

# EXCAVATIONS IN THE SACRIST'S YARD, AT THE FORMER SHIRE HALL, BURY ST EDMUNDS

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*with contributions by Julie Curl, John Summers and Peter Thompson*

## Summary

*In September 2012 Archaeological Solutions Ltd conducted an archaeological excavation at a site that has previously been identified as the location of the sacrist's yard belonging to the medieval abbey of St Edmund.*

*The stratigraphically earliest archaeology could be chronologically divided into features of Saxo-Norman date and of high medieval date. It is suggested that the Saxo-Norman archaeology predates the use of this area as the sacrist's yard. The high medieval features are likely to be contemporary with the use of this area for this purpose.*

*The later features comprised activity of post-medieval and early modern date, as well as levelling layers and buried soils. Features of these dates are limited but the activity is consistent with the known history of the area and some of the archaeology may represent elements depicted on early cartographic sources. An assemblage of environmental remains gives an insight into a varied diet on this site on the edge of the monastic precinct.*

## INTRODUCTION

THE FORMER SHIRE HALL at Raingate Street, Bury St Edmunds (Fig. 146) lies within the early settlement core of the town and at the southern edge of the medieval abbey of St Edmund. Archaeological work and documentary research carried out within the last decade or so has identified part of the Shire Hall complex that lies outside of the abbey's precinct wall as the location of the medieval sacrist's yard (Fig. 147).<sup>1</sup> The sacrist was an important official within the abbey and would have overseen a large staff responsible for the administration of the abbey buildings and the construction works and routine maintenance within the complex.

In September 2012, Archaeological Solutions Ltd conducted an archaeological excavation at this location (Figs 146 and 147). This excavation identified three stratigraphic phases of activity, broadly dated as medieval, post-medieval and modern.

## THE EXCAVATION

### *Phase 1 (medieval)*

#### *Introduction.*

Fifty-four features were assigned to Phase 1, based on stratigraphic relationships (Fig. 148). A further seventeen features had previously been observed in the same stratigraphic position during the preceding evaluation; these too comprised Phase 1 activity. Dateable finds and stratigraphic relationships indicate that the features within Phase 1 comprised three different sub-phases of activity (Fig. 148).

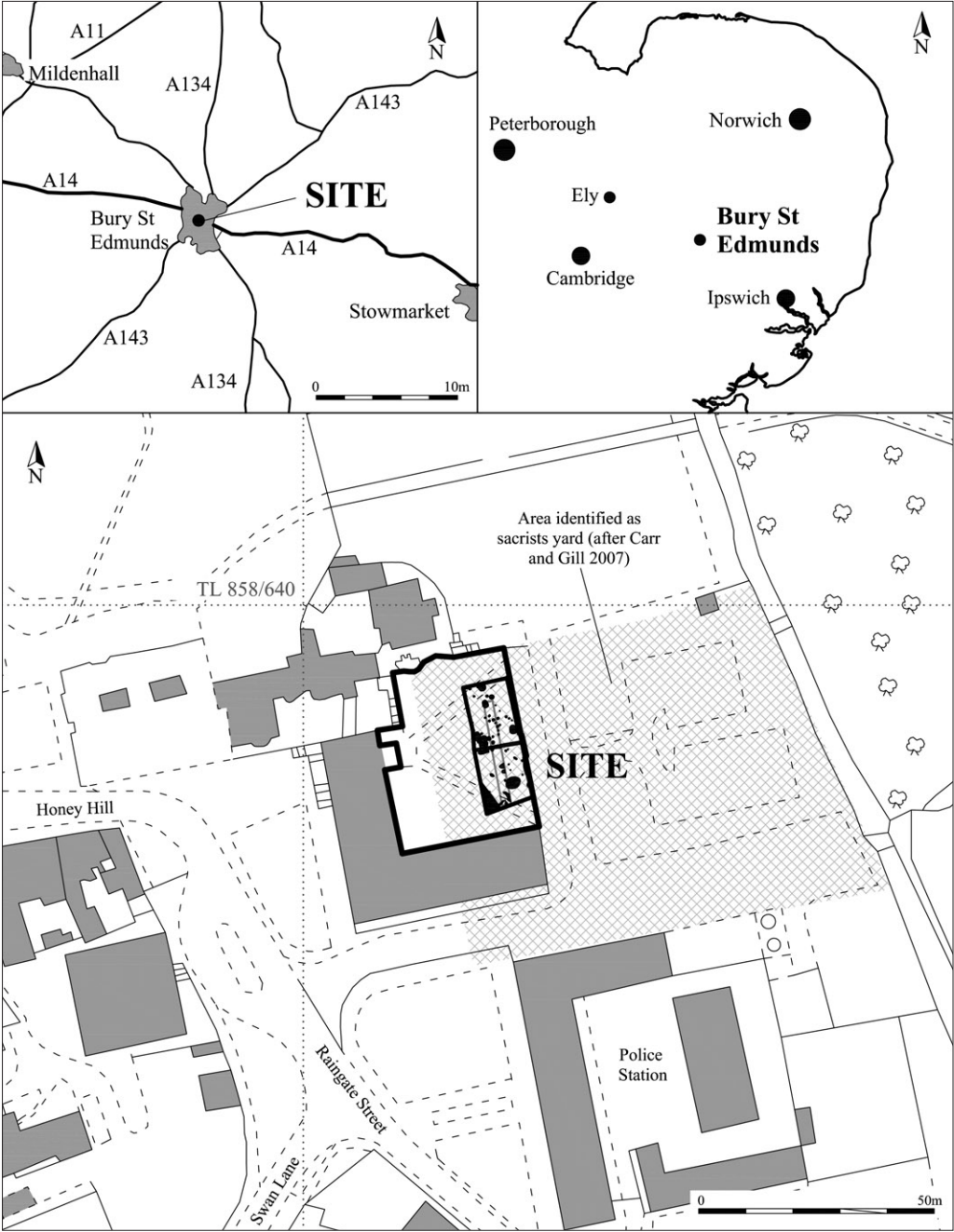


FIG. 146 – Site location.

