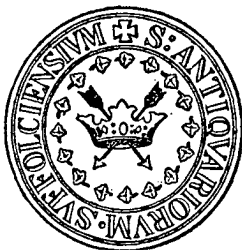


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FRAMLINGHAM CASTLE AND BIGOD 1154-1216

By R. ALLEN BROWN, M.A.

English medieval castles have been largely neglected by historians from every point of view, save the architectural. This neglect is paradoxical in view of the fundamental part played by castles in feudal society, and is justified by no lack of historical material. Generally speaking, the surviving records provide ample evidence for a political and institutional study which the importance of the subject makes desirable. However, for the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries at least, there is one notable gap in the evidence. Castles may be divided for practical purposes into the two categories of royal and baronial, and while the great series of central government records provide ample information about the former, information on the latter is scarce. Baronial castles only appear in the central records in the exceptional and temporary circumstances of escheat or minority in the family concerned, and in this period we have no considerable survival of detailed private and baronial records. In what follows, an attempt is made to outline the early history, by necessity mainly from a political point of view, of Framlingham castle in Suffolk in the years 1154-1216. The power and importance of its lords together with the vicissitudes of their political fortunes in the period under review, result in exceptionally frequent references to the castle in the central records; archæological evidence gives valuable assistance in piecing together the story; and the gaps in the direct evidence may be partially filled by linking, as it were, the history of Framlingham castle to the biographies of its lords, the Bigod¹ earls of Norfolk—against which larger background, it may be added, the history of the castle at this crucial period of its existence alone takes on full significance.

The house of Bigod first appears in English history in the person of Roger Bigod, who died in 1107. Already by the time of Domesday Book his lands were wide, particularly in East Anglia where he held 117 lordships in Suffolk alone,² and the firm foundations of the family's future greatness were laid. In 1154, when our period

¹ *Complete Peerage*, ed. Doubleday, ix, p. 575, has a note on the spelling of the name: 'Bigot has at all times been by no means an uncommon name in Normandy, where this form has always continued. The name was changed to Bigod in England.' Contemporary sources in the period under review use both forms almost indifferently.

² e.g. Domesday Book, ii, ff. 152b, 173, 330b-345b, for Norfolk & Suffolk.

begins, Hugh Bigod, possibly the greatest and certainly the most famous of the family, the younger son of Roger, was beyond doubt one of the most powerful magnates of the realm. Like others of the English baronage, he had not suffered by the disorders of Stephen's reign, and in particular he had been created earl of

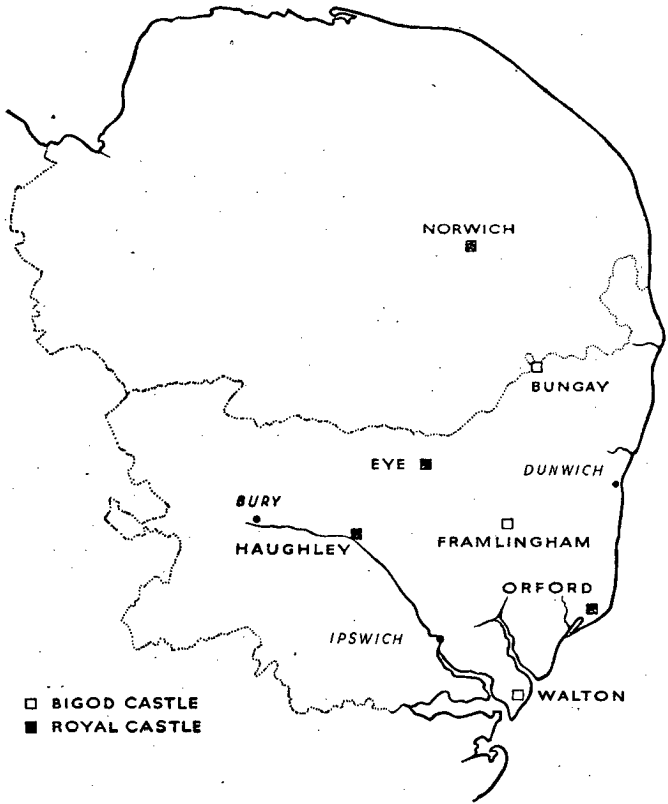


FIG. 13.—Map of Norfolk and Suffolk showing location of castles mentioned in the text.

Norfolk in 1140.³ This earldom, though generally taking its name from the more northern of the two shires, comprised Suffolk as well as Norfolk, and was in reality the old earldom of the East Angles.⁴ He held vast lands, chiefly in the eastern counties, and in his return to the feudal inquest of 1166 recognised a total of

³ *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 581.

⁴ Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 191.

160½ knights' fees.⁵ Most important for us, he held also the three Suffolk castles of Framlingham,⁶ Bungay,⁶ and Walton.⁷ These three castles, of which Framlingham was the chief and was apparently regarded as the centre of the honor,⁸ based on the geographical location of the greater part of his lands, gave him in large measure the control of the shire and a power in Suffolk which could rival that of the King himself. For in the earlier years of Henry's reign, the only royal castles in Suffolk were those of Eye⁹ and Haganet,¹⁰ and of these the latter certainly and the former probably, were not of the first order. Nor was earl Hugh content with the possession of Framlingham, Bungay and Walton alone, but had ardent designs, based on past precedent, on the possession also of Norwich, the royal castle in the ancient capital of his earldom. The Bigod castles in Suffolk formed a dangerous group which it was most in the Crown's interest to break up, while the addition of Norwich to the combination would have made Hugh Bigod's earldom something of a political reality. Not the least important feature of local history in the sixty odd years that follow the accession of Henry II in 1154 is the struggle between King and Bigod for the ultimate power in Suffolk and East Anglia.

The first years of Henry's reign, however, were not immediately marked by any hostility towards Bigod. Earl Hugh had, indeed, been instrumental in Henry's succession to the Crown and he received his reward, or his price, in a charter of 1155 which confirmed him in his lands and possessions and in the earldom which Stephen had bestowed upon him.¹¹ But the first move was not long in coming

⁵ *Red Book of the Exchequer* (Rolls Series), i, pp. 395-7; he returned 125 'de veteri' and 35½ 'de novo'. Cf. Clare (*ibid.*, pp. 403-7) who returned a total of just under 140 knights' fees.

⁶ *Gesta Henrici Secundi* (R.S.), i, p. 48.

⁷ For Walton as a Bigod castle see especially Ralph de Diceto (R.S.), i, p. 404. For Bigod's lordship in general in Walton see D.B., ii, f. 339b and Dugdale's *Monasticon* (1817 edition) i, p. 164, which recites the royal confirmation of a charter by which Roger Bigod gave the church of St. Felix at Walton to the monks at Rochester.

⁸ *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum* (ed. Hardy), i, p. 255, where the phrase 'honor de Framelingeham' is used.

⁹ e.g. P.R. 10 Hen. II (Pipe Roll Society), p. 35.

¹⁰ e.g. *Gesta*, i, p. 60; see also V. B. Redstone, *Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.*, xi, p. 30; Haganet = Haughley, the centre of the old Honor of the Constable (of Dover).

