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Correspondence to coatofarms@theheraldrysociety.com

www.theheraldrysociety.com

ARMORIAL GRAFFITI IN NORWICH CASTLE KEEP

STEVEN ASHLEY, F.H.S., a.i.h.

Abstract

The Anglo-Norman Caen stone keep at Norwich was built on the site of the original fortification of earth and timber, probably sometime between c. 1100 and c. 1130. An extravagant expression of royal power and authority, it was originally a royal residence and served as the county gaol for Norfolk from at least 1220 until 1887. The stone walls bear many marks and much armorial or pseudo-armorial graffiti dating from the twelfth or thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Some of this graffiti may have been inscribed by those on castle guard, others by those incarcerated within, including prisoners of state captured in conflicts and wars of conquest and revolution.

History of the castle

Norwich Castle was originally founded as a motte-and-bailey¹ under William the Conqueror, perhaps early in 1067, during the campaign to subjugate East Anglia. The stone keep was built later, probably between c. 1100 and c. 1130,² on the heightened and extended south-western part of the motte. The keep had a ground floor, a principal floor with a great hall, and mezzanines, with the entrance to the principal floor on the eastern side accessed via an external stone staircase to the forebuilding, later known as Bigod's Tower.³

Knights were provided to garrison the castle under the feudal obligation of castle-guard. Under this arrangement individual knights who were subtenants of the lord or the king, held their fiefs by virtue of performing such service for a fixed period every year. Records survive for the provision of knights from Ely (Cambridgeshire) to guard Norwich Castle during the reign of Henry I (1100–1135).⁴ Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk) provided forty knights a year, each for a three-month term.⁵ It is likely that some of the graffiti described below was inscribed by members of the castle guard.

The royal castle was captured by rebels against the Crown in 1173–4, when Hugh Bigod, first earl of Norfolk, joined Henry II's sons in the fight against their father. When peace was restored, the castle was returned to the control of the king. Parts of Norwich Castle were used as a prison from 1220.⁶ An Act of Parliament passed during the reign of Edward III (1327–1377) gave sheriffs control over prisons within royal castles, during which time Norwich Castle became the public gaol for the county of Norfolk. The king retained ownership of the castle, and continued to appoint a constable to look after it in his name.

The prison was rebuilt by the architect, John Soane,⁷ between 1789 and 1793, and walls within the keep were removed, as was the stone staircase to the forebuilding. Some of the forebuilding including the top storey and the east elevation was rebuilt c. 1825.⁸ The exterior of the keep was refaced in the 1820s and 1830s (**Figure 1a**).⁹ The restoration also entailed the anachronistic replacement of the battlements and stone refacing over what was originally flint rubble on the lower elevations, to principal floor



Figure 1: top left, 1a: ‘Norwich Castle’ by James Bridges 1833, showing the west face of the keep prior to refacing, with the stonemason’s yard in the foreground; top right, 1b: Graffiti in the Chapel; bottom left, 1c: the gutted interior of the keep looking south. The arch in the south-east corner (on the left in the photograph) opens into a small apsidal chamber, originally part of the chapel, and is the location of much of the graffiti; bottom right, 1d: plan of the first floor of the keep, most internal walls removed, the remains of the chapel are located at the south-east angle, Francis Stone, 1826. All illustrations courtesy of Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery.

level. Nevertheless, much original architectural detail appears to have been faithfully reproduced, and some original features were revealed and restored.¹⁰ The castle ceased to be used as a gaol in 1887, and was then converted to a museum, which opened in 1894.

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The interior of the keep was gutted to accommodate the gaol, so that little remains of its original medieval layout other than that which can be extrapolated from foundations, stumps of walls and other features on the ground floor and on the extant internal elevations (**Figures 1c and 1d**). Although many details of the lost rooms within the keep are uncertain or speculative, it is known that, amongst other things, there was a kitchen, a chapel (the location of much graffiti, see **Figure 1b**), a great hall, and four double-garderoberes.¹¹ Recent programmes of archaeological survey, excavation and other research have continued to add to our understanding of this complex building and its context.¹²

Earlier references to the graffiti

An illustration of the graffiti in the keep appears in Samuel Woodward's volume, *The History and Antiquities of Norwich Castle*, which was edited by his son, Bernard Bolingbroke Woodward, and published posthumously in 1847. It is one of a series of 'Additional Illustrations', entitled 'Etchings of Armorial Bearings, &c., from the Oratory, &c.' by J. Basire (**Figure 2a**).¹³ Of the eleven carvings that are shown, five are shields, four of which have been identified. The arms given here with their attributions comprise (with original numbering retained): 1. *Checky* (Vaux); 2. *A fess dancetty* (Burgh); 3. *Gyronny* (Bassingbourne); 4. A non-armorial or pseudo-armorial geometric device (Unidentified); 6. *Three chevrons* (Clare).

