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PLATE 3

Top (*a*), seal of the Mayoralty of Norwich. Cast, Norwich Castle Museum cast collection (51mm). *See page 16.*

Photograph by Matthew Sillence as part of the seal catalogue project Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service (Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery).

Bottom (*b*), seal of the City of Norwich (*c.* 1404). Obverse impression, Norfolk Record Office COL/5/4 (59mm). *See page 16.*

Photograph by Matthew Sillence, reproduced by permission of the Norfolk Record Office

PLATE 4

Top (*a*), second seal of the City of York. Cast, Norwich Castle Museum cast collection (58mm). *See page 16.*

Photograph by Matthew Sillence as part of the seal catalogue project Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service (Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery).

Bottom (*b*), common seal of the City of Norwich. Reverse impression, Norfolk Record Office, COL/5/4 (59mm). *See page 19.*

Photograph by Matthew Sillence, reproduced by permission of the Norfolk Record Office.

PLATE 5

Top (*a*), seal of the Town of Wenlock. Cast, Norwich Castle Museum seal cast collection (44mm). *See page 19.*

Bottom (*b*), seal of the City of Norwich (reverse after 1573). Cast, Norwich Castle Museum cast collection (59mm). *See page 21.*

Photographs by Matthew Sillence as part of the seal catalogue project Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service (Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery).

PLATE 6

Top left (*a*), seal of Norwich Cathedral Priory. Reverse (*c.* 1258). Cast, Norwich Castle Museum cast collection (79mm). *See page 21.*

Top right (*b*), seal of Norwich Cathedral. Reverse (*c.* 1537). Cast, Norwich Castle Museum cast collection (79mm). *See page 21.*

Botto (*c*), seal of Norwich Cathedral. Reverse (*c.* 1573). Cast, Norwich Castle Museum cast collection (84mm). *See page 21.*

All photographs by Matthew Sillence as part of the seal catalogue project Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service (Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery).

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE CIVIC SEALS OF NORWICH 1200-1600

Matthew Sillence

Like most English cities of the Middle Ages, Norwich had a series of municipal offices such as those of the Bailiffs, the Mayor and the Sheriffs. Each office used its own seal matrix with imagery. As a result of shifting political and religious priorities, the imagery on these matrices also changed. This paper surveys these changes over time and also considers why the alteration and re-use of seal matrices, and replication of earlier imagery, was so important in the Middle Ages. It is argued that this practice, which can be traced in other institutional seals of the period, developed as a means of asserting authority through integrity and continuity rather than reference to external 'signs' of power.[1]

Local or civic seals emerged at a time when seal ownership was increasing. Around 1200, seal ownership had extended to others in society below the level of the ruling and ecclesiastical elites, represented by the pope, kings, emperors, bishops, archbishops, and abbots. Official seals for individuals communicated both the dignity and the name of the person. They were applied to grants, charters, deeds and wills, and thereby authenticated written acts. Although cases of multiple seals attached to documents are common, it is clear that some institutions chose to rely on a seal which was representative of a group or an office alone. In this sense, such seals were depersonalised—they did not relate to an individual, but to a legal construct, a body of people.[2]

[1] This study is based on research within two surveys of English seals: Birch, *BM Seals*, and Gale Pedrick, *Borough Seals of the Gothic Period: a series of examples* (London 1904). Civic seals constitute a broad category in sigillography. In British research on seals, this has often been referred to as 'Local', which includes the seals of towns and cities, as well as the officials who worked within them, or within local jurisdictions. Birch, *BM Seals* vol. 2 (1892) contains 968 such seals, which are medieval and post-medieval. Gale Pedrick's slightly later discussion of borough seals, focuses on towns and cities as representations of administrative bodies and offices, but includes 100 seals, but only those from *c.*1200 to 1499. In this paper I will adopt Birch's broader criteria and extend the timespan beyond that of Pedrick's study, to 1600. My main reason for this is to address continuity and change, and to do so I will need to take account of pre- and post-Reformation seal imagery, whilst still remaining relevant to medievalists.