¹¹ The charter is found in the *Cartae Antiquae Roll*, (P.R.O. reference C. 52.18), where it is numbered 13 on the roll. It is printed in full in Rymer's *Foedera*, (1816) i, p. 42. The text bears only the place-date of Northampton, and neither Rymer nor Dugdale (*Baronage*, 1675, i, p. 132) assigns a date to it. It is dated, however, by Round (*Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 288) and the *Complete Peerage* (ix, p. 583) as 1155, apparently on the evidence that amongst the witnesses on the charter appear the bishops whom Torigny tells us came over to England for the King's coronation (R.S., *Chronicles Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, iv, p. 182). It may be added that the entry in the Pipe Roll of 1156-7 (P.R. 3 Hen. II, p. 75),

and its outcome was definitely successful for the King. In 1157, and, one may perhaps add, as soon as Henry was firmly settled upon the throne, earl Hugh was forced to surrender his castles to the Crown. For this fact we are dependent in the first instance on the simple and unqualified statement of Torigny, which is copied by Matthew Paris, under the year 1157—'Hugo Bigotus castella sua regi reddidit.'¹² Neither source gives any indication of the causes of the confiscation, but the occasion itself is further proved by certain entries on the Pipe Rolls. Thus on the roll of 1156-7 political unrest, and possibly military action, in East Anglia are indicated by the stocking with provisions of a royal castle in Norfolk, presumably Norwich,¹³ and by the appearance of a garrison of knights in Norwich castle on the roll of the following year.¹⁴ It is not without significance, too, for the general policy of the King, that in the same year he destroyed the castle or castles of the earl of Essex.¹⁵ But most important for our immediate purpose is an entry on the same roll of 1157-8 showing a royal garrison in Framlingham¹⁶—a certain proof that the castle was then in royal hands—while the roll of the next year shows also a garrison and provisions being provided by the Crown for the castle of Walton.¹⁷ Earl Hugh, then, was forced to yield Framlingham and his other castles to the King in 1157, and the general run of the Pipe Roll entries suggests that the date of the surrender was late in the year, and after Michaelmas. The confiscation was, however, (in part) only temporary, though it is not easy to say for how long it had effect. That Framlingham and Bungay were eventually restored to earl Hugh is, of course, proved by the fact that they were in his hands at the outbreak of rebellion in 1173.¹⁸ For the rest, it is very tempting to associate the otherwise unidentified, and extremely heavy, fine which the earl made to the King in 1165¹⁹ with the return of the castles to his possession.

allowing to earl Hugh the third penny of the shire for one and a half years previously, tends to confirm that the settlement of the earldom took place in late 1155 or early 1156.

¹² Torigny, p. 193: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, (R.S.), ed. Luard, ii, p. 214.

¹³ P.R. 3 Hen. II, p. 75; Et pro baconibus Waltero f. Warini et Rogero de Lillebona xxli per breue Regis ad munitionem castelli.

¹⁴ P.R. 4 Hen. II, p. 126: Et in liberatione militum Regis qui custodiunt castellum de Norw' lili et xii.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 132: Et in prosternend' castell' comitis Gaufridi ixli et xii et iiiid. Presumably the two Mandeville castles of Pleshy and Saffron-Walden are meant.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 126: Et militibus Regis de Framingeham xvili et xviii.

¹⁷ P.R. 5 Hen. II, p. 9: Et in liberatione militum et servientum de Waleton' de dimidio anno lxxviii. Et in munitione castelli eiusdem xixli et viis et viiid. . . Et in liberatione militum de Walet' et servientum lviii et xvs.

¹⁸ *Gesta*, i, p. 48.

¹⁹ P.R. 11 Hen. II, p. 7: Comes Hugo r.c. de Mli. pro fine quem fecit cum rege apud Noting'.

One result of the affair of 1157, however, was permanent, for not all three castles were restored to Bigod, and Walton remained in the hands of the Crown. Because the evidence for the whole affair is somewhat scanty, and because the permanent confiscation of Walton at this date has not been generally realised,²⁰ it is perhaps worth setting out here the main facts which prove the point. First, as we have already seen, earl Hugh surrendered his castles in 1157, and sometime after that, possibly in 1165, some restoration took place. But when later the chroniclers speak of Bigod castles at the time of the rebellion of 1173-4, they name only Framlingham and Bungay,²¹ which alone seems to indicate that Walton was no longer in the earl's possession. Again, the Pipe Rolls provide direct evidence that the castle was in royal hands, for between 1158 and the rebellion we find there frequent and almost annual payments for a royal garrison at Walton²² as well as payments for a garrison and other royal expenditure on the castle during the rebellion itself.²³ Lastly, if we may anticipate and speak of the events of 1173-4, Diceto tells us that in 1173 the earl of Leicester attacked the castle, in a passage which may be quoted in full since it gives some description of a fortress long since destroyed and whose site is now beneath the sea. The rebel earl, he says, landed at Walton on the 29th of September: 'Qui, navibus cum festinatione remissis, ad expugnandum castrum in supercilio montis constructum diebus iiii laboravit, et licet comitem Hugonem Bigod et quotquot poterat congregare cum machinis in auxilium habuisset, excelsae turri muris fundatae fortissimis nocere non potuit.'²⁴ That Leicester, Bigod's ally, should have attacked Walton and should have obtained the aid of earl Hugh himself in the venture, clearly shows that the castle was then a royal fortress, Henry later destroyed it in

²⁰ *Complete Peerage* (ix, p. 584) definitely cites Bigod's possession of this castle as late as 1173. Neither the *D.N.B.* (v, p. 23) nor Dugdale (*Baronage*, i, p. 132) mention any permanent seizure at this date, and both imply that it was in Hugh's hands as late as 1174, on the grounds that Henry destroyed it after the rebellion. Redstone (*Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.*, x, pp. 206-7) states that before the building of Orford in 1165, Eye was the only royal castle in Suffolk, and on another occasion refers to Walton as a new castle built by Henry against Bigod (*ibid.*, xi, p. 303). Painter (*Speculum*, x, p. 326), a modern American historian of twelfth century castles, does mention Walton as taken by Henry and made into a royal fortress against Bigod, but without any dates or details.

²¹ See especially *Gesta*, i, p. 48; also *ibid.*, pp. 73 and 127, and Hoveden (R.S.), ii, p. 101.

²² e.g. P.R. 5 Hen. II, pp. 9 and 58; P.R. 6, p. 2; P.R. 10, pp. 34, 46; P.R. 11, p. 2; P.R. 13, p. 208, etc. The usual phraseology is simply 'in liberatione militum de Waletona,' but that the castle is meant is indicated by such an entry as 'Et in liberatione militum de Walet' . . . Et in munitione eiusdem castelli' (P.R. 6, p. 2; cf. P.R. 5, p. 9).

²³ P.R. 19 Hen. II, pp. 13, 30, 117, 129, 131; P.R. 20, p. 37.

²⁴ Diceto (R.S.), i, p. 377.

1175,²⁵ not because it was then in practice a Bigod castle, but because as an ex-Bigod castle it was a standing temptation to the earl, and also no doubt, from the point of view of his own strategy, because by 1175 Walton had been rendered partially obsolete, and no longer essential to his position, by the new castle at Orford. In short, as a result of the affair of 1157, Henry gained the permanent confiscation of Walton, which he turned into a royal fortress against Bigod until such time as he himself destroyed it as no longer necessary to his plans.²⁶

The first round therefore, comprising the temporary surrender of all three Bigod castles and the permanent seizure of Walton, went definitely to the King. But the matter did not end there. The continued presence of a royal garrison at Walton in the years 1158-1173 is itself eloquent of the strained relations between King and earl, and in 1165 Henry began to build a new castle at Orford.²⁷ Indeed the year 1165 is a crucial one in this history, and the concurrence of events at that date stresses in rather a dramatic way the reality of the struggle between the two powers. It was in 1165, if our conjecture is correct, that earl Hugh received back Bungay and Framlingham from the Crown. At once, it would seem, he began building a new square stone keep at Bungay,²⁸ and at the same time Henry began his new works at Orford. Though we know little of the operations at Bungay save what still remains to be seen of their foundations, we know from the Pipe Rolls that the building at Orford was pushed on at great pace and great expense. In the fiscal year 1165-6 a total expenditure of £663 9s. 8d. is recorded,²⁹ and in the following year the figure is £323.³⁰ In all, the heavy sum of over £1400³¹ was spent by Henry on Orford between 1165 and 1173, when the work was completed—an amount which must have made the castle not only the most modern, but also amongst

²⁵ P.R. 22 Hen. II, p. 60: 'Et in custamento prosternendi castri de Waleton xxxili et viiis et iiii^d per breue Regis et per visum Roberti de Willauesham et Alnothi ingeniatoris.' The stores of provisions in the castle were taken to Ipswich and sold (*ibid.*, p. 70).

