

A LATE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY BUILDING ACCOUNT FROM THORNEY

by VAL DUDLEY and CLIFF WYARD

with contributions by Neil Langridge

INTRODUCTION

THIS ACCOUNT WAS found stitched into an account roll of the manor of Horham Jernegans, part of the Kerrison-Bateman archive at the Suffolk Archives, Ipswich branch (SA/I, HA68: 484/318, m. 3). However, it relates not to Horham, which is in Hoxne hundred near Eye, but to Thorney, in Stow hundred, near Stowmarket. A possible explanation for this is given in the discussion which follows. The probability that, but for this chance find, it might have remained undiscovered, combined with its relatively early date, prompted the authors to bring it to wider attention.¹

The account gives details of the expenses incurred in the partial demolition and subsequent reconstruction of Thorney Hall (see below). It begins with expenditure in 1291, ending at Michaelmas. It continues with spending in 1292, and ends with a summary of the costs over both seasons. The document has suffered some damage and parts of it are illegible, but in some cases these obscured sections are clarified later. Details of wages and contracts, cost of materials and expenses are given in detail. The total cost of building the house is said to be £20 1s 3d.

THE STAGES OF THE BUILDING PROJECT

There was an existing hall on the site. This was to be renovated, with a new solar and 'wardrobe' at the low end. The first stage was the dismantling of part of the old building. A man was paid to remove the porch at the old low end of the hall, which took him two days, and to break down part of the building near the chapel, taking another three, and he had a helper for one of these days. Next, three men fetched, puddled, 'threw', packed and rammed clay to make a, possibly extended, foundation for the new solar. One was paid for ten days and the others for seven and seven and a half. Five of them were then redirected to work clay for 'daubing' the walls, for four more days. They were assisted by two men carting the materials, one with his tumbrel and horses; the other's vehicle is sadly indecipherable.

Meanwhile a team of carpenters led by 'Master John Carpenter' were at work, as trees were selected, felled, shaped, sawn and transported back to the site. Not all of this timber was used in the first season, but is included here to avoid repetition. It included 'the great ashes within the moat', other ashes and several oaks from within the manorial woods. Other oaks were purchased under the supervision of the lord, at Stonham (about six miles away) and possibly elsewhere; no wages are recorded here, but local tenants were given expenses for a trip to Debenham for timber (a round trip of over twenty miles). The felling and collecting of timber locally took at least seven weeks.² Timber was sourced from further away for specialised needs. A man worked in a wood named 'Hokenhill-', twenty miles distant, splitting 'lathes'. These would be used as battens for pegging on the roof tiles. The manor of Hokenhill (modern Oakenhill) also belonged to Thorney's lord, thus transport of his own timber to Thorney was

presumably preferable to buying trees from closer to the site. An officer from Thorney was entrusted with delivering an interim payment in cash (the clerk carefully scored through a note that he was paid 5d for meals, since his agreement was 'without food'). Other men were paid to cart the lathes to the worksite. Some ready-sawn boards were purchased, whilst sawyers were also employed to work on timber in the woods where it was felled. Some imported pine or spruce was also bought at Ipswich; the term 'Norweybords' appears at least twice. Many thousands of nails of specific kinds were also purchased in the first season.

The next operation listed is the raising of the new solar; presumably this must have been preceded by creation of the necessary joists (if the solar was on the first floor) and partitions.³ The five carpenters each received a pair of gloves (a traditional perk) for their skilled contribution.⁴ Eight 'other men helping them' did the actual raising of the structure and had the use of a machine called 'Le Fere' which required grease. This may be the same item as 'le Wyndes', a windlass, also needing grease, which was later employed to raise the new posts in the hall. Nearly 13,000 roof tiles and thousands of nails of different kinds were bought. A fixed contract had been made with a specialist dauber who now [re]plastered the walls of the hall and solar. At the end of the first season Master John received an interim payment.

In the second season the focus moved to the other end of the old building. Costs are now said to be for 'the Hall & Solar & Warderobe at the high end', and it is made clear that these are in addition to the solar installed last year. The new work involved the dismantling of the rest of 'the old hall, solar and warderobe' and removal of the debris. Master John and his team now produced any new frames needed for the second solar and 'warderobe', and the dauber negotiated an extension to his contract to cover this new work. Five men spent one day stripping old clay from the hall walls, cleaning off the wood, and carrying away the debris. A total of nine men were then involved over five days pulling down old posts in the hall. The walls and roof were then removed and the timbers sorted into those described as 'better' and 'worse', the latter to be removed from the site. This work occupied eight men paid wages for two days, plus twenty-four 'works' performed (presumably) by the customary tenants of the manor. More trees were felled, trimmed and carted to the site. Now the windows, shutters and doors could be inserted and the walls could be covered. Several labourers had fetched clay and lime, mixed and worked it to make 'daub', as noted above, and a barrel had to be repaired in the course of transporting quicklime for making daub for walls in the hall. Six men spent a week 'filling' the walls, presumably with a lattice to make a flat surface.

Once these tasks had been completed, the rest of the roof could be [re]covered, a marathon of sourcing, transporting and laying many thousands of tiles (the English word is used throughout). Six buying trips are listed at the end of the first season's account; four carters with two carts and their horses went to Stoke 'fetching tyels', taking two days and a night; five more journeys by road to and from Ipswich followed, one of them involving six carts and twenty-six horses, all incurring considerable expense. Details of refreshments for two officers and fourteen men are given on one occasion which consisted of bread, cheese, herring, sausages or stockfish, candles and ale (with wine for the officers). Each cart seems to have carried approximately a thousand tiles per trip.⁵ These tiles were bought at varying prices, perhaps indicating different sizes or purposes (see below). Fifty-eight special ridge tiles, which cost considerably more than the other tiles, were bought, together with ten other tiles which were laid with the ridge tiles. Over forty thousand pegs were also 'bought for attaching Le Tile[s]'. By the end of the project, no less than 33,000 tiles had been hung. Three named individuals were engaged in tiling the roof, with labourers to prepare materials and raise the heavy loads using 'le Wyndes'. The finished building project probably resembled Brockley Hall, built around 1319, as shown in Fig. 21, although the Thorney Hall had a solar at both ends.

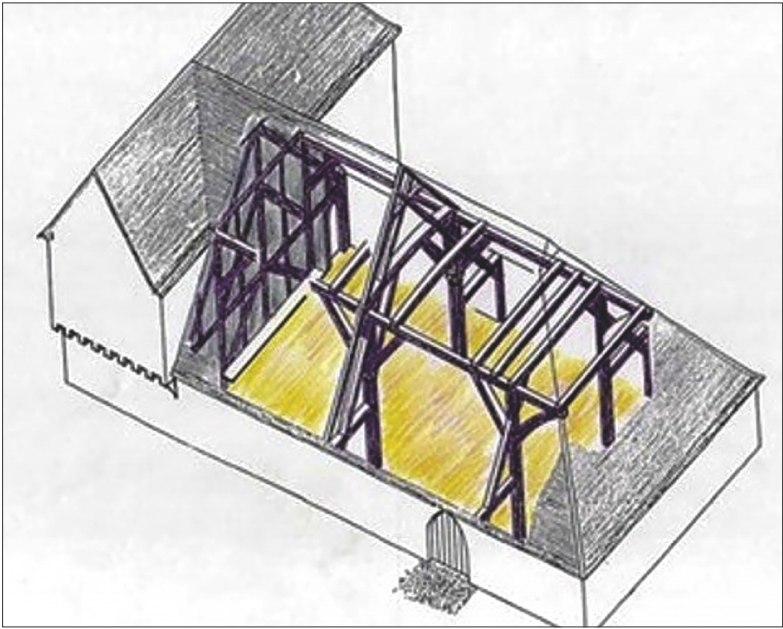


FIG. 21 – A drawing of Brockley Hall by Philip Aitkens, reproduced with his kind permission. Timbers were felled in 1319/20 for its construction. It is a manor house with an aisled hall about 35 feet long and 25 feet wide, and an integral cross-wing containing a solar at the upper end. This is one of the most closely comparable to Thorney Hall of the standing manor houses in Suffolk.

PEOPLE WORKING ON THE PROJECT AND THEIR REMUNERATION

Those working on the project can be divided into two groups: specialists led by Master John, presumably itinerant craftsmen who commanded higher wages for their skills; and people, at least some of whom were tenants of the manor, who performed a variety of less skilled tasks.

