

# The Green Spaces and Culture of Late Medieval Norwich: Municipal, Ecclesiastical and Medical

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### **Abbreviations**

GA	Noble, C. (Ed.), "Norwich Cathedral Priory Gardeners' Accounts, 1329-1530" from: Noble, C., Moreton, C. and Rutledge, P. (Eds.), <i>Farming and Gardening in Late Medieval Norfolk</i> (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1997)
MEA	Harper-Bill, C. (Ed.), <i>Medieval East Anglia</i> (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005)
MN	Rawcliffe, C. and Wilson, R. (Eds.), <i>Medieval Norwich</i> (London: Hambledon and London, 2004)
NLA	Rodgers, M. and Wallace, M. (Eds.), <i>Norwich Landgable Assessment 1568-70</i> (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1999)
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
PS	Metters, G.A. (Ed.), <i>The Parliamentary Surveys of Dean and Chapter Properties in and around Norwich in 1649</i> (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1985)
RCN : I	Hudson, W. and Tingey, J.C. (Eds.), <i>The Records of the City of Norwich (Volume I)</i> (Norwich: Jarrold & Sons Ltd., 1906)
RCN: II	Hudson, W. and Tingey, J.C. (Eds.), <i>The Records of the City of Norwich (Volume II)</i> (Norwich: Jarrold & Sons Ltd., 1910)
THCN: III	Blomefield, F., <i>An Essay Toward a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Volume III – Containing the History of Norwich</i> (London, 1806)
THCN: IV	Blomefield, F., <i>An Essay Toward a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Volume IV – Containing the History of Norwich</i> (London, 1806)

## Introduction

Norwich has long been characterized as a verdant city, abounding with flowers and trees, parks, gardens and meadows, yet the academic community has not yet fully explored this aspect of the city's heritage. The most illuminating article about its gardens was produced in the early 1970s by Trevor Fawcett for an archaeological journal<sup>1</sup>. He examined the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pleasure gardens, which were documented in detail and pictured on a variety of printed plans and maps<sup>2</sup>, within the context of English polite society. Yet the history of the city's gardens is, in fact, far older. Many visitors to, and writers on, Norwich from the seventeenth century onwards considered that the green and fertile beauty of Norwich began in the mid-sixteenth century, owing to the influx of settlers from the Low countries. Thomas Fuller remarked in 1662 that:

NORWICH is (as you please) either a *City* in an *Orchard*, or an *Orchard* in a *City*, so equally are *Houses* and *Trees* blendid in it, so that the *pleasure* of the *Country*, and *populousness* of the *City* meet here together. Yet in this mixture, the inhabitants participate, nothing of the *rusticalness* of the *one*, but altogether of the *urbanity* and *civility* of the *other*.<sup>3</sup>

He surmised that Dutch settlers, who were first invited to the city in the 1560s<sup>4</sup>, provided Norwich with the knowledge and skills to create this verdant prospect as they "brought hither with them, not onely their *profitable crafts*, but *pleasurable cur[i]osities*. They were the first who advanced the use and reputation of Flowers in this City"<sup>5</sup>. However, it is possible to unearth and interpret the green landscape and culture of Norwich before the arrival of these sixteenth-century Strangers, who may have merely enhanced the veritable *rus in urbe* (countryside within the city) that was the walled townscape of Norwich in the late medieval period<sup>6</sup>. Continuities with earlier times abound. Many of the open spaces of Norwich today, such as the cathedral precinct and Chapelfield, have their roots in the swathes of greenery found in the medieval period. Moreover, the possession or leasing of a small patch of ground for one's own use has been almost ubiquitous throughout the centuries.

Recently historians and archaeologists have begun to discover the reality of medieval Norwich as a green city, the most notable texts are by Claire Noble and Roberta Gilchrist, on the gardens and lands belonging to Norwich Cathedral Priory; Carole Rawcliffe, on the precincts of the Norwich hospitals; and, a forthcoming book, on the friary of the Greyfriars by Peter Emery, Elizabeth Rutledge and others<sup>7</sup>. However, there has been no significant examination of the other open spaces of Norwich, which include the lands of the other friaries and the gardens of the secular community. The aim of this thesis is, therefore, to determine, by using interdisciplinary methods, how extensive the open green spaces of late medieval and early modern Norwich were. We shall also seek to discover the ways in which gardens and meadows were utilized and viewed by the different sections of the population of Norwich: the religious and the lay, the lower classes and the gentry, the men and the women, and to compare the reality of the gardens of Norwich, as revealed through archaeological excavation, contemporary pictorial representations and written records from the city, with the descriptions and depictions of the ideal garden produced by writers, illustrators and artists.

## How Green was the City of Norwich before the Seventeenth Century?

### Land Use within Norwich

P. Browne observed in his *History of Norwich* of 1814 that the city possessed a rural appearance:

The walls are said to include a space of more than three miles in circumference, but the whole has never yet been built upon, large portions of ground in the extremities next the walls being laid out in gardens and orchards.<sup>8</sup>

There were many different kinds of open and green spaces to be found in late medieval Norwich. The largest areas were devoted to agricultural pursuits and their use can still be seen in the names of streets and parks within the city, such as Chapelfield and Gildencroft.

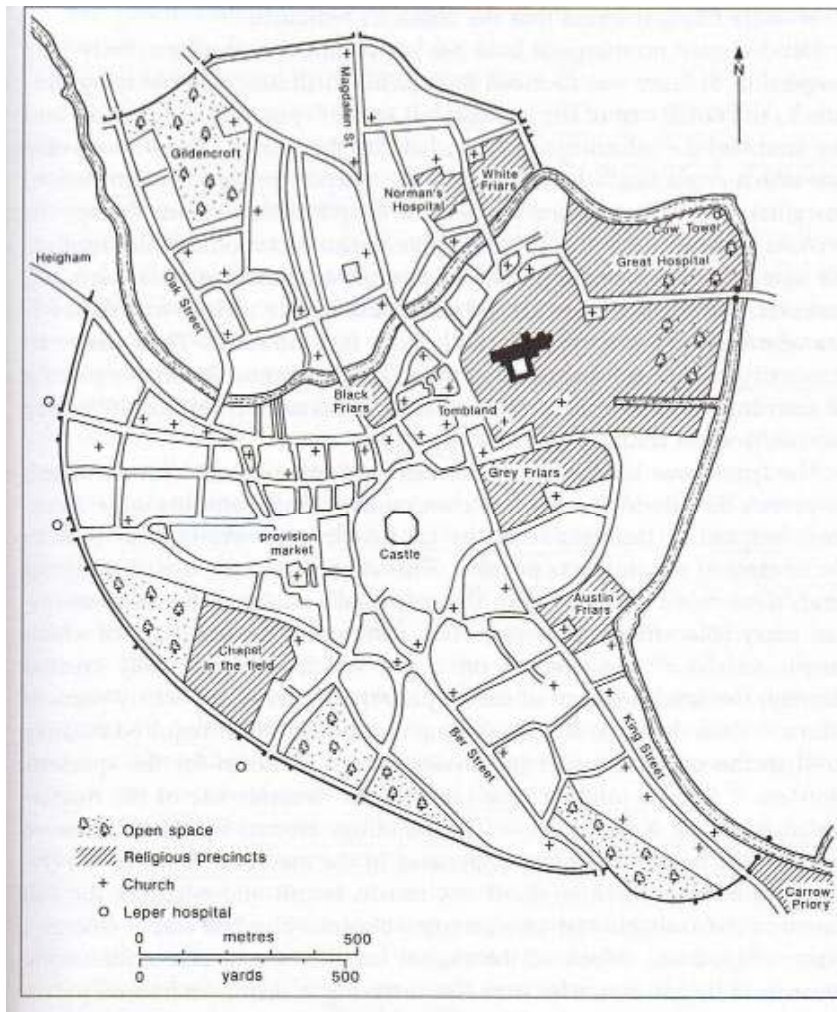


Figure 1: Plan showing the main areas of green space within late medieval Norwich (Phillip Judge)<sup>9</sup>

The majority of these agricultural spaces belonged to the various religious institutions within the city, including parts of Gildencroft and Chapelfield<sup>10</sup>. Most of the religious institutions also possessed meadows or grazing land within their own precincts. According to the archaeologist Brian Ayers, the nature of city-living means that urban society is “essentially parasitic upon the resources of its hinterland”<sup>11</sup>. However, the fact that there were such large tracts of fertile land within the city walls during the period in question meant that Norwich’s level of self-sufficiency was relatively high. In addition, there were further large areas of land that belonged to the crown, city and secular individuals, including: lay gardens, the castle mound, various arable fields, which were used for agriculture, industry and recreation, and commons, which provided a range of resources for all local lay inhabitants<sup>12</sup>.

Smaller horticultural spaces were linked with particular households or institutions. In most, there was no clear demarcation between gardens intended for pleasure and those with utilitarian purposes<sup>13</sup>. The kitchen garden was used for growing fruit and vegetables (valued both as food and medicine) as well as plants for strewing on floors and other household purposes, and housing small livestock such as poultry, pigs and bees. This type of garden, because of the need for some degree of self-sufficiency, was popular among all sections of society. Hence, it was found both within the largest monastic and gentry grounds and also beside the poorest and most meagre tenements. Other types of garden were more specialized. Physic or infirmary gardens, where medicinal plants were grown and the sick could convalesce, were to be found in the various precincts of the religious houses and were also noted amongst lay physicians in Norwich. The *hortus conclusus* or herber (frequently depicted in manuscripts) was an enclosed garden often used for pleasure and recreation and was, therefore, reserved for the richer in society, being found in the monasteries and friaries, as well as the larger gentry houses. Orchards required large areas of open space and were likewise reserved for elite households; these produced fruit and nuts but were also appreciated for the pleasure of their scent and shade. Religious houses additionally set aside land for secluded paradise and Mary gardens, which symbolised the Garden of Eden, where the brethren could meditate, and where flowers were grown to decorate the churches. Finally, there were vineyards within elite gardens which could produce not only wine, verjuice and grapes but also, particularly in religious houses, performed an important symbolic function, being associated with the blood of Christ.

### The Sources: Their Usefulness and Limitations

There is an abundance of sources from which the lands and gardens of late medieval Norwich can be rediscovered. It is necessary to use an interdisciplinary approach, whereby evidence gathered from archaeological investigation is combined with written and pictorial records from the city archives, along with descriptions of ideal gardens, in an attempt to discover the “real” topography and uses to which Norwich green spaces were put. Firstly, there are many descriptions and depictions of gardens and open spaces to be found in medieval and early modern literature and art, for example, Walafrid Strabo’s *Hortulus* and Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*. These portray the form and function of ideal gardens of the time and often contain religious or medical imagery and allegory. Other types of

document are oriented towards the more practical side of horticultural tradition. These include Thomas Hill's *Gardener's Labyrinth* (printed in 1577), with its depiction of the life of the early modern gardener and which was based on classical writings by Roman predecessors, and the great variety of medical texts and herbals which describe the therapeutic uses of green spaces and the plants within them. Other books, such as Piero de' Crescenzi's *Ruralia Commoda*, written about 1305 and printed in 1471, manage to combine these two approaches. Some manuscripts, especially those of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were illustrated with images related to the labours of the months. These showed a variety of landscapes from fairly humble surroundings, to elite estates<sup>14</sup>.

For the late medieval period, pictorial representations of agricultural and horticultural landscapes are common, often depicting with great realism the defining characteristics of medieval landscapes, including arrangements of planting, areas of turf and shade, seats, paths, trees and water features<sup>15</sup>. Most are idealised forms, often relating the more prosaic earthly setting of the actual garden to the imagined paradise of the Garden of Eden. The religious symbolism of these images is highly significant, as quite complex theological and doctrinal concepts were fully integrated into urban English society and the popular culture of the time<sup>16</sup>. The iconographic allegory revealed by the image of the Virgin Mary sitting within an enclosed garden surrounded by a wide variety of emblematic flora, or that of Christ as a gardener of men's souls, would have been recognised and understood by the majority of the late medieval population.



Figure 2: Madonna in a garden (1490)<sup>17</sup>

However, it is important to stress that, despite their apparent accuracy, these images do not depict real, historical gardens. Hence, in order to discover the reality of the green landscape within Norwich one must look elsewhere.

One means of establishing the nature of green spaces and culture in medieval Norwich is through archaeological research. The archaeology of gardens and designed landscape is a relatively new subject for historical enquiry. Being dynamic organisms, gardens were subject to a variety of changes, constantly renewing themselves and being

deliberately transformed by their owners. But, like any building, a designed landscape can retain a good deal of the evidence of its development in its physical fabric. Archaeological methods, in the form of geophysical and field surveys, historical building analysis, aerial photography, environmental sampling, excavation and examination of any surviving planting can be used to explore both the above- and below-ground features of a site<sup>18</sup>. These techniques, combined with documentary evidence in the form of proposals, plans, maps, notes and the accounts of designers, owners and gardeners<sup>19</sup>, can reveal information about the plan and layout of a garden, its chronology and sequence of development and, when interpreted with reference to archaeological theory, can help us to understand why these transformations took place.

It is clear from many recent examples that the existence of long-vanished garden plots and plantings can be deduced by archaeological means<sup>20</sup>. However, as garden archaeology is a new discipline, the extent to which it has been practised in Norwich has, as yet, been rather limited. The most illuminating methods of garden archaeology, using aerial reconnaissance photography or surveys of surviving earthworks<sup>21</sup>, do not appear to have been applied within the city itself, nor would they prove particularly revealing. In an urban area such as Norwich, continuous occupation has destroyed or obscured some of the main green sites of the medieval city. Hence, excavation and environmental sampling appear to be the most useful archaeological techniques to determine early horticultural activity. Analysis of soil types can give information about previous gardening activity, including the use of fertiliser. Moreover, excavated plant material is now frequently examined using palaeobotanical techniques, such as pollen and seed analysis, which identifies garden plants in particular areas and from specific periods<sup>22</sup>. This evidence comes with the caveat that many plants could have been deliberately cultivated in the area surveyed, have been grown elsewhere and brought in for household use, or might simply have been growing wild as the result of natural propagation. Nonetheless, these techniques are especially useful in helping us to identify areas characterised by small urban gardens where there is little other surviving evidence.

It is usually the larger and more prestigious sites which possess a greater variety of surviving architectural, documentary and pictorial evidence. Consequently, historical research into landscape design, as for other aspects of history, is often concentrated on the wealthy and powerful in society. However, wealthy people were likely to possess larger, more varied and innovative gardens, whereas those lower down the social scale owned smaller and less complex ones and were much slower to follow fashion<sup>23</sup>. Certainly, any documentary and pictorial representations of gardens belonging to ordinary, everyday English houses are few and far between and archaeological methods are often the only way to determine their whereabouts and form. Still, the practice of horticulture does not loom large within the archaeological literature about Norwich. Revelations about the presence, or absence, of worked green spaces tend to come at the end of long reports on the archaeology of surrounding buildings. And, although the evidence for gardens and designed landscapes is becoming more abundant, it appears that the interpretative methods used are still highly limited and viewed almost as an afterthought. It is to be hoped that the archaeological work recently begun on the Duke's Palace<sup>24</sup>, which, when built in the sixteenth century, was the largest private house in the city, will provide more than just a cursory examination of the extensive grounds and gardens that the house possessed.