²⁶ The fact that Walton held out for 4 days against the combined forces of Leicester and Bigod without surrendering shows that it was a castle of some strength in spite of its demolition by Henry II. (*Diceto*, i, p. 377).

²⁷ P.R. 12 Hen. II, pp. 17 and 35.

²⁸ See *Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.*, xxii, p. 109, where Braun estimates the date of c.1165 for the keep at Bungay via archæological affinity to the building at Scarborough known to have been in progress at that date (e.g. P.R. 9 Hen. II, p. 57; P.R. 10, p. 11, etc.).

²⁹ P.R. 12 Hen. II, pp. 17, 35, 123. ³⁰ P.R. 13 Hen. II, p. 35.

³¹ £1413 10s. 10d. This figure comes from the Pipe Roll evidence alone which may not be complete. For a full account of the building of Orford see the paper by Redstone in *Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.*, x, p. 205, and an essay by the present writer in the *East Anglian Magazine* for Jan., 1950.

the strongest in the kingdom.³² It was a fortress of stone in the new style, and it had a stone keep, which still stands, of great strength and unique design. As for its intention, its geographical position and the historical context so far related leave little room for doubt that it was built to control the power of Bigod in general, and to contain his castle of Framlingham in particular. In short by 1173 the balance of power in Suffolk had been altered in the King's favour. Earl Hugh still held the castles of Framlingham and Bungay, and the latter he had recently strengthened with a square keep of comparatively small dimensions but of immense strength.³³ The King, on the other hand, held, in addition to Eye and Haganet, the not inconsiderable castle at Walton, and his powerful new fortress at Orford which gave a new security to his power and was in itself probably stronger than Bungay and certainly stronger than Framlingham as that castle then stood.

We come now to the rebellion of 1173-4 of the Young Henry against his father Henry II, in which Suffolk and East Anglia formed one of the principal theatres of action. The events recorded above may perhaps be considered to throw further light on the reasons which led Bigod to take part in that rising. In any event, as is well known, the indefatigable earl Hugh, though now an old man,³⁴ was one of the principal leaders of the malcontents, and Framlingham as his chief castle figures largely in events. As the price of his support earl Hugh obtained the promise from the Young King of, significantly, the hereditary custody of Norwich castle and also, apparently later, of the Honor of Eye.³⁵ The earl's hereditary claims to Norwich have already been noticed³⁶ and the acquisition of the two castles of Norwich and Eye would have entirely reversed all the success which the King had so far won against him. On September 23rd, 1173 the earl of Leicester landed with his force at Walton and was joined by Hugh. Having failed to take the castle at Walton, but having taken and destroyed Haganet,

³² Again, so far as can be seen from the Pipe Roll figures, Henry spent more upon Orford than upon any other of his extensive building operations save only Dover and Nottingham. The cost of the new castle at Dover between 1179 and 1191 was nearly £7000, but this seems to have been altogether exceptional. Upon his works at Nottingham Henry spent some £1800. It is interesting to compare the Orford total (p. 132) with the recorded sum of £1143 0s. 6d. upon the new building (which consisted chiefly of the present keep) carried out at Newcastle.

³³ The shell which now surrounds the square keep was not, of course, added until a hundred years later. See Braun, *loc. cit.*

³⁴ In 1174 William of Canterbury speaks of him as 'octogenarium illum Bigoth' (R.S., *Materials for the History of Becket*, i, p. 491).

³⁵ *Gesta*, i, p. 45, Hoveden, ii, p. 47: *Complete Peerage*, ix, pp. 583-4.

³⁶ See p. 129, above.

Leicester was then sheltered by earl Hugh at Framlingham.³⁷ There, no doubt, the extensive earthworks of the castle provided adequate cover for the combined rebel forces, but the presence of Leicester's army in addition to his own was apparently too much for Bigod's supplies and his countess in particular, it would seem, found the burden intolerable.³⁸ This partly understandable lack of hospitality on the part of the countess was the immediate cause of one of the major defeats of the rebels, for the earl of Leicester, making his way from Framlingham towards his own lands, was defeated and captured at Fornham, near Bury St. Edmunds, on October 17th.³⁹ A royal army was then formed at Bury and Ipswich to attack earl Hugh, but he, embarrassed by the number of Flemish fugitives flocking to him, and seeing that even if he received them into Framlingham he could not hold out for lack of supplies, made a truce until the following Whitsun—according to Diceto by the mediation of hard cash. The next year, however, as soon as the truce was up, he was in the field again and with the aid of a new force of picked Flemings sent over to East Anglia by Philip of Flanders, he took and sacked Norwich on June 18th.⁴⁰ But it was in vain. The rebellion was easily crushed by the loyal forces, and to earl Hugh himself it brought nothing but disaster. Henry himself landed in England in July and formed an army at Bury to attack both Framlingham and Bungay. On July 25th, earl Hugh submitted, surrendered his castles,⁴¹ bought peace for 1000 marcs, and swore fealty and did homage to the King.⁴²

The direct result of the failure of the rebellion and the surrender of earl Hugh, in addition to the monetary fines he was forced to make,⁴³ was the demolition of Framlingham castle by the King. The author of the *Gesta Henrici*, indeed, states, under the year 1176, that both Framlingham and Bungay castles were destroyed, but 'Bungeia' seems to have been added in a later hand,⁴⁴ and there is no confirmation in the Pipe Rolls of the destruction of this castle

³⁷ Diceto, i, p. 377. Haganet with its garrison of 30 knights was taken on October 13th.

³⁸ *ibid.*, 'Regrediens ad Framelinge ham, cum mora ejus [i.e. Leicester's] onerosa Hugoni Bigot domino castri videretur, sed uxori ipsius Hugonis plurimum odiosa, necessitate compulsus ad Legecestriam visitandum animam direxit et gressum.' Hugh Bigod's wife, at this time was Gundred, daughter of Roger earl of Warwick. (See Pedigree, Fig. 14).

³⁹ Diceto, i, p. 378: The King was at this time on the Continent. Ralph de Diceto is one of the best authorities for the rebellion, and is particularly well informed on events concerning Hugh Bigod.

⁴⁰ Presumably as a further vindication of his claims upon it. See Diceto, i, p. 381: *Gesta*, i, p. 68: Gervase of Canterbury (R.S.), i, p. 248: *cf.* the payments for repairs to Norwich castle in 1175-6 (P.R. 22 Hen. II, pp. 59, 60).