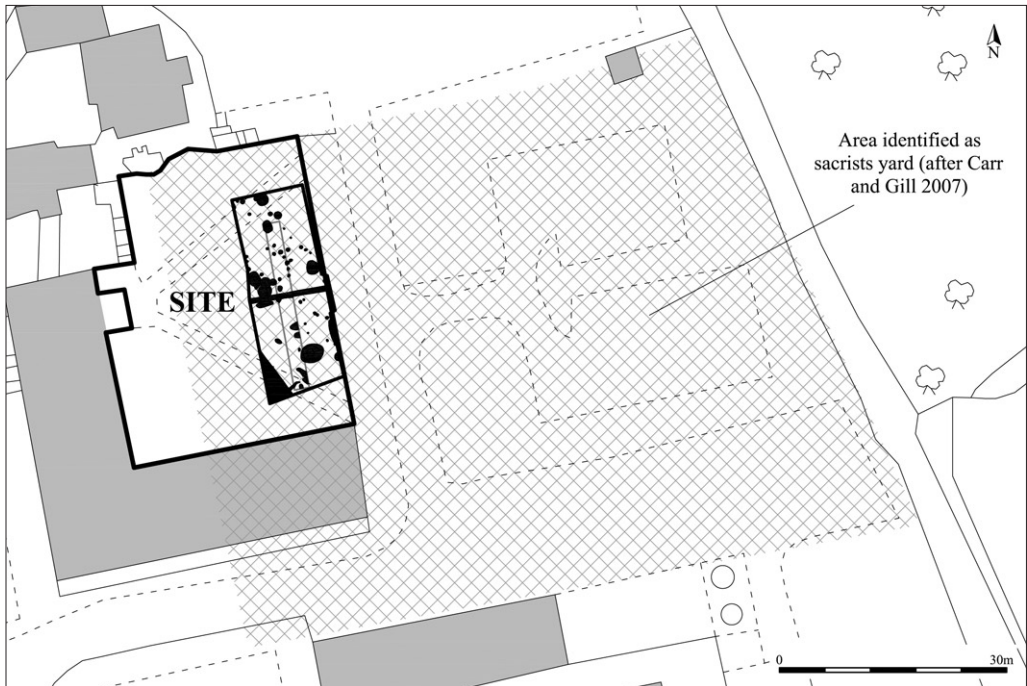


FIG. 147 – Area identified as sacrist's yard (after Carr and Gill 2007).

*Sub-Phase 1: Saxo-Norman* (Andrew A. S. Newton and Peter Thompson).

The earliest dateable feature was F2168. This was a large, vertical-sided feature in the south-western corner of the excavated area. Pottery evidence from its basal fill dated it to the tenth to twelfth centuries.

Possibly contemporary with F2168 was L2006, a metalled or reinforced surface recorded in the central eastern part of the site. Like F2168, this was dated to the tenth to early twelfth century. Post-hole F2074, which cut F2072, also contained Saxo-Norman pottery. A pair of undated post-holes to the north-west of, and possibly aligned with, post-hole F2074 may indicate the ephemeral remains of a structure in this part of the site. A fourth feature containing Saxo-Norman pottery, irregular pit F2166, lay towards the northern end of the excavated area.

Eight sherds of Saxo-Norman pottery (55g) were recovered in total; six in Thetford ware and two tiny fragments of St Neots ware. Two forms were identifiable, a Thetford hollow cooking pot rim, 14cm in diameter, from L2005, a deposit overlying the Phase 1 features, and the shoulder and part of the neck of a probable Thetford-type pitcher, or possibly a bottle, with horizontal bands of wavy line decoration from the possible metalled surface L2006. Similar decoration is known from jugs and jars in early medieval sandy ware of similar date, and Bury medieval coarse ware fabrics are similar to Thetford-type ware, but the fabric is in keeping with Thetford ware and decorated pitchers have been recovered from the Thetford area.<sup>2</sup> Post-hole F2074 (L2075) also contained a small sherd (3g) of Thetford-type fabric. F2168 (L2169) in the south-east corner contained a tiny fragment of St Neots ware (1g). A Thetford-type sherd (3g) came from pit F2166 (L2167), but this feature was also located in the evaluation (as F1054) and yielded a Bury coarse ware, making the Thetford-type sherd either residual, or right at the end of its production date (i.e. mid-late twelfth century).