Textual evidence about the medieval and early modern garden spaces of Norwich can be found, for the most part, within the city's impressive archive of legal and administrative documents. As Philippa Maddern notes, there was an increase in record-keeping from the 1340s onwards<sup>25</sup>. These manuscripts, which concentrate on rights, obligations and the ownership of land, can be used to build up a picture of the actual shape and extent of open land and any significant changes which occurred in the landscape over time. Documentary evidence in the form of leases, accounts and other administrative sources describing real gardens from this period is usually precise but selective, often only providing references to location, ownership and the presence of important features such as wells or ponds when they were of financial or legal relevance. However, some of these records have been used by the Norwich Survey to produce an important, and as yet still unpublished, reconstruction of the plots which made up the city c.1300, showing the distribution of landholdings there<sup>26</sup>. Documents of ownership are also of particular value in recording the redistribution of land across a wider occupancy following the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the mid-sixteenth century. Here, the 1568-70 Norwich landgable assessment (land rent payable to the lord of the borough) is a particularly useful source<sup>27</sup>, listing as it does the property owners (and in some cases lessees) who took over the precincts of the disbanded friaries, and thus giving much useful information about the creation of many more lay gardens. However, there are, once again, certain caveats which must be borne in mind. Firstly, most properties are referred to as tenements or messuages, terms which usually, but not always, denote a plot of land with domestic buildings attached<sup>28</sup>. If these were not built upon, or had been neglected, the word 'void' is sometimes applied. Since it is difficult to determine the extent and use of a tenement's land, it is the undeveloped plots specifically designated as garden, close or 'ground' on which we shall concentrate. Additionally, some large areas of open space in Norwich are not mentioned at all in the assessment as their owners were not required to pay landgable<sup>29</sup>.

The unusually abundant written sources from late medieval Norwich also include the obedientiaries' accounts from the Benedictine priories at the Cathedral and Carrow<sup>30</sup>. These administrative officers provide a great deal of information about the foodstuffs and other plants which were grown in their various gardens. Most crops cultivated within their own precincts were not entered into account books, as they were consumed by the inhabitants and their guests. Nevertheless, some did figure in the accounts, as any surplus could be sold outside the house. Moreover, these records also reveal some details about the name, form and function of the various gardens found within the two precincts. Here, the actual reality of the monastic infirmary gardens, the cloister garth, the Gardener's Great Garden and the sacristan's Mary Garden can be compared with the ideals depicted in such sources as the St Gall monastery plan.

### Norwich as a Garden City: Ideal versus Reality

The dangers of extrapolating evidence about specific practice from manuscript illuminations or paintings have already been noted. Local maps and plans, although by no means entirely accurate, can nonetheless prove helpful. The most evocative of these sources, and those which merit close attention, are the perspectives of early modern Norwich produced by William Cuninghame (printed in 1558) and the almost identical plan by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenburg, printed in 1581.

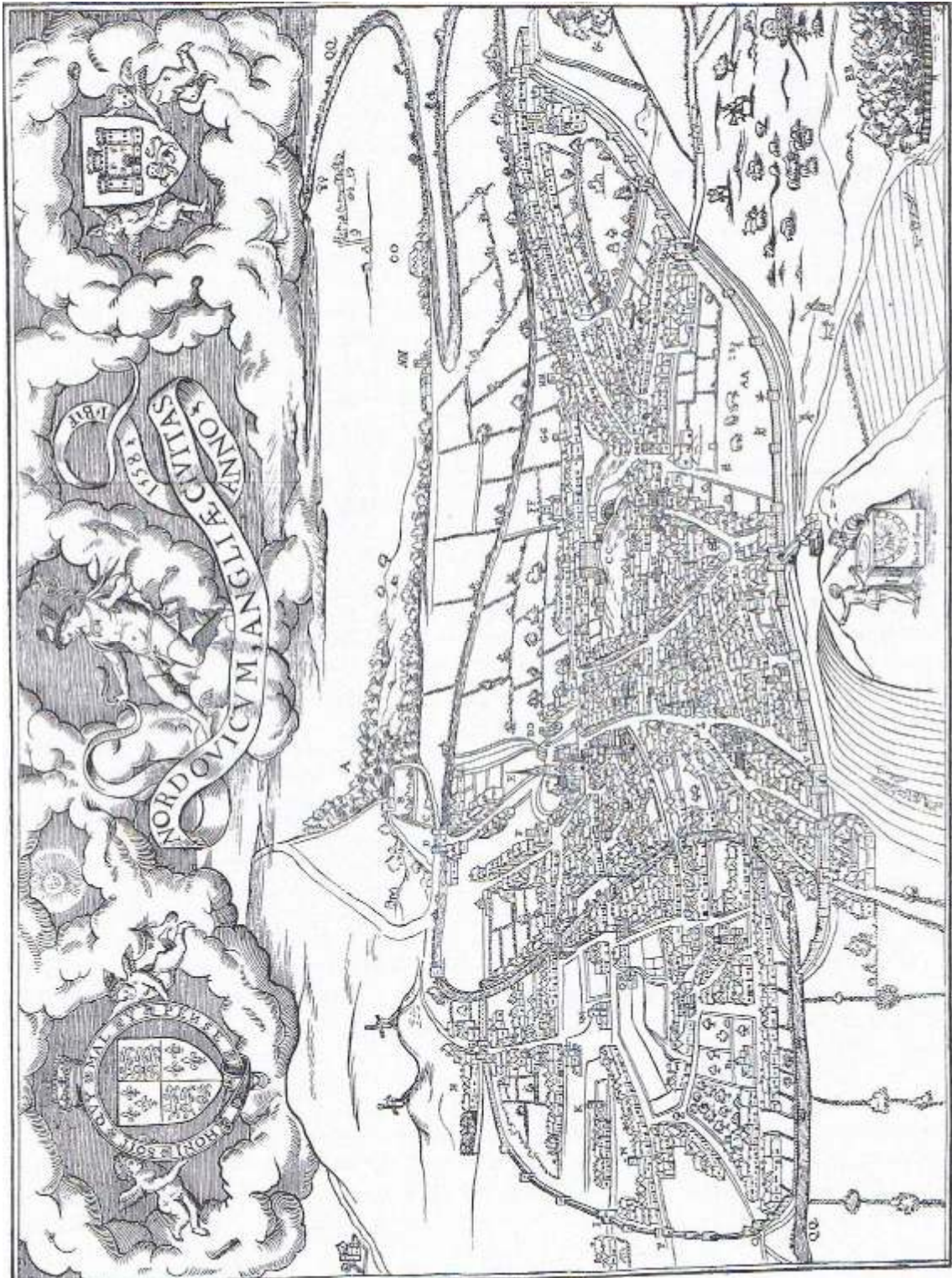


Figure 3: Map by William Cuninghame<sup>31</sup> showing “Norwiche an healthfull & pleasant Citye, hauinge à faire Riuer called Yerus, ronning thorow it, which cometh out of the seas, fro[m] Yermouthe cost”<sup>32</sup>



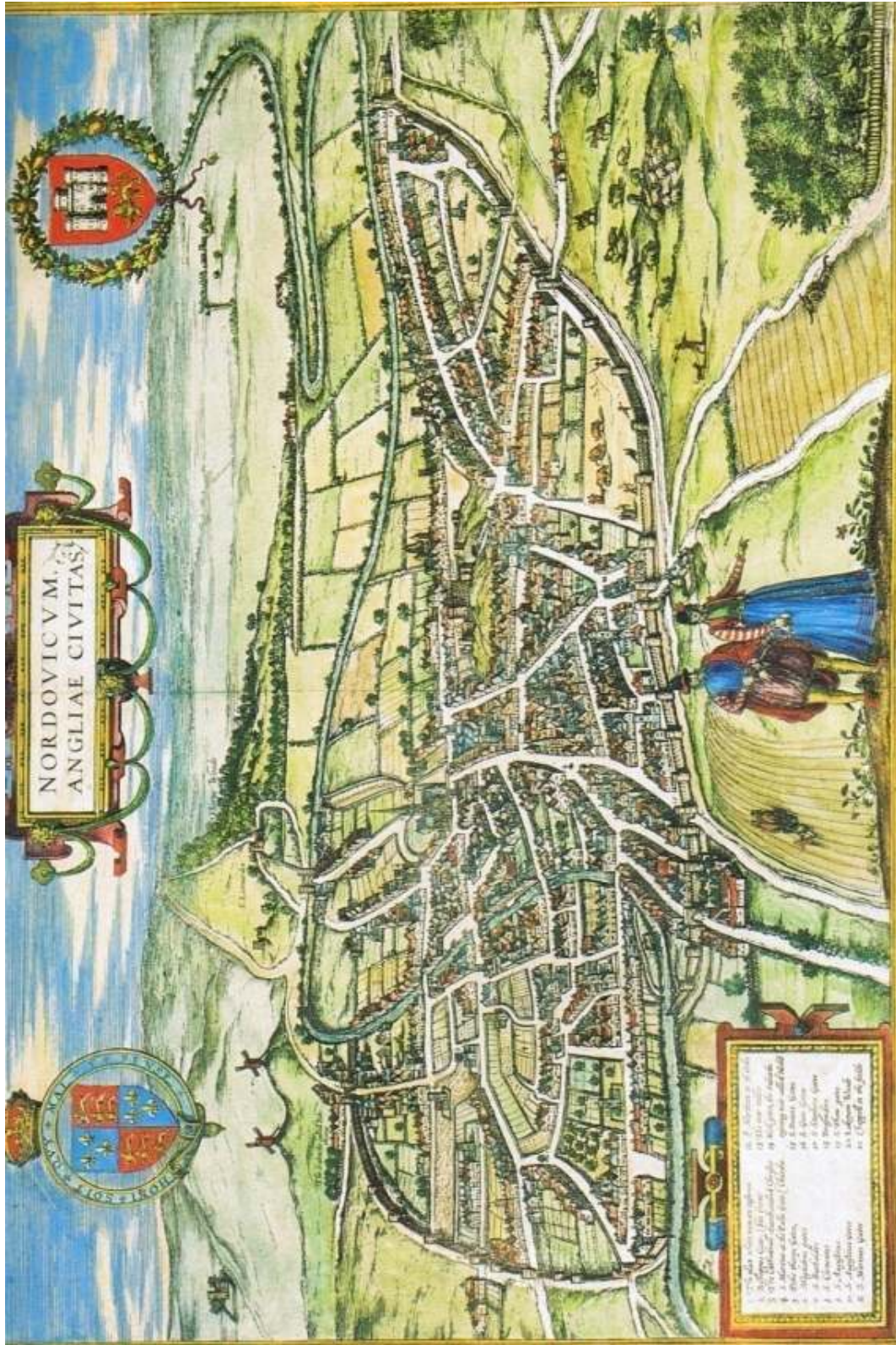


Figure 4: Map by Braun and Hogenburg<sup>33</sup>

These maps portray Norwich as a green and pleasant city surrounded by a protective wall; it is full of ordered churches and houses, wide and clean streets, well-kept, tidy gardens and regularised, well-managed trees. Its meadows are shorn by contented grazing animals and utilized by athletic young men practising archery; it is cut through by a wide blue river and surrounded by gently rolling hills and regular, kempt fields, wherein the ordinary working man carries out his allotted tasks. All these images consciously portray the delights of the city as a place where the well-bred English citizen, as depicted in the foreground, could live an untroubled, healthy and productive life<sup>34</sup>. However, as with all types of source, these images reflect their own (conscious or unconscious) bias. The original map of Norwich was constructed by William Cuningham for his tome *The Cosmographical Glasse*, a book that was designed to explain the landscape of the earth through the “pleasant Principles of Cosmographie, Geographie, Hydrographie or Navigation”<sup>35</sup>. The picture of Norwich was drawn to illustrate the premise of Chorographie (or topographical features) which:

sheweth the partes of th'earth, diuided in themselues. And seuerally describeth, the portes, Riuers Hauens, Fluddes, Hilles, Mou[n]taynes, Cities, Villages, Buildinges, Fortresses, Walles, yea and euery particuler thing, in that parte contened... describyng the qualitie and figure, then the bignes, and quantitie of any thinge<sup>36</sup>.

Cuningham, as a native of Norwich, was obviously anxious to portray his birthplace as the ideal city and, as a physician, determined that the best way to represent it was through adherence to the ancient Hippocratic notions regarding the situation of a healthy community<sup>37</sup>. Fundamental to this concept was the contemporary medical understanding of illness gained from classical philosophy. According to these beliefs the body was composed of four humours which were: blood (possessing warm and moist qualities); phlegm (cold and wet); choler (hot and dry); and black bile (cold and dry)<sup>38</sup>. Health could only be achieved when the humours were of the right consistency and in a state of balance. Any serious deviation from this would result in disease<sup>39</sup>. Every individual was born with a humoral disposition or “complexion”, delineated partly by their age, sex, the nature of the heavens at the time of birth and environmental factors<sup>40</sup>. This is made explicit in the preface to *The Cosmographical Glasse* which revealed that:

mannes helth... can not be conserued in perfite estate, or once lost be recouered and restored without Cosmographie. For howe greatlye herein it profiteth, to consider the temperature of Regions, Cities, and Townes, in what Zone, & vnder what Clymate and Parallele they are situated: Hippocrates dothe plainlye set out... bothe he & Galenus, commaunded ther pacients to remoue from one place, to an other (especiallye in longe sicknesse) because of th' alteration of th' Aëre. VVhat it auaileth also, to know the natures of waters, the quality & pertition of windes, the maners & complexions of th' inhabitantes all Physicions right well do vnderstand<sup>41</sup>.

To the casual, modern-day observer this map does not contain obvious and explicit medical information, but it nonetheless manages to reinforce the medical assumptions and allay many of the deep-seated fears about disease that were prevalent at the time. The thirteenth-century friar Bartholomaeus Anglicus set out these theories in his immensely popular and influential encyclopaedia *De proprietatibus rerum* or *On the Properties of Things*. According to Bartholomaeus, the best place to live was on a “downe... a litel swellynge or arerynge of erthe passyng the pleyne ground and nought rechynge to highnesse of an hille... ofte a doune is the foote of an hille”<sup>42</sup>. Since the air

was clearer, thicker and warmer than on hills and there was a better rainfall than in valleys, he deemed that “fruyte, herbes, and gras that growen in downes ben better and more holsume than thilk growen in valeyes and in othere places”. Although Norfolk is supposedly an expanse of flat land, Cuningham’s perspective, drawn from a western viewpoint looking towards Thorpe, endeavours to show Norwich’s situation in the midst of an undulating landscape of hills. Even more indicative of the importance Cuningham places on the health of the city is the presence of the caduceus of Hermes at the top of the map. This was an emblem of trade and transport and also, through its confusion with the staff of Asclepius the Greek god of healing, was used as a symbol of the medical profession. The most notable example of this confusion was when Cuningham’s friend John Caius, who was president of the Royal College of Physicians and also hailed from Norwich, presented a “caduceo” to the College<sup>43</sup>. A fact which would have been known to the locals at the time the map was produced. This symbol is replaced in the later Braun and Hogenburg by a stylized classical mount, thereby signifying a different form of link with established authority. In addition, Cuningham indicated the presence of a light easterly wind through the imagery of billowing clouds. This was important, as the classical interpretation of the health-giving properties of the prevailing winds was laid out in *Airs, Waters, Places* in the Hippocratic corpus. Here, a gentle breeze, especially coming from the east, was thought to have the best health-giving properties<sup>44</sup>.

Furthermore, Cuningham fully understood the relevance of gardens and greenery that played an important part in the holistic medical therapy of the time. Herbs and other plants were not only a fundamental component within the medieval *materia medica*, but, since diet was considered “the fyrste instrument of medycyne”, all foodstuffs, being a combination of heating, drying, cooling and moistening, were deemed to affect the body through their effect on the four humours<sup>45</sup>. Gardens were also seen as vital in counteracting miasma, or corrupt air, through the presence of sweet-smelling plants, which could be enjoyed within the garden itself or, after being gathered, could be strewn in buildings, used as fumigants or carried on excursions<sup>46</sup>. Furthermore, the garden itself was seen as a place for meditation and healing where:

The odour of floures and the fresshe sighte  
 Wolde han maked any herte lighte  
 That evere was born, but if to greet siknesse  
 Or to greet sorwe helde it in distresse,  
 So ful it was of beautee with plesaunce<sup>47</sup>.

Cuningham’s agenda would have been readily apparent to those who took an interest in medicine and the other sciences which, at the time of writing, would have included most members of the civic elite. This was his core audience and he was mindful to produce an illustration which showed the best aspects of the city. However, in actual fact, Norwich was not as salubrious as this perspective would have us believe. The map does not depict the many animals which commonly roamed about the city, the marshy areas surrounding the rivers, the ubiquitous filth and ordure or the various unpleasant crafts and trades which polluted the river. Nor does it show the areas of devastation which scarred the city after Kett’s Rebellion of 1549, when Norwich had gained an unsavoury reputation as a hotbed of violence and treachery<sup>48</sup>.

