo: Tony Hill).



FIG. 77 – Ipswich, Suffolk. Former archdeacon's residence. South-west corner of original structure, with carved band of decoration and cresting preserved inside. Detail.

the 15th century. Unfortunately, the strong resemblance of the animal to a squirrel makes an unequivocal identification with the archdeacon difficult to sustain. The presence of the mullet is puzzling, since it was an emblem of the de Veres, earls of Oxford. The carving on the south-west corner of the gatehouse can best be viewed from inside the extension, where the band of decoration and cresting has been sheltered from the elements (Fig. 77).

Probably within fifty years of the construction of the Ipswich gatehouse, the extension was added on the south side (Fig. 72). Although it is partly open to the rafters, it is provided with a generous window facing south, strongly implying that it was seen as an enlargement of the accommodation at mezzanine level.⁷⁸ When it was erected, a new doorway, since blocked-up, was inserted into the side wall at the south-west end of the gatehouse hall. What was its purpose? It is most probable that the floor of the room above would have been sealed over, and that the space below was used as a porter's lodge. It would have been in the normal position for such a room.⁷⁹ On the west side, on the ground floor there was originally a window, which subsequently has been replaced by the present modern doorway (Fig. 71).

THE HADLEIGH GATE-TOWER

The Ipswich gatehouse is probably datable to shortly after Pykenham's appointment in 1472. The adjacent building on the north side, and the retaining wall in Northgate Street, to the south, would have also represented his personal additions to the existing residence complex. His next project was the construction of the monumental gate-tower at Hadleigh, at the west end of the church (Fig. 78). With its three-storied elevation and impressive flanking turrets, it must have made a conspicuously grand entrance to the existing rambling parsonage house. Like the Ipswich building, we find the use of English Bond brickwork. There are two other similarities, which will be crucial in the dating argument, which will be highlighted in the conclusions.

The following emphasizes some of the more unusual features of this remarkable gate-tower, which cries out for an up-to-date in-depth critical analysis. There is no contemporary record of its construction, but its completion is normally assigned to the year 1495, two years before the archdeacon's death. It makes a remarkable contrast with his first essay in gatehouse building. Timothy Easton has stressed that, as we have already seen at Ipswich, the exterior brickwork would have been ruddled. There is also evidence at Hadleigh for ruddling and pencilling inside the building. The large-scale decorative use of flared bricks brilliantly exploits variations of lozenge and other forms of patterning.⁸⁰ Intersecting triangles feature prominently above the main entrance and on the west side.

There are certain 19th-century additions and renovations to the exterior, undertaken in 1833, including the large oriel window below the corbel-table at second-floor level, a mainly original feature, nonetheless, and the decorative chimneys. On the west side the gate-tower hall archway is original, but the double-light windows on either side are 19th-century (Fig. 79). The pair of windows above are also modern. On the second floor the window in the centre is ancient. There are four restored chimney flues in the centre of the crenellated parapets of the leads. The smoke from the fireplaces on the first and second floors probably debouched from one chimney only, on the south side.

The design of the gate-tower must have been carefully considered. There is a latrine tower placed in the centre on the south side. The gate-tower hall would have been secured by a pair of double doors, which could be opened for vehicle access to the parsonage house beyond. The side door from ground level on the south side was principally for the use of a porter, who had access to a single small room by means of a staircase hidden inside the south turret, and a closet attached to the latrine tower. Access to the archdeacon's apartments on the first and second floors is from a comfortably wide spiral staircase in the north turret, with its original oak treads, and a moulded brick hand-rail as far as the first floor. On the leads there was a dovecote in the south turret.



FIG. 78 – Hadleigh, Suffolk. Deanery gate-tower. General view from east. Note the double V in flared bricks above the entrance arch.



FIG. 79 – Hadleigh, Suffolk. Deanery gate-tower. Partial view of west side. Note double V in flared bricks on south end. There is a pair of these at this level on this side.



FIG. 80 – Hadleigh, Suffolk. Deanery gate-tower. First-floor oratory domical vaulted ceiling.

The walls of Pykenham's study on the first floor are hidden by early Georgian panelling. There is a fireplace in the centre on the west side. The exquisite oratory, with its domical vaulted brick 'umbrella' ceiling in the north-east turret (Fig. 80), has two windows and a central stone boss, decorated in black figure uncialis with the IHS symbol in the centre, and the opening words of the *Ave Maria*, AVE+MARIA+GRATIA+. At the south end of the study there is a doorway into the garderobe.⁸¹ On the second floor another spacious room is lit from both sides with a single window. There is another fireplace on the west side of the south wall. This room must have been the archdeacon's bedchamber.⁸² The room in the south-east turret was presumably a closet. As on the first floor, there was a garderobe at the end of the room. It has been assumed by some that this suite of rooms cannot have been intended for the use of the archdeacon, since the spacious 14th-century parsonage house was still in existence. However, there is at least one example of a 14th-century bishop reserving a suite of rooms in a tower of his palace for his own use. At Lyddington, Rutland, Bishop Burghersh added a south-western tower with a guard chamber and possibly a kitchen on the ground floor, with a suite of private rooms above, most probably for his own use.⁸³ There may be other such examples. After the Reformation the Hadleigh gate-tower was used by successive deans for a variety of purposes, but it was never put to domestic use again.