Craftsmen

Master John was paid various sums for his work and for expenses. Over the whole project he received at least £13 9s 0d in salary, plus grain in kind and refund of numerous expenses, out of a total spend of £20 1s 3d. His contract may have included the payments to the rest of his team since the five carpenters working with/for Master John are not named and payments to them are recorded only rarely, e.g. ‘men of Master John’ were paid 12d for cutting and trimming timber ‘on one occasion’, and ‘two men of the said John’ were paid expenses of 2d when engaged on trimming a ‘great trunk for the solar’. This use of external craftsmen implies that the work undertaken was to a higher standard than could be achieved through the use of a local carpenter, who would have predominantly worked on simple buildings and repairs.

This supposition is reinforced by the repeated use of the honorific 'Master' throughout the document, which suggests that Master John was probably the premier builder in the Stowmarket area.⁶

The 'two great oaks' felled at Badegreyham wood were transported in carts. The carters transporting materials were unpaid, discharging their customary obligation to the lord of the manor, but received expenses, as did those transporting tiles. An unstated number of sawyers were paid 'for sawing boards for ... the solar, 3s 8d in part payment': if they were each paid 2d a day, this would represent two men working for eleven days with the job still unfinished. The walls and/or interior partitions were plastered by John Le Dauber. He had agreed a contract in the first season for at least 15s, together with a bushel of wheat, but received 22s after including the walls of the second solar and wardrobe (a total of 264d which would cover, e.g. eighty-eight days of work at a payment of 3d per day). The roof of the hall was made by John Tyel, Roger Le Thyelere/Le Tyeler and ?Richard le Tyeler. Roger was paid 23s 10d which included the cost of thirty thousand pegs (*pinnis*). He also appears to have received a further payment, possibly travelling expenses, although this payment is within a badly stained section of the account and is unclear. At least one payment of 8s, together with a bushel of wheat, was made to ?Richard, and John received at least 10d. A further 2s 4d was paid for mixing 'mortar for Le Tyel', perhaps along the ridge and bottom edge of the roof, with a man paid 2d for a day's work fetching sand for the mortar.

Local labourers

A larger number of local people worked on the building. The majority of these are men, however, at least one unnamed woman, described as *ancilla* was engaged in cutting and gathering hay for the horses.⁷ Her payment of 7d over seven weeks must have been a welcome windfall.

Named labourers

The names of twenty men are given, some of whom are referenced on several occasions reflecting their work on different stages of the building project. These named men are listed as follows, together with, as far as possible, details of work undertaken and payments received: Robert Prude, possibly a specialist or a manorial officer, was entrusted with purchasing goods and paying wages; John Curteys was also responsible for purchases; William N... (possibly identical with William Le Kneyt) was 'hired with his tumbrel and his horses for carting earth' for the foundations, and paid 8d, apparently for a single day, but with no allowance for food for himself or his horses; Warin Hamund/Homund and John Gille were also engaged in transporting materials, receiving a total of 4d per day, plus 1½ bushels and a peck of oats, presumably fodder for their animals; Richard, servant of ?... de Appoltheyt, and his fellows carted tiles from Stoke, fodder was provided for their horses but, unfortunately, their wages are illegible; twelve other men (John Aleyen, William Cake,⁸ John de Kent, Simon de Leye, Adam del Thoren, William Galt, Simon Goudlok-, William Hamund, John Hervey, Simon Le Childe, John le Wryte and Robert Moy) were involved in the demolition of the old hall, pulling down the existing porch and the hall posts, preparing the foundations for the new hall, assisting the dauber and roofers, and other similar tasks. One unusual case is Simon, the servant/apprentice of William Hamund, who received 22d for five and a half days' work (a rate of 4d per day), but the others appear repeatedly, either working in small groups or alone, and all paid at the same rate of 2d per day. These rates of pay were more generous than those paid on other contemporary manors, where although thatchers, ploughmen and carpenters were paid at 2d per day, labourers and assistants could usually expect only 1d.⁹ However, at least once 'the same work' required four men who were paid only 6d between them for a day's

work. Finally, a man with the single name 'Sadhars', was engaged on work such as ramming chalk and digging clay and was also paid a rate of 2d per day.

Unnamed labourers

A large number of unnamed labourers are also referred to in the accounts. Eight men were engaged for piecework in dismantling the old building and were paid a total of 2s 8d (32d, or 2d per man per day); these eight men were probably among the twelve named men referred to above. The value of each feudal 'work' performed by unpaid workers on this job is also recorded as 2d. Six men with three carts transported trees from Stonham as customary boonworks (*de prec'e*), and although they received no payment for their work, their expenses were refunded. Expenses were paid on a number of other occasions: a 'carter of Stowe Hall' who transported a great trunk from 'Baresete', received 2d for expenses. On another trip to Ipswich, Master John took sixteen men, their carts and twenty-six horses, returning with six thousand tiles. His personal expenses for this one journey were recorded as 12d, those for the other men amounted to 3s 6½d, which included two meals, whilst the horses were given oats and bran. On another trip, fourteen men doing boons (*de p'ce*) with five carts fetched more tiles from Ipswich and were allowed 18d (cut down from 22d) for a meal there and another at Thorney on their return. When another six men and three carts were sent to Ipswich, they were allowed 'expenses' of 20d plus three and a half bushels of oats. Four men with two carts going to and from Ipswich received 12d 'expenses' and two bushels of oats, but another (or the same) four men with carts on a similar expedition received only 9d and one and a half bushels of oats. Another 9d was paid to the *famuli* (full-time, live-in servants of the manor) 'at times for their expenses while carting the said tiles', presumably over and above the standard allowances in kind for their keep and annual cash bonus.¹⁰

THE MATERIALS USED

It must be borne in mind throughout this discussion that the account lists only those items which were bought, or which incurred other expense, for example, due to associated travel or labour costs. Where no money was involved, no record was made. Also many purchases were no doubt recorded in the several sections of the document which are obscured by stains and which are consequently illegible.

Some timber may have been recycled from the previous building. New timber for the frames was sourced within the manor and more was bought at nearby Stonham. Other trees were felled in a wood as far away as Badingham (a forty-mile round trip). Some boards were bought in Debenham and Bury St Edmunds. One hundred and eighty 'Norweybords' had to be obtained from Ipswich. No payment for clay is recorded, though it had to be fetched in carts, so presumably this was obtained from a source within the manor. On the other hand, lime had to be brought from Claydon (a sixteen-mile round trip). Thousands of nails were bought in markets both near to Thorney, and some distance away. The nails were of various different kinds and named as 'Splentnayls', 'Lathenayls', 'Spikingnayls', 'spikings', 'Windowenayls', 'dorenayls' and nails for rods. Special, possibly tinned, nails for the 'doors' and 'nails for the windows/shutters of the solar and the ?panelling (*celar-*)' were also required. At least 20,000 nails are listed in the legible parts of the account.

The total number of roof tiles bought on the various buying trips in the first season amounts to 12,800 (although the total is said to be 12,300) at a total cost of £2 1s 5d. This seems roughly consistent with the initial purchase of 12,000 pegs for attaching them, which cost 1s 6d (valuing each peg in thousandths of a penny). These were probably used in the roofs of the first solar and the low end of the hall. One of the tilers was later repaid for buying 3000 more

pegs. A final grand total of 33,000 tiles is recorded, costing £4 14s 8d, which presumably also includes the replacement roof at the high end. This number, though large, is not unreasonable for an aisled hall with catslide roofs on its long sides and at least one cross-wing.¹¹ The price of tiles ranged from 21d to 48d per thousand, which may possibly indicate their arrangement in a pattern of different sizes or shapes.

MANUFACTURERS OF MATERIALS

Tiles, nails and other materials were sourced from local and more distant markets, and their makers are sometimes named in the account (see Table 1). Although care has been taken to avoid confusion, because the document lists some purchases twice, some of the larger figures *may* include the smaller batches where prices are not stated. The listing of others may be lost in the damaged sections of the account.