Different attributions appear in the text from those in the captions above the shields in the supplementary illustration. The identifications on the figure are likely to be those of the editor, Samuel's son Bernard. A major impediment to a reliable attribution of arms inscribed on stone is the lack of tinctures. That said, and taking the attributions in turn, the checky coat (no. 1) may well be that of Vaux.¹⁴ John de Vaux (d. 1287) bore: *Checky argent and gules*, and held many lands in Norfolk and neighbouring Suffolk.¹⁵ However, the checky shield is equally, if not more likely to represent the arms of Warenne, *Checky or and azure*.¹⁶ These arms are first known to have been used by William IV de Warenne (d.1240), Earl of Surrey, whose country seat and castle at Castle Acre underlined the importance which the Warennes attached to their Norfolk holdings.¹⁷

The arms on shield no. 2, *A fess dancetty* were named in the text as 'probably the arms of William de Norwich, Sheriff of Norfolk in the time of Henry II'.¹⁸ Also known as William de Chesney (his mother's surname),¹⁹ he was the son and heir of Robert FitzWalter.²⁰ The arms recorded for William (de) Norwich are *Ermine a fess engrailed azure*.²¹ This interpretation is not entirely convincing, and the caption above the shield gives a possibly even less likely alternative attribution for the arms, *A fess dancetty*, to De Burgh, ('de Burgo'). This appears to be based on a small number of examples.²² Hubert de Burgh was constable of the castle and sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, 1216–1224.²³ Hubert's brother Thomas, who was chatelain of the castle under him, was held prisoner (possibly in the keep) after the castle fell to Prince Louis of France in 1217, during the Barons' revolt against King John.²⁴

The shield engraved with a cross on saltire (no. 3, and **Figure 2b**), interpreted as *Gyronny [of eight]*, the arms of Bassingbourne,²⁵ may be those of Edmund de Bassingbourne, of Blythburgh in Lincolnshire, who bore: *Gyronny of eight or and azure*, and served for William Bardolf, of Wormegay, Norfolk, in 1282,²⁶ although other members of the family used these arms, differently tinctured.