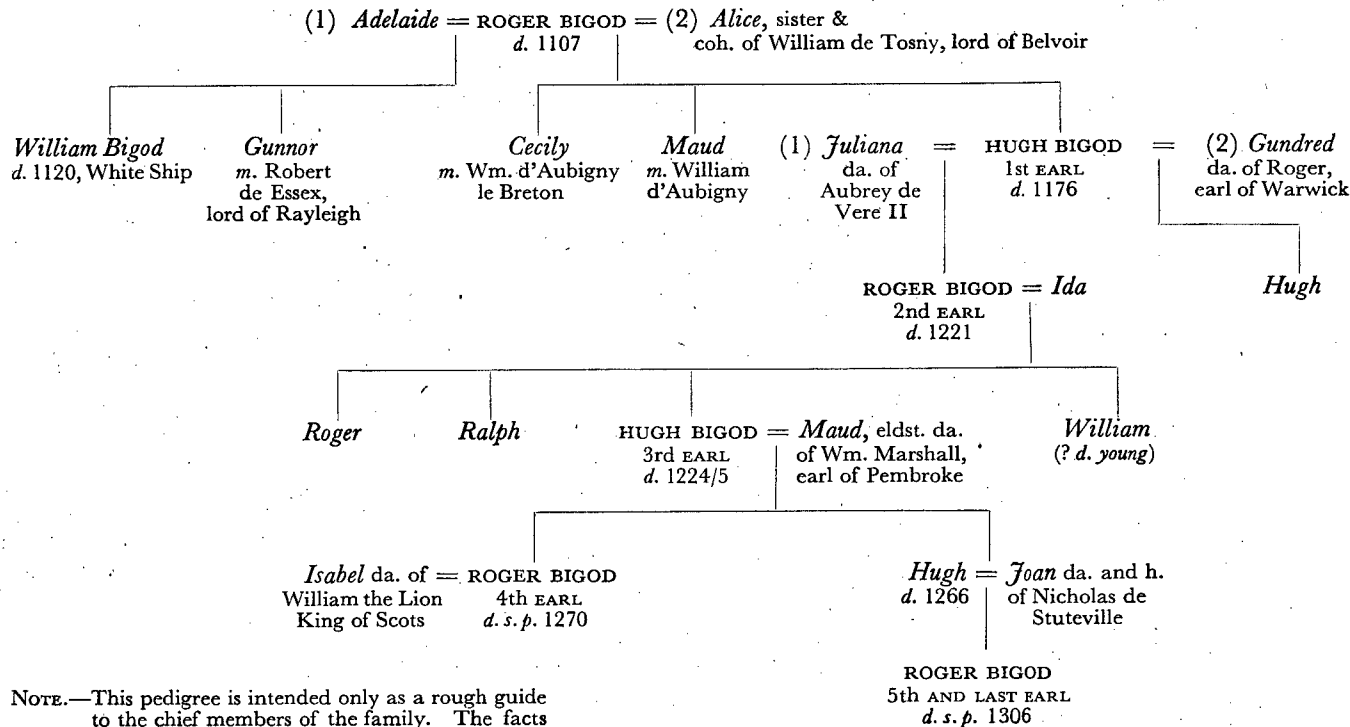
⁴¹ *Gesta*, i, p. 73.

⁴² Diceto, i, p. 385.

⁴³ *ibid.*: see also P.R. 22 Hen. II, p. 70.

⁴⁴ *Gesta*, p. 127 and note.

BIGOD, EARLS OF NORFOLK



NOTE.—This pedigree is intended only as a rough guide to the chief members of the family. The facts are taken mainly from the *Complete Peerage*, vol. ix.

FIG. 14.—Bigod Pedigree.

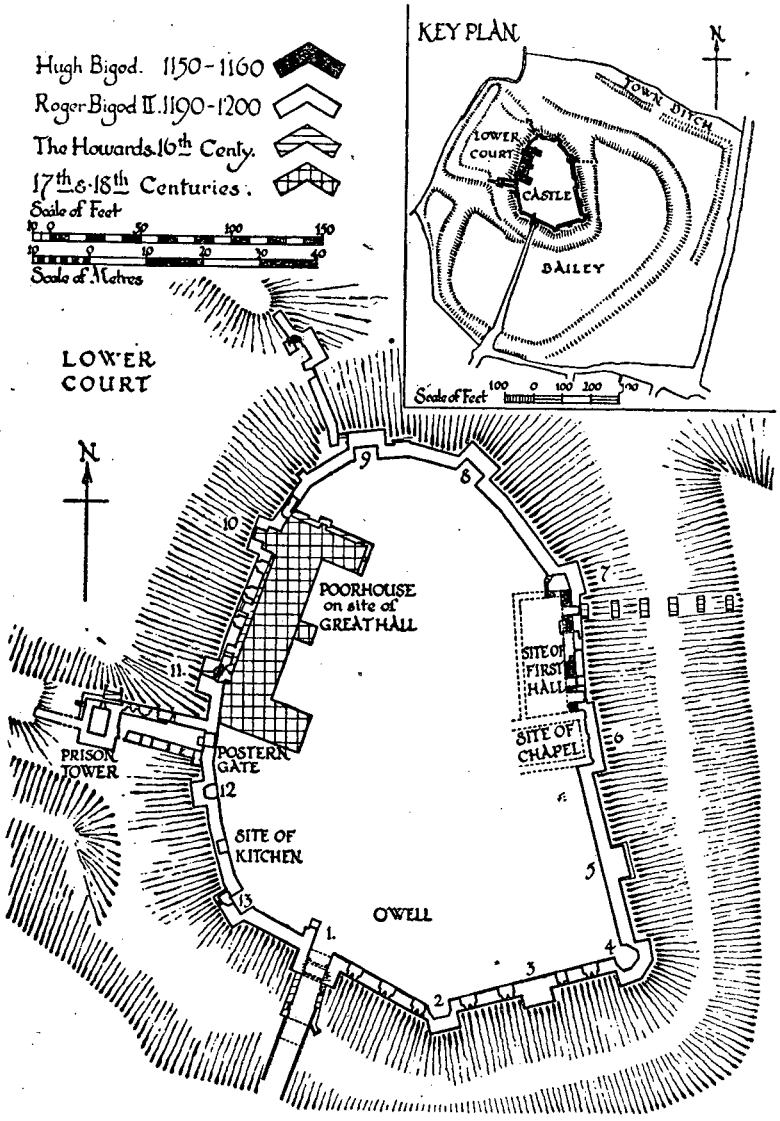


FIG. 15.—Plan of Framlingham Castle.
 (From the Ministry of Works Guide, by permission
 of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office)

on the Waveney.⁴⁵ The destruction of Framlingham, however, admits of no doubt, and the work was apparently begun immediately after Bigod's submission. The Pipe Rolls record the expenses of the demolition, and the entries are of sufficient interest to merit their reproduction here. The first occurs on the roll of 1174-5, at a time when the royal castles in Suffolk and elsewhere were, by contrast, being restored and strengthened after the warfare of the past year. It runs 'Et in liberatione Alnodi Ingeniatoris et carpentariorum et cementariorum quos secum duxit ad prosternendum castrum de Framillingeham xiiii li et xv s et xid per breue Ricardi de Luci et per visum Roberti Mantel'et ipsius Alnodi . . . et item ad perequandum fossatum eiusdem castelli xxxvi s et id.'⁴⁶ There is a similar entry on the Norfolk and Suffolk account for the roll of the following year: 'Et pro prosternendo castro de Framingeham viii li et xs et vid per idem breue [i.e. Regis] et per visum predictorum [i.e. Roberti de Willauesham et Alnothi ingeniatoris]'.⁴⁷ Alnoth the Engineer, it may be added, was one of the small group of master-builders whom Henry and his sons employed in their great building operations. He was at this time at the height of his career and his employment by Henry for the demolition of Framlingham (he must also have at least inspected the demolition of Walton) indicates the determination of the King that the work should be done thoroughly and well.⁴⁸

Since the brief notices of the chroniclers and the matter-of-fact entries on the Pipe Rolls quoted above record the end of the first castle of Framlingham, it may be as well to pause here and consider what manner of castle it was. Of its architectural and archæological detail we have, of course, no direct evidence, but it may perhaps

⁴⁵ A local tradition recorded by Braun (*Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.*, xxii, p. 113) says that it was intended to destroy Bungay and that Hugh saved it by a fine of 1000 marcs. According to this story, the mining tunnel which may still be seen under one corner of the keep remains as the dramatic evidence of this intention. The fine mentioned is presumably the 1000m. given by Diceto as the price earl Hugh had to pay for his peace. (i, p. 385).