THE MANORS AND THEIR LORDS

by Neil Langridge

Although the building is not identified in the account, materials were being sourced from Thorney Hall manorial land in Stowupland, including at 'Badegry-', which is recorded as Thorney Hall land in 1352-3.¹² 'Hokenhill-', where materials were also being obtained and prepared, is likely to be Oakenhill in Badingham. Both of these manors had been in the lordship of Robert de Amoundeville before 1270 and of his son Richard by at least 1314. This suggests that the building in question was Thorney Hall. The rebuilding may represent Richard focusing on this, the more valuable of his two manors, and making it his main residence.

As evidence of Thorney's importance, the very first entry in the volume of the Domesday Book for Suffolk tells us that 'King William holds Thorney which King Edward held as one manor'.¹³ At this time the estate included much of Stowmarket, Stowupland and probably portions of neighbouring parishes, but soon became divided into half a dozen or more small manors leaving the main manor of Thorney Hall centred on the manor house of that name. Most of the settlement that became known as Stowmarket, focused on the marketplace area, was granted to the abbey of St Osyth in Essex before 1120 and became the manor of Abbots Hall or Stowmarket, controlling its lucrative market. However, ownership of market rights was to lead to conflict in the late fourteenth century.

Of the medieval manor houses on which the other manors were centred, only Columbine Hall in Stowupland, built by Robert Hotot/Hotoft c.1390, remains standing today. This building also probably replaced an earlier hall. Only part of Columbine Hall survives, but the picturesque, moated site may give some idea of the appearance of Thorney Hall and its impact on the landscape. A number of the other smaller manors in Thorney were formed probably during the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, although a lack of early manorial records for most of these means that they remain obscure. It is known that Thorney Campsey manor was granted to the Augustinian canonesses of Campsey Ashe Priory and was linked to, or identical with, Thorney Kebles, and the manor house was on or near the site of the present Stowupland Hall (built in 1820, now Plain English Design Ltd).¹⁴ Thorney Mumpliers and Braziers manor was presumably centred on the site of the present Braziers Hall in Creeting St Peter.

The de Amoundevilles appear as small but aspiring landowners in the county in the thirteenth century. Robert de Amoundeville obtained the manors of Oakenhill in Badingham and Thorney Hall through his wife Nichola. She inherited these manors from her father

Item	Number	Price	Where bought	Return distance from Thorney (approx.)	Maker's name
boards	6	6d			
boards	?	12d	Debenham	15 miles	
boards	21	2½d each	St Edmunds	28 miles	
<i>Norweybords</i>	180	?	Ipswich		
gloves	5 pairs	8d			
lathenayls	4000	40d	St Edmunds	28 miles	
lathenayls	11000	10s			
lathenayls	300	3d	St Edmunds	28 miles	
lathenayls	800	9d	?		Robert Ronat/Rovat
spikingnayls	2240	3s 1d	?		
spikings for the floor	300	10½d	?		a certain merchant in the market
splentnayls	500	10d			
splentnayls	500	15d	St Edmunds	28 miles	
splentnayls	936	2s 5d			
wyndowenayls & dorenayls	3800	10s 9d	?		
nails for windows	?	12d			
nails for withies	200	?			
pegs for attaching tiles	12000	18d			
pegs	30000	?			
quicklime	? in barrels	3s	Claydon	16 miles	
tiles	4000	40d per thousand	Stoke	24 miles	?
tiles	1000	21d	Ipswich	24 miles	'the same Richard'
tiles	6000	38d per thousand	Ipswich	24 miles	Thomas Randulf
tiles	800	40d per thousand	Ipswich	24 miles	William Brown
tiles	1000	48d per thousand	Ipswich	24 miles	William Brown
crest tiles	58	17d	Ipswich	24 miles	
? <i>soutibus</i>	58	21d			
? <i>sticnd-</i>	?	?	St Edmunds	28 miles	
? <i>coonerts</i>	10	2½d	Ipswich	24 miles	

TABLE 1 – Details of the materials required for the building project including the numbers used and the source.

William le Breton who died in 1257. Robert de Amoundeville died before 1286 when Nichola married a second time to Roger de Huntingfield. However, the two manors passed to Robert's son Richard, who died in 1322, being succeeded by his son, also Richard. On his death in c.1350, the de Amoundeville male line ended, and Oakenhill, and also possibly Thorney, were settled on a daughter, Margery, who had married Nicholas Fastolf during her father's lifetime. Thorney Hall now passed out of the family, eventually being granted to the priory of Ingham in Norfolk in 1390–1 and remained in those hands until the Reformation.¹⁵

In 1314 a group of landowners local to Badingham 'forcibly broke his [Richard de Amoundeville's] park at Ukenhulle ... entered his free warrens there and at Thorneye ... and hunted therein without his licence, fished in his stews and several fisheries at Thorneye, and carried away his fish and other goods, and also deer, etc. taken in his park and warrens'. An almost identically worded incident is recorded in 1317 as well as another in 1327 at Oakenhill.¹⁶ The fact that these sites were some twenty miles apart by road indicates that these raids were targeting de Amoundeville himself, rather than being a case of casual poaching. This may also suggest there was a park at Thorney as well as the one at Oakenhill. If so, its location is unknown, however, the name of Park Farm in Stowupland is highly suggestive. This is situated on the high ground rising from the Gipping valley and between Church Road, Stowupland and Creting Lane (which here followed the parish boundary with Creting St Peter). This location would conform with Rosemary Hoppitt's description of a typical location for a deer park as 'within the area of the high clay-land interfluvies ... they often lie on or are adjacent to parish boundaries ... and often peripheral to the main centres of habitation'.¹⁷ However in Richard de Amoundeville the elder's inquisition post mortem (IPM) of 1323, there is no mention of a park at Thorney, while the Oakenhill manor retained its park.¹⁸

Richard de Amoundeville's IPM also claimed 'half of a certain market in Stowmarket', and in 1338, his son, Richard the younger, obtained a charter from Edward III for a market and fair in Stowmarket.¹⁹ Ten years later the Abbot of St Osyth petitioned the king claiming that de Amoundeville had obtained the market and fair by false suggestion as he was not lord of the manor of Stowmarket. Amoundeville was summoned to the Chancery to prove his claims, the result being the grant to the abbot of St Osyth of rights to market and fair in Stowmarket in a new charter.²⁰

The hall described in the account was most likely modified or rebuilt more than once in the following centuries, but remained the residence of the lord of the manor up to the early 1840s. A reminiscence by the Reverend Cyprian Rust, published in 1889 but looking back to his younger days in Stowmarket, describes the then hall:

A beautiful green pasture lying between the bank of the river and Creting Road, Through the whole length of it ran a fine avenue of trees, leading to Thorney Hall. ... The house was a new one.²¹

This suggests that the house had been rebuilt or at least modernised in the early nineteenth century. The opening of the Gipping Navigation in 1793, connecting Stowmarket to Ipswich, meant that the area around the head of the navigation began to attract industry, initially malting. The arrival of the railway in 1847 attracted other new and malodorous industries such as a chemical fertilizer works, gas works, and a paper mill, making Thorney Hall no longer the attractive residence it must once have been. The last lord of the manor to reside at Thorney Hall, Martha Diggons Marriott, received £7000 compensation from the railway company and moved to Needham Market. For a few years the hall was let out to local farmers as a farmhouse, but was then adapted as a malting, eventually being demolished in the early twentieth century. The site of the hall is now just north of Stowmarket station in the area of the car park.

MINOR PLACENAMES IN THE ACCOUNT

Of the places named in the building account, some can be identified as located within three to four miles of Thorney Hall.

*Badegreyham*²²

A place of this name existed in Saxham Street in Stowupland about three and a half miles by road from Thorney Hall. There are several different spellings of the name, the earliest known being in 1240 when a Walter de Baldegrim was involved in a land dispute in Thorney.²³ Despite the lack of manorial records for the manor of Thorney Hall before the early seventeenth century, it is fortunate that a few early admissions were later copied into a book, probably kept by a clerk to the manor court, and that two of these mention Badegreyham. In 1352–3, Richard Cake is recorded as holding five rods of land lying in 'Badgreenfield', and in 1406–7, an entry records that William Hammond died holding two acres of land with pasture in Saxton, and one acre in 'Bagremfield'. This field later became part of Stowupland parish land named Quadlings and is included in a description of the land in 1856 as 'Badgreenwood', the wording copied from an earlier entry in a manorial court book of 1768.