The county of Norfolk, including Norwich itself, was long known to be a wet and marshy environment, as Celia Fiennes, who toured England during the late seventeenth century, noted: “its a low flatt ground all here about so that the least raines they are overflowed by the River and lye underwater... the country being low and moorish”<sup>49</sup>.





Figure 5: View of the cathedral from the river Wensum. This type of marshy area would have been a frequent sight in the meadows of the cathedral priory. (Mary Denmark)

However, this part of the landscape seems to have been carefully edited from Cuningham's perspective. Here, the river Wensum appears remarkably well-defined and the surrounding ground well-drained and productive. Although it is known from archaeological evidence that the banks of the Wensum were lined with wicker-work and piles to strengthen and protect them<sup>50</sup>, the documentary sources confirm that flooding was a frequent occurrence<sup>51</sup>. It was thought that standing water produced miasmas, a corruption of the air which could cause disease in susceptible individuals; as the fourteenth-century physician, John of Burgundy, in his celebrated advice manual on the plague, noted: "corrupt air generates different diseases in different people, depending on their different humours, because it always develops according to the predisposition of the matter it has entered."<sup>52</sup> Air was considered to be the element most essential for the preservation of life, being transported from the lungs directly to the heart, which was seen by many as the principal member of the body<sup>53</sup>. Hence, any change in the quality of the air was thought to have a profound and immediate influence on the heart and, thereby, on the entire body. The Black Death, which had killed great swathes of the English population since its arrival in the country in 1348, was deemed to be transmitted by miasmatic air, which in turn had its origin in "dead carrion or the corruption of standing waters in ditches or sloughs"<sup>54</sup>. It is thought that in Norwich the repeated epidemics and their attendant economic downturns during the fourteenth century, led to the death or departure of as many as 17,000 inhabitants<sup>55</sup>. We can thus readily appreciate that gardens were seen to serve as the lungs of a congested city.

It is clear from the sheer number and continuity of regulatory measures promulgated over the centuries that community leaders repeatedly spent time, money and energy in public and private initiatives designed to create a healthy and amenable environment for all the citizens of Norwich. Efforts included restrictions on animals running loose as, for

example, in 1437 when it was ruled that “all sows (porce) and ducks wandering in the streets of the said city to the nuisance of the neighbours shall be expelled out of the city within 14 days”<sup>56</sup>. Noisome stench and filthy rivers were combated with money “leyed out, expended and bestowed about the fyng, scooring and makyng cleane as well of the seide ryver as of the streets w[ith]in the seide citty”<sup>57</sup>. The dumping of refuse and offal had by then been prohibited for centuries, since, from the 1380s onwards, it was established that, “if anyone has at this time cast or collected together any muck and refuse in the market place or in any places and locality, that he should remove it or cause it to be removed within the 4 next days under the penalty of 40d.”<sup>58</sup>. Specific civic and communal facilities were maintained and improved through the introduction of *ad hoc* regulations including “An Actte for the Pavyng of Stretes”<sup>59</sup>, passed by the Assembly in 1559. But these measures were often undone by the indifference, negligence or criminality of the populace at large<sup>60</sup>.

Moreover, the green spaces shown on Cuningham’s prospect may not all have been carefully tended. The market place was frequently overgrown with weeds<sup>61</sup> and many other areas, especially where there had been fire damage, were left as wasteland. Fires were common in the city as there was a preponderance of thatched roofs, a state of affairs which lasted well into the seventeenth century, as Thomas Fuller declared “... may the Thatch of all their houses by Divine Providence, be effectually secured from the merciless Element of fire... Yea, may their *Straw* in due time advance into *Tyle*”<sup>62</sup>. There were two such devastating fires in 1507, which, it has been surmised, ravaged perhaps 40 percent of the city<sup>63</sup>. The alderman Austyn Styward, thirty years later, complained that there was much “voide grounde which is soore accombred and replenysshed by divers persons with muk and other such vile mater to the great noysaunce of all the Kynges liege people” and petitioned for the “grounde decayed by the ffyer” to be rebuilt<sup>64</sup>. Even Cuningham noted that Norwich was “much subiect to fiers, which haue not à little hindred the beuty therof”<sup>65</sup>. However, neither the consequences of these fires nor any other inconvenient, unsanitary or undesirable images are in evidence on his perspective.

Nevertheless, although the earliest maps have been sanitized and therefore lack a certain realism, they do manage to give a clear image and overall perception of late medieval and early modern Norwich as a garden city, especially when compared with other English cities of the period. Although the maps of Cuningham and Braun and Hogenburg were neither accurately surveyed nor drawn to scale, they do match quite well with later plans, such as that by Anthony Hochstetter (1789), in which the landscape of Norwich was surveyed and scientifically drawn<sup>66</sup>.

I have calculated that the Braun and Hogenburg illustration of Norwich depicts around 40 percent of green space within the city walls. This contrasts greatly with their representation of London.



Figure 6: Braun and Hogenburg Map of London<sup>67</sup>

Here, the first city of England is clearly urbanized to a much greater extent, with only about 13 percent of green space apparent within the city walls. The comparison with Bristol, however, is not so clear cut. Bristol and Norwich were vying for the title of the second city of England during this period as is demonstrated by the poem on the reverse of the Braun and Hogenburg map of Norwich. This poem compares the cities of Norwich and Bristol and was written by Daniel Rogers for presentation to Queen Elizabeth on the occasion of her visit to Norwich in 1578.

The land round each is fertile; and each city richly glows  
Adorned in cultured opulence which civic zeal bestows,  
In population Norwich leads, and in her ample space;  
For ships that traverse every ocean Bristol is the place<sup>68</sup>.



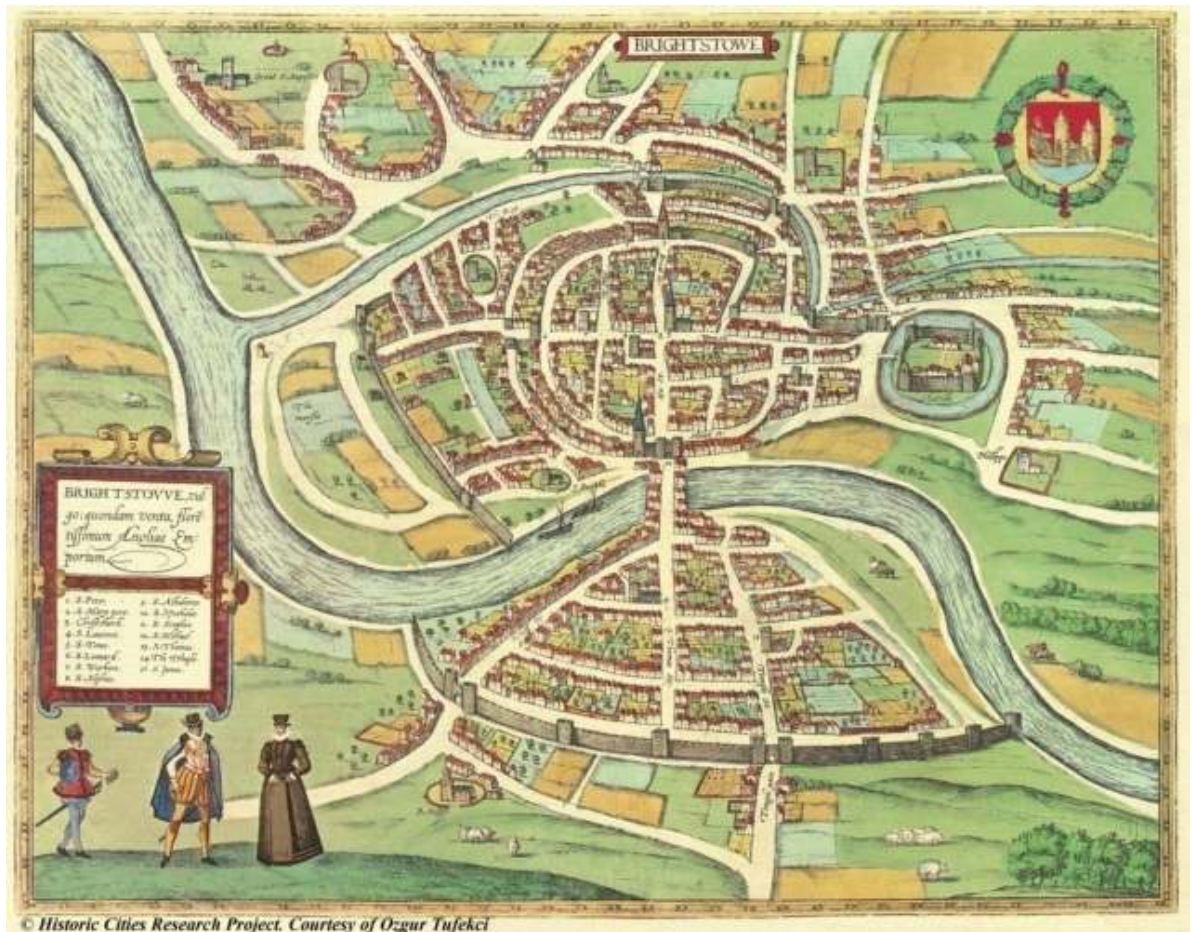


Figure 7: Braun and Hogenburg Map of Bristol <sup>69</sup>

To the naked eye, both cities seem to possess very similar areas of green space, but the representation of Bristol only depicts about 26 percent within the city walls. It would appear from a comparison of the two representations that urban Bristol possessed many smaller areas of garden space, allied to particular, probably lay, dwellings. The majority of the religious houses (friaries and hospitals) were, however, placed in the suburbs outside the walls. Indeed, many of them can be seen with their surrounding gardens on the Braun and Hogenburg perspective. The only quasi-religious institutions well-represented within the city were almshouses and the only substantial friary was that of the Austin Friars at the southern tip of the city<sup>70</sup>. The fact that most of Norwich's religious precincts lay along the river and that their great expanses of land were included within the walls would account for this discrepancy between the two cities. It is also clear that, by using these important images in connection with the other written, archaeological and pictorial sources, a great deal can be discovered about the extent of the meadows and gardens of Norwich and also the ways in which such areas were perceived and utilized.

### The Green Landscapes of the Religious

The largest expanses of land within the walled city of Norwich belonged to the religious precincts. The various religious houses of the regular clergy, which included two Benedictine priories, four friaries, a collegiate church and several hospitals, used these areas for both practical and pleasurable purposes, including providing foodstuffs and other household requirements, as areas of medical resource, as demonstrations of social status and as areas for recreation or contemplation.

The largest continuous holding was that of the Cathedral Priory, which encompassed some forty-two acres<sup>71</sup>. In contrast, the largest friary, that of the Greyfriars, extended to some ten and a half acres<sup>72</sup>. This difference in size came about through variations in the ideals of the monks and the friars. The priory at the cathedral followed the *Rule of St Benedict*, which laid out the regulations for living a cloistered existence as a monk. Here it was ruled that monks should be self-supporting and that: "The monastery should, if possible, be so constructed that within it all necessities, such as water, mill and garden are contained, and the various crafts practiced"<sup>73</sup>. This seclusion was deemed essential to prevent unnecessary communication with the outside world. Hence, monks needed to hold large acreages to maintain their communities<sup>74</sup>. Conversely, friars were supposed to glean their livelihoods through begging. Friars were dedicated to lives of preaching and poverty. The Franciscan Rule, drawn up in 1223, *stated that*:

The brothers should not accept money... As payment for their labour let them receive that which is necessary for themselves and their brothers, but not money... The brothers should appropriate neither house, nor place, nor anything for themselves.<sup>75</sup>

However, this espousal of poverty made them attractive to followers and attracted benefactions, including gifts of land<sup>76</sup>. Thus, despite their Rule's admonition, large tracts of urban land were taken up by friary precincts within Norwich. Nevertheless, it has been noted from the examination of inventories of goods held by the friaries that, although scrupulous adherence to the ideal of absolute poverty was increasingly undermined, most friars were not living luxurious lives<sup>77</sup>. The Norwich friaries had no extensive endowments from which to obtain income through rent and had to lease out parts of their own precincts to provide a small income. In fact, their lands were mainly used to produce foodstuffs with which to supplement their alms<sup>78</sup>.

It is important to note that access to the green areas within the precincts was strictly controlled in a manner resembling admittance to the religious buildings. This idea is developed by Roberta Gilchrist who posits in her book on the evolution of the Norwich Cathedral landscape the notion of "a web of spatial hierarchies"<sup>79</sup>. All those living a religious life, including the friars who were supposed to interact with society, thought it necessary to segregate themselves from the secular populace. The ecclesiastical precincts, which incorporated residential and administrative buildings and areas of greenery, were, therefore, encompassed by high walls. In Norwich these were mainly created from knapped flint and were deliberate symbols of inclusion and exclusion and a "symbolic manifestation of power"<sup>80</sup>. It is a matter of some interest that on Cuningham's map these representations of religious control are conspicuous by their absence. Here, although hedge-lines are shown, the cathedral's grounds are depicted as being continuous with those of two of the Norwich friaries.

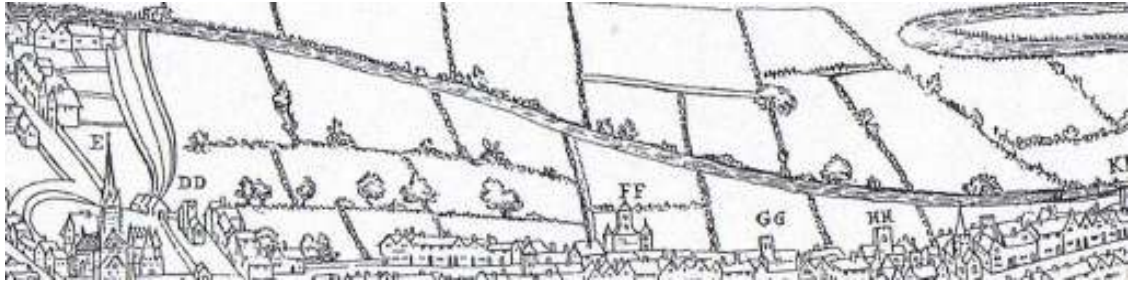


Figure 8: Fields to the east of Norwich<sup>81</sup>

It is known that the walls of these precincts survived the destruction of the Dissolution<sup>82</sup>, but Cuninghame does not portray them, even though they would have been immediately and plainly visible. This is perhaps an intentional oversight, possibly as a show of civic propaganda to illustrate the desegregation of church lands and their integration with those of the city itself.

For the population in general, and the religious in particular, there were many spiritual aspects to the possession of, and work within, these green landscapes. There are numerous references to gardens in the Bible itself. The first, and most notable, is in the Book of Genesis. Adam and Eve were enjoined to eat from the bounty that surrounded them in the Garden of Eden, as the sixteenth-century Norwich Grocers' Play (which was part of the Corpus Christi and Whitsun entertainments) reveals:

God ye Father:  
 I am Alpha et homega, my Apocalips doth testyfy  
 that made all of nothing for man his sustentacion  
 and of this pleasante Garden y[a]t I have plant most goodlye  
 I wyll hym make ye Dresser for his good recreacion  
 therefor man I gyve yt the, to have thy delectacion  
 in eatyng thou shalt eate, of every growenge tre  
 exepte ye tre of knowledge ye which I forbydd the<sup>83</sup>

While residing in the Garden of Eden Adam and Eve lived an exemplary life until they succumbed to the serpent's temptation; a transgression which brought sickness, pain and death into the world. From that moment on, it was necessary for man to till the field to produce his own sustenance:

Adam:  
 Thus troubllyd nowe I enter into Dolor and Miserie  
 nowe woman must we lerne, ovr lyvynges to gett  
 with labor & with travell, ther is no remedye  
 nor eny thyng therfrom, we se that maye us lett<sup>84</sup>

The need for hard work was deemed especially necessary for those living a religious life. Sloth was seen as a form of mental disturbance deriving from sinful behaviour. St John Cassian noted that sloth "engenders a loathing for [the monk's] situation ... makes him desultory and lazy at any task"<sup>85</sup>. It was, therefore, necessary for the afflicted to swiftly "purge this disease out of his soul" by recourse to physical labour and abjuration of idleness<sup>86</sup>. The *Rule of St Benedict* stated that: "Idleness is the enemy of the soul. Therefore the brothers should have specified periods of manual labour as well as

prayerful reading”<sup>87</sup>. Gardening was an important source of work as it not only provided food for the brethren, but was also regarded as a year-round antidote to idleness. This is revealed in *Hortulus*, an account by the ninth-century monk Walafrid Strabo of his own small garden, where he states that: “The gardener must not be slothful but full of zeal continuously, nor must he despise hardening his hands with toil”<sup>88</sup>.

