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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in the text:

P.S.I.A. - Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology.
J.R.S. - Journal of Roman Studies
W.S.R.O. - Bury St Edmunds and West Suffolk Record Office
E.S.R.O. - Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office
N.M.R. - National Monuments Record (wherever possible archaeological information has been obtained from the appropriate journal or text; but all details were checked at the N.M.R., which proved particularly useful for sites discovered in the 19th Century, although it should be noted that sites of recent years are still largely un-recorded on the office's files.)
Much of the East Anglian landscape can still be regarded by the historical geographer as an unknown palimpsest. Its medieval field pattern, for example, still awaits adequate explanation and the whole fascinating development of the roads and tracks that surround those fields has yet to be approached in any systematic way. One important aspect that has also remained a part of that palimpsest has concerned the settlement of the region, its origins and the development of the pattern as it is seen today. How much of the pattern does belong to a beginning in the Saxon Period, as historians working on that period would still have us believe? One of the tasks, therefore, of this thesis is to investigate the origins of a large number of the 'early' Anglo-Saxon settlements in one part of East Anglia, the county of Suffolk, in order to provide a more accurate picture of settlement development and the origins of those patterns that can now be recognised. The other main task is to clarify a number of rather confusing definitions of the term 'continuity', much used in recent years by historians, archaeologists and geographers when they have been working on the Roman or Saxon periods. How much do such ideas contribute to an explanation of settlement patterns, or how much are they concerned with more particular aspects such as the continuous use of a precise site or a particular style of pottery manufacture?

The choice of Suffolk is to some extent arbitrary. The county does not constitute a separate region within East Anglia, although it had a certain political autonomy in
the 7th and 8th Century. But, apart from the convenience afforded by the county boundary for the purposes of such research, it does have certain advantages over its neighbours on the eastern seaboard. Norfolk has the complicating factor of a far more intensive settlement by the Danes, which may have led to the obscuring of the earlier Anglo-Saxon pattern by Danish place-names. In the south, a large part of southern Essex has now become part of the metropolitan sprawl of London, which again provides difficulties for any research method that seeks to make use of ancient features that may still be recognised in the landscape (field patterns are of particular importance here). In terms of its suitability as an area for research into the origins of settlement and of settlement pattern Suffolk represents the one area of early and intensive Anglo-Saxon settlement in Eastern England where later developments have done the least to obscure those features.
Chapter One

Settlement Development and the interpretation of 'Continuity'.
Students of rural settlement in lowland England would find it hard to deny that the great majority of villages to be found in that area were established as a result of the Anglo-Saxon invasions of fourteen hundred years ago. Few would also deny that it was from those villages that a substantial process of colonisation of the forests and other wastes took place in the Middle Ages, notably the period 1150-1350. Population expansion saw the creation of many small hamlets and isolated dwellings, the 'infill' of rural parishes that is perhaps best seen in the south-east of England. But the process of medieval colonisation is now well documented, and, while an important aspect of the settlement history of Suffolk, not the prime concern of this work.

The interest lies rather with those earlier English villages that form the backbone of Suffolk's rural settlement. There are over five hundred civil parishes in the county, and considerably more ecclesiastical ones, whose settlements are well represented in the folios of the Suffolk Domesday. Practically all of them have an Anglo-Saxon place-name (and fewer than a score are Scandinavian) which would clearly suggest that the present day pattern of villages was well established by the end of the 10th Century A.D., if not at a much earlier date. What is less clear, however, is how or when that pattern came into existence.

Was it the result, as some workers have once asserted\(^1\), of the cataclysmic upheaval which came with the withdrawal of the Roman Legions and the invasions of Angles, Saxons and Jutes in the 5th Century A.D.? The widespread usage of Germanic names for the villages certainly suggests that some major social upheaval may have occurred at that time, but in the light of new evidence and theories which are to be examined are we to assume that such villages were a new creation on virgin sites? And if virgin sites, was the distribution of good and poor soils, aspect of slope and direction of the river valleys to be the major determinant of village location?

Until comparatively recently it could have been assumed that large areas of Suffolk were not exploited for permanent settlement until the Dark Ages as the soils and dense forest cover made much of the county unsuitable to cultivators of the Iron Age or Roman Period;

"Until the Anglo-Saxon invasions the pattern of human habitation in this country had been largely determined by the forces of nature, the presence and absence of downland, forest and fen; five centuries later the distribution of Domesday vills shows that man for the first time has mastered his environment;"\(^2\)

---

1 See for example: Maitland, F.W "Domesday Book and Beyond." (Cambridge 1897). e.g. "We are compelled to say that our true villages, the nucleated villages with large 'open' fields, are not Celtic, are not Roman, but are very purely and typically German." p.222


2 Collingwood, R and Myres, J.N.L op cit p.325
Curwen's work on prehistoric agriculture typifies the widely held view that until the Anglo-Saxons arrived, possessing a new farming technology, the densely forested lowlands of England, particularly those on the heavy clays of east and south-east, were largely ignored by the cultivators.¹ The new technology was the heavy plough, drawn by up to eight oxen, instead of the light plough previously used and pulled by two or four oxen. But Payne's investigation of the Anglo-Saxon and Iron Age plough, principally of the coulter as it is all that remains in most cases, has shown sufficient similarities to cast doubts upon the Iron Age light plough.² The earlier cultivators would have been as capable of farming the heavy clay areas as were the Anglo-Saxons.

The great wealth of archaeological information now available has supported Payne's thesis, for the evidence for East Anglia points to a far wider distribution of prehistoric and Romano-British settlement in that region than it was earlier possible to envisage.³ This is dealt with in greater detail in the later consideration of the archaeological information for Suffolk.

From this initial examination it becomes clear that two different viewpoints are possible regarding the origins of Anglo-Saxon settlement in eastern England. The first is

¹ Curwen, E.C "Prehistoric Agriculture in Britain." Antiquity, 1,(1927).
² Payne, F.G "The Plough in Ancient Britain" Archaeological Journal, 104,(1947)
³ This is perhaps best seen in the updating of Sir Cyril Fox's "The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region" (Cambridge 1923, revised 1948) in R, Rainbird Clarke's "East Anglia" (London 1960) p.98-138.
to confirm previously held views, that the Anglo-Saxon farmer was mainly influenced in his choice of site by the availability of good soils and water, essential to any community's survival. The second, currently fashionable, is that earlier communities would have made some impact upon the farmer's choice, whether it was to attract new settlement near to the old, or to have the opposite repelling effect.

While the second view has only recently been investigated by an historical geographer, the concept of one cultural group having some influence upon the development of another, later group is not a new one. Historians, and later archaeologists, have both expressed a major interest in such developments in England and Wales during the Dark Ages, and it thus proposed to examine their work in order to have a clearer understanding of the term 'continuity' from one historical period to another. A number of guidelines for the investigation of Suffolk over the period 1st Century B.C. - 11th Century A.D. can also be suggested from such a study.

The first suggestions that Anglo-Saxon society could have been influenced by earlier cultures came with the publication of Seebohm's "English Village Community" in the last quarter of the 19th Century. As an economic historian


2 Seebohm, F "The English Village Community" (London 1883)
Seebohm's interest lay not in revealing an earlier or continuous occupation of Anglo-Saxon settlements, nor in a similar usage of their fields, but rather he was concerned to show a relationship between the feudal or medieval manorial systems, the operation of their fields, and those pre-medieval systems out of which he believed they had developed. Hence, in his extensive survey of the three-field system in England, and the infield-outfield of Wales, he saw direct associations with the respective Anglo-Saxon and Celtic social systems. In particular, he sought to show how the medieval manor could be equated with the Saxon 'villa', and that the same institution could be seen as a development out of the Roman villa estate. The villas of fourth century Roman Britain, with their centralised and absolute control over their workers, were not believed to be totally derelict by the time of the Anglo-Saxon settlement, otherwise it would be difficult to envisage the system being adopted and adapted. But it should be emphasised that Seebohm in no way contemplated the actual takeover by the Anglo-Saxons of either the villa buildings or the estate as a viable farming unit. It was the adoption of the social institution and not the buildings or farming area that constituted continuity.

For Seebohm research into the Dark Ages and beyond, at the end of the nineteenth century, proved to be a

1 Op cit Preface XIII
difficult task, full of pitfalls. Workers in such a field were hampered by the dearth of accurate and comprehensive archaeological information (particularly of the Anglo-Saxon Period), and relied instead upon the interpretation of early medieval documents. This in itself implies a bias in interest towards those factors which the documents reveal best. Such documents outlined in particular the social structure of society. The early structures were then related to contemporary Welsh and Germanic society, and, with a considerable degree of speculation, to former Celtic and Roman society. Seebohm himself recognised the many pitfalls that such a method could produce, not least of which was the considerable time-gap between the three period pictures. He states:

"he who attempts to build a bridge across the gulf of the Teutonic conquests between Roman and English institutions still builds it somewhat at a venture."¹

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Seebohm's views were not universally accepted by historians. Partly as a rejoinder Maitland published "Domesday Book and Beyond" in 1897.² While still being primarily concerned with the development of the manor as a social system from a pre-medieval form, his research reaffirmed a long held view that the Anglo-Saxon conquests emptied lowland Britain of its native Romano-British population, replacing the

¹ Op cit Preface XIII

² See footnote p.3
settlement pattern with a totally new one and destroying all earlier institutions. Again, the source of his material was largely documentary, principally the Domesday Book, although he did pay some attention to the actual form and pattern of settlement in the landscape. He asserts:

"where we find a land of scattered steads and of isolated hamlets, there the Germanic conquerors have spared or have been unable to subdue the Britons." ¹

although his main conclusion for lowland England saw a totally opposite view.

There are certain difficulties here, for while Maitland could not accept Seebohm's thesis of a Roman influence upon the medieval manor,² his acceptance of the relationship of large village and open, three-field systems as Anglo-Saxon, and the hamlet as Celtic, clearly agreed with the earlier worker's findings. However, there were many who were quick to agree with Maitland's rejection of Seebohm's views on the development of the manor, perhaps understandable when such views were highly controversial. The work of Sir Paul Vinogradoff³ is the most significant here as it presents a more balanced view than the two extremes. Here again, a social and economic historian was involved in tracing the development of a social institution, the manor, seeing a continuity of the basic elements over

1 Op cit p.223
2 He considered the Romanesque Theory, as he called it, could not rationally explain "the state of things" in the Domesday Book. Op cit p.223.
3 Sir P Vinogradoff "The Growth of the Manor" (London 1904)
several periods of English history while accepting adaptations and growth of the system over time. In some agreement with Seebohm he accepted that:

"All periods of history have had their bearing on the life of the manor. Some germs of manorial institutions may be found in the Celtic age; the Roman occupation of the island had undoubtedly a powerful influence on its economic arrangements...."\(^1\)

but he was to state later in the work that:

"The theory of Mr Seebohm's early book seems also one-sided in as much as it starts from the idea of a complete and unique organisation of the Roman villa, which is made to repeat itself through the ages like the hexagonal cells of the beehive."\(^2\)

Vinogradoff had earlier shown that the assumption of a fourth century villa estate being a universal institution in Britain was a false one, for the romanisation of the Britoms could never have as complete as that of Roman Gaul. Finally, in considerable agreement with Maitland, he believed that the English settlement could not be denied as having had a dramatic effect upon earlier institutions:

"There are many indications of a very thorough change in the habits and conditions of life and of a very peculiar course of development at this historical juncture."\(^3\), to which he cites the complete "victory of Teutonic speech

1 Op cit Preface VIII
2 Op cit p.86-7
3 Op cit p.117
over Romance and Celtic."

Historical research since Vinogradoff presented his balanced view of the development of the manor (where he saw the most significant elements of growth emerging from the close of the Dark Ages and not from its opening) has done little to alter the basic assertions. What is noticeable, however, is that the emphasis has progressed from the tracing of a particular institution which did not have a clear geographical or spatial expression. Such, for example, was Slater's work on the unusual rectangular smallholdings to be found in Kent during the Middle Ages, which he believed to have evolved from land holding systems of the Roman Period.¹ It is certainly true that those units of villein tenure, the 'iugum' or 'jugum', in their compactness and small size, fail to conform to the supposed Anglo-Saxon and medieval systems of holding land in long, scattered strips. Similarly, Jolliffe's investigation of Northumbrian institutions had a spatial expression. His researches suggested that in those parts of the old Saxon kingdom of Northumbria where later Danish institutions did not submerge earlier ones there was a system of administration in which extensive districts were administered from central estates, usually one large vill or manor.² These he considered to be a development from earlier Celtic governmental arrangements. Support for his theory comes from Helen Cam's work on the

1 Slater, G V.C.H. for Kent. Vol III (london 1932) p.319-55
Anglo-Saxon hundred, an administrative unit previously assumed to be one of the most obvious additions to English institutions as a consequence of the English settlement.\(^1\) Despite the belief that the hundred was based upon one hundred hides or units of ploughland, Cam did not believe that they were all necessarily created in the Dark Ages for taxation purposes. Noting that a number were related to a central manor Cam believed that the structure of the hundred might be a development out of a pre-English institution, some form of Celtic tribal arrangement.

Therefore the methods of analysis had changed and the emphasis no longer placed upon the manor and the new interest being upon those institutions that had some definite spatial expression. This departure from documentary material, the content of which was always recognised as being highly controversial, was perhaps to be expected as workers sought new avenues of approach. Any worker continuing an interest in the manor after the second decade of this century would have found himself reworking much used documentary material, with little chance of producing anything but a slight modification of existing interpretations. Even today, Maitland's work on the Domesday Book is accepted as the most scholarly exposition of what is perhaps one of the most difficult early documents in this country to understand.

\(^1\) Cam, H "The Hundred and the Hundredal Manor" Eng, Hist. Review, 47, (1932) p.353-76
But the interest in those institutions that have some spatial context is clearly of considerable significance to the historical geographer, although it is only in recent years that the effect of institutions upon such features as settlement form and pattern, or field systems, has engaged his attention. It is clear from the work of contemporary historians, however, that they still have an important contribution to make in this field. While they still maintain an interest in the development of social institutions, their work is also increasingly influenced by the availability of new archaeological data.

For example, D.M. Wilson, with some qualifications, reaches the same conclusions of some fifty years ago when he states:

"This lack of interest on the part of the Saxons in the social machinery of Roman Britain - in its daily life, its communications, its villa system, its organised army and its central government - is an interesting and unexplained feature of their settlement."¹

Here it can be seen that while Wilson is not interested in the development of the manor he also has little interest in the distribution or pattern of settlement of the Dark Ages; rather the social structure and everyday 'machinery' of Anglo-Saxon life is the focus of his attention. On the continuity of social institutions he again has a clear

¹ Wilson,D.M "The Anglo Saxons" (London 1965) p.41
viewpoint, and one which appears to reflect the present apparent lack of interest of many of his contemporaries in previous aspects of the subject:

"Roman capitalism had produced the villa system and, despite Seebohm's argument for continuity between the Anglo-Saxon village and the Roman villa, there can be no doubt that the idea of the villa with its organised industry and agriculture was anathema to the individualistic Saxon. The Anglo-Saxon economy, of the pagan period at least, was based firmly on the village; the Roman towns and villas were to a large extent ignored."¹

The current interest of many social historians with an interest in the Dark Ages has seen a rejection of any detailed study of the major social institutions of the period. Perhaps prompted by the great increase in our knowledge of the minutiae of Anglo-Saxon life, largely through excavation of their homes and burials, the emphasis is now upon the economy of that period. Yet not all historians share the view that new archaeological information can be of great value to them. Wilson himself is perhaps rather scathing in his remarks, particularly when it is clear that the new material has been of value to his own work:

"Archaeology has produced little more than a few house plans and a few thousand wretched pots - things cold in their meaning and seemingly without relationship to people who actually lived more than a thousand years ago. For the moment the historian must provide the living

¹ Op cit p.71
picture of the Anglo-Saxon village - the archaeologist can only provide a little background."  

H.R. Loyn is another historian to have recently discussed the Dark Ages and who makes some comment on earlier and current ideas on continuity. While perhaps less dogmatic than Wilson, and having a greater respect for archaeological data, he nevertheless reaches the conclusion that the influence of earlier cultures upon Anglo-Saxon society, in particular their methods of organisation, was of little significance. In a word of caution on contemporary ideas, he says:

"There is a need, however, to guard against a modern tendency to look for Celts under every stone. The most scientific and aloof of philologists and historians are not immune from currents of opinion, and it must be admitted that at present continuity is fashionable, abrupt break is not."  

and other comments indicate further his scepticism of the reality of a major influence upon the Anglo-Saxons by earlier societies:

"The inference is that neither the buildings, nor the type of agrarian or industrial organisation they represented, appealed to the taste of the invaders."  

"So much at least can be said. In the face of the agrarian movement, more settlement than mere political conquest, the Celtic

1 Op cit p.74  
3 Op cit p.16
hill-farm and village disappeared as an effective social institution over the greater part of England ..... only where geographical conditions were favourable did they survive."¹

Thus the contribution of social and economic historians to theories of continuity may be summarised as an essential concern with the origins and development of various social institutions, particularly those of Anglo-Saxon and medieval society whose origins might be traced back into the Roman Period or earlier and were shown to be elements of Roman or Celtic society. While earlier workers devoted most of their attention to such problems, more recently interest has focused upon the social and economic life of the village to the neglect of ideas on continuity. Indeed, where such ideas are dealt with, they are usually briefly considered and dismissed as doubtful. Probably the most valuable contribution to existing ideas on continuity that historians have made comes from the work of Jolliffe and Cam, revealing that social institutions, where they have a spatial expression, cannot be ignored when a historical geography of the Dark Ages is being reconstructed.

Despite Wilson's somewhat disparaging remarks on the value of archaeological information, in the field of continuity it is probably the discipline that has made the

¹ Op cit p.22. It should be noted that he fails to detail the "favourable geographical conditions".
greatest contribution of recent years. Like the historian, the work of most archaeologists involved with the Dark Ages suggests that they have a very distinct view as to what would or would not constitute 'continuity'. By the very nature of their work they are concerned with the particular rather than the general, and hence continuity can be intimately related to the continuous occupation of a particular site by successive groups of Celts, Romans or Romano-British and Anglo-Saxons, whether it be a settlement, burial, industrial or agricultural usage for that site. Most would also allow such a definition to cover contiguous sites, or sites where a short period of disuse was apparent. Some archaeologists have considered continuity in an even narrower sense, notably the influence of earlier cultures upon later ones in such aspects as funeral rites (controlling the type of burial and the position and type of artefacts associated with the body) or pottery manufacture, both of which will be described in more detail later. Clearly, such definitions do not apply merely to the Roman-Saxon Periods, but the term has been most used there as it is the one where a most abrupt break in cultural development has been assumed to have occurred.

A number of archaeologists have made invaluable contributions, notably in excavations since 1945, since when there has been a growing interest in archaeology and a desire towards a more rigorous and scientific approach, facilitated by improved techniques in dating and recording. Prior to the last war all too little was known of the more
common aspects of the Dark Ages, the identification of common artefacts such as pottery or simple jewellery remaining a doubtful and imprecise operation, whereas considerably more was known of the earlier Roman Period.

The archaeological method, by excavation, does have its limitations in determining some forms of site continuity, for while continuous occupation of a settlement site, or constant use of a burial ground, may often be established, there are certain difficulties when one considers the constant use of a particular field system or an agricultural area, as dateable material is often not available. For example, the dating of an Anglo-Saxon field system could prove impossible if it looked identical to its medieval counterpart. This may partly explain the only recent interest of archaeologists in field systems and the earlier concentration upon settlement and burial sites.¹

One of the clearest references to site continuity in eastern England came with T.C. Lethbridge's excavation at Lackford, Suffolk in 1947. A large burial ground was located on the heathlands to the west of the existing village, which stands on the eastern edge of the Breckland. The excavation revealed many graves of the late Iron Age, Roman and Pagan Saxon periods, close enough in the dating

of their associated grave goods for Lethbridge to believe that the burial ground had been in almost constant use from the last Century B.C. until the late 7th Century.¹ A number of the Germanic burials were apparently of Anglo-Frisians who had settled in the area before the Roman withdrawal from Britain, and some seventy or eighty years before Bede's 'Hengist and Horsa'(tribal leaders) were to begin the conquest of England.² This contradicted that which most historians had asserted; that the Anglo-Saxon settlement (as seen in the near contemporary writing of Bede) occurred several decades after the Roman withdrawal. In the subsequent chaos that had resulted the Germanic culture was able to pervade every aspect of society.³

On a wider level Lethbridge has reassessed the archaeological evidence for continuity in the Cambridge area from the new sites that were not available to the earlier worker in that field, Sir Cyril Fox.⁴ He detects a considerable survival of Romano-British communities into the 5th Century.⁵ A number of inter-related facts

² Bede "A History of the English Church and People", translated by L. Sherley-Price (London 1968) p.56
⁴ Sir C. Fox "The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region" (Cambridge 1948)
would appear to suggest this: British objects found in Anglo-Saxon graves; signs of Anglo-Saxons living in British villages, and evidence of British potsherds found in Anglo-Saxon huts.

In recent years there have been many discoveries in southern and eastern England which have corroborated Lethbridge's evidence for the intrusion of Anglo-Saxons into this country before the Roman withdrawals of the early 5th Century. The analysis of grave goods in the large Roman cemetery at Dorchester-on-Thames, by Sonia Chadwick Hawkes and G.C. Dunning, has been particularly revealing.¹ Similarities of the grave goods of one burial at Dorchester can be seen with those of late Roman graves in the Rhineland. In the latter area it has been accepted that such graves were of soldiers in the Roman army who were of Germanic origin (Germanic burial customs in the arrangement in the grave of burial goods such as buckles or beads were noticeable) indicating that a considerable degree of assimilation had clearly occurred. Other burials at Dorchester confirm that they were of Germanic origin, having regard to the heavy bronze buckles and strap-ends that were found. A number of female burials had brooches in a distinctive Germanic style, yet also contained Roman keys and a bracelet, an indication that a number of German soldiers had brought their wives, had settled near Roman Dorchester and served in the Roman army.

¹ Hawkes, S.C "Soldiers and Settlers in Britain, Fourth to Fifth Century" Medieval Archaeology, 5, (1961) p.1-69
More recently the excavation of a Roman cemetery at Winchester has revealed again the absorption of German soldiers into the local population. The site lay outside the north gate of the former Roman city (Venta Belgarum) and was used throughout the 4th Century A.D. and possibly into the early 5th Century. The excavators, under the direction of Mr Giles Clarke, have suggested that the majority of the burials are of aliens, distinguished again by their grave goods. One grave contained a Germanic crossbow, bronze buckle and strap-end, and Germanic burial practices are recognisable over the period 350-400 A.D. After 400 A.D. various native practices, such as the placing of beads by the head, are again noticeable, suggesting that Germanic soldiers had settled in the area between 350 and 400 A.D., still retaining their cultural identity, but during the 5th Century they were assimilated into the native population. From parallels drawn with the graves of a cemetery at Wessling in southern Bavaria, it would seem that a number of south Germans were brought into the country in the late 4th Century. Other grave goods show similarities with those found at Dorchester and Mucking, Essex. In particular a belt with bronze studs, with the buckle decorated with confronted dolphins, seemed to have close parallels elsewhere.¹

Over a wider area an analysis of strap-ends and buckles that have been found in burials of the late 4th

¹ First reported by Hammond, N, Archaeological Correspondent, "The Times" 7/9/72
and early 5th Century in eastern Britain has shown that many were made on the frontiers of the Roman Empire, notably in Belgium, North France and the Rhineland.¹ In those areas much chip carved metal ware had been made for the foederati or German mercenaries in the employ of the Roman Army. That such a system of employment also operated in Roman Britain would now seem indisputable, and the association of Germanic communities with Roman towns and coastal stations is now well documented.²

It is also becoming increasingly clear that not all Germanic mercenaries were to be found in the towns and ports (the excavation at Lackford itself points to a different reason for settlement). Excavation of parts of a villa complex eight miles west of Oxford, which was inhabited from the early 2nd to early 5th Century, revealed that three belt fittings found belonged to German mercenaries, possibly installed for defensive reasons. By 1969 some thirteen examples of German mercenaries associated with villas had been found.³

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1 Hawkes,S.C op cit p.10-21
2 For example: Hull,M.R "The pottery from the Roman signal stations on the Yorkshire Coast", Archaeological Journal, 89, (1933) p.220-53
But perhaps the most important contribution of recent years to the analysis of cultural overlap between Briton, Roman and Saxon, has come from J.N.L. Myres' investigation of early Anglo-Saxon pottery. While it is true that much of that pottery is to be associated with grave goods, especially as the bulk of early burials were cremations, the analysis of pottery does enable a better picture of Anglo-Saxon settlement to be drawn than that given by the grave goods alone, certain common forms being recognisable. Myres' work also presents the first comprehensive assessment of early Anglo-Saxon pottery in Britain.

Over the past thirty years the excavation of six major urnfields (Caistor and Illington in Norfolk; Stow/Lackford in Suffolk; Loveden Hill and South Elkington in Lincolnshire, and Sancton in East Yorkshire) has made available very considerable quantities of early or pagan Anglo-Saxon pottery (quite apart from numerous smaller sites) and added a new dimension to the understanding of Anglo-Saxon life and death, the nature and distribution of settlement, and their relationship to pre-existing populations. The pottery is very diverse in its form and decoration, and no simple matter to classify, but Myres believes this to be hardly surprising when recent assessments of pottery found on the Continent suggest that the separate cultures of Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Frisians were already becoming

2 Op cit p.8,11
3 e.g. at Perlberg, near Stade on the south bank of the lower Elbe.
mixed before the settlement of England.

Early Anglo-Saxon pots may be distinguished by their decorative form. Linear decoration is considered to be the earliest form, of the 4th and 5th Century A.D., whereas stamped forms had become popular by the 6th Century. In between lie the bossed decoration of the late 5th Century, associated in particular with the elaborate Buckelurnen pots. Clearly the linear forms are the most important in this consideration, and Myres recognises the 'stehende Bogen' (standing curve or eyebrow form) as one of the most vital, originating from the Elbe-Weser region. Examples of sites in this country with such pots are at Caistor-by-Norwich and Brundall (Norfolk), where one pot may be placed in the pre 400 A.D. period of settlement. An overall distribution of the style reveals a considerable relationship to Roman roads and towns. A similar mapping of the later Buckelurne form (450-500 A.D.) reveals, perhaps rather surprisingly, a similar close relationship to Roman towns, although there is also a noticeable movement into the countryside.

From his investigation of the various forms and their sites Myres is able to build up a new classification of the various phases of Anglo-Saxon colonisation in eastern and southern England. He suggests an initial phase of overlap and controlled settlement, 350-410 A.D., a vital period

1 Op cit p.31-34
2 Op cit p.42-43
3 Op cit Map 3
4 Op cit Map 4a
of the influence of barbarian taste on ceramics of Roman Britain and vice versa. This was followed by a transition phase, 410-450 A.D., when there was some expansion of Germanic settlement but local Romano-British regimes were still attempting to control them, and then a major phase of invasion and destruction, 450-500 A.D. In the short period 500-550 A.D. he recognised a period of reaction and recovery of British communities, which led to a slackening of the advance, but was followed by the final phase with the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.¹

In the initial phase the emphasis is clearly upon recognition of an Anglo-Saxon cultural force, but the major influencing force was still that of the Romano-British. Thus, while there was a considerable two-way traffic of ideas on pottery decoration, some Germanic decoration (such as the bossed forms) were imitating examples of Roman silver and glassware.² Myres also mentions Saxo-Roman pots (e.g. from Caistor-by-Norwich), which though few in number, reveal Germanic cremation urns using Romano-British techniques of decoration and construction.³ While the initial phase saw the establishment of Germanic groups near Roman towns, the short phase of transition (410-440 A.D.) is also an interesting discovery for Myres sees little evidence of Saxon and Romano-Briton dwelling together or sharing their life socially (for

¹ Op cit Chapter V
² Op cit p.60-70
³ Op cit p.70-71
example, the barbarians made no effort to learn wheel-based pottery techniques, to master Latin or absorb Christianity, despite living in close proximity to one another.¹

In conclusion, therefore, from the work of Lethbridge, Hawkes-Dunning and Myres it has become clear from recent archaeological excavations and analysis that a considerable degree of cultural overlap of Roman, British and Anglo-Saxon communities may now be recognised in eastern and southern England. This is where the emphasis has been placed by a number of archaeologists, as far as continuity is concerned; the influence of the earlier culture in such matters as Anglo-Saxon burial rites, pottery and metalware manufacture. What is still less clear is the continual use of burial grounds or habitation sites (although Myres, and others, see many of the 4th and 5th Century Anglo-Saxon cemeteries within, overlapping or adjacent to those of the Romano-British). With settlement sites it seems that buildings were not taken over by the Anglo-Saxons and in many cases such sites were ignored and perhaps deliberately avoided.

Two other aspects of recent archaeological interest in continuity need consideration. The work of Myres and Hawkes-Dunning cast serious doubts upon the possibility of finding a close relationship in rural areas between Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon groups, their implication

¹ Op cit p.86
being that such associations were originally in the towns. Can there be any evidence, therefore, for a takeover of a particular, pre-existing agricultural system? Secondly, and despite Myres' comprehensive analysis, there is still insufficient attention paid to the spatial aspects of the material now available. Such aspects need detailed analysis in order to assess the impact of the Anglo-Saxons upon the countryside, all too often in the past related merely to their settlement distribution.

Some archaeologists, however, have placed an emphasis upon the spatial content of their data. In 1960 Rainbird Clarke provided a new and comprehensive assessment of archaeological sites in East Anglia with a striking similarity revealed between the areas of settlement of the Celtic tribes of the Iceni and Belgae, and the first Anglo-Saxon settlers. In particular, the areas of south-east Suffolk, around Ipswich, and the river valleys of the Breckland were those where the continuity of settlement could be recognised, although site continuity could not be proven. At the more local, detailed level, studies have concentrated on the rural aspects of some form of cultural and/or economic overlap.

Excavation centred on the village of Maxey, and embracing an area some six miles wide on the western edge of the Fens near Peterborough, has suggested prolonged

1 Rainbird-Clarke, R "East Anglia" (London 1960) p. 98-138
and continuous usage of a number of ancient farming sites, which had initially been revealed by aerial photographs.\(^1\) Subsequent excavation showed that at least three different village sites had been selected and then abandoned during the Anglo-Saxon Period before the present site was chosen. But a complex system of crop marks around the isolated Norman church and adjacent Romano-British occupation site showed that Maxey parish had been in continuous occupation since the 1st Century B.C. as a farming unit. Branigan's analysis of villa sites and Romano-British settlement in the western Chilterns also comes to the conclusion that agricultural areas may have been taken over by the Anglo-Saxons following their abandonment or run-down by Romans or native inhabitants at the close of the 4th Century A.D.\(^2\)

The approach of the archaeologist to the question of continuity can therefore be seen to be diverse, and an approach that differs widely from that described earlier for the historian. While it can be seen that recent workers have attempted to apply a wider analysis and patterns of generalisation to their data much of the emphasis is still upon the particular (although the idea that the particular is also the unique has been neatly dispelled by Myres). Two other approaches to continuity again differ from the two outlined; that of the local historian and the historical geographer.

Something of the local historian's approach may be seen in the work of the excavators at Maxey, where their report goes considerably beyond the analysis of excavated data in examining documentary sources and the evidence of the present landscape. Local historians working on continuity are few, but their approach is again quite different to that of the historians referred to. Their main interest lies on this theme in endeavouring to recognise small areas where it can be seen that the existing patterns in the landscape (of fields, lanes and settlement), or those of some post-Roman period, may overlap or bear some meaningful relationship to a pattern of the Roman Period or earlier. The retention of particular systems within that landscape (such as methods of working the fields, or the relationship of farmer to manorial lord) have also fallen within the purview of the local historian, but has also been of secondary importance only. Therefore continuity might be arguably applied to such matters as continuous use of occupation sites and field boundaries, continuous ownership of an estate, farmhouses or cottages, or even the influence of one feature in the landscape by its close proximity to another (such as the influence of Roman roads upon later settlement sites). 'Continuity' here is used as a more embracing term than elsewhere, to cover social institutions, features in the landscape and excavated material. However, the emphasis is still to be seen upon
the local and particular, rather than attempting to make any regional or national generalisation.