The name Broad Green which occurs later may have referred to the same place. A perambulation of the manor conducted in 1668 refers to 'the house of Robert Heyward in Saxon Streete upon the east side in the highway direct over Broad Green'.²⁴

'Bresete'/'Brecete'

It is likely that this name refers not to Great Bricett, a village some five miles to the south of Thorney Hall, but to a holding of this name within Stowupland. A 1618 rental of the manor of Thorney Hall refers to a 'Brissets gate', whilst a lease of 1769 includes a field named 'Brissets' near to the parish boundary with Mendlesham.²⁵

Stowe Hall

The reference in the account to 'Stowe Hall' probably refers to the Abbots Hall, the manor house of the manor of Abbots, which had been granted in about 1120 to the Abbey of St Osyth Essex. The present early eighteenth-century house, standing in the heart of Stowmarket, is now part of the Museum of East Anglian Life and was probably preceded by an earlier hall.

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE DOCUMENT

During the second half of the thirteenth century the adoption of hereditary surnames was becoming more common. In the account we see a mixture of surnames which were probably ancestral, for example Hamund, together with bynames which were occupational, for example John le Dauber, and those which were locational, for example John de Kent. Some of the occupational bynames used in the accounts may have been in the process of being established as surnames. For example, the craftsman referred to as Master John Carpenter was, indeed a carpenter, and was plausibly the same John Carpenter of Mendlesham referred to in the lay subsidy of 1327 (or his relative), by which time the byname had become a surname.²⁶

Several of the account workmen can also be found listed in the lay subsidy returns of 1327 under *Villata de Thorneye* (wrongly identified as Stowmarket in the published version, but covering the inhabitants of manors in both Stowupland and Stowmarket). These individuals could feasibly be the same people, still alive some thirty-five years later, or possibly sons bearing the names of their fathers. The names listed in 1327 for *Thorneye* which also appear

in the accounts include William Hammond, John de Kent, John Curteys, Warin Hammond, John Hervey and John Gille, whilst Simon Tyel (possibly related to John Tyel) is also listed.²⁷ Other significant names in the lay subsidy return are John Carpenter of Mendlesham, who was possibly the Master John Carpenter who worked on the building, and Stephen Appeltheit of *Villata de Stowe*, who may have been the man whose servant, Richard, worked on the project in 1292.²⁸ In addition, Prouds Field, listed in Stowupland's 1839 tithe apportionment, may relate to Robert Prude, a senior local man employed on the thirteenth-century building.

AN EXPLANATION FOR THE DOCUMENT'S PRESENT LOCATION

In 1291 Peter Gernegan was the heir to Sir Walter Gernegan (sometimes spelt 'Jernegan'). Copinger notes that the Gernegan family had lands in Brittany and England in the twelfth century and that their English seat was in the parish of Horham until 1243 when it was moved to Stonham Parva by Sir Hugh Gernegan, who died in 1272. He was succeeded by his brother Sir Walter, who had made a lucrative marriage to Isobel FitzOsbert, heiress of Somerleyton, which later became the family's base. Their son, Peter Gernegan, had already been appointed subescheator of Suffolk in 1283 (and could therefore have been involved in Richard de Amoundeville's IPM of 1323). He succeeded his father in 1299 and was married three times, with each wife bringing him more property. Copinger states he died c.1350.²⁹

The account records that carters from Stonham transported oaks to Thorney and the document also mentions that Peter Gernegan was paid some money, without identifying his role. It seems reasonable to suggest that the Gernegan and de Amoundeville families were acquainted, and that Peter was the vendor of the trees. It may also be through him that the account came to be stitched into a roll of records of the manor of Horham Jernegans. By the 1600s, all the manors in Horham had been acquired piecemeal by Sir Edward Coke, the jurist, and then descended to the Bateman family in whose archive the account is now to be found.

EDITORIAL METHODS

The following editorial conventions are used throughout this paper:

Insertions in the original rolls are shown as: \ ... /

Deletions which can be read are shown as: < ... >

Illegible words, or passages, are indicated by [*illeg.*] or where words or phrases are made illegible or missing due to damage: [*ms torn*]

Editorial insertions are given in italics, in square brackets: [...]

A number of original spellings have been retained, together with a few instances where an initial capital has been used for a word. These are indicated by the use of single quotation marks for the first instance in which this spelling has been used. No quotation marks have been added to subsequent uses of either the same spelling, or for minor variations of it.

Words within round brackets are quotations from the original text, Latin in italics, English within single quotation marks.

Care has been taken to ensure that the English translation is as true as possible to the original Latin. In a few instances, this has led to the use of a word which doesn't quite match the context and these have been inserted within double quotation marks.

Where uncertainty exists about a word or number, it is prefaced by a question mark.

Line-breaks in this translation reflect the line-breaks in the original.

Suspensions and contractions in the original document have been ignored in the translation where the scribe's intention is clear. However, where the intended suspension or contraction is open to interpretation, these are noted by an apostrophe (') if in the middle of the word, or by a dash (-) if at the end of the word.

Forenames have been modernised but surnames retain their original spelling.

The use of capital letters has been modernised and minimised.

Modern punctuation has been introduced as an aid to the reader, particularly the addition of full stops and commas, as required. However, punctuation is not inserted where it might impose a questionable meaning. The clerk's modified + sign is translated as 'and'.

Numbers, weights and measures used in the original document are retained, with Arabic numerals substituted for Roman numerals, and no attempt has been made to correct arithmetical errors. [1 inch is approx. 2.5cm. 12 inches made 1 foot (approx. 30 cm.).]

In sums of money, the abbreviation 'li.' has been modernised as '£', but the abbreviations 's' and 'd' have been retained. [12 pennies (written as '12d') made 1 shilling (written as '1s'); 20 shillings or 240 pennies made £1.00].

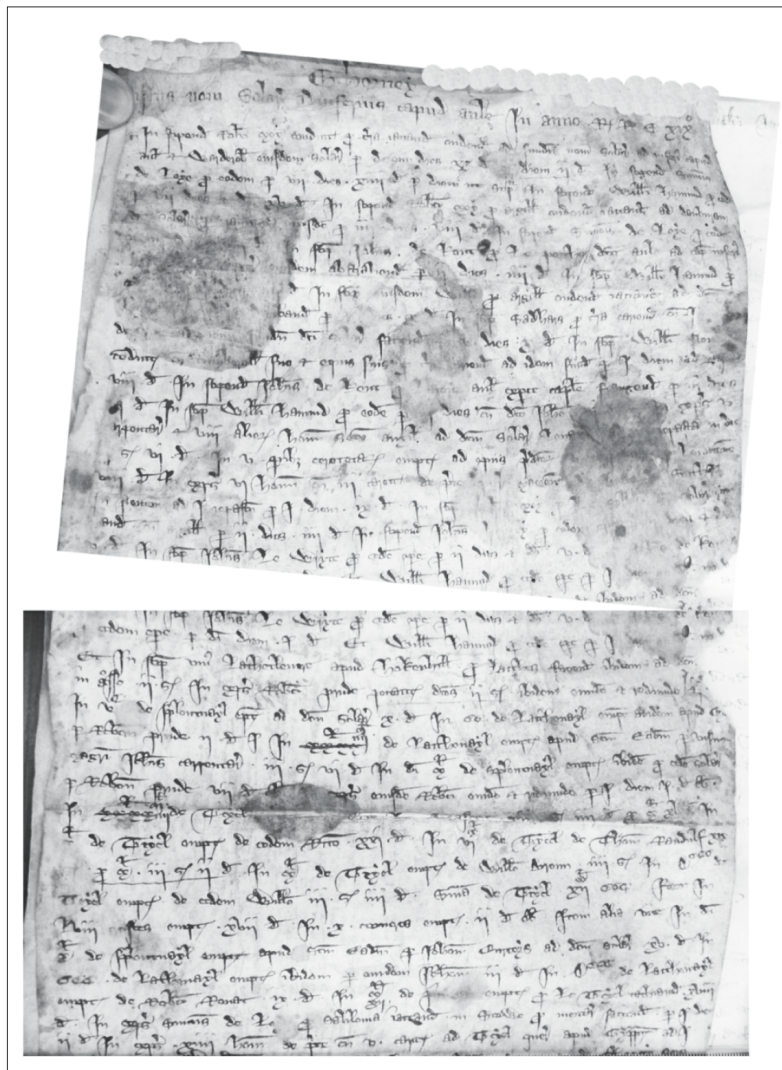


FIG. 22 – The first building account (19 Edward I) on the recto of SA/I, HA68:484/318 (reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Archives, Ipswich; photo: Cliff Wyard).