One further essential aspect of the spiritual dimension of gardening was expounded by the celebrated anchoress Julian of Norwich in her work *Revelations of Divine Love*. Here, Christ was revealed as a harvester of men’s souls. As a gardener, he was engaged in “digging and banking, toiling and sweating, turning and trenching the ground... [to] make sweet streams flow, fine abundant fruits to grow”, which he could present as “appropriate refreshment” to God<sup>89</sup>. The image of Christ as gardener was widespread in late medieval society, an idea that came about through a passage in St John’s Gospel, in which Mary Magdalene mistook the resurrected Jesus to be a gardener<sup>90</sup>.



Figure 9: *Noli me tangere* boss in Norwich Cathedral (Mary Denmark)

### Norwich Cathedral Priory

The most extensive open space within Norwich’s medieval city walls belonged to the Cathedral Priory, which was founded in 1096, and at forty-two acres was larger than most other important urban monastic sites, such as Westminster and Canterbury, being surpassed only by rural foundations and the urban precinct of Salisbury (eighty-three acres)<sup>91</sup>.



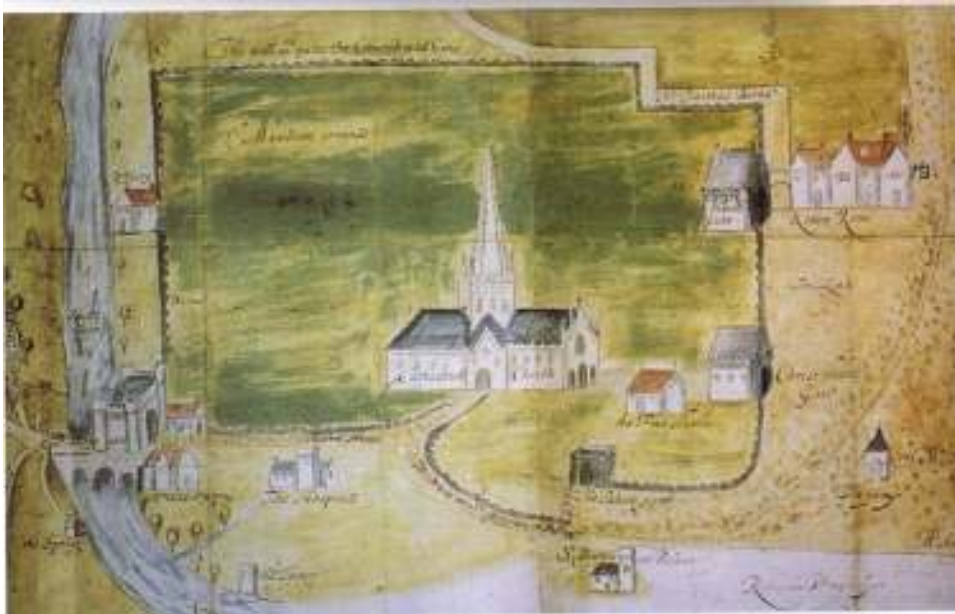


Figure 10: Drawing by Richard Wright (mid-seventeenth century)<sup>92</sup>

A large area of the western precinct contained various buildings, including the cathedral itself, but the eastern part, towards the river, remained as meadowland. Moreover, there was a variety of gardens interspersed amongst the buildings. These open spaces are the most thoroughly examined of the landscapes of medieval Norwich. This is due to the wealth of information garnered from the surviving accounts of the obedientiaries, or chief officials, of the monastery. References to gardens and meadows can be found in nine of the twelve sets of accounts produced during the medieval period<sup>93</sup> and historians and archaeologists, such as Claire Noble and Roberta Gilchrist, have been able to use this extensive collection of records to discover the reality of both the landscape and the life within the monastic house and its environs.

The cathedral precinct contained a variety of gardens and meadows which were managed by the various offices for different purposes. Roberta Gilchrist notes that there were a number of gates that allowed entry into the precinct which “were signposts to pilgrims and visitors, an exterior facade that advertised the spiritual and political status of the monastery within the walls”<sup>94</sup>. The most impressive entrances, the Erpingham and Ethelbert gates, where secular visitors of all ranks entered the cathedral precinct, lay to the west of the precinct facing the city. The western reaches of the precinct were used for both commercial and philanthropic concerns. These areas were open to all: the poor, who were provided with alms from the almonry; the schoolboys from the landed and burgess families, who attended the almonry school; the assortment of citizens, who rented or frequented the various shops which were the province of the sacrist; lower class pilgrims, who were accommodated within the almonry; and more important visitors who were housed within the hostry or prior’s lodgings<sup>95</sup>. This area, known as the upper inner court, was replete with areas of greenery, including gardens that ran along the entire wall between the Erpingham and Ethelbert gates and the large grassed area known as Almary Green<sup>96</sup>.

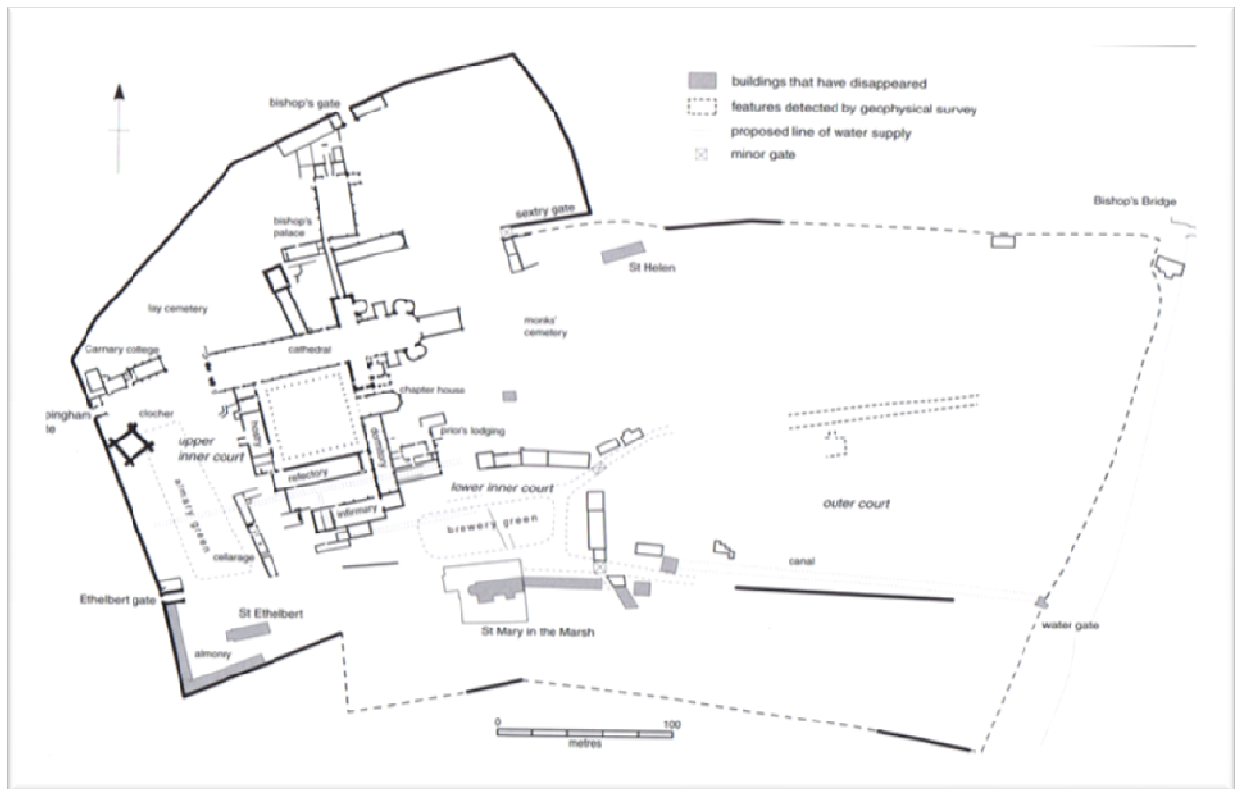


Figure 11: Plan of the precinct (Margaret Mathews)<sup>97</sup>

Further to the east, the precinct's green spaces were increasingly removed from lay access, leading to the outer court, where there were extensive utilitarian water meadows and gardens, usually only frequented by the brothers and their lay servants. These eastern spaces were mainly utilitarian in character, providing foodstuffs and other produce necessary for monastic self-sufficiency. The numerous individuals on the regular staff of the priory, minor lay officers or paid servants of the priory, who tended these extensive gardens and meadows, repaired buildings, walls and fences and cared for the monastery's animals and birds, usually entered through minor gates to the east of the precinct<sup>98</sup>.

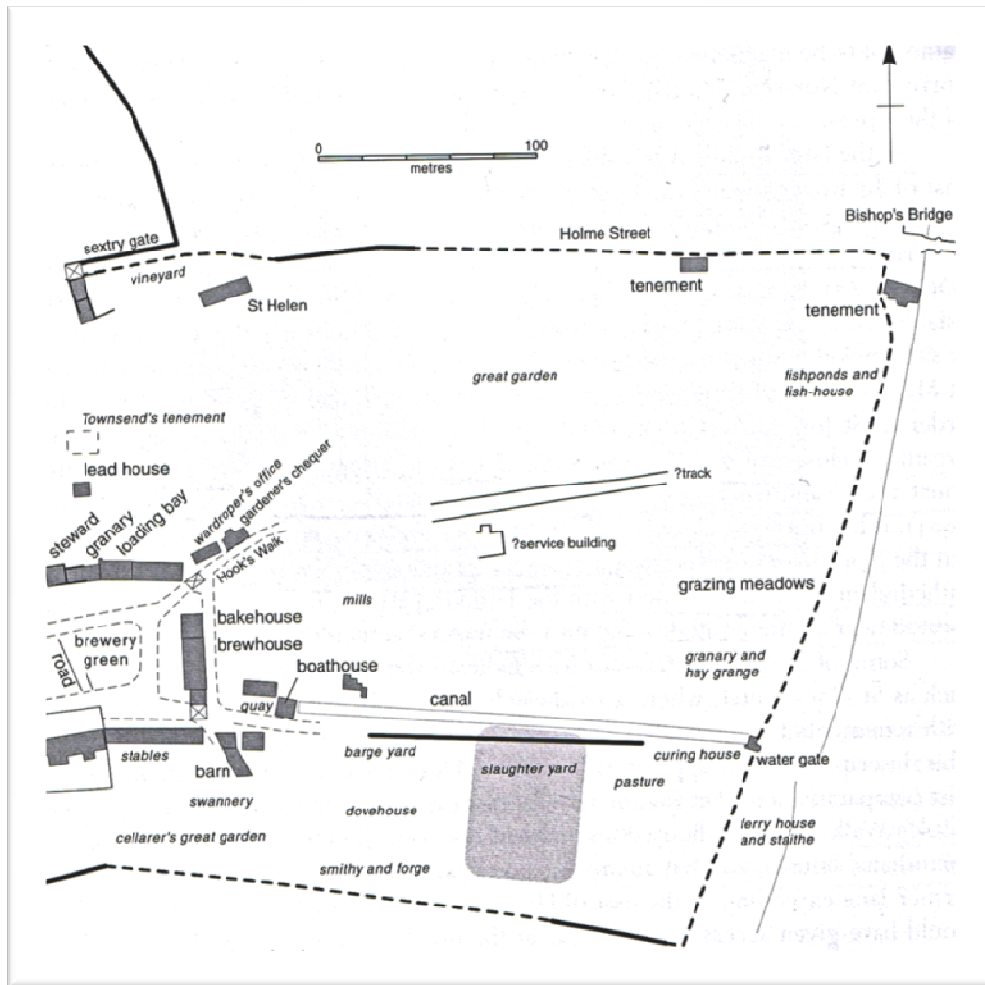


Figure 12: Plan of the outer court (Margaret Mathews)<sup>99</sup>

The cellarer and the gardener controlled the majority of the green space in the eastern area. According to the post-Dissolution survey of Dean and Chapter properties, within the parish of St Mary in the Marsh there was “A faire garden called by the name of Cellarie Garden”<sup>100</sup>, which was adjacent to an orchard and was used to grow staples of the monastic diet, such as onions, beans and apples<sup>101</sup>. These vegetables, as those shown in the plan of the monastery of St Gall, were probably grown in raised beds for ease of weeding<sup>102</sup>.

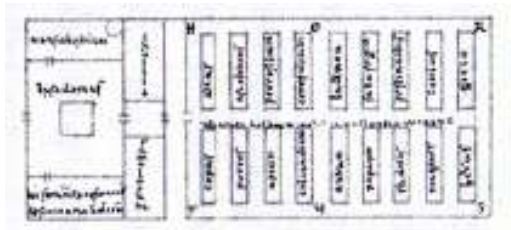


Figure 13: Vegetable garden from the plan of St Gall<sup>103</sup>

However, it was the gardener who had control of the majority of the green areas within the precinct, being responsible for at least six and a half acres of meadows, gardens and orchards. This included the moated Great Garden or “the Great Checker Garden, lying at the east end of of [sic] the said cathedral, being within the Close and abutting on Bishops gate Street... conteyning in all about [2] acres and 3 roods”<sup>104</sup>.

The gardeners’ account rolls show that their work and produce was very diverse. Most of the produce was utilized by the monks themselves. However, there were also receipts for items which were sold for profit. The first extant account, from 1329-30, includes references to sales of foodstuffs (stirewytes (crab apples), porrets (leeks), beans, garlic, pears and apples), seasoned trees (pear, ash and birch), “herbage of the cloister”, “willow wands and osiers”, firewood, hay, straw, animal products (milk, wax and eggs) and livestock (calves and sheep)<sup>105</sup>. Some of the meadow was used to graze animals, but the majority of the monastery’s herds and flocks would have been kept in the extensive lands of the cathedral home farm, which lay just outside the city walls and included a “fouldcourse... sufficient for 200 sheepe... extending into Thorpe and Pockthorpe”<sup>106</sup>. It would appear that over the centuries fewer herd animals were kept within the precinct, as their presence disappears from the gardener’s records after 1340, although poultry and eggs were still regularly sold. The receipts of later years show other types of surplus sold, such as mulberries, nuts, “walnote treys”, cherries, mustard seed, filberts, peas and bean-straw, teasels and madder<sup>107</sup>. Teasels, for fulling, and madder, for red dye, were important crops for the monastery as they were used in the cloth industry, which was prominent in the Westwick area of Norwich during this period<sup>108</sup>. The gardener’s rolls also mention the letting of various areas within the precinct, most notably the hermitage at the bishop’s gates. Expenses incurred included various payments to labourers, for example in 1339-40 “In mowing each crop of the meadow, the court and the paths 3s. 5d. ... In weeders and helpers £1 10s. 2d. ... In the stipends of... labourers on the river bank and cleaning the moat in the meadow for twelve days 8s.”. Along with supplies for the gardens, which included, “In pickerel and roach for stock 2s. 5d. ... In manure 3s. 3d. ... In one clay pot 1d.”<sup>109</sup>. During the period in question the gardener’s receipts markedly changed in content. The diminution of the labour force and the concomitant rise in wages, which transpired after the Black Death, meant that a change in management style was increasingly needed. Hence, it became more economically expedient to lease out lands to a variety of individuals<sup>110</sup>. Most of these leases were intra-obediential transactions, but there were also lay lessees who worked within the monastic environs, including John Horne who worked for the monastery as a cook and who, in 1527-28 and 1529-30, had the “farm of the great garden [for] £1 6s. 8d.”<sup>111</sup>.