One of the earliest studies in this field was that undertaken by H.P.R. Finberg, investigating a small area centred upon the parish of Withington, some six miles south of Cirencester and standing upon the Jurassic escarpment of the Cotswolds. In that area he sought to show a relationship between the village, particularly its medieval open fields, and a number of Roman sites in the locality, notably several villas. The documentary evidence is valuable, for early ecclesiastical records point to the establishment of a Saxon minster between 674-704 A.D., and a Saxon land charter of the early 11th Century is shown by Finberg to embrace the whole of Dowdeswell parish and part of Withington. Using certain physical features that remain in the landscape (such as a linear earthwork some three quarters of a mile from Withington village, and an ancient trackway that runs along the top of the ridge that forms the backbone to the parish), and the details of the charter, he believes it is possible to trace the position of the former Anglo-Saxon fields.

A relationship is suggested between the Anglo-Saxon field pattern and that to be recognised in the pre-inclosure field system of the Middle Ages. Finberg suggests further that the splitting of Withington village by the River Coln was once more than a mere physical division.

1 Finberg, H.P.R. "Roman and Saxon Withington - A study in Continuity" (Leicester 1955)
of no significance but reflected instead two different settlements. The justification for this was the continuous split that existed in the interests of the North Field and Brockhole Field tenants, situated on either side of the river. Each villein apparently held all his strips in one of the two great open fields and the interchange of strips between fields did not occur.

To this rather peculiar pattern of land ownership Finberg applies the archaeological evidence of the Roman Period. A considerable number of villas have been found in Withington area, but one in particular a quarter of a mile south of the parish church. Finberg believes he can pinpoint the field system of that villa from the evidence of the landscape; restrictions were placed upon its boundary by a ridge to the north and a wood to the south (where Chedworth villa was also to be found). The most likely area would appear to be towards the River Coln in the east, the area later known as North Field.

From a variety of evidence, therefore, Finberg has attempted to build up a picture of continuous occupation of the North Field, first as the centre of a villa estate, then successively as a Saxon estate, a medieval North Field of the village of Withington, and finally as part of that same parish. It must be admitted that perhaps too many assumptions are made in the finding of meaningful relationships between suspected Roman fields and, for example,
medieval fields, but it is certainly clear that the
technique of a study in depth of a small locality has more
to commend for itself than earlier historical works where
the choice of material appears to have been too selective.

While concentrating upon continuity of land use
and the retention of ancient field boundaries, Finberg does
not neglect the important aspect of settlement. It is clear
that the present village of Withington is not to be directly
associated with the villa buildings in any meaningful way,
but as Finberg believes that coloni (the native population
engaged as workers) were responsible for working the large
villa estates he looks for a number of satellite dwellings
or small clusters of settlement. This in itself could be
considered a large assumption, unless it could be shown
that the villa site was incapable of housing all the
workers. Nevertheless, he suggests that the Domesday entry
for Withington reveals a number of hamlets that may have
originated as such outlying workers' settlements, especially
Foxcote to the north where archaeological material would
certainly point towards continuous occupation during the
Roman Period.

In a later publication¹ Finberg devotes the first
chapter to a more general discussion of the whole concept
of 'Continuity or Cataclysm', where he concludes that it
may be necessary to envisage a much greater degree of

¹ Finberg, H.P.R "Lucerna" (London 1964)
cultural overlap in eastern England from Roman to Saxon Period than hitherto imagined. 'Cultural overlap' is again used in its broadest context, with all that it entails for settlement and land use patterns, legal, fiscal and religious systems, although his main interest appears to lie in those patterns which are in some way reflected in the landscape. In particular, Finberg emerges as a supporter of the views of Seebohm, rather than those of Maitland or Vinogradoff.

But the work of the local historian almost invariably allows a testing of a hypothesis only at the local level, whereas pattern and process are better seen at the regional or national level, usually in order to achieve a degree of acceptability. Like the archaeologists, local historians have certainly revealed the fallacies and the commissions of past workers who have attempted to build bridges across the Roman and Saxon Periods. Traditional ideas of a distinctive break with the past with the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, have, with varying degrees of success, been challenged repeatedly over the past three decades. But what has also been revealed is that there are clear differences to be seen in the interpretation of the term 'continuity'; some relate it to the precise takeover (of area rather than structure) of occupation sites, field boundaries and religious sites, whereas others have a broader definition, which is also less precise, where
associated features in the landscape are given a meaningful relationship by the implications of possibility or probability. Yet others still rely upon a definition which embraces the retention or survival in some modified form of a social, legal or religious institution. According to the definition used it has been seen that different data has been used, or the same data approached in a somewhat different manner and emphasis.

The main contribution to this controversy of interpretation of the term and its subsequent significance that has come from a historical geographer is to a certain extent unusual. In the confusion created by the disestablishment of traditional views G.R. Jones saw the need for a new hypothesis to fill the 'vacuum' thus created. Unlike Finberg, Jones seeks to explain matters of the Saxon Period in terms of the former native occupants, the Romano-British and the Celts, rather than the activities associated with the Roman conquerors. Further, he is concerned with patterns of settlement rather than any minute study of a parish (although local details are still considered vital in the building up of his hypothesis). Finally, he places the emphasis upon social order as a determinant of settlement pattern, rather than a simple plotting of archaeological sites.

Jones' initial interest stems from a re-assessment of early settlement forms in Wales, particularly in
relation to the tribal system. Unlike earlier workers, Jones has investigated the rural settlement of Wales without pre-supposing a preliminary stage of exclusive pastoralism. In the Middle Ages Wales had two distinct forms of settlement; hamlets and dispersed farmsteads. The majority of the dispersed farms were owned by freemen, and kindred freemen or 'clan' occupied a 'gwely', a permanent stake of arable land, which further entitled clan members to grazing rights over extensive pastures. The arable was subject to equal division amongst heirs, and became an open shareland or 'rhandir'. As population grew clans made further provisions of new sharelands within their territories and by 1300 a typical clan member held a homestead, 5-10 acres of arable scattered over two or more sharelands, and grazing rights in proportion to the arable. Sharelands could be up to a hundred acres or more in extent and the isolated farms were arranged around them in a dispersed 'girdle' pattern.

The hamlets of the Middle Ages were somewhat different, particularly in being inhabited by bondmen and not freemen. They had a stronger arable economy and land was held in a form of egalitarian tenure; settlements were commonly of nine adjacent houses and the fields were open. Within each commote, or administrative area, one hamlet was more important, being the mayor's settlement

1 e.g. Gray, H.L "The English Field Systems" (Harvard 1915), which despite its title dealt extensively with Welsh and Scottish systems as well.

(Maerdref) which contained the court of the local prince or lord and his demesne lands. The demesne lands were cultivated by the bondmen of the hamlet and those of the surrounding hamlets.

Neither dispersed girdle or hamlet form of settlement survive today as the dominant form in Wales. The former suffered decline from 1500 onwards, when repeated subdivision of the sharelands eventually led to reconsolidation into larger units and hence fewer farms; and the bonded hamlets were affected by a decline in the bond population in the late Middle Ages and the enclosure of the open fields. Nevertheless, Jones clearly shows that in the Middle Ages there was a direct relationship between the tribal system, settlement form and land ownership, and a relationship of bonded hamlets to certain important hamlets where the court and reeve's house were situated. Furthermore, an analysis of the old settlements or original gwelys of the freemen has shown that many free clans had previously been bond communities living in hamlets, suggesting that hamlets were the earlier and more important form. Jones believes that for several centuries before 1100 A.D. bond hamlets had been granted to individual freemen and the church. But it was not until after the Norman invasions that a system of partible inheritance was introduced allowing the break-up of the hamlets and the development of the sharelands, the girdle pattern of
settlement evolving around the edge. At the same time, however, some bond hamlets were emancipated to form minor clans and similar changes occurred in the settlement form. Therefore, bond hamlets were at their peak in numbers and importance before 1100, and Jones makes the point that most Celtic churches were established in bond hamlets. Richards suggests further that the early Welsh Church might be considered in relation to a number of important centres. Mother churches are found in relation to Roman villas in south-east Wales, while others show a relationship to Roman forts and stations. More important, a number were associated with the sites of native centres, especially a royal residence or hill fort, the centres of bond estates. 

In later articles Jones uses the new pattern of Welsh rural settlement to further re-assess the ideas of Welsh tribal society, disputing Seebohm's ideas that medieval Wales had a majority of freemen, with a pastoral economy, who were part of an ancient past. His own

2 Pierce, T.J "Pastoral and Agricultural Settlements in Early Wales", Geografiska Annaler, 43, (1961) suggests further that bond hamlets were to be found on the best soils at lower altitudes, though Jones notes numerous examples at higher levels as well- "Distribution of Bond Settlements in N.W. Wales", Welsh History Review, 2, (1964-5), p.19-36
researches show that even during the Middle Ages freemen's settlements were not necessarily in the majority. Of 660 villas and hamlets he plotted for North-West Wales, as listed in medieval extents, he found 267 were bond, 173 mixed and 220, free. But a more important aspect of his work in connection with this thesis lies in the application of the settlement pattern to English rural settlement. In north Wales Jones had found that the central manor, the maerdref or caput as he also called it, could be found to be associated with an Iron Age hill fort. At Dinorben in Denbighshire, for example, a 3rd Century A.D. large circular hut within a hill fort was superseded by a more recent Dark Age structure, while below the fort was to be found the medieval courthouse, built by the labour of five hamlets. A number of such forts along the line of Offa's Dyke in the Welsh Borderland revealed a similar association.

Jones applied his ideas to the traditional Anglo-Saxon areas of Sussex, Wiltshire and Hampshire. In Sussex, by plotting the distribution of Iron Age hill forts, to be found along the line of the South Downs, and those Domesday manors listed as holding a number of hamlets or berewicks, he believed he had found the same relationship as in North Wales. If those Domesday manors were indeed centres of former Celtic tribal units then their relationship to pagan Saxon burial sites was more remarkable, for their

1 Op cit Welsh History Review (1964-5)
distinct concentration in the same area suggested that the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlements had become the centres of the Celtic units, a direct case of settlement pattern continuity. Further, many of those manors plotted contained the suffix 'ing' in their place-name, normally taken as recognition of the earliest Anglo-Saxon villages in this country. However, as early as 1935 Myres had stated that the 'ing' or 'ingas' form did not necessarily have a spatial relationship to early pagan burial sites. While more recent archaeological information may have modified that view, Dodgson's questioning of the same suffix as being the earliest form of Anglo-Saxon place-name, of which more will be said later, still casts doubts upon that particular relationship that Jones recognised. Nevertheless, Jones does provide sufficient information for Sussex to strongly suggest that there is some relationship to be recognised between early Anglo-Saxon settlement and earlier Celtic tribal arrangements.

In the testing of his hypothesis in other parts of Wessex Jones again obtained details of the discrete estates from the Wiltshire Domesday. In plotting these in relationship to hill forts, however, the results were less satisfactory, attributed in this case to the complexities and lack of conformity in the Domesday record. To overcome the difficulty, Jones agrees with Maitland's assessment that where a vill was recorded with more than twenty-five

teamlands such a figure was concealing one or more separate settlements besides the main vill. If such vills were included in the analysis then a more satisfactory relationship was established.

As this form of continuity only appeared related to the earlier Anglo-Saxon settlements, Jones also endeavours to explain later developments. Like other recent workers he comes to the conclusion that the hamlet was probably the major settlement form of Anglo-Saxon England, and not the large nucleated village. There is some disagreement still as to whether population expansion created the larger villages and greens before or after the Norman Conquest but the hamlet as the dominant Anglo-Saxon form does appear to be gaining acceptance. That such vills as those with twenty-five teamlands or more in reality represent several settlements now appears more of a possibility.

A further important aspect of Jones' thesis can be seen in his investigation of settlement patterns in Northern England. Not only do some place-names suggest the

1 A teamland is normally taken to mean the acreage that a ploughteam was capable of cultivating in one season, theoretically fixed at 100-120 acres.
2 Uhlig, H "Old hamlets with infield and outfield systems in West and Central Europe", Geografiska Annaler, 43, (1961)
survival of a British community¹ but administrative arrangements as suggested by Jolliffe² are analysed further. Jolliffe had found groups of medieval townships administered from a headquarter settlement, each group being known as a 'shire'. Each group inter-commoned in the summer months on waste land or shiremoor, and here again Jones saw similarities with Celtic arrangements in Wales. Presumably, if one accepts Helen Cam's ideas of the Saxon hundred possibly being some form of former Celtic tribal arrangement, in a similar way to the 'shires', then where hundreds can be shown to have such an arrangement of common pasture it might seem feasible to suspect them as having continued a Celtic tradition. Certainly the Domesday record for Colneis Hundred, in south-east Suffolk, notes that there was an area of pasture common to the Hundred.³ Finally, in Yorkshire Jones notes a relationship of the central court or mansio to Roman sites, notably that a considerable number of the larger discrete estates were near or on Roman roads.

In a more recent article Jones has suggested further relationships of medieval institutions to the Celtic organisation of a discrete estate, which he has also renamed the multiple estate.⁴ He sees in Northern England a considerable number of berewicks, or outlying demesnes, attached to central manors, grouped into shires. But sokelands are apparently also of importance for some

¹ e.g. 'Walton' nr. Cartmell. Jones, G.R.J "Basic Patterns of Settlement Distribution in Northern England", The Advancement of Science, 18, (1961) p.192-200
² Op cit (1926)
settlements are described in Domesday Book as sokelands of another manor, in other words being under the manorial jurisdiction of that manor, and suggestive again of some early bond relationship being perpetuated in some form (e.g. the manor of Kirkby, West Yorkshire has a number of attached sokelands).

In his investigations Jones has clearly found an increasing complexity in settlement relationships. For example, not all shires appear to have remained as separate entities. In 1086 South Stainley in Yorkshire was described as a berewick of Knareborough, but also in part as being a sokeland of the royal manor at Aldborough, and a number of other settlements are found in a similar position. Does one assume that the inter-mixing of relationships occurred in the Dark Ages?

Jones' contribution to studies in continuity, in this case clearly the concern lies in the pattern of settlement, may therefore be seen as having become of increasing importance over the past decade, revealing as he has a number of interesting features which may be tested in other parts of England than those already investigated. While settlement pattern is all important those features that suggest a particular pattern, such as the social/judicial arrangements or the tradition of inter-commoning, are also worthy of consideration. Jones now believes the pattern to be sufficiently widespread over England that it might be used as a basic framework to explain early patterns of settlement to be recognised over much of Europe.¹

¹ Op cit (1971)
As a new hypothesis that is most relevant to the contemporary interest in continuity Jones' ideas have gone further than most other workers. While researchers in other disciplines have challenged earlier views on the subject it is apparent that they have a mixed opinion as to how the subject should now be approached, and none, except perhaps Finberg, with his relationships to Roman fields, has produced an alternative hypothesis to bridge the gap between the Roman and Saxon Periods.

In approach there have emerged two different schools of thought, well summarised by Alcock.¹ There is that of the local historian and historical geographer (although it should be clear already that there are fundamental differences here):

"prepared to postulate continuity not merely of settlement, but even of social and administrative arrangements, if, within an area a mile or so across, they find some Roman building, and also a medieval court or manor house; or if they find a pre-Roman hill fort within five miles of some medieval territorial centre", whereas:

"To the archaeologist, however, the word 'continuity' implies something altogether more precise, more particular, more contiguous."²

While it is clear that Alcock favours the precision of the archaeologist he does concede that there is some evidence to suggest the taking over by Saxons of Roman

² Op cit p.235,236
field systems, notably the possible area of centuriation at Great Wymondley in Hertfordshire rather than the vagueness of Finberg's Withington, which he considers more geographical coincidence than 'organic continuity'.

However, despite Alcock's reservations there would appear to be strong and growing evidence that the 'less precise' methods of local historian and historical geographer may be getting closer to the truth on the origins of early settlement in England than some people are willing to accept. With these views on the controversy still surrounding the term 'continuity' in mind, it is therefore proposed to examine the origins of the early Anglo-Saxon settlement pattern in Suffolk, an area hitherto ignored by those seeking origins either in some Roman influence or a native British past. In view of the controversy it does well to maintain an open mind on such origins until the actual pattern has been surveyed in detail, rather than deliberately seeking for Celts or Romans under every stone, although it has already been suggested that Jones' theory does have a high degree of acceptability.

With such an open mind the approach also needs to reflect the varying interested parties; thus the concern is not only with the origins and pattern of settlement, but also with the pattern of fields and lanes where they reflect some early economic, cultural or administrative arrangement that has some bearing upon the origin of the settlement.
The value of recent archaeological finds should not be underestimated, but Finberg and Jones have both shown the value also of a comprehensive local study, and Jones the application of such studies on a regional and national scale with the formulation of a general theory.

Having, therefore, reviewed the various arguments on continuity, it remains to make a general consideration of the data available for Suffolk, to consider also in general terms the pre-Saxon pattern of occupation in the county, before examining in detail those areas where the early Anglo-Saxon pattern of settlement show some relationship with a pre-Saxon past. Such patterns might be suggested in archaeological or documentary data, or, in some cases, in the remaining landscape. It is then trusted that the whole question of continuity, in its narrowest or broadest context, might be re-examined for that part of Eastern England.
Chapter Two

Some General Considerations of the Data for Suffolk.
One way in which geographers and others have investigated early settlement patterns in England in the past is through the distribution of Old English place-names. As mentioned earlier, the great majority of the 500 or more civil parishes in Suffolk bear such place-names. Until recently linguists and philologists have been confident in making a clear distinction between those place-names relating to an early phase of settlement by the pagan Anglo-Saxons (5th-6th Century) and those of a later phase. Myres has now shown that a more complex pattern of invasion and settlement needs to be considered, not but this need alter the basic assumptions on place-names. Philologists have long considered the earliest settlements to be characterised by the suffix 'inga' or 'ingas' (ing) and 'hamm' (ham), the former considered to be the earliest form, meaning 'the people of' and implying some attachment to a tribal leader in the initial phases of settlement before permanent village sites were established. Ham is normally taken to mean a nucleated settlement. The later place-names are far more diverse, but the most important is 'tun' (ton), meaning small hamlet or farmstead and implying a later colonising form of settlement. Ton does occur as an earlier form as well, but only in association with ing or ham.

1 e.g. Ekwall, E "English Place-Names in 'ing'", (Lund 1923)
2 Wainwright, F.T. "Archaeology and Place-Names and History", (London 1962) p.64-67
But the value of place-name distribution as a means of isolating early and late settlements has recently been shaken by the investigations of J.M. Dodgson. His basic thesis is that 'ingas', 'inga' may not derive after all from the earliest phase of Anglo-Saxon settlement. A.H. Smith has also analysed 'ingas' further and concluded that where it could be found in relation to a personal name it was ancient, but if related to a topographic form then it could be placed into any time in the Dark Ages.

The Ordnance Survey map of 'Britain in the Dark Ages' (Southern Sheet) shows a general agreement of pagan Saxon cemeteries and names ending in 'ingas' and 'ing', but like Myres; Dodgson sees the differences occurring in detail. Through the plotting of the archaeological data and the 'ingas' for Kent, Sussex and Essex, he finds little direct or proven relationship. For example, there are those pagan sites identified by Meaney in the south-east of Essex, whereas many of the 'ingas' lie in the centre or towards the west. He believes that the 'ingas' forms refer to an early stage of settlement but not to the earliest, coming immediately after the immigration period and

1 Op cit (1966)
3 (1935)
4 Op cit (1935)
5 Meaney, A "A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites", (London 1964)
referring to a colonisation phase of perhaps the early 6th Century. As settlement consolidated and expanded outwards there was a change in community development and the new 'ingas' settlements were established. However, where conditions were not favourable to such a process of colonisation, where political, economic or physical factors prevailed against it, then the colonisation phase involved continued expansion of the earlier village, although a renaming still occurred with the 'ingas'.

This qualification of his thesis might help explain where pagan burial sites and 'ingas' do coincide, as Dodgson admits for the Midlands and for such Suffolk villages as: Exning, Finningham, Icklingham, Rickinghall Inferior and Waldringfield.

Therefore, Dodgson's work casts doubts upon the value of using the 'ingas' place-name for precise dating purposes. But there are certain omissions which also make his thesis somewhat questionable. Firstly, he fails to explain adequately what 'political, economic and physical factors' would have militated against the creation of new settlement in the colonisation phase - one searches in vain for such in East Anglia. Secondly, all too little is said of the immigration phase. Did those settlements disappear or how are they to be recognised today? Does the 'ham' form now emerge as the earliest form? Dodgson merely suggests that the earliest settlements were those related to the pagan burials and they were very few in number,
being attracted to the coastal lands and districts opened up by the Romans.

Finally, however, it should be mentioned that Meaney's contribution to Dodgson's article does state that:

"To date only 16 'ingas-inga' names in the whole of England coincide with pagan sites of the 5th Century, and 33 coincide with burials in use after the middle of the 6th Century."¹

Given the reservations of the use of place-names, however, can the distribution of either 'ingas' or 'ham' suggest any particular pattern in Suffolk? Maps 1 and 2 plot the ing and ham parishes respectively for the county. In the absence of an English Place-Name Society volume for Suffolk reliance has had to be placed upon the interpretations of Ekwall, which regrettably neglects the great number of small hamlet place-names to be found within many parishes.² W.W. Skeat's pioneer work on the county gives a wider coverage but was no longer considered reliable.³

Less than 30 parishes have the 'ingas' place-name and some 70 the 'ham' suffix, but the two figures together suggest some importance of early Anglo-Saxon settlement for the county. The distribution of either, however, does not appear to have any significance in itself. There is no distinct concentration in any one part of the county although the eastern coastlands do appear to be rather empty.

¹ Op cit Appendix II p.29
³ Skeat, W.W "The Place-Names of Suffolk" (Cambridge 1913)
Map 3, taking the two elements together, does perhaps emphasise the relationship that the great majority have with the major river valleys, most of them within a mile or so of a river. Map 2, showing the 'ham' parishes is of particular interest for it is apparent that a number of the parishes once formed part of one larger parish (the Domesday record normally shows them before separation). Might there be some suggestion here that the earlier parishes were very large because they originally represented a folk grouping over a wide area, rather than one large settlement? There could also be some suggestion that they represented the taking over by Anglo-Saxons of an earlier administrative area or large area of cultivated land.

If the distribution of 'ingas' and 'ham' show little meaningful information in their relationship to each other, then their relationship to pagan Saxon burials in the county as shown on Map 4 (compiled from Meaney's gazetteer and the National Monuments Record) does little but substantiate Dodgson's thesis. Distribution of the burials is again widespread with little pattern that has any meaning, although it is true that the largest cemeteries have been found in the Breckland in the north-west of the county and at Ipswich. Of the 50 burial sites that Meaney recognised only 16 might be related to 'ingas' or 'ham' place-names.
THE IMPORTANCE OF EARLY ANGLO-SAXON SETTLEMENT TO THE SUFFOLK LANDSCAPE

(FROM PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE)

MAPPED ARE THESE PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS: ING, INGHAM, HAM AND INGTON.
Apart from the dangers of over-reliance upon place-names for dating purposes there are other pitfalls concerning their use. For example, not all 'ing' endings are of the 'inga', 'ingas' form. Ashbocking in Suffolk is deceptive, for Domesday Book refers to it simply as Ash, and Bocking appears to have been added during the 13th Century when the manor passed to a family of that name. It should also be made clear that a place-name does not necessarily indicate the earliest foundation date for a settlement in a parish. While there has been little renaming by the Danes of Anglo-Saxon place-names in the county, there is evidence for the Breckland, for example, that early Anglo-Saxon settlements were in existence in parishes where much later Germanic names were added; Eriswell and Lakenheath are two such cases.

It would appear, therefore, that greater reliance for the dating of early Anglo-Saxon settlements should be placed upon the actual excavated remains of the 5th and 6th Century, occupation and burial sites. But even here major difficulties may be recognised. While a considerable number of burial sites of those periods have been found in the county (the data of Map 4 includes 7th Century as well) settlement sites are much rarer, which suggests either that there were very few of them (rather illogical in view of the number of sites containing burials), or that many of them still lie undetected under existing medieval and more recent buildings of existing villages. Apart from

1 Ekwall, E Op cit (1960) p.14
the early history of the Breckland there appears to have been a remarkable degree of stability of settlement in East Anglia, as the scarcity of deserted sites will partially testify to. Secondly, it has been noticeable until recently that excavations have been concentrated in the Breckland, a rich area for finds, or in the area around the museums of Norwich and Ipswich, suggesting that the heavy claylands of central Norfolk and Suffolk are not devoid of sites but that the interest was previously elsewhere. While Dr. St. Joseph's air photographs now reveal interesting sites over that central area most of them remain in need of excavation. The recognition of early cropmarks and ancient fields from aerial photographs is becoming of increasing importance to the archaeologist. Finally, it must be seen that archaeological data, at least for the Saxon Period, is still far from comprehensive for Suffolk and the plotting of finds may yet be shown to reveal a picture of settlement distribution that does not accurately reflect the truth.

With documentary data, a third major source of material on the county, similar accusations of a lack of comprehensiveness for the county might be made. There are two levels to be considered: those documents which have a county-wide or national application; and those peculiar to a particular local situation. Within the first category the major and earliest source is that of the Domesday Book, but Anglo-Saxon charters are also to be found.

For example, one of the earliest post-war uses was by:

scattered over the county and these should be examined first as they relate to Saxon estates in far greater detail than the later great survey.

Anglo-Saxon land charters in Eastern England have been examined in detail by C.R. Hart. There are quite a number relating to Suffolk but regrettably very few contain more than the slightest mention of individual estates. For example, in the early 11th Century King Edward granted an estate at Lakenheath to the monastery at Ely and confirmed earlier gifts of land at: Hartest, Glemsford, Hitcham, Drinkstone, Rattlesden, Nedging, Barking, Barham, Wetheringsett, Occold, Livermere, the 5½ hundreds of Wickllaw, Sudbourne, Melton, Kingston, Hoo, Stoke near Ipswich, Debenham, Brightwell, Woodbridge and Brandon.

and yet the individual details of each were never given or have been lost. Similarly, Edward confirmed the lands at Mildenhall, apparently a considerable royal manor at one stage, and the 8½ hundreds of West Suffolk and their sokes that belonged to the Thingoe (an ancient court) to belong to the monastery at Bury St. Edmunds, which then became collectively the Liberty of St. Edmund. The Liberty was one of the large areas of Suffolk free from paying geld at the time of the Domesday survey.

It is at least apparent from these details that royal manors were once of considerable significance in the

1 Hart, C.R "Early Charters of Eastern England" (Leicester 1966).
2 Op cit p.67
3 Op cit p.70
county (Map 5 shows the distribution of those mentioned and others known to exist at the time of Domesday). In some areas Saxon royal manors have been attributed some importance as the centres of hundreds. Alfred the Great's will, for example, made reference to 60 manors of which 29 had given their names to hundreds scattered over the country.¹ But as the later discussion of hundreds in Suffolk reveals, their significance in the county cannot be so readily assumed.

Of the few land charters that Hart has been able to make some suggestions as to their existing bounds in the landscape two are of little help in the unravelling of the problems of rural settlement. One concerns an estate at Bury St. Edmunds, where St. Edmund's church was granted royal rights over a large area in 945 A.D.; and the other an estate at Stoke, now a western suburb of Ipswich. The Stoke charter was a grant of land to St. Etheldreda's monastery at Ely in 970 A.D. Within the bounds of the estate lies the large pagan cemetery of the 5th-7th Century, with some 130 burials, that was uncovered in Hadleigh Road at the turn of the century.² Whether the cemetery can be directly connected to the estate is a question that cannot be answered, but it does seem likely that the negative evidence of early Anglian settlement in Ipswich itself, on the opposite bank of the River Gipping, would suggest that

¹ Cam,H Op cit.
SUFFOLK ROYAL MANORS PRIOR TO, & AT THE CONQUEST.

DERIVED FROM LORD HERVEY, 'SUFFOLK DOMESDAY'
AND VCH SUFFOLK, VOL. I.

SCALE
MILES
4 3 2 1 0 4 8 12

UNDERLINED ARE HUNDRED CENTRES & MEETING PLACES
the earliest settlement in that area was connected to the 10th Century estate.

In terms of possible earlier origins, these estates that may still be determined in the rural landscape are more rewarding. The charter for Chelsworth (962 A.D.) has some association with the Roman Period. The parish lies in central Suffolk, a few miles west of the ancient division of West and East Suffolk, with the village in the centre straddling the River Brett. The details of the charter are rather obscure but reference is made to a 'street', which with the other fixed point of 'culan fenne' or the Culfens area in the north of the parish, leads Scarfe to believe that the land referred to lay in the northern half of the parish. The 'street' would seem to refer to a Roman road. In the adjoining parish of Bildeston to the north, and on the very boundary of Chelsworth, it would appear that two Roman roads formerly joined. The line of an east-west road may be picked out in the fields north of Bildeston Church (TL985 496), and is seen in the alignment of short stretches of minor road between Long Melford and Coddenham, while a north-south road comes down to the parish boundary through Hitcham parish, where its alignment follows another minor road. As the latter road does not appear to go beyond the Chelsworth boundary it is feasible to expect, as at similar junctions elsewhere, that careful excavation might reveal some Romano-British settlement at that point. Although the charter was 10th

1 Scarfe, N "The Suffolk Landscape" (London 1972)
Century in date it would appear that the land referred to had at least made use of an earlier feature in the fixing of its bounds, although beyond that any associations with the Roman Period become mere conjecture.

Another Saxon estate with a Roman road running through it is revealed in the will relating to land at Balsdon in the early 11th Century. Although Balsdon is not mentioned in Domesday Book it almost certainly formed the northern part of Acton parish, centred on the moated site of Balsdon Hall. Acton lies on the eastern boundary of Long Melford, where a Romano-British settlement has been located and a Roman cross-roads recognised. It is the continuation of the west-east road to Coddenham (via Chelsworth) that ran through Acton and the Saxon estate. There is no positive evidence to link the road and the estate in any significant manner, except that Scarfe has noted, presumably from recent aerial photographs, a pair of irregular round ditches and 'what looks like a native farmstead, perhaps of the Romano-British Period' within a quarter of a mile of the Hall. Again, this is an area that would repay excavation as there is the hint of suggestion that the Saxon estate lies in an area formerly farmed in the Roman Period.

Also in the centre of the county, and only a few miles from the Essex border, are two estates for which charters have survived. One concerns land at Folstead; the other

1 Scarfe, N Opcit p.133
at Withermarsh, now part of the adjoining parish of Stoke-by-Nayland. They both form part of the will of Aelfflaed, in which Balsdon was also mentioned. The connection of these estates with an earlier past than the Anglo-Saxon Period appears rather more obscure. Polstead offers the most feasible chance of a relationship to former Roman activity, for the isolated church, standing in the grounds of Polstead Hall and some distance from the small settlement around a triangular green, has substantial remains of Roman brick to be recognised in its nave arcades, chancel arch and tower arch.¹ There is no record, however, of any Roman site within the parish, and similar negative evidence can be seen for Stoke-by-Nayland.

These charters, therefore, while being few in number, are of considerable interest regarding the early history of a small area of central Suffolk (the rural parishes mentioned lie within 8 miles of each other in the south of the county). If we are to believe Finberg's methods of analysis (and certainly Scarfe tries to show some pre-Saxon associations) then there is at least some suggestion that the Saxon estates in Suffolk are to be connected to a former Romano-British community or its lands. But, like Finberg's Withington, the evidence is insufficient and the relationship far from proven.