THE ARCHITECTURAL ANTECEDENTS OF PYKENHAM'S GATEHOUSES

In East Anglia an important succession of brick-built gatehouses was erected from the mid-15th century into the first quarter of the 16th century and beyond, from the iconic keep at Tattershall Castle, c. 1445 (Fig. 81), the so-called Tattershall 'progeny' at Boston and elsewhere, in Lincolnshire, the bishops' palaces at Hatfield, c. 1480-90, and Ely, 1486-1501, the Cambridge colleges, from the



FIG. 81 – Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire. View from south side (*copyright English Heritage*).

early 16th-century, to the mainly gentry residences such as Giffords Hall, Suffolk, from *c.*1485, Faulkbourne Hall, from 1489, Layer Marney, Essex, *c.* 1510 and West Stow Hall, Suffolk, *c.* 1525.

Maurice Howard observed that ‘By the 15th century all the higher ranks of the clergy expected to live in greater domestic comfort’, and that ‘Pykenham was following his superiors’.⁶¹ Hembry reminded us that at Knole, Kent, archbishop Bouchier had re-fashioned his residence into a ‘great palace of Kentish Ragstone’.⁶⁵ He claimed that Bishop Wayneflete of Winchester in his three-storied palace of Esher Place (1475-80) may have established the fashion for coloured brick diapering.⁶⁶ By the late 1520s there were over twenty-one archbishop’s residences in the archdiocese of Canterbury. In East Anglia by far the grandest coeval gate-tower built for a senior cleric was the east tower of Bishop Alcock’s palace at Ely. It is of a regal pretentiousness well outside of Pykenham’s league. Nonetheless, against this general background, Pykenham’s venture at Hadleigh seems entirely in keeping, if somewhat adventurous for a prelate of his status.

On account of its small scale, the epithets ‘modest’ and ‘unpretentious’, to characterise the Ipswich two-storied gatehouse, would be appropriate. In Suffolk such buildings from this period are now a rarity: there is an early 16th-century example at Cockfield Hall, Yoxford (see below).⁶⁷ By contrast, the monumental three-storied gate-towers at Hadleigh, and West Stow Hall, by Sir John Crofts, Mary Tudor’s Master of the Horse, aspire to the level of showy ‘trophy’ architecture.⁶⁸ Both were always planned to be free-standing, as was also the Giffords Hall gatehouse.

Although these buildings display few, if any, directly Classical motifs, they represent something novel and exotic in English architecture. The almost exclusive use of brick, an industry recently re-invigorated particularly through contacts with Flanders and France, combined with architectural conceits, such as four-centred and basket arches, stepped gables, polygonal angle turrets, friezes and corbel-tables of trefoil arches and recessed panelling, represent a distinctively modernising tendency.

The purely decorative use of this material in carved and moulded form, particularly for exterior embellishment, as well as the decorative patterning on plain wall surfaces, produced by the arrangement of overfired bricks, greatly extended its versatility. The counties of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk possessed no limestone, so it is not surprising that more than 350 of the surviving 500 English brick buildings, dating from before the Reformation are to be found there.⁸⁹

Although Howard has stressed that the fashion for building in brick in England, particularly from the late 15th century, was largely stimulated by the number of new buildings in this material being erected in the Home Counties, he acknowledges that in East Anglia the tradition went back much further, as we know, to the late 12th century.⁹⁰

Thus, Pykenham's gatehouses are contrasting components of a flourishing East Anglian architectural tradition, as well as the symptoms of a growing desire among the higher clergy to enjoy a greater level of comfort and convenience in their residences.

Whether or not Pykenham had seen Edward IV's innovative building work at Nottingham Castle, he would certainly have been familiar with Tattershall (Fig. 81). His visits to Lincoln Cathedral, probably by sea to Boston, and then via the River Witham, would have taken him within a few miles of the place. Although built some fifty years later, the Hadleigh gate-tower is surely a late example of the Tattershall progeny.

In spite of its domestic scale, it is in both appearance and design closest to that at Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk, built for Sir Edmund Bedingfeld in 1476-82 (Fig. 82). Indeed it has been suggested that the Hadleigh gate-tower is the product of the same workshop, but, regrettably, there are no surviving building accounts for either monument. Hadleigh has similar octagonal panelled turrets on the front, although at the back, the designs of the two buildings are quite different, apart from their similar elevated turret tops (Fig. 83). Other shared decorative features, such as the stepped gables, arcuated inset panels and corbel-tables, and inset quatrefoil windows are the most prominent. By contrast, there is no flared brick patterning at Oxburgh, and at Hadleigh no use of freestone dressings. In both cases the brickwork is laid in English Bond. The latrine towers are both positioned on the left side. Because the Oxburgh gate-tower is so much more monumental, even though it has the same number of storeys, its 'state rooms' on the first and second floors are much taller and grander, with vastly bigger windows. Its apartments are much more luxurious, being equipped with large fireplaces in both 'state rooms' and an adjoining closet with fireplace and access to the latrine tower. The 'umbrella'-vaulted ceilings in brick of these closets are very similar indeed to that of Pykenham's oratory (Figs 80, 84). Both buildings were almost certainly ruddled and pencilled, on both the exterior and interior surfaces.