An altogether different management style was used in the pleasure gardens, which remained solely under monastic control. These were the preserve of the hostiller, the prior and the bishop and were very different in character from the utilitarian kitchen gardens and meadows, being mainly reserved for the monastic elite and their guests. The *Rule of St Benedict* stated that guests must be welcomed as though they were Christ himself, and that “proper honour must be shown to all”<sup>112</sup>. Although the Rule also stated that welcome should be especially extended to the poor “because in them more particularly Christ is received”, this idea of “proper honour” was subverted, allowing for a range of guest accommodation within the claustral buildings, with concomitant garden areas, which were graded by the importance, wealth and gender of the individual visitors. The hostiller had charge of the hostry garden, which was set out as an enclosed pleasure garden with two lawns, pot plants, and box hedges. This was one of the few



areas within the monastic precinct that could be accessed by women visitors. However, the presence of women within the monastic gardens was frowned upon, especially if screened from view through the use of high enclosures<sup>113</sup>. Likewise, there were some male and female corrodians, secular guests who paid a set amount for maintenance to be housed in the precinct for longer periods of time, and these could have access to their own, private garden<sup>114</sup>.

The prior also possessed an area used as a pleasure ground, as revealed in the accounts of the master of the cellar, the sacrist and the gardener from the late fifteenth century<sup>115</sup>. Used only by the prior and his eminent guests, this garden and its attractions were reserved for the most important visitors to the monastery and was, therefore, designed to impress. From references to the “orteyard” and “*pomarium*”, this garden was known to contain a number of trees. In fact, the prior John Bonwell and his successors held “a parcel of the garden annexed by dividing the great moat [of] *le orteyard* itself”<sup>116</sup>. The bishop also possessed an ornamental garden, to the north of the monastic precinct. According to Roberta Gilchrist, the bishop’s palace indicated “supremacy through the strategic use of landscape design and architectural form”<sup>117</sup>. The prior’s and bishop’s gardens would have been seen as important status symbols in their own right, probably reflecting their owners’ contact with the innovative designs and styles of the gardens of wealthy lay society<sup>118</sup>. In the main, garden historians have concluded from documentary and illustrative evidence that the foremost characteristics of the medieval garden were its small size and formal layout of planting and structures<sup>119</sup>. The bishop’s garden was probably of this type, being roughly comparable with that of the bishop of Lincoln at Nettleham, Lincolnshire, the earthworks of which can be seen below.



Figure 14: Earthworks of garden at Nettleham<sup>120</sup>

Here, the garden, laid c.1336, was small and enclosed, containing terraces, turf seating, raised footpaths and flower beds. However, it additionally possessed an embanked approach drive, denoting its significant status<sup>121</sup>.

The infirmary garden also had highly controlled access. Managed by the infirmarer, and positioned south of the infirmary, it was enclosed by fencing and hedges, but was later walled<sup>122</sup>. The medieval herbarium, like that on the plan of St Gall, was probably in the

form of a small plot with raised beds<sup>123</sup>. It is important to note that, in the medieval world, religious and medical ideas were inextricably intertwined. Medicine for the soul took precedence over medicine for the body, it being understood that one's time on earth was fleeting. Confession and repentance was the only real remedy to guarantee salvation from illness, as the prepared and penitent Christian would "pass from transient life to the incorruptible country of eternal life, safe from plague and all other infirmities"<sup>124</sup>. However, recourse to natural remedies, which were deemed to have been provided by God, was also in evidence. Fruit, which was grown in the infirmary garden, would have customarily been consumed by the sick brethren, although surpluses of fruit were sold outside the community<sup>125</sup>. In addition, saffron was an important crop with culinary and industrial as well as medical uses (being especially employed as a prophylactic against the plague<sup>126</sup>) and was seen as a marketable commodity from the mid-fifteenth century. Consequently most of the infirmary's harvest was sold on the open market. However, it appears that, for some, the money accrued from saffron posed a great temptation, as Bishop Goldwell noted in his visitation of 1492 that the infirmarer Denys Hindolveston was keeping "for his own use one garden with saffron"<sup>127</sup>. The infirmary garden would have been used to cultivate a variety of other herbs and plants, which were an important part of the medieval *materia medica*. There was very little distinction between the use of plants in medicine and in the diet. Diet was seen as the most important means of achieving humoral balance, and was considered to be one of the six non-naturals, a mixture of physiological, psychological and environmental conditions that were deemed to affect the health of the body (the others being evacuation and repletion, rest and exercise, environment, sleep, and state of mind)<sup>128</sup>. The monastic diet was heavily proscribed, with an eye to asceticism and celibacy. For monks a sparing diet was needed to produce a melancholy disposition, where individuals, being cold and dry, would: "desire little [sex] and are capable of little"<sup>129</sup>. That the priory's records also indicate the cultivation of garlic and onions in the infirmary garden is highly significant<sup>130</sup>. According to humoral theories, these two foods were deemed to be heating in their effect, and were, therefore, seen as useful medicines with which to counteract the cold diet, which the monks were enjoined to consume, and the phlegmatic or melancholic ailments that beset the monastic community<sup>131</sup>.

The most secluded area of green space within the precinct was probably that possessed by the sacrist and known as "S. Mary's garden", which was, according to a post-Dissolution lease, to be found just to the east of the cathedral "on the northe syde of the chapell called o[ur] ladies chappell"<sup>132</sup>. The usual use for the sacristan's garden was to provide flowers for the high altar within the cathedral<sup>133</sup>. Mary gardens were especially connected with a variety of flowers that symbolised the spiritual and virtuous attributes of Virgin herself, as was noted by St. Bernard who praised Mary as "the violet of humility, the lily of chastity, the rose of charity and the glory and splendour of the heavens"<sup>134</sup>. These flowers are often seen in medieval religious and secular depictions of the enclosed garden (see Figure 2 above). However, there is no direct evidence that the Mary garden of Norwich cathedral was used to provide flowers. In fact, the sacrist was occasionally supplied with roses and lilies by the gardener<sup>135</sup>. Nevertheless a great deal was spent on this garden's upkeep, and Claire Noble postulates that an alternative use of the garden was to furnish the brethren with a secluded, private area for physical and spiritual repose and meditation<sup>136</sup>.

There were two further aspects of the cathedral's green spaces that portrayed the otherworldly and sacred importance of the garden: the cloister and the vineyard. The cloister garth was an area of light within the heart of the monastic complex, bridging the

domestic and spiritual aspects of monastic life and connecting the monks' living quarters with the cathedral. As a place for liturgical processions and monastic ritual, it was seen as an important area for spiritual succour. But, according to the *Norwich Customary*, it was also a place where the brethren were allowed to relax and talk<sup>137</sup>. The *Life of St William* revealed that this enclave "blossomed with roses"<sup>138</sup>, but the garth was essentially a grassed area<sup>139</sup>. The colour green was a symbol of rebirth, and, as Hugh of Fouilloy revealed "The green turf which is in the middle of the material cloister refreshes encloistered eyes and their desire to study returns. It is truly the nature of the colour green that it nourishes the eyes and preserves their vision"<sup>140</sup>. The vineyard, which was controlled by the sacrist, was also a space with great spiritual resonance<sup>141</sup>. Vines and their produce were of great importance in the Bible, as Christ revealed to his disciples in John's Gospel that: "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman... I am the vine, ye are the branches"<sup>142</sup>.



Figure 15: Vine and grapes boss in Norwich Cathedral cloister (Mary Denmark)

Further, wine was seen to possess a spiritual life force, as the bread and wine of the Eucharist were deemed to be transformed into the flesh and blood of Christ. This consecrated wine was thought to possess quasi-magical protective and healing powers, and Jesus, in his role as Christ the heavenly physician, promoted both physical and spiritual health<sup>143</sup>. This vineyard was in use from the late thirteenth century, when a worker was paid for "digging in the cemetery, buying nuts, collecting acorns and keeping the vines"<sup>144</sup>. Vines were able to flourish in England as, during this period, the climate was relatively warm and dry. However, it appears that the vineyard was abandoned before 1470, as the climate worsened<sup>145</sup>. Claire Noble also indicates that the changing economic climate, after the advent of the Black Death, adversely affected the production of vines, revealing that, as viticulture was a labour-intensive procedure, the diminution in the availability of workers was probably of prime importance in the decline of the vineyard<sup>146</sup>.

The wealth of open green spaces within the cathedral precinct managed to survive through the late medieval period and even through the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Here, the priory was not fully dissolved but, in 1538, was instead converted to a secular institution<sup>147</sup>. However, there were certain, significant, changes which occurred to the open lands of the precinct during this period. Firstly, as services became more stationary, and fewer processions were held, a green yard was sited to the north of the cathedral nave to be used for preaching sermons to the general populace. This area possessed hierarchical galleried seating, with the hoi polloi seated on the lowest benches or, possibly, on the grass itself<sup>148</sup>. In addition, monastic buildings and their attendant gardens also changed. This occurred as the different groups of cathedral

personnel, which included prebendaries, minor canons and singing men, wished to be housed in more private, self-contained dwellings. These were created within the domestic monastic buildings, with one prebendary house in the west of the infirmary comprising “four stories and four roomes in each story, with a court before it and a garden to the north parte of it”<sup>149</sup>. This type of dwelling allowed the prebendaries to live in a more secular style. In fact, this secularisation of the living quarters of the clergy emerged at the same time as more lay individuals and their families were being allowed entrée into the previously exclusive inner environs of the cathedral priory, a phenomenon which will be detailed in the third chapter below.

### The Friaries

Many of the other large open horticultural spaces in late medieval Norwich belonged to the friaries, which began to be founded within Norwich from 1224<sup>150</sup>. The friars differed from the monastic brethren in that, rather than pursuing a life of secluded contemplation and worship, they were exhorted to preach amongst the general populace and minister to sinners. Hence, they were based in the largest centres of urban population. As Norwich was, at this time, the second city in England, possessing a growing population of some 10,000 people, all four of the largest orders of friars settled in Norwich<sup>151</sup>. Unlike the Cathedral Priory, the friars did not produce copious records detailing their lives. Consequently, it is records from the city archives and archaeological sources that give the most illuminating information on the various houses. However, as archaeological excavations are ongoing, there are some disparities in the amount of information available on each separate institution.

The Norwich friaries, as with others around the country, were initially built on unoccupied, marginal and low-lying land. There were two friaries sited in the south-east of the city: the Augustine (or Austin Friars) and the Greyfriars (Franciscans or Friars Minor), and two in the north of the city: the White Friars (Carmelites) and the Black Friars (Dominicans or Friars Preacher). That this number of religious houses could be accommodated within the urban area is a clear indication of the lack of pressure for building space within the city<sup>152</sup>. Each friary, like the other religious institutions of Norwich, was surrounded by a high wall that demarcated the limits of its territory<sup>153</sup>. There would have been many outside visitors to these friaries, both clerical and secular. All ranked as training centres of their respective orders and, as such, received brethren from across England who would have had access to the innermost areas. In addition, each provided a venue for various guilds and confraternities<sup>154</sup>. However, these secular visitors would not have had the same kinds of access to private areas as, although the friars received the public into their preaching yards and naves, most were excluded from the innermost areas of both buildings and open spaces<sup>155</sup>.

The leet of *Ultra Aquam* was thinly populated and semi-rural before the advent of the friars<sup>156</sup>. The Carmelites settled in this area in 1256 on a site donated by Philip, son of Warin, a Norwich merchant, between the river and St. James's Church. The precinct was enlarged considerably with additional gifts and the enclosure of two lanes, including that of “Seynt Jame's Went”, which was twenty perches in length and ten feet in breadth<sup>157</sup>. This enabled the friars to erect dwellings and a church dedicated to the honour of St. Mary, and to increase the area of their lands and gardens. The enclosure of lanes by landholders along the river was, almost certainly, not just a way of securing private access to the water, but was also linked to “facilitating the internal control of the

estate itself<sup>158</sup>. Like the cathedral, the Carmelite precinct contained a variety of green spaces and the grant to John Spencer in 1542 reveals the presence of “messuages, house buildings, plantations, orchards, gardens, curtilages, ponds [and] vineries”<sup>159</sup>. It is clear from later maps of Norwich that much of this open space lasted well past the Dissolution, even when the site of the White Friars passed into multiple ownership<sup>160</sup>.



Figure 16: Hochstetter plan, showing the unedified site of the White Friars in 1789<sup>161</sup>

The Dominicans also settled in *Ultra Aquam*, but soon moved slightly further south, closer to the centre of town life and nearer to their audience, into an area which had previously belonged to a small order called Friars of the Sack, which had been suppressed in 1307<sup>162</sup>. The new site was used to build an impressive claustral complex, housing up to sixty brothers and also possessing a large church<sup>163</sup>. This left little room for the larger open precincts and gardens that surrounded the other Norwich friaries but, as is seen below, the Blackfriars also retained their old site, using it as a great garden<sup>164</sup>.



Figure 17: Sites of the Black Friars, showing the claustral buildings to the right of the river and the great garden to the left<sup>165</sup>

It is known that during a royal visit to Norwich in 1326, Edward II gave the friars alms of 17s. 8d.; enough for a day's food for the fifty-three friars then in residence<sup>166</sup>. The following day the friars reciprocated by presenting the King with fifty-three apples, which would probably have been grown in the great garden. Moreover, in front of the church there was an open area of land which the friars used for preaching to audiences<sup>167</sup>.

The other two friaries were situated in a marginal area near the river in the largely rural leet of Conesford. The Austin Friars arrived in Norwich at the beginning of the reign of Edward I, when they settled in a messuage donated by Roger Minyot<sup>168</sup>. During the first

half of the fourteenth century their holdings were increased by a number of benefactions, including a plot of land 100 ft. by 60 ft. from Andrew le Barker and a common lane, thereby eventually acquiring most of the parish of St Michael<sup>169</sup>. This friary possessed accommodation for forty to fifty friars, and, at Dissolution, was known to have “inclosed in its high stone walls, now called Conisford Place... orchards, gardens and two acres of land”, which, together with its concomitant fishing rights, was granted, in 1547, to “Sir John Godsalue, Kt”<sup>170</sup>.

The final friary, that of the Grey Friars, was established on a site donated by John de Hastingford, to the south of the cathedral. The order later received numerous grants of small parcels of land from various benefactors and received permission to close two lanes, thereby extending their landholdings within Norwich considerably<sup>171</sup>. Their large church was built to the west of the site, away from the river and the remainder of their ten acre site was used for a variety of productive and pleasurable purposes. The holdings of the friary were detailed in 1539 when the Duke of Norfolk was granted the site, which included: “all messuages, houses buildings, granges, barns, stables, dove-cotes, ponds, waters, fisheries, yards, orchards, gardens, lands and ground”<sup>172</sup>.



Figure 18: The subdivisions of the precinct showing the different plots leased to the city after Dissolution<sup>173</sup>

Archaeological analysis reveals that much of the precinct had dark, biologically active soil, which had been deliberately manured to create a fertile area for cultivation<sup>174</sup>. The different plantings and uses of these areas can be used as indicators as to whether an area was used as a source of pleasure or utility during the late medieval period. Leases show that plot ‘A’, to the north of the site, contained walnut trees, while ‘J’ had an orchard and various others possessed fruit trees that the lessees were enjoined to look after during their term of their lease<sup>175</sup>. It was thought during this period that nut trees possessed different qualities from fruit trees Albertus Magnus stated that, although nuts trees were useful as medicines, the tree itself was considered an anathema in the garden as it was bitter and its “shade gives rise to diseases”<sup>176</sup>. Nut trees doubtless were seen as purely utilitarian by the friars, who would have understood the medical theories of the time. Conversely, others, such as “grapevines, pears, apples, pomegranates, sweet bay trees [and] cypresses” were deemed “sweet trees, with perfumed flowers and agreeable shade” and were, therefore, used in the garden both for



their produce and their pleasure-giving attributes. Other structural attributes of the precincts can be similarly demarcated. For example, the dovecote, situated in plot 'K', was, according to archaeologist Peter Emery, a utilitarian construction; an expedient way to supply the friars with doves and pigeons for consumption, as the birds needed minimal care and could foray beyond the precinct to gather their own sustenance. However, it was also a signifier of social status, as the right to keep doves was a privilege of manorial lordship<sup>177</sup>. Moreover, the friary's fishponds were probably used as a source of aesthetic pleasure. According to the faunal archaeological remains found on the site, saltwater fish were a common source of nutrition but freshwater fish, as held in ponds, were only seen as an occasional resource<sup>178</sup>. Moreover, according to Crescenzi, a large pleasure garden should have access to a water source, such as a stream, and a *vivarium*, or an enclosure for animals, which should include "a fish pond in which various types of fish are raised"<sup>179</sup>.