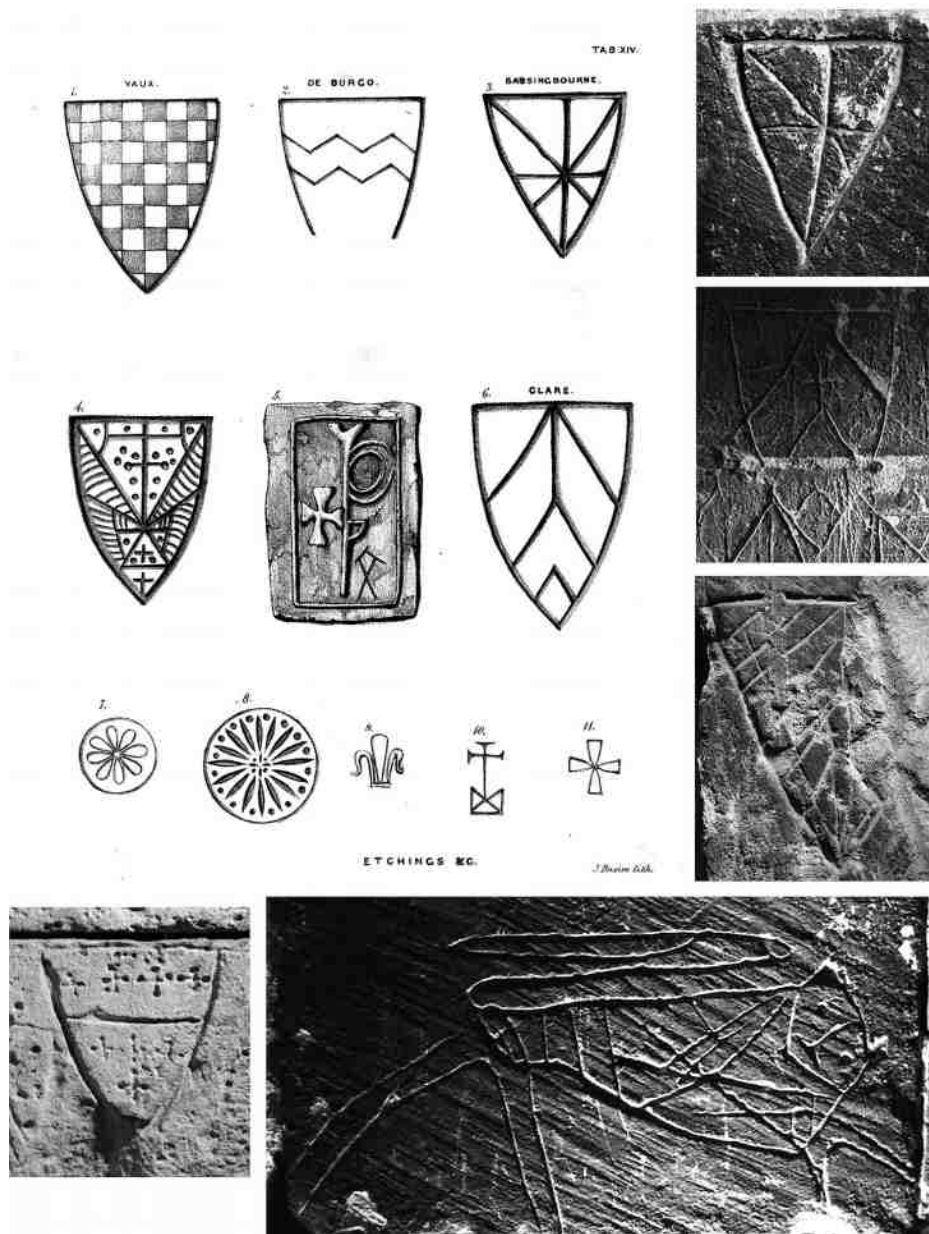


Figure 2: top left, 2a: ‘Etchings of Armorial Bearings, &c., from the Oratory, &c.’ by J. Basire, in Woodward 1847; clockwise from top right, 2b: a shield in the Chapel engraved with a cross on saltire, interpreted as *Gyronny [of eight]*, possibly the arms of Bassingbourne; 2c: Arms of Clare in the Chapel; 2d: *Chevronny* arms of Clare; 2e: An ‘early heraldic lion...incised on the splay of a window in what was originally the hall’ (Pritchard, 1967); 2f: *A fess between eight crosslets (4, 3, 1)* the arms of Beauchamp. 2b to 2f courtesy of Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery.

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The elaborate geometric arrangement found on shield no. 4, ‘a fancied device’ with its complex arrangement of radiating lines, dots, and crosses, seems unlikely to be truly armorial. It bears a passing resemblance to a butterfly, a charge borne by a few armigerous families, but it is likely that the engraving is purely decorative.

The arms of de Clare: *Three chevrons* also appear in Woodward’s illustration (no. 6). In the figure the familiar three chevrons²⁷ are shown with an additional vertical line rising from the apex of the middle chevron. This can also be seen in photographs of the shield along with traces of other incised lines, some possibly forming small crosses (**Figure 2c**). The vertical line, and crosses (which appear to be less deeply engraved than the chevrons), are likely to be secondary additions to the original arms. A damaged shield found elsewhere in the chapel also displays the *chevronny* arms of Clare,²⁸ with seven engraved oblique lines on the dexter half, and traces of at least five corresponding oblique lines on what remains of the sinister half (**Figure 2d**). Less prominent vertical and bordering lines are also present on the shield, some of which, again, may be secondary to the somewhat crudely executed original design.²⁹

Rather than representing arms inscribed by members of the families of Warenne, Clare, etc., these familiar shields are perhaps expressions of loyalty to powerful factions within the complex array of feudal families jostling for power in uncertain times. The prominent Clare group of families with their distinctive *chevronny* arms, spring from Richard Fitz Gilbert (1035–1090), Lord of Clare in Suffolk, and his legendary antecedents in Normandy.³⁰ These ancestors include Richard I of Normandy, who features in Wace’s *Roman de Rou*.³¹ Indeed, contemporary perceptions of ‘*les Clarreaux*’ in the 1170s, demonstrate regard for their kin-group identity, solidarity, and common political purpose.³² The inspiration behind the act of inscribing graffiti of well-known arms may have been to link oneself with the glamour associated with whom and what a shield represented, somewhat in the manner of displaying one’s allegiance to a football team.³³

Elsewhere, *A fess between eight crosslets (4, 3, 1)* surely represents the arms of Beauchamp (**Figure 2f**),³⁴ and a simple cross on a shield could refer to Bigod,³⁵ or St George.³⁶

Violet Pritchard in 1967 noted an ‘early heraldic lion...incised on the splay of a window in what was originally the hall’ (**Figure 2e**)³⁷ in her pioneering attempt to catalogue and consider the significance of medieval graffiti ‘mostly within a radius of sixty miles of Cambridge’. The lion is crudely inscribed as passant guardant to sinister and, although reversed in this way, is probably intended to refer to the English royal arms: *Gules three lions passant guardant or*, in use from about late 1197/1198.³⁸ Pritchard’s seminal volume also provides a broader context and parallels for some of the other examples of graffiti described herein.

Arms of Jerusalem

A complex inscribed device appearing like a monogram is probably intended to represent the arms of Jerusalem: *Argent a cross potent between four crosslets or*. It comprises a cross crosslet with a second vertical transverse bar on both horizontal arms, set on a lozenge³⁹, from each angle of which projects a small lozenge, or spear-shaped, finial (**Figure 3a**). A very similar engraving can be found in the Church of All Saints, Worlington, Suffolk, displaying *A cross paty fitchy between four crosslets paty fitchy*, on