At Oxburgh there were two fake chimneys at the top of the entrance elevation between the turrets. It will be recalled that Hadleigh had a single dummy on this elevation. As at Hadleigh, Oxburgh had a dovecote ingeniously placed at the top of the left-hand turret. Both buildings accommodate their almost identical spiral staircases, in the right-hand turret. As already noted, at Oxburgh the carved stone hand-rail continues up to the second floor. On the ground floor there is a pair of narrow guard rooms straddling the gateway hall, whereas the accommodation for a porter at Hadleigh is at mezzanine level in the left-hand turret.

Both buildings advertise some military pretensions with their castellated turrets, although neither is serious in this respect. John Goodall has pointed out that, even so, Oxburgh works harder at it, with its gun and arrow loops and pretend machicolation.⁹¹ One could legitimately mention the pair of guard rooms as well. Under a historicising skin both Oxburgh and Hadleigh declare their different secular functions. Oxburgh aspires to the grandeur and luxury of Kirby Muxloe Castle, Leicestershire (c. 1483), built for Lord Hastings. This had many of the same features, but more of them – octagonal turrets, a porter's lodge, or guardroom, on either side of the gate-tower hall, a latrine tower at each end at the front, and a pair of spiral staircases on each side at the back.⁹² In comparison, Hadleigh is vastly more austere, even though it still offers most of the essential facilities enjoyed by a secular nobleman or senior cleric.



FIG. 82 – Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk. Gate-tower from front
(copyright The National Trust Photo: author).



FIG. 83 – Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk. Gate-tower from rear
(copyright NTPL/photo: author).

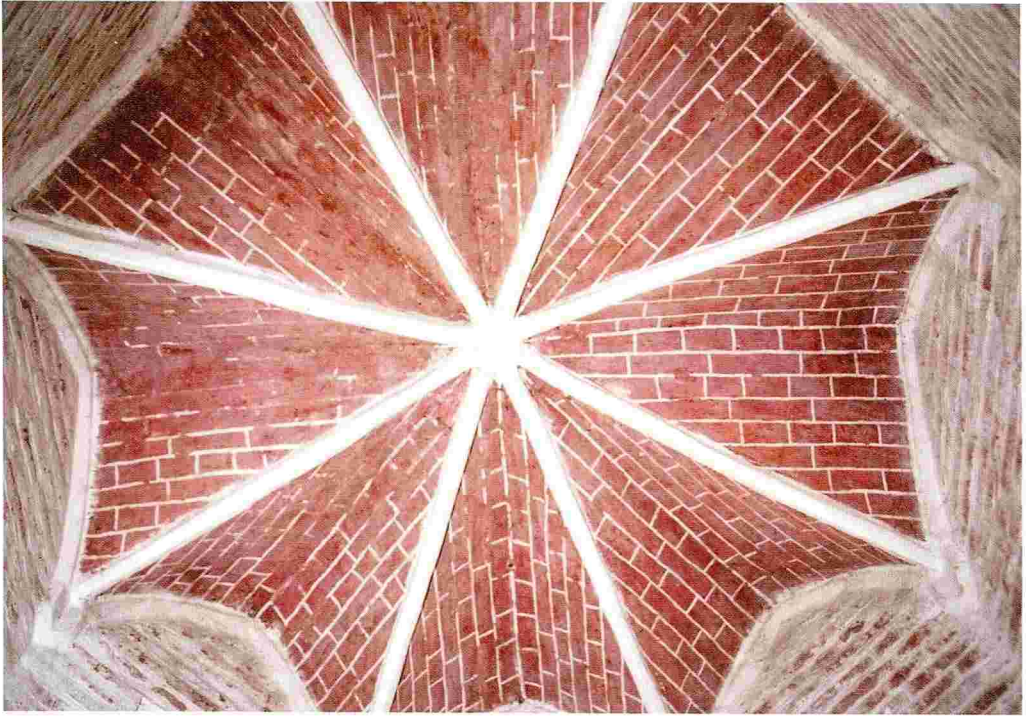


FIG. 84 – Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk. The Queen's Room on second floor of gate-tower. Detail of closet ceiling
(copyright NTPL/photo: author).

CONCLUSION

William Pykenham enjoyed an extremely busy career as a lawyer and churchman. He died a wealthy man, and left his lands in trust to support the almshouses in Hadleigh, as well as the college of Stoke-by-Clare, to which he bequeathed some of his most treasured possessions. He was raised in Essex, but lived for most of his adult life in Suffolk. He was archdeacon of Suffolk for twenty-five years, and his contacts with the Norfolk diocese went back at least as far as 1465. He also had had close relations with the Hoptons of Blythburgh and Cockfield Hall from 1457, when he was still in his early '30s. His father and younger brother were lawyers, and he must have been destined for a professional career from an early age. His father's professional contacts, and his mother's landed inheritance, ensured for William the patronage of the Bouchiers, one of the most politically powerful families in the land. Given his evidently outstanding intellectual abilities, Pykenham's career seems almost to have been preordained. Only the missing bishopric was not.