[2] Pedrick, *Borough Seals* pp. 10-11, observes that our more modern notion of corporations has a very specific history in England, and it is tempting to identify all civic seals as 'corporate' i.e. representing a body of people who have self-governing status. In this paper I will draw on the work of scholars whose examination of town privileges discuss governance and identity.

Civic Seals of Norwich

Bailiffs

One such group was the Bailiffs of Norwich. The Revd. William Hudson and John Tingey, who together compiled a thorough two-volume survey of Norwich's city records, note that earliest appearance of the Bailiffs as Norwich's civic officials, replacing the former office of Reeve, has been dated to around 1223, mainly on the authority of Francis Blomefield, but this has not been corroborated. Indeed there seems to be some confusion over the role of the Bailiffs in relation to the Reeve. Later in Henry III's reign, there is still mention of a *prepositus* ('Provost' or 'Reeve') and the Bailiffs 'Ballivi' of Norwich are mentioned as early as third year of John's reign, which would predate by many years the traditional start date of their jurisdiction.[3]

The role of the Bailiff was an executive officer to the King, and would have been connected to the English Hundred system - so these men were of the Hundred of Norwich, and the four were possibly connected with the four leets, or municipal divisions, of the city: Conesford, Mancroft, Wymer, and Over the Water (*Ultra Acquam*). Norwich had 'Leet Courts' that dealt with petty offences, and these were separate from the county Sheriff's court, so they were primarily concerned with law and order in the city.[4]

The seal of the Bailiffs (see **Figure 1a**) is, as Sandy Heslop has argued, most likely the work of one Walter de Ripa, a London goldsmith, who had executed seal matrices around the same time for the king and the Barons of London (**Figure 1b**), who included a figure of St Paul and the urban topography.[5] Of note is the use of the castle keep, which will be discussed later. The seal of the Bailiffs of Norwich (**Figure 1c**) is composed of two sides; one with the castle keep and surrounding walls, possibly of the bailey. The reverse features a lion and a legend that is curiously difficult to decipher. Francis Blomefield records it as *Cum isto signo novum tibi sum Norwyce sigillum* ('with this sign I am for you the new seal of Norwich'), but it is difficult to make out this legend from the surviving letters.[6]

Other two-part matrices were in use in the region, and some were particularly well-engraved, such as that of the port of Lynn, further to the west, which featured the eagle of St John the Evangelist on one side and the port's patron saint, Margaret, crushing a serpent under foot on the other. This seal was created to mark King John's grant of borough status to Lynn in 1204, and continued in use for several centuries.

[3] William Hudson and John Cottingham Tingey, *The Records of the City of Norwich* (Norwich 1906), vol. 1, p. xxv; Francis Blomefield (ed. Charles Parkin), *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk : Containing a Description of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets, with the Foundations of Monasteries, Churches, Chapels, Chantries, and Other Religious Buildings* (London 1805), vol. 3, pp. 42-3.

[4] Hudson and Tingey, *Records of the City of Norwich*, vol. 1 p. xxvi.

[5] T. A. Heslop and Matthew Sillence, 'Putting seals on the map: Francis Blomefield's *Plan of the City of Norwich* (1746) and the constitution of civic history', in Phillipp Schofield (ed.), *Seals and Their Context in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 2014), pp. 173-93 at 178.

[6] Blomefield, *Topographical History*, vol. 4, plan.

Figure 1a (above left): Seal of the Bailiffs of Norwich, *c.* 1223(?). Obverse impression. Norfolk Record Office COL/5/1 (56mm). Photograph by the author, reproduced by permission of the Norfolk Record Office.

Figure 1b (above right): Seal of the Barons of London. Cast of obverse, Norwich Castle Museum seal cast collection (63mm). Photograph by the author as part of the seal catalogue project for Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service (Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery).