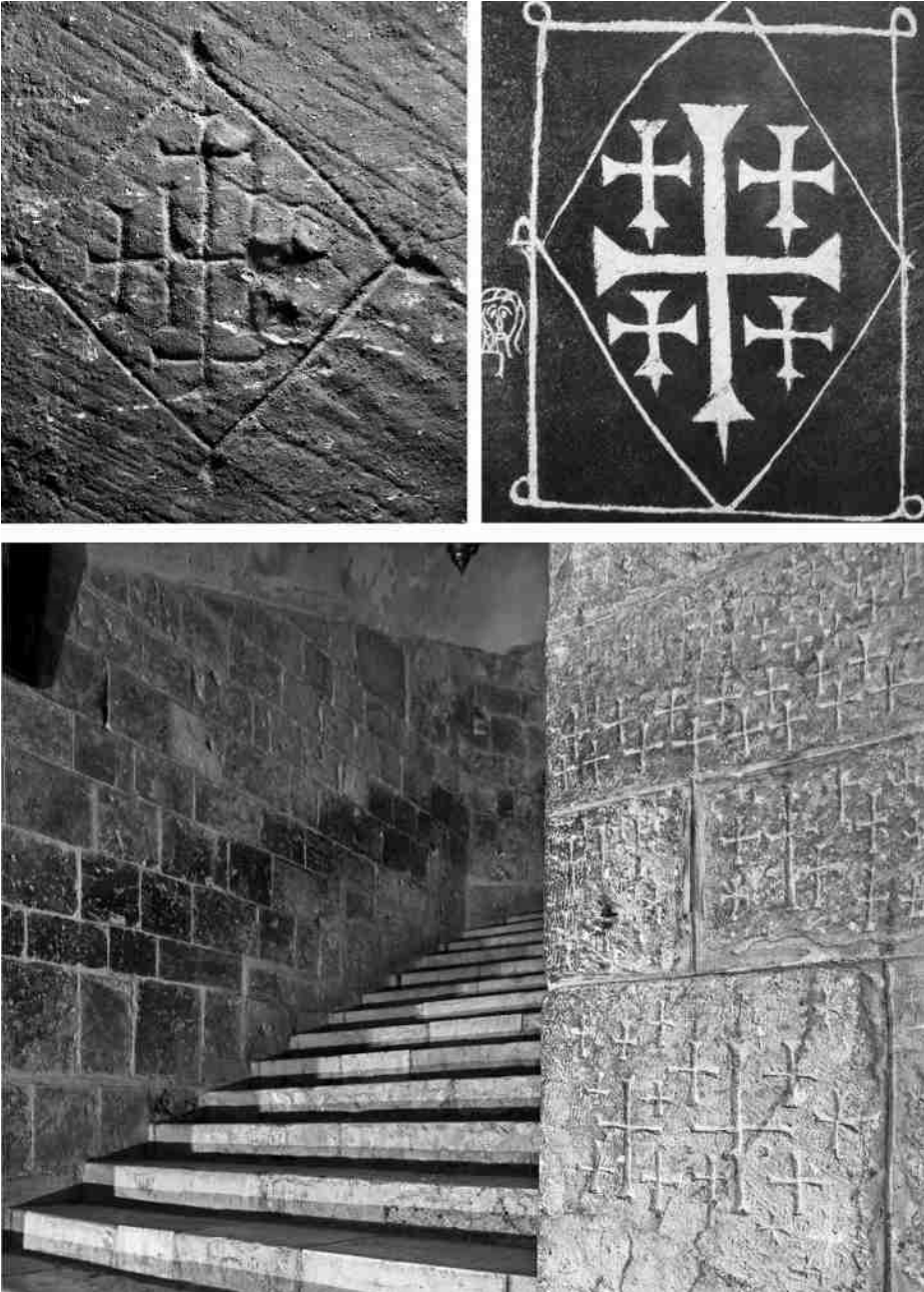


Figure 3: top left, 3a: Probable version of the arms of Jerusalem, source Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery; top right, 3b: The arms of Jerusalem in All Saints church, Worlington, Suffolk, after Pritchard 1967; bottom, 3c: part of the face of the west wall at the foot of the stairs to the Chapel of St Helena, Church of Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, photograph by John Crook.

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a lozenge within a rectangle resembling a banner (**Figure 3b**).⁴⁰ Not only are the crosses placed on a lozenge, as at Norwich, but one of the angles of the lozenge, and all four angles of the rectangle, terminate in a small, looped finial, in a similar manner to those on the lozenge in the keep. To one side of the possible banner at Worlington is a diminutive head, which appears to be wearing a mail coif. Nearby is another version of the arms of Jerusalem, this time set on a shield, and with the main cross placed between six crosses party fitchy (possibly representing a crusilly field). A small shield to one side is charged with another small head wearing a mail coif, suggesting that both Worlington examples of the arms are by the same hand.⁴¹