Finally, the difficult matter of the dating of the Hadleigh gate-tower needs to be reconsidered. It will be recalled that Wilkins stated, that 'as tradition goes, he (Pykenham) designed to have built an house too (in addition to the gate-tower) but was prevented by death'.⁹³ However, a number of awkward problems issue from the long-held belief that the gate-tower was constructed c. 1495 in anticipation of the ultimate demolition and reconstruction of the parsonage house, by a patron who must have already reached the age of about seventy years. Had the object of these improvements been for a new archdeacon, who aspired to a bishopric at some future date, to make his mark, then surely a start on his more ambitious building work in the county would have been made as soon as practicable after his appointment to the office.

In making this judgement, however, we need to exercise caution. Although he was already in his late forties when he was appointed archdeacon, Pykenham had only left Oxford seven years earlier. Undoubtedly, he would have already been practising intermittently as a lawyer when still at university. Even so, his lucrative career cannot properly have taken off until he had finished his studies in 1465. During this decade his legal fees were supplemented by the acquisition of five minor benefices, but it was the collation to Hadleigh in 1470, the canonry and prebendary at St Pauls' and the archdeaconry of Suffolk in 1472 that really set him up. It is probable that the execution of his desired renovations at Ipswich, restricted as they were by the limited confines of the site, would not have consumed over-much time or expense. Nonetheless, on taking office as archdeacon, he would still have needed some years to put his private and professional affairs on a sure footing, before embarking on an ambitious new building project.

Probably the most important appointments of his career were those at Canterbury in 1481, and at Lincoln and Lichfield in 1483 and 1485, respectively. Thus, all in all, by the mid 1480s Pykenham would have become a man of substance. On the face of it, the early to mid-1480s stands out as a prime opportunity for him to put in hand the building works at Hadleigh.

The similarity of the window tracery pattern used at both Ipswich and Hadleigh is noticeable. We also find the use of decorative flared bricks at Ipswich, not on the gatehouse itself but on the ancient boundary wall to the south of it. One of the two patterns there is the same pair of intersecting triangles found above the main entrance and on the back wall at Hadleigh. Close comparisons with the Oxburgh gate-tower (1476-82) have already been noted. Thus there seem to be no substantive objections to moving the date of the Hadleigh gate-tower back a decade.

It is possible, in any case, that Pykenham never intended to rebuild the parsonage house at Hadleigh. Why would he have bothered to do so, if he had gone to such trouble to provide high-status accommodation for himself in the new gate-tower? The later gate-tower at West Stow Hall, *c.* 1525, and the contemporary gate-tower at Giffords Hall, *c.* 1485, were also intended to be free-standing.



FIG. 85 – Giffords Hall, Suffolk. Gatehouse front (*photo and copyright Nicholas Moore*)



FIG. 86 – Cockfield Hall, Yoxford, Suffolk. Gatehouse. View from south.

Although by no means identical, the design of the latter is reminiscent of the Hadleigh exemplar in several respects, notably the panelled and traceried recesses on the turrets, fenestration and machicolation (Fig. 85). Irrespective of their intended function, such buildings appear to have fulfilled a subliminal role of dignifying or aggrandising an adjoining property. If this had been Pykenham's intention at Hadleigh, the venerable parsonage house would have bathed in the gate-tower's reflected glory. Finally, if Pykenham had completed the gate-tower by the mid 1480s, he would have left himself over a decade in which to enjoy living there.

THE COCKFIELD GATEHOUSE – A SPECIAL CASE?

Although it is free-standing, this exceptionally attractive gatehouse is a rare parallel to the Ipswich, Northgate Street structure (Fig. 86). However, it was built up to fifty years later. So why include it here? Cockfield Hall, Yoxford, was part of the Hopton estate. It will be recalled that Thomasine Hopton, née Barrington, was married to John Hopton from 1457-78 (Fig. 63). The latter's main residence had previously been at Blythburgh, but some time after their marriage the family moved to Cockfield Hall. After John's death Thomasine continued to live there contentedly for another twenty-one years.⁹⁴ As already noted, she and William Pykenham had been closely associated for most of their lives, not only by ties of blood but also by their business relationship. Thomasine had inherited considerable family landed estates in Essex, and more property by marriage in Surrey and Sussex. Both she and her husband had made Pykenham one of their feoffees. When William was appointed archdeacon of Suffolk, John and Thomasine had already been married for fifteen years. The latter must have visited the archdeacon's residence in Ipswich on more than one occasion, and was likely to have been party to his plans for both the Northgate Street and Hadleigh gatehouses.

We are at a considerable disadvantage at Cockfield in not fully understanding the scope of the original layout of the main buildings. The work was carried out by Arthur Hopton (b. 1489), Thomasine's great-grandson, but cannot have been commenced much before c. 1520 at the earliest, considering that he did not take up residence until 1525.⁹⁵ The common hall was not positioned on the far side of a courtyard, but in the centre of a front range. It is surprising that by then the hall entrance was not at least punctuated with a semi-detached gate-tower, which would have made the existing gatehouse redundant. In any case, the extant free-standing gatehouse looks somewhat out of place in this architectural setting.