It is interesting, however, to note that Whittingham, despite also quoting passages from this deed in his report on the plan, design and development of the church and monastic buildings at the abbey of St Edmund at the Summer Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute at Ipswich, 1951, indicates that the sacrist's yard and all of the associated buildings were situated within the walls of the abbey precinct, in an area labelled on other sources as the monks' cemetery (Fig. 149).<sup>4</sup> There appears to be some discrepancy here, as the document from 1663 states that the mansion for the sacrist's household was 'without the wall'.<sup>5</sup> However, when Samson of Tottington, a former sub-sacrist at Bury St Edmunds, was elected abbot in February 1182, he commanded that the house of the sacrist in the monks' cemetery should be 'entirely plucked up by reasons of the frequent wine-bibbings and certain other acts not to be named'.<sup>6</sup> This suggests that the sacrist's yard was indeed at one time located within the abbey precinct, and that the features dated to the tenth to twelfth centuries categorised as Phase 1, Sub-Phase 1 may predate the use of this area by the sacrist's household and staff.

The features assigned to Sub-Phase 1 were widely dispersed across the excavated area and no clear function presents itself. Their position in relation to the extant twelfth-century precinct wall may, however, offer an explanation. These features were all of twelfth century or earlier date and as such may relate to activity associated with the construction of the abbey wall. This is particularly applicable to F2168 which could represent a pit for the excavation of the naturally occurring sands and gravels for use in mortar for the wall's construction.

#### *Sub-Phase 2: early to high medieval.*

Twelve of the remaining dateable features assigned to Phase 1 contained finds indicating an early to high medieval date and the majority of the undated features in stratigraphic Phase 1 were likely to also have comprised activity of this date.

The stratigraphically earliest of the dateable Sub-Phase 2 features was the very straight, regular Ditch F2099 which ran from east to west and extended beyond the limits of excavation in both directions. Ceramic evidence suggests that it was an early feature in Sub-

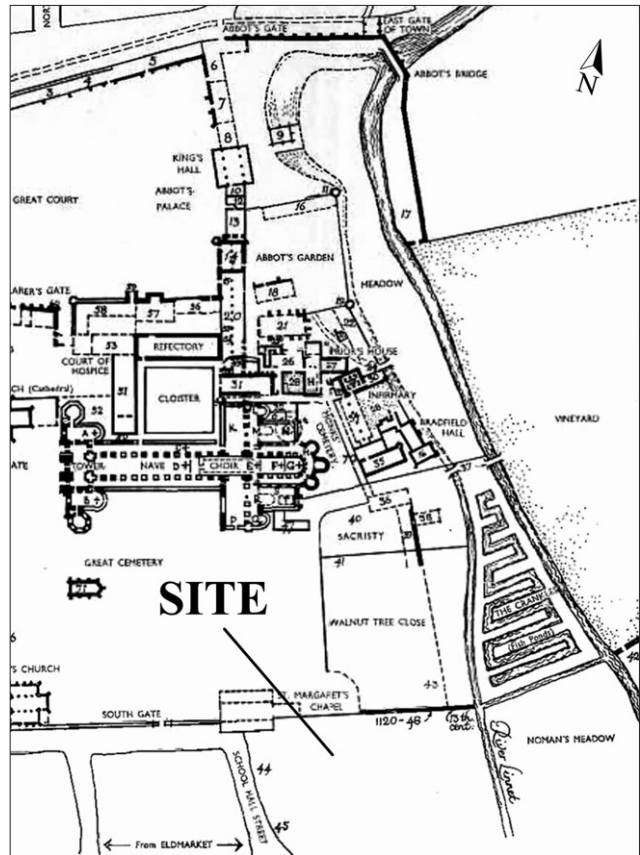


FIG. 149 – A.B. Whittingham's (1952) conjectural plan of the layout of Bury St Edmunds Abbey.