The arms of the kingdom of Jerusalem originally took the form of *Argent a cross or*, as illustrated in a manuscript prepared for Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in c. 1188. The field then became crusilly, and sometimes included four annulets bearing a cross set between the arms of the larger central cross. The central cross appears as a cross potent in Walford's Roll of c. 1275.⁴² The multiple crosses in the field are then reduced to four and, combined with the cross potent, are seen on the impaled arms of the kingdom of Cyprus: *A cross potent between four crosslets* (Jerusalem) *impaling Barry a lion rampant crowned* (Lusignan) employed on coins of Almaric of Tyre as king of Cyprus (1306–10).⁴³ That said, the example in Norwich Castle keep depicted on a lozenge shield (**Figure 3a**) is not a straightforward depiction of the arms of Jerusalem, but a sacred monogram, playing with the familiar form of the central cross in combination of the letters I and H, standing for 'Iesus and Hierusalem'.⁴⁴ It is just possible that the cross was carved by a later crusader or a pilgrim on their return from the Holy Land. A visitor to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the site of the crucifixion, burial, and resurrection of Christ,⁴⁵ would certainly have found a great number of exemplars for such an inscription, see for example the multiplicity of crosses on the face of west wall at the foot of stairs to the Chapel of St Helena (**Figure 3c**).⁴⁶ However, the example in the keep is perhaps more likely to have been engraved as a symbolic reference to the Holy City of Jerusalem.

Lowis de Vinck

A neat armorial or pseudo-armorial engraving comprises *A fleur-de-lis ensigned with a crown* on a shield set between laurel leaves, also ensigned with a crown, with an accompanying inscription beneath the foot of the shield: **LOWIS DE VINK** (**Figure 4a**). A dozen or so entries for armigerous nobles of the family/families of de Vinck (Vink, Vinke, etc.) can be found in Rietstap's *Armorial Général*,⁴⁷ scattered about the Low Countries and Germany, but none has arms that correspond with those engraved here. These arms may have been inscribed by a soldier of William III, and perhaps represent a regimental badge rather than personal arms.⁴⁸ Alternatively, they could belong to an imprisoned nobleman⁴⁹ taken during the Seven Years War (1756–1763), or from Napoleon's *Grande Armée*. An account of the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1814), reveals that after disembarking at Great Yarmouth 'Columns of prisoners often 1,000 strong, were marched from Yarmouth to Norwich, and were there lodged in the Castle'.⁵⁰ The eventual destination of the prisoners being the purpose-built prison camp or depot at Norman Cross in Huntingdonshire, which held many captured French and Dutch soldiers.⁵¹

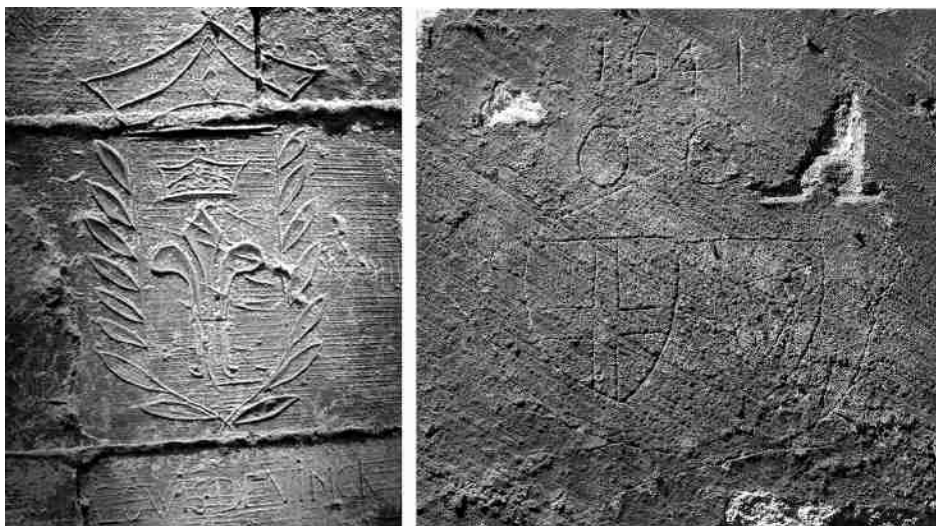


Figure 4: left, 4a: arms of Louis de Vinck, lower keep window embrasure; right, 4b: arms of the Commonwealth, inscribed by William Squire in the nineteenth century. Both photographs courtesy of Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery.

William Squire and the arms of the Commonwealth

Norwich Castle was held by Parliament during the English Civil War (1642–1651). In 1643 the castle was refortified by order of Oliver Cromwell, who was a colonel in the Eastern Association at the time. The ditch was cleaned out, a rampart was substituted for the curtain wall, and a battery was built for the city’s artillery on the north-eastern side of the castle mound.⁵²

One ashlar block in the keep is inscribed with the date 1644⁵³ above the initials O C, below which are the conjoined shields of England (*A cross of St George*) and Ireland (*A harp*) between branches of a wreath⁵⁴ (Figure 4b). The shields are those of the Commonwealth of 1649–1653 (and 1659–1660). These were replaced during the Protectorate (1653–1659) by a single shield with the quartered arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with an escutcheon of Cromwell, the Lord Protector, in pretence.⁵⁵