¹ N.M.R. Polstead
The evidence of the Domesday Book is, however, of much greater importance, giving as it does a comprehensive picture of the economic life in the 11th Century and providing a most valuable source of data between long empty periods after the archaeological material of the Roman and Pagan Saxon Periods and the late Middle Ages, when documentation again becomes sufficiently abundant and comprehensive to be of more than local value. But the Book is not without its pitfalls, least of all in the difficulties of translation. The first translation of the Suffolk Domesday was by Lord Hervey, in a private publication of 1889-90, which was used by the compilers of the Domesday record for the Victoria County History, although somewhat modified and corrected and with the format standardised to other V.C.H. volumes for other counties. For Suffolk, therefore, both translations have been used, but where any doubt has occurred the V.C.H. has been given preference. It is fortunate that most of the existing parishes have changed little in their place-names since the 11th Century and have been easy to locate, but the dispersed nature of much of the present pattern cannot normally be pinpointed as being pre-Domesday or post-Domesday purely from the record. But from the fact that a number of hamlets within parishes are known to have existed in the Saxon Period, from archaeological data, yet are unrecorded separately, there are strong suspicions that a number of Anglo-Saxon hamlets

1 Hervey, Lord J. "Suffolk Domesday" 3 volumes (Bury St. Edmunds 1889-90)
are hidden in the large ploughteam figures for some of the vills and manors. Darby does suggest some value in the Domesday record in itself with regard to churches. He says, "The information about churches seems to suggest that some Domesday names may have covered more than one settlement."\(^1\), and for Elmham in Suffolk, mentioned under one name, he says, "but the large size of its recorded population in 1086 suggests that the one name covered more than one settlement".

It would seem appropriate here to examine the value of the Suffolk Domesday to Jones' thesis that a former Celtic settlement pattern may be found in the figures and details of the vills and manors. There are three basic categories of "foreign" holdings in the Suffolk Domesday, that is those possessions which were located outside the territory (taken as the existing parish area) of the vill or manor to which they were attached. One involved those holdings of land where their valuation was included in that of another, but where there is no mention of it being a berewick or sokeland. In such cases the reason for some exparochial acquisition of land may usually be found to lie in the great changes of land ownership that occurred after 1066 - a number are recorded as transfers of land after that date.

Another category includes groups of freemen and sokemen who tilled the soil in one parish yet were required

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\(^1\) Darby, H.C. "The Domesday Geography of Eastern England" (Cambridge 1952) p.157
"to do service" in another. This might suggest a relationship of one settlement to another but in practically all cases the service is not suggested as working on the lord's demesne; in some cases it is clear that no manor or demesne existed. Most of the land on which the freemen were located had fallen into the hands of the monastery at Bury St. Edmunds and where this had happened the commendation that occurred had meant an increase in the bondage and some loss of freemen's rights. While the number of serfs in Suffolk was few, the majority were to be found on the monastery's estates.

The third category, however, is an important one for it includes all those holdings which were listed as beruitas or berewicks, hamlets owing allegiance in all respects to another vill or manor. In most cases the hamlets did not contain a manor, emphasising the importance of the 'parent' settlement. The latter are to be recognised as some of the larger vills and manors in Suffolk at that time, and a considerable number also have an early Anglo-Saxon place-name, 'ham' being more common than 'ing'. As will be seen in the later discussion of particular areas, some of them are also known to have had a pre-Saxon history from the evidence of recent archaeological discoveries. Table 1 and Map 6 describe and show the distribution of the berewicks and their central manors, as revealed in the V.C.H. translation. Hervey's translation suggests
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parent Manor</th>
<th>Hamlet</th>
<th>Details of Hamlet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Saxmundham</td>
<td>Knoddishall</td>
<td>80 acres: 3 bordars, 1 villan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peasenhall</td>
<td>60 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Wrentham</td>
<td>Henstead</td>
<td>1 carucate: 9 bordars, 4 villans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Debenham</td>
<td>Kenton</td>
<td>1 carucate: 9 bordars, 1 villan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Mendlesham</td>
<td>Wickham Skeith</td>
<td>61 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Framlingham</td>
<td>Saxstead</td>
<td>60 acres: 11 villans, 5 bordars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Stradbroke</td>
<td>Winburgh</td>
<td>No details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Gorleston</td>
<td>Lowestoft</td>
<td>4 carucates less 30 acres: 5 villans, 10 bordars, 5 serfs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lound</td>
<td>2 carucates: 4 bordars, 2 serfs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belton</td>
<td>1 carucate: 1 villan, 4 bordars, 1 serf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Brightlingsea (Essex)</td>
<td>Harkstead</td>
<td>5 carucates; 13 bordars, 21 villans, 4 serfs, 1 church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Walton</td>
<td>Falkenham</td>
<td>1 carucate: 3 bordars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Bergholt</td>
<td>Sceveley</td>
<td>2 carucates: 10 villans, 7 bordars, 4 serfs, 1 mill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Shelley)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Chilton</td>
<td>Rendham</td>
<td>1 carucate; 69 acres: 2 bordars, 3 villans, 2 serfs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Hollesley</td>
<td>Culesley</td>
<td>1 carucate, 80 acres: 1 villan, 13 bordars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bawdsey</td>
<td>1 carucate: 13 bordars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARENT MANOR</td>
<td>HAMLET</td>
<td>DETAILS OF HAMLET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Staverton</td>
<td>Bing Hall</td>
<td>1½ carucates: 1 villan, 1 bordar, 1 serf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Pettristree)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Melton</td>
<td>Bawdsey</td>
<td>No details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Cavendish</td>
<td>Rodenham</td>
<td>2 carucates: 5 villans, 4 bordars, 2 serfs, 1 church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Mildenhall</td>
<td>Icklingham</td>
<td>6 carucates: 6 villans, 7 bordars, 8 serfs, 1 mill, 1 church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Desning Hall, Gazeley</td>
<td>Cavenham</td>
<td>5 carucates: 25 villans, 5 mills, 1 church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Eriswell</td>
<td>Cocclesworth</td>
<td>8 carucates: 15 villans, 4 bordars, 11 serfs, 1 church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Badmondisfield</td>
<td>Denston</td>
<td>2 carucates: 4 villans, 1 bordar, 3 serfs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 ?</td>
<td>Fornham St</td>
<td>2 carucates. Parent manor unknown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Genevieve</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 ?</td>
<td>Woolpit</td>
<td>3 carucates: 17 villans, 3 bordars, 40 freemen, 1 church. Parent manor in another hundred.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Those holdings listed by Hervey to be

Appendant Hamlets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARENT MANOR</th>
<th>HAMLET</th>
<th>DETAILS OF HAMLET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Blythburgh</td>
<td>Hinton</td>
<td>Freemen held a 50 acre manor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 North Cove</td>
<td>Melga</td>
<td>No details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Belton</td>
<td>Broceston or Broeston</td>
<td>2 manors: 40 and 60 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Gorlestone</td>
<td>Willingham</td>
<td>60 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Dennington</td>
<td>Framlingham</td>
<td>94 acres: 2 villans, 4 bordars.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Details compiled from Hervey, J "Suffolk Domesday", (Bury St Edmunds 1889-90). The 'hamlets' are excluded from the V.C.H. translation.
several more but these are not supported by the V.C.H.; they are included at the end of Table 1 but are not mapped.

Of the hamlets mapped there are a number of common characteristics to be seen. In practically all cases a one manor-one hamlet relationship existed, although the manors of Saxmundham, Gorleston and Hollesley held two or more hamlets. Of the 25 hamlets the great majority were exceptionally small and were often without a church. Quite apart from the rather dubious population figures the area of cultivated land was only within the range of 60–240 acres (½–2 carucates) for three-quarters of the group, although 6 were over 3 carucates: Woolpit (3), Lowestoft (4), Cavenham (5), Harkstead (5), Icklingham (6), and Cocclesworth (8).

In some support of Jones' theory of such settlements having once been servile settlements (in most cases) in a Celtic pattern it is noticeable that all but Woolpit are conspicuous by the absence of freemen and soche (soke) men. In a county that had a majority of such a class in society this indeed points to a complete bonded relationship that parallels the Celtic system. Similarly, in a county characterised by a multiplicity of small or petty manors (of a few acres in size and often several to a parish) it again appears unusual that this particular group should be characterised by their absence. The
suggestion that this group represents a non-Saxon tradition appears to have considerable validity, perhaps the survival of some native British communities.

Further support might be seen in the examination of the parent manors, for to fit Jones' theory they could perhaps be expected to have some local importance. It has already be seen that many had large areas of cultivated land. Others had gained some pre-eminence in their Hundred, such as Bergholt, where the soke of the Hundred of Samford was held. But at the same time it cannot be said that these manors were the largest in the county (as Table 2 reveals) or that they were the most important in some other way.

Those are the most positive aspects of the Suffolk Domesday in support of Jones' theory. Using the techniques of association that he used for Sussex, Wiltshire and Hampshire, however, the results are not conclusive. One is immediately hampered in Suffolk by a dearth of Iron Age hill forts that could be seen as centres of federal or multiple estates. There are a number of dubious forts or defences attributed to the Iron Age, but little positive evidence. One lies in the east at Burgh, where a Roman villa was enclosed by a large rectangular earthen bank, now hardly visible around a cultivated field of several acres.1 While the bank has always been assumed to be of the Roman Period, recent discoveries by the Ipswich Museum

1 P.S.I.A., 24 (1949) p.163 reports the villa as in occupation in the 3rd and 4th Century A.D.
staff, of brooches of the 1st Century A.D., point to an earlier Belgic farmhouse in the area.¹ Perhaps it is for this reason that Scarfe refers to "that hulking rectangular Belgic embankment at Burgh-by-Woodbridge"². Another is at Clare, in the south of the county, along the Essex border. There is to be found a rectangular enclosure, known as Clare Camp, to the north of the small town (see Photo 1) which is reputed to be of the last Century B.C. but where detailed information is not forthcoming.³ Finally, there is the Norman motte and bailey castle at Desning Hall in Gazeley parish, in the west of the county, where the massive outer ramparts have been argued in the past to be of Iron Age origin.⁴

But do the large parent manors show any relationship to the distribution of pagan Anglo-Saxon burials as Jones showed for Sussex? A comparison of Maps 4 and 6 shows quite clearly that the two distributions are for the most part exclusive; while there are some similarities in the area of the Breckland the valleys of the Gipping and Deben, as well as the area of medium loams along the northern boundary of the county, where burials have been recognised, appear as empty areas for the multiple estates. In the same way, the eastern and central-eastern areas where estates exist are devoid of pagan burial sites.

¹ Information from Museum staff. Nov. 1969
² Scarfe. Op cit. p.61
³ In 1852 a writer referred to an early Roman or late Iron Age camp at Clare. P.S.I.A.,1,(1848-52) p.25
⁴ The site is at TL747628. P.S.I.A.,3 (1863) p.411. An investigation of the site suggests that the idea may be most suspect.
1. The Iron Age camp at Clare
Little suggestion, therefore, that the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlers are to be associated with the multiple estates as revealed in the Suffolk Domesday. Are place-names any more helpful, bearing in mind the reservations already suggested for their usage?

As has already been pointed out, a number of the parent manors have the suffix 'ham' to their place-name, but 5 out of 19 such manors does not indicate that all can be considered early. Similarly, a further 2 with 'ingas' does not clarify the situation. But it is of interest that Walton is one of the parent manors, for that manor (its area now lost in the suburbs of Felixstowe or washed away by the sea) has the place-name that is normally interpreted as 'the tum of the Britons', which would give some support to the retention of a Celtic system. However, the derivation of the hamlet place-names is less satisfactory. In the areas he has investigated, Jones has found that a number of the hamlets have referred to a Celtic community, but for the 25 Suffolk hamlets none would appear to conform. Eight of them possess early Anglo-Saxon names, the 'ham' element being most noticeable, as in; Wickham Skeith, Rendham and Falkenham. The majority in fact seem to point to secondary or late Anglo-Saxon settlement more than anything else, such as; Belton (tun in a forest clearing), Harkstead (Hereca's clearing), Kenton (Cena's tun), and Lowestoft (Hloover's toft or homestead). The last mentioned points to a settlement of the 8th or 9th Century

2 Ekwall, E. Op cit (1960) pp. 36, 220, 272, 305
if the Old Norse name can be taken as the original. A number of others have the suffixes of 'hall' and 'ley', both still regarded as indicators of late colonisation of forest lands, which would appear to suggest a rather different interpretation of the multiple estates in Suffolk. Rather than the continuation of a Celtic administrative system can they not be seen as groups of settlements developed as a result of initial establishment of Anglo-Saxon communities and a later colonisation out from those centres, with the establishment of small hamlets in the forest, still attached in some way to the parent centre? The concentration of the hamlets in the centre of the county, where the forest cover was believed to be densest, rather than in the areas where Celtic communities are known to have been strongest, would appear to lend support to such a suggestion. Against such an idea, however, should be set the problem as to why hamlets developed in such a manner should have been composed of bonded men as Domesday Book suggests they were.

In conclusion, therefore, of the value of the Suffolk Domesday to Jones' theory of settlement pattern it must be realised that the data available cannot be considered sufficient to make a categorical denial or acceptance of the recognition of such a pattern in Suffolk. There are certainly a number of features that do point towards such a pattern surviving, but the anomalies are too many and the alternative theory as valid given the material available.
Finally, in some support for Jones' theory, there are some other reasons for perceiving an earlier Celtic system, concerning the hundreds and their centres or meeting places (see Map 7), the latter located for Suffolk by O.S. Anderson. As is perhaps to be expected, most of the vills and manors associated with the hundred centres are found to be large in the Domesday Book, large enough in most cases to suspect that the figures might conceal several settlements. Such, for example, is the massive manor of Hoxne, with 43 ploughteams, centre of Hoxne Hundred and formerly known as Bishops Hundred as the East Anglian bishops had their country manor at Hoxne. A number of the sites suggested by Anderson are heaths or open spaces but they can still be found near important manors. For example, Babergh Heath is named for Babergh Hundred and the area lies between the parishes of Acton, Chilton and Waldingfield and might be most closely associated with the land charter referred to earlier for Acton parish. Similarly, Monks Risbridge for Risbridge Hundred is an extra parochial area next to the large Badmondisfield Hall (20½ ploughteams). For Samford Hundred Anderson names Sandford, 1½ miles north-east of Great Brantham Church, whereas the adjoining royal manor of Bergholt, where the soke of the Hundred was held, appears significant. In the centre of the county lies Stow Hundred, where Stowmarket is suggested. But that name is not to be found in the Suffolk Domesday

1 Anderson, O.S. "The English Hundred Names" (Lund 1934)
SUFFOLK HUNDREDS & THEIR MEETING PLACES.

SAXON MEETING PLACES SUGGESTED BY ANDERSON, O.S., 'THE ENGLISH HUNDRED NAMES'.

KEY

A POST DOMESDAY
B DOMESDAY PARHAM
C INCLUDES DOMESDAY
D AT DOMESDAY 1/2 OF
    BRADENHAM HUNDRED
    CLAYDON HUNDRED

SCALE

MILES

0 4 8 5 6 7
as it grew out of part of the massive manor of Thorney (51 ploughteams), whereas the large common in adjacent Stowupland (which was Stow in the Domesday Book) would appear more feasible as the meeting place. However, the association with an adjoining large manor is clear.

Therefore, if Jones' thesis that such large manors represent more than one settlement can be accepted then it would appear that 8 of the Suffolk Hundreds had such manors as their centres. This would agree with the views of Cam and Jolliffe that some Anglo-Saxon administrative arrangements show a relationship to earlier patterns. It is perhaps regrettable that those 8 centres have little evidence of a pre-Saxon existence; only Exning, centre of the Exning Half-Hundred, is known to have a pagan Saxon cemetery, and there was a villa at Stanton, centre of Blackburn Hundred.

Finally, in this consideration of the data available for Suffolk, there is the evidence of the landscape itself. Most of the features that suggest some early boundary, defensive earthwork or field system, or early settlement site are dealt with where they are appropriate to the detailed local studies, but perhaps mention should be made here of the ancient hundred boundaries that are still recognisable as tracks or lanes in the county. In particular, part of the boundary between Blackburn and Hartismere, and Stow and Hartismere may be followed along
the wide and ditched green 'Hundred Lane' which acts as the parish boundary, in part, of the parishes of Westhorpe, Wyverstone, Badwell Ash, Great Ashfield, Bacton, Cotton, Old Newton, Gipping and Mendlesham. The interest here is that if these 10th and possibly as early as 7th Century A.D. boundaries may still be recognised in the landscape then it becomes feasible to expect earlier features, say of the Roman Period, to also have survived. But there are some obvious difficulties to be recognised in using features in the landscape. When, for example, does a raised rectangular mound become a Roman feature instead of a medieval one, without any corroborating evidence? Clearly such features are to be treated as of secondary importance as it is all too often the case that supporting evidence is not available. Nevertheless, it can be shown later that a number of the landscape features are of considerable importance in the continuity question.

Having considered in rather general terms the data that is available for Suffolk for determining the origins of the settlement pattern and the development of the field systems it is proposed to examine the physical background onto which the patterns were placed, and to consider briefly the pre-Roman and early Roman settlement areas, before dealing in detail with those areas where some degree of Roman-Saxon cultural overlap might be recognised.
Chapter Three

A Physical Background to early Suffolk Settlement.
In any consideration of settlement origins in Suffolk it is essential to take into account the physical background of the county as distribution of good and bad soils, water supply and aspect of slope were clearly more important then than they are to farmers today. Even Myres' early contention that the Anglo-Saxons were the first cultural group capable of exploiting the heavy claylands of Eastern England has something to say about the deterring effect that sticky clays and a dense forest cover had upon earlier settlers, and hence consequences for hopes of tracing pre-Saxon settlement in such areas.

In terms of its position in Eastern England it is not difficult to see why Suffolk was densely settled from the earliest stages of Anglo-Saxon colonisation: the county is the most easterly in England and nearest to the homelands of the migrants, who came from Holland, southern Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein. Map 8 shows that the river system allowed easy access into the county, not only from the coast facing out onto the North Sea but also from the west, via the great rivers of the Fens. The Lark Valley, in the west, does in fact contain some of the earliest Anglo-Saxon sites in the county. It is also clear that the river valleys were used by the immigrants to act as political boundaries in an area that has few other distinguishing physical features: the eastward flowing Waveney and westward flowing Little Ouse act as the boundary between the 'North folk' (Norfolk) and 'South
folk' (Suffolk) of the East Angles, while in the south the River Stour acts as the boundary with Essex. Rivers were less helpful in the west, although the watery mass of the Fens must have proved to be an effective barrier to movement in the north-west. The south-west, containing within it a minor chalk escarpment and few rivers, had to rely instead on man-made barriers, the linear earthworks of Devil's Dyke and other minor works that cross Newmarket Heath.

While the river valleys may have proved to be of value to the pattern of early settlement (as Maps 1, 2, 3, and 4 would suggest they were), of equal importance in the assessment of why a particular site was chosen for a settlement are the details of surface geology and soils (Maps 8 and 9). The dominant cover of the county is glacial drift, and it is the variations in that drift that have determined the broad subdivision of the county into three areas. The drift in each area is noted for different levels of soil fertility (although the detailed soil map gives a more accurate picture), vegetation cover, drainage and steepness of slopes. The three divisions were recognised by topographers as early as 1732-34, when Kirby noted:

"The County may be considered, as naturally consisting of three different sorts of land, viz. the Sandland, the Woodland, and the Fielding. The Sand-land Part, is that tract of land which reaches from the River Orwell, by the Sea-Coast to Yarmouth, and is pretty nearly

1 Kirby, J "The Suffolk Traveller" (London 1764, 2nd. Edit.)
separated from the Wood-lands, by the great Road leading from Ipswich through Beccles to Yarmouth. The Wood-land Part extends from the North-east Corner of the Hundred of Blything, to the South-west Corner of the County at Haverhill. The Fielding Part contains all the Hundred of Lackford, and the remaining Parts of the Hundreds of Blackbourn, Thedwastre and Thingoe; and is, most of it, in Sheep-walks."

While those three areas no longer bear those names, the subdivision of the county in such a way has remained valid, although the landscapes as described by Kirby have been considerably altered. The Sandlings, for example, was noted for its open tracts of sandy heathland, whereas today such areas are difficult to find among the cornfields of enclosed and improved land. Now it forms a distinctive area in the east of the county, dissected by a number of wide and shallow rivers and still characterised by a light friable soil. As Map 9 shows, the area is dominated by light loams, but this does not appear to have made it initially attractive to the Anglo-Saxons; the absence of early burials, except in the south (Map 4) is noticeable. While the soils may have been easy to handle they do not appear to have been the most fertile. Before many of the agricultural improvements to the area Arthur Young described much of it as infertile, apart from an area south of the town of Orford, namely the south-east area. It is that area

1 "Sandlands" has become Sandlings; "Woodland", High Suffolk; and "Fielding", Breckland. Breckland was so named by Clarke, W.G. "In Breckland Wilds" (1894)

2 Young, A "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Suffolk" (London 1813) p.3
where a number of early burial sites and 'ham' settlements may be recognised (Maps 4 and 2).

The Breckland has certain similarities to the Sandlings, especially in the generally infertile nature of parts of the area and recent changes in the landscape. An area of sandy heaths, it is known to have been little used since Roman times and yet it too has recently been transformed, with the cultivated fields and large tracts of Forestry Commission land contrasting with the few heaths and rabbit warrens that remain. The soils still have the disadvantage of being derived from loess deposits of the Pleistocene or post-Pleistocene periods, producing a thin layer of top soil that is all too easily removed by strong winds when shelter belts are removed. Underlying the loess deposits is solid chalk and the area has therefore also been unfavourable in the past with a lack of reliable surface water. The Lark is the only large river to flow through the area, and is the one part to attract early settlement. There are, and have been, a number of 'meres', areas of standing water that periodically fill from hollows that reach down to the water table in the chalk, but such a water source has proved too unreliable to attract permanent settlement.

It is the central area of High Suffolk that is perhaps most interesting. Here the cover is of glacial boulder clay drift, all generally fertile but where the

1 there is evidence that the Romans were turning parts of Breckland into sheep-walks. Clarke, R.R. "East Anglia" (1960) p.126
heaviness of the loams appears to have been a great deal more important. Comparison again of Maps 1, 2 and 4 with Map 9 reveal a persistent preference by the early Saxon settlers for areas of light and medium loams, the heavy loam and heavy clay areas being avoided. Map 13, which shows the distribution of principal Roman sites in the county (as plotted from the data of the National Monuments Record), suggests that earlier communities in High Suffolk had similar preferences. High Suffolk is like the Breckland in that it does not form a complete unit within the county but stretches northwards to the north Norfolk coast and continues south into central Essex. It is not only the highest part of the county, with an average elevation of over 200' O.D. and rising to 420' O.D. near Haverhill in the south-west, but is also noticeable for the great number of streams and rivers that dissect it. There are hundreds of early medieval moated sites in this area, and in a county that receives only 25-30" of precipitation per annum it is the part that is always noted for winter floods. The high fertility of the soils and the abundance of water would appear justification for High Suffolk having the greatest population density in East Anglia, and the greatest number of distinct settlements, but it is not the area that was settled first by the Anglo-Saxons, nor the part that exhibits strong evidence of settlement continuity.

As the rivers and soils are features of the physical environment that have changed little since the Anglo-Saxon Period it is not too difficult to speculate
upon their influence on early settlement patterns. But the deterrent of a dense forest cover to movement is something that is more difficult to assess, as the county has little woodland left today. It has already been assumed that a dense forest cover did exist some 1,500 years ago but what evidence can be offered to substantiate that assumption?

Of an earlier period, there is evidence from pollen analysis that Breckland once supported a mixed forest of oak, ash and elm, before Neolithic Man entered the area.¹ One of the attractions of the area to Prehistoric Man may have been the ease of access to large flint nodules in the chalk, essential for the making of tools, such as at Grime's Graves (TL817897). But Godwin's work on the pollen remains in Hockham Mere suggests that this was not their main activity, for extensive burning of the woodland in order to cultivate and to graze stock reduced the mixed forest to a degenerate vegetation cover of heather, gorse and bracken. The deterioration of the soil was a natural consequence, making it acidic and of little further use to later agriculturists, Celts and Anglo-Saxons who later occupied the area.

If the Breckland is known to have once supported a mixed oak forest, albeit destroyed long before the Anglo-Saxons settled there, what can be said about the Sandlings? Regrettably, there has been no pollen analysis for that

¹ Godwin, H "Age and Origin of the Breckland Heaths of East Anglia" Nature, 154, (1944) p.6-7
area along the lines of Hockham Mere and therefore other sources of evidence need to be consulted. One of those sources is the landscape itself for a remnant of former forest cover still survives in the south-east of the Sandlings. Lying across the parishes of Eyke and Wantisden is the enclosed area of Staverton Park, between Woodbridge and Orford. While part is now cleared and covered by characteristic Sandlings' vegetation of gorse and bracken, that area known as the 'Thicks' still consists of gnarled oaks (Photo 2), in sharp contrast to the more common shelter belts of Scots Pine found in the area (Photo 3). Research by G.F. Peterken has shown that the Park as an enclosed woodland dates from the early Middle Ages, with at least part being enclosed direct from the existing woodland. Ring counts of some of the oaks in the 'Thicks' point to an age of 400 years or more, and other botanical evidence suggests that they represent natural regeneration from an ancient primeval woodland, certainly in existence during the Anglo-Saxon Period. If the site had ever been heathland then a podsol would be recognised, but Peterken could find none. Secondly, there are certain species of lichen, dating from the 'Atlantic Phase', that would not be present if the area had not had continuous woodland cover since then. Supporting evidence for a forest cover, at least for the southern part of the Sandlings, during the Anglo-Saxon Period comes from the place-names of

2. The Thicks - Staverton Park

It is not often in the Breckland that trees occur in considerable numbers. An example is to be found near Staverton Park. South of the road to Long Sutton, and two miles west of the village, is a thicket of oaks which is said to have been planted by the Earl of Radnor in 1747.

3. Scots Pine of the Sandlings
surrounding parishes. Less than a mile to the east lies Butley, 'Butta's leah' or clearing in the woodland, and two miles to the west, Eyke, simply meaning 'oak'. Staverton itself is interpreted by Ekwall as 'enclosure made of stakes', which is probably not a reference to the Park enclosure as that apparently occurred after the place was mentioned in the Domesday Book.¹

For High Suffolk both the place-name evidence and that of the Domesday Book suggest a dense forest cover in the Anglo-Saxon Period; indeed the latter source suggests that the highest densities at that time were to be found in that area, which may have implications for early settlement. Those place-names that are of value here are those that clearly denote some form of woodland, a woodland clearing or an area recently cleared from the forest. One of the most important elements is 'ley' or 'leah', an open space in a wood ("a part in a wood with the trees scattered so that grass can grow")², and there are a considerable number scattered over High Suffolk, for example:³

- Badley - Ba(d)da's leah (TM062559)
- Gazeley - Gaegi's leah (TL720642)
- Hadleigh - heather covered leah (TM024425)
- Brockley - leah by the brook (TL827556)

It is noticeable that such a suffix does not occur in the Breckland or the central or northern parts of the Sandlings.

A second important element is 'field' or 'feld'; although this refers to an open space it nevertheless denotes that it was formerly part of a forest, and usually points to a larger area than 'ley'. There are a considerable number of such place-names in High Suffolk, such as:

Fressingfield - field that was furze covered
(TM260775)

Waldringfield - the field of Waldhere's people
(TM285445)

While these two elements are the most common others may also be cited as of similar value in tracing areas of former woodland. D.P. Dymond lists not only 'ley' and 'field' but also the following:

3. denn - a pasture, but usually in a forested area.
4. worth - open space in a village, sometimes a woodland clearing.
5. sted - a cluster of oaks
6. set - a dwelling, but occasionally referring to a woodland setting

Where such elements have been considered appropriate to a woodland setting (relying upon Ekwall's interpretation) they have been included on Map 10, which shows those parishes with such names for the entire county. Again, there is a noticeable absence of any parishes in the Breckland, although a number in the southern part of the

5 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p. 440
6 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p. 413
EVIDENCE FOR THE SAXON FOREST IN SUFFOLK

(MAPPE ELEMEN FROM PLACE NAME EVIDENCE)

MAPPED ARE THESE PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS:
LEY, FELD, STEDE, AND OTHERS THAT INDICATE WOODLAND

SCALE IN MILES
1 2 3 4 5

[Map of Suffolk showing evidence for the Saxon Forest with place-name elements mapped]
Sandlings would appear to substantiate the evidence from Staverton Park. While a number of parishes with woodland associations appear grouped together on the map this does not necessarily have any great significance, apart from the most obvious one that it reflects in most cases the parishes that were formerly one and have become split into two or more, either by the addition of names of the saints of the parish churches or simply as 'Great' and 'Little'. Finally, most of the parishes mapped do not appear to have been particularly early in foundation during the Anglo-Saxon Period, the absence of 'ham' or 'ing', and early archaeological data, being noticeable.

Professor Darby's exhaustive texts on the geographical content of the Domesday Book provide the final justification for assuming that High Suffolk was still densely forested at the close of the Anglo-Saxon Period. By the analysis of the figures given for swine, usually the number that a particular area of woodland would support rather than an actual total of pigs held, Darby has shown a concentration of swine, and hence woodland, in central Suffolk. Where villages were capable of supporting fifty or more swine he assumes a considerable part of its parish to still be covered by woods. The heaviest concentration lies in a belt stretching south-westwards from Halesworth towards Stowmarket, the eastern part of High Suffolk that is reflected in the parishes shown on Map 10.¹

With these points in mind, therefore, of the soils, major topographic details and river system, and the probable nature of the forested environment during and at the end of the Anglo-Saxon Period, it is possible to have a somewhat clearer impression of the barriers and the routes of easy access that were available to the settlers in the 4th and 5th Century A.D. It is also clear that such factors of the natural environment are of importance when the pre-Saxon pattern of settlement is being considered. Having seen that the one set of factors could have influenced the pattern of Anglo-Saxon settlement what factors may be relevant also from the 'behavioural environment', namely the influence of earlier patterns of habitation? To this end it is proposed to describe briefly the Late Iron Age and the Roman Period for Suffolk.
Chapter Four

Late Iron Age and Roman Suffolk.
The last hundred years of the Iron Age and the culmination of that age in the Roman Conquest may be described as the first period of permanent settlement in Suffolk, at least as far as the archaeological record is concerned. The list of sites is now sufficiently comprehensive, especially for the Roman Period, to make some assumptions about those areas that were favoured for settlement and those that were ignored.

As early as 1933 Cyril Fox's analysis of the prehistoric sites in East Anglia pointed to a distinct concentration of activity in the period 100 B.C. - 50 A.D. in two areas of Suffolk; the Breckland, and the south-east corner of the Sandlings. In the west Fox recognised settlements of the Iceni, a tribe that was to be found across western and central Norfolk as well, while in the south and east were the Belgic tribes; the earlier, part-Belgic group of the Trinovantes, and the Belgae themselves. The great central area of High Suffolk appears to have been a rather empty area. R.R. Clarke's list of finds of the period 50 B.C. - 60 A.D., published a few years later, again shows a distinct concentration in those areas Fox recognised, for example:

Breckland - Cavenham, Elveden, Eriswell, Fakenham, Icklingham, Ixworth, Lackford, Lakenheath, Mildenhall, Stanton, West Stow.

1 Fox, Sir Cyril "The Distribution of Man in East Anglia, c. 2300 B.C. - A.D. 50" Proc. Prehist. Soc. of East Anglia, 7, (1933) p.149-64
South and East Suffolk: Clare, Creeting St Mary, Hollesley, Ipswich, Long Melford, Stratford St Mary, Sudbury, Trimley.