THORNEY

Costs of the new solar at the low end of the Hall In the 19th year of the reign of king Edward [1291].

In wages of Robert Moy hired to “throw” (*iactand-*) and ?break up (?*cindend*)³⁰ earth for the foundation of the new solar at the low end (*ad inferius capud*)

of the hall and the ‘Warderobe’ of the same solar, for ten days, 20d, 2d per day. In wages of Simon de Leye for the same for 7 days, 14d, per day as above. In wages of William Hamund for the same for 7½ days, 15d. In wages of Robert Moy for ?beating (*cuidend-*) and “throwing” clay for daubing [*the rest of the membrane is obscured by stains at left-hand edge, then central, then at right-hand side*] [*illeg.*] the solar [*illeg.*] of the same for 4 days, 8d. In wages of Simon de Leye for the same [*illeg.*], 8d. In wages of John de Kent for Le ‘porchar-’ of the said hall at the lower end [*illeg.*] extracting/removing for 2 days, 4d. In wages of William Hamund for [*illeg.*] d. In wages of the same William for puddling and “throwing” clay for the said [*illeg.*] [*illeg.*] ?daubing for [*illeg.*] days, 10d. In wages of Sadhars for carting earth with 1 [*illeg.*] [*illeg.*] making the ?foundation of the said solar for 5 days, 10d. In wages of William N[*illeg.*] hired with his tumbrel and his horses for carting earth to the same foundation for 1 day at [*illeg.*] 8d. In wages of John de Kent for breaking the ?old (?...*tere*) hall towards (*ex parte*) the chapel for 3 days, ?6d. In wages of William Hamund for the same for ?1 day with the said John, ?2d. In expenses of 5 carpenters and 8 other men helping them to raise the said solar for ... [*illeg.*]

[*illeg.*]s 6d. In buying 5 pairs of gloves for the use of the said 5 [?carpenters] in/at [*the*] raising 8d. In expenses of 6 men with 3 carts on boonwork (*de prece*) fetching timber from ?S...ham ... [*illeg.*] In ?offal³¹ for 1 meal for 1 day, 9d. In wages of John Le Moy for [*illeg.*] [*illeg.*]ing with clay for 2 days, 4d. In wages of John ?Le Moy for the same [*illeg.*] ?2½ days ... [*illeg.*] 5d. In wages of John Le Wryte for the same work for 2½ days, 5d. ?And of John de Kent ... [*illeg.*] the same work for half a day, 1d. And of William Hamund for the same work for 1½ days, 3d. And In wages of a ‘Lathclevere’ at Oakenhill (‘Hokenhill-’)³² for fashioning ‘Laths’ there for the said [*ms torn*] in total, 2s. In expenses of Robert Prude carrying the said 2s there, going and returning [*ms torn*] In purchase of 500 ‘Splentnayls’ for the said ‘Solar’, 10d. In purchase of 200 ‘Lathenayls’ for the same at ?Ipswich (*apud Gy...*) [*ms torn*]

by Robert Prude, 2d. I [*sic*] In 4000 (<mmmm> \ ^{R m} _{iiii/})³³ Lathenayls purchased at St Edmunds by “view” of Master John Carpenter, 3s 6d. In half a thousand Splentnayls bought there for the ?panelling (*celo-*)³⁴ of the Solar

by Robert Prude, 7½d. In expenses of the same Robert going and returning for 1 day, 1½d.

In 4000 (<mmmm> \ ^{R m} _{iiii/}) Tiles (‘Tiel’) [*damaged*]s 4d, 40d. per 1000. In 1000 tiles bought of the same Richard, 21d. In 6000 ‘Tiles’ of Thomas Randulf, 19 [*illeg.*], 3s 2d per 1000. In 1000 tiles bought from William Broun, 4s. In 800 Tiles bought from the same William, 3s 4d. Total of Tiles, 12,300. Item in 58 ridge tiles (*crestis*) purchased, 17d. In 10 ?special tiles (?*cooverts*) purchased,³⁵ 2½d. Item on another occasion In half

a thousand Splentnayls bought at St Edmunds by John Curteys for the said solar, 15d. In 300 Lathenayls bought there by the same John, 3d. In 800 Lathenayls bought from Robert Ronat/Rovat, 9d. In 12,000 pegs (*pin-*) bought for attaching Le Tile[s] 18 d. In expenses of Simon de [Leye] “throwing” sand in Stowe for making mortar, for 1 day, 2d. In expenses of 14 men doing boons with 5 carts seeking Tiles at Ipswich with 1

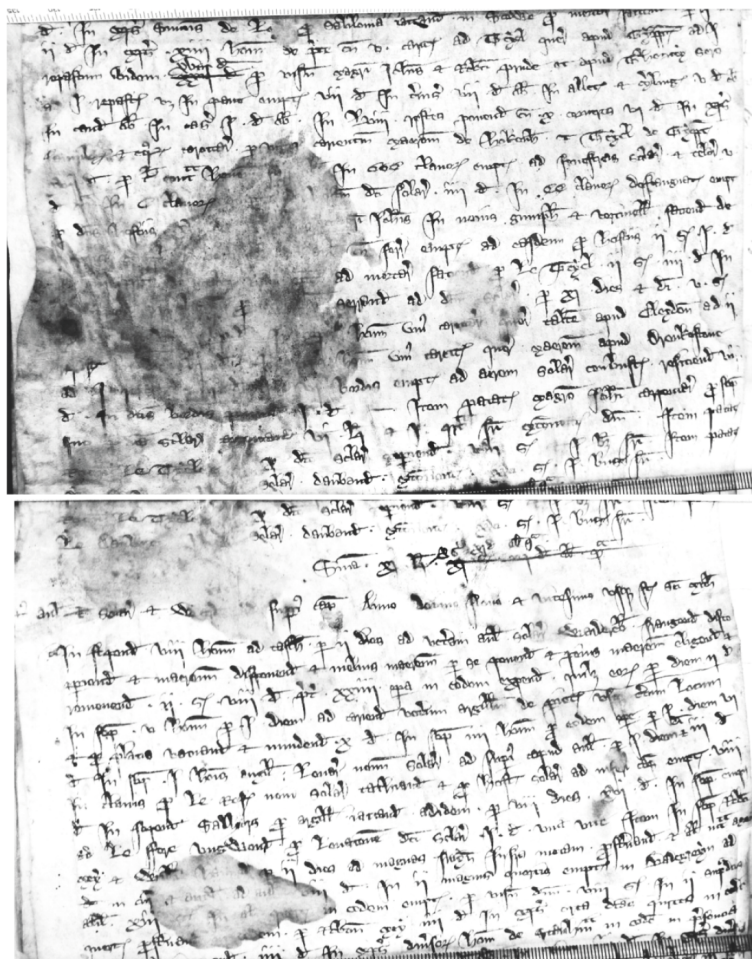


FIG. 23 – The remainder of the first building account (top of image); the second building account (19/20 Edward I) on the recto of SA/I, HA68:484/318 (bottom of image) (reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Archives, Ipswich; photo: Cliff Wyard).

meal there, <22d> \18d/ by "view" of Master John and Robert Prude, and at Thorney later for 1 meal, namely, in bread purchased, 7d. In ale, 7½d. In herring and chitterlings (*cy'ling*) 5½d.³⁶ In candles ½d. In cheese 1½d. In placing 58 crest tiles with 10 ?special tiles (?*covitrc*), 6d.³⁷ In expenses of [Next ten lines obscured by stain at left and centre] [illeg.] and carthorses for carrying withies [and] timber from Oakenhill and tiles from Ipswich [illeg.]s 1d, by tally "against" ?H... [illeg.]. In purchase of 300 nails for the windows/shutters of the solar and the ?panelling (*celar-*), 5d.³⁸ In [purchase of] 100 nails [illeg.] of the said solar, 4d. In purchase of 200 ?tinned (?*destangnat-*)³⁹ nails for the said doors [illeg.] Master John. In making new door-catches and hinges of [illeg.] with iron bought for the same, for the doors, 2s 1d. [illeg.] to make mortar for Le Teyel, 2s 4d. In [illeg.] sawing for the said solar for 11½ days, 5s. [illeg.] in expenses of ?a man of a carter getting chalk/lime at Claydon ('Cleydon') for 2 [illeg.] a man of a carter getting timber at Drinkstone ('Drenkestone') [illeg.] purchase of 6 boards for replacing the burnt floor/ceiling (*aerem*) of the solar, ?6d. In placing the said boards, 1d. Item paid to Master John Carpenter for his wages for carpentry on the said solar £6 and 1 quarter of wheat by ?contract of the lord. Item, paid to ?Richard Le Tyeler [illeg.] roofing the said solar, 8s and 1 bushel of wheat. Item, paid to Le Dauber [illeg.] daubing the said solar by contract, ?15s, 1 bushel wheat.