Although authorship of the graffiti is clearly implied to be that of O(liver) C(romwell), perhaps not unexpectedly it is not the work of the future regicide, but a nineteenth-century concoction.⁵⁶ This is clear from a consideration of the combined date and arms. After the execution of Charles I in 1649, the conjoined arms of England and Ireland were introduced by order of Council of State to replace the royal arms, five years *after* the date given in the inscription above the shields.⁵⁷ Later sources confirm one’s suspicions of deception here and link the authorship of the graffiti with one William Squire, as an attempted hoax by him on Samuel Woodward (1790–1838), the Norfolk

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antiquary and historian of Norwich Castle. As the celebrated Victorian historian Thomas Carlyle, who also had dealings with Squire, noted:

..... In Norwich Castle somewhere (on some window rather perhaps) there was found cut out "O. C. 1640," [sic] by the elder Woodward, who searched much after antiquities and histories of that Castle in particular. It turned out that W. S. had done it, —but whether with any view of bamboozling Woodward, or merely to express his own indolence and nonsense, I did not learn. Ohe, jam satis!⁵⁸

T. C. (same date)⁵⁹

Squire was known for other attempts to pass-off antiquities as having notable Civil War associations.⁶⁰ These include "a lance head from Naseby Field," the stock of a lance belonging to one of Cromwell's soldiers'; an old black orange studded with cloves which Charles I had held in his hand on the day of his execution (said by Squire to have been given to him by his grandfather), and 'a pair of stirrups, Oliver Cromwell's' now in the collections of Norwich Castle Museum.⁶¹ Squire's most notable forgery was a series of letters which he claimed had been written by Cromwell, as to the authenticity of which he convinced the unfortunate Carlyle, who published them as genuine.⁶²

Present and future work

At present, work is being undertaken to attempt to restore the appearance of the keep to its early twelfth-century form. During this work, in February 2022, five ashlar blocks bearing graffiti were discovered in the northernmost of the two south-east ground floor rooms: two blocks have a cross paty in relief; one has obscure decoration portraying either a pair of shields or a pair of heads side-by-side; another has an incised compass-drawn flower, and, lastly, an irregular block is decorated with an unusual counter-relief crowned and standing figure of a king, his right hand on his hip and his left hand extended in a gesture of command. To the left of this figure are the possible remains of a cross, above a deeply incised cross flory fitchy.

As part of the restoration project a metric survey was undertaken to record the ancient (and not so ancient) fabric of the keep. It is to be hoped that in the future it will be possible to copy and add the extant armorial (and other) graffiti to the CAD drawings from this survey and tie it in to the various phases of the structural development and use of the building.⁶³ Thereafter an attempt could be made to produce an ordinary of all examples of arms incised on the walls of the great Anglo-Norman keep at Norwich.⁶⁴

¹ A mound (motte) topped by a timber palisade and tower, surrounded by a ditched and palisaded enclosure (bailey).

² The dating is contentious, see R.B. Harris, 'Norwich Castle: Gateway to Medieval England Project. Assessment of the Norman Keep' (Unpublished report, 23.5.2018 v.1.6), pp. 3, 7–16.

³ See also S. Ashley, 'Lions Confronted on Bigod's Tower: Proto-armorial decoration on the forebuilding of Norwich Castle keep and elsewhere' in S. Cunningham, A. Curry, and P. Dryburgh (eds), *Status, Identity and Authority: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Archives presented to Adrian Ailes* Coat of Arms Supplementary vol. no. 2, (London, 2021) pp. 12–28.

⁴ See J.H. Round, 'Castle Guard' *Archaeological Journal*, 59, (1902), pp. 144–59, at p. 144.

⁵ B. Green, *Norwich Castle, a Fortress for Nine Centuries* (Norwich, 1970), unpaginated.

⁶ R. Nevell, 'Castles as Prisons' *Castles Study Group Journal* 28, (2014), pp. 204–24, at p. 219.

⁷ Sir John Soane (1753–1837).

⁸ Harris, 'Norwich Castle', op. cit., section 2.4.6, pp. 105–9.

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⁹ Figure 1 is a watercolour by James Bridges (1819–1853), painted in 1833, showing the west face of Norwich Castle during refacing, with the stonemason's yard in the foreground.

¹⁰ Harris, op. cit., pp. 3–5.

¹¹ Lavatories.

¹² The most recent and most reliable of which is Harris 2018. See also T.A. Heslop, *Norwich Castle Keep: Architecture and Social Context* (Norwich, 1994) and 'The shifting structure of Norwich Castle keep, 1096 to c. 1230' in J.A. Davies, A. Riley, J-M. Levesque, and C. Lapiche, (eds.) *Castles and the Anglo-Norman World* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 43–54; P.J. Drury, 'Norwich Castle Keep' in G. Meirion-Jones, E. Impey, and M. Jones, (eds.), *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c. 800–1600* (Oxford, 2002); E. Shepherd Popescu, B. Green, and S. Ashley, 'Norwich Castle Fee', *Medieval Archaeology* 48.1 (2004), pp. 209–19; E. Shepherd Popescu, 'Norwich Castle: Excavations and Historical Survey 1987–98 (in four parts), Parts I Anglo-Saxon to c.1345 and II c.1345 to Modern', *East Anglian Archaeology* 132 (2009); B. Ayers, '...traces of the original disposition of the whole'. Excavated evidence for the construction of Norwich Castle keep' in Davies, et. al., (eds.) (Oxford, 2016), pp. 31–42; E. Popescu, 'Norwich Castle' in Davies, et. al., (eds.) (Oxford, 2016), pp. 3–30; S. Ashley (2021).