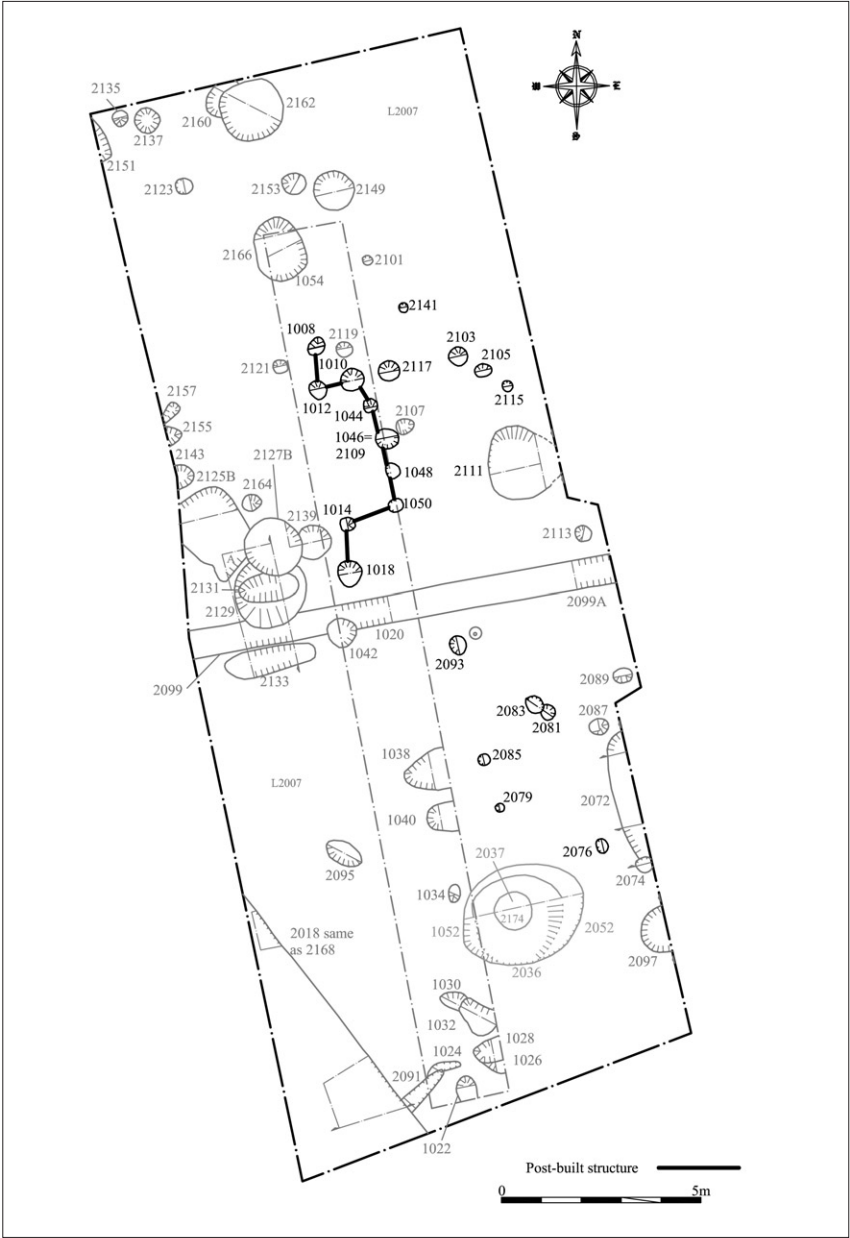


FIG. 150 – Possible structural configurations of post-holes in Phase 1.

Phase 2 and was filled in during the period of time that the Sub-Phase represents. Towards the western end of Ditch F2099 was a cluster of pits of variable size and shape. Their finds assemblages suggest that they were used for refuse deposition. Three undated features (F2164, F2139 and F2133) lay in close proximity to this group of features and may have served a similar function.

Post-holes were identified mainly in the central and central eastern parts of the excavated area. A group of post-holes consisting of F1010, F1012, F1014, F1016, F1044, F1046, (F2109), F1048, F1050, F1008 and F1018 may have formed an open-sided rectangular structure (Fig. 148). The argument that these features formed a single structure was supported by the observation that their form and fills were directly comparable. The arrangement of the other post-holes offers no single clear structural configuration although several different configurations may be postulated (Fig. 150).

At the northern end of the excavated area were several pits of varying size and shape. Finds from them consisted solely of animal bone and oyster shell, and this material is likely to represent small deposits of food waste. Environmental analysis of samples taken from these features provided a similar picture; one pit contained a particularly rich assemblage of cereal remains as well as a small quantity of arable weed seeds. Non-cereal remains comprised only a small percentage of the assemblage, suggesting that this was a food-waste deposit. Despite the lack of evidence for any of the structures or buildings listed in the document of 1663 as forming part of the sacrist's yard, deposits such as these may be expected in an area in which a brewhouse, bakehouse, kitchen and granary were located.<sup>7</sup>

*Sub-Phase 3: stratigraphically early post-medieval/early modern features.*

F2111, a sub-circular pit at the eastern edge of the excavated area, and F2127, a circular, vertical-sided pit towards the western edge of the excavated area, which cut several Sub-Phase 2 pits, both contained pottery and ceramic building material indicative of a post-medieval or early modern date (Fig. 148). These were the latest features, both stratigraphically and on the basis of artefactual evidence, that fell into Phase 1. Given the dates assigned to the deposits overlying them, the dating evidence from these features appears anomalous and it is possible that they are the result of modern mechanical excavation. Such activity could have occurred as the result of modern construction or development in association with the former Shire Hall. This, however, does not explain why no trace of these features was recorded cutting through the overlying deposits

*Post-Dissolution deposits overlying the Phase 1 features*

(by Andrew A. S. Newton and Peter Thompson).

The abbey was dissolved in 1539 and was sold by letters patent for £412 19s 4d.<sup>8</sup> This was, in general, the fate of England's great religious houses at the Dissolution. The dismantling of the conventual church was probably a mandatory part of the process (the abbey church at Norton, near Runcorn, was deliberately made uninhabitable by removing the roof),<sup>9</sup> and many buildings were converted into private dwellings whilst vast quantities of stone were removed for use elsewhere.<sup>10</sup> The buildings of the abbey of St Edmund were treated as a convenient source of stone for use in other buildings in Bury.<sup>11</sup>

Whether the buildings associated with the sacrist's yard suffered the same fate as those within the abbey precinct is uncertain. However, there is no medieval pottery in the entirety of the assemblage from the site that is later than c.1400; this may suggest that there was little activity in this area in the period prior to the Dissolution, possibly suggesting that the location of the sacrist's yard was shifted again, at some time prior to the Dissolution.

Overlying the medieval features were two layers of made ground (L2005 and L2043). Pottery evidence from these layers suggests a disturbed medieval layer and contains fabric of twelfth- to fourteenth-century date.<sup>12</sup> During the preceding trial trench evaluation, moderate medium-sized flints were observed in layer L2043. Previous archaeological work here has identified medieval building flints and similar flints occur in surviving sections of the precinct



Indeed, the earliest post-medieval pottery present at the site dated to some forty years after the abbey was dissolved.<sup>14</sup>

The majority of the Phase 2 evidence occurred at the southern end of the excavated area (Fig. 151). Only three features were recorded toward the northern end. These were an isolated post-hole (F2066), a track or path (F2068) represented by a shallow cut filled with a compact, silty clay with moderate flint and gravel (L2069) that ran broadly parallel to the abbey's precinct wall, and a small pit (F2070).