Figure 1c (below): Seal of the Bailiffs of Norwich, *c.* 1223(?). Cast of reverse, Norwich Castle Museum seal cast collection (56mm). Photograph by the author as part of the seal catalogue project Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service (Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery).

Mayor

In Norwich, the seal of the Mayoralty was created in January 1404 (**Plate 3a**) as a result of a charter of King Henry IV. In the charter, the king changed the administrative structure of the city by replacing the four Bailiffs with a Mayor, which also resulted in a new common seal (**Plate 3b**). The only explicit mention of the seals is a clause concerning the presentation of the Mayor and Sheriffs' accounts under the 'common seal of the City' ('sub sigillo communi Ciuitatis').[7]

The seal of the Mayoralty is thought to date from shortly after the creation of the office, and shares certain formal details with the new common seal, but is smaller.[8] The Mayor's seal was in use in the early decades of the new government – often jointly with the common seal and the seal of the Sheriffs – and was used in 1415 for the *Compositio Nova*, also known simply as the 'Composition', which effectively formalised the administration in response to ambiguities in Henry's charter of a few years earlier.

Sheriffs

The Sheriffs of Norwich served under the Mayor and had judicial responsibilities. In the *Liber Albus* of Norwich, which has been dated to between 1452 and the end of the fifteenth century, the Sheriff's main responsibilities were in helping to keep the King's peace. They served the King's writs and the Mayor's warrants, and appointed juries. The Sheriffs seem to have had only one seal for their office, which is smaller still than that of the Mayor. Their seal was also likely to have been created just after Henry's charter, and they, like the Mayor, are mentioned as setting their seal to the 1415 Composition (see **Figure 2**).[9]

Imagery of the Civic Seals of Norwich

Castles and Walls

The civic seal of the city of York (**Plate 4a**) is often given as an example of late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century treatments of civic seals, which had been spreading as a phenomenon across Europe from the middle of the century.[10] It shows a central keep or tower with what appear to be walls and gateways, possibly the bailey of the castle compound; but as York's walls were Roman in origin and its bars, or gateways, in their original form date from the twelfth century, it might depict the city's perimeter.

John Cherry, Brigitte Bedos-Rezak and Abigail Wheatley have discussed the traditions of town seals in greater detail than I can achieve in this paper, so I will not

[7] Hudson and Tingey, *Records of the City of Norwich*, vol. 1 pp. 32, 34.

[8] The making of these new seals involved a goldsmith, Henry Cooper, who received £4 13s for fashioning them out of the previous two-part matrix for the Bailiffs of Norwich. Blomefield, *Topographical History*.

[9] Hudson and Tingey, *Records of the City of Norwich*, vol. 1 p. cviii.

[10] John Cherry, '*Imago Castelli*: the depiction of castles on medieval seals', in *Colloque Archéologique du Château Gaillard. Château Gaillard: Études de Castellologie Médiévale XV. Actes du Colloque International Tenu à Komburg bei Schwäbisch Hall (Allemagne) 26 Août - 1 Septembre 1990* (Caen 1992), pp. 83-90 at 84.

Figure 2: Seal of the Sheriffs of Norwich. Norwich Castle Museum seal cast collection (56mm). Photograph by the author as part of the seal catalogue project Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service (Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery).

repeat their findings, except to note that a generic image of the town or the city could be expressed through seals, and that this idea was often one that involved enclosure, defined perimeters, and emphasis on fortification and defence, but may have also related to eternal cities, such as Rome and Jerusalem.[11]

Norwich, like many other towns, relied on its castle compound and the zone surrounding it, known as the Castle Fee. The castle compound was separated physically from the emerging French Borough and its market to the west and the cathedral priory precinct and the much older market in Tombland to the north-east. It also housed the Shirehouse within one of its baileys, but was actually outside the Bailiffs' jurisdiction, so its appearance on the seal seems to reference direct royal, rather than indirect local, authority in the city.[12]