Total £10 <11s 3¾d> \10s 11¾d /.

Costs of the Hall & Solar & Wardrobe at the high end, the 19th and 20th year up to the feast of St Michael [1291/92].

In wages of 8 men on piecework for 2 days, breaking down the old hall, solar and wardrobe, unroofing it and taking down the timber[s], and "putting" the better timber for ?themselves (*per se*) and choosing the worse timber & removing it, 2s 8d by tally, 24 works used in the same, 2d *per diem* for each of them. In wages of 5 men for 1 day carrying old clay from walls/partitions to a certain place and for clearing (*vacuand-*) and cleaning planks, 10d. In wages of 4 men for the same work for 1 day, 6d. In wages of 1 man helping to raise the new solar at the high end of the hall, for 1 ½ / days, 3d. In purchase of nails for attaching the roof/ceiling ('Le Rof-') of the new solar, and for the door of the solar at the low end, 8d.⁴⁰ In wages of Sadhars for "throwing" clay for the same for 8 days, 16d. In tallow purchased for greasing the "Iron" ('Le Fere') for the raising of the said solar, 1d on one occasion. Item, in wages of Robert Moy & William ?Hamund for 2 days for felling the great ashes within the moat, and ?others between ?... (*aga...*) d in [illeg.] and [illeg.] for the hall, 8d. In purchase of two great oaks in Badegreyham ('Badegrey'm') for the hall, 13s. In purchase of other oak[s] in the same by the lord's "view", 8s. In felling the two aforesaid oaks, in ?the same, by Robert Moy, 4d. In expenses "about" the said oaks in the same, ... [illeg.]

in putting them into carts, 4d. In expenses of several men of Stonham ('Stanham') in the same, in the presence of the lord, on St James the Apostle's Day. In purchase of ale, 3½d. In wine, 4d. In expenses of several men helping carry the said timber with 2 carts doing boonworks, 3d. In expenses of another 3 carters doing boonwork on other occasion carrying timber, 4d. In wages of a servingwoman hired on occasions for reaping, gathering herbage for the carters carrying timber and for the lord's palfrey, for 7 weeks, <11d> 7d. In expenses of men of Master John's in Badegreyham for cutting, trimming and ?shortening (*truncand-*) timber, on one occasion, 12d.⁴¹ In expenses of 2 men of the said John going to Brissett ('Bresete') to trim one great trunk for the solar, 2d. In wages of Simon the servant (*manupastus*) of William Hamund for "throwing" and packing clay and cleaning & clearing away a plank (*mundand- & vacuand- patiem*) for the daub, and for help in pulling down old posts in the hall,⁴² for 5 days and a half ?work (*?operanton-*) 22d. In wages of William Cake for the same for 4½ days, 9d. In wages of John Aleyen, Simon Le Child, Adam del Thoren and Simon de Leye & John Hervey for the same for 3 days, 2s 6d, each of them 2d a day. In wages of Simon Goudlok- for the same for 4½ days, 9d. In wages of William le Kneyt for the same, for 1 day, 2d. In expenses of a carter of Stowe Hall (*aul- de Stowe*) fetching a great trunk at Brissett, 2d. Item paid to Master John Carpenter in part payment for carpentry on the said hall and solar by 8 marks (*Marc-*)⁴³ £4 5s 8d by tally.

Total £6 3s <11½d> \8d/
'Audited' (*Computat-*)

[*verso*]

Cost of the hall, great solar and Wardrobe after Michaelmas [29 Sept] year 20 [1292]

In expenses of 4 men with 2 carts doing boonworks fetching tiles at Stoke for 2 days, 1 night, 12d and 2 bushels of oats. In expenses of Warin- Hamund & John Gille with the said carts <with the said carts> at Thorney later (*sero*), 4d, 1½ bushels & a peck of oats. In expenses of Master John Carpenter going on the lord's business at Stoke and from Stoke at Ipswich, 12d.⁴⁴ In expenses of Robert, a man of the same John, lopping and trimming timber in Badegreyham for 1 day, 3d. In expenses of the same John & 16 men with him, with 26 horses, at Ipswich fetching tiles there, ?viz. 6000, for their breakfast 18½d and later at Thorney, 2s, 4 bushels & a peck of oats in fodder & 2 bushels of chaff bought, 3d. In expenses of several men helping with loading carts in Badegreyham with large timber, 4d. In expenses of 13 men with 6 carts fetching tiles at Stoke with 26 horses a second time for 2 days, going and returning, 2s 8½d, spent there by Warin-Homund, and at Thorney later, 9d on return, & 4 bushels 3 pecks of oats for fodder. In expenses of Richard the servant (*famulus*) ?of [*illeg.*] de Appolthey⁴⁵ and his fellows with 2 carts fetching tiles at Stoke a third time ?going ... [*illeg.*] 2½ bushels & a peck of oats. In expenses of 6 men with 3 carts fetching tiles ... [*illeg.*] going and returning, 20d and 3½ bushels of oats. In expenses of 4 men with [*illeg.*] carts fetching tiles in the same place a fifth time going and returning 9d, 1½ bushels of oats. Item, given to servants (*famuli*) at times for their expenses while carting the said tiles, 9d. In repairing 1 bar-

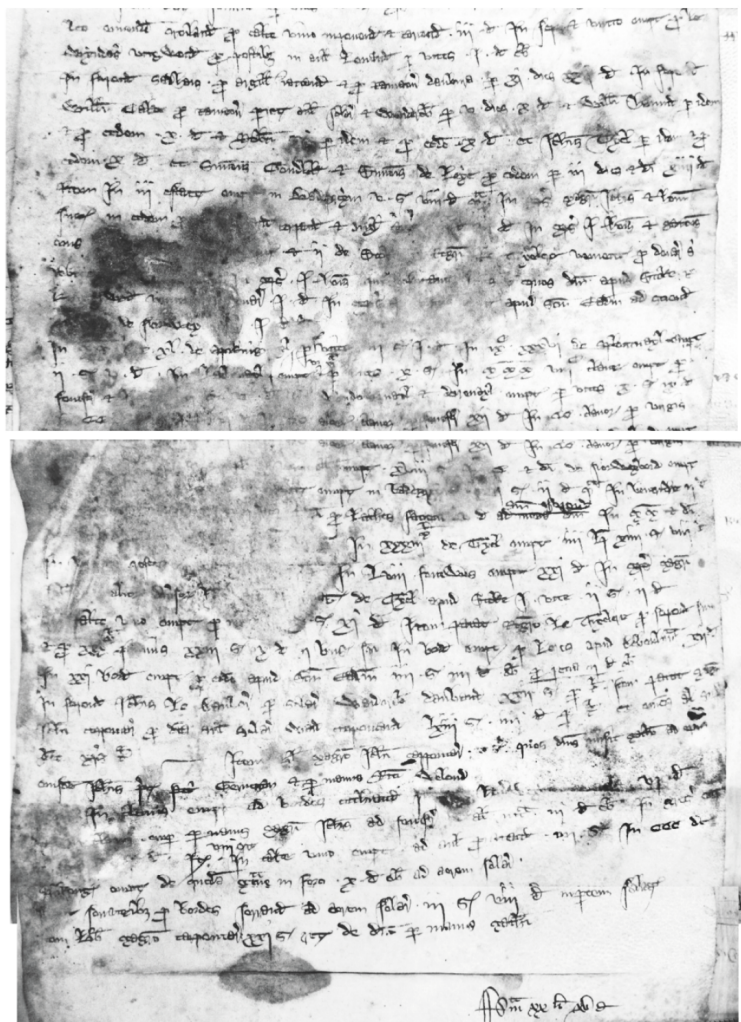


FIG. 25 – The remainder of the third building account (reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Archives, Ipswich; photo: Cliff Wyard).

rel & hooping it, for putting in and carrying quicklime (*calce vivo*), 3d. In purchase of tallow and grease for greasing 'le Wyndes' for raising the posts in the hall on occasions, 1½d.