On the ground floor it consists of single rooms on either side of the passageway, the one on the west side, at least, being provided with a fireplace. At the south-west end, there is an attached staircase tower, leading to a single first-floor chamber, which straddles the entire building. The inside measurements of this room are unusual, being approximately 40 x 15ft. There was a fireplace at the east end. There are two large windows in the centre of the north and south sides, and two more at each end on either side of the exterior chimney breasts.⁹⁶ Above the fireplace is a pair of massive oak beams, which project forwards into the room (Fig. 87). These beams must have protruded backwards through the end wall, and straddled the chimney flue.⁹⁷ Their structural purpose was, presumably, to stabilise the chimney breasts. At the other end of the room there is a single protruding beam. Given that at this end of the building the fireplace on the ground floor was relatively small, and that there appears to have been no matching fireplace on the first floor, perhaps a single beam would have sufficed to support the chimney. The corbels at the ends of all the beams represent carved caricature faces (Fig. 88). At the east end, could the beams have been part of an elaborate canopy? Up to dado level, the room is lined on both sides with its original oak dado panelling.

Having discovered an unexpectedly 'high status' purpose for the gatehouse chamber at Ipswich, one is intrigued by the possibility of recognising another at Cockfield. In any case, for a room that was for so long characterised as an apple store, some promotion in the hierarchy of function seems overdue. Such a purpose would fit in with the decline in ceremonial, and the burgeoning of informal

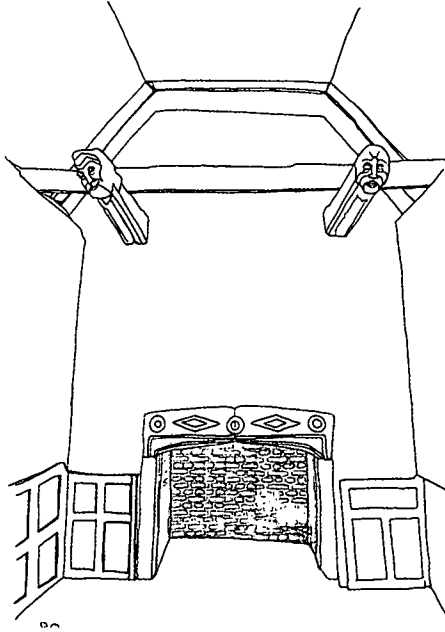


FIG. 87 – Cockfield Hall, Yoxford, Suffolk. Gatehouse. Upper chamber. Sketch view of fireplace end (east).

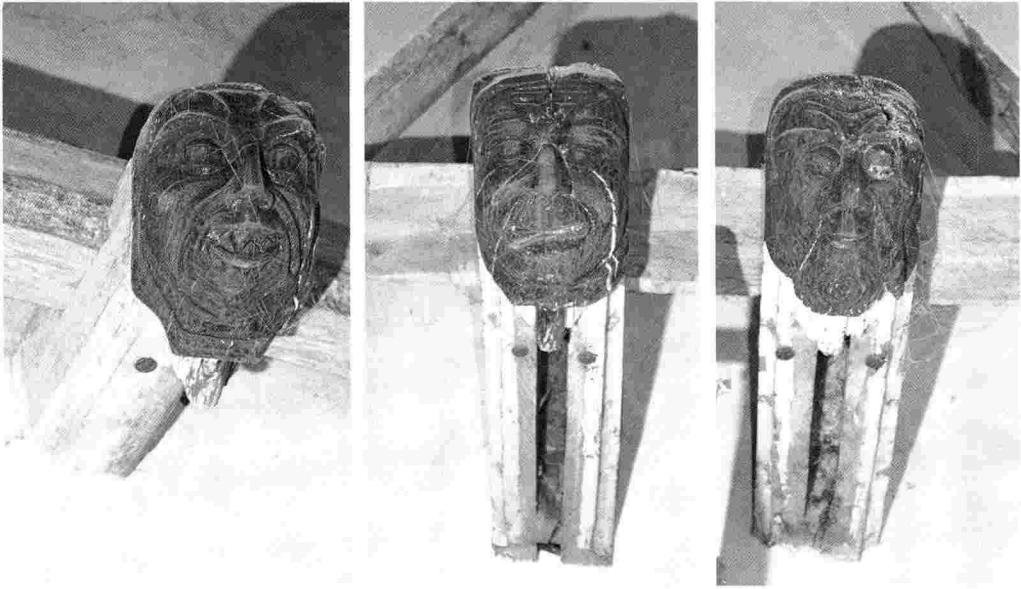


FIG. 88 – Cockfield Hall, Yoxford, Suffolk. Gatehouse. Upper chamber. Three oak carved caricature heads from protruding beams. Centre and right from east end, left from west end.

living, during the period 1450-1550, evidenced, in this context, by Pykenham's move to his purpose-built private apartments at Hadleigh.⁴⁰ Was the the gatehouse chamber at Cockfield designed as a place of entertainment, perhaps in which guests could eat and drink informally, listen to musicians and dance? Was it a place of resort for hunting parties where meats could be roasted over the fire? Perhaps the Cockfield gatehouse can supplement a tiny but potentially fertile body of evidence for similar buildings in Suffolk, such as the gloriolite at Leveringham Lodge, and the gate-tower chamber at West Stow with its wall paintings of hunting scenes.