At Dissolution the claustral buildings of the Conesford friaries were demolished and the precincts granted to a variety of individuals. However, like the lands of the Carmelites, the large green spaces of the friaries in Conesford remained as open green space. The Austin friary precinct fell into the hands of the Duke of Norfolk and was later renamed "My Lord's Garden" while that of the Greyfriars became "New Spring Garden"<sup>180</sup>.

## Hospitals

Medieval hospitals were concerned with providing food, shelter and religious succour to the needy, following the charitable tradition of the monastic communities<sup>181</sup>. However, they differed from monastic institutions, as hospitals during this period were almost exclusively reserved to tend to the poor in society. The rich and privileged, both religious and secular, were able to use the medical services within monastic infirmaries and had recourse to the expensive ministrations of physicians and surgeons<sup>182</sup>. There were four specialised types of hospital, all of which were present in and around late medieval Norwich: infirmaries for the sick poor, hospices for pilgrims and wayfarers, almshouses for certain kinds of individuals such as priests or mariners, and leper hospitals<sup>183</sup>. The location of an institution reveals much about its function as well as about contemporary attitudes towards disease, contagion, practicalities of care and the popularity of pilgrimage and charity. Like *leprosaria* across Europe, the leper hospitals of Norwich were situated on the outskirts of the urban area, following the Biblical edict that lepers should "dwell alone, without the camp"<sup>184</sup>. It follows, therefore, that although the Norwich *leprosaria* possessed large tracts of land, these were extramural and are outside the remit of this paper. All of the other types of institution were included within the city walls. Many of the smaller institutions are known only through fleeting glimpses within the written records. The almshouses in particular are hard to trace. Often founded by merchants, lay fraternities or guilds, these were not religious institutions but rather small, often transitory, institutions with limited resources<sup>185</sup>. It is probable that most were run in the same manner as a small to medium household, with only a modicum of land attached. There were also few pilgrim hospices in Norwich as, apart from the highpoint of the cult of St William in the twelfth century, it was not a centre for pilgrimage but simply acted as a staging-post for pilgrims on their way to better-known East Anglian sites such as Walsingham<sup>186</sup>. The best documented of the hospices was that of Hildebrand le Mercer, a local merchant who provided a hostel on a small site to the

south of the city. The level of provision here could have been quite meagre as, at the Reformation, it only contained a messuage, a yard and a garden<sup>187</sup>.

It was the larger hospitals for the sick poor, run by the religious, which greatly contributed to Norwich's green spaces and culture. These possessed large areas of open space, both within and without their precincts, which, as Carole Rawcliffe notes, played an essential role in these institutions as they "not only supplied fuel, food and medicinal herbs but also contributed in less immediately obvious ways to the holistic therapy characteristic of the time"<sup>188</sup>. The first hospital established to aid "the sick, infirm and child-bearing poor of the city" was known as St Paul's or Normanspittel<sup>189</sup>. Founded, in the early twelfth century, in an area of open fields to the north of the Wensum known as Cow's Croft, its perimeter extended northwards to Mousehold Heath through a number of endowments. Its visibility within the outlying urban area was seen as an important display of charity that exhorted other individuals to perform charitable deeds as denoted by the "Seven Comfortable Works"<sup>190</sup>. Like the other religious houses, the hospital drew part of its revenue from the sale of surplus produce and stock from its meadows and gardens<sup>191</sup>. The post-Dissolution lease to the city reveals that the hospital possessed "chambers, lodgings, howses, buyldynges, gardeyns and yards"<sup>192</sup> that were looked after by a considerable workforce, including lay brothers and sisters, who lived a quasi-monastic lifestyle.

This was also the case at the Hospital of St Giles (the Great Hospital), which was founded in 1249 by Bishop Suffield to care for poor or infirm priests. Built on open land opposite the church of St Helen, the hospital was situated near Bishop's Bridge, which spanned the River Wensum. Carole Rawcliffe reveals that many hospitals were placed in similar topographically liminal situations, as the inmates were seen to be in an ambivalent position between life and death<sup>193</sup>. The precinct of the Great Hospital was greatly enlarged through purchases and endowments, including the gift of a meadow adjoining the hospital at Bishopsbridge by the hospital's main benefactor William de Dunwich<sup>194</sup>, and eventually encompassed an area of about ten acres<sup>195</sup>. Much of the meadow area leading down to the river was marshy, wet and often subject to flooding, and was, therefore, used to grow reed beds and trees, such as poplars and willows, which were required as building materials<sup>196</sup>. The meadows also supplied grazing space for the hospital's livestock, which included cattle, sheep and horses<sup>197</sup>.

There were several green spaces interspersed among the buildings within the precinct of the hospital. Most were practical areas, including the great garden, where trees and vegetables were grown, a walled garden with a thatched pentice, a pond yard, a garden attached to the bakery and a kitchen garden<sup>198</sup>. These gardens, like those at other hospitals, were tended by the nursing sisters. In medieval society men were considered the more intellectual and spiritual, while women were deemed to be more corporeal. Hence, the sisters, like women in secular society, were enjoined to look after the physical needs of the inmates. Moreover, as their work included the highly important tasks of provision and preparation of foodstuffs, the nurses would have had some understanding of humoral theory<sup>199</sup>. As with the other religious houses, produce was mainly consumed within the institution, though surpluses, including such staple foodstuffs as apples, pears, onions and leeks, were sold outside the community. Other types of marketable produce were also cultivated, including hemp, madder and the ubiquitous saffron<sup>200</sup>. Moreover, the sisters also had access to their own garden plots, in their separate quarters, which would have provided them with their own quiet area for privacy, relaxation and contemplation<sup>201</sup>.



Apart from the more practical areas, there was also the master's ornamental garden, which, like the prior's and bishop's gardens at the cathedral, was a more private space to be used both for pleasure and to denote social status. The hospital precincts also incorporated a "paradyse garden", which was evocative of the Garden of Eden<sup>202</sup>. In popular imagination, Paradise was viewed as a fruitful garden which, as the N-town plays reveal, was replete with "flesche and fysch & fruit of prys... bothe appel & per & gentyl rys"<sup>203</sup>, and this area, like the cathedral's Mary garden, was probably used for pleasure, meditation and spiritual solace.

The Great Hospital was also in possession of various lands in and around Norwich. The most prominent of these were some fifty acres of arable land to the north of the city known as the Lathes (part of which lay within the city wall, known as Gildencroft), which, in the fifteenth century, was used as the hospital's home farm<sup>204</sup>. The hospital employed an assortment of lay persons to manage it and the farm accounts of two carters, John Dernel and John Boys, dating from 1417 and 1428–9, are still extant. It would appear that the arable portion of the farm was divided into five parcels, each of ten acres, which were sown in rotation, one with winter corn, three with spring corn, and one left fallow<sup>205</sup>. At Dissolution these lands, along with the precinct and attendant gardens, were retained by the hospital, which also preserved its mandate to care for the poor of Norwich. In 1535, the hospital passed to the king and thence to the city of Norwich, being renamed "Goddess Howse". However, like the cathedral, parts of the precinct and its other lands were gradually let to a variety of lay individuals<sup>206</sup>.

#### Other Lands of the Norwich Religious

There were other significant religious landowners within Norwich, including the scattered parsonages of the various secular clergy, the chapel of St Mary in the fields to the south-west of the city, and the Benedictine priory of Carrow, situated just south of the city walls. The smallest of these lands belonged to the secular clergy, who cultivated particular areas of greenery associated with the numerous parish churches of the city. These included the parsonage house and garden of St Benedict, which lay next to the churchyard and encompassed some two acres of land<sup>207</sup>, and the parsonage of the church of St John at the Gates in Berstreet, which possessed an orchard<sup>208</sup>. These gardens could be used as a source of income, for example, in the sixteenth century the parsonage of the Church of All Saints garnered about 21s. per annum for its herbage and lands<sup>209</sup>. The most prominent parsonage on Cuningham's map is that of St Catherine in Newgate, which stood on St Catherine's Close or Plain. This was a grassy area comprising some half an acre adjoining the chapel yard, which was a further acre in size<sup>210</sup>. Being in the locality known as Butter Hills, this originally belonged to Carrow Priory. There were several other plains in medieval Norwich, which denoted open regions scattered amongst the narrow lanes and streets of the city, many of which were associated with particular parish churches, including St George's, St Mary's, St Giles' and St Margaret's<sup>211</sup>.

The Chapel in the Fields was a large institution founded by John le Brun before 1248 in the parish of St Stephen and occupied a site of four acres<sup>212</sup>. Originally including a hospital, in 1253 it was converted to a secular college, which housed a community of priests and, before the building of the Guildhall, was occasionally used for major civic assemblies<sup>213</sup>. In 1297, the college was granted four and a half acres of arable land in

Chapelfield-Croft by the prior of Old Buckenham Canons for 10s. per year, but the precinct was not enclosed by high walls until the late fourteenth century<sup>214</sup>. Unlike the walls that separated the lands of the friars from that of the cathedral, this wall and one of its gates are pictured on both the early maps.

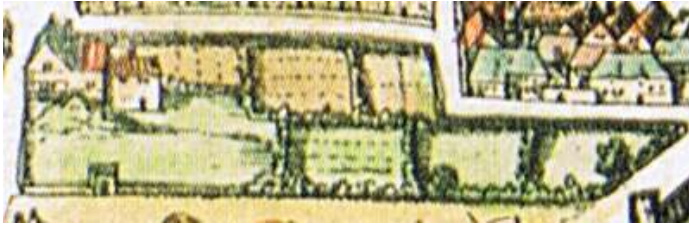


Figure 19: Chapel in the Fields<sup>215</sup>

Aside from the large precinct, the chapel also owned a great deal of open land within the city including, in the parish of St Peter Mancroft, a capital messuage with orchards and gardens, several smaller gardens and a great garden, called the Dove-house Close; and, in St Stephen's parish, six further gardens and a moiety of a garden and a parcel of ground adjoining<sup>216</sup>. With the surrender of the college to the city in 1544, the church was demolished and the site was converted to pasture<sup>217</sup>.

One further institution that owned considerable areas of rural land within the city walls was the nunnery of Carrow Priory. This was founded in 1146 outside the city, on lands that had earlier served as townsmen's fields<sup>218</sup>. The nuns of this institution came from some of the wealthiest local families and, like the cathedral it was deemed economically necessary to house a variety of high status lay and ecclesiastical corrodians, boarders and tenants, as well as anchoresses and vowesses, who would all have possessed their own patches of greenery within the precinct<sup>219</sup>. Yet it is the development of their farming methods which makes Carrow Priory significant in the sense of Norwich's green culture, giving the city the feel of a *rus in urbe*. The institution held a great deal of land in Conesford leet which was used to grow crops, including the fields of Little Newgate and Gosehill, which was an area of unsettled land that was later renamed after an owner, John le Boteler, the name later corrupted to Butter Hills<sup>220</sup>. The priory managed to adapt to the changing economic circumstances, which came about in the aftermath of the Black Death and the concomitant diminution of the labour force, by abandoning demesne farming and by branching out into wool production for the local cloth trade<sup>221</sup>. The accounts of Carrow Priory show that as the remuneration from boarders fell, the profits from sheep-farming greatly increased<sup>222</sup>. By 1530, the priory had large flocks of sheep at Wroxham and at their home farm at Carrow. Women featured heavily in the agricultural work of the nunnery. The washing and shearing of sheep was considered to be women's work, so the priory hired a number of female servants to undertake these tasks<sup>223</sup>. Women were also engaged in tending the priory's other livestock at Carrow, which included cattle, pigs, poultry, swans and horses. The birds were fed on crops produced on the home farm as, for example, in 1455-56, when the washerwoman, Cecily Norman, was delivered 3 quarters and 4 bushels of oats with which to feed the geese, while the swans consumed some 6 bushels.<sup>224</sup> The reign of the women of Carrow ended in 1536, when the nunnery was dissolved and its church demolished. However, the prioress's grand house and garden were left intact for later lay use<sup>225</sup>.

### Lay Society and the Green Landscapes of Norwich

Although it was the religious who owned the greatest and most impressive areas of open land within the walls of late medieval Norwich, lay men and women also played a large role in the green spaces and culture of the city, having access to their own patches of land. The majority of these were small plots, used as vegetable gardens, which were attached to small tenements, but there were also larger gardens, belonging to wealthier individuals and families, which, like the religious houses, contained utilitarian kitchen gardens, orchards and pleasure grounds. Still larger were the fields, many of which were owned by the city and were used in a variety of ways, including agriculture, industry and recreation.

#### Larger Green Areas: Castle, Fields and Commons

One of the largest areas of open space was that surrounding the castle in the centre of the city. This symbol of might and power was positioned atop a large and impressive grassy mound, which would have been visible from everywhere in the city.

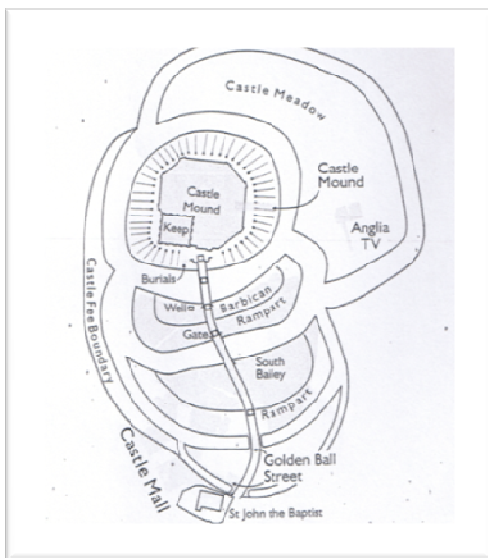


Figure 20: Plan of the castle earthworks<sup>226</sup>

Like the precincts of the religious institutions, the castle fee was outside the jurisdiction of the city, being under the control of the Crown. However, unlike the precincts, it was not bounded by the blatant symbols of exclusiveness of high flint and stone walls, but was instead indicated by much less confrontational boundary posts with plaques bearing the royal arms<sup>227</sup>. This allowed lay individuals more access to the outer areas of the mound, which included a number of separate areas, used for different purposes. The main south bailey housed the garrison and probably was not impinged on, but the second bailey, to the north east, which was used as a grazing area for livestock, was being encroached upon by the citizens by the fourteenth century. In 1345, when Edward III granted the baileys to the city, this intrusion gradually increased, and culminated with the construction of various buildings<sup>228</sup>.

The largest areas of lay open land were fields in the more rural leets of the city. Lay individuals of all ranks and occupations owned or rented various areas of arable land in the city. For example, in 1322, William of Mundham, citizen of Norwich, and his wife Alice acquired a piece of arable land lying at “le Butelereshil” in Norwich for which they paid 1d. a year to the lord of the fee<sup>229</sup>, while (in 1325) John de Pulham and his wife were granted five acres of arable land in the parish of St Clement at the Bridge<sup>230</sup>, and, in 1375, the mason John de Bokenham and his wife Isabella held two adjoining pieces of arable land in St Margaret's Croft and another piece of land in St Augustine's<sup>231</sup>. The largest lay fields were owned by the city itself, including part of Gildencroft<sup>232</sup> and eight acres of pasture at Chapel field<sup>233</sup>. However, there were also certain areas of open land that were subject to disputes between the city and the religious institutions concerning their ownership. For the most part, these disagreements were settled in a manner that gave both sides some satisfaction. This was the case at Butter Hills in Conesford, of which the convent at Carrow owned the greater part. Over the course of the late medieval period the priory's land was increasingly encroached on by the lay populace and eventually, in 1521, the locale was leased to the City for 10s. per year<sup>234</sup>. Conversely, sometimes the religious houses lost their lands entirely. This occurred with the fields in Great Newgate, earlier known as Thedwardes-Croft, which originally belonged to Prior's Fee. After some protracted disputes between city and priory as to its ownership, the land was handed over to the King in 1291, and was granted to the city in 1305<sup>235</sup>. According to Lorraine Attreed, these property disputes, which were resolved within the court system, were not simply a means of establishing ownership of physical spaces but were also attempts to calm relations between citizens and the religious<sup>236</sup>. This was a particularly important point in Norwich where tensions, which sometimes occasioned violence between the citizens and the religious (predominantly those of the cathedral priory), were notable in the city for several centuries<sup>237</sup>.