The castle keep was also particularly decorative. As Sandy Heslop has shown, the blind arcading which once enlivened the masonry (today seen only through modern replacements) made it a visually striking building, which probably influenced the decorative schemes at other sites in the region, such as the keep at Castle Rising.[13] Like the seal of York, mentioned earlier, the Norwich keep is enclosed within a boundary wall, and there are what look like two flanking towers. There is a central portal, possibly a principal gateway to the bailey. What is prominent on the Norwich seal, though, is the detailed arcading, which approximated the keep's actual facing,

[11] Cherry, loc. cit.; Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, 'Towns and seals: representation and signification in medieval France', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 72.3 (1990), pp. 35-48, Abigail Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle in Medieval England* (York 2004).

[12] Elizabeth Shepherd Popescu, Barbara Green, and Steven Ashley, 'Norwich Castle Fee', *Medieval Archaeology* 48.1 (2004), pp. 209-19 at 215.

[13] T. A. Heslop, *Norwich Castle Keep: Romanesque architecture and social context* (Norwich 1994).

and is rarely found on other seals of this period. In this sense, the Norwich seal is less a generic city, and more of a representation of an actual structure.

With the creation of the new common seal for the City of Norwich in 1404, the same theme was retained, but with much less specificity (see **Plate 4b**). The seal has a prominent gateway through a circuit of walls, enclosing a central tower or keep, but it lacks any of the Romanesque detail that characterised the Bailiffs' seal.

The Lion

The reverse of the Bailiffs' seal is also intriguing (**Figure 1c**, above). Whereas the obverse makes a clear reference to the urban environment, as other seals had done, the inclusion of a leonine subject is quite specific to Norwich, and together the castle and lion make up the arms of the city today.

The lion or leopard (as it has variously been described) may have a specific symbolic role connected to royal authority. Nicholas Vincent has recently discussed the seals of Henry II's reign, and usefully identifies, most likely from Henry I, the lion as part of the visual repertoire of the later Henrician court.[14] There are still closer comparisons to be made with the town seal of Sandwich in Kent, which is probably the only other English seal to use the lion as a dominant motif (see **Figure 3**). Although stylistically different to Norwich's seal, it addresses the reader with a similarly self-referential legend QVI SERVARE GREGEM CELI SOLET INDICO REGEM. I have yet to find a satisfactory translation of this legend, but like the Norwich seal, it appears to hint at its signification, 'I indicate the king who watches over the flock of Heaven'.[15]

Both the lion and the castle also appeared in the late thirteenth century in connection with representations of the king for the Statute Merchant seal, dating to 1298, which probably provided the source for the Norwich model.[16]

[14] Nicholas Vincent, 'The seals of King Henry II and his court', in Schofield (ed.), *Seals and Their Context in the Middle Ages* (see note 5 above), pp. 7-33 at 17-19. We need to look beyond England for the first appearance on this subject on civic seals. The first seal of the commune of Rouen featured a very similar lion, surviving in an impression held in the Archives Nationales in Paris (see Fig. 11). Vincent suggests that this may have been connected with Henry II's grant of privileges to the city in the 1170s. The second seal of Rouen, which is recorded as having been used in 1204 and was still in use in the late 1270s, survives in the cast collections of the Archives Nationales (D5718), and bears a striking resemblance to the Norwich seal.

[15] Pedrick, *Borough Seals*, p. 112. The date of this double-sided seal is difficult to establish, but Oscar Baker cites examples of deeds in Christ Church Canterbury which date from 1317 and 1332, Oscar Baker, *History of the Antiquities of Sandwich and Richborough Castle in Kent, etc.* (London 1848), p. 28. Two-part matrices such as those of Norwich and Sandwich provided space for two images of the city or town—one referencing the object itself, the 'sigillum' and its owners or users, the other spelling out or making explicit its own function of semiosis—the process of signification.