At the southern end of the excavated area was F2053 (Fig. 151). This contained apparent refuse deposits. To the north of this feature was a group of five post-holes possibly with a structural association. To the east of these post-holes lay F2036 (Fig. 151), a large, deep feature which may have been a well.

Some detail regarding the use of the site in this period is provided by the deed of 1663 in which Anna Yeend granted to her daughter Alice:

All those grounds called or knowne by the name or names of the Sextry yard and the Walnuttree yard or by either of those names of the same or part thereof are now planted with trees together with the Barne thereupon builded and of the nether part of the gate leading into the said ground called or known by the name Nomans Meadows conteyning together with the said Sextry yard and Walnuttree yard.<sup>15</sup>

The exact location of 'Walnuttree yard' (and whether or not it comprised a completely separate entity to the 'Sextry yard') is not clear, though Whittingham suggested that it lay within the abbey precinct, an assertion dismissed in the conclusions of the documentary research which formed part of the body of work that identifies the current site as the location of the sacrist's yard and which suggests that 'Walnuttree yard' must have been the low-lying meadow adjoining the river Linnet.<sup>16</sup> The presence of the trees and barn mentioned in the document gives an impression of an agricultural or semi-agricultural function for this land. The site would also have lain in close proximity to what would have been a fairly extensively developed part of the town by this time; a sketch map based on the sacrist's rental records of 1443 shows a network of important streets to the south of the abbey complex.<sup>17</sup>

The Phase 2 archaeology is consistent with the kinds of activity that may be expected in the vicinity of both domestic and agricultural buildings. Finds assemblages were generally small, and much of the material that was recovered comprised residual medieval finds; perhaps unsurprising given the concentration of activity likely to have occurred in the sacrist's yard while the abbey was extant.

The earliest post-medieval pottery recovered from the site is red earthenware. This is normally considered to appear *c.*1580. With the latest medieval pottery dating to *c.*1400, this indicates a potential gap of 180 years during which no pottery was deposited on the site. This might suggest that, following the Dissolution, the area of the sacrist's yard was used solely for agricultural purposes or remained unused.

#### *Deposits overlying the Phase 2 features*

The post-medieval features were overlain by a series of broadly contemporary layers (L2028, L2029 and L2034) which were cut by modern (Phase 3) features. All were broadly similar sandy clay silts.

#### *Phase 3 (early-modern)*

The third stratigraphic phase is dated to the early modern period (Fig. 152). Phase 3 features cut the levelling layers that are tentatively dated to the late seventeenth to nineteenth century.

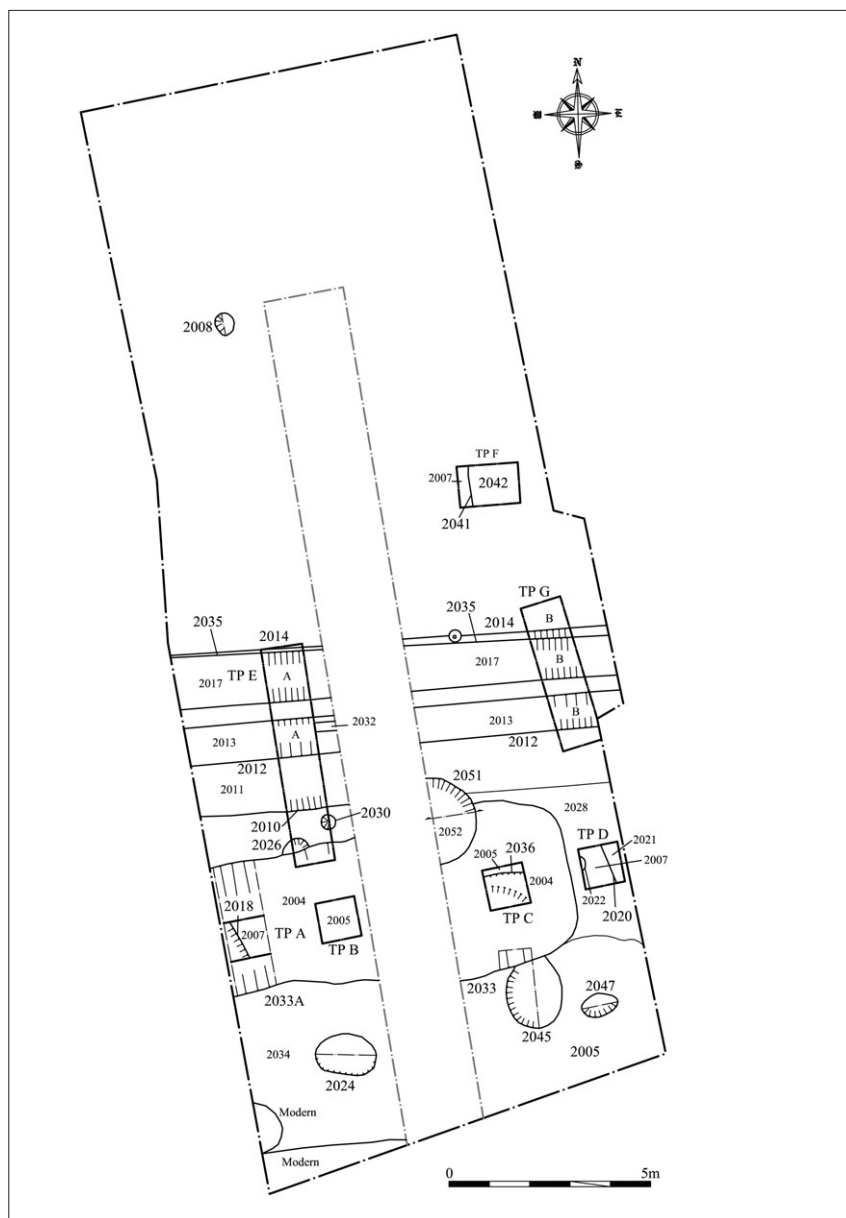


FIG. 152 – Phase 3 plan.