In later publications both Fox and Clarke have continued to stress the emptiness of a large part of central Suffolk until the Roman Conquest, despite the fact that there is now considerably more data available. Clarke's map of Iron Age settlement in East Anglia, from data provided down to 1960, shows little penetration into the central forests, although he does recognise that Belgic farmers can be seen pushing further into the heavier loams from their initial occupation of the eastern coastlands. Recent finds have tended to emphasise the importance of the Belgae in the 1st Century A.D., with sites at Butley, Hollesley and Westhall, all in the Sandlings, and further inland at Boxford. The last named site is a mile S.S.E. of the present village and consisted of two small cemeteries, associated by the archaeologists with two family groups who had presumably penetrated into High Suffolk along the valley of the Box, on whose slopes the burials lay.

But as interesting as the new sites are they do little to alter the earlier work of Fox and Clarke. Fox in particular saw the forested interior of the county as a major barrier to movement and settlement. Pottery of the Aylesford type in the Iceni settlements is not to be found

1 Fox, Sir Cyril "The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region" (Cambridge 1948) and Clarke, R.R. "East Anglia" (1960)
2 Op cit p.98
south or east of the Breckland, and the significant coin hoards that have been located all lie within that area, on the edge of the fen. Such sites are Joist Fen, Lakenheath (TL693853), Fakenham (TL900760) and Santon Downham (TL810870). 1

There is a noticeable absence of Icenian coins to the south of Devil's Dyke, which runs across Newmarket Heath. Although the linear earthworks of that area are now commonly accepted as of early Anglo-Saxon origin, Fox believed there was some justification for that particular earthwork to be dated from the Iron Age, as it seemed to provide such a clear boundary to Iceni occupation. 2

Similarly, a northern boundary to the Trinovantian area seemed feasible along the line of the River Stour, for pottery and coins have been found at such places as Long Melford, Sudbury and Great Waldingfield but no further north. 3 If the archaeological evidence for this period is to be accepted as a valid reflection of settlement in Suffolk then clearly there might arise certain difficulties in endeavouring to trace past Celtic patterns or administrative arrangements in the centre of the county. Certainly, no overlap of Iron Age and early Anglo-Saxon settlement appears in High Suffolk from the archaeological information.

While many of the Iron Age settlements have now been located in Suffolk in most of these cases the sites have yielded more information from the Roman Period, as Romano-

1 Fox, Sir Cyril. Op cit (1948) p.87
2 Fox, Sir Cyril. Op cit (1948) p.121
3 Fox, Sir Cyril. Op cit (1948) p.103
British settlements influenced by varying degrees by Roman culture. In central Suffolk it is the Roman Conquest that appears to have provided a stimulus to new settlement and through the four centuries of Roman occupation that area becomes increasingly important as villas were established and a considerable number of Romano-British communities becomes recognisable. In some cases those communities are now known to have had a short pre-Roman existence, sufficient to justify assumptions that High Suffolk was being opened up for settlement just before the Roman Conquest (although there is no denying that the Conquest speeded up the process).

Roman occupation of Suffolk can be dealt with in two stages; military occupation, followed by a civil settlement. The former provided the county with a basic network of roads, forts and watch-towers, and the latter a pattern of farming and industrial communities. Military occupation occurred very rapidly after the Claudian invasion of England in 43 A.D., and continued with the establishment of cross county road links almost without interruption over the next 150 years. The only disruption came with the revolt of the Iceni in 60 A.D., who, led by their queen, Boudicca, temporarily regained control of East Anglia. Map 11 shows the line of the major Roman roads that were probably in existence by the beginning of the 2nd Century A.D., and it is noticeable that most of the routes traverse the county rather than leading to any important centre within it. The north-south routes

connected the tribal capital of Venta Icenorum (at Caistor St Edmund a few miles south of Norwich) with London and Colchester (Camulodunum, the capital of the Belgic tribes). Only one major road has been recognised as an east-west route. Although much of its course is now lost (Margary comments on the poor nature of the roads in this area, with low aggers that have easily become lost in the landscape) it appears to have been a branch from the major Via Devana that ran from Colchester to Leicester via Cambridge. Within the county it divided on its route eastwards, with possible destinations on the coast at Aldeburgh and Dunwich. At important junctions, clearly to be regarded as strategic points in the first century of Roman rule, a number of forts and smaller military establishments have been discovered. At Baylham Mill, for example, north of Ipswich where the east-west road divided and a junction was created with a major north-south road, lay the fort of Combretovium. At Grimstone End, near Pakenham on the western side of the county, a rectangular fort has been recognised from aerial photographs and finds in the area point to a 1st-2nd Century A.D. date. The site lies on a hillside with extensive views over the countryside to the south, from which direction came a road from London, and northwards towards the major Romano-British settlement at Ixworth. Smaller military establishments are suggested at Ilketshall St Lawrence (TM367864), where the parish church stands on a rectangular mound beside the Roman Stone Street,

1 P.S.I.A., 27, (1958) p.184
and at Burgate, where the place-name itself seems suggestive. Ekwall renders it as "gate of a BURG", where such a name more often than not refers to a Roman fortification rather than an Anglo-Saxon one. A number of forts and beacon sites are also suggested along the east coast (data from the N.M.R.), and while they are more likely to be 4th Century features, as part of the defence of the Saxon Shore, they too point to considerable Roman military activity. They are shown on Map 12.

But the military occupation of the first part of the Roman Period does not prove to be of particular importance when considering the later villas and settlements of the 3rd and 4th Centuries. The military roads, perhaps understandably, do not appear necessarily to have attracted new communities - so many lie off the major routes that it adds credence to the idea that a later system of domestic roads and tracks developed for their particular needs.

Roman villas in Suffolk are quite numerous (as Map 13, of the principal sites, compiled from the N.M.R. and recent archaeological discoveries noted in the P.S.I.A., shows) and the map reveals that there is no single area that stands out, although the Sandlings is an empty area apart from the rather suspect site at Aldeburgh. Comparison with the distribution of loams and heavy soils (Map 9) shows that the heaviest soils were generally considered unfavourable, although two villas on the heavy clays of the south-west proves that this is not a general rule.

1 Ekwall, E. Op cit. (1966) p.75
FORT OF THE 'SAXON SHORE'

SETTLEMENT & BEACON SITE

BEACON SITE

BURGH CASTLE

HERRINGFLEET

CORTON

KESSINGLAND

COVEHITHE

EASTON BAVENT

SOUTHWOLD

DUNWICH

ALDEBURGH

NORTH SEA

ROMAN SETTLEMENT AND DEFENCE OF THE SAXON SHORE
**PRINCIPAL SITES OF THE ROMAN PERIOD**
Most of the villas, however, are to be found on the light or medium loams in central Suffolk, or on the light soils of the Breckland valleys and its boundary with the fen. In their selection of site there does appear to be one common characteristic; the demand for an extensive area of very level ground, suitable presumably for a main arable system of farming. While some of the villas grew into palatial dwellings in the 4th Century, suggestive not only of the prosperity of the area but also of the presence of the villa estate system, it is not always clear how many of the villas had developed originally from owners of 'Roman' stock or from pre-Roman native farmsteads. The villas represent one of the major elements in the colonisation of High Suffolk, the first recognisable settlement of that region that was permanent and extensive. While the villas no longer stand, and in most cases are found isolated from later dwellings, their cultivated lands are still farmed, and Roman field patterns are to be seen still in one or two places. As the Anglo-Saxon settlement of the county was particularly early, and the areas of early communities coincide with the Roman ones, (see Maps 4 and 13) it may perhaps be expected that the villa's acres have been in continuous cultivation at least since the foundation of the villa.

A final point may be made about the Romano-British settlements that have been recognised, particularly those in High Suffolk and the Breckland. Some of these sites were clearly in occupation before the Roman Conquest, as
has already been mentioned, and examples of such are: Ixworth (TL930700), in the north-west of the county and in the centre of Iceni settlement; Long Melford (TL860450), on the banks of the Stour in the south and on the northern edge of Fox's Trinovantian kingdom. Others, however, appear as new creations at the end of the last century B.C. or a few decades later; these are generally to be found in the very centre of the county. In some cases an association can be seen between a particular villa and a nearby British community. Examples are the villa at Eye (TM147739) and the settlement at Stoke Ash (TM115706), and the villa at Earl Stonham (TM110580) and the village in the neighbouring parish of Stonham Aspal (TM130590). Both are dealt with under the detailed local studies.

Having therefore outlined the patterns of settlement and areas of economic activity of the Late Iron Age and the Roman Period, and seen that there are certain similarities in distribution with the early Anglo-Saxon settlement, it remains to examine those areas of overlap in detail. The Breckland would appear to be the area that might have the most to say about associations and influences of earlier cultures upon the Anglo-Saxons, especially as it was the part of Suffolk that Myres would place into his first phase of settlement. But High Suffolk is also of very considerable interest, where the strength of continuity of settlement and field patterns is still considerable, at least for the Roman-Saxon Period.
Chapter Five

Settlement Development in the Breckland:
The Fenland Edge.
The Breckland of north-west Suffolk is a most distinctive part of the county, characterised in the past by extensive heaths and sheep walks and now by its shelter belts of Scots Pine, large areas of afforestation and light brown soils. But the area has only one sharply defined edge, that of the west where there is a perceptible drop of several feet down onto the flat, deep black soils of the Fens. The change in the south and east into the loams of the central boulder clay is a far less obvious one, and the boundary suggested on Map 14 is therefore a rather arbitrary one. Such an edge marks the limit where it is still clear that the soil is still the rich brown of the boulder clay. It is not until one is north or west respectively of the valleys of the Lark and Black Bourn that the true Breckland can be seen in contrast to High Suffolk, and it is those river valleys, as well as the fenland edge, that mark the 'fertile' limit for Briton and Anglo-Saxon in their settlement of the region. Any penetration further into the Breckland seems to have substantially reduced the chances of success of any agricultural community. The settlements established upon the banks of the rivers seem to have recognised this danger, for their boundaries are long and narrow, extending up into the heaths and utilising them in that way, rather than with the establishment of new settlements away from the river. Neolithic and Bronze Age groups seem to have made more use of the interior, for they utilised the meres away from the rivers as gathering points for their stock, and there is
some suggestion 1 that some of the meres supported lake dwellings. But with the increase in emphasis of the later cultures upon arable agricultural the meres appear to have become too unreliable and a movement occurred towards the river valleys.

The valleys and the edge of the Fens remained the centres of activity in the Breckland for a thousand years or more, until an expansion of settlement took place in Late Saxon times and the establishment of a number of small villages further into the heaths. Examples of such settlements are: Wordwell (TL829720), Great and Little Livermere (TL880710) and Timworth (TL861698), of which only Great Livermere now survives, a sure testimony of the relative harshness of the interior's environment.

The western edge of the region has an interesting history of settlement over the past two thousand years. However, with the draining of the fen in that area from the 17th Century it is no longer easy to visualise the environment in which the settlements were first established, particularly the impression gained of the Breckland edge as it would have been seen from the rivers and marsh of the Fens. The history of the Fens during the Roman Period is a complex one but Green 2 has postulated a marine transgression in the last century of Roman rule which flooded land that had earlier been in cultivation.3 If this was so then a route into western Suffolk via the

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1 From excavations in 1867 the Rev. C.W. Jones suggests a lake dwelling in Barton Mere. The mere, in the west of Pakenham parish, survives only as Mere Farm and Barton-mere House. P.S.I.A., 10, (1900) p. 169
2 Green, C "East Anglian coast-line levels since Roman times", Antiquity, 35, (1961) p. 21-8
rivers of the Fens appears a most feasible route of entry, although such a route does not seem to have lasted for many centuries.¹

The Anglo-Saxon settlements that were established have left no clear trace of their form, unless one is to presume that existing villages are the same (although there has been considerable movement of settlement in the Breckland it seems a reasonable assumption to make, especially where no traces of earlier settlement have emerged). The villages on the edge of the fen have a distinct linear form, sited on the immediate edge where there is a clear "landfall" when approached from the west. Lakenheath (TL710820) is a good example of this form, having one long main street and a back road. The name itself betrays how prominent a landmark this projecting area of Breckland must have formerly made from the fen (see Map 15), for the settlement became "the landing place of Laca's people"².

The present village is probably dateable to the Anglo-Saxon Period, partly from its position and partly from documentary evidence. In the Domesday Book the manor held two fisheries and had a further four at Ely, which points to a location on the fenland edge as the most practical. The vill of Lundale possessed a further two fisheries, and this may be identified with the dry site of Undley Common in the west of the parish and an outlier

¹ Green, C (1961) Op cit. suggests a further marine regression from 600 A.D., citing the emergence of the shingle spit at Great Yarmouth as evidence.

of the Breckland in the fen. There is also an unusual listing of a rowing boat held by the villagers.

Such an economy, coupled with over a thousand sheep that are listed in 1086 for the manor, appears to have survived in its importance until the draining of that part of the Fens in the 17th Century, when a roll of 1664 records the copyholds still held of Lakenheath's old fisheries, immediately prior to their disappearance:

"a certain fishery called Horerow, otherwise Mickle Runny in the High River towards Mockwold with a Boat's Gang in the Meer" and "another fishery in Swallow Beck plus separate fishing in the High River."

The other reason for assuming that the village may date from the Anglo-Saxon Period comes from the rather scanty local documentary evidence. While none of the existing village buildings appears to be earlier than the beginning of the 18th Century a terrier of the land of John Lacy for 1529 is sufficiently detailed to give an idea of the layout of the northern part of the village at the end of the Medieval Period. Apart from a minor change in the direction of the main road it appears that many of the house plots of today were in existence then, with long narrow messuages stretching westwards to the edge of the fen. Although covering the whole village, the Tithe Map of 1834 shows such plots along the entire

2 W.S.R.O. Acc.2328. Typescript of an abstract of title to copyholds held by Sir Simeon Stewart.
3 W.S.R.O. Acc.2291.
western side of the main street and it is these that have been marked on Map 15.¹

One further reason for the present village location seems to be the negative one. In 1086 the major activities were fishing and sheep rearing, and there is evidence that a large area of the interior part of the parish (on the poor soils and heath) was long regarded as of little agricultural potential. Lakenheath Warren was given by Henry the Eighth in 1539 to the Dean and Chapter of Ely upon the dissolution of the monastery there, when its ten miles of baulks, enclosing an area of 2,300 acres, were said to be of great antiquity. The rabbit warren was still in existence in 1835.² Even today much of the parish is considered to be of dubious value, a large part in the east used for an American air-base.

Yet despite this impression of a largely infertile area where the Anglo-Saxons established a fishing village on the edge of the fen, there is some evidence that the new settlers chose the area also because of its proven ability for agricultural pursuits by earlier communities. The very first Anglo-Saxons settled not on the fenland edge but close to a small British settlement out on the heaths.

A number of Iron Age sites have been recognised within the parish. One of these sites now lies below

¹ W.S.R.O. Tithe Apportionment and Map. 96B/1,2
several feet of fen to the north of the village, while a hoard of late Icenian and Roman coins has been found in Joist Fen to the west, both evidence of a drier fen at that time. But the most important site lies east of the village to the north of Maidcross Hill where a Romano-British settlement appears to have continued an earlier Iron Age one. Map 15 marks the main area of finds, which included a Romano-British building, thousands of Roman and Romano-British coins and potsherds. An abundance of storage jars and pieces of quern-stone have suggested to Briscoe that this was an agricultural holding, and lumps of daub and five ditches indicate the boundaries of former garden holdings. A small structure (13'x8') contained a bronze hanging vessel, possibly a censer of a small religious site. Five hundred yards to the south-east stood another small settlement, where finds indicated to Rainbird Clarke that occupation had been practically continuous from the Late Iron Age until well into the Medieval Period.

The last named site points at the most interesting aspect of this area; the close relationship of Romano-British settlement and that of the early Anglo-Saxons. Within the settlement to the north of Maidcross Hill (TL728832) was found a certain amount of 4th and 5th

1 Late Iron Age pottery (TL716843). P.S.I.A., 27, (1958) p. 43
2 P.S.I.A., 29, (1964) p. 98. (TL693855)
5 Briscoe, C. J.R.S., 44, (1954) p. 97
3 (TL725827) A medieval cross has been located there. N.M.R.
Century, including a large cooking vessel of Anglo-Saxon construction that had clearly been copied from a Roman metal or glass drinking goblet at the end of the 4th Century.\(^1\) Although there is no positive evidence of a settlement of that period in the area, in close proximity lies a small pagan cemetery of the 5th Century (TL727831), and concentration of activity certainly appears to have been to the east of the present village.\(^2\)

Two other areas in the parish can be recognised as having been occupied by Britons and Anglo-Saxons, but where no settlement survives today. On Undley Common, some distance from any housing has been unearthed traces of Romano-British pottery, some samian ware, tiles, shells and a burial, all indicative of a small settlement formerly in that area. Unfortunately the details of the site in terms of a date for its occupation do not appear to have survived.\(^3\) But immediately adjacent has been found an Anglo-Saxon inhumation burial, for which again the details are rather obscure,\(^4\) but which nevertheless point to the same areas of activity during Roman and Saxon Periods.

The other main area is in the extreme south of the parish (see Map 15) at Caudle Head. Here has been located another cemetery, containing some 24 graves, chiefly of the 6th Century, but also having a number of late 5th and early 7th Century.\(^5\) It may be argued that this cemetery,

\(^3\) N.M.R. (TL699806)
\(^4\) (TL699810) P.S.I.A., 7, (1891) p.215
being closer to settlement in Eriswell parish than Lakenheath, belonged to the parish to the south, but the discovery of another cemetery of similar age on the southern side of Caudle Head\footnote{1} appears to suggest otherwise. The line of the parish boundary at this point may also be of interest here; it has a twisting, sinuous nature that is uncharacteristic of boundaries in the Breckland, and yet it does not appear to follow the line of the present stream that flows westwards from Caudle Head. The Rev. Munday suggests that the boundary is of great antiquity\footnote{2} and probably of pre-Domesday origin, which would lend credence to the idea that the two cemeteries represent two different communities in separate political units. But perhaps of equal interest is the evidence for a Romano-British settlement in the same area, to the north of Caudle Head and within a hundred yards of the cemetery, where traces of palisading, spindle whorls and skeletons have been found (TL733809).\footnote{3}

The early history of settlement in Lakenheath therefore appears rather more complex than the nucleated village with its medieval core suggests. It would appear that a number of small Romano-British communities were established when the first Anglo-Saxons arrived in the late 4th Century, and while the existing village may have been established at that point, it was those sites that initially attracted the newcomers, even if in some cases it was as sites on which to bury their dead.

\footnote{1}{It contained over 30 graves of the same period. P.S.I.A., 28, (1961) p.162}
\footnote{2}{Rev. J.T. Munday, "Chronicle of Eriswell, Part 1, until 1340" pamphlet W.S.R.O. Acc2310}
\footnote{3}{N.M.R.
Lakenheath is not alone in having a long and complex history of settlement on the edge of the Fens. Other parishes also had a number of small settlements of the Romano-British that were superceded by very early Anglo-Saxon groups, although in most cases it is not normal for the sites to coincide, nor is there necessarily an overlap in time. Wangford village is another interesting example, particularly as so little remains of the medieval settlement. The centre of the parish is clearly the ancient church that stands isolated some two miles east of Lakenheath village and a few hundred yards from a former fen-land inlet (Wangford Fen). See Map 15.

While the village had been substantially smaller than Lakenheath in 1086 it was sufficiently large to justify its own church. Norman north and south doorways can still be seen in the small church (Photos 4 and 5) which in itself does not suggest that the community has prospered since then. The Domesday economy seems to have been far more one-sided than Lakenheath's, for the main part of the record deals with sheep rearing, Wangford Manor holding 413 sheep. Little seems to have changed that aspect of the village and in the 19th Century the main form of agriculture was sheep farming, most of the land still in the hands of one landowner at Wangford Hall, the Hall lying several hundred yards south of the church. But the 19th Century maps detail not only the extensive sheep walks in the south and east but also reveal a number of

1 V.C.H. Op cit (1911)
2 Wangford Tithe Apportionment and Map 1843. W.S.R.O. 5/1;2
4. Isolated Wangford Church

5. Norman north doorway, Wangford Church
irregular enclosures around the Hall and church, the substantial baulks of which are still recognisable in the field (Map 15). Some are still up to seven feet in height and fifteen in width. It would appear that the former village of Wangford lay between hall and church, the settlement having shrunken slowly since the Medieval Period rather than with some dramatic turn of events.¹ Today there is an area of several acres of rough, unused land to the south of the church that points to its site (Photo 6).

If the disappearance of Wangford village is obscure, can there be any greater certainty as to its foundation? The place-name is of little help, for the Domesday 'Wamforda' was probably "the ford that can be passed by a wagon"². With the absence of any visible stream in the area today it is difficult to speculate upon its location, unless one looks for a crossing of Wangford Fen. But archaeological data is again of great importance here. Close to Wangford Hall a Saxon inhumation burial of the 6th Century has been found (TL750831), indicative of some early settlement perhaps³. Considerable discoveries were made in 1958 to the north-east of the church when a new road was constructed to facilitate better communications with Lakenheath as a consequence of the expansion of the airfield. An extensive area of occupation debris was uncovered, covering an area 400

1 The parish register of marriages, 1754-1809, points to a shrinking population, but one still larger than today.

2 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p. 496

3 N.M.R. and Meaney Op cit (1964)
Area south of Wangford Church; probable site of former Wangford village

In the case of Wangford there appears more justification for assuming that the medieval village and all that now remains are a continuation of that earlier choice of site.

Another parish and settlement that requires to be considered in association with those already dealt with is Frizewell, to the south of Leiston. It has already been

2 The site is a *VILLAGIUM*. Ref. also to Myres, J.H.L. Op cit (1969)
yards by 150. The site had a complex history of development beginning with temporary occupation in the early part of the Iron Age (and similar to six other sites of that period known within a radius of a few miles) and permanent occupation from the Late Iron Age until the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. There appears to have been temporary inhabitation by Anglo-Saxons in the last few decades of the life of the site, suggested by pottery sherds that were found. Two hundred yards west the National Monuments Record has a brief reference to Romano-British pottery with Saxon stamps upon them, namely Nyres' hybrid pottery of the initial phase of Anglo-Saxon settlement. It is perhaps surprising, therefore, that he makes no mention of the site in his typology of Anglo-Saxon pottery.

While so little remains at Wangford that gives some visible indication of its early settlement history the archaeological record shows a similar pattern to that of Lakenheath; the earliest English settlers being initially attracted to the area by the existence of other communities. In the case of Wangford there appears more justification for assuming too that the medieval village and all that now remains are a continuation of that earlier choice of site.

Another parish and settlement that requires to be considered in association with those already dealt with is Eriswell, to the south of Lakenheath. It has already been

2 The site is at TL750836. Ref. also to Nyres,J.N.L. Op cit (1969)
seen that it had an early Saxon burial site to the south of Caudle Head and half a mile east of Little Eriswell (see Map 16), and the discovery of Anglo-Saxon knives and pottery has led to some suggestion that an initial settlement may have been made in that area (TL730808). Perhaps it is not surprising, therefore, to find Romano-British sites in the immediate vicinity (pottery and skeletons in wooden coffins at TL729807 and a number of black patches with sherds at TL729795). Other sites of the Roman Period are known in the parish, notably containing much pottery, as at TL724798, TL729765, TL730762 and TL724777 but none seem to be as positive as the Caudle Head site as an area of permanent occupation. Finally, another Anglo-Saxon cemetery is recorded by Meaney on the slopes of Portway Hill and due east of the existing village of Eriswell, with some 30 burials and similar in date (c. 480-610 A.D.) to that at Caudle Head.

There are, therefore, at least three different settlements that could have existed in the parish during the Anglo-Saxon Period and two separate cemeteries. What can be said of the two settlements that can still be recognised?

Domesday Book points clearly to two separate vills in the present parish. The main village of Eriswell not only possessed a church but also two mills, two fisheries and 800 sheep. The other settlement was an

1 N.M.R. Eriswell
2 N.M.R. Eriswell
3 N.M.R. Eriswell
4 Meaney Op cit (1964)
attached hamlet or berwick, 'Coclesworda' or 'Cocclesworth', which by 1086 had grown as large as Eriswell in number of men and ploughteams (there were 30 men and over 20 ploughteams)\(^1\) and while Eriswell cultivated six carucates of land the hamlet had eight. In addition, 680 sheep were held by the hamlet. As the present hamlet of Little Eriswell exists it has normally been assumed that it stands on the site of Cocclesworth, particularly as the grounds of the Hall contain the chancel of a Norman church (which the hamlet was accredited with in 1086), now used as a dovecote (see Photo 7). Even Pevsner has been misled in naming it the 'Chapel of St Lawrence'.\(^2\)

But in looking closely at the history of the parish rather different conclusions are reached, and here due acknowledgement must be made to the researches of the Rev. Hunday.\(^3\) The chancel ruin would appear to mark the centre of the 'original' village of Eriswell, while the present village of that name was the hamlet of Cocclesworth. Evidently Cocclesworth's church had been dedicated to Saint Lawrence, and that of Eriswell to Saint Peter, but a confusion arose in the 18th Century when the topographer Kirby came to record the two settlements.\(^4\) In assuming that the larger of the two was the main village of Eriswell he ascribed to it the church of St Peter and the hamlet of Cocclesworth has been confused for the village of Eriswell ever since. Some of Kirby's confusion was understandable

1 Round et al. V.C.H. Op cit (1911) Lackford Hundred
3 Hunday, J.T. Typescript article on Eriswell. W.S.R.O. Acc. 1336
4 Kirby Op cit (2nd Edit. 1764)
7. Norman chancel of church at Little Eriswell

8. Baulks around Eriswell Hall and former village of Eriswell
for by that time the Domesday hamlet had become far larger than the village. In the early 16th Century the de Tuddenham family had sold their estate at Eriswell and the new owner no longer lived at what is now Eriswell Hall. The village seems to have suffered decline from that time, and the church, when it was sketched in 1725, soon disused and becoming derelict. Small wonder, therefore, that Kirby should have mistaken Little Eriswell as a declining hamlet with its 'chapel'. Today all that remains of the former village of Eriswell is its hall, ruined chancel and baulks around the site of the settlement (see Photos 7 and 8). Some narrow plots of land, similar to those referred to at Lakenheath, can still be recognised in the field and on the earliest surviving map for the parish (the 1818 Inclosure Award¹), and might be suggestive of earlier medieval messauges, especially when it is known that little settlement movement has occurred since then. Map 16 marks the plots for both Little Eriswell and Eriswell.

Some further evidence for the changeover in the settlements can be seen in transactions of land undertaken by the de Tuddenhams. In addition to Eriswell Hall they also held the manor of Roystons. In 1448 this manor had passed into the hands of Roger Camberlain² and became the Manor of Camberlains. Chamberlains Hall Farm can still be seen near the present village of Eriswell, and Roystons was known to have stood within the hamlet of Cocclesworth.

¹ W.S.R.O., Q/RI 14
² Munday, J.T. W.S.R.O., Acc.1978
The location of Cocclesworth in the south of the parish could be considered crucial to an understanding of the initial settlement of the area. While there was a small Romano-British settlement even further south in the parish\(^1\) at Dale Hole (TL728771), where pottery, coins and kitchen middens were found, it seems most feasible to think of Caudle Head as the site of the first Anglo-Saxon settlement, with Eriswell and Cocclesworth developing at some later stage in the Saxon Period. The place-name may be helpful, for Eriswell was "Boar's Stream", a reference to the stream from Caudle Head as other waterways in the parish, especially the cut-off channel on Map 16, are of much more recent origin.\(^2\)

Even if such a picture of settlement development can be accepted, the relationship of Cocclesworth to Eriswell remains a problem. If there was a berewick-central manor relationship as Jones has recognised elsewhere, can the small community at Dale Hole be seen in the same way as being dependent on the Romano-British settlement at Caudle Head? Even disregarding the idea of a Celtic pattern being retained into the Anglo-Saxon settlement it seems rather unusual to find a Domesday hamlet as large as (and in some aspects larger) the parent manor to which it was attached. As a berewick, did Cocclesworth exist as a pre-Saxon settlement? It would appear that all too little can be said about this

1 P.S.I.A., 24 (1949) p.163
relationship, despite the abundant evidence in the parish of archaeological sites of the Roman and Saxon Periods.

These three parishes on the edge of the Fens can therefore be considered together as far as their early settlement history is concerned. Each has evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon community establishing itself adjacent to a Romano-British settlement, at least for the very first decades of the 5th Century, suggesting that the initial attraction of the area was as much its proven ability to support permanent settlement as its soils or fishing. Secondly, it becomes clear that although an initial choice of site was partly determined by the earlier community at some time during the Saxon Period a better site was chosen, one which has continued in use since then. Thus it is possible to speak of settlement continuity in the three parishes for a very brief period only, particularly if one takes the rather narrow view of the archaeologist. But it is also true to speak of continuity of a settlement pattern, for each major Romano-British site was replaced by an Anglo-Saxon one, and to think in terms of continuous occupation of the whole area since the Late Iron Age, even though no evidence has been offered regarding the retention of a particular field pattern or area of cultivation.

It is true to think of Lakenheath, Wangford and Eriswell as an area of Romano-British settlement but the influence of Roman taste and culture upon the communities of Britons appears to have been minimal. This
cannot be said, however, of two other important villages that stand on the boundary between Breckland and Fens, namely Mildenhall and Exning. While Icenian communities may have existed in the area the main emphasis on pre-Saxon material is on the strong Roman influence; it is probable that the two villas were owned by people of Roman stock rather than native British, chiefly from the richness and character of the finds from them.

Mildenhall parish is today the largest in Suffolk, extending over 16,700 acres and of which reclaimed fen forms by far the largest part. It lies within the Breckland, if one is considering the settlement pattern, but the absence of heath and dominance of fen make it somewhat uncharacteristic of that area. The main settlement is the small town of Mildenhall itself, in the south-east of the parish and on the right bank of the Lark. (See Map 17). To the north and west of the town lies an area of fertile soil, unlike the poor soils immediately to the east, and forming a low platform of 25' O.D. of six square miles in extent, which Map 17 shows extending out into the Fens. It is possibly this area that gives Mildenhall its name; 'Milda's halh', where 'halh' may be interpreted as 'a corner, a recess or land in a corner formed by a bend'. Around the edge of the platform are to be found a number of hamlets, all distinguished by the name 'Row'. A mile north of Mildenhall is Holywell Row and half a mile to

1 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p. 326 and 212
its west stands Beck Row. The third hamlet of West Row is the most scattered, lying two miles west of the town where the Lark enters the Fens, and includes Thistley Green.

Such is the settlement pattern that requires some explanation, a pattern that is believed to be of great antiquity and related to a Roman villa that once farmed the platform of good soil and probably part of the surrounding fen as well. The landscape of the area at the time of the Domesday Book gives some indication of the importance of the settlement. The six square miles that now stand above the fen were probably the only part of the parish capable of agricultural exploitation when the Anglo-Saxons first settled there. Most of the surrounding fen, as is only too clear from the present regimented appearance of the square and rectangular fields surrounded by straight ditches, was not drained until the 17th Century, and there are only small areas of more irregular 'old inclosures' near the Rows.

Despite the more restricted nature of the Domesday parish it appears to have been one of the largest in the county in terms of population, with 74 men being listed and eight ploughteams (the number of men is far greater than for Eriswell so it seems rather unusual that the latter manor should have had far more ploughteams). While there is no mention of the Rows as separate settlements archaeological data points to their existence.