⁴⁶ P.R. 21 Hen. II, p. 108.

⁴⁷ P.R. 22 Hen. II, p. 60. On the same account directly above the entry for Framlingham is entered the demolition of Walton castle, at a cost of £31 8s. 3d., again 'per visum' of Alnoth the Engineer. The total recorded cost of the destruction of Framlingham over the two years is £24 2s. 6d.

⁴⁸ Alnoth was, in Round's phrase (Introduction to P.R. 28 Hen. II), 'Henry's master of the works at Westminster.' It is unlikely that he was, as Redstone suggested, an Ipswich man (*Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.*, x, p. 215). He first appears on the Pipe Roll of 1156-7 (p. 113) on the London account, and is thereafter continuously employed for the rest of Henry's reign, almost invariably in London and usually upon the Tower or the palace of Westminster. Apart from various commissions at Windsor, his demolition of Framlingham was one of his rare excursions outside the metropolis. Round's suggestion (Introduction P.R. 22 Hen. II) that Henry's employment of Alnoth, an Englishman, was an added insult to the proud earl Hugh, seems to me equally unlikely.

be permissible to conjecture its general form. It probably belonged to the old 'motte and bailey' type of castle of earth and timber. Its earthworks, its total area and ground plan, were probably the same as those of the present castle.⁴⁹ On the mound or 'motte' which bears the present ruins, would be Bigod's hall, probably a chapel, and other buildings residential and administrative, some of them perhaps in stone,⁵⁰ but the main fortification of the place, in addition to the defence of the earthworks themselves, would be provided by timber stockades and towers.⁵¹ For in spite of some exceptional cases, notably the keeps at the Tower of London and at Colchester, the latter half of the twelfth century was in the main the period of the widespread transition from the old castles of earth and timber to the new fortresses of stone, and in this transition, vastly expensive as it was, the Crown usually led the way. It is perhaps, therefore, safe to argue that, since in the first two decades of Henry's reign even major castles like Windsor, Winchester and Newcastle were only then being rebuilt according to the new ideas, Framlingham, a private fortress, may have remained an example of the older type, especially as its lord since 1165 had had to bear the expense of his new building at Bungay. It may also perhaps be added that the small recorded cost of the demolition of Framlingham tends to bear out this view.

The remaining years of Henry's reign represent the nadir of the fortunes of the house of Bigod. With their ambitions towards Norwich unrealised, Walton long confiscated and now destroyed, Framlingham levelled to the ground, and Bungay perhaps confiscated if not demolished, the twenty years from 1154 to 1174 had brought little but failure and punishment. Earl Hugh, perhaps, was not made to suffer too heavily for what Dugdale⁵² calls his 'extravagant enterprises' of 1173-4. He had fined with the King, but not excessively,⁵³ and Framlingham had been demolished; but he had retained his earldom,⁵⁴ the grants of Crown demesne which

⁴⁹ See, for example, the overall plan of Framlingham in the official Ministry of Works pamphlet (Fig. 15), or the earthworks surrounding the mound or 'motte' on which the present 'castle' (which is really an outsize and irregularly shaped shell-keep) stands, as shown by the excellent aerial photograph (No. 65) in Douglas-Simpson's *Castles from the Air* (Country Life publication, 1949). For the distinction between the keep ('turrus' = square keep and 'mota' = shell-keep) and the whole area of the castle ('castrum' or 'castellum'), see Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, Appendix O.

⁵⁰ The fact that Alnoth took with him 'cementarii' as well as 'carpentarii' (P.R. 21 Hen. II, p. 108) indicates some stone work, though it is not conclusive evidence.

⁵¹ 'Palicium' = stockade: 'breteschia' = wooden tower or brattice. For both at Norwich see P.R. 19 Hen. II, p. 117: for 'breteschia' at Orford and Eye see *ibid.*, pp. 116 and 132.

⁵² *Baronage*, i, p. 132.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 60.

⁵³ *cf.* P.R. 22 Hen. II, pp. 62 and 70.

were normally his,⁵⁵ and his other lands. But with the death of earl Hugh in 1177⁵⁶ worse was to follow. Henry II apparently refused to confer the earldom upon Roger, the old earl's son and heir,⁵⁷ and not only was Roger made answerable for his father's debts,⁵⁸ but also the Crown demesnes in Norfolk and Suffolk were withheld from him until 1182⁵⁹ and some at least of his other lands appear escheated to the Crown.⁶⁰

In 1189, however, a new and second phase in the history of Framlingham castle and the Bigods begins—a phase which like the first ends in rebellion and the fall of the castle. It was not until after the accession of Richard I that Roger Bigod was granted his earldom and confirmed in the possession of all his father's lands, by a charter dated November 25th of that year,⁶¹ for which the new earl had to pay 1000 marcs.⁶² The fact that the reinstatement of Bigod took place at a time when Richard was notoriously anxious to raise money and win support is not without significance, but the fiscal aspect of the transaction, at least, should not be overstressed. A thousand marcs is a reasonable price. Also it was not easy even for the Angevin monarchy at the height of its power to disinherit a powerful earl or baron and, in spite of the theoretical contradiction between feudalism and private property, the magnates as a class were wonderfully tenacious of their rights, both real and imagined. However politically desirable it may have been to hold Bigod subdued, Henry II's action in withholding the earldom from Roger and confiscating his lands had been greatly facilitated, if not made possible, by a dispute within the family itself concerning the in-

⁵⁵*ibid.*, p. 70.

⁵⁶*Gesta*, i, p. 143.

⁵⁷The third penny of the shire due to the earl is not paid to him (e.g. P.R. 23 Hen. II, p. 124) and he is consistently referred to in the records simply as Roger Bigod without any title. (e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 124-4: P.R. 24, p. 20, etc.).

⁵⁸P.R. 23 Hen. II, pp. 124-5: P.R. 24, pp. 20 and 21. He was eventually pardoned the remainder of the debt in P.R. 28 Hen. II, p. 65.

⁵⁹*cf.* P.R. 24 Hen. II, p. 18 and P.R. 28 Hen. II, p. 64.

⁶⁰e.g. P.R. 23 Hen. II, pp. 136-7: P.R. 32, p. 67 etc. The lands there listed can hardly be all the Bigod inheritance—e.g. their total annual value is only £119 18s. For Bigod lands at an earlier date see D.B., e.g. ff. 152b, 173, 330b-345b, and at a later date (1270) *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, i, p. 239. The 'Parva Framelinge ham' or 'Framingeham' of the escheats is, I believe, not Framlingham in Suffolk but Little Framingham Manor in Norfolk. (See *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, i, p. 241).

⁶¹The charter appears on the same *Cartæ Antiquæ Roll* (P.R.O. C. 52.18) as the charter to earl Hugh of 1155 and immediately follows it. It is also printed by Rymer in *Foedera*, i, p. 49. The *D.N.B.* misdates it, apparently following Dugdale (*Baronage*, i, p. 133) as opposed to the original. It seems as though not all Roger's lands were restored at this date, however, for those of them which have appeared escheated on the Pipe Rolls were given to John in the summer or autumn of 1189 before the date of the charter (P.R. 1 Ric. I, pp. 54-5), and Roger is found fining for their possession after John's disgrace in 1194. (P.R. 6 Ric. I, p. 63).