[16] The Statute Merchant seals were designed to ensure the security of debts, and emerged from 1283 in several English cities. We know a surprising amount about the manufacture and delivery of the matrices from the Treasurer's Remembrancer's roll for 1298; see Heslop and Sillence (note 5 above), pp. 179-80. It is clear that the lions, depicted *passant gardant*, were very much read as a reference to the royal arms, a reference which Norwich continued as a royal borough.

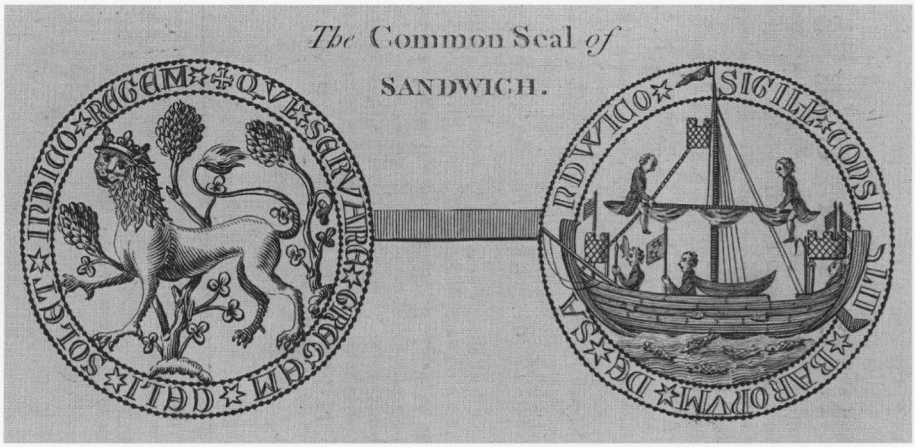

Figure 3: The two sides of the Common Seal of Sandwich, from William Boys, *Collections for an history of Sandwich in Kent: with notices of the other Cinque Ports and members, and of Richborough* (Canterbury 1792).

Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library (Ll.11.35, p.768).

The Trinity

The new common seal for the City of Norwich was, like its predecessor, a two-part matrix and utilised both sides in different ways. The reverse, and the smaller design of the seal of the Mayoralty have, essentially, the same image: the Holy Trinity (**Plate 4b**). Among borough seals, this subject matter is rare indeed, with only one other place in England using the subject mentioned by Gale Pedrick: that of Wenlock (**Plate 5a**), which may have drawn on the dedication of its parish church. Virtually all other representations of the Trinity in local seals in Birch's catalogue of seals seem to be from colleges, and offices of those colleges, in Oxford and Cambridge. In general, common seals of towns and cities did not use such an image.[17]

The most obvious reading of the Norwich seals is that they are referencing the dedication of the cathedral priory. Although this was certainly possible, I find it difficult to sustain this interpretation in light of the long-running disputes between priory and city well before and after the charter of incorporation.[18] The Barons of London

[17] In France, it appears that religious subjects on town seals were in general fewer in number. See Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, '*Ego, ordo, communitas*. Seals and the medieval semiotics of personality (1200-1350)', in Markus Späth and Saskia Hennig von Lange (edd.), *Die Bildlichkeit korporativer Siegel im Mittelalter: Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte im Gespräch* (Cologne 2009), pp. 47-64 at 58.

[18] For the long-running disputes between priory and the townspeople, see: Philippa C. Maddern, 'The legitimation of power: riot and authority in fifteenth-century Norwich', *Parergon* 6A (1988), pp. 65-84; Lorraine Christine Attreed, 'Urban identity in medieval English towns', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32.4 (2002), pp. 571-92; H. Carrel, 'Disputing legal privilege: civic relations with the Church in late medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History* 35.3 (2009), pp. 279-96.

represented the city's cathedral dedication alongside the urban topography as we have seen, so one alternative reading might lie in the ways in which the image was understood in patronal or protective terms.