1 For example, Burnt Fen and Sedge Fen came under Bedford Level Laws when drained in the 1660's. "Bedford Level Laws" (London 1761). W.S.R.O. E18/410.14

2 Inclosure Map for Mildenhall, 1872. W.S.R.O. Q/R/31A
Close to Holywell Row, for example, a number of Anglo-Saxon burial grounds have been found. In close proximity to one another (TL71457659 and TL71407657) have been found a pagan burial ground of 100 graves of the 5th and 6th Centuries, and a smaller Christian ground of the 7th Century. Two hundred yards north of the present hamlet pottery of the 13th and 14th Century points again to the antiquity of the settlement in that area. Similarly, at West Row buildings similar to those at the Saxon 'village' of Sutton Courtenay have been unearthed. For Beck Row, however, there are apparently no indications of occupation during the Saxon Period. If there should be any doubt as to Maldenhall's existence in that period, in the light of changes seen elsewhere, then there is evidence of a burial of the 7th Century on the edge of the churchyard in the centre of the town and a substantial pagan cemetery of the 5th and 6th Century to the east of the town, on Warren Hill, where the Anglo-Saxons made use of a Bronze Age burial site, the cremations being found within and around three barrows. One cremation urn which comes from Maldenhall Myres includes in his typology as one of the 6th Century Buckelurnen (Group V) with a distinctive distribution in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk.

2 N.M.R. Mildenhall (TL705775)
The existing pattern of settlement in the parish would appear, therefore, to date back at least to the early part of the Saxon Period. In view of the prolific number of Roman sites can there be any relationship also to the present pattern? There are indeed a large number of Romano-British finds scattered over the whole of the parish, but in particular there is a concentration on the low plateau of fertile soil and within the fen immediately north of Holywell and Beck Row. The sites in the fen are almost entirely of sherds e.g. at TL673768, 689788\(^1\) but those closer to the plateau are suggestive of actual settlement, e.g. at TL674766, 676771 and 690789\(^2\). At the last mentioned site, for example, a scatter of pottery, shells, tiles and brick has been located. Although some of the sites were short-lived there is abundant evidence in this area for continuous occupation since the beginning of the Roman Period.

That the present settlement pattern is a reflection of a former pre-Saxon period is shown by the following particular sites. In the west, at Thistley Green, has been found the remains of a Roman villa (TL673767)\(^3\), one of rather meagre proportions with only two main rooms. That this was not the total of the villa's buildings is shown partly by the location of another a short distance away (TL674766)\(^4\) and partly by a hoard of 4th Century silver-

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1 N.M.R. Mildenhall
2 N.M.R. Mildenhall
3 N.M.R. Mildenhall
4 N.M.R. Mildenhall
ware that was found several hundred yards to the west. The hoard contained some 34 pieces of tableware and household implements, including a large dish and two baptismal spoons, the latter inscribed respectively with "Alpha" and "Omega" and bearing the Chi-Rho monogram. The monogram refers to Christ and is derived from the first two letters of that name. Such a discovery points to inhabitation by a person of considerable importance and the site vies with the villa at Lullingstone in North Kent as one of the earliest sites of a Christian community in England (although there is a further such site at Icklingham, a few miles east of Mildenhall).

It seems probable that the villa farmed the six square miles of fertile land above the fen and there is strong suggestion from the great scatter of finds of the Roman Period over that area that the whole of the area was exploited. The airfield which now covers much of that area has also been useful in providing much new information in the course of its construction, with a wide scatter of pottery and bones being located. But it is interesting to note that most of the Romano-British settlements that have been found lie on the outer edge of the plateau, suggesting that a villa estate with outlying hamlets had developed in the latter half of the Roman Period. This was certainly a feature of Roman Gaul and there seems no obvious reason why it should not have developed also in this country.

2 N.M.R. Mildenhall
In returning to the existing Rows there appears to be a relationship to Romano-British settlement. At West Row a building has been recognised while at Beck Row a number of Roman ornamental tiles have recently been uncovered which had been used as gable end tiles. At Holywell Row the evidence is less convincing but nevertheless of interest, a small hoard of Roman coins having been found in the main street, opposite Quaker's Farm (TL708773).

From the archaeological record it is therefore possible to see the existing pattern of settlement in the parish, of the small town of Mildenhall and its outlying hamlets, as a partial reflection of an earlier pattern that existed during the Roman Period and was centred upon the villa. The major difference is to be seen in the new centre that grew in the Saxon Period, namely Mildenhall itself. It is interesting that when the new centre developed the hamlets were probably named in relation to it. This is at least suggested for West Row, for where the firmer ground of that area gives way to the fenland edge to the north of Thistley Green lies a sinuous ditch and embankment known as Weston Ditch. The embankment seems to be of considerable antiquity, particularly as 'Cow and Sheep Drove' lies along it. (See Map 17). Hoskins has described such winding droveroads on the edge of the Fens and considers many of them to be Iron Age in origin. A group of Romano-

1 Simpson, A.E. "A History of Mildenhall" (3rd Edit. 1901) p.49
2 Information from the Ipswich Museum of a discovery in 1969
3 N.M.R. Mildenhall
British huts has also been located within a hundred yards of the eastern end of the ditch. But the name Weston is of chief interest, for it can mean little else but "west tun" or "west farm" and would be further justification for seeing an early Anglo-Saxon settlement in that area.

Therefore, although Mildenhall must be viewed in a rather different light to the settlements at Lakenheath, Wangford and Eriswell during the Roman Period the principle concerning Anglo-Saxon settlement remains the same. The route of entry into East Anglia via the rivers of the Fens brought the Anglo-Saxons into contact with groups of the Romano-British, or at least into an area formerly cultivated by them, and this would appear to have influenced their choice of settlement site. In the case of Mildenhall there is strong evidence that the pattern of hamlets that is now to be observed is a reflection of the former villa estate system, although Mildenhall was a new settlement to be established. The importance and size of Saxon Mildenhall does not appear to have been ignored for it had been a royal manor held by King Edmund before 1016, although by 1066 it had passed into the hands of the monastery at Bury St Edmunds. Many of the royal manors in Suffolk appear to have been very large. Mildenhall also held a berewick in 1066, that of Icklingham. As such it might also be feasible to think of the pattern of settlement in Roman and Saxon Mildenhall as a reflection of a former Celtic pattern, although the villa estate idea still appears the more plausible.

1 N.M.R. Mildenhall (TL676771)
Exning is the other parish on the edge of the fen that has an interesting settlement history dating back into the Roman Period, and where there is some suggestion of land use continuity from that time. The parish itself is rather unusual as it forms a peculiar enclave into Cambridgeshire and which can only be explained by its inclusion in that county until well into the Medieval Period (see Maps 18 and 19). The parish is not part of the county in the 1327 Subsidy Return, but by 1568 was not only part of the county but also comprised a hundred by itself. By the latter date the village had more than been succeeded by Newmarket, the settlement that grew in the south-east of the parish at the close of the 12th Century when plague reputedly closed the market in Exning and saw its removal to the high road of the Icknield Way.

Map 18 shows that Exning lies in an area characterised by early Anglo-Saxon place-names: Isleham, Worlington, Chippenham, Fordham and Freckenham. All the settlements lie in the area of rich, light loams that has the Fens to the north and the outcropping chalk to the south and east, and it is perhaps not difficult, therefore, to realise why the settlements are so early. The area of good soils seem not to have been the only attracting force either, for the Romans made good use of it as well. At Worlington there is evidence of a hoard of Romano-British agricultural implements being found, at

3 Rectory Farm. J.R.S., 45, (1955)
EXNING AND ITS SETTING

THE FENS

BEDFORD LEVEL

UNDLEY COMMON

SLACKLEY FEN

SOHAM FEN

VILLA X

FORDHAM

CHIPPENHAM

NEWMARKET

EXNING

NEW RIVER

HIGH SUFFOLK

KEY

== COUNTY BOUNDARY

--- FENLAND EDGE

X ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE

E EARTHWORK

SCALE IN MILES

0 1 2 3
EXNING

PRE INCLOSURE FIELDS TAKEN FROM A MAP OF THE PARISH 1811
(W.S.R.O. Acc.279/11).

LANOWADI
Villa Site

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

HATCH, FIELD

Area uncertain due to allapitated map.

EXNING

WINDMILL

MOULTON

FIELD

ANCIETY

EXNING

WEST FIELD

NEWMARKET

FIELI

NEWMARKET

FIELD

GREAT SOUTH FIELD

ST. MARY

NEWMARKET

Newmarket Heath

Roman coins

KEY

URBAN AREA

ANTIOQUITY

PRE INCLOSURE FIELD

SCALE OF MILES

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
TL687738. At Freckenham Roman coins and pottery have been unearthed and Isleham has the site of a Roman villa half a mile west of the present village. To the south of that villa lies a very large field, still known as Isleham Field and pointing perhaps to the former area cultivated by the villa.

The villa at Exning, however, is of considerable interest. It was first excavated in the 1940's, having been discovered in the north of the parish where it adjoins Landwade, a small Cambridgeshire village (see Map 19). The villa site had undergone a number of structural changes during the Roman Period. Occupation began in the Flavian Period with a small hut that suggests a native farm, but this was superceded in the early 2nd Century by a long aisled hall (104'0") and in the latter part of that Century the timber structure was replaced by one of stone (flint and mortar), with the addition of a bath house. In the early 3rd Century the villa was again rebuilt, this time on a tri-partite plan and in a considerable lavish style. Here again would appear to be a villa of the importance that could be measured against that of the Mildenhall villa. Is there, therefore, any evidence in Exning parish for the development of a villa estate?

Unlike the survival of hamlets there is little at Exning that is helpful in this matter, and the amount of Roman material is considerably limited. But what evidence

1 N.M.R. Freckenham. At TL673742 such pottery is found in relation to an Anglo-Saxon hut of the 5th Century.
2 P.S.I.A.,24,(1949) p.163
3 P.S.I.A.,28,(1951) p.91 and N.M.R. Exning
there is reveals activity in the Roman Period some distance away from the villa site. On the south-east side of the village (see Map 19), where the New River rises at Favin's Head out of the underlying chalk, a number of Roman wells have been found, and there is some debate as to whether they were used as baths as well as a bathhouse and remains of a hypocaust have also been found in the area. There might be some justification, therefore, for seeing an estate system of the villa covering much of the present parish of Exning. The pre-inclosure field pattern has something to offer here for it does suggest long-standing cultivation of the area north of the village (Map 19).

Exning's open fields were not enclosed until 1811, when a pre-inclosure map was compiled. It is noticeable that four great fields lay to the west, east and south of the village and were named: West Field, Great South Field, Nemarket or Brayden Field, and Hatch Field. But those to the north of the village had long been enclosed and remained un-named, the reference in the award being to "old inclosures" and in particular "the ancient inclosures around Landwade", the location of the villa. While the open fields still showed remnants of Furlongs and strips, the fields to the north show no sign of having been in that condition, perhaps pointing to undivided ownership. The suggestion is therefore that that particular area of the village had been continually occupied and cultivated since the Roman Period, the open fields representing a

2 W.S.R.O. Acc. 279/11 and a note appended to the Inclosure Award, 1812, W.S.R.O. Q/RI14
later Anglo-Saxon addition.

A dating of the foundation of Exning village is of value here. The place-name, with the reservations in the light of Dodgson's views, may be translated as "Gyxa's people"¹ and referring to a particular kinship group that established themselves probably in the 5th Century. Several hundred yards to the north-east (at TL 625658) of the centre of the village a small pagan cemetery of the 5th and 6th Century has been located², which would appear to substantiate the other form of evidence. There is also some evidence that Exning was already an important settlement by the early 7th Century, for it is reputed that Etheldreda, third daughter of Anna, King of the East Angles, was born there in 630 A.D. and subsequently baptised there by St Felix of Burgundy. The story is detailed by Bede in his "Historia Ecclesiastica" and the place of baptism given as St Wendred's Well, a medieval spring near Favin's Head (the "Seven Springs" that Bede refers to)³. St Etheldreda was to become the founder of the mixed or joint monastery at Ely, which was to acquire vast areas of land in Suffolk. Scarfe⁴ suggests that Exning was one of the royal 'seats' of the East Anglian kings, who had their centre of power at Rendlesham in the south-east of the Sandlings. Did the importance of the Roman villa become reflected in the

¹ Ekwall, E Op cit (1965) p.171
² N.M.R. Exning
⁴ Scarfe, N Op cit (1972) p.41
importance of the Saxon village and Domesday settlement? Such importance certainly appears in the establishment of Exning as an entire half-century by itself. Although there is negative evidence of any occupation much before the beginning of the Roman Period at Exning does this administrative unit suggest anything about any earlier Celtic arrangements?

In summary, therefore, of the settlements on the edge of the Fens in the Suffolk Breckland, there certainly appears to be a relationship of the early settlement pattern of the Anglo-Saxons to those of existing communities of the native British, particularly in the first four cases. In the cases of Mildenhall and Exning, however, there is further suggestion of continuous occupation of particular parts of the parish for arable cultivation since the beginning of the Roman Period. The influence of earlier groups upon the choice of where to settle seems to be beyond doubt. In those settlements next to be examined, the other area of early Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Breckland, similar themes and developments may be recognised.
Chapter Six

Settlement Development in the Breckland:

The Lark Valley.
The settlement of the Lark Valley (Map 20) has some relationship with the parishes of the Breckland edge as it is the Lark that forms the southern boundary to Mildenhall parish and almost certainly acted as a major route of entry into Suffolk from the Fens. Although within the largely infertile 'Sand-land' area the valley itself has some fertile patches, principally where gravels and brick-earths occur, and these have encouraged extensive settlement since the end of the Iron Age. The settlements that are now of major interest are those that lie close to or alongside the river; Icklingham and West Stow on the right bank and Cavenham and Lackford on the left.

It is during the Roman Period that the valley first received prominence, probably as a result of the adoption of the pre-historic trackway of the Icknield Way as a Roman routeway. This trackway, a major routeway that traverses Lowland England from the south coast along the chalk ridges, crosses the Lark Valley at this point, along a line from Newmarket to Thetford and into west Norfolk. It crosses the river at Lackford ('The ford of the Lark') and is still clearly distinguishable as a track where it forms the boundary between Icklingham and West Stow parishes (Photo 9). That is the route now most commonly associated with the Way but in such an area of heath and light soils it is probable that there were alternative crossings of the river and hence slightly different routes.

1 During the 19th Century several brick pits were worked in the area, particularly in West Stow parish. The Tithe Map of 1840 shows 'Brick Kiln Meadow' (TL823713) and a brick works at TL823715. W.S.R.O. 134/1, 2

2 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p. 283 suggests 'ford where leeks grew'.
9. Line of the Icknield Way at Icklingham

10. Line of the Old London Road, Icklingham, seen in the thick hedge bank
across the heaths. One such route would appear to have been a road which ran a mile west of the accepted route. It ran parallel to the Way and was formerly known as the 'Old London Road'. It now survives as a trackway, traceable at the southern end by the river only in a line of trees that lie over a broad raised embankment (See Photo 10). Further north the line of the 'Seven Trees Road' would appear to lie along its route, although the name of that track is post-enclosure.

An alternative route may also be postulated to the south of the river, from the ancient Temple Bridge which the London Road would have made use of, across Cavenham Heath to Tuddenham, Herringswell and Kennet, where a direct course would be made towards Newmarket. Such a route had the advantages of being more direct than the existing one. One important feature of either of the suggested routes is that they appear to have been protected in the early Anglo-Saxon Period by a linear earthwork that ran from the Lark at Icklingham, and to the west of Temple Bridge, across Cavenham Heath and Risby Poor's Heath in a south-easterly direction (Map 20). Now almost ploughed out, this was the Black Ditches, a minor earthwork that was part of the defensive system across the open chalklands of Newmarket Heath, of which Devil's Dyke was the largest. It would seem from this that the Icknield Way was as important to the Anglo-Saxons as it was to earlier communities in the Lark Valley.

1 From a map of the parish, 1728, by Lawrence Porter of Chertsey, Surrey. W.S.R.O. Acc 1911
The occupation of the valley during the Roman Period was centred upon a villa at Icklingham (TL780720), excavated in 1877 less than half a mile south-east of Icklingham, alongside the main road to Lackford and Bury St Edmunds. While the evidence for the start of the villa appears to be somewhat vague (perhaps the 2nd Century) that for its abandonment is clear and of great interest. Minimi found in the south-east corner of the building gave dates between 408-470 A.D.¹ There is abundant other evidence along the valley of small Romano-British settlements, most of them in existence in the 4th Century. To the west of the village of Icklingham, along the river towards Mildenhall, a metal bowl and pewter plates were found at TL737738, and near Mildenhall Warren, in the same direction, a great quantity of sherds, roof tiles, iron, bones and the site of a building.² (TL757733). Another site some distance from the villa lies to the north, on Berner's Heath (Map 20), where a hoard of Roman pewterware of the 4th Century has been found.³

But it is the later sites around the villa (later in their discovery) that are of the most interest. In 1939, 150 yards from the villa was unearthed a lead cistern that bore on it the Christian Chi-Rho symbols and an Alpha-Omega, showing great similarities with the Mildenhall villa.⁴ The British Museum labels the find as possibly a Christian font of the 4th Century⁵, and Scarfe refers to another 'font'

¹ N.M.R. Icklingham and Frigg H "Icklingham Papers" (1901)
² N.M.R. Icklingham
³ J.R.S., 47, (1957)
⁴ J.R.S., 23, (1941) and Antiquaries Journal, 22. p. 219
⁵ "Guide to Antiquities of Roman Britain" (British Museum 1951) p. 69.
found in the same field in 1971.¹ Near to the villa have been located a number of stone coffins, presumably used by the Christians from the villa, accompanied by a scatter of red and white tesserae, suggestive of some building also in that area (TL782718).² A few hundred yards east lay a number of Romano-British kilns, a small native occupation site (containing tiles, brick, bones and pottery) and a hoard of Romano-British coins and iron work. The coins were several hundred in number, but all were brass, none silver.³ Prigg also makes reference to a number of Romano-British graves on Ramparts Field⁴ but there is no substantiating evidence for such an assertion.

While Icklingham was undoubtedly the centre of settlement in the Lark Valley during the Roman Period, surrounding parishes have not been devoid of sites. At neighbouring West Stow, for example, a number of Romano-British pottery kilns have been found,⁵ and more recently some 250 coins were found on the site of the abandoned Anglo-Saxon village of West Stow that were practically all to be dated in the second half of the 4th Century.⁶ Two pottery kilns of the late 1st-early 2nd Century have also been found on the same site.⁷

¹ Scarfe,N Op cit (1972) p.80
² N.M.R. Icklingham
³ At TL784719, 780722 and 786718. N.M.R. Icklingham
⁴ Prigg,H Op cit (1901)
⁵ P.S.I.A.,26,(1955) p.37
⁶ Scarfe,N Op cit (1972) p.77
On the south side of the river there appears to have been much less activity but those sites that have been recognised are in close association with a major Anglo-Saxon urnfield. It is perhaps most appropriate to deal first with the urnfield as a major feature of the next phase of permanent settlement in the valley. Lethbridge's\(^1\) excavation in the late 1940's uncovered a very large early or pagan Anglo-Frisian urn-field on Mill Heath, in the west of Lackford parish and opposite the Icklingham villa. The cemetery was used from the late 4th Century until the end of the 7th, but it is interesting to notice that the choice of site appears to have been determined by its previous use in the Roman Period for the same purpose. A number of Romano-British burials and Roman burial vaults lay in the centre of the urnfield, and Neaney suggests that the vaults were still in use during the first decades of the Saxon Period.

Of the hundreds of urns uncovered in the excavation Myres\(^2\) has made a number of interesting comments. Some of them were evidently of the earliest form (plain or linear decoration) to be recognised in this country. Tall rounded vessels with high upstanding necks related to Plettke's Type A6 have been found at Lackford, whereas parallels are to be drawn with those found with settlements of Germanic laeti or mercenaries around the Roman frontier in Northern Europe around 400 A.D.\(^3\) Secondly, the site shows a number

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of urns that are similar to those found at Illington in
Norfolk and have confirmed Myres' views that they form
part of the production of an 'Illington-Lackford' potter, a
workshop that was producing high quality pots of varying
sizes in the second half of the 6th Century. While of a
professional quality the total distribution seems to be rather
restricted to West Suffolk and Norfolk.

Other early Anglo-Saxon burials have been found in
the Lark Valley, including another large urnfield that was
discovered in the 19th Century on West Stow Heath (and
where Myres recognises more work of the Illington-Lackford
potter), with over 100 urns discovered. Pottery from a
site at Mitchell's Hill in Icklingham has revealed some
of Myres' Romano-Saxon hybrid forms that are part of his
phase of overlap at the end of the 4th Century. It was
clearly of Roman origin in being wheel-based but the designs
show a distinctive Anglo-Saxon pattern. Near Mitchell's
Farm (at TL778722) two Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials and
a Romano-Saxon pot have also been found.

It is very clear from this description of Anglo-
Saxon burials in the Lark Valley that the valley was as
important in the Saxon Period as it had been during the
Roman as a major centre of Breckland settlement. Roman sites
appear to have been re-used by the newcomers, especially
the cemeteries, and there is evidence of some degree of
cultural overlap having occurred. What becomes an intriguing

3 P.S.I.A., 1, (1848-52) p. 315
4 N.M.R. Icklingham and Myres "Roman-Saxon Pottery" in "Dark
Age Britain" (Ed. Harben, D) (London 1956) p. 20, 34
question is where were the Anglo-Saxon settlements that provided the burials for the two large urn fields. The present villages are all very small, apart from Icklingham, and yet is one to assume that they lie over the original sites of the 5th and 6th Centuries? There has been no archaeological discovery at Icklingham to suggest either a former Anglo-Saxon settlement or a cemetery of sufficient size to serve such a community. Yet the place-name itself points to a pagan settlement being established and Myres has shown some overlap of Romano-British and Saxon culture at Mitchell's Hill. It would appear, therefore, that it would be a reasonable assumption to make that the existing village of Icklingham is the direct descendant of the Mitchell Hill settlement and made use of the large urn-field for the first two centuries of occupation. (Mill Heath).

Some field evidence is appropriate here, as well as documentary material, as it provides some answers as to why Icklingham should have developed where it did at the end of the 4th Century; the major attraction appears to have been a large area of land under cultivation. There are also possibilities of recognising Jones' 'Celtic' pattern of settlement in the Domesday record. Three entries record the 11th Century parish; one hamlet and two manors. The hamlet was the largest holding and possessed a church, although it was a berewick to the manor of Mildenhall, the rather slender evidence for reflecting any earlier pattern. The other two holdings were manors of a small nature, yet one was held by Seward of Maldon in 1066, the Essex port

1 Round et al. V.C.H. Op cit (1911) Lackford Hundred.
that was over 50 miles away.

There is considerable difficulty in tracing the location of the two manors or indeed of the hamlet (unless it is assumed that it formed the substantial part of the existing village). By the end of the 12th Century, according to the local antiquarian, H. Prigg,¹ there were four manors in the parish and two churches, the latter in the position they occupy now at either end of the linear settlement. Prigg lists the manors as follows: Berniers, Icklingham Manor, Thwamhill or Wamhill, and Sextons, the last two being somewhat smaller. Perhaps one may deduce from this that Berniers and Icklingham Manor were the original Domesday manors, which is reflected in the importance Prigg places upon them in the foundation of the two churches. But in that matter he seems to provide a rather confusing picture, one which does not agree with the appearance of the village today.

During the Medieval Period two ecclesiastical parishes had existed within the present civil parish: St James in the west, with an eastern border along the line of the Seven Trees or Old London Road and its church in the western end of the village; and All Saints in the east, its church being rather more centrally placed in the village and half a mile east of St James ² (See Map 21). Prigg believed the Manor of Icklingham to be part of St James and that both were part of the hamlet that was held by Mildenhall (though the Domesday record makes it clear that

1 Prigg, H. Op cit (1901)
2 Data from Map of Icklingham 1728 (W.S.R.O. Acc. 1911) and Tithe Apportionment and Map for Icklingham, St James 1839 W.S.R.O., 82/1,2
they were separate holdings). This would place the earlier part of Icklingham in the west of the present parish and suggest that area as the part selected by the Anglo-Saxons for their fields, although the archaeological evidence points to the east as the area of initial activity.

As the Domesday record only reveals one church Prigg naturally assumed that this was the present St James, around which the village developed, and that All Saints was a creation of the early 12th Century when Berniers Manor was reputedly connected with its construction. But an analysis of the existing structures show All Saints to have an early Norman nave with two blocked doorways of 11th Century date, whereas St James is primarily of the English Decorated period, that is, early 13th Century. While it is clear that St James may overlie a much earlier structure the early dating of All Saints appears to add contradiction to Prigg's ideas.

Whatever the outcome of such a debate, however, the field pattern of pre-inclosure Icklingham (as in Map 21) does show that the two ecclesiastical parishes had rather different systems. Enclosure occurred in 1816\(^1\) and drastically altered the field pattern so that the old system can no longer be recognised, that which remains being a rapidly modified version of the pattern in the mid 19th Century Tithe Award and Map.\(^2\)

St James' parish shows an open-field pattern almost typical of a Midlands parish, with three great fields,

1 Inclosure Award and Map for Icklingham 1816. W.S.R.O. Q/R14A and Q/R123
2 Tithe Awards for St James and All Saints, Icklingham.1839 W.S.R.O. 82/1,2 and 55/1,2
radiating out from the western edge of the village, and known as Peake, Hall and Ship Field (map 21). Peake Field stretched across the ancient road to Eriswell but the other two lay entirely to the north of it, and at its outermost edge bordered on the extensive rabbit preserve of Mildenhall Warren. All of the fields were characterised by an almost complete system of strips and furlongs, which points to an ancient system of shared land by at least part of the village. The origin of the field-names remains a mystery although Hall Field was probably named after one of the manors. West Hall, for example, stands to the west of St James Church.

In contrast, All Saints parish contained five large fields, though all were smaller than those of St James, with the unusual alignment of rectangular fields running parallel from the rear of the long narrow plots (medieval messuages?) and the Back Lane of the village. The Back Lane and one or two of the household plots is practically all that now remains of the system. The lane is nothing more than a grass track but traces of a substantial baulk on its outer edge still testify to its former importance as a divider from the great fields. (See Photo 11).

From west to east the fields were named as follows: Brand Hall; Crossway; Church Way; West Way and Strado Field. On the northern edge of the fields, which were of approximately of 1400 yards in length, there again lay very extensive areas of heathland. Unlike other parishes in the area, however, there is no indication of that heathland being taken in temporarily as the 'breck' of an infield-outfield system. The 'Way' element in the field-name refers
11. Ancient baulk to Icklingham's Back Lane

...
to the particular track or lane that bordered one side of
the field. But Brand Hall Field does not appear to entirely
fit in with the other four, conforming more to those of
St James with some strip cultivation remaining. It also
did not form a part of the parallel alignment along the
main Icklingham road, and there is some confusion as to
its total extent, either abutting direct onto Cross Way or
being separated by another field. Finally, it would appear
that the field was closely related to the ancient Berniers
Manor; while the site of that is lost Bernersfield Farm
lay on its eastern boundary.

Of the remaining fields something further may
be said concerning their names. While three were named
after routeways that crossed the heaths 'Strado Field' is
more difficult to explain. But the field does lie along­
side the Icknield Way and it is suggested that the name is
a very early Anglo-Saxon one describing that road. There
are similarities to be seen in the place­names of two
Suffolk settlements, Stradbroke and Stradishall, where the
'Strad' is said by Ekwall to refer to a Roman road. If
such an interpretation can be accepted then Strado Field
marks the area of earliest cultivation of Saxon Icklingham,
at the opposite end of the parish to which Prigg would
have pointed.

The position of the Roman villa, in the
southern part of West Way Field would also appear to be
vital. Taking into account the great regularity of the
fields, the absence of Anglo-Saxon subdivisions and the
parallel alignment of the lanes it is strongly suggested

1 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p.449
that those fields were part of the cultivated area of the villa, taken over by Anglo-Saxons in the late 4th Century and something of the original formal pattern retained until the early 19th Century. This view is somewhat substantiated by that of D.P. Dymond who feels that the archaeological evidence of the area is sufficient to justify such a claim.¹

Of the other settlements in the area it is perhaps rather less easy to see them as the original Anglo-Saxon villages. In the cases of West Stow and Lackford it is known that other sites within the parish point to an earlier settlement than is now to be recognised. For West Stow also it seems that the urnfield on Mill Heath was not used in the pagan period, for the other large cemetery on West Stow fulfilled that function.

The present village of West Stow is dispersed, but the village that stood to its west in the 5th-7th Century was tightly nucleated. Situated on a two acre sandy knoll a few yards from the Lark, the site was first recognised as an area of Anglo-Saxon settlement in 1955 and since the early 1960's has been the subject of systematic excavation.² Of the excavations over the period 1965-68 a number of interesting points have been described³ and a fairly complete picture of the settlement made possible. S.E. West has shown that the site had long been in occupation, with evidence of Mesolithic and Neolithic flints and an Iron Age farmstead with circular huts and enclosures. The Anglo-Saxon settlement was apparently demarcated on its northern

¹ Dymond, D.P. Op cit (1968)
² P.S.I.A., 26, (1955) p.37
side by two parallel ditches some 65' apart and connected by a number of cross ditches. By the end of the 1968 season 34 sunken huts had been found on the knoll, the simple 'Grubenhauser' form being the most common. At least three main groups were recognisable, each associated with a small hall-like structure. West suggests that if such groupings could be found over the rest of the site then there was a strong possibility that this represented a social or family grouping. It is perhaps significant that later huts do not seem to have conformed to the pattern.

Within the huts were a number of artefacts that provide valuable information on the economy and diet of the settlement. But of importance too were the sherds of pottery that bore the marks of the Illington-Lackford potter, and a number of stamped concentric circles and pendant loops on sherds that were similar to those found on Romano-British pottery in the same area. It appears that the Anglo-Saxon potter was either in the area at the same time as native British potters or that he made use of patterns on the sherds that he found.

The economy of the settlement seems to have hinged upon sheep rearing and the production of woollen cloth, if the 85 bone combs found are considered, a large number of which were double-sided and in very fine condition. Loom weights in some of the huts indicates their use as weaving sheds, and the high proportion of sheep bones and some spindle whorls reveals this site not only as the most complete Anglo-Saxon village in this country to be excavated but also to contain the only industrial village of that period.

1 By 1971 60 hut sites had been identified, Scarfe. Op cit (1972) p.76.  
2 Before the start of the 1971 season some 120 had been found. Scarfe. Op cit (1972) p.76.
Finally, of the many Roman coins found on the site, as referred to earlier, and ranging in date from 138-402 A.D., there is little indication of a former Romano-British settlement having also been on that site. Rather, West believes that most of them would have come to the site by Anglo-Saxons foraging the sites at Icklingham and using the coins for decoration or ornamentation. Their good condition, particularly the later ones, showed that no sub-Roman money economy based on the coins existed in the Saxon village.

The settlement came to a sudden end in the middle of the 7th Century and the reason for such a short period of occupation is not clear. It is not immediately apparent that the site was overwhelmed by flooding of the nearby Lark, although the site was evidently covered by a sand storm in the 13th Century, preserving the settlement and the ploughmarks of 12th and 13th Century cultivators who had taken over the site (ridge and furrow marks). But the site could have become marshy and it certainly must have become cramped as the community grew. Two of the huts show signs of having been burnt down, but West's own idea, suggested in an earlier interim report, is that the village moved its site eastwards on the conversion of the community to Christianity, to the site of the present church as the sandy nature of the knoll would have proved insufficient a foundation for a church, albeit a small wooden structure that it would have originally been.