⁶²P.R. 2 Ric. I, p. 101.

heritance of earl Hugh between Roger and his stepmother Gundred.⁶³ The same dispute is stressed also in the terms of the fine which Roger made to Richard for his inheritance.⁶⁴ Moreover, concerning this restitution it must be remembered that Roger himself had been loyal in the rebellion of 1173-4 and had actually fought against Leicester on the royalist side at Fornham;⁶⁵ in any case the sins of the father were not the sins of the son.

Roger Bigod was not only restored to his earldom in 1189, but he was also apparently completely restored to favour and throughout Richard's reign and the earlier years of John he was continually employed on royal business.⁶⁶ It must have been during this period of favour that the new earl rebuilt his castle of Framlingham, for the construction of a private fortress normally required a royal licence and it is unlikely that such permission would be granted to anyone whose loyalty was not regarded as dependable.⁶⁷ Unfortunately in the case of Framlingham no record of any written licence survives and we have no documentary evidence for the date of the new building. It seems reasonable to suppose, however, that earl Roger would wish to rebuild this castle at the centre of his honor as soon after his reinstatement as possible, and archaeological evidence seems to place the date of the new structure in the closing years of the twelfth century. With the architectural details of the work we are not here concerned; it will suffice to state that it was built upon the site of the original castle of earl Hugh, that the outward appearance of the castle as it stands at the present time (save for the regrettable Howard chimneys) is much as Roger Bigod intended it to be, and that it is in form a large though irregularly shaped shell-keep upon a mound, flanked by two baileys or outer-

⁶³ For this dispute see *Gesta*, i, pp. 143-4: and for its final settlement see *Curia Regis Rolls*, (P.R.O. series) i, p. 93.

⁶⁴ The Countess was seeking the inheritance for Hugh, her son by earl Hugh. The entry reads: 'Comes Rogerus le Bigot r.c. de Mm pro comitatu suo de Norf' et ut Hugo frater eius non ponatur in saisina de aliquibus terris que fuerunt patris sui nisi per iudicium curie domini Regis factum per pares suos.' As late as 1206 earl Roger fined again that he might not be disseized of lands at Bungay which his stepmother claimed. (P.R. 8 John, p. 32).

⁶⁵ Jocelyn de Brakelonde, *Mem. St. Ed. Abbey*, (R.S.), i, p. 262. The young Roger's opposition to his father at this time may give some colour to Gundred's claim that earl Hugh had disinherited him in favour of her son Hugh. (*Gesta*, i, p. 144).

⁶⁶ Thus in Richard's absence on crusade he remained loyal to the King against Count John and received the custody of Hereford castle in 1191 (Hoveden, iii, p. 136). In 1191 he acted as itinerant justice (P.R. 3 Ric. I, p. 44). In 1199 on John's accession he is significantly not included in Hoveden's list of those whose attitude to the Crown was suspect (Hoveden, iv, p. 88). Amongst other activities at this time, he was instrumental in obtaining for Ipswich its first charter. (*Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 588: *Rot. Chart.*, ed. Hardy, i, p. 65b).

⁶⁷ For examples of such licences at this period see *Rot. Chart.*, i, pp. 60b, 70 and 89b.

courts, surrounded by a moat. The significant point is that it is a stone castle built in the new fashion, of much greater strength than the fortress which preceded it and which Henry II had destroyed.⁶⁸ Its possession together with the nearby castle of Bungay⁶⁹ made Bigod once again, not only in land and prestige but also in military power, one of the leading magnates of the realm.

It was not long before the strength of the new castle of Framlingham was put to the test in the siege of 1216 which is the last incident in its history with which this paper deals. In spite of the favourable relations which appear to have existed between earl Roger and the Crown during most of John's reign, the earl was nevertheless on the side of the malcontents in the rebellion of John's last years. He is listed among the chief rebels at Stamford, before Magna Carta, by Wendover and Matthew Paris;⁷⁰ he was one of the twenty-five guarantors of the Magna Carta treaty itself⁷¹ in June 1215; and in the civil war which again broke out after the failure of that peace he is further listed as one of the leading rebels by the Barnewell annalist.⁷² In this rebellion which produced Magna Carta and its attendant civil war the East Anglian magnates played a leading role, scarcely, if at all, secondary to that of the more notorious, and slightly ambiguous, 'Northerners' to whom the chroniclers for the most part attribute the whole movement.⁷³ Accordingly John in his successful campaigning devoted a great deal of hostile attention to the Eastern Counties. After the siege of Rochester, which opened the civil war after Magna Carta, and

⁶⁸ No estimate of the cost of Framlingham castle can be more than more or less intelligent guess-work. Bearing in mind the recorded cost of Orford and Newcastle (quoted above, Notes 31 and 32), perhaps one might hazard a guess at £1000. It will be remembered however that the recorded cost of Orford and Newcastle is not necessarily complete. One may be sure however, that with Framlingham as with other castles local taxation and/or labour services would play a part in the construction.

⁶⁹ I have so far found no references to Bungay castle between 1176 (*Gesta*, i, p. 127) and 1216. In default of evidence to the contrary, it must be presumed that it was restored to Bigod in November 1189.

⁷⁰ Matthew Paris (R.S.), ed. Luard, ii, p. 585.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, pp. 604-5; Stubbs, *Select Charters* (9th edition), pp. 302-3.

⁷² Coventry (R.S.), ii, p. 225.

⁷³ Thus in addition to Roger Bigod, the Clare earl of Hertford, Geoffrey de Mandeville earl of Essex, Robert fitz Walter, Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, and William de Lanualey the Constable of Colchester, are all among Wendover's list of rebels (Matthew Paris, ii, p. 585 above). Amongst the 25 of Magna Carta, the Clare, his son Gilbert, earl Roger and his son Hugh Bigod, de Vere earl of Oxford, Robert fitz Walter and William de Lanualey are all present, while of others the earl of Aumale, the earl of Winchester and Richard de Perci were all related to the Clare family, as of course was Robert fitz Walter, the nominal leader of the barons. See also Round, 'King John and Robert fitz Walter', E.H.R., xix.

the capture of the Castle by the King on November 30th, 1215,⁷⁴ John, we are told, divided his army into two, and one part under Savaric de Malleon was sent at once into East Anglia to devastate the lands of his enemies.⁷⁵ Meanwhile John himself marched into the north to conduct a devastating campaign against his enemies there.⁷⁶ But no sooner was this operation successfully concluded than John himself, in the early spring of 1216, marched south into East Anglia and Suffolk. It was then, in March, that the siege of Framlingham took place. The author of the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, himself apparently a Fleming in the royal forces and the best authority for the campaigns of 1215-16, tells us that John devoted particular attention to the lands of Roger Bigod.⁷⁷ This chronicler, indeed, seems to be alone in mentioning John's capture of Framlingham—'une forte maison le conte Rogier le Bighot que il avoit prise';⁷⁸ not even Coggeshal, himself an East Anglian, refers to it.⁷⁹ But if the chroniclers in this instance largely fail us, the central government records, which by this date are of course infinitely more numerous and fuller than in 1173-4, contain a good deal of matter concerning the siege and fall of Framlingham. Of the actual conduct of the siege itself little direct evidence is forthcoming, except that the whole affair was over very rapidly and one is led to suppose that the defences of the new castle were never really tested. John himself was only at Framlingham two days. He is found there on Saturday March 12th and must have left again on Sunday the 13th, for on that day he is known also to have been at Ipswich.⁸⁰ On March 13th also, we find letters of safe conduct given to two of Roger's knights who are acting as peace envoys, Thomas de Lungeuill' and William de Heingham, to go to their lord and discuss terms of peace.⁸¹ On the same day the

⁷⁴ Matthew Paris, ii, p. 625.