They were overlain by deposits L2002 and L2003, which contained sixteenth- to nineteenth-century pottery.

Across the central part of the excavated area, a series of four intercutting ditches was observed (Fig. 152). These ran in an east–west alignment, extending beyond the limits of excavation in both directions. The majority of the Phase 3 activity occurred to the south of these ditches, suggesting that they formed some kind of boundary.

Running broadly parallel to the boundary ditches and leading from the west, in alignment with Schoolhall Street, and terminating within the excavation area, was F2035, a shallow feature with firm, compact fills with a slight camber that appears to represent a metallised surface for a trackway or path. Towards its terminus, it flared in width from c.3.25m to c.4.25m, perhaps to accommodate unloading or turning of vehicles.

## DISCUSSION

*Economic evidence: food supply in the abbey of St Edmund* (Andrew A. S. Newton, John Summers and Julie Curl)

The deed of 1663 indicates that the sacrist's yard contained a brewhouse, bakehouse, kitchen and granary.<sup>18</sup> Whittingham suggests the presence of a further brewery, bakehouse, kitchen and granary, in addition to a mill and buttery, in the north-western part of the abbey complex; he also identifies the position of the abbot's own brewery and bakehouse.<sup>19</sup> This indicates that there were several of these elements within the abbey complex serving different parts of the abbey's community. Whilst it is possible that their positions and the parts of the community that they served changed over time, this suggests that the brewery, bakehouse, kitchen and granary that formed part of the sacrist's yard served only the members of the sacrist's staff and household.

Analysis of the environmental samples has revealed the presence of cereal grains in medieval features.<sup>20</sup> Overall, the plant macrofossil assemblage is dominated by grains of free-threshing type wheat which is considered to be the principal food crop in medieval England. Rye and oats were also present; these are generally considered to be fodder crops and may help to demonstrate the presence of stables in the vicinity of the excavation site. The overall character of the assemblage is suggestive of general refuse from the day-to-day use of cereals. This may suggest that the brewhouse, bakehouse, kitchen and granary were only producing and processing relatively low quantities of food and drink sufficient to serve the needs of the sacrist's household and staff.

Certain weed seeds present in the environmental samples suggest that the cereal crops were grown on heavy clay soils. Most of the farms that supplied food to the abbey, and were under its ownership, were located on the fertile clay soils of the area to the east of Bury St Edmunds.<sup>21</sup>

The faunal assemblage recovered from the site appears to consist largely of butchering and food waste. Its overall character may be considered to be indicative of a high-status medieval diet. It indicates a supply of good quality meat from young domestic animals supplemented by a variety of wildfowl. Such meat is likely to have been available to a high-ranking member of a wealthy religious establishment and the presence of this assemblage may be evidence of the proximity of the sacrist's own household to the location in which the excavation was conducted.

The range of birds, although relatively small, strongly suggests waste from high-status meals. The presence of crane and great bustard in particular are suggestive of the remains of large feasts. Other medieval or early post-medieval contexts at sites in central Bury St Edmunds have produced a range of less common birds such as turkey and peacock at Cattle Market Street, shelduck at the Angel Hotel and partridge and woodcock at Out Risbygate, all found alongside the usual range of farmed mammals.<sup>22</sup> The hunting of these various wild birds is likely to have been an attractive diversion to the wealthier or more important members of both religious and secular society. The presence of the remains of a terrier or spaniel-sized hunting dog further indicates such activities and a certain degree of status.

*The site in relation to the abbey complex and the surrounding town**The layout of the site in the medieval period.*

The distribution of the Saxo-Norman (Sub-Phase 1) features suggests fairly sparse activity during this period. The marked increase in the number and density of features assigned to Phase 1, Sub-Phase 2 indicates a change in the activities carried out in this area in the early to high medieval period which accords with the relocation of the sacrist's house to this site in 1182.<sup>23</sup>

The excavation did not identify any direct evidence for the structural remains of the important buildings that documentary research suggests formed part of the sacrist's yard.<sup>24</sup> This is probably because such buildings would have been located towards the edges of this area; the excavation area was located around its approximate centre. However, the number of post-holes present suggests regular, if not continuous, use of this area for the construction of temporary structures or stock pens/enclosures which would appear consistent with the types of activities that may have been carried out in the sacrist's yard.