1 West, S.E. "A Report on West Stow", Current Archaeology, 1, (1967) p.16-17
The Domesday record for West Stow is rather interesting as it may provide some clues on the foundation of the church. Stow (as it was then called) seems to have taken its name from the establishment of the church, if we are to accept Ekwall's interpretation as 'holy place'. The church was recorded as lying in another Hundred, which should not be taken literally, as any stretching of Hundred boundaries cannot include the present church site in any hundred other than Lackford. But it is quite possible to agree with Scarfe that West Stow church was founded from the adjacent church across the river at Lackford, which lies in Thingoe Hundred despite its name. This would account also for the fact that the Domesday population of West Stow, being 21 freemen (itself rather unusual for Suffolk as other villages have a greater balance of other classes) who owed their socage rights for their land to Lackford, the rights originally attached to the hundred. Can one see in this arrangement, of an attachment of church and freemen of West Stow to another village, anything more than the establishment of a 7th Century church, namely a Celtic system as Jones recognises? Certainly Lackford has the evidence of a Romano-British settlement to the east of the great Anglo-Saxon urnfield but the evidence for any permanent settlement at West Stow from the early Iron Age until the Anglo-Saxon Period is at present negative.

Lackford is another village that has apparently changed its location within the parish on more than one occasion. There is some suggestion from Lethbridge's

1 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p.448
2 Scarfe, N Op cit (1972) p.78
3 Lethbridge, T.C. Op cit (1951)
findings on Home Heath (where the Romano-British settlement lay) that the first Anglo-Saxons at Lackford settled with the existing community, even if only for a short period of a decade or so, as seen at Lakenheath (Maidcross Hill) and Eriswell (Caudle Head). But when a movement was made from Home Heath it was not to the site of the present village, a loose cluster of houses to the east of the heaths and now centred upon Lackford Green. The place-name in itself points to a post-Domesday establishment as the term 'Green' does not appear in Suffolk until the early part of the Medieval Period. The isolated church, secluded some several hundred yards east of the Green, perhaps provides the clue, for its structure is medieval.

In fields immediately to the north-west of the church, Dymond notes that a number of humps and dips strongly suggest a former settlement. Since his observation the pasture of long-standing has been ploughed and in the autumn of 1969 a number of squares of darker soil were detectable, along with a number of dark rectangular plots. In all seven patches lay in a group near the church, the largest 50'x20', and each contained a scatter of settlement debris, sherds, mortar, brick and tile, indicating a small village. The debris was dateable from the 13th-18th Century and would certainly point to the predecessor of Lackford Green, although it is not apparent whether any earlier site lay in its vicinity which would provide the link between 5th Century and the Medieval Period. But the

1 Dymond, D.P. Op cit (1968) p.20
pattern of an initial Anglo-Saxon foundation on the site of a Romano-British community and later movement to a more favourable location is still clear to observe.

Cavenham parish is rather more difficult to decipher in terms of its early settlement pattern. The existing village is orientated north-south along one main street and the presence of traces of an Anglo-Saxon galilee or west porch on the church in the centre of the village does suggest that the site has been in use since the 10th Century (See Photo 12). But of earlier settlement in that period there is no trace, though the 'ham' element of the place-name shows an early village to have been established. Did the settlers of that first village make use of the urn-field on neighbouring Mill Heath? There is one Roman site in the parish of note and that is the discovery in 1926 of a Romano-British ceremonial bronze head-dress. Originally considered to be Saxon finds on a Roman site they have since been reassessed as belonging to a small temple site of the 4th Century. In view of its location opposite the urn-field at Mill Heath (at TL771720) on the eastern edge of Cavenham Heath it seems that the temple was associated with the Romano-British vaults found in that former area.

The Domesday record for Cavenham shows the settlement to be a berewick of Deseling Manor, almost certainly Desning Hall in Gazeley parish, some miles to the south. This was a massive manor in 1066, with a total of 43½

1 P.S.I.A., 19,(1927) p.348
2 N.M.R. Cavenham
3 Round et al. V.C.H. Op cit (1911) and Hervey, J Op cit.
   Lackford Hundred p.11
ploughlands which made it one of the largest in the county. In Cavenham we approximate strong support which could estate be of some trace of Anglo-Saxon settlement at Cavenham

In history a strong settlement could have been made as a centre for the region after the Roman era. Settlements here (and throughout the region) were strongly activated in their initial choice of settlement site, social and economic factors created by the earlier communities. This is also apparent that this was not always the case, as the establishment of West Stow indicates. Such sites as were chosen near to Roman-British communities also appear to have soon been abandoned, presumably in favour of a better location for some reason.

The presence of the Roman villa is again important in terms of which land was first occupied by the Anglo-Saxons, and still retains some trace of its pre-Saxon origin. As at Mildenhall and Saxlingham the villa site does appear important in any consideration of early Anglo-Saxon settlement pattern.
ploughteams, which made it one of the largest in the county. In view of its large size and the attachment of Cavenham to it (itself having 5 carucates of arable - approximately 600 acres - and 25 villans) there must be strong suspicions that such a manor held other berewicks, which would point to a pre-Saxon pattern of a federal estate being preserved. Certainly Cavenham lay in an area of considerable activity during the Late Iron Age, although the same cannot necessarily be said for the parent manor at Gazeley which lay rather closer into the empty area of forested High Suffolk.

In conclusion, therefore, of the early settlement history of the Lark Valley a number of similarities can be made with that of the Breckland edge. The valley was a centre of settlement in the Roman Period and it seems that the first Anglo-Saxons (more correctly here Anglo-Frisians after the research of Lethbridge and Myres) were strongly motivated in their initial choice of settlement site, burial ground and farmland by the pattern created by the earlier communities. But it is also apparent that this was not always the case, as the establishment of West Stow indicates. Such sites as were chosen near to Romano-British communities also appear to have soon been abandoned, presumably in favour of a better location for some reason. The presence of the Roman villa is again important in terms of which land was first occupied by the Anglo-Saxons, and still retains some trace of its pre-Saxon origin. As at Mildenhall and Exning the villa site does appear important in any consideration of early Anglo-Saxon settlement pattern.
Chapter Seven

Settlement Development in the Breckland:

The Black Bourn Valley.
The third area of the Breckland that is important for an assessment of early settlement patterns is the valley of the Black Bourn, a meandering stream that flows on a south-north alignment on the eastern edge of the heaths, flowing ultimately into the Little Ouse. (See Map 14). Unlike the valley of the Lark it is characterised by a number of broad areas of marsh and fen carr, which occur not at its junction with the Little Ouse but more in the centre between Bardwell and Ixworth, and Ixworth and Pakenham. Once underused parts of the valley, since their reclamation they have provided valuable water meadows for hay and cattle pasture. It is probable that they represent natural hollows in a similar way to the meres, rather than to be explained in terms of an inexplicable flood plain of a former larger river.

Whether this well watered part of the Breckland was a major reason for attracting a number of early Anglo-Saxon communities cannot be fully explained but certainly it would appear to be of importance to settlement in that area. The valley also had the advantage of lying between extensive heaths, to its west and most suitable for sheep rearing, and an area of medium loams (See Map 9), to its east and today still acknowledged as an area of rich soil. The valley, therefore, became an area of major activity from the Late Iron Age, with large settlements of the Iceni which continued in use into the Roman Period. Unlike the Lark Valley the pre-Saxon settlement appears to have been the more substantial.
Due to its meandering nature over a distance of only ten miles the river has a considerable number of settlements along its banks, although there is a noticeable concentration on the more fertile eastern bank. Quite a number of the existing villages may be discarded from the present discussion on early settlement origins as they belong to the Late Saxon Period, if their place-names are to be used as an indication and the absence of any pagan Saxon or pre-Saxon sites is noted. These are: Euston (TL890790), Sapiston (TL920740), Thurston (TL920650) and Honington (TL910740). The last mentioned is the only one to stand on the western bank and its place-name does suggest that it was rather earlier than the others.

One of the largest Iron Age/Romano-British settlements in Suffolk stood in the valley, on the western bank and now within the parish of Great Fakenham. But some explanation is required of the fact that Little Fakenham village stands in that parish. It is not a question of Great Fakenham village once lying further west on the extensive heaths and having since disappeared, but the recent transferring of the name of Little Fakenham to the village of Great Fakenham. This was done in order to avoid confusion with the Great Fakenham in Norfolk, a confusion which the Post Office appears to have encountered. The real village of Little Fakenham formerly stood on the eastern slopes of the valley and is now one of Suffolk's lost villages. It was recorded in 1066 as having a separate existence and possessed its own church¹, but it was apparently abandoned

¹ Round et al. V.C.H. Op cit (1911). Brademere Hundred and Black Bourn Hundred.
by the 17th Century. In 1668 Lord Harlington of Euston Hall, and the Bishop of Norwich who held the rectory at Little Fakenham petitioned the Crown for the parish to be united with Euston, Harlington stating that there was only one family still in residence and they no longer had a church or chapel and had to resort to Euston church, a mile away.\(^1\) In 1669 the parish appears to have become absorbed into Euston and little remains of the former hamlet. Aerial photographs do still reveal, however, several rows of houses and some of the former open fields with their strips in a ridge and furrow pattern on the slopes of Mickle Hill, on the southern edge of Euston Park.\(^2\) (See Map 22).

In returning to the large pre-Saxon settlement, this lay 700 yards north of the present Little Fakenham and was discovered (as many sites were in this area) by gravel workings that were opened up in the last quarter of the 19th Century. A large number of hut sites were found, some 165 in total. The majority of them were of an Iron Age date and were characterised by a typical circular form. During the Roman Period 47 huts appear to have been built, many with a rectangular form. But perhaps the most important find was of 9 early Anglo-Saxon huts, showing again this tendency for the first settlers of the Saxon Period to select occupation sites already in use or showing signs of previous use.\(^3\) The Anglo-Saxons seem not

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1 Copinger, W.A. "The Manors of Suffolk" (1904) p.358
3 P.S.I.A., 25, (1952) p.211 and N.M.R. Fakenham
to have moved far after their abandonment of that site, for the existing church is still basically a Saxon structure, with long and short work being noticeable at the east end of the nave. A short distance south of the church (at TL 908761) debris unearthed points to occupation from the Late Saxon to Early Medieval Period, to substantiate the view that the village is the direct descendant of the much earlier Romano-British site that initially attracted the Anglo-Saxons.

To the south of the village and on the eastern side of the river is an ancient feature which may be associated with this early period of settlement development, although there are conflicting views on the matter. At Burnthall Plantation (TL912761 and Map 22), a circular clump, lies a large enclosure with double banks and a ditch enclosing its circular form. It has been argued that this was the site of a medieval manor house or hall that had been destroyed by fire, hence the name and the moated enclosure. But a circular moat would make this a very unusual form as the great majority of the 500 or more medieval moats recognised in Suffolk are rectangular and none has the clear circular form of Burnthall. Some Romano-British pottery has also been found within the enclosure, but of such small quantity that the N.M.R. is somewhat hesitant about ascribing a date in the Roman Period to the enclosure.

1 N.M.R. Fakenham
3 P.S.I.A., 24,(1949) p.163 and N.M.R. Fakenham
THE EARLY SETTLEMENT
OF FAKENHAM

BARNHAM

EUSTON

HONINGTON

GREAT FAKENHAM HEATH

GREAT LIVERMERE

LITTLE LIVERMERE

RYMER POINT

MICKLE HILL

FAKENHAM WOOD

EUSTON PARK

AREA OF LITTLE FAKENHAM VILLAGE

THE ROMAN-SAXON VILLAGE

FAKENHAM

BURNTHALL PLANTATION

HONINGTON

SAPISTON

SCALE IN MILES

0 1 2 3 4

10 20 30 40 50 60

MAP PREVIOUSLY BEEN DRAWN ON A SMALL SCALE
It may presumably have been either a small native fort or some form of cattle enclosure in the Roman Period. It certainly held little strategic value, being at a low elevation a short distance from the river and overlooked from all sides from surrounding hill slopes. There is some rather dubious evidence as to the existence of a medieval manor within the enclosure, but this in itself may reflect some form of site continuity. ¹

There are equally significant sites of early settlement in the centre of the valley. Two existing villages are of particular importance here; Ixworth and Pakenham (See Map 23). Ixworth stands on the right bank of the Black Bourn, immediately north of the tributary which Pakenham lies astride some two miles further south. Two settlements of the Iceni are known to have existed in this area, one at Ixworth itself and the other on the left bank of the river in the northern part of Pakenham parish. Ixworth appears to have been an important centre during the Roman Period when it stood at the junction of two Roman roads, one from London and the other from Colchester, both heading towards Norwich. (See Maps 11 and 23). The line of the London road is still clear as it follows a minor road through Pakenham parish, but that to Colchester is less clear. Running south-eastwards, it probably left Ixworth along the present A1088 (Old Street), through Stanton (Stone) Street, to Woolpit, Hitcham and Colchester.

¹ W.S.R.O. Pakenham File. Miscellaneous anonymous manuscripts.
Excavations at Ixworth, especially along the High Street and Old Street, have revealed the best example of a settlement in Suffolk where it is apparent that occupation has been continuous over the past 2,000 years, a village of the Iceni continuing in use throughout the Roman Period and into the Saxon Period. It is easy to mistake the place-name as a Celtic survival as well, as a reference to the Iceni, but the correct derivation is a Saxon one, 'Gisca's worth or enclosed homestead'.

Quite apart from the Romano-British remains that have been found along the two main streets there is abundant evidence elsewhere in the parish of Romano-British settlement, and associated early Anglo-Saxon sites. For example, within the churchyard, on the west side of the village, coins of the 4th Century have been unearthed, while under the north aisle of the church a coffin of the Late Saxon Period testifies to the early nature of that structure. Signs of settlement in the rest of the parish are chiefly in the south, towards the other main area of Romano-British activity at Grimstone End, in the northern part of Pakenham. Thus at Priory Farm (TL930701), Bridge Farm (TL931703) and the Abbey (TL929704) sherds, brick and tile have all suggested settlement.

Proof of the early occupation of the village by Anglo-Saxons comes from two cemeteries found to the south of Old Street, by the banks of the river. Both sites contained urn burials of the early 5th Century. A number of sherds of that period were also found several hundred

1 P.S.I.A., 24 (1949) p.163
2 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p.268
3 Details from the notes of the local antiquarian, the late Major Kilner. W.S.R.O. Acc 1202
yards to the east in the ruins of a villa. In 1834 a hypocaust was discovered, dating from the second half of the Roman Period, and later excavation revealed more of the villa. The site was re-opened in 1948 when an extensive area of occupation was found. A bath-house had been associated with the hypocaust, and a second bath-house was subsequently discovered, together with evidence that the villa overlay a farmhouse of a native Briton, presumably therefore developing as a villa belonging to some local Romano-British chieftain. The existence of the Anglo-Saxon sherds within the villa does not appear particularly significant as there is no actual evidence of any form of permanent occupation, a feature still hitherto unrecognised in England.

There is little documentary evidence that can suggest where the villa's fields lay in the past, if indeed that was the villa's ultimate function. With its position upon the Colchester road it could just as easily assumed the role of a posting station. However, two maps are helpful, one of the early 17th Century and the other the Inclosure Award of the early 19th. These point to only one area that could have formed part of the villa's fields; notably in the flattest part of the parish it is the area north and south of Crown Lane (which runs due east from the Roman road as it runs north out of the village). There lay a number of large rectangular fields, long before enclosure,

1 P.S.I.A.,1,(1848-52) p.74
2 J.R.S.,39,(1949) and P.S.I.A.,25;(1952) p.213
3 Private map of Ixworth, 1625. W.S.R.O. Acc 1991
4 Inclosure Award and Map for Ixworth, 1807. W.S.R.O. Q/R124 and EL89/1/1
that do not appear to have formed part of the 'normal'
open-field cultivation of the rest of the village.

Before leaving the details of Ixworth to consider the
equally important ones of Pakenham it is interesting to
reflect upon the development of Ixworth Thorpe, to the
north-west of Ixworth (Map 23). Simply listed as a Danish
'Torp' or daughter settlement in the Domesday Book, it
might be assumed to have come into existence long after
Ixworth was thriving, at the end of the Saxon Period. But
an Anglo-Saxon inhumation burial has been found near to
the river (at TL925720 - See Map 23), which contained the
full regalia of a warrior; sword, shield boss, spear and
bronze bowl. Perhaps of greater significance was the nearby
site where it was clear that the site of a small Romano-
British settlement had at a later stage been re-occupied
by a group of Anglo-Saxons, probably in the 5th and 6th
Centuries. Here would seem sufficient evidence to doubt
whether part of Ixworth Thorpe parish was unoccupied in
the first two centuries of the Saxon Period.

Pakenham has a very similar pattern of settle­
ment development to that of Ixworth, with evidence of
Anglo-Saxons dwelling near to Romano-British communities
in their initial stage of occupation, and also having a
large Roman villa in the parish. However, unlike Ixworth,
the present village does not appear to have developed
directly out of a Romano-British settlement. The main
settlement of that earlier period was undoubtedly at
Grimstone End, in the north of the parish and facing across

¹ N.M.R. Ixworth Thorpe
the River Bourn to Ixworth (See Map 23). To the south - west of Mickle Mere and dividing that area from Pakenham Fen lay an area of low but level ground, marked now by a number of disused sand and gravel pits (See Photos 13 and 14). It was the excavation of those pits that revealed the most prolific archaeological site in Suffolk (including West Stow) and where the evidence for Roman-Saxon settlement continuity appears strongest.

The Romano-British settlement of the area seems to have been quite widely scattered. A settlement (hut sites and pottery, some Belgic and some Samian ware included) with a Roman road and track has been found at TL934695, and a small cemetery at TL930696. But many of the finds are of isolated groups of pottery kilns and huts, suggesting that this was a rather specialised community, perhaps serving the local, surrounding settlements of the valley with much of their pottery. The Roman road from London also ran close to the west of this area and it is overlooking that road that proved important for the Romans for they constructed a small fort there in the 1st Century (see Map 23). Its construction being largely of timber and earth, it was diamond shaped with triple ditches, in all some 625'x500'. A similar camp also existed at Castor near Peterborough, where it lay astride Ermine Street at the crossing of the Nene. In that same area a Roman by-road was discovered (TL930720) leading towards the area of the villa, its line also picked up at TL902695.

1 N.M.R. Pakenham
3 N.M.R. Pakenham
Gravel pits at Grimstone End

14. Gravel pits at Grimstone End

15. Gravel pits at Grimstone End

Also as an indicator of the period the gravel pits were worked directly over the sites of earlier communities, aerial photographs have shown…

1 N.M.R. Pembina at W64/395594
2 N.M.R. Pembina at W69/36992
3 P.H.I.A., 30 (1964-5) p.122, 123
4 P.H.I.A., 29 (1953) p.214, the source is not given.
The initial Anglo-Saxon settlement is to be found overlying and alongside that of the Romano-British, and it would appear from the number of pottery kilns also of that period that one of their prime reasons for settling there was the presence of good material for clay making. In one area, for example, was found an Early Bronze Age barrow which had a number of Romano-British cremations in its side but which had been used by the Anglo-Saxons for the manufacture of their pottery and loom weights.\(^1\) Adjacent to that site was one dated as late as 560 A.D., where a settlement that was again occupied in pot making had been established over a former Romano-British site with the same occupation. Even after some time in which the latter had been abandoned it is interesting to note that the Anglo-Saxons made use of Roman bricks in the building of their kilns.\(^2\) The best evidence for 5th Century occupation, however, comes again from burial sites of Anglo-Saxons scattered over the whole area of Gritstone End.\(^3\) The occupation of the site appears to have continued until the 9th Century, when it was totally abandoned. There are no clear indications where the occupants moved to but presumably either to nearby Ixworth or to the present village of Pakenham.

There is some evidence that Pakenham village was also settled during the Roman and Saxon Periods, but no indication of an early Saxon occupation directly over the sites of earlier communities. Aerial photographs\(^4\) have shown

1 N.M.R. Pakenham at TL935691
2 N.M.R. Pakenham at TL935692
3 P.S.I.A.,30,(1964-6) p.122, 190
a number of irregular, Romano-British fields around the village and Kilner refers to a major wall, nine feet in thickness along the Thurston-Pakenham boundary, that he recognised as of Roman origin but no such wall can now be traced and his claims must remain unsubstantiated. But just to the south of the village (at TL929672) Romano-British pottery has been found. The Anglo-Saxon settlement is not as early as at Grimstone End, but one small site of occupation has been found several hundred yards to the north of the village (at TL928678) and a number of early stone coffins found in the walls of the church, at the eastern edge of the village are thought to probably be of Late Saxon origin.

The other major area of settlement in Pakenham during the Roman Period was the large villa, found at Redcastle Farm as early as 1765. The site was some distance to the west of other settlements, and on the west side of the main road to London; today the farm still stands in complete isolation. The villa was quite sumptuous by its finish in the late 4th Century, having eight main rooms and a large apsidal hall, a large circular mosaic and much red tesserae. A series of outbuildings were found on the other side of the present road that goes past the farm. The excavator, Brown, considers that part of the villa may have been used for a small temple.

That the site attracted a number of Anglo-Saxons is now beyond dispute, for a very short distance to the south a settlement area of the late 4th-early 5th Century

1 Typescript notes by Kilner. W.S.R.O. Ixworth/Pakenham files Acc 1202.
2 N.M.R. Pakenham
3 N.M.R. Pakenham at TL928670
4 J.R.S.,46,(1956) and N.M.R. Pakenham at TL901695
has been located, alongside Roman tiles and pottery which suggests a further part of the villa. The villa lies immediately adjacent to the ancient moated site of Redcastle Farm. Can the place-name be related in any way to the large quantities of red tesserae that were found on the villa site? The name is known to have existed before the villa was unearthed at the end of the 18th Century which would rule out any re-naming at that stage. The present farm has a 16th Century structure and the surrounding moat gives a date to the site that could be as early as the Norman Conquest. While there is a clear gap in time between that period and the occupation of the villa site by a group of Anglo-Saxons the permanence of settlement in that small area suggests permanent occupation since the 3rd Century A.D.

The area to the east and west of the farm reveals very well the over-riding principle of location employed by the Roman cultivators; an area of extremely flat land that would allow no impediments to successful cultivation. In this case, however, no trace appears to have survived of any former field system that may have been used. Parts of Pakenham remained in open-field cultivation until an Inclosure Act of 1804, although it is noticeable that this did not affect the area in the west around the villa, where a number of rectangular enclosures are marked on the enclosure map as being ancient enclosures. Beyond the suggestion of the possible area of villa cultivation, however, there is little suggestion of the retention of

1 N.M.R. Great Barton at TL898693
2 From a survey of estates in Pakenham, 1756. W.S.R.O., E/3/22/1,1
3 Inclosure Map for Pakenham, 1804. W.S.R.O., 1034
any particular fields or field system by the Anglo-Saxons, and which has survived to the present. While the presence of a large area of flat, recently cultivated land would have acted as a powerful attracting force upon the Anglo-Saxon farmer, as has already been seen, it did not appear to do so in all cases, as the example of the villa at Stanton Chair indicates.

Stanton parish lies a few miles east of the Black Bourn river and can be placed in High Suffolk if the existing landscape can be taken as relevant criteria, with a number of narrow, twisting and deep-sunk lanes that are not to be found in the Breckland, the result of a greater density of woodland in the past (and still noticeable today) and the wearing down of lanes through the joint process of heavy use and stream water. While outside the limits of the Black Bourn Valley the early history of Stanton is closely involved with the activities of that area rather than with the emptier forest lands to the east.

The activity during the Roman Period was associated with the Roman roads that crossed the parish (See Map 24). At Stanton Chair, located on a tributary stream that flows into the Black Bourn at Bardwell, a specialised villa was established as a posting station on the road, which at that point branched on its way up from London, one route going north-east towards Norwich, the other north-west, as the Peddars Way, towards the north Norfolk coast at Hunstanton (See Map 24). The former can be picked on the
THE ROMAN - MEDIEVAL LANDSCAPE OF STANTON

PROBABLE ROUTES OF ROMAN ROADS TO STANTON CHAIR

BARNINHAM PARISH

HEPWORTH PARISH

STANTON CHAIR

BARDWELL

ROMAN POTTERY

LINE OF ROMAN ROAD

To Upholster

STANFIELD

STANTON

UPTHORPE

HEWKEN HALL

POSTER'S LANE

SCALE IN MILES

0 14 16

KEY

Baulks

Earl y Lanes

Norfolk side of the Great Ouse river by the line of a
Norfolk side of the Little Ouse river by the line of a secondary road crossing Riddlesworth parish (TL977811). Neither road is easy to trace on the Suffolk side of the Little Ouse but if their alignments in Norfolk are maintained over the boundary then a junction is arrived at at Stanton Chair. The name 'Chair' is an interesting retention by the Anglo-Saxons of the Roman junction, which must still have been clear when they occupied the area, for it is probably the same name as used in Charing Cross in London, the Anglo-Saxon 'cerr' or 'cyrr' or turning.

The villa itself was well furnished and on a similar scale to that at Redcastle Farm, Fakenham. Many of the rooms had been painted, mosaics laid and a quantity of window glass added to the luxury. Pottery found came from the manufacturing centre at Wattisfield, a few miles to the east, revealing some contact with the local native population. But the great quantity of Roman coins suggests that this house had rather more to do with official travellers on the road, and they also help to date the building to a period from the early 3rd-early 5th Century. That the villa probably had few fields is reflected in the apparent lack of interest in the area by the Anglo-Saxons. Meaney reports an Anglo-Saxon burial at the villa site and there is evidence of 5th Century occupation nearby, at TL955742, with an Anglo-Saxon clay ring and cup being the more notable finds. Closer to the village, at TL960750,

2 Meaney, A Op cit (1964)
3 N.M.R. Stanton
a more spectacular gold and jewelled cross of the 7th Century has been found, if somewhat in isolation.¹

But the existing nucleated settlement of Stanton is some distance (over a mile) from the villa and there is little indication that it was in any way involved with a community before the middle of the Saxon Period. Nevertheless, it is interesting to examine the early settlement history of the village and the parish as it is a good example in High Suffolk of how effectively ancient patterns have been maintained in the landscape, a feature which is less apparent in the Breckland.

The parish boundary is clearly stated in the words of the Inclosure Award for 1800 and it is a feature of the boundary that it is for the most part composed of ancient baulks or sunken lanes (See Map 24).² If those limits were established in the 10th Century or even at a much earlier date then it might be concluded that the lanes were established at the same time, or indeed were used to legalise the limits by their earlier presence in the landscape. Not all the lanes have survived since 1800, but the stability of the boundary up until that point appears quite remarkable. Of those lanes that ran from the village to the boundary the greater part survive, although the line of Kings Lane was lost when a war-time airfield was constructed. The Grundle, shown on Map 24, bears the name common to a number of Suffolk f l i a n e s . While its meaning remains obscure one common characteristic does appear to be

¹ N.M.R. Stanton
² Inclosure Award and Map for Stanton, 1800. W.S.R.O. Q/RJ3 and 1295
the prominent stream that runs down the lane.

While the lanes acted as the boundary lines in the south and east of the parish in the north and west earthen baulks seem to have been more appropriate, as that part of the parish is still noted for the lighter soils of the Breckland and the lane an unsuitable form of boundary. Such banks were still in use in the early 19th Century, and were regarded then as of considerable antiquity:

"thence in a south-west direction to the south corner of an Old Bank nearly in the middle of Fir Wood belonging to the said Capel Lofft and from thence proceeding nearly in a north-west direction of the said Bank to the west corner of the aforesaid Wood and then turning proceeds nearly in a north-east direction by the Hedge on the North-west side of the said Wood to an Old Bank at the east corner of a piece of glebe in the said Wood belonging to the Rectory of Stanton and thence proceeding in a north-west direction by the side of the Bank to the Fir Wood Lane."¹

Although it is clear that Stanton village was the main settlement in the parish a number of other settlements do appear to have developed as outlying hamlets. Upthorpe, to the east of the village, lies at the end of a long lane and is a Danish hamlet of the 9th Century. Stanton Chair also has a small hamlet related to the villa by distance but there is no indication of any other way. Dale Road, a straggling group of houses, lies half a mile east of Stanton Chair and here again there is little suggestion of a hamlet more than a few centuries old.

¹ Inclosure Award for Stanton, 1800. Op cit
Some clues as to the early settlement pattern of Stanton might be gained from the Domesday account. Four separate holdings are recorded, of which only one was a small manor. Between them they held two churches, seen today in the church of All Saints in the village centre and the partial ruin of St John to the north-west (See Map 24). It seems unlikely that those four holdings represent the four areas of settlement in the parish today, although Upthorpe would certainly be one of them as it does not receive a separate entry.¹

Stanton may therefore be seen in a rather different light to the settlements of the Breckland valleys. Evidence of Roman occupation is again clear, as is the temporary occupation nearby of a group of Anglo-Saxons, but the association of the later settlement pattern to the Roman Period sites is something that becomes far more conjectural. As one moves further into High Suffolk the attempts to trace Romano-British activity becomes more difficult and the emphasis is placed increasingly upon the origins of Anglo-Saxon settlement without the existence of earlier communities. In endeavouring to trace early field patterns and hence evidence of some form of land-use continuity the task becomes more difficult as the early enclosure of open-field (probably completed by the end of the Tudor Period) and the multiplicity of medieval roads and tracks obscure the earlier patterns. Continuity becomes related to more particular points and places rather than in terms of entire valleys.

¹ Round et al. V.C.H. Op cit (1911) Blackbourn Hundred
Stowlangtoft, although still quite closely linked to the Black Bourn settlements, is one such settlement on the edge of High Suffolk that acts as a good example of the problems to be encountered in that area. Here the emphasis is upon the location of the parish church, established on a mound of the Roman Period which had obviously ceased its former function at least two centuries earlier. Thus there is no question here of seeing a group of early Anglo-Saxon settlers being attracted to the area by the existence of a community; rather it was a case of Anglo-Saxons making use of a convenient structure of an earlier age for their new building. (See Photo 15).

The place-name is rather confusing here for the 'toft' element does not indicate a Scandinavian settlement of the 9th or 10th Century. The Domesday name was simply 'Stow' and the 'Langtoft' element derived from Richard de Langetot who held the manor in 1206. The original name refers again to a church, in the same way as at West Stow, and may give some indication of the village being set up shortly after the Conversion, in the middle of the 7th Century.

The Roman enclosure on which the church stands was probably constructed for the same purpose as that at Grimstone End, to watch over the important road that ran a short distance to its west (See Map 23). A number of Late Anglo-Saxon ditches on the west of the road (TL951680) and three moated sites to the immediate north of the

1 Ekwall, E. Op cit (1966) p.448
2 N.M.R. Stowlangtoft
15. Stowlangtoft Church on a Roman mound
church point to a considerable emphasis being placed on that part of the village in the Late Saxon–Early Medieval Period (the present village runs to the east of the church, not to the west). The moated sites near the church may suggest some earlier church–hall relationship. It is very common in Suffolk, especially in High Suffolk, to find the hall next to the isolated church, a high proportion of the latter being in that position. It is the peculiarities of High Suffolk, particularly in relation to the early Anglo-Saxon villages, that next requires examination.
Chapter Eight

High Suffolk: The Pottery Area of the North.
Although there are clear differences in the settlement history of the Breckland and High Suffolk the two areas cannot be treated in isolation. In particular, during the last decades of the Iron Age when the forested interior was being penetrated by new colonists from the south-east, and by the Iceni from the north-west, certain parts of High Suffolk are to be found associated with the communities in the Breckland valleys. There is a distinct link, for example, between the settlements along the Black Bourn and a number of industrial villages to the east which produced much of their pottery.

Several miles to the east of the Black Bourn and a mile south of the Waveney and Little Ouse rivers lies an area of good kiln clay, three miles east-west and a mile north-south in extent. The clay has been exploited continuously over the past 2,000 years for pottery. Such activity was concentrated within the present parishes of Rickinghall Superior and Inferior, Wattisfield and Hinderclay. Place-names tell little here of location as in most areas some movement of site is suspected during the Anglo-Saxon Period. Rickinghall, however, may be an exception, for the 'remote valley of Rica's people'\(^1\) would seem to describe well the narrow valley on whose side the present villages of Superior and Inferior stand. Hinderclay does not refer to the clay on which it stands but to 'the tongue of land where elder grew'\(^2\), itself an apt description of the tongue of land between two tributaries of the Little Ouse on which the present village stands (See Map 25).