The lands owned by the city remained mainly agricultural in character during the medieval period and in these fields the ordinary working men and women would carry out their allotted tasks. The annual rhythm of agricultural labour was often depicted in medieval calendars, where each month from March to November showed a different farming activity and was followed by images of rest and relaxation from outdoor tasks in winter and early spring<sup>238</sup>.



Figure 21: Stained-glass roundels of the Labours of the Months: Norwich, 1480-1500<sup>239</sup>

However, there were other uses for the larger tracts of land held by the city and lay individuals. As cities were centres of industry, some open land was required for certain production methods, and this was the case with the cloth-finishing industry in Norwich. Parts of Chapelfield were used as tenter-grounds, areas in which in cloth was stretched

and dried in readiness for bleaching. However, in the absence of sufficient land, the workers used the city walls and ditches to dry cloth, a procedure frowned upon and, in 1344, legislated against by the ruling elite<sup>240</sup>.

Aside from these large acreages of field, there were areas of common-land scattered throughout the city. In theory, there were certain use-rights associated with the commons and wastes, allowing provision of a range of resources for all local lay inhabitants, including grazing for livestock, and the gathering of fuel or food<sup>241</sup>. These rights were particularly important to the poor or destitute who moved into the city from the surrounding countryside. Here, although the common land was of marginal agricultural value, a basic subsistence could be eked out from the assorted natural products available. Moreover, as commons were not the province of particular owners and were usually positioned at the fringes of settlements, squatters who lived here were seen as less obtrusive<sup>242</sup>. However, over the centuries, the amount of this green space within the city walls was gradually eroded, as common land was given over to the use of the civic authorities or to individuals. The limitation of traditional rights in, and access to, common land became an increasingly divisive issue among the different social classes. For example, the arrival of the Normans, which had led to the erection of the castle in the centre of the city and the movement of the market place from Tomblond to the new French settlement, meant a concomitant loss of meadowland. The antiquarian John Kirkpatrick (d.1728), in his *Streets and Lanes of the City of Norwich*, asserts that the French quarter, where the new marketplace was established, was built on an area known as Man(nes)croft, which might perhaps have been the croft of an individual or land used as common fields of the townsmen<sup>243</sup>. These attempts by the more affluent to enclose and privatize the commons to the detriment of the poor led, in due course, to riot and outright rebellion. Here, the complaints of the lower classes were, in Norwich, given a voice through the leadership of Robert Kett, a yeoman farmer from Wymondham, who, with a citizen army, laid siege to the city in July 1549<sup>244</sup>. Ultimately, however, the aims of the elite were maintained, as Kett and his followers were defeated and common land continued to be enclosed<sup>245</sup>.

As evinced on the early maps, the city's fields were also used as a space in which to practice martial activities. During the Middle Ages, the Crown particularly encouraged the practice of military pursuits, ordering that every man over fifteen years of age was to own weapons according to his rank<sup>246</sup>. The tournament was deemed to be purely for the aristocracy while commoners also had recreational activities aimed at developing martial skills, particularly archery.

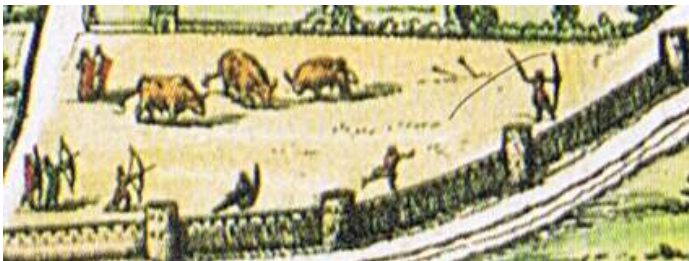


Figure 22: Archers on Chapelfield<sup>247</sup>

Jousts were held in the city from the time of Edward III<sup>248</sup>. These were probably held in Gildencroft, an area of which was known as the "Justyngacre"<sup>249</sup>. The tournament in



February 1340 was attended by the King and his wife Queen Phillipa, who were lodged in the Cathedral Priory<sup>250</sup> and Edward Prince of Wales was present at the Norwich joust in 1350, when he was treated to a variety of grand entertainments at the city's expense, which amounted to some £37 4s. 6d.<sup>251</sup>. The martial training and competitions that took place in the Norwich fields were highly important as they readied Norwich men for war. In 1435, forty Norwich men were sent by King Henry VI to defend "Calice" against the Duke of Burgundy and, in 1541, Henry VIII sent eighteen Norwich archers, twenty two billmen and forty soldiers to fight the Scots<sup>252</sup>.

Gildencroft was probably also used during the period for other recreations and sports. In 1671, it was noted that there were "immoderate Campings and Dauncing" which were deemed to "spoil the Grass in the Gilding Croft"<sup>253</sup>. Such activities would also have been seen in the late medieval period and were deemed suitable only for the lower classes. "Camping" was an early form of mass-participation football, an aggressive game that could be played by hundreds of individuals and frequently involved violence and injury<sup>254</sup>. Hence, unlike archery, it was not a part of Cuningham's vision of the wholesomeness of lower class life and thus does not appear on his map.

There was also a range of other outdoor pleasures and pastimes such as processions, pageants and dramatic and musical entertainments<sup>255</sup>. These recreations were opportunities to relax, celebrate, socialize and reinforce communal solidarity, but could also, simultaneously, reassert the social hierarchy of the time.



Figure 23: Musicians and dancers in the Garden of Mirth<sup>256</sup>

This hierarchy can be seen in the procession of occupations on Corpus Christi Day, which journeyed from Black Friars to the Chapel of St Mary in the Field. Here, the more exalted professions processed towards the end of the line of participants. In fact, many of those taking part in the procession had occupations that were associated with horticultural and agricultural pursuits, including, smiths, basket makers, reeders, claymen, reed sellers, shermen, wool chapmen, "freshwater fishermen who are keelmen", waxchandlers and skimmers, although the separate occupation of gardener does not appear<sup>257</sup>.

### Norwich's Secular Gardens

The majority of lay gardens within Norwich belonged to the poorer in society. These were small areas used for planting vegetables and herbs, housing a variety of small livestock and disposing of rubbish and waste. As most are not to be found within the written records, the most useful way to determine their existence and use is through archaeological means. This is demonstrated by the excavation of a site at Alms Lane in *Ultra Aquam*, which reveals the development of domestic housing and gardens from c.1400 (before this time the location was used as a brewery and an iron-works<sup>258</sup>). The earliest houses, made from timber, clay and thatch, were later rebuilt with flint rubble walls and tiled roofs.

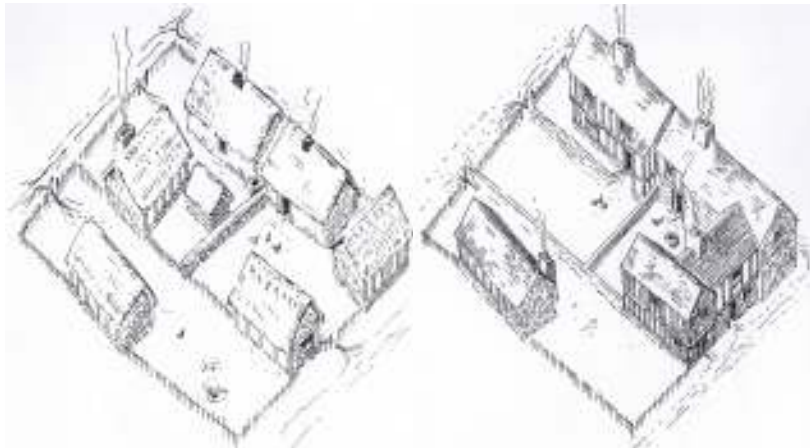


Figure 24: Houses in Alms Lane c.1400 and c.1520 (Martin Creasey)<sup>259</sup>

These dwellings had attached yards, with wattle fencing, with one yard housing a cesspit, lined with clay, which acted as a soak-away<sup>260</sup>. It was discovered that these households kept chickens, which provided meat and eggs and, according to Thomas Hill, dung for fertiliser which was “greatly commended for the fournesse”<sup>261</sup>. They would probably also have kept pigs<sup>262</sup>. The kitchen garden would have contained a variety of vegetables suitable for making the staple of the medieval diet, pottage, including colewort, beet, spinach, parsley, turnip, endive, lettuce, leeks, garlic and onion<sup>263</sup>. Further, evidence of lay plantings can be found in an excavation of some tenements in the parish of St Martin-at-Palace. Found here, apart from the usual cereal and vegetable staples, were fennel, coriander, medlar, mulberry and fig<sup>264</sup>. Further inclusions in the garden would have been roses, ginger and cloves, which were often stipulated as payment for rent<sup>265</sup>. Various medieval tools, used for agriculture and horticulture, have been found in other areas of Norwich, including a weedhook, spade-irons, a billhook, sickles, pitchforks and a wooden shovel blade<sup>266</sup>. In fact, there were some unusual uses for gardening equipment, as evidenced in an entry from a Book of Pleas (1416), where one William Coteham was accused of a “premeditated assault... with a spade called a molspade [and] struck William [Koc] a mortal blow on the head whereof he died”<sup>267</sup>.

During the medieval period, “the chiefest care of the [garden], was committed vnto the wife” and it was considered unacceptable “if shee bestowed not a payne and diligence... in the weeding, trimming, and dressing of the Garden”<sup>268</sup>. This was especially pertinent in the garden’s use as a source of *materia medica*. Every garden, no matter how small, could be put to medical use. In their role as carers, women were able to treat all manner

of common ailments. This knowledge was predominantly handed down through oral tradition, although there was also recourse to a variety of herbals and other literature written in English<sup>269</sup>. Chaucer noted the proficiency of women in the area of herbal medicine, with his satirical verses on Pertelote the hen in his *Canterbury Tales*. Pertelote suggests herbs to counteract excesses of “colere and melancolye”, which were engendering her rooster husband’s bad dreams.

Thogh in this toun is noon apothecarye,  
I shal myself to herbes techen yow,  
That shul ben for youre heele and for youre prow.  
And in oure yerd tho herbes shal I finde,  
The whiche han of hire propretee by kynde  
To purge yow binethe and eek above.<sup>270</sup>

The garden as a source of medicaments was highly important in the late medieval period as the majority of the population had no access to expensive medical professionals. University trained physicians normally only treated the elite and wealthy in society and Carole Rawcliffe notes that there were few physicians resident in Norwich during the Middle Ages<sup>271</sup>. There is a reference, in a deed of 1266, of a “herbier” or herb garden within the Jewish quarter at Saddlegate, which belonged to Solomon the physician, the son of Rabbi Isaac the physician<sup>272</sup>. These learned physicians would have used their herb garden to supply the copious herbal ingredients that made up a large part of the medieval *materia medica*. But, while empirics and women showed practical skills in the preparation of herbal remedies, physicians wished to demonstrate their grasp of the technical and theoretical aspects of medicine, and would, therefore, have used the services of an apothecary to produce the actual medicaments<sup>273</sup>.

Women of the wealthier classes would also have taken charge of tending their gardens. Roberta Gilchrist, in her work *Gender and Archaeology*, posits the idea that the spatial complexities of the medieval period meant that men and women possessed dichotomous domains<sup>274</sup>. Where men were associated with prestigious public spaces, women were linked with domestic and private ones. For the wealthy woman an external but private space was a necessary adjunct to her private arena within the home<sup>275</sup>. The largest lay house in sixteenth century Norwich was built by the fourth Duke of Norfolk. Unfortunately, the two-acre site beside the river in Wymer that housed the Duke’s Palace was thoroughly unsuitable to the task. The area was frequently subject to flooding and was later described as “a dunghole place... for it hath little room for gardens and is pent in on all sides... with tradesmen and dyers houses who foul the water”<sup>276</sup>. Nevertheless, in a deed of 1563, it was described as “a capital messuage new built with buildings, courts, orchards, gardens, ponds and vineyards”<sup>277</sup>. The fact that there were vines present indicates that, unlike the cathedral priory, the Duke could afford the labour and expense associated with their upkeep. Further evidence of the Duke’s status was shown by the presence of a fountain in the central court and a tennis court<sup>278</sup>.

The gardens probably would have included knot or pattern-work laid out in plants and coloured stones, a formal design that was highly fashionable at the time. Knot gardens were square or rectangular and were laid out so that their unity, order and regularity could to be viewed from the upper windows of a house and the ambulatory of the palace, sited on the second floor, may indeed have served that purpose<sup>279</sup>. Moreover, some knot gardens included the owner’s heraldry, which would have mirrored the stained glass set in the palace windows.





Figure 25: Arms of Henry VIII and the Duke of Norfolk in the windows of a house owned by the Duke of Norfolk<sup>280</sup>

The Duke's garden would also have had "Alleis and walkes", from which, according to Thomas Hill, the owner could "diligently view the prosperitie of his herbes and flowers"<sup>281</sup>. Additionally, they were for the "delight and comfort of his wearied mind... in the delectable sightes, and fragrant smelles of the flowers... refreshing of the dull spirites, with the sharpning of memorie". These fashionable types of garden feature would have been seen in the gardens of the wealthiest and most important members of England's ruling elite. From the accession of Henry VIII in 1509, kings and queens of England were seen as veritable leaders of taste in garden design, using their own gardens, and those of their nobles, as settings for a variety of courtly festivities<sup>282</sup>. Gardens were seen as expressions of the owners' power and social standing and their triumph over nature. Individuals of this ilk, owing to their wealth and status, did not have to follow traditional precedents if they did not wish to do so. Hence, they were able to make autonomous decisions concerning the arrangements and design of their own gardens. Moreover, following the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the subsequent redistribution of land amongst the elite, there was no lack of competition among nobles in the designing and creation of symbolic gardens in a convoluted parade of political and deferential display<sup>283</sup>.

After the Dissolution, when more gardens were placed into the hands of the wealthier lay population, the dean and chapter of the cathedral began to lease out larger areas of the Close. Hooke's Walk was known to have a number of houses and tenements that were leased to important individuals, all of which could have had their own enclosed, individual and private garden<sup>284</sup>. In 1558/9, John Goldyng and his son Henry leased "all that ther gret Garden w[ith] the oon house adioyning"<sup>285</sup> for 25s. 4d. a year. Later, the "Checker Garden", as it was then known, was divided up and leased out, with records noting that one section housed a "little banqueting house" and was "incompassed with a moat", while another possessed three gardens and an orchard "inclosed parte with a stone wall & part with a pale"<sup>286</sup>. However, owing to a lack of relevant records, it is more difficult to ascertain the reality of lay gardens in other areas of late medieval Norwich.

Nonetheless, examination of the landgable tax records of 1568-70 can reveal something of the distribution of lay green space in the city at the very end of the period in question<sup>287</sup>.

It is clear that differences in garden size and value within the city were linked to both the availability of land and the wealth of the population in any given area, and that the four main leets had very different topographies and populations during the period in question.