⁷⁵ Coggeshal (R.S.), p. 177. They laid siege to Pleshy, the castle of earl Geoffrey de Mandeville in Essex (*ibid.*) and devastated Essex, Herts., Middlesex and Cambs. (Matthew Paris, ii, p. 637).

⁷⁶ Matthew Paris, ii, pp. 636 *seq.*; Coventry, ii, pp. 228-9 etc.

⁷⁷ *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre*, ed. Francisque Michel for the Soc. de l'Histoire de France (Paris 1840), p. 164.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 165.

⁷⁹ Ralph of Coggeshal was, not unnaturally, far more concerned with events in Essex.

⁸⁰ Hardy's Itinerary. John came to Framlingham from the west via Cambridge, Bury (10 March) and Dagworth. John's itinerary is Framlingham (March 12 and 13) Ipswich (13) Colchester (14-19) Ipswich (20-21) Colchester (21-25) Heddingham (25-28) Pleshy (28-29).

⁸¹ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, (ed. Hardy) i, p. 169b: 'Duo milites comitis Rogeri scilicet Thom' de Lungeuill' et Willelmus de Heingham habent litteras de conductu ad eundem ad dominum suum ad loquendum cum eo ad adducendum eum ad servicium domini Regis et ad loquendum cum domino Rege de pace sua duraturo usque ad diem Dominicam in media Quadragesima; Apud Framlingham, xiii die Marc.'

surrender took place, in witness of which especially we have the enrolment of a Letter Patent addressed by John to William le Enveise, the constable, and the other knights of the garrison, ordering them to hand over the castle to two of his men, William de Harecurt and Elyas de Beauchamp.⁸² It appears therefore that Framlingham fell within two days. We cannot be certain what reasons led earl Roger and his men so soon to surrender a new and strong fortress to the King, but some conjectures are possible, without perhaps making use of the argument of R. M. Phipson that the castle could not stand a siege because its construction was not then finished.⁸³ Thus John had, since the outbreak of war in 1215, conducted a thoroughly successful campaign and, since the fall of Rochester in particular, none had really resisted him.⁸⁴ He marched into Suffolk against the Bigod at the height of his military success and at a time when the fortunes and morale of the rebels were at their lowest. At this time, too, Prince Louis of France, their one hope, had not yet landed, though he had sent over a contingent to East Anglia, some of whom were in Colchester castle.⁸⁵ John's military skill has not seldom been severely underestimated by historians and much too much prominence has been given to his alleged early title of 'Softsword'. It may be remarked in passing that Gervase of Canterbury, the inventor of the epithet, went on to say that although he was at first so named he soon showed himself harder and more cruel than any of his predecessors.⁸⁶ Moreover,

⁸² The order to surrender Framlingham is dated March 13 (*Rot. Litt. Pat.*, i, p. 169b) and the same day is referred to (*die Dominica proxima ante mediam Quadragesimam*) as the day in which peace was made, on the Close Roll (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, p. 254b). The order to surrender reads:—*Rex dilectis sibi Willelmo le Enveise constabulario Framelinge ham et omnibus aliis militibus cum eo existentibus in eodem castro salutem. Mandamus vobis quod liberetis dilectis et fidelibus nostris Willelmo de Harecurt et Elye de Bello Campo castrum de Framelinge ham. Et in huius etc.* [i.e. in huius rei testimonium has litteras nostras patentes] vobis inde mittimus. Teste me ipso apud Framelinge ham, xiii die Marc', anno regni nostri xvii' mo.

William de Harecurt and Elyas de Beauchamp were both loyal officials of John: the former had previously been employed, e.g. as sheriff of Dorset and Somerset, custodian of Corfe, and sheriff of Yorkshire. (*Rot. Litt. Pat.* i, pp. 108b, 109b, 152b).

⁸³ Phipson R.M., 'Framlingham Castle', *Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.*, iii, p. 389.

⁸⁴ *cf.* the Barnwell chronicle concerning John's northern campaign which preceded the fall of Framlingham; 'In eundo autem et redeundo vastabat terras, cepit munitiones, nec erat qui resisteret.' (Coventry ii, p. 229).

⁸⁵ They had landed at Orwell in the autumn of 1215 (Coggeshal, p. 176). For their presence in Colchester and unfortunate conduct there see *ibid.*, pp. 179-180.

⁸⁶ Gervase of Cant., ii, pp. 92-3. Because the second part of Gervase's reflections is often overlooked, perhaps it may be forgiven if the passage is cited in full here: 'et quia prudentia magis quam pugna pacem optinebat ubique "Johannem molle gladium" eum malivoli detractores et invidi derisores vocabant. Sed processu temporis mollities illa in tantem crudelitatem versa est, ut nulli

John especially excelled as a castle-breaker. His successful siege of Rochester was one of the greatest operations of its kind in England at that time, and it had also a considerable effect on the morale of his enemies.⁸⁷ After the fall of Rochester castles in John's path were surrendered to him with scarcely any resistance.⁸⁸ Nor was Framlingham the only castle in East Anglia thus easily to fall to John; from thence he marched on and took the castles of Colchester and Hedingham without any difficulty.⁸⁹ In short, until at least the arrival of Louis,⁹⁰ the rebel barons appear rather in the light of unsuccessful amateurs without the knowledge or resources for modern warfare as it was then waged.⁹¹ Finally and paradoxically enough, though the chief business of warfare was then the attack and defence of castles, to shut oneself up in a castle and withstand the prolonged rigours of a siege was not a favourite pastime with the great ones of the land.⁹²

A considerable amount of information concerning the garrison at the time of the siege is also given in the Close and Patent Rolls. Thus we find that the name of the Bigod constable, who would be in direct command, was William le Enveise, to whom John directed his order to surrender on March 13th.⁹³ We are also given some indication of the numbers of the garrison. Altogether from these two sources we find mention of 26 knights, 20 sergeants, 7 'balistarii' or crossbowmen, 1 chaplain in the person of Richard Clericus the parson of 'Cestreford' in Cambridgeshire,⁹⁴ and three miscellaneous persons who, since they were landholders, are likely to have been either knights or sergeants.⁹⁵ The lists of names provided by the Close and Patent Rolls may not be complete since they comprise not the garrison as such but persons in the castle against the King to whom pardons were afterwards made, but these statistics, such as they are, are interesting enough to merit some comment. In the first place, of course, these numbers do not represent the

predecessorum suorum coequari valeret, ut in sequentibus patebit.' John, of course, suffers by comparison with the military brilliance of his brother Richard.

⁸⁷ The Barnwell chronicler says that after the fall of Rochester few cared to put their trust in castles—'Pauci erant qui munitionibus se crederent.' (Coventry, ii, p. 227).

⁸⁸ e.g. Matthew Paris, ii, pp. 636 and 642.

⁸⁹ *Hist. des ducs de Normandie*, p. 165.

⁹⁰ On May 21st. 1216: Matthew Paris, ii, p. 653.

⁹¹ e.g. their attack on Northampton in 1215 failed for the want of siege engines. (Coventry, ii, p. 219).

⁹² Although this argument is not necessarily thereby invalidated, it rather appears from the two documents on the Patent Roll concerning the surrender already quoted (169b) that earl Roger was not in the castle at the time of the siege.

⁹³ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, i, p. 169b, quoted above.

⁹⁴ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, p. 255.