1 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p. 386
Yet even at Hinderclay there is some evidence that the present village does not stand on the site of the first one established by the Anglo-Saxons. It is also true that there was a substantial settlement in the area before the beginning of the Saxon Period. Where the parishes of Rickinghall Inferior, Wattisfield and Hinderclay meet, in the area of the present Walnut Tree Farm and Calke Wood (TM020750 and Map 25), lay an extensive complex of Late Iron Age pottery kilns, pits, huts and tracks, a site that continued in use throughout the Roman Period. Many isolated pottery kilns of that period have been found scattered over the four parishes (such as kilns and a possible small settlement at TM021755 in Hinderclay; a kiln and potter's shed at TM044753 in Rickinghall Superior; 19 kilns on Foxledge Common plus four others, with a hut site and trackway at TM012740 in Wattisfield). But perhaps the most significant site lies in Rickinghall Inferior at Calke Wood, where some 24 clay extraction pits were unearthed. Next to that site was an enclosure, with rampart and ditches, with two 'causeways' running from the north-east and north-west corners into the centre, the enclosure apparently used during the Roman Period as the settlement of the potters, although there was evidence that the site had continued in use for pottery making until after the Norman Conquest.

A number of Roman tracks have been recognised in the area, notably Nobles Lane and Kings Lane in Rickinghall

1 N.M.R. Hinderclay
2 N.M.R. Hinderclay, Rickinghall Superior and Wattisfield.
3 N.M.R. Rickinghall Inferior and J.R.S., 35, (1945). The field is still owned by Wattisfield Pottery.
Inferior and Wattisfield (TM014730 and 011724); they are best discerned now in tracks in the latter parish where they run south from the southern end of The Grundle and Honeypot Lane (See Map 25). The line of a road of that period, together with a small settlement and a number of kilns, has been found further west at Hepworth (TL999754). If the direction of the road at that point is to be extended east it leads to the kiln complex at Calke Wood, and if westwards it follows the line of Bury Lane in Stanton parish (See Map 24) and leads to the major settlement at Ixworth, which would seem to point to one of the main routes used by the potters to transport their wares to the market centre.

Finally, before leaving the Roman Period of the pottery area, mention should be made of another complex of kilns at the southern end of Hinderclay Wood (Map 25), for they show a characteristic of many of the kilns in the area, a considerable slackening in their activity after the 2nd Century A.D., for which no immediate reason is apparent. Yet there is no question of the area abandoning pottery making at the end of the Roman Period, for there is clear evidence of continuity of that activity through to the present. For example, one site at Rickinghall Superior (TM042739) has revealed Late Roman pottery and an early Anglo-Saxon kiln and hut. Much of the later activity was located in Wattisfield parish, where the

1 N.M.R. Rickinghall Inferior
3 N.M.R. Hinderclay
4 N.M.R. Rickinghall Superior
existing pottery is to be found. To the west of the present village (TM008745 and 009749) a quantity of 14th Century pottery has been found, while near The Grundle (Map 25) on the east a number of Tudor kilns have been located (at TM014736). Outside of the parish the other major area in the Medieval Period was at Hinderclay (TM021765 and 025767) where a number of clamp kilns of the 13th and 14th Century are located.

Until recently, while much was known of the activity of the potters in the Roman Period in the area, little was known of the development of the settlement pattern with the movement into the area of the Anglo-Saxons. The place-name of the Rickinghalls suggested a pagan settlement had been established, but the only positive archaeological evidence came from the find of a 6th Century dagger on the Calke Wood site. More recent finds produce a complex pattern of settlement in the first two centuries of the Saxon Period, and one which does not necessarily become automatically associated with either the Romano-British pattern or that of the present villages.

At Broom Hills (TM043760 and Map 25) over a thousand Mesolithic flints were found underlying occupation debris of the Iron Age, Roman and Saxon Periods. A village of the Chysauster type had survived intact until the early 5th Century, when it was taken over by a group of Anglo-Saxons for a short period. In the 6th Century a large manor

1 N.M.R. Wattisfield
2 N.M.R. Hinderclay
3 P.S.I.A.,30,(1964-6) p.195
4 P.S.I.A.,31,(1967) p.81. Chysauster is named from a Celtic village in Cornwall, consisting of two rows of large houses each house being arranged around a court-yard.
house had been erected on the site, although there is no building near the site. In the grounds of Hill House, however, which lies a short distance to the south-west and is the main settlement on the tongue of land between two valleys where Broom Hills is located, apart from the vicarage, another and later Anglo-Saxon manor house has been unearthed. Has the latter site superseded the former and ultimately led to the establishment of Rickinghall Inferior, in whose parish the sites are to be found? At Hinderclay a similar pattern of movement in the Saxon Period is again noticeable. The earliest site of that period appears very close to the Roman pottery complex at the southern end of Hinderclay Wood, and at the head of one of the narrow streams that penetrates the area from the Little Ouse (See Map 25). A Late Saxon site appears to have continued in use only until the 11th Century, when it was abandoned but for a mill that was established. In the absence of other contradictory evidence, and the location of the medieval kilns nearby, was that move made with the setting up of the village on its present site?

Rickinghall Superior is today rather a curious village for its main settlement is a continuation of a linear form that stretches along the main A143 road from Rickinghall Inferior to Botesdale. The medieval church lies some distance to the south-west, isolated from village or manor house, appropriately next to the Brick Kiln Farm and a number of sites of Romano-British kilns. The earliest Anglo-Saxon and early medieval sites are also in that area,

1 N.M.R. Rickinghall Inferior
2 N.M.R. Hinderclay
at TM038743 in the west and TM044755 in the south\(^1\), and it might be suggested from this that Rickinghall Superior has also changed the location of its settlement considerably since the end of the Roman Period.

Finally, at Wattisfield the pattern of Anglo-Saxon settlement follows the same trend seen elsewhere. There is no confirmation that the existing village is an Anglo-Saxon village and sites to the west (at TM002741 and 006741) and the south (at TM005731) suggest other locations in that period. The last mentioned site is interesting as it was at Hall Green, a settlement now all but deserted, which revealed a large number of huts of the Late Saxon - Early Medieval Period, including one over 40' in length.\(^2\) Of further interest is the nearby 'Moat Cottage', where finds have suggested the site of the original hall in Wattisfield. Was Wattisfield village therefore further south than it is today? The large number of narrow lanes that lead into that area certainly do suggest that the importance of that location was once considerably greater than today.

In summary, therefore, of the early settlement of this part of northern Suffolk it can be seen that the industrial activity begun in the Late Iron Age is a feature which accounts for much of the continuity of the area, rather than any significant settlement site. The attraction of the Romano-British settlement to the first Anglo-Saxons does not appear to have been as strong as seen for the Breckland, although similarities in site can be

\(^1\) N.M.R. Rickinghall Superior  
\(^2\) N.M.R. Wattisfield
recognised in a number of cases. Unlike some of the patterns in Breckland, however, there is no suggestion of Anglo-Saxons taking over areas of cultivated land that had been cleared by the Romano-British. Most other sites in High Suffolk, where a relationship can be made between a Roman site and patterns of early Anglo-Saxon settlement, do exhibit that feature to varying degrees. Because the settlement of that part of Suffolk was later than the Breckland valleys in the Saxon Period it is naturally that form of land-use continuity that must be looked for, rather than any ideas of direct settlement continuity, although the latter is not entirely absent. The cases to be examined are largely in isolation, unlike the valley settlement of the Lark or Black Bourn.
Chapter Nine

High Suffolk: Long Melford and Hitcham.
The village of Long Melford in southern High Suffolk is one such isolated case where associations with a Romano-British settlement are very clear but where surrounding parishes are largely devoid of them (in dealing with the detailed Anglo-Saxon charters for Suffolk the neighbouring parish to the south and east, that of Acton, was mentioned as possibly having some Roman connections.) The settlement is essentially in two parts; a large triangular green in the north, with the medieval parish church at its northern end and Melford Hall on its eastern side, and a long, linear settlement that runs south from the green (over a mile in length) and gave the addition 'Long' to the Domesday name of 'Melforda!' The Chad Brook, a tributary of the Stour (which acts as the southern and western boundary to the large parish) divides the green from the linear form and is probably that which gave the place-name 'millford' to the village.¹ (See Map 26).

Excavations in recent years have been concentrated on the western side of the long street settlement, where the site of a Romano-British village has been found. The area covered by the settlement was extensive, being over a thousand yards in length and stretching westwards down to the banks of the Stour.² Originally occupied by the Trinovantes, or by the Belgae, in the first century B.C. the site was in use throughout the Roman Period, although there was a distinct decline after the 2nd Century.

¹ Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p.320
Scarfe suggests that this may merely mean a shift in the axis of the village so that the later Roman settlement would now be found under the actual street of Melford.

While this was certainly a settlement of native Britons there is adequate evidence that the area came under a strong Roman influence. In the south of the settlement was a small villa with its hypocaust, discovered in 1959 in a field adjoining Liston Lane, being the road that runs west from Melford main road to cross the Stour into Essex. There was also an inevitable influence from the use of the two Roman roads that met at a cross-roads in the centre of the parish.

In the 1st Century A.D. a road had been constructed from London to the provincial capital of the Iceni at Venta Icenorum (Norwich) and it crossed into Suffolk at Rodbridge Corner, which lies at the southern end of Long Melford parish, its course then following the present street through the village and northwards across the green. Another road approached from the west, on a course from Cambridge to Dunwich (See Map 11 and 26), entering the green practically along the line of the existing west-east road, and continuing eastwards on the southern side of Chad Brook. Part of that road can still be traced as a low terrace running across the green, although the exact location of the cross-roads appears lost. The green is perhaps surprisingly devoid of Roman remains as cross-roads are often to be seen as generators of new settle-

1 Scarfe, N Op cit (1972) p. 58
2 A number of skeletons found at TL859453 were pronounced by Prof. A. Keith of the Royal College of Surgeons to have skulls that belonged to the natives of Suffolk in the Roman Period. Halden, J P.S.I.A., 15, (1915) p. 267-8
3 P.S.I.A., 2, (1859) and J.R.S., 49, (1959)
ment. The Rev. F. Simpson writes of sacrificial rites of Roman Period and the possibility of there being a temple on the green that was the fore-runner of the existing church, from the claimed discovery of a Roman guttus or glass vessel found on the green. Such a discovery was made in the parish but not on the green; the N.M.R. points to a site somewhere along the main street (though even then the reference is most vague).

While there is no evidence of excavated material north of the Chad Brook for a pre-Saxon settlement, some of the field-names in the northern part of the parish are rather suggestive of such. They all occur around Kiln Farm (TL860495) and include Kiln Meadow, Kiln Field, Kiln Grove. In more cases than not such names are to be found related to Romano-British pottery kilns; from the Saxon period onwards the manufacture of pottery became a highly specialised and concentrated industry, the two main areas in Suffolk for the Saxon Period being at Ipswich and Thetford. There is no indication that Long Melford was in any way involved in pottery manufacture from the Medieval Period and it seems more likely that the field-names refer to a kiln(s) of the Roman Period, unearthed in the 18th or 19th Century when such features were recognised as kilns. 'Blacklands', also in the north-west of the parish, may also suggest an area of former occupation, although clearly the date of such is impossible to tell without

1 Simpson, F.S.W. "A Guide to Long Melford Church" (1957)
2 P.S.I.A., 2, (1859) p. 96. At TL8645 N.M.R. Long Melford
3 Names derived from the Tithe Apportionment and Map for Long Melford, 1839. W.S.R.O. 145/1, 2. The names are unrecorded on a map of the parish, 1580. W.S.R.O. 2130/1
excavation.

While there was considerable activity in the parish during the Roman Period the information on the Anglo-Saxon settlement is practically non-existent. It seems certain that both green and street village were settled by the end of the Saxon Period but there is no confirmation from the archaeological record. That part of the village which stands at the greatest height above the river Stour is at the northern end of the green, where the church stands, but the 'spiritual end' of the village is not necessarily the oldest or that where the main settlement stood. A number of early maps\(^1\) certainly reveal the street settlement to be as well established at the end of the 16th Century as it is now, but the existence of a Late Medieval chapel at the southern end (and long since demolished) does possibly suggest that the green was formerly the main focus of settlement of the village, the chapel being provided when the village had grown in that direction.

One other feature in favour of a relatively early foundation for Anglo-Saxon Melford is the size and importance it had attained by 1066; certainly it was one of the largest vills in High Suffolk, with a total of 34 plough-teams and 80 farmers, which suggests that a very substantial part of the present village was already inhabited and much of the parish under cultivation.\(^2\)

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2 Round et al. V.C.H. Op cit (1911) Babergh Double Hundred
Lying within another very large parish to the east of Long Melford, the village of Hitcham has no distinctive form like that of the former. The church does not act as the focal point for the settlement and it does not have a conspicuous position like that at Melford, or like that of neighbouring Bledeston where the isolated church has a hill-top position. It lies instead at the foot of a small spur between two tributary streams of the River Brett (See Map 27). Most of the settlement is not dispersed, with many farms out in the fields, but is orientated north-south along either side of a road that runs up onto the spur, the curiously named 'Causeway'.

With regard to the establishment of this settlement in the Dark Ages, and that of neighbouring Brettenham on its west, it is perhaps rather unusual to find the early 'ham' element so far into central Suffolk. But at Brettenham it appears that a settlement was established before the Saxon Period for it was probably named after the 'settlement of the Britons'¹ and the River Brett, a major valley that enables penetration from the south, a back formation from it. There is archaeological evidence in the parish for activity during the Roman Period. For example, a number of Romano-British burials have been found in the grounds of Brettenham Hall, and others at Castle Hill Farm² (See Map 27). Nearer to the village, at Rose's Farm is a rectangular fosse that is also believed to be of Roman origin³.

1 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p. 63
2 P.S.I.A., 17-18, (1924) p220
3 P.S.I.A., 7, (1891) p. 27
There is no way of telling whether the Romano-British at Brettenham were in any way associated with the settlement at Hitcham in the same period but it appears likely that they were in some way related in view of their comparative isolation in the centre of the forest. To the west of the Causeway there ran a Roman road, its alignment still recognisable in the narrow by-road that runs north-south through the parish (See Maps 11 and 27). A short distance to the south of the parish it was met by an east-west road (which only survives in this area as a crop-mark in fields north of Bildeston Church - see Map 27). Almost on the north-south road, a few yards to the east, a small villa had been established in the centre of Hitcham parish at the end of the 1st Century and continued in occupation until the close of the Roman Period. Burials, presumably associated with the villa, have been unearthed at nearby Brickhouse Farm. Was there a Romano-British settlement associated with the villa?

The Causeway may be the site of some such settlement for a number of scattered finds of the Roman Period (mainly sherds and tiles) have been found along the roadway, and a number of ancient tracks to the east of the road have been suggested as being of Roman origin. The road-name itself is rather unusual; there is no apparent raised track (such a feature being totally unnecessary on such a well drained slope), although the road is still deeply ditched on either side and the area enclosed within the ditches is far greater than the roadway width. There is no record of the creation of a new road over the past few centuries and

1 P.S.I.A.,19,(1927) p.231
2 P.S.I.A.,18,(1924) p.220
certainly no record of parliamentary enclosure. The permanence of the settlement along its length might also suggest that it does represent in some way the continuation of a settlement pattern, or, more likely, the persistence of one particular part of the parish for settlement since the Roman Period. While the evidence is rather vague and inconclusive there does appear to be some reasons for ascribing two early Anglo-Saxon settlements in central Suffolk to the influence of existing communities and the areas of land they would recently have had under cultivation. By the time Domesday Book was compiled the benefits to Hitcham of an area already partially cleared from the forest is shown by the very high number of plough-teams that it recorded (30½).  

The evidence provided for early Anglo-Saxon occupation of Long Melford and Hitcham/Brettenham can be seen to be far less reliable or sufficient to make any positive analysis of settlement change during the Dark Ages (unlike the Breckland parishes), but what does appear from these two somewhat 'isolated' cases is that early settlers in High Suffolk were certainly influenced in their choice of site and area of cultivation by those communities that were already established, the partial clearance of forest before the Anglo-Saxon cultivators arrived allowing those vills to grow into large farming units by 1066. A number of 'grouped' parishes show somewhat similar patterns of development in High Suffolk, as the next examples reveal.

1 Round et al. V.C.H. Op cit (1911) Cosford Half-Hundred
Chapter Ten

High Suffolk: Development of Grouped Parishes.
Three parishes now comprise the Stonhams; Earl Stonham, Little Stonham and Stonham Aspal, covering an area over 12 square miles in the heart of Suffolk (See Maps 28 and 29). The Gipping Valley, a major route of entry into the county from the North Sea, lies half a mile from Earl Stonham and a tributary stream flows through that parish. The 'ham' element places the settlement of the area probably into the 5th or 6th Century, which does not appear to be unusual in that part of High Suffolk. Adjoining the parishes to the south are three more parishes that were originally one, with the place-name of Creeting, which abut onto Coddenham and Barham further south.

The subdivision of Stonham into three appears to have occurred after the Domesday survey, when only Stonham appeared\(^1\), and probably occurred during the 12th Century. Aspal, for example, refers to that part of the original parish held by Roger de Aspale in 1292; Stonham Parva is first mentioned in the feet of fines for 1219, and Earl Stonham in 1212\(^2\). Yet before the Conquest the survey suggests that a considerable number of scattered settlements existed in the area, for of the 37 holdings of over 10 acres there were 13 'petty' manors, of which none were larger than two carucates (240 acres). Clearly no strict manorial system, centred upon one village, ever existed.

It is also noticeable that 6 Domesday churches were recorded (as opposed to the three that now survive), a sure sign that a number of settlements were involved. The

1 Round et al. V.C.H. Op cit (1911) Bosmere Hundred
THE LOCATION OF PARISHES DESCRIBED FOR HIGH SUFFOLK
location of at least three of the churches is now lost, although one might speculate on possible sites at such isolated centres of population such as Broad Green and Middlewood Green, both in Earl Stonham parish (Map 28). Of the existing churches only St Mary and St Lambert at Stonham Aspal can be given a definite pre-Domesday date, not from its structure but from the rather unusual dedication to St Lambert. Only one other such dedication occurs in England, to the saint who was Bishop of Maestricht in the early 8th Century. Such a rare dedication would have only been used for a few decades after his martyrdom and may indeed suggest where some of the settlers of Aspal originally came from.

If the Saxon Stonham was composed of a large number of scattered farms and/or hamlets then the archaeological record of Romano-British settlement shows considerable parallels. A considerable village stood on the north facing slopes of the valley that the tributary occupied, where it flows through Little Stonham and Earl Stonham parishes (Map 28), and a line of Romano-British finds (pottery, bone, brick and tile) have been found along a line between the churches of those two parishes. Like the settlement at Long Melford the growth of the village seems to have been encouraged by the driving of a Roman road through the parishes, being the main London to Norwich route and still followed in the line of the A140. Another

1 The individual example outside Suffolk is at Burnaston in Yorkshire. Bond, F "Dedications and Patron Saints of English Churches" (London 1914).
settlement lay near to the road slightly further south in the parish of Greeting St Mary, where a substantial building stood at Riverside Farm. A Roman barrow, presumably containing the remains of a local Romano-British chieftain, was also found in Earl Stonham but its exact location is now regrettably lost. A group of four such burials were also found at Rougham, several miles east of Bury St Edmunds, and were thought to be associated with a villa that was found 250 yards away. Romanised in many ways it still appears that the native Britons retained some of their ancestors' ancient customs.

One feature which may be related to the Romano-British settlement on the valley side is a field to the north of Little Stonham church and isolated from it by the ancient moated site of the hall, which was known until the 19th Century as 'All-Bones Field'. As the hall site separates it from the churchyard it is considered somewhat doubtful that it could be related to the church, and may suggest instead the cemetery of an earlier community than that which erected the church.

From the scattered nature of the finds in the Romano-British 'village' it is perhaps incorrect to think in terms of a nucleated settlement having existed. The same has been suggested for the Domesday settlement, and the scattered nature of the early medieval moated sites shows the trend or pattern to have persisted. Such are; Roydon

2 P.S.I.A.,24,(1949) p.163
3 Two of the barrows were at TL899617 and 899616, with the villa at TL901616. N.M.R. Rougham
4 From the Tithe Apportionment and Map for Little Stonham, 1838. E.S.R.O. P.D.A. 237: A1/1a and b
Hall and Deerboth Hall in Earl Stonham, and Westwood Hall in Little Stonham (Map 28).

One of the most interesting features of the settlement history of this area, and of the field patterns, is to be associated with a villa and its field system in the eastern part of Stonham, now largely covered by Stonham Aspal. The villa stood in the centre of that parish, close to the church and Broughton Hall, the latter possibly one of the many Domesday manors. (At TM132597 - See Map 28). A perennial stream emerges beside the hall and the villa was found closely associated with it, north of the present A1120 road, with a bath-house making use of the water. Its lifetime was comparatively short, being erected in the late 3rd Century and abandoned at the end of the 4th. Its construction was rather unusual, being mainly a wooden building (examination of the timber suggested the use of local oak), although some plaster-work was in evidence. It had no wall plaster without some form of painting on it, but mosaics were not in evidence, all the data pointing to a small farmhouse of some native Briton who had utilised Roman plan in building but made use of local materials rather than importing expensive stone.¹

As a farming community it is probable that the villa's fields lay to the north-east, partly because that is the part of the parish noted for its exceptionally level terrain (Photo 16). But the other reasons for the choice of that area come from documentary and topographic evidence.

The Domesday Book is again the most reliable early source and it is interesting to see that it is the eastern part of Stonham that did receive some separate attention in the record. 'Estenham' in Bosmere Hundred is taken by both Hervey and Round as a reference to East Stonham, the part of Stonham Aspal that is still known as East End. Old East End Hall is a 15th Century structure at the end of a lane that includes a number of ancient half-timbered dwellings. In a recent study of dwellings of the 16th Century or earlier in Stonham Aspal, Penrose and Hill have found both Woolmers and Morgans (farmhouses) along East End Lane to fit into their pattern. There are also traces of a medieval chapel beside Old East End Hall. It is quite probable that the Hall marks the site of one of the two Domesday manors of Estenham. One of Stonham's six churches also stood in this area, perhaps alongside the Hall.

The total Domesday record for Stonham, apart from Estenham, shows a massive 147 men, the highest population in Suffolk attached to one place-name. Estenham accounted for a further 29. In total, over the two place-names, 103 men were freemen and a further 6 were of almost equal status as sochemen, an indication that the majority held their own land (not necessarily in isolated plots). Did the freemen take over plots of land formerly owned by the villa? The amount of land theoretically under cultivation also reaches massive proportions, of the order of over 14½

carucates (the record totals to 1,734 acres), which also implies that much of the huge parish was under cultivation by 1066 and little forest remained to be cleared. Some of the clearance was certainly made during the Saxon Period but it also appears likely that the Anglo-Saxons were here attracted to the area through its partial clearance during the Roman Period. That suggestion is supported by the evidence of the field patterns of eastern Stonham Aspal which survived down to the 19th Century. The very flat terrain of East End has a number of interesting features, particularly where it abuts onto the adjacent parish of Winston, that point to the partial survival of a Roman centuriation system of fields. The eastern edge appears to have been along Winston Head Lane (See Map 28 and 30, with Photo 17), which serves as a parish boundary. The lane is rather unusual in having a long history yet being unlike so many ancient lanes in Suffolk; it is neither deeply-sunk nor is it twisting, making a straight line for over a mile. It is a wide lane, deeply ditched on either side, yet it fails to join up to any other roads or tracks, which leads one to the conclusion that it was not intended as a route of communication between two settlements but is to be seen in the context of a major field boundary. Its straightness marks the eastern limit of the Roman fields.

The centuriation system requires some detailed explanation. While it can still be recognised on the flat plains of Tunisia and Southern Italy, acknowledged areas of long colonisation by the Romans, it was at first believed to have remained a continental feature, not reaching
16. East End, Stonham Aspal - site of Roman centuriation pattern

17. Winston Head Lane, Stonham Aspal

1. Margary, J.D. "Roman Centuriation at Ripe, Sussex", Sussex Arch. Collections,31, (1940) p.31-41
4. Bradford, J. "Ancient Landscapes" (London 1957) Chapter 4
Hom^ Britain. But over the past thirty years work by Margary on fields at Ripe, Sussex\(^1\), and by Nightingale and Stevens on the system at Cliffe in north Kent\(^2\), has revealed small areas where centuriation has survived. Hoskins has recently suggested a further system recognisable in the planned local road pattern at Holme-next-the-Sea in Norfolk.\(^3\) It is such a road pattern that makes the feature readily recognisable on the 2½" O.S. map.

Bradford\(^4\) details the measurements of a centuriated field system, which was based upon the Roman unit of the actus. The basic unit was the centuria quadrata, 20 actus square (776x776 yards), which was bounded by straight field lanes or roads. Centuriation or centuria refers to the subdivision of that square into long rectangular fields, which were considered in multiples of a hundred. The measurement of each rectangular field was also related to the actus (116 feet). For example, some fields would be one actus wide and three in length, others four in length and so on. A field road would also divide the basic centuria, perhaps into two or four equal segments (See the Diagram), although those examples found in this country have lanes that have tended to deviate from the theoretical pattern (producing a pattern somewhat closer to the lower half of the diagram). The entire quadrata had a further distinguishing feature in its strict align-

1 Margary,I.D. "Roman Centuriation at Ripe, Sussex", Sussex Arch. Collections, 81, (1940) p.31-41
3 Hoskins,W.G. "Fieldwork in Local History" (London 1967) p.139-42
4 Bradford,J "Ancient Landscapes" (London 1957) Chapter 4
Diagram - THE THEORETICAL PATTERN OF ROMAN CENTURIAION

THE IDEALISED PATTERN

THE PATTERN AS USUALLY FOUND

SCALE IN ACTUS, YARDS AND FEET
ment of the fields with a long axis orientation of N.N.W.-S.S.E. Bradford suggests that this may have been a reflection of a particular religious belief.

Centuriation was often to be associated with the estate system of farming when the State established settlement areas for soldiers of long service or other dignitaries. Colchester had been a centre for such people and a considerable number of villas have now been found in the surrounding countryside, yet no hint of a centuriated system has been recognised in the field. In view of the other sites being found in Lowland England where the Roman activity was considerable that area remains one for careful investigation. One of the reasons for the difficulty experienced in locating centuriation in the landscape, where the main suggestion lies in a series of parallel roads, is the modification imposed by 1600 years continuous use of the fields since the Romans abandoned them. Hence it is no longer feasible to find the theoretical pattern; roads may be parallel, but rarely straight. Some roads are missing while others have been added, often cutting across the lines of the earlier ones. The fields themselves vary greatly in size through the inevitable process of subdivision and amalgamation. Those found at Ripe were organised into rectangles of 20x21 actus or 20x24 actus (such systems are known to have existed in parts of Italy as an alternative to the normal 20x20.) Finally, the topography of the area is important, for unlike the plains of Southern Italy the centuriated patterns in England have been modified by the sudden steep slope, the shallow valley of a stream or the
patches of poorer soil, all of which have had the effect of splitting up quadrata or separating them.

Despite such modifications, however, two other features may be looked for in the landscape to suggest centuriation. One is unchanging and already mentioned in the location of the villas in Suffolk; the extreme flatness of the terrain essential to the laying out of the quadrata by the mathematical and geometric systems the Romans employed. The other is rather more difficult to approach with complete objectiveness for it concerns the field edge along the roadside. Whereas the majority of medieval or more ancient fields in Lowland England appear to have either been surrounded by an earthen baulk or a substantial hedge, centuriated fields seem to have relied upon the ditch instead (with a small verge to the roadside). The hedge as a field boundary is not to be found on the plains of Southern Italy, neither does it figure conspicuously at either Ripe or Cliffe. However, where no ditch exists today, or no hedge can be found, it does well to check all the available evidence from documentary sources to ensure that the feature is indeed one which has persisted for centuries. With the rapid removal of old hedge banks in many parts of Eastern England in recent years such a check is vital.

In returning therefore to the landscape at East End, Stonham Aspal, examination in the field and the checking of the earliest possible large scale maps reveals a large number of fields that have or had an orientation

1 The earliest for the area is a Map of Lands in Crow-Fields, 1720-22 E.S.R.O. HA93: 722/20
N.N.W.-S.S.E., with north-south lanes at regular intervals between them (Map 30). Many of the fields, however, have become so consolidated that they give the impression of having their long axes at right angles to the accepted pattern. But the planned nature of the area, suggested as covering four quadrata, is clear when it is contrasted to the irregular and more characteristic field systems to the west. The field sizes are quite vital here. While many fields have been consolidated a large number still have a length of 580 feet, which approaches almost exactly the five actus measurement, or a quarter of a quadrata. From the western edge, along the line of Impaugh and Goldings Farm, two quadrata can be seen lying on the eastern side, finishing along the line of Winston Head Lane. The north-south lane to Old East End Hall is of particular interest as it neatly divides the two quadrata. Where the lane runs westwards it acts as a further boundary between two quadrata (Map 30), and its north-south line is continued at that point by a grass road. The grass road acts as the western boundary of the south-east quadrata, whose southern limit is determined by a long east-west lane to Lewis Farm (Map 30). At the farm itself, which lies in the southern part of the quadrata, a lane running north divides the quadrata into two equal parts.

While the regular pattern that might be looked for is extremely difficult to trace, particularly if compared to Margary's results at Ripe, the regular pattern that can be observed at East End, together with the close relationship of field measurements and lanes to the Roman pattern,
does suggest strongly that here was an area of centuriation, and hence an area that could be spoken of in terms of Roman-Saxon land-use continuity. It is perhaps rather unusual to find the villa at some distance from the area of the centuriated fields, but there seems no logical reason to always expect them together, especially as both appear to be in the most ideal location for their purpose.

Although the area of centuriation has only been suggested on Map 30 to lie as far north as Old East End Hall, there is perhaps some justification for extending it further north. In the north-east of the parish a number of straight footpaths and green roads still exist, in an area of rectangular fields that again have the correct orientation. But across the pattern runs the twisting road from Stonham Aspal to the neighbouring village of Debenham. As both were early settlements of the Saxon Period and the road is the only one that connects them directly it is rational perhaps to assume that where it crossed those rectangular fields diagonally it was cutting across a much earlier feature.

The multiple parishes of Elmham and Ilketshall, situated together on a level clay plateau in the north-east of the former forested area of High Suffolk, have a number of similarities with those of Stonham in their settlement history and appearance of the present landscape. But there is a notable difference in the dearth of archaeological information for Elmham and Ilketshall, and greater reliance is therefore placed upon documentary and field evidence.
The Elmhams now comprise six parishes, each distinguishable from the others by the addition to the place-name of the patron saint of the parish church: South Elmham St Peter, St Michael, All Saints and St Nicholas (once two parishes), St James, St Cross, and St Margaret. Homersfield is sometimes referred to as St Mary South Elmham, but is clearly recorded in Domesday Book as 'Humbresfelda'\textsuperscript{1} and the other name would therefore appear to be more recent. Rumburgh, to the south, is also considered part of the Elmhams by some but this appears to arise out of a confusion over the Domesday record. The Elmhams, together with Homersfield and Flixton to their north (but excluding Rumburgh), were recorded as a 'Ferdin'g of Wangford Hundred, that is, one fourth part of the parishes making up the Hundred. This suggests some form of early territorial arrangement. To the east, the four parishes of Ilketshall; St Andrew, St Lawrence, St Margaret and St John, together with the two parishes of Bungay and that of Mettingham, both to the north, are further suggested by Scarfe to be another grouping that formed a second Ferdin of Wangford Hundred.\textsuperscript{2} Certainly the grouping has been known as 'the Duke of Norfolk's Liberty' for many centuries.