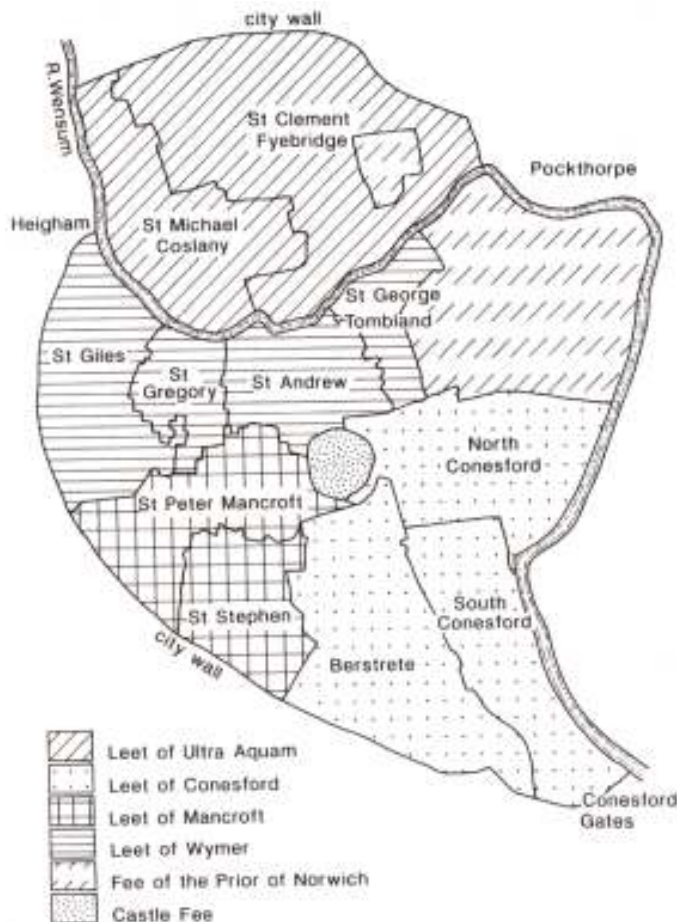


Figure 26: The Leets of Late Medieval Norwich (Phillip Judge)<sup>288</sup>

The most rural leets were Conesford, which contained Butter Hills and lands belonging to three dissolved religious houses, and *Ultra Aquam*, which enclosed Gildencroft and the lands of two dissolved friaries and St Paul's Hospital. The leet of Mancroft partly comprised open fields, containing Newgate and Chapelfield, but was also home to the parish of St Peter Mancroft, which was especially densely edified. This edification occurred when the layout of the city changed in the twelfth century, with the transfer of the market place from Tombland to the French quarter<sup>289</sup>. As the parish land became more valuable, tenements were increasingly subdivided and this can be seen in the sheer quantity of separate plots on the reconstructions of Norwich c.1300<sup>290</sup>. The archaeology shows that this partitioning of tenement plots led to substantially reduced backyard areas, leaving the parish one of the least open parts of Norwich<sup>291</sup>. The leet of

Wymer was the most built-up area, having no large acreages of meadow to speak of. However, as historian John Pound revealed, in his analysis of the distribution of the taxable population in the city in 1525, Wymer was home to the wealthiest population in Norwich, the average wealth per head being 287s.<sup>292</sup>; Mancroft was the second wealthiest, at 238s., Ultra Aquam was third at 187s. per head (the wealthiest individuals living in Colgate and Coslany) and the least wealthy lived in Conesford, at 115s. per head.

Leet	Number of assessed entries	Number with land mentioned	Percentage of assessed entries with land	Of those entries with land mentioned, the number of mentions of		Ratio of land with buildings to land only
				Land with buildings	Land only	
Conesford	255	31	12.2	4	27	1: 6.75
Mancroft	212	20	9.4	9	11	1: 1.2
Wymer	410	52	12.7	15	37	1: 2.5
<i>Ultra Aquam</i>	372	47	12.6	18	29	1: 1.6

Table showing lay open land in the mid-sixteenth century Norwich leets: derived from the landgable assessments<sup>293</sup>

As noted above, large areas of open land were not assessed including Butter Hills, Chapelfield and Gildencroft. Nevertheless, it can be seen that the leet with the fewest mentions of open land is that of Mancroft. This is to be expected, given the density of the dwellings in that area. The most notable result, however, is the ratio of land with buildings to land only. This reveals that, even without the inclusion of Butter Hills in the assessment, the availability of open spaces was most marked in the leet of Conesford.

The landgable assessment also lists some properties as paying rents of assise. These were fixed rents chargeable on any land, payable by the owner, and were most often imposed for encroaching onto common or waste ground<sup>294</sup>. The value placed on the rent of assise can give some indication as to the extent of the lands involved. Most assise payments ranged from 6d. to 16d., with three small plots of common ground being valued at less than a penny<sup>295</sup>. The largest amounts were: 4s. for “The gardeyne late Robert Lyng” in Wymer<sup>296</sup>, 5s. for a garden in the parish of St Peter Mancroft<sup>297</sup>, 2s. for a tenement and garden in *Ultra Aquam* (which had earlier been assessed at 5s.)<sup>298</sup>, and the grand sum of 7 ½s. owed by Frauncys Gawdye for “his gardeyne on the west part of his tenement called Bytmaye [an island near the river bank]” in *Ultra Aquam*<sup>299</sup>. There was also one other large garden, again in *Ultra Aquam*, which paid “5s of Pype money to the shrevis”<sup>300</sup>. This reveals that the most expensive gardens were in fact scattered around Norwich and not concentrated within an exclusive enclave of the wealthy.

### Conclusion

From the evidence gathered from the archaeology and the surviving records, images and maps of late medieval Norwich, it appears that Thomas Fuller's assertion that the Strangers brought superior horticultural knowledge to the city in the mid-sixteenth century is greatly mistaken. It is evident that the city would have had green spaces and culture from its first inception, since lay individuals have always had to provide for themselves through cultivation. However, by the late medieval period, it is the sheer diversity of the green spaces and the cultures within Norwich which is most noteworthy. Every lay individual in the city would have had access to some area of greenery. The poorest could scrape a living through the practice of use-rights on common land. Peasants worked in the fields of the city or the religious, and also had access to their own rented backyard plots, which were the province of women, and where valuable foodstuffs, livestock and herbs could be cultivated. The wealthier in Norwich society owned large acreages of land that could be used as meadow, pasture, orchards or turned into pleasure gardens, as the fancy took them. Moreover, all sections of lay society were included in a variety of outdoor recreations and religious activities that were used to cement the traditional social hierarchy. It would, therefore, appear that it was the lay in society, who, with the overawing physical presence of the castle atop its grassy mound, controlled the late medieval city. However, in terms of open space, it is the regular religious, with their extensive acreages of fields and gardens, bounded by high stone walls and with highly controlled entry and egress, that actually dominated the late medieval Norwich townscape. It was the religious populations, both male and female, who managed to tie together so many different aspects of cultivation: the need for self-sufficiency, the commercial, the sacred, the pleasurable and the medical. However, it is also important to note that this domination did not last, as the Reformation brought much more than just religious change. In just a few short years of the sixteenth century the green topography of Norwich was transformed, as the redistribution of religious houses and lands into secular hands brought the lay elite into control of the urban and suburban green spaces that they had previously coveted. Nevertheless, it was the religious, not the lay who brought to fruition, through their horticultural industry, the city that was the veritable *rus in urbe* shown on the Cuninghame map that is still somewhat in evidence today.

## Endnotes

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- <sup>3</sup> Fuller, T., *The history of the worthies of England who for parts and learning have been eminent in the several counties : together with an historical narrative of the native commodities and rarities in each county* (London: 1662) p274
- <sup>4</sup> Pound, J., *Tudor and Stuart Norwich* (Chichester: Phillimore and Co. Ltd., 1988) p24
- <sup>5</sup> Fuller, T., *History of the worthies of England* p274
- <sup>6</sup> The original limits of Norwich were demarcated by a ditch and bank, which were replaced by stone walls in the mid-fourteenth century.
- <sup>7</sup> Noble, C., "Aspects of Life at Norwich Cathedral Priory in the Late Medieval Period" (Unpublished: University of East Anglia PhD Thesis, 2001); Gilchrist, R., *Norwich Cathedral Close: The Evolution of the English Cathedral Landscape* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005); Rawcliffe, C., *The Hospitals of Medieval Norwich* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1995); Rawcliffe, C., *Medicine for the Soul: The Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1999); Emery, P., Rutledge, E. et al., *Norwich Greyfriars: Excavations at the former Mann Egerton Site, Prince of Wales Road, Norwich 1990-5* (Unpublished: forthcoming East Anglian Archaeology, 2007)
- <sup>8</sup> MN pxix
- <sup>9</sup> MN p21
- <sup>10</sup> Harper-Bill, C. and Rawcliffe, C., "The Religious Houses" MN pp115-118
- <sup>11</sup> Ayers, B., "Understanding the Urban Environment: Archaeological Approaches to Medieval Norwich" MEA p70
- <sup>12</sup> Ayers, B., "The Urban Environment" MN pp19-23
- <sup>13</sup> Landsberg, S., *The Medieval Garden* (London: British Museum Press, 1995) pp13-48
- <sup>14</sup> See: Higuera, T.P., *The Art of Time: Medieval Calendars and the Zodiac* (London: Weinfeld & Nicholson, 1998)
- <sup>15</sup> Landsberg, S., *The Medieval Garden* pp13-16
- <sup>16</sup> Higuera, T.P., *The Art of Time* p222
- <sup>17</sup> Landsberg, S., *The Medieval Garden* p14
- <sup>18</sup> Roberts, J., "Context - Newsletter of The Association of Conservation Officers: What is Garden Archaeology?" (1996) [Online] Available from: [http://www.ihbc.org.uk/context\\_archive/51/gazebo\\_dir/gazebo\\_s.htm](http://www.ihbc.org.uk/context_archive/51/gazebo_dir/gazebo_s.htm)
- <sup>19</sup> Roberts, J., "What is Garden Archaeology?" [Online]
- <sup>20</sup> See: Taylor, C., *Parks and Gardens of Britain: A Landscape History from the Air* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998) p17-41
- <sup>21</sup> Currie, C., *Garden Archaeology: A Handbook* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2005) pp33-37
- <sup>22</sup> Currie, C., *Garden Archaeology* p79-84
- <sup>23</sup> Roberts, J., "What is Garden Archaeology?" [Online]
- <sup>24</sup> Brearley, S., "Norwich Palace is Rediscovered" From: *Eastern Daily Press* (05/07/2007)
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- <sup>26</sup> See: NRO MC 146/52 684x5
- <sup>27</sup> See: NLA
- <sup>28</sup> NLA pp8-9
- <sup>29</sup> NLA p20
- <sup>30</sup> See: GA and Redstone, L.J., "Three Carrow Account Rolls" From: *Norfolk Archaeology* (Volume 29, 1946) pp41-88
- <sup>31</sup> Frostick, R., *Printed Plans* p2
- <sup>32</sup> Cuninghame, W., *The Cosmographical Glasse* (London: 1559) Fol.174
- <sup>33</sup> Frostick, R., *Printed Plans* facing pxii



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- <sup>34</sup> Ayers, B., "Norwich: A City and Its Image" from: Longcroft, A. and Joby, R. (Eds.), *East Anglian Studies* (Norwich: University of East Anglia, 1995) p3
- <sup>35</sup> Cuningham, W., *The Cosmographical Glasse* Frontispiece
- <sup>36</sup> Cuningham, W., *The Cosmographical Glasse* Fol.7
- <sup>37</sup> Lloyd, G.E.R. (Ed.), *Hippocratic Writings* (London: Penguin Books Limited, 1978) pp148-169
- <sup>38</sup> Rawcliffe, C., *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1995) p33
- <sup>39</sup> Siraisi, N.G., *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) p101
- <sup>40</sup> Siraisi, N.G., *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine* p102
- <sup>41</sup> Cuningham, W., *The Cosmographical Glasse* Preface
- <sup>42</sup> Trevisa, J., *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' De Proprietatibus Rerum (Volume II)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) pp717-718
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- <sup>44</sup> Lloyd, G.E.R. (Ed.), *Hippocratic Writings* pp149-152
- <sup>45</sup> Rawcliffe, C., *Medicine and Society* p150
- <sup>46</sup> Landsberg, S., *The Medieval Garden* pp38-40
- <sup>47</sup> Chaucer, G., *The Canterbury Tales* (London: Penguin Books, 2005) pp414-415
- <sup>48</sup> Wood, A., "Kett's Rebellion" MN pp292-293
- <sup>49</sup> Fiennes, C. (C. Morris (Ed)), *The Illustrated journeys of Celia Fiennes* (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1995) pp136-138
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- <sup>51</sup> Rawcliffe, C., *Medicine for the Soul* p43
- <sup>52</sup> Horrox, R. (Ed.), *The Black Death* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994) p185
- <sup>53</sup> Siraisi, N.G., *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine* p108
- <sup>54</sup> Horrox, R. (Ed.), *The Black Death* p174
- <sup>55</sup> Rawcliffe, C., "Sickness and Health" MN p318
- <sup>56</sup> RCN: II p88
- <sup>57</sup> RCN: II p127
- <sup>58</sup> RCN: II p84
- <sup>59</sup> RCN: II p133
- <sup>60</sup> See RCN: I p358
- <sup>61</sup> RCN: II p76
- <sup>62</sup> Fuller, T., *History of the worthies of England* p277
- <sup>63</sup> Ayers, B., MN p26
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- <sup>70</sup> Price, R., Ponsford, M, et al., *St Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol: The Excavation of a Medieval Hospital 1976-8* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 1998) p17
- <sup>71</sup> Gilchrist, R., *Norwich Cathedral Close* p27
- <sup>72</sup> NG Chap 1 p1 (It should be noted that the page numbers of this unpublished source are different from that of the published edition, as pages are numbered in sequential manner only within their respective chapters)
- <sup>73</sup> Fry, T. (Ed.), *The Rule of St Benedict* (New York: Vintage Spiritual Classics, 1998) p65
- <sup>74</sup> Harper-Bill, C. and Rawcliffe, C., MN p82, 89
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<sup>77</sup> NG, Chap 3 p2  
<sup>78</sup> NG Chap 3 p38  
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<sup>80</sup> Ayers, B., MEA p73-74  
<sup>81</sup> Frostick, R., *Printed Plans* p2  
<sup>82</sup> NG Chap 4 p1  
<sup>83</sup> Cummings, L., "The Norwich Grocers' Play (Version B)" (2002) [Online] Available from:  
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<sup>84</sup> Cummings, L., "The Norwich Grocers' Play" [Online]  
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<sup>86</sup> St John Cassian, *The Monastic Institutes* p147  
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<sup>90</sup> John 20:15  
<sup>91</sup> Gilchrist, R., *Norwich Cathedral Close* p27  
<sup>92</sup> Gilchrist, R., *Norwich Cathedral Close* facing p148  
<sup>93</sup> Noble, C., "Aspects" p139  
<sup>94</sup> Gilchrist, R., *Norwich Cathedral Close* p50  
<sup>95</sup> Gilchrist, R., *Norwich Cathedral Close* pp182-186  
<sup>96</sup> Gilchrist, R., *Norwich Cathedral Close* p183  
<sup>97</sup> Gilchrist, R., *Norwich Cathedral Close* p42  
<sup>98</sup> Gilchrist, R., *Norwich Cathedral Close* p50  
<sup>99</sup> Gilchrist, R., *Norwich Cathedral Close* p60  
<sup>100</sup> PS p50  
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<sup>102</sup> Landsberg, S., *The Medieval Garden* p53  
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<sup>104</sup> PS p38  
<sup>105</sup> GA pp32-79  
<sup>106</sup> PS p78  
<sup>107</sup> GA p31  
<sup>108</sup> Noble, C., "Aspects" p156  
<sup>109</sup> GA p34-35  
<sup>110</sup> Noble, C., "Aspects" p157  
<sup>111</sup> GA p83  
<sup>112</sup> Fry, T. (Ed.), *Rule of St Benedict* pp51-52  
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<sup>114</sup> Gilchrist, R., *Norwich Cathedral Close* p58  
<sup>115</sup> Noble, C., "Aspects" pp142-145  
<sup>116</sup> GA p73  
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<sup>118</sup> Gilchrist, R., *Norwich Cathedral Close* p14  
<sup>119</sup> Taylor, C., *Parks and Gardens of Britain* p17  
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- <sup>127</sup> Noble, C., "Aspects" pp147-148
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- <sup>131</sup> Rawcliffe, C., *Medicine for the Soul* p52
- <sup>132</sup> Noble, C., "Aspects" p207
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