In wages of Sadhars for "throwing" clay and for filling/packing (*ramatin-*) daub for 11 days, 22d.⁴⁶ In wages of William Galt for packing/filling (*Ramatin-*) the walls of the hall solar & wardrobe, for 5 days, 10d, and of William Hamund for the same

and the same, 10d and of Robert ?Moy for the same and the same, 10d, and of John Tyel for the same and the same, 10d, and of Simon Goudlok- and Simon de Leye for the same for 3½ days, 14d.

Item in purchase of 3 ?fallen branches (*escatt-*) in Badegreyham, 5s 8d by tally.⁴⁷ In expenses of Master John and his

men in the same [*illeg.*] ?...ing, ?...ing and helping [*illeg.*] ...d. In expenses of one man and his "lad"/assistant (*garco'is*)

[*illeg.*] & 2 of ?St [*illeg.*] of Roger Le Tyeler coming for his money (*denar- s-*)

[*illeg.*] expenses of 1 man fetching... [*illeg.*] the lord's horses at Stoke

[*Next thirteen lines obscured by stain at left*]

[*illeg.*] 1d. In expenses of [*illeg.*] at St Edmunds for ? ... (?*sticnd-*)

[*illeg.*] from Norway ('Norwey') [*illeg.*] 1d.

In 2240 'spikingnayls' \?bought/ on occasions 3s 1d. In purchase of 936 Splentnayls

2s 5d. In purchase of Lathenayls \i.e. 11000/ on occasions, 10s. In purchase of 3800 nails for windows/shutters and [*illeg.*] 'Wyndowenayls', and 'dorenayls' bought on occasion, 10s 9d.

[*illeg.*] nails for windows/shutters, 12d. In 200 nails for rods (*virgis*)

[*illeg.*] purchased, 43s. In 180 'Norweybords' purchased⁴⁸

[*illeg.*] bought in 'Badegry' [*illeg.*] 2s 2¼d. In refreshments ('beverche') 2d.⁴⁹

[*illeg.*] for making Lathes, ?5d at <the lord's table > \without ?food/. In 2½ thousand [*illeg.*] in 33000 tiles bought, £4 14s 8d.⁵⁰

[*illeg.*] In 58 ?... (?*stintwes' sonewes*) bought, 21d.⁵¹ In expenses of Master

[*illeg.*] of tiles at Stoke, on 1 occasion, 2s 2d.

[*illeg.*] quicklime bought for [*illeg.*] ?10s 11d. Item paid to Roger Le Thyelere for his wages

and for 30000 pegs, 23s 10d, 2 bushels of wheat. In boards bought for the ? ... (?*Le rcs/Lorcs*) at Debenham, 12d.⁵²

In purchase of 21 boards for the same at St Edmunds, 4s 4½d, 2½d apiece.

In wages of John Le Dauber for daubing the Solar Wardrobe, 22s by tally. Item paid to Master

John Carpenter for carpentry of/on the said Hall, Solar & Wardrobe, 63s 4d, by tally and his other marks

aforesaid ?master's tally. Item allowed (*lib-*) to Master John Carpenter ?5s which the lord sent to Matthias for the benefit of

the same John as well as Peter Gernegan and by the hand of Richard Welond.⁵³

[*Item*] In purchase of nails for attaching boards [*illeg.*] 6d.

[*illeg.*] nails bought by the ?hand of Master John for the window/shutters by another "mark" 3½d. In [*illeg.*] bought

[*illeg.*] Item, \?8 [*illeg.*]/ In purchase of quicklime for plastering/limewashing the hall 4s. In 300

?spikings bought from a certain merchant in the market, 10½d for the ceiling/floor (*aerem*) of the solar⁵⁴

[*illeg.*] sawyers for sawing boards for the ceiling/floor (*aerem*) of the solar, 3s 8d, in part payment.

Item, ?allowed to Master Carpenter 21s ?by tally of the lord by the hand of Matthias.

Total £20 15d

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are most grateful to Neil Langridge of the Stowupland Local History Group, who contributed the sections relating to Thorney and its manors, local place-names and families. We would also like to thank all the people who took time to read early drafts and/or share their advice and expertise for this article. They include Mark Bailey, Nick Amor, David Stone, Edward Martin, Philip Aitkens, Timothy Easton, Elphin and Brenda Watkin, Gordon Crosby, Abby Antrobus and other members of the Suffolk Historic Buildings Group, Joe Thompson, Carpenter in Residence at the Weald & Downland Living Museum, Ray Larsen, and all the members of the group of palaeographers who meet in Ipswich to study the records of Horham and to support each other in their research. All errors and omissions that remain are our own.

NOTES

- 1 Of the two hundred and forty pages of transcripts of documents in Salzman's appendices, fewer than five are for vernacular timber buildings of the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. Of these, one describes the building of a row of shops in London, two are contracts with the royal family, and one is a contract to pay a retainer to a tiler of 3s 4d per year, the lord to find all materials except 'wooden nails', see Salzman 1950, 385–6, 418 and 585.
- 2 Three oak trees are singled out with the adjective 'great', together with some 'great' ashes. The large oaks were no doubt used for the main frames in the hall, especially those which faced the dais, and for the main beam which supported the high-end solar, Philip Aitkens pers. comm. Of the 330 trees involved in the fifteenth-century Suffolk house examined by Oliver Rackham, only three were full-grown and the other 327 measured nine inches in diameter or less, Rackham 1994, 43.
- 3 The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources (DMLBS) identifies a solar as being an 'upper room or storey'; Salzman suggests the 'bedroom annexe' was usually of two stories, 'the upper being known as the "solar"', Salzman 1950, 197; Harris implies the solar could be behind the dais of the Hall, Harris 1986, 31.
- 4 Salzman 1950, 80–1.
- 5 This decision not to bring the multiple heavy loads to Thorney by water is somewhat surprising, especially since Thorney Hall stood close to the river Gipping. The river would presumably have been navigable, at least for flatbottomed lighters which were no less capacious than a cart and as Amor notes, are said to have been used to transport stone to Rattlesden for use at Bury St Edmunds, Amor 2006, 190. Nevertheless, in the case of the Thorney Hall, road transport was preferred. Perhaps navigation of the river was impeded in 1291 by issues with, for example, weirs, mills or natural blockages. The availability of unpaid carters discharging feudal dues, and the convenience of loading and delivering direct from the tiler's yard to the building site in the same vehicle, may also have been factors. One round trip by road is referred to in the document as taking two days and a night: either this was not significantly slower than going by water (which would have included road transfer at each end), or with careful timing of buying trips, speed need not have been a deciding factor.
- 6 The authors would be delighted to learn of other references to Master John and his work.
- 7 A precise translation of *ancilla* would be 'slave', however, by 1291, this term is more likely to have referred to a live-in servant.
- 8 Cake was possibly an ancestor of the fifteenth-century Stowmarket clothmaker Robert Cake and his sons, see Amor 2016, 181.
- 9 For example, at Hollesley in 1290/91, a thatcher and his 'lad' are recorded as being paid a total of 3d per day, T[he] N[at]ional A[rchives], SC6 998/25; at Horham in 1329, a thatcher working for 3½ days received a total of 3d plus meals, S[uffolk] A[rchives]/I[pswich], HA68 484/318 m1; and at Dovercourt in 1294/95 a man making a wall around the pinfold was paid 2d a day, TNA, SC6 840/8.
- 10 Bailey defines *famuli* as 'the regular labourers employed by the lord to work on his demesne land' (Bailey 2002, 243), whilst Farmer describe them as 'a permanent staff of farm servants employed on annual contracts in return for food, accommodation, and a fixed money wage' (Farmer 1996, 236); for example, at Hollesley in 1290/91 a *famulus* employed as a ploughman was given 2s cash a year in addition to his keep, and a *famulus* helping load carts at harvest was given 2s, TNA, SC6 998/25.