One feature that is immediately noticeable in the area of the Elmhams and most of the Ilketshall parishes is the extreme flatness of the land, marked on its northern edge by a sharp drop down towards the Waveney River. Another

\textsuperscript{1} Round et al. V.C.H. Op cit (1911) Wangford Hundred.
\textsuperscript{2} Scarfe, N Op cit (1972) p.114-5
feature is that of the existing settlement pattern, where the nucleated village is entirely absent. While such a form is far from universal in Suffolk it is unusual to find such a large area where it is absent. Each parish is either made up of scattered farmsteads and an isolated church (as at St Lawrence Ilketshall or St Peter South Elmham), or has a hamlet centred upon a church (St Margaret and St Cross South Elmham), or was composed of settlement grouped around a common or green (St Michael and All Saints South Elmham). Most of the commons survive, although the large Greshaw Green, on the western side of South Elmham, was enclosed in the middle of the 19th Century. St Andrew Ilketshall is unusual in consisting of settlement scattered around four areas of common grazing land.

The scattered nature of the settlement can be seen to be rather similar to that at Stonham, and further similarities might also be made of the pattern suggested in the Domesday Book. In 1066 South Elmham was listed as one large parish, apart from a separate entry for St Cross, although six churches were recorded. All the present parish churches have substantial Norman material and style within them, which would tend to suggest that the separate settlements already existed. Ilketshall had only one church recorded although the evidence of the existing structures suggests that two at least were of Conquest date (St Andrew and St Margaret both have 11th Century round towers).

The collective population figures for Elmham and Ilketshall in 1066 show that 194 farmers were in that area.

1 Inclosure Award for Greshaw Green, 1854-5. E.S.R.O.
HB109: 1268/7
and this again points to the establishment of a number of settlements rather than one or two large villages. The lack of strong manorial control is another salient feature of the area. Finally, the scattered Saxon settlement is revealed by the existence of a 7th Century ecclesiastical ruin in the parish of St Cross South Elmham (which is significantly the one parish receiving separate Domesday mention.)

In the middle of fields and by the side of a small stream lies a moated enclosure with a raised bank on its inner edge. Approximately 350 feet square and now enclosing several acres of dense undergrowth, the enclosure is of indeterminate age, although Scarfe ascribes it to the Roman Period, apparently with no justification other than its shape. Within the enclosure stands the remains of a Saxon minster, originally 106 feet in length and 33 feet wide but with its flint walls now standing only to a maximum of 15 feet. There has been considerable debate about the date of the structure. A number have ascribed it to the 10th Century, considering that it does not mark the site of Bishop Felix's 7th Century cathedral at Elmham when a 10th Century structure of that stature had been excavated at North Elmham in Norfolk. But it is noticeable that no earlier structure has been found at North Elmham, and it is seen that the Bishop of Norwich, which grew from the Elmham diocese, had his country palace.

1 Scarfe, N Op cit (1972) p.117
2 The diocese may have been created after Felix's death, for Bede suggests that the division of East Anglia into two dioceses occurred upon the illness of its bishop, Bisi, in 673 A.D.
at St Cross South Elmham, and most of Bishop Felix's estates are to be found along the Waveney Valley, most notably covering the Elmham parishes.¹ There is too the evidence provided by the plan that survives of the minster for although A.B. Whittingham considers the present stone construction to date to around 1050 A.D.² excavations in 1963-4 and the field evidence point to a plan that is only to be paralleled in the 7th Century structures found at Bradwell-juxta-Mare in Essex and Reculver in Kent. In other words the plan is a tri-partite one, with semi-circular apse separated from the nave by several pillars, and a western porch that was the full width of the nave. While the present construction may therefore be 11th Century it is suggested that it occupies the site of a 7th Century minster, whose plan it emulates. A carved stone coffin lid that was found during the excavations, embedded in the south-east wall, showed that the church had been rebuilt upon the site of an earlier one.

Saxon minsters were the earliest church structures to be erected in England after the initial phase in the renewal of Christianity when small groups of monks had established their centres around the coast. They represent the first movement out into the countryside of the evangelists and were set up as centres from which to reach extensive areas of new territory. The choice of South Elmham may also have been partly determined by the presence of a 'rival' monastic centre at Burgh Castle, established by

¹ Scarfe, N Op cit (1972) p.122-7
² Scarfe, N Op cit (1972) p.119 and Smedley, N and Owles, E
18. Interior of South Elmham Minster

19. Exterior ruins of South Elmham Minster

Shelley-Trett, "Preb.-A History of the English Church and People", (London, 1898) 137
the Irish monk, Fursey, in 633 A.D. The Elmham minster acted therefore as a mother church to all the scattered settlements of the parish, and probably those of Ilketshall as well, until such time as they acquired chapels and ultimately churches for themselves, probably at some point in the 10th Century. The minster certainly fell into disuse during the following century. The cases of isolated Norman churches in some of the parishes may surely be explained by their establishment, even at that early stage, so that they were central to the scattered settlement in the parish.

If the pattern of settlement that exists today in the Elmhams and Ilketshalls can be seen as dating back to the 7th Century it is not too difficult to see the pattern as a part of a large Roman centuriation system. There is little suggestion of settlement in the area during the Roman Period, apart from the evidence of the landscape, and the archaeological data is practically nonexistent. A major Roman road ran north-south through the area; known as Stone Street it provided a route from Norwich to a cross-road at Halesworth and while its course is then lost it appears to have headed for the sea-port at Dunwich (See Map I and 31/32). It is on the west side of the road as it passes through St Lawrence Ilketshall that the land is characteristically very flat and rectangular fields are laid parallel to one another. The church of St Lawrence stands conspicuously on a rectangular mound a few yards east of the road, which is suggested as

1 Sherley-Price, L "Bede- A History of the English Church and People" (London 1968) p.171-5
a small Roman fort although there does not appear to be any conclusive evidence. (See Photos 20 and 21)

The field pattern of the area is of major interest here. Parallel to Stone Street are a series of long lanes, each 20 actus apart and forming a series of Centuria quadrata in the parishes of St Lawrence and St Margaret Ilketshall. The supporting lanes that ran east-west are no longer so easy to define but the field boundaries are here of equal importance (Map 52). The long narrow plots with their correct long axis alignment is far clearer than in the Stonham example. Six or seven quadrata are noted in the east of the area but a further five can be recognised in the west, in the parishes of St James, All Saints and St Nicholas South Elmham. In that area the difference between lanes associated with the centuriation and those that are not is clearer than elsewhere, as Photos 22, 23, and 24 reveal. The Roman tracks have very narrow verges and a ditch on either side, whereas other tracks are rather more variable. At one point a straight shallow depression across a field at St James hamlet seems to provide the missing lane on the edge of a quadrata, as it should be realised that many of the ancient lanes have fallen into disuse. (See Photo 25).

The greens and commons, of which Map 51 reveals there are a very considerable number, seem to play no part in the arrangements of the quadrata (with the possible exception of St Lawrence Green, now within a quadrata).

1 P.S.I.A., 24, (1949) p. 163 and N.M.R. St Lawrence Ilketshall
20. Flat area of centuriation pattern, South Elmham

21. St Lawrence Ilketshall on a Roman mound
22. Medieval lane, South Elmham. Note great width of verge on the right, along line of trees.

23. Roman field lane, South Elmham. Note equal width verges, their narrowness and continuous ditches.
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24. Line of Roman road, South Elmham

25. Former field lane, South Elmham

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that a system of grazing upon the open fields did not
exist in East Anglia on a large scale (partly on account
of the great amount of land held in servality, and the
lack of memorial central) some explanation is necessary.

1 Also see Photo 26
But three of the commons act as barriers between the two major areas of centuriation. The western edge of All Saints Common may follow the line of a Roman field lane, raised as it is slightly above the common and following the alignment of a centuriation lane further north (See Map 31). Similarly, it is noticeable that no hamlets were built within the actual quadrata. All Saints South Elmham is a good example, for although hall and church were constructed almost within a quadrata (at TM330828 - see Map 31) the settlement was concentrated around the common. The suggestion is, therefore, that the existing pattern of settlement, seen in the light of the centuriated fields, reflects the pattern that existed during the Roman Period, the Anglo-Saxons once again being attracted to an area where cultivation was already in evidence and the prospect of having to clear large areas from virgin forest almost non-existent.

Finally, in returning to the distribution of the greens and commons and how they appear to fit so well around the centuriation pattern, a number of suggestions as to their origin may be made. They could simply be seen as Anglo-Saxon additions to the landscape, yet there is no reason to doubt their existence in the Roman Period or even earlier. It is also noticeable that not all of the parishes had any common grazing and as it would appear that a system of grazing upon the open fields did not exist in East Anglia on a large scale (partly on account of the great amount of land held in severalty, and the lack of manorial control) some explanation is necessary.

1 Also see Photo 26
It is not considered realistic to believe that where a period did not pass over an area of common grazing that it was cultivated entirely upon the growing of crops, especially when White's Directory for 1844 makes reference to a limited number of tenants in the four parishes of the Stilebridge having grazing rights on Stow Fen, which was in existence at that time.

26. Road across All Saints Green, South Elmham: possible eastern edge of Roman quadrata

...strong suspicion that such a Celtic pattern may in fact underlie this area's peculiar features, the scattered hamlets forming part of a Celtic estate that was taken over by the Anglo-Saxons (with its Roman modifications) and preserved its identity in the Ferdled of England Hundred and the deanery of Elmham, which must have developed from the establishment of the 7th Century minster.
It is not considered realistic to believe that where a parish did not possess an area of common grazing then it concentrated entirely upon the growing of crops, especially when White's Directory for 1844 makes reference to a limited number of tenants in the four parishes of the Ilketshalls having grazing rights on Stow Fen, which was an extra-parochial common in Bungay parish. If inter-commoning was a feature of that Ferding of Wangford Hundred there are strong reasons to assume that it occurred also in the Elmham parishes, making notable use of the greens at All Saints and St Michael, together with the large Greshaw Green on the west side of the area. (See Map 31). While some people would attribute such arrangements purely to the Saxon Period one is reminded again of Jolliffe's work in Northumbria, where shared or common pastures were a notable feature of Celtic administrative arrangements that had persisted into the Medieval Period. In view of the settlement pattern that is suggested for the Roman Period in the area of the Elmhamds and Ilketshalls there is a strong suspicion that such a Celtic pattern may in fact under-ly this area's peculiar features, the scattered hamlets forming part of a Celtic estate that was taken over by the Anglo-Saxons (with its Roman modifications) and preserved its identity in the Ferding of Wangford Hundred and the Deanery of Elmham, which must have developed from the establishment of the 7th Century minster.

1v White's Commercial Directory for Suffolk (1844)
There are other areas of High Suffolk that need examination in the search for pre-Saxon influences upon choice of settlement site and land for cultivation, but on the question of direct land-use continuity none can provide such a clear example as seen in the parishes of the Elmhams and Ilketshalls, or as suggested for the Stonham parishes. It is also noticeable that the emphasis in the examination of the data available has changed from archaeological to documentary and fieldwork, stressing the importance of the Breckland in the archaeological record of the county. But as the further examples in High Suffolk will reveal, the archaeological material can still be vital in determining areas of pre-Saxon settlement and activity.
Chapter Eleven

High Suffolk: Romano-British and Saxon Settlement north of Ipswich.
The estuary of the Orwell, in the south-east of the county, is the seaward extension of the River Gipping, and served as a major entry point into High Suffolk for the Angles and Saxons. It has already been noted that one of the earliest settled parts of eastern Suffolk in the Saxon Period was that on either side of the estuary (See Maps 2 and 4). Furthermore, one area in particular, a few miles north of Ipswich and the head of the estuary, shows not only evidence of early Anglo-Saxon occupation but also considerable Romano-British activity as well.

On the eastern side of the Gipping Valley are a number of early settlements, as suggested initially by their place-names: Coddenham, Barham and Helmingham. Ashbocking also lies in this area but as suggested on page 51 it is deceptive and does not contain the 'ingas' suffix. Surrounding settlements have later names (Claydon, Henley and Gosbeck). On the western bank of the river the pattern of early settlement is continued by Great and Little Blakenham, Baylham and Barking. If this area had been part of densely forested High Suffolk at the beginning of the Saxon Period then the forest cover does not appear to have been a great deterrent to settlement. The light loams to the west of the river, and the medium to the east (See Map 9), would seem again to also act as a major attraction to the early cultivators, the heavy loams noticeably containing the later settlement.

The settlements of Coddenham, Barham, Helmingham and Ashbocking could not be described as typical nucleated villages. At Coddenham the settlement has a linear form along a tributary of the Gipping (See Map 33). Of the
SMALL ROMANO-BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN CENTRAL SUFFOLK AND EVIDENCE OF SAXON CONTINUITY

[Map showing locations such as Helmingham Park, Ashbocking Hall, etc., with keys including church, footpath, parish boundary, park edge, edge of prominent ridge.]

SCALE IN MILES

0  4  8  12

Key:
- Church
- Footpath
- Parish boundary
- Park edge
- Edge of prominent ridge
other three a common characteristic is the isolated church, and while Barham and Ashbocking have or had green settlements in the parish there does not appear to have been any central core at Helmingham (Map 33). Ashbocking's church does stand next to a hall and its position may therefore reflect the influence of the manor. This may also be the case at Barham, where the ruins of a large house lie on the opposite side of the road to the church. Dymond has stated that he believes many of Suffolk's isolated churches to reflect the interest of the manor, in their location near to a hall, rather than assuming many reveal the location of some lost village. The example of Lackford church in the Breckland is not an appropriate one for High Suffolk, where stability of settlement since the Saxon Period has been very high.

The present settlement pattern of those four parishes, however, does not entirely mirror that of the Saxon Period. Once again, some association can be shown between the early Saxon settlement and that of the Romano-British. The parishes of Coddenham and Barham have within them a major junction of Roman roads, although the alignment of some of the tracks remains rather dubious.

The main London to Norwich road (that which crossed the Stonham parishes), which ran via Colchester, had an alignment along the western bank of the Gipping, as far as Baylham Mill, where it crossed the river into Coddenham parish (Map 11 and 33) and became part of the

1 Dymond, D.P. Op cit (1968)
junction. Its continuation as the Norwich road is picked up again in the line of the present A140 road to the west of the parish, but here the forks from that road are more interesting. One right-hand fork is picked up in the alignment of the road running north-east from Coddenham village (Map 33), following the minor road to Pettaugh (TM165596). Another fork (from the junction) ran eastwards from Barham, several hundred yards north of the church, towards Wickham Market (TM300550). Much of its course can still be followed in the line of the B1078 (Map 11). Finally, a road ran southwards from the junction through Barham parish and on to a Roman villa in the northern outskirts of what became Ipswich at a much later date (Map 33).

With such an important junction it is hardly surprising to find that the Romans took considerable trouble to protect it, particularly in the first two centuries of their occupation. In recent years a fort has been discovered in the fields south-east of Baylham Mill, on the level floor of the Gipping Valley. Inhabited in the 1st and 2nd Century A.D. by Roman soldiers it appears later to have been abandoned, apart from periodic occupation by native Britons. Coins of Nero, various medallions and a bronze statuette were all indicative of the existence of an Imperial shrine in the 1st Century, and the fort is now recognised as the station of Combretovium. Another such statuette was found on the west bank of the river, in Barking (at TM075534) in the 18th Century, with

1 P.S.I.A., 24, (1949) and N.M.R. Coddenham (Excavation in 1954-8 by Ipswich School Barclay Head Society)
2 P.S.I.A., 1, (1848-52) p. 300.
a further statuette of Nero being found to the north of the fort (1 mile) at TM106541\(^1\) in 1823.

Like many of the examples in the Breckland, this area of Romano-British settlement appears to have attracted the interest of the first Anglo-Saxon settlers, although the evidence cannot be described as convincing for any form of site continuity. Among the finds in the fort was a 5th Century Anglo-Saxon bowl, with another pot being found at Baylham House Farm, adjacent to the site.\(^2\) A 6th Century cruciform brooch has also been found in the area but its exact location is unfortunately lost.\(^3\) Whether those Anglo-Saxons who were at Baylham Mill were also to establish Coddenham remains a matter for conjecture.

The archaeological sites around the isolated church at Barham, to the south of the Roman fort, suggest that Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon activity was centred in that part of the parish, rather than at present around Barham Green, half a mile to the east. 200 yards north of the church was a small Romano-British settlement, with a number of roads found to run in the direction of Coddenham, Combretovium and Ashbocking (Map 33).\(^4\) Two of the roads were 36' in width, between ditches, and had ruts in them of 4'6" in width. While the line of most of these minor roads is now lost, the road to Coddenham may be recognised in the line of a shelter belt on the eastern side of Shrubland Park, the large park that lies between Coddenham and

1 N.M.R. Barking
2 N.M.R. Coddenham
3 N.M.R. Coddenham
Combretovium (Map 33). The line of trees marks the former eastern limit of a smaller Shrubland Park, when a road ran along the edge until Sir Nicholas Bacon extended the park in 1791. 

Evidence for early Anglo-Saxon occupation in the same area as that of the Romano-British settlement is more to be suggested from the archaeological record than it is to be proven. But a small Christian burial ground of the 7th Century has been found near to the much earlier settlement and a small wooden structure was found on the site which was suggestive of a chapel or early church. From maps of the 18th and 19th Century a track evidently used to run northwards from the existing church, through the 'Hop Ground' (where the Romano-British settlement lies) and ending at the Saxon burial ground (TM133515). The track was known as 'Chappell Walk' and the fields in that area were named 'Chapel Fields'. How long the burial ground was in use has not been determined, but Domesday Barham had only one church listed and it is probable that the existing site had been chosen by then, the earlier ground abandoned. Where was the settlement that made use of the Middle Saxon cemetery? Barham Green appears to be too far away from the site to suggest that it was associated in any way, and it is considered possible that an earlier Anglo-Saxon settlement may well lie in the vicinity of the church (although the Romano-British site does not appear

1 Tracing of Maps of Property in Shrubland Park and Surroundings, 1668. E.S.R.O. HA93: 887/2
2 Property of Rev. Bacon (Tracing of ), 1795. E.S.R.O. HA93:887/8
3 P.S.I.A.,31,(1967) p.73
4 Map of Barham Hall Estate,1771 E.S.R.O.HB50: 2938 and Tithe Apportionment and Map, Barham, 1840. E.S.R.O. F.D.A 11:
to have survived into the 4th Century: the location on
the top of a slope overlooking the Gipping Valley seems
to be a more plausible explanation for the choice of site).

It is clear that in this part of High Suffolk the
association of Romano-British settlement and the later
development of the Anglo-Saxon pattern have a number of
similarities, such as in the choice of settlement site,
but there is insufficient evidence from the archaeological
data to show a distinct and meaningful relationship as
recognised elsewhere. This may be illustrated well from
the further examples of Ashbocking and Helmingham, where
Roman and Saxon sites may be seen or suggested but where
an association between them is obscure.

Ashbocking is a relatively small parish (in
contrast to many of those already considered) and is
located some distance from the Gipping or any of its
tributaries (See Map 33). As has already been seen in the
general discussion on the distribution of early Saxon sites
in High Suffolk, one might therefore expect the settle­
ment to have been established at a comparatively late date
in the Saxon Period (as early penetration of the interior
certainly appears to have been via the main river valleys).
Yet a Roman road from Barham does provide the southern
boundary to the parish, and such an unimportant road as
it seems to have been would probably have disappeared by
the middle of the Saxon Period if it had not been in use.
The road may also have been important in attracting a
number of native Britons to the area.
The present settlement pattern of Ashbocking is concentrated on either side of the B1077 road, producing a linear form. But it is noticeable that the older properties stand well back from the road, and some are still separated from it by small fields, revealing the former existence of Ashbocking Green. The common land of this long narrow green appears to have been progressively enclosed over the past few centuries for there is no record of a general enclosure having occurred. The Tithe Map of the area does, however, refer to a number of 'New inclosures', which suggests that enclosure cannot have been particularly early.\(^1\)

The rest of the parish is noted for its scattered, isolated farms, including the 16th Century hall next to the isolated church and over two-thirds of a mile from the green. But there is a third feature of the pattern that needs examination as it no longer exists, yet must have formed part of the early medieval pattern.

Half a mile north-east of the church (Map 33) a number of moated enclosures existed until the end of the 19th Century (at TM175533), and of which two were named 'Old Roman Encampment' on the 1839 Tithe Map. Excavation of the area has now provided a clear history of settlement in that part of Ashbocking since the close of the Iron Age.\(^2\) An extensive area of habitation, in permanent occupation, was dated from the 1st Century B.C. until the beginning of the 5th Century A.D., when a Romano-

\(^1\) Tithe Map and Apportionment for Ashbocking, 1839.

E.S.R.O. FDA5: A1/1a and 1b.

British community dwelt in a number of circular and rectangular huts. From evidence of pottery found on the site it has been established that a number of Anglo-Saxons had evidently penetrated the forests before the British village had been abandoned and settled in a number of the huts. There was further evidence that the site had remained in permanent occupation until the close of the 14th Century. One of the moated enclosures had its buildings arranged around its edge and had a Late Saxon foundation, while another showed evidence of occupation from the 10th to the 14th Century, suggesting a rebuilding and re-arrangement of a small farming community that had come into existence in the 1st Century B.C.

Whether the site was abandoned when Ashbocking Green was developed, or whether the two sites developed at the same time, is something on which there is at present no further information. But the isolated nature of the church (some distance from either settlement site) does require further examination. There was a church mentioned in the Domesday Book, held by Almar, a freeman who also held the largest manor of 93 acres. It is quite probable that the moated Ashbocking Hall adjacent to the church is upon the site of Almar's manor, particularly as the moat itself would point to an early medieval existence. Further evidence for such an idea comes from the marshy trough that still lies to the south of the hall and church, and contains the main source of water that would

1 Round et al. V.C.H. Op cit (1911) Bosmere Hundred.
have partly determined the initial site of any settlement in the area (the stream begins near the Romano-British site, and Ashbocking Green does not have a good source of water supply). Almar's manor not only contained a number of arable acres but there is also the rare inclusion of a reference to 20 acres of pasture. Apart from the green it is suggested that the area of rough ground adjacent to hall and church would point to that area of pasture.

The settlement pattern of Ashbocking is therefore to be seen as somewhat complex, the suggestion being that much of the Saxon pattern has disappeared. It is interesting to note that the Domesday pattern was not concentrated in one particular part of the parish, although the line of the stream does appear to be important. Helmingham, to the north-east of Ashbocking, has a similar history of change in its settlement pattern, although in this case the data available is even sparser. There is no village of Helmingham but the centre of the parish is dominated by Helmingham Hall and its large deer park, the isolated church to be found just outside the eastern perimeter. The interior of the church is a clutter of large wall memorials to the Tollemache family who have held the estate since the 15th Century (when the park was considerably smaller). Yet Domesday Book gives no indication of a large manor that dominated the parish. Indeed, there were a large number of very small holdings¹ (and with 13 of 20 acres or more) which points perhaps to some form of scattered settlement once existing. Certainly the settlement seems to have shrunk since that time. Three groups of freemen held respective

¹ Round et al. V.C.H. Op cit (1911) Claydon Hundred
parts of the church, which again reflects the lack of manorial control in the Domesday parish.

Helmingham is like Ashbocking in that its position in High Suffolk, on a watershed between the Gipping and Deben valleys, might suggest a late settlement in the Saxon Period rather than in the 5th or 6th Century. Yet the place-name does indeed reveal a settlement in the pagan period, for Ekwall translates it as, "the people of Helm's village". No trace of an Anglo-Saxon village has been found at Helmingham, and with the scattered nature of the pattern today it cannot be considered that it lies under any existing settlement. Helmingham Hall may date back to the 12th or 13th Century if the simple moated site that surrounds the hall is taken as an indication (the rectangular moat lies within a much more elaborate and later system of ornamental moats), but a site within the park is here of more value to the early history of the area. Excavations in 1906 revealed a small Romano-British cemetery (TM191576) and a settlement (probably a British farmstead, although there were indications of a hypocaust), which lay between the hall and the church, again by the side of a stream that acted as the main source of water for the area. There is no indication from the site that any Anglo-Saxons were involved, but the existence of a Romano-British farm in the area may again be cited as one possible reason for the establishment of such an early, pagan Anglo-Saxon settlement in the heart of forested Suffolk.

2 The cemetery was initially discovered in the early 19th Century. P.S.I.A., 1, (1848-52) p.308
3 P.S.I.A., 12, (1906) p.100
Despite the existence of the fort at Combretovium in the first half of the Roman Period as a station regularly occupied by Roman troops, the influence of Roman culture upon the native British communities in the area appears to have been minimal. But there is an exception with the villa at Whitton. The Domesday vill of Whitton is now enclosed in the northern suburbs of Ipswich, overlooking the large natural bowl and deep-water estuary on which the Late Saxon and Medieval town developed. The large tidal basin was surprisingly ignored by the Romans, even at the end of the 3rd Century when much thought was being given to the strengthening of the east coast defences. Roman roads have been found approaching the area from the north-east, from the junction at Combretovium, but none appear to go south of the villa. Some sites of the Roman Period have been found in the medieval core of Ipswich, but they are chiefly kiln and pottery sites and give little indication of permanent settlement. There is further no relationship to be seen between the Saxon beginning of Ipswich and activity during the Roman Period. Anglo-Saxons came to the area in the 6th Century, as excavation of the town's medieval Butter Market has revealed. A number of huts were found interspersed with those of a Late Saxon date. The only relationship that might be suggested with the former Romano-British occupants is that the 7th-9th Century period in Ipswich's history is to be seen in the production of distinctive 'Ipswich ware' pottery.

1 At TM146466, and one leading from TM144465-148460. The latter may have run to the south of the villa. N.M.R. Ipswich.


The villa at Whitton was a large structure (by East Anglian standards where the villas are in general of a poor to medium size and quality) and pottery finds indicated that it had been in occupation over the four centuries of the Roman Period.¹ A few hundred yards to the east a number of burial shafts and a Romano-British cemetery was found, and examination of some of the skulls by Sir Arthur Keith suggested that a number of the burials were of Roman type rather than of native British stock. It appears that this was one of the few villas in Suffolk where it cannot be assumed that it represented the Romanisation of a local British chieftain's farmstead. Finally, a number of the burials were suspected as being Christian, so that the Whitton villa follows that at Mildenhall and Icklingham as the third Christian community known in Roman Suffolk.² But there is no association to be found here with any later Anglo-Saxon settlement, particularly as it has already been seen that the earliest Anglo-Saxons to enter the Gipping Valley either penetrated inland to such places as Barking or Coddenham, or settled at the head of the Orwell estuary on the right bank of the river at Stoke (where the large Anglo-Saxon cemetery of the 7th Century was established.

Yet this is not the end of the Romano-British influence upon Anglo-Saxon settlement in High Suffolk, for in the north, on the banks of the Waveney, a number of Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon communities may be recognised.

¹ P.S.I.A., 21, (1931) p. 240; P.S.I.A., 22, (1936) p. 141 and
² N.M.R. Ipswich

N.M.R. Ipswich
2 N.M.R. Ipswich
Chapter Twelve

High Suffolk: The Waveney Valley.
The settlements of Eye, Wortham and Burgate are situated in the north of High Suffolk and lie astride the area of light and medium loams that can be seen on Map 9 as bordering on the Waveney, the river that acts as the boundary between Norfolk and Suffolk. Wortham has its northern boundary along the Waveney, with Burgate parish immediately to its south, while Eye stands upon the Dove, a tributary of the Waveney. (See Maps 34 and 35). The early place-name of Wortham (perhaps 'enclosed homestead') and that suggested for Burgate ('gate of a burg', often a reference to a Roman structure) form the northern limit of a belt of such place-names, notably the 'hams', that run south-north through the centre of High Suffolk, keeping strictly to the areas of light and medium loams. The belt contains such settlements as; the Stonhams, Gipping, Mendlesham, Wickham Skeith, Finningham and Gislingham. The line is clear on Maps 2 and 3.

Much of the interest in this area is centred upon the large parish of Eye, comparable in its extent to parishes such as Long Melford, Hitcham and the South Elmhams, and far larger than any of the surrounding parishes of Yaxley, Braiseworth and Occold (Map 34). In 1086 Eye was the centre of an Honour (of which Clare, in the south of the county, was another), a collection of estates in Suffolk and elsewhere that were owned by the Norman, William Malet. Whether the Honour has any pre-Domesday significance (Eye's comprised over 220 holdings) does not yet appear established

1 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p.536
2 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p.75
but all the holdings were taken over from the largest land owner in 1066, Edric of Laxfield.

William of Malet had a large motte and bailey castle constructed at Eye, and also set up a rival market to that of the Bishops of Norwich at nearby Hoxne, which Domesday Book suggests it rapidly eclipsed;

"William Malet established another market at the castle at Eye. And thereby the Bishop's market has been so far spoilt that it is of little worth."¹

It is around the castle's outer walls that the compact medieval village of Eye developed, and the line of the walls are still to be picked out in the line of the streets. The market place, at the gate house to the bailey, still remains as an open space, although much built over and a fragment of its former size. But it is because of this somewhat detailed description of the settlement in 1086 that some doubts may be cast as to whether the Saxon village was in the same place as the castle, or whether the Domesday vill developed around the new castle and market. But some consideration of the site on which the settlement stands may partly explain the problem.

While the place-name is of no great aid in suggesting a foundation date for the settlement it does say something about the site that was used, for it may be simply interpreted as 'island'². Today it is difficult to immediately appreciate that as an apt description of the site on which the village stands, but there is an area of

¹ Lord J. Hervey Op cit (1889) Hartismere Hundred p.13
some 50-60 acres on which the medieval town grew, surrounded by wide expanses of marsh and water. The Dove flows to the east, while a stream lies on the west and north, and the 'Town Moor' on the south-west. Scarfe suggests that the 'moor' may be partly artificial as the result of removing earth for the motte of Eye's castle but this would seem to detract from the original place-name idea of an island (See Map 34).

Evidence for a substantial settlement at Eye some centuries before Malet created castle and market comes from a cemetery found a thousand yards to the north-east of the village, on low lying ground to the west of the Dove. In 1818 an area was cleared and a plantation laid out, being named Waterloo Plantation as somewhat typical of the time. In the process of clearance a large cemetery of some 150 urns was uncovered, and were originally thought to be Romano-British. But re-examination has shown the site to be a pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery of the late 6th-early 7th Century, almost certainly to be associated with the settlement at Eye rather than with other villages (See Map 34) in the surrounding area. It seems certain that the village at Eye took full advantage of its strategic and well defended site, a feature recognised by Malet when he chose it for his castle.

But not only had Saxon farmers and Norman lords seen the benefit of the site, for there is evidence of

1 Scarfe, N Op cit (1972) p.152
2 P.S.I.A., 1, (1848-52) and 2, (1852) p.117
Romano-British settlement as well. In the 3rd Century a small villa was established on the northern edge of the island site (TM147739), with a hypocaust being found in Camp Field, which lay near to the Dove further east (See Map 34). Scattered finds in that same field had evidently led to the suggestion that a Roman Camp had once stood there. While the main Roman road to Norwich passed within a mile of that point, to the west, there does not appear to be any other justification for believing that such a feature ever existed.

Between the Roman road and the villa site the topography again has the suggestion (but only a suggestion) of the retention of a centuriated field pattern, at least that part that has not been obscured by a disused airfield. The area (Map 34) is extremely level and the fields that formerly existed had the distinctive rectangular form with a long axis orientation of N.N.W.-S.S.E., although the size of the fields does not always conform to a centuriation pattern. Yet there does not appear to have been any form of systematic enclosure that might have produced such a regular pattern. Finally, to the west of the road there are two parallel field lanes (one known as Judas Lane) that 'enclose' a further area of rectangular fields to the north of Yaxley village. In measurement eastwards from Judas Lane the eastern edge of those fields that have the north-south orientation is some 770 yards away (20 actus), although the other lane is not reached for another 200 yards. Can there have been some form of

2 Map of Townlands, 1752 (John Gudgeon) E.S.R.O. EE2/M3/1