¹³ S. Woodward (B.B. Woodward, ed.), *The History and Antiquities of Norwich Castle* (London, Norwich, 1847). There were four generations of engravers of the Basire family, the first named Isaac, followed by three Jameses, who had overlapping careers that continue to cause difficulties in attribution. The first James employed William Blake as an apprentice in 1772 for a term of seven years. Blake's time spent copying images in Westminster Abbey during his apprenticeship had a profound effect on his later work (article on Blake by Robert N. Essick in *DNB*).

¹⁴ *DBA*, vol. 1, p. 255.

¹⁵ G.J. Brault, *Early Blazon: Heraldic Terminology in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries with Special Reference to Arthurian Heraldry* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 433–4.

¹⁶ *DBA*, vol. 1, pp. 256–7.

¹⁷ J. Coad and A. Streeten, 'Excavations at Castle Acre Castle, Norfolk, 1972–77', *Archaeol. J.*, 139 (1982), pp. 138–301, at pp. 139–143.

¹⁸ Woodward 1847, p. 22.

¹⁹ Chesney, De Caineto, etc. derive from Le Quesnay: Seine-Inf. arr. Neufchâtel, cant. and comm. Saint-Saëns (L.C. Loyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families* Harleian Society, 103 (Leeds, 1951), pp. 27–8.

²⁰ T. Barratt-Lennard, 'Some Account of the Manor or Castle of Horsford' *Norfolk Archaeol.*, 15, (1904), pp. 267–292, at pp. 270–71, and pedigree chart, p. 291.

²¹ *DBA*, vol. 3, p. 318.

²² With one example of *A fess dancetty* for John de Burgh listed in *DBA* vol. 3, p. 313 (seal of 1370/1, PRO seals card index) and three entries for various de Burghs in William Jenyns' Ordinary: 966 *A fess dancetty*, 967 *A fess dancetty charged with 3 roundels*, 968 *A fess dancetty and label*, www.armorial.dk, S. Clemmensen (ed.) pp. 107–8. The arms of de Burgh usually appear as *Lozengy gules and vair* (*DBA*, vol. 4, pp. 216–7), and arms charged with a fess dancetty are more often associated with the family of Vavassour (*DBA* vol. 3, pp. 313–4).

²³ F. Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Volume 3* (London., 1806), p. 42.

²⁴ Green, *Norwich Castle* 1970.

²⁵ *DBA*, vol. 4, pp. 116–118. The Woodward's text and caption agree.

²⁶ Brault, 1998, p. 36.

²⁷ *DBA*, vol. 2, pp. 515–16.

²⁸ *DBA*, vol. 2, pp. 531–32.

²⁹ The vertical lines on this and the preceding example of a shield with chevrons are imprecise and unlikely to represent a palewise division for counterchanged arms.

³⁰ See M. Maclagan, 'The Heraldry of the House of Clare', *Family History* vol. 12, no. 85/86 (October, 1981), pp. 2–11.

³¹ The verse chronicle *Roman de Rou*, by the Anglo-Norman poet Wace (c. 1100- post 1174).

³² D. Crouch, 'The Historian, Lineage and Heraldry, 1050–1250', in P. Coss and M. Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 17–37, at 32–5, fig. 3.

³³ On a more elevated level, it was not unknown for individuals to decorate a church or gateway with the arms of great lords and place their own arms amongst them, thus basking in reflected glory and positioning themselves amongst distinguished company, as if an equal.