- 11 The dimensions of roof tiles were fixed by legislation in 1477 at 10½ ins by 6¼ ins, Salzman 1950, 230. Of course this may have no relevance to Suffolk almost 200 years before, but a minimum practical size would surely be c.8 ins by 6 ins. About two-thirds of each tile might be covered by the one above it.
- 12 In a 'Steward's Notebook' of c.1628 in Hadleigh Guildhall Archives Room, ref. 066/A/01.
- 13 Rumble (ed.) 1986, 281b.
- 14 Copinger 1910, 236.
- 15 TNA, C143/408/23. It is possible that Nichola retained the two manors after her second marriage, which ended with the death of Roger de Huntingfield in 1302, but they were certainly in Richard de Amoundeville's hands by 1314 (see note 16 below). In 1291 Richard had recently come of age, married and fathered a son (said to be aged over thirty in Richard's IPM of 1323), and he seems the likeliest person to have built the house.
- 16 For 1314, see *C[alendar of the] P[atent] R[olls]*, 1313–17, 235–6; for 1317, see *CPR*, 1317–21, 83; for 1327, see *CPR*, 1327–30, 157. See also Hoppitt 2020, 167.
- 17 Hoppitt 2020, 66, see also 46–69.
- 18 TNA, C134/74.21.
- 19 *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, 1327–41, 456.
- 20 TNA, C44/2/1, explored in detail by Salmon 2019.
- 21 Rust 1889, 12–13
- 22 Hadleigh Guildhall Archives Room, 066/A/01; SA/I, EG 34:7/10, court book of manor of Thorney Hall, 1665–85; Stowupland Local History Group archive, notes by Ena Carter
- 23 Gallagher 2009, 31, item 190.
- 24 SA/I, EG 34:7/10.
- 25 Hadleigh Guildhall Archives Room, 066/A/01; SA/I, EG 34:7/10; Stowupland Local History Group archive, notes from deeds of Poplar Farm, Stowupland.
- 26 The account states this literally on two occasions: 'Item, paid to Master John Carpenter for his wages for carpentry on the said solar', and 'Item, paid to Master John Carpenter ... for carpentry on the said hall and solar'.
- 27 Hervey 1906, 40.
- 28 Hervey 1906, 33, 42.
- 29 Since he held a royal appointment in 1283, he must have lived to a good age.
- 30 An alternative reading would be *civdend-*, which is possibly a verb derived from *civera*, a wheelbarrow; or possibly *tunden-*, to beat or crush.
- 31 The text here is obscured by wear, but appears to read *Ilent...um*, which possibly relates to *ileon*, intestine, or *hyllum*, sausage, DMLBS, 233.
- 32 For identification of placenames, see discussion by Neil Langridge.
- 33 The capital R (for *recte*, 'correctly') in the corrected text here could be seen as a capital L (for *licet*, 'it is permitted' / 'let it be'). The clerk's original notation is not always consistent and has been corrected here, and elsewhere, perhaps by an auditor. Other cases may be seen in Figs 22–25.
- 34 *Celum/celura* may be translated as either ceiling or panelling (DMLBS). The large number of imported boards bought for the *celum* of the solar suggests they were probably for lining the walls rather than the floor, P. Aitkens pers. comm.
- 35 These may have been decorative ridge tiles, sometimes found in the shape of figures, etc., see Salzman 1950, 231; or perhaps the ceramic louvers for smoke extraction which would be required in a tiled roof, P. Aitkens pers. comm., but as they were cheaper than standard ridge tiles this seems unlikely. Possibly some form of *cavate/concavate*, a corner tile used at the edge of a hipped roof, Salzman 1950, 232, or along the 'valley' between the main building and a cross-wing, if present?
- 36 This combination of letters and omissions could represent chitterlings ['cheterlingus'] (DMLBS), 'good-quality stockfish' ['chelyngges'] (Butcher 2008, 37), or 'codling' [*codelyngus*] (DMLBS).
- 37 See note 35.
- 38 See note 34.
- 39 The inclusion of *de* before *stagnat-* makes this translation tentative. Nails on doors were often larger than necessary and decorative, and some had tinned heads, e.g. at Hadleigh Castle in 1363, see Salzman 1950, 304.
- 40 These two sentences confirm that the 'new Solar at the high end' and 'the Solar at the low end' were both included in the finished building.
- 41 This reading assumes a single word split over two lines. An alternative reading would be *cum tand-*, whose meaning in the context would be obscure.
- 42 The posts were later replaced, as recorded on the *verso*, suggesting the new hall had aisles. We are very grateful for the patient and generous way in which Philip Aitkens, Elphin and Brenda Watkin, and other

- members of the Suffolk Historic Buildings Group (SHBG) shared their expertise with us after an earlier version of this article was delivered via a Zoom call. Although Hewitt assigns several East Anglian examples of aisleless designs to the very end of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries, some of his early dates are now thought to be optimistic, see Hewitt 1980, 110, 126, 131, 134. At any rate, Master John did not attempt to build this roof without using posts; if he had done so in 1291 he would have been ahead of the acknowledged pioneers, see Hewitt 1980, as above, and Rimmer 2015, 3, fn. 9. The document gives no description of the appearance of the Thorney house, however the SHBG's unanimous opinion was that it must have been aisled at this date (see Fig. 21).
- 43 The term 'mark' here and later seems to refer to Master John's system of record-keeping, perhaps notches on a tally. '8 marks' in money is £5 6s 8d.
 - 44 The wording here could imply two separate journeys: the expenses were considerable. Although Stoke by Ipswich was certainly a destination for buying roof tiles, a possible alternative would be Stoke Ash, some eight miles from Thorney, where there may have been commodities such as clay and timber for sale.
 - 45 The first name may be 'Stephen', cf. Stephen Appeltheit of *Villata de Stowe*, who is listed in the 1327 lay subsidy. This and several other personal names in the document are discussed by Neil Langridge, whose help has been invaluable.
 - 46 This translation contributed by Prof. Mark Bailey and Dr David Stone, to whom we are indebted for checking the most challenging vocabulary for us. Note that this process occupied six men for five days each. They were apparently both preparing the daub and filling the spaces with woven panels before the finish went on. Cf. the earlier process of clearing or 'emptying' (*vacuand-*) walls of old panels.
 - 47 Fisher refers to this as 'wood fallen from tree', Fisher 2003, 15. At roughly 2s apiece these are unlikely to be large whole trees. The fact that these and several oaks in this woodland are said to be purchased may indicate that it was a resource shared with other local manors, or may be simply an accounting device.
 - 48 Boards and other timbers were counted by the 'Long Hundred' of 120, Salzman 1950, 245; the text here says 'one hundred and a half' [C. & di-].
 - 49 'Bever', a medieval term listed by Yaxley (Yaxley 2003, 15) was still in use in mid-Suffolk within living memory, C. Wyard pers. comm.
 - 50 This figure is clearly written, as is their cost. Both are more than double the 'total' of 12,300 tiles costing £2 1s 5d given earlier after the first year's work. A large aisled hall with its correspondingly wide roof, especially if extended with a cross-wing, might require this many tiles, P. Aitkens pers. comm. Elphin and Brenda Watkin were kind enough to calculate the number of tiles on 'Stantons', built about 1300 at Black Notley, Essex, which had no less than 85 courses on each long side.
 - 51 The coincidence of the number 58 suggests this term may indicate items required for fixing or lining the 58 ridge tiles, or even be an alternative word meaning the tiles themselves. However, the price here differs and the word's exact meaning is still unknown.
 - 52 As yet we have been unable to find a satisfactory translation for the term 'Le rcs/Lorcs'; note that it required over 30 boards, and at least 21 of them cost more than the labourers were paid for a full day's work.
 - 53 Peter Gernegan was heir to the manor of Stonham Parva, and it may be through him that the account found its way into the archives of Horham Jernegans manor.
 - 54 DMLBS translates *aer* as 'air, weather' but also offers '?ceiling 1283, 1314'; elsewhere in this account the term *celum* is used but may refer to wall-panelling. Both Salzman (Salzman 1950, 145) and DMLBS translate *area* as 'floor'.

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