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Abbreviations

<i>B.L.</i>	British Library.
<i>D.N.B.</i>	Dictionary of National Biography (2004).
<i>E.R.O.</i>	Essex Record Office.
<i>H.A.</i>	Hadleigh Archive.
<i>P.C.C.</i>	Prerogative Court of Canterbury.
<i>P.R.O.</i>	Public Record Office.
<i>S.R.O.I.</i>	Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch.
<i>V.C.H.</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i> series.

NOTES

1. V.C.H., *Essex*, IV, 91, n. 59.
2. *Ibid.*, 271.
3. Lowndes 1878, 268.
4. Thomas Battail's recorded death date of 1468 is rather problematic. If correct, he would have died in his nineties.
5. For a succinct account of this family saga, see V.C.H., *Essex*, IV, 91.
6. *Ibid.*, IV, 91, n. 52.
7. Lowndes 1878, 267-68.
8. I am indebted to David Allen for reading this and Walter Lyhart's will. See P.R.O., Probate 11/6, sig. 7. Rof P, vol. 5.
9. Lowndes provides some of the illegible place names, for instance Wantonlands, Piershall, and Aungre. See Lowndes 1878, 271.
10. Galpin 1898, 341.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Woodger 1974, 309. The document is P.R.O. SC11/816. My thanks to Dr James Ross for finding the relevant passage and transcribing it.
13. Longleat Mun. 1133. Dr Kate Harris kindly examined it for me.
14. P.R.O. PROB 11/15.
15. P.R.O. E101/28/29.
16. P.R.O., E 43/398.
17. P.R.O., C 143/371/14.
18. P.R.O., E 326/8129.
19. This excerpt from Sir John Sulyard's will, P.R.O., Probate 11/8, is quoted in Murray and Others 1880, 226.
20. Richmond 1981, 215. For the will, see S.R.O.I., HA 30/314/18 m3, and P.R.O. Probate PCC 6.
21. See King 1884. For the Grandfather Totham referred to, see Thomasine Hopton's will of 1497, P.R.O., Probate 11/11.
22. This is analysed in Richmond 1981, 215-19, 241-42, and speculated upon in Richmond 2004.
23. See Venn and Venn 1922, 1530-31, and Emden 1963, 464, and the pioneering biographical sketch is in Pigot 1863, 87.

24. For a brief account of Thomas Bouchier and the Bouchier family, see du Boulay 1952, VII-XXIII. For a detailed study of Henry Bouchier, see Woodger 1974.
25. Woodger 1974, 313.
26. For an account of the remains of St Giles Hospital, see Pevsner and Radcliffe 1965, 292.
27. The appointment is given in le Strange 1890. My thanks to Mrs Wilkins-Jones for her advice.
28. Woodger 1974, 311-12.
29. P.R.O., Probate 11/11, ff. 73v.-74.
30. Wilkins Manuscript 1721, 52-3.
31. Richmond 2004, 437. For Pykenham's conditions with regard to his place of burial, see *ibid.*
32. Andrews has adduced two contemporary testators at Hadleigh 'of sufficient wealth and standing in the community to warrant' burial in this tomb; the 'first, Thomas Bendish the elder; manorial Lord of Toppesfield, who requested in 1500 to be sepulchred at Hadleigh by Our Lady Chapel where the poor men sit', see P.R.O., P.C.C., 15, Moore.; 'the second, William Forthe, clothier, who requested in 1504 burial either in church or churchyard', see P.R.O., P.C.C., 19 Holgrave. Andrews 2006, 15.
33. Hadleigh Archive, 025/E/10. There is a MS. translation of the will in the the Ipswich branch of the Suffolk Record Office. See S.R.O.I., q S 929.3. For a partial transcript, see Spooner 1881, 378-80. This was also proved at Canterbury on 8 May.
34. Sue Andrews *pers. com.*
35. Also note the strict injunctions regarding the management of the estate's affairs, following his demise, to prevent 'embezzling, Counterfeiting of Evidence etc.' Taken from the English early 19th-century translation, of the will see S.R.O.I, q S 929.3
36. Peter Northeast has generously provided these translations, which I have punctuated for easier comprehension. A will which resonates with Pykenham's is that of Bishop Lyhart, d. 24 May, 1472. That he knew the bishop's will is certain, as he had acted as its chief executor. Lyhart insisted that his funeral expenses were 'not to be excessive, but moderate', without 'solace for the rich and well-founded', but rather for 'the sick and needy'. See P.R.O., Probate 11/16. Each of the paupers attending the Lyhart's funeral were to have 2d., whereas Pykenham stipulated 1d.
37. Richmond 2004, 440-41.
38. Other executors of the testament were Thomas Mason, chaplain, William Baker, the testator's most highly remunerated servant (4 marks) and Thomas Rolfeman, another high-ranking servant, receiving 100s. The long list of witnesses was headed by Master John Ashwell, parish chaplain, William Estney, rector of Susted, Essex, John Gilbert, chaplain, Robert Dawson, rector of Whittendon (*sic*), Robert Forth, a Hadleigh gentleman, presumably a relation of William Forthe, Edmund Wale (another local gentleman and trustee of the will) and Robert Marler.
39. Emden lists five, but John Blatchly, who has kindly examined them, finds no evidence for linking the Francis de Meyronnes, Theological tractates, B.L. Royal MS.7. D v; with Pykenham. He says that the other four manuscripts certainly belonged to William Pykenham, and were presented to the hospital of St Thomas Acon, now the Mercers' chapel, London. They all contain an inscription in the same hand: 'Liber don' sancti thome de acon London' ex dono magister Willelmi Pyknam archidiaconi norvicensis'. One would have expected 'sudvolcensis' or 'gyppovicensis'.
Blatchly's descriptive list is as follows:
 1. B.L. Royal MS.3 A. ix (Magister Johannes de Abbatsvilla, Sermones super epistolis et evangeliis festivalibus) 29 by 21cm by 6cm thick
 2. B.L. Royal MS.3 E. x and xi (Nicholas de Gorran, Commentary on the four Gospels)
 3. B.L. Royal MS.E. xi (Nicholas de Gorran, Commentary on the Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse) 2. and 3. are a matching pair, both 45 by 29cm and 5cm thick
 4. B.L. Royal MS.4 C. vii (Nicholas de Gorran, Commentary on the Psalms) 36 by 23 and 6cm thick.
 'They are all on vellum and have minimal decoration (not much more than an illuminated capital at the beginning of the book). They are in excellent condition and show little sign of wear or even use. Neither Pykenham nor any subsequent owner wrote his name or any marginal notes in the books. The four we believe to have been Pykenham's are all bound in full calf with gold tooling on the spine, 18th century'. Cf. Emden 1963, 465. My thanks to Blatchly for his valuable analysis.
40. St John Hope 1921, 26.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Edward 1883, 181. Inventory of 1521, f. 22.
43. *Ibid.*
44. St John Hope 1921, 26.