*The medieval sacrist's yard and its relationship to the rest of the abbey complex.*

Despite the evidence indicating that the location of the sacrist's yard changed in 1182, the responsibilities of the sacrist, nevertheless, suggest that the location of his yard outside of the precinct may be more appropriate than one within it. The repair of the fabric of the abbey's buildings came under the control of the sacrist and the holder of this office was responsible, amongst many other things, for the building projects both within the abbey's precinct and on its estates.<sup>25</sup> While sub-sacrist at Bury St Edmunds in the period 1180–1182, Samson of Tottington was master of the workmen rebuilding the quire and made preparations for the construction of the great tower.<sup>26</sup> Gransden quotes a document that states that Richard of Newport, appointed sacrist in c.1220, procured timber in the manor of Melford.<sup>27</sup> It is conceivable that supplies of such building material were stored, at least temporarily, in the sacrist's

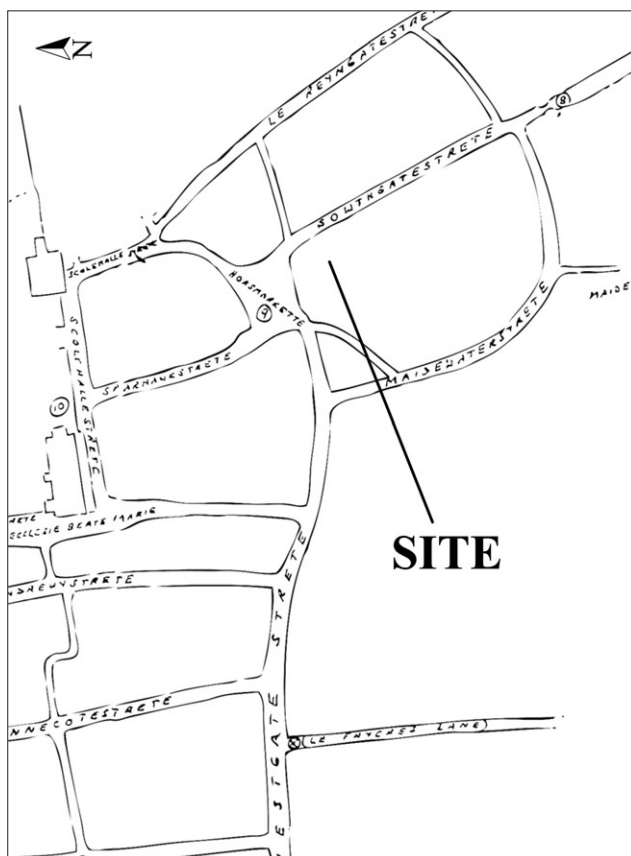


FIG. 153 – Sketch map of Bury St Edmunds based on sacrist's rental records 1433 (reproduced by kind permission of Margaret Statham, ref. Statham 1988, 15).

yard. The supply of building stone for work at the abbey under Hugh of Northwold came mostly from Barnack; documents relating to the transport of this material indicate that it was carried most of the way by barge. It is possible, if the river Lark was navigable in this period, that the stone completed its journey by river all the way to the abbey.<sup>28</sup> The location of the sacrist's yard, outside of the abbey precinct but adjacent to the rivers Linnet and Lark, may have made it an appropriate place for such cargoes to be stored.

The great building enterprises of the medieval period 'required hordes of workmen in addition to the master masons'.<sup>29</sup> In addition to these large numbers of workmen, the quantities of material and the amount of preparatory work required suggest that a site which did not impact upon or disturb daily religious life in the abbey, and which was outside of consecrated ground, would have been more suitable than one within it. The location of the excavated area, just to the south of the precinct wall, would have been ideal. It was easily accessible from the lay settlement to the west of the abbey but was not in a prominent position impeding or spoiling views of the abbey from the main approach from the town. It would also have been easily accessible from the rivers to the east, if they were navigable at this time. Most importantly, of course, it was located in a position close enough to the abbey complex to fulfil its role in serving the needs of the religious community, but would not have encroached onto the interior of the precinct.

The sacrist's yard at the abbey of St Augustine in Canterbury was also relocated to a position outside and to the south of the precinct in c.1103.<sup>30</sup> It is possible that this indicates a period in monastic planning during which such a location was considered to be the most appropriate location for the sacrist's yard.

*The medieval sacrist's yard and the lay settlement.*

Bury St Edmunds may be considered, to a large extent, to be a town that was created by the abbey in order to benefit from the sources of urban income.<sup>31</sup> The majority of the town came under the control of the abbey. As the sacrist was responsible for the upkeep of the abbey's estates, it may be reasonable to suggest that the maintenance of the abbey's holdings and properties within the town was administered from the sacrist's yard.<sup>32</sup> Access to the sacrist's yard from the main part of the town, and vice versa, would have been easy. A sketch map based on sacrist's records from 1433 (Fig. 153) indicates that Schoolhall Street led directly to the site of the sacrist's yard from the main part of the town to the west of the abbey and that Raingate Street was close to the sacrist's manor of Haberdon; the positioning of the sacrist's yard close to Raingate Street would have been convenient for the administration of this manor.<sup>33</sup>

There is little in the medieval archaeology recorded within the excavated area that illustrates a direct link between the layout of the site and that of the surrounding medieval town. Artefactual evidence does, however, demonstrate a link; at least 72 per cent of the medieval pottery recovered during the excavation comprised Bury wares. Similarly, it is likely that the supply of meat to the sacrist's household came from slaughterhouses within the town and which were probably under the ownership of the abbey.

*The post-medieval archaeology and its relationship to the surrounding area.*

In 1663 the site appears to have formed part of a larger parcel of land under agricultural or semi-agricultural usage, extending to the east and south down the western bank of the river Linnet. The Phase 2 archaeology revealed during the excavation would appear to be consistent with this.