A clue to Norwich's particular connection with the Trinity may be found in the *Compositio Nova* of 1415. The document opens with the following invocation: 'In ye name of ye Trinite fader sone and Holy gost, thre persones and one god in Mageste, principal and special avowe of Norwich Cite and of alle ye Commonaute'. The document goes on to mention the 'dissensions ... variaunces and discords' that have occurred in the city, and again invokes the 'helpe and grace of ye Holy Trinite' in striving for unity.[19]

A tripartite indenture between the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of Norwich in 1424 (confirmed by an inspeximus of Henry VI in 1429) again mentions the Trinity in relation to the city's governance: 'With on assent be thise presents triparted up special grace of the holy Trinyte thei make and ordeyn thise constitucyons and restreynts in the forme that folwyth'.[20]

The offices created to replace the four Bailiffs in 1404 were the Mayor and two Sheriffs: three individuals who would represent the 'Citizens and Commonalty'. Brigitte Bedos-Rezak has noted that references to Christ and the Trinity occurred very early in the adoption of personal seals in medieval Europe; in short, seals were useful for thinking through the conceptual difficulties of the Trinity.[21] I propose here that the Trinity became a vehicle for thinking through the system of incorporation and representation - how an individual, or indeed a seal, may represent the collective.

Both the new seals and the documents relating to the new system of government both explicitly reference the Trinity in relation to the city of Norwich, and this invocation is important - it suggests that there may have been an understanding that Norwich as an entity had a connection with things of a triune nature: priory/diocese/city for instance, or one Mayor and two Sheriffs.[22]

Alterations to the Civic Seals of Norwich

Norwich had continued to use its official seals for over 150 years. It was not until the 1560s that the next changes occurred, and these were not wholesale. The first change was a re-engraving of the seal matrix of mayoralty in 1568, recorded in the city records, which mentions the plans to change the imagery from the Trinity to the city arms, citing that the previous subject matter was 'not only contrary to godds word but also contrary to the Quenis maiesties iniunctions'.[23] We know that this intention to

[19] Hudson and Tingey, *Records of the City of Norwich*, vol. 1 pp. 93-4. On the importance of the Trinity as a theme, see Christian Liddy, *Contesting the City: the politics of citizenship in English towns, 1250–1530* (Oxford 2017), pp. 195-7.

[20] Hudson and Tingey, *Records of the City of Norwich*, p. 109.

[21] Bedos-Rezak, '*Ego, ordo, communitas*' (note 17 above); eadem, *When Ego Was Imago: signs of identity in the Middle Ages* (Visualising the Middle Ages 3: Leiden 2011), pp. 238-55.

[22] The 1415 Composition for instance is also a tripartite indenture, featuring the seals of the Mayor, the Sheriffs and the Commonalty (three parties individual and corporate).

[23] Norfolk Record Office, NCR Case 16a/8 fo. 61.

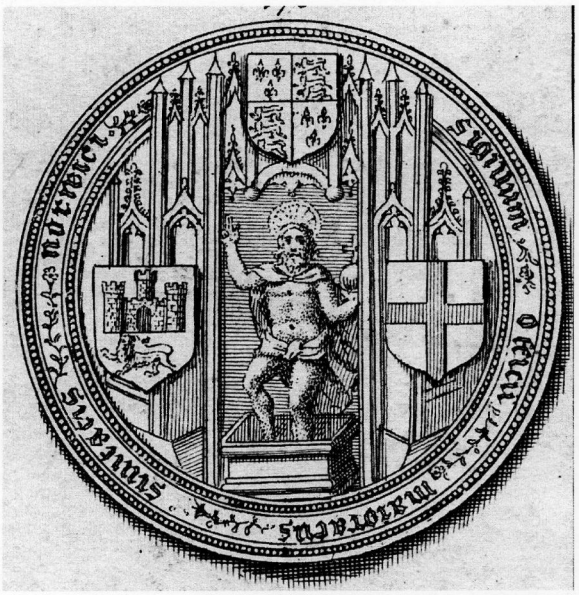

Figure 4: Detail of the Seal of the Mayoralty from Francis Blomefield, A Plan of the City of Norwich, engraving (seal 176), 1746, NWHCM: 1954.138.Todd5.Norwich.6.

use the city arms was not quite carried out as planned, for the seal seems to have been re-engraved with an image of the Risen Christ, as referenced by Francis Blomefield (**Figure 4**).