45. For a discussion of ritual marks, see Easton 1999.
46. The monument to John Baret, d. 1467, at St Mary, Bury St Edmunds rests on a limestone plinth. I am indebted to Bob Carr for several invaluable insights in connection with the Pykenham monument.
47. The manner of this later insertion betrays a mid-19th-century date and a post-medieval and inept conception. See, for instance, the unorthodox handling of the stiles. There are traces of red beneath the grey paint. Probably, in the first place, the capitals at the top of the monument would have carried finials.
48. Pigot 1890, 41. Pigot was Curate of Hadleigh, 1843-63, and seems to have spent most of his professional life in East Anglia. In 1869 he was appointed rector of Streatham with Thetford in the diocese of Ely. His *The History of Hadleigh* was published in 1859.
49. *Ibid.* The square bosses at each end of the table top have been planed off. Also the front edge-moulding from the top of the plinth is missing. Undeniable proof that the monument has been turned around is provided by the fact that the columns at the surviving ends of the side panels are carved in the solid with the rest. Evidence of the thorough going nature of the work is provided by a close examination of the ceiling. This was also revolved. In the process it was badly damaged and crudely repaired in 'Roman cement', a characteristically brown mortar commonly employed c. 1800-50. Also there are several unmistakably 19th-century tool marks on the ceiling.
50. *Ibid.*, 39-40.
51. The indent clearly indicates a double halo, one above the other, for the Virgin and the Christ Child.
52. I am grateful to Andrews for confirming the position of the medieval Lady Chapel and the guild of St John the Baptist, at the south-east end of the chancel.
53. Andrews 2006, 15. The writer pointed out that the earlier poorhouses must have already been dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, since when 'Pykenham was buying up real estate, the eastern end of George Street was called Mawdelyn Street'.
54. Facing the coffin in the sepulchre below the canopy of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, c. 1441-43, at St Albans Cathedral, was a painting of the Crucifixion, see Goodall and Monckton 2001, 234-35, and Fig. 4.
55. Farmer 1997, 93
56. On two Devonshire church screens, she holds a heart and book, although she usually carries a lily. *Ibid.* The Blackfriars arrived in Ipswich in the late 13th century, where they had a substantial house. Pevsner and Radcliffe 1974, 303.
57. Blatchly *pers. comm.*
58. The Wingfield monument is made of alabaster. At Blythburgh all the identifying marks having been removed. However, circumstantially, it is most likely that it is John Hopton's tomb, given that it is immediately adjacent to the former Hopton Chapel on the north side, and that Thomasine Hopton in her will specifically refers to the fact that her late husband was buried at Blythburgh.
59. By the time that he died, Hopton had been married to Thomasine for eighteen years. The brasses on the top of his tomb probably pictured his first two wives, Margaret, d. c. 1451, and Agnes Heveningham, who Hopton married soon after the death of his first wife. She died within a year. The chantry, dedicated to St Margaret, on the north side, was founded by Hopton to pray for his first wife's soul. In her will of February 1497-98 Thomasine Hopton stated that she wished to be buried in her former husband's tomb, but that, if she died in Essex, she was to be interred in the Barrington family church at Rayleigh. It is almost certain that she is buried at Blythburgh, however, given that no tomb appears to have been erected to her in the Essex church. See King 1884, 66. One can only speculate on the fashion in which Thomasine had planned for her presence in the Blythburgh tomb to be recorded. Perhaps one or more of the escutcheons on the tomb chest were to be adapted to carry the Barrington coat of arms.
60. Richmond 2004, 439.
61. At Long Melford Roger Martin discusses the use of John Clopton's tomb as a receptacle for an Easter Sepulchre. The latter seems to have been of wood, and small enough to fit on top of the sarcophagus within the sides of the open canopy. See Dymond and Paine, 1992, 4, n. 15. The only surviving wooden Easter Sepulchre in England is the one at Cowthorpe, North Yorkshire. See Marks and Williamson, 2003, Cat. 273.
62. Dymond and Paine, 4, n. 15.
63. Cherry, 1984, 89.
64. Richmond 2004, 439.
65. Le Neve, 1963, 33. Noellet was a Frenchman, and there were several more foreigners who had been appointed archdeacon of Suffolk, including William de Fieschi or de Flisco (1353-57), Monsignor Francis de St Maximo (1357), Elias Tallyrand de Perigord, cardinal bishop of Albano (1357-59), Elizarus de Sabrano, Cardinal prior of S. Balbina (?- 1380), and Philip de Alençon, Cardinal bishop of Sabina (1380-81). See *ibid.*, 32-33.
66. John Fairclough, from his expert knowledge of the ancient town, contributed enormously to a reasonable interpretation of the building complex.
67. I am most grateful to John Blatchly for bringing this evidence to my attention. At the north end of the site, two tenements are referred to 'lately built in the backe lane & upon the waye under the ArchDeacons wall between the same & the Towne wall', and a stable 'lying next westeward & sett under the side wall of the Arch Deacons house in the saide lane'. The only taxable property was on the corner of Oak Lane (formerly St Mary's Lane) and Brooke (*sic.*) Street, namely, a corner tenement 'late Bennetts over against the two last (on the other side of Brook Street, and shown on Ogilby's map) abutting upon Brook Street Easte and Snt Mary Tower Church Yard West & upon Snt Mary Lane South.' (Fig. 68, F).
68. My thanks to Dave Stenning for this insight.