Prior to this, there is very little historical evidence relating to the former Shire Hall site itself. The Dissolution seriously harmed the economy of Bury St Edmunds and the apparent gap



## ◀ TOP LEFT:

FIG. 154 – Thomas Warren's map of Bury St Edmunds, 1776  
(reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Archives, Bury St Edmunds, ref. SROB/373/17).

## TOP RIGHT:

FIG. 155 – Payne's map of Bury St Edmunds, 1834  
(reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Archives, Bury St Edmunds, SROB/M532).

## BOTTOM LEFT:

FIG. 156 – Detail from the 1886 First Edition Ordnance Survey map of Bury St Edmunds.

## BOTTOM RIGHT:

FIG. 157 – Detail from the 1904 Second Edition Ordnance Survey map of Bury St Edmunds.

from c.1400 to c.1580 in the pottery assemblage recovered during the excavation may, at least in part, be a reflection of this downturn in the town's economy as well as possible changes in the use of the site that occurred during this period.<sup>34</sup>

Elements of the post-medieval archaeology could be seen to link the site to the immediately surrounding area; Trackway F2068 appeared to lead off to the east. Pevsner observed that the southern stretch of the abbey's precinct wall ended at the Linner but was continued to the east of the Lark by the southern wall of the abbey vineyard.<sup>35</sup> It is possible that this trackway followed the wall and served to link this area with the abbey's former land on the eastern side of the rivers. If Gransden's suggestion that the Lark may have been navigable all the way to Bury St Edmunds in the medieval period is correct, it may be that some vessels were still able to make this journey in the post-Dissolution period, in which case this trackway might have led to a landing point for that traffic.<sup>36</sup>

### *The former Shire Hall site and early modern Bury St Edmunds*

The position and alignment of Trackway F2033 suggest that the site was accessed from the west, the direction in which the majority of the town was focussed. The trackway would appear to have led from Schoolhall Street and may represent a later version of the driftway that allowed access to the site in the seventeenth century.<sup>37</sup> Little of the excavated Phase 3 archaeology can be reconciled with features recorded on cartographic sources. The notable exception to this is the intercutting series of ditches recorded running across the excavated area. On Thomas Warren's 1776 map (Fig. 154) a line is seen running on a similar alignment at a location that would appear to be just to the south of where these ditches were recorded. This possible boundary is not depicted on slightly later cartographic sources such as Payne's map of 1834 (Fig. 155) or later Ordnance Survey maps (Figs 156 and 157).

## CONCLUSIONS

The archaeological remains that were recorded cannot be stated with any certainty to prove that this area did indeed function as the sacrist's yard, but they did represent the kind of activity that may be anticipated in such an area.

Historical research suggests that this was not the original location of the sacrist's yard and that it was moved, presumably to this location, by Abbot Samson of Tottington in 1182.<sup>38</sup> It is possible that the removal of the sacrist's yard to this new location formed part of a series of economic changes, implemented by Samson, to rectify the problems that occurred under his predecessor, Hugh.<sup>39</sup> The position of the yard immediately outside and to the south of the precinct would appear to make administrative and logistical sense in light of the medieval urban topography of Bury St Edmunds. A small number of Saxo-Norman features recorded during the excavation may support the date of 1182 for the relocation of the sacrist's yard to this site.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The fieldwork was conducted by Gareth Barlow, and the project managed by Jon Murray. Pottery was analysed by Peter Thompson; flint and CBM were analysed by Andrew Peachey; faunal remains were analysed by Julie Curl; environmental samples were analysed by John Summers.

## NOTES

- 1 Carr and Gill 2007; Breen 2007; <https://doi.org/10.5284/1009273>.
- 2 Rogerson and Dallas 1984, 133, 166.
- 3 Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich (SROI), HA 34/50/2/11.1.
- 4 Whittingham 1952, 182 and facing 192.
- 5 SROI, HA 34/50/2/11.1.
- 6 Crossley 1949, 16.
- 7 SROI, HA 34/50/2/11.1.
- 8 Whittingham 1952, 168.
- 9 Greene 2004, 151.
- 10 Midmer 1979, 28.
- 11 Poppyland Publishing 2006–2013.
- 12 Little 1994, 91.
- 13 Carr and Gill 2007; Drewett and Stuart 1975, Fig. 70; Dyson and Adams 2011.
- 14 P. Thompson, pers. comm.
- 15 SROI, HA 34/50/2/11.1.
- 16 Whittingham 1952, facing 192; Breen 2007.
- 17 Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds, P517.
- 18 SROI, HA 34/50/2/11.1.
- 19 Whittingham 1952, facing 192.
- 20 Summers 2013.
- 21 Gransden 2007, 282.
- 22 Curl 2008; Curl 2005; Curl 2012.
- 23 Crossley 1949, 16; Breen 2007.
- 24 Breen 2007.
- 25 Crossley 1949, 15–16.
- 26 Whittingham 1952, 172; Crossley 1949, 15–16.
- 27 Gransden 2007, 229.
- 28 Gransden 2007, 229, 232.
- 29 Holmes 1974, 37.
- 30 English Heritage 2013.
- 31 Greene 1992, 174.
- 32 Crossley 1949, 15–16.
- 33 Statham 1998, 99.
- 34 Hibbert 1989, 233.
- 35 Pevsner 1974, 139.
- 36 Gransden 2007, 232.
- 37 Breen 2007.
- 38 Crossley 1949.
- 39 Platt 1995, 65.

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