The City Seal underwent a different change. Its reverse was problematic because it had effectively the same imagery. For reasons unknown, this decision was not taken by the City until 21 September 1572, where in the minutes of a council meeting it is stated that 'the common seale of the Cittye shallbe alteryd on that syd that the picture of the Trinety ys graven'.[24] This took some time, however, and the surviving impressions and casts show both the change—the word IMMANVEL in place of the controversial Trinity—and the date '1573' inscribed on the pedestal that once supported the Trinity group (**Plate 5b**).

An interesting comparison can be made with the seal of Norwich Cathedral Priory, which was also a two-part matrix, and dated from 1258 (**Plate 6a**). Its reverse was in use for almost three centuries, unchanged, but following the Dissolution of the Monasteries, temporary amendments were made to wax impressions in which the scene of the Annunciation was overlaid with a small piece of wax with the arms of the cathedral sometime after 1537 (**Plate 6b**). In 1573, the same year as the change to the City Seal of Norwich, George Gardiner was appointed as the cathedral's new Dean. It was in this year that the Dean and Chapter had another matrix created, but closely resembling the reverse from 1258 (**Plate 6c**). City and cathedral, it seems, were reluctant to dispense with the imagery of their seals.

[24] Norfolk Record Office, NCR Case 16d/3, fo. 203.

Conclusion

Continuity was clearly important to the civic administration of Norwich, and the generalised castle and lion motifs of the early fifteenth century effectively reconstituted the earlier seal as a single obverse, and introduced another image, that of the Holy Trinity. It is to Norwich's charters and confirmations of civic procedures that the language of discord and unity is most explicit, and may provide clues to the rationale for the reverse of the City Seal and the seal of mayoralty. The Trinity was a very convenient subject – not only as a possible reference to the dedication of the cathedral priory – but as visual short-hand for thinking through governance, and could therefore be read in different ways. Whether referencing Norwich's topography and jurisdiction as priory/diocese/city or its government as Mayor and two Sheriffs, or Mayor, Sheriffs and Commonalty, the Trinity was invoked as a force for integration. Why this was the case requires further examination, but the years between 1404 and 1415 clearly show that unity was hard to achieve for the newly incorporated city.

What of the changes in the sixteenth century? Do these represent a break from the visual repertoire? Although the city records indicate that changes in religious beliefs and practices and royal decree were reasons to make a change to the way the City represented itself, the choices for re-engraving were still Christocentric, either as the Word (Immanuel) or body (as the Risen Christ). If we read this as a religious change, it does not eliminate its function as an image of the collective, indeed the body of Christ had a long association with civic ceremonial, as Miri Rubin and Keith Lilley have demonstrated convincingly with reference to Corpus Christi guilds and processions.[25] What is striking about Norwich's civic seals is just how much continuity was important in the face of considerable social change. Authority was not simply invoked by signifying royal or holy authority or protection, but by virtue of the seal matrix remaining the same and, if re-made, closely resembling or incorporating something of its predecessor.[26]

[25] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: Eucharist in late medieval culture* (Cambridge 1991); Keith D. Lilley, 'Cities of God? Medieval urban forms and their Christian symbolism', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29.3 (2004), pp. 296-313.

[26] A final point to note here is that Francis Blomefield claims that the Bailiffs' seal matrix was broken and the metal re-used to make the new City Seal and the seal of the Mayoralty, costing £4 13s in total. My thanks for assistance with this research go to: Dr Tim Pestell, Department of Archaeology, Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service; Professor T. A. Heslop, University of East Anglia; Dr Markus Spaeth, Justus-Liebig University, Giessen; and Dr John Alban and Susan Maddock for their support and discussions at Norfolk Record Office.