69. The western segment of the courtyard range, which abuts on to the north side of the hall, has a 17th-century roof in two phases. Dave Stenning *pers. comm.* At ground floor level, one of the gate posts of the cart-way appears to be ancient. This suggests that in the archdeacon's time there was a similar arrangement in this position.
70. I am grateful to John Walker for pointing out the evidence for this window on the east post of the present doorway into the extension.
71. See note 67.
72. Blatchly *pers. comm.* He hopes to publish his findings in the near future.
73. See the print by W. Hagreen, of 1845, in the S.R.O.I.
74. When the restoration was undertaken, the building was abandoned and in a parlous state. A considerable amount of new wood had to be inserted.
75. Originally there were thirteen stone steps from the floor of the chamber to the door at the bottom, including the now missing pair at the top.
76. About this arch, Ken Wilson has stated: 'It is clear from the inside (of the gatehouse chamber) that the doorway had two brick arches, a small inner one recessed within a larger outer one. The inner arch, at a height of 6ft 6in over a 2ft opening, is of half-brick depth and the outer one – over and beyond the inner one – is one-brick, probably the thickness of the dividing wall, and appears to have a proportionately larger span'.
77. Wilson estimates that: 'The lowest step of the first flight of stairs is 10ft 4in beneath the underside of the floor (of the gatehouse) and since the distance from that point to the ground is 13ft 10in this means that, assuming a step within the doorway, four steps would have been required inside the adjacent building to reach the floor. The reason for this is (that) the stairway occupies all the space between front and back walls so it had to turn in order to descend the final 2ft 10in'.
78. The original window with oak mullions was exposed when the surface rendering was removed in 1982/83.
79. I am most grateful to John Goodall for this interpretation of the function of the gatehouse extension.
80. On the north side, a huge diamond is partly obscured by the adjoining 19th-century deanery.
81. It is not clear if there ever were any windows on the west side, but it seems probable.
82. One wonders why the fine moulded stone staircase handrail is discontinued above first-floor level. This was presumably because it was principally supposed to impress the visitor. By contrast, at Oxburgh it continues on up to the second floor, which contains a second 'state room'.
83. Woodfields 1981-82, 7, Fig. 3, 6a.
84. Howard 1987, 25.
85. Hembry 1978, 154.
86. *Ibid.*, 153.
87. Pevsner and Radcliffe 1974, 511; Parr 1952, I, 217-20; Bevan 1921, 532-38.
88. For West Stow, see *ibid.*, 482.
89. See Firmans 1967, Howard 1987, p. 171, n. 15.
90. Howard 1987, 172.
91. Goodall, *pers. comm.*
92. Wood 1994, Fig. 55, p. 159.
93. Wilkins Manuscript, 114; Andrews 2006, 15.
94. For Thomasine's widowhood at Cockfield, see Richmond 1981, 69-71, *et. al.* For a study of the village of Yoxford in the middle ages, see Scarfe 1986, 140-52; for an account of the Hall and ancillary buildings in the 1920s, see Bevan, 1925, and Parr 1952, I, 217-220.
95. Parr stated that the subsidy for 1524 assessed him for lands at Blythburgh. The regulation was that you were only rated where a man 'keeps house or has most resort etc.'. *Ibid.*, II, 8.
96. The window at the east end has been blocked up.
97. I am grateful to Paul Woodfield for this suggestion.
98. Howard 1987, Chapter 5.