⁹⁵ For fuller details of the garrison see Appendix.

normal garrison of Framlingham, but a garrison put in for war purposes. In time of peace, unless its lord happened to be present, the castle would be left with only a caretaker staff of a porter, chaplain, perhaps one or two watchmen, and presumably the constable and his servants. Secondly, it was by no means an inconsiderable garrison even for wartime⁹⁶ and certainly one which should have enabled the castle to hold out, other things being equal, for more than 36 hours. The presence of the crossbowmen, too, is particularly interesting. The 'balistarii' were a comparatively recent and highly successful feature in contemporary warfare, much employed by Richard and John especially in garrisons, and it is interesting to see earl Roger following the King in this respect. It may be added that their pay was high and that they represented one of the considerable increases in the cost of war during this period, of which the new scale of castle building was probably the greatest. As for Richard the Clerk, a chaplain of course was always present on these occasions—as will be the more vividly remembered by those who have seen the beautiful little chapel in the keep at Orford or the remaining indications of the chapel site within the walls of Framlingham.

The castle, then, was surrendered after a slight resistance and earl Roger's submission involved also the confiscation of his lands. On March 22nd, at Colchester John informed the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk that he had appointed Master Henry de Cern' and Nicholas fitz Robert as custodians of the honor of Framlingham and all the lands of Bigod.⁹⁷ Framlingham castle itself, however, was entrusted to the care of a separate royal constable, Elyas de Beauchamp,⁹⁸ and a royal garrison of knights, sergeants and 'balistarii', paid out of the revenues of earl Roger's lands,⁹⁹ was put in to hold it for the king.

It is seldom possible to draw the thin red lines of periods across history and the story of course does not end here. The second submission of Bigod and the second surrender of Framlingham are only an incident in the history of both. Earl Roger outlived King John; in 1217 his lands and possessions were restored to

⁹⁶ cf. Phipson, 'Framlingham Castle', *loc. cit.*

⁹⁷ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, p. 255. Rex vicecomiti Norf' et Suff' etc. Scias quod commisimus dilectis et fidelibus nostris Magistro Henrico de Cern' et Nichol' f. Roberti honorem de Framelingeh' cum tota terra que fuit comitis Rogeri le Bigod cum omnibus pertinentiis suis custodienda quamdiu nobis placuerit Teste me ipso apud Colec' xxii Marc'. cf. *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, i, p. 171.

⁹⁸ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, i, p. 171: Mandatum est militibus et servientibus qui sunt in castro de Framelingeham quod sint intendentes Elye de Bello Campo tanquam constabulario suo cui dominus Rex custodiam castri illius commisit quamdiu domino Regi placuerit. (Apud Colec' xxiii die Marc' anno regni nostri xvii).

⁹⁹ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, pp. 256b, 258b (bis).

him;¹⁰⁰ and Framlingham and Bungay castles and the Bigod lands remained in the possession of his house until its final eclipse in 1306.

In conclusion, it is hoped that the events touched upon above may be found to have an interest wider than that of local history alone. The efforts of Henry II to break up and control the original group of Bigod castles in Suffolk is but one example of the political issue of the possession and control of castles which became more and more a burning question as the years under review advanced. Again, the early success of the Crown against the Bigod combination of castles is no more significant than the very limitations of this success. Bungay and Framlingham remained private strongholds. Framlingham in particular, as we have seen, was confiscated by the Crown in 1157, taken and demolished in 1174, and retaken in 1216—but yet it remained a Bigod castle until 1306 and was infinitely stronger in 1216 than it had been in 1154. Clearly not even the Angevin monarchy could keep a good baronial castle down. Earl Hugh's designs upon Norwich, too, which had some basis in precedent,¹⁰¹ are of further interest when set beside the claims of the rebel barons in 1215 to the custody of other royal castles.¹⁰² It has been said that all history is local history, and if the sketchy outline here attempted has helped to fit the history of Framlingham castle between 1154 and 1216 not only into the general story of the political fortunes of its Bigod lords, but also into the wider pattern of national events in a crucial period, it has done as much as, or rather, more than it deserves.

APPENDIX

THE BARONIAL GARRISON IN FRAMLINGHAM CASTLE DURING THE SIEGE OF MARCH 1216, FROM THE CLOSE AND PATENT ROLLS.

The garrison listed below is unlikely to be complete, since it is made up for the most part only of the names appearing on the Close Roll of those to whom pardons were granted. Indeed, the appearance of the seven crossbow-men upon the Patent Roll who are not among those pardoned on the Close Roll and who only appear upon the Patent Roll because a safe-conduct was issued to them for a specific purpose, indicates that the two rolls do not reveal the entire garrison. The list as given may, however, be

¹⁰⁰ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, pp. 322, 372.

¹⁰¹ e.g. He had been constable of Norwich under Henry I (*D.N.B.*, v, p. 22) and at the beginning of Henry II's reign he had apparently been sheriff of Norfolk, (P.R. 3 Hen. II, p. 75) with which office he would also have held the castle.

¹⁰² See Coventry, ii, p. 221.

of some use to genealogists. In this connection, it cannot be assumed that the knights and others named, even when they hold lands in Norfolk and Suffolk, are of necessity tenants of Bigod. It would seem that William le Enveise,¹ Reginald de Pirho,² and William de Pesehal',³ were tenants, and also Henry de Gruvilles appears on the roll as holding lands of the earl.⁴

The appearance of landless knights is interesting. The best contemporary picture of their place in twelfth century life is given in the *Histoire de Guillaume le Marechal*.⁵ William Marshal first earl of Pembroke was himself the glorious example to all such landless young warriors of what the future might hold in store.

Rot. Litt. Claus., i, p. 254b; Knights holding lands in Norfolk and Suffolk:

Hugh de Braham
 Robert fitz Osbert
 Roger de Cadamo
 Reginald de Porho (or Pirho)
 Simon Bigod
 William de Pischal' (= 'Pesehal' = Peasenhall?)
 Thomas de Braham
 Thomas de Lungeville
 Turgis' de Chesney
 William le Enveise (the constable—*Rot. Litt. Pat.*, i, p. 169b)
 Roger de Braham
 Mendricus de Gruvill'
 William de Heingham
 Roger Bacon
 Michael de Bavent
 Reinerus de Burg'
 Walter de Cadom'
 Bartholomew Brito
 Ralph Canutus
 Nicholas de Selton'

Rot. Litt. Claus., i, pp. 254b-255; Sergeants holding land in Norfolk and Suffolk:

Rogerus Anketill'	John Augustin
William Siward'	William Lenebaud'
Anketill' de Stanham	Ralph Storcheveill'

¹ cf. *Red Book of the Exchequer* (R.S.) i, p. 397.

² *ibid.*, p. 396.

³ Peasenhall appears as a Bigod manor in 1270 (*Cal. Inq. P.M.*, vol. i, Henry III, p. 239).

⁴ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, p. 255.

⁵ ed. Paul Meyer for Soc. de l'Histoire de France, Paris 1891-1901.

Alanus Pistor
Wydo Fabr'
Ralph de Flay
Peter Medicus

Stephan de Chesnet'
Theobald de Culfhie
Gervase de Bradeford
Richard le Man'

Rot. Litt. Claus., i, p. 255; Knights—landless:

William de Verdun
William fitz Walter
Geoffrey de Gruvilles

William de Burnavill'
John le Enveisie (*sic*)
Robert le Enveise

Rot. Litt. Claus., i, p. 255; Sergeants—landless:

Robert Cusin
William de Buningworth
Humphrey le Curt

William de Chesnet
Warin de Butel
William Bachelor

Rot. Litt. Claus., i, p. 255; Miscellaneous:

Henry de Gruvilles (landholder under Bigod)
Constantin' de Morant (landholder in Kent)
Nicholas Peche

Rot. Litt. Pat., i, p. 171; Crossbow-men:

Hugh le Cannis
John le Fouter
Bascelin' de Charun'
Nicholas le Lorimer

Robert Russel
Roger de Seintliz
Herveus Curee

Rot. Litt. Claus., i, p. 255; Chaplain:

Richard the Clerk