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- ³⁴ *DBA*, vol. 3, pp. 396–400, 404–5.
- ³⁵ *DBA*, vol. 3, pp. 97, 103–4.
- ³⁶ *DBA*, vol. 3, p. 100.
- ³⁷ V. Pritchard, *English Medieval Graffiti* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 172.
- ³⁸ A. Ailes, ‘The Governmental Seals of Richard I’ in P.R. Schofield (ed.), *Seals and Their Context in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 101–110, at p. 107.
- ³⁹ It is not uncommon to find medieval arms placed on a lozenge as an alternative to a shield, as can be seen on many examples of armorial horse furniture (see S. Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk, East Anglian Archaeology*, vol. 101 (2002), pp. 16–18, figs. 17–18) and, notably, on the Valence Casket (M. Campbell, ‘The Valence casket’ in J. Alexander and P. Binski, *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400* (London, 1987), pp. 357–58, Cat. 362).
- ⁴⁰ Pritchard op. cit., p. 162, fig 211.
- ⁴¹ Pritchard op. cit., pp. 158–164, figs 211, 212.
- ⁴² T. D. Tremlett and H. S. London, *Rolls of Arms Henry III, Aspilogia 2* (London, 1967), p. 12.
- ⁴³ J.A. Goodall, ‘An Armory for Cyprus and the Latin East’ in S. Ashley (ed.), *At the Roots of Heraldry: Collected Papers of John Archibald Goodall* Harleian Society New Series 21 (London, 2018), pp. 27–74, p. 16. See also P.A. Fox, *Great Cloister: A Lost Canterbury Tale* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 419–20.
- ⁴⁴ C.W. Scott-Giles, *The Romance of Heraldry* (London 1929, rep. 1951), pp. 54–6; or possibly as an abbreviation for ‘Jesus Hominum Salvator’.
- ⁴⁵ M. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (London, 1999).
- ⁴⁶ In a crypt built by the Crusaders in 1130, G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Beauty of Jerusalem* (London, 1983). See also Y. Friedman, ‘Pilgrims in the Shadow of the Crusader Kingdom’ in S. Rozenberg (ed.), *Knights of the Holy Land, the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1999), pp. 100–9, at pp. 101–2, and Fig. 2.
- ⁴⁷ Rietstap, vol. 2, p. 1009.
- ⁴⁸ Personal communication Steven Thiry, who kindly checked for me (without success) the standard repertory of noble heraldry of Belgian families: L. Duerloo and P. Janssens (ed.), *Wapenboek van de Belgische Adel* (Brussels, 1994).
- ⁴⁹ The laurels and crown suggest a Dutch baron. They are the type of arms used for barons/friherre and counts/ greve in Denmark around 1671 / 1710 (Personal communication Steen Clemmensen).
- ⁵⁰ F. Abell, *Prisoners of War in Britain, 1756 to 1815* (Oxford, 1914), p. 268. The quote is taken from notes on Yarmouth by G.N. Godwin published in the *Norwich Mercury* in 1905.
- ⁵¹ T.J. Walker, *The Depot for Prisoners of War at Norman Cross, Huntingdonshire, 1796 to 1816*, (London, 1913). A recent internet search for De Vinck on www.wiewaswie.nl, turned up a reference to a ‘Louis De Vinck in the Netherlands, Dutch East India Crew Index, 1633–1795’, recorded as working as a sailor on a contract from Holland to India and Batavia leaving on 15 January 1702 - returning on 11 November 1702. There is no further information to show whether he set sail again after Christmas in Holland, or whether by some means he washed up on England’s shores and ended up in gaol in Norwich. This De Vinck may have been a common deck hand, or a ships’ master – ‘Sailor’ in this context could just be a general collective term. However, it is tempting to see him as a sailor of some pretensions, perhaps from a captured Dutch vessel disembarked at Yarmouth with the crew lodged in the County gaol at Norwich Castle (personal communication Nick Arber).
- ⁵² P. Kent, *Fortifications of East Anglia* (Lavenham, 1988), p. 182.
- ⁵³ The oblique line and crossbar of the second 4 are lightly engraved and now hard to discern.
- ⁵⁴ A Commonwealth Standard of c. 1652–4 has the conjoined arms set within branches of laurel and bay (in the Collections of the National Maritime Museum, London, first noted in *Gent’s Mag.* 1803, pp. 101–2).
- ⁵⁵ W.G. Perrin, *British Flags* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 62–6.
- ⁵⁶ The initials AW can be found to the right of the inscription and are broadly contemporary but by a different hand.
- ⁵⁷ Perrin op. cit., pp. 62–6.
- ⁵⁸ ‘Hey! That’s enough already’ (Horace).
- ⁵⁹ 1849. See W. Aldis Wright, ‘The Squire Papers’ *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, April 1886, vol. 1, no. 2 pp. 311–348, at pp. 344–5.
- ⁶⁰ See S. Tucker and W. Rye, ‘The Squire Papers’ *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, Oct. 1886, vol. 1, no. 4 pp. 744–756. The inscription is described on p. 745.
- ⁶¹ Accession number NWHCM : 1839.26.5.

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⁶² The noted Norfolk antiquary Walter Rye comprehensively demolished all claims to authenticity presented in T. Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, vol. 2, (5 vols.) (Chapman and Hall, London, 1871), pp. 261–296, see Tucker and Rye *op. cit.*

⁶³ The potential range of scientific techniques available for this work is demonstrated in a research paper on recording Crusader and other historic graffiti in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, See M. Caine, D. Altaratz, L. MacDonald, and A. Reem, *The Riddle of the Crosses: The Crusaders in the Holy Sepulchre* (July, 2018).

⁶⁴ The author is most grateful to Adrian Ailes, Nick Arber, Steen Clemmensen, Roland Harris, Sandy Heslop, Melanie Rolfe, and Steven Thiry for commenting on the text. Thanks are also due to Tim Pestell and Andrew Ferrara for supplying photographs and other helpful information, and to John Crook, and Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery, for permission to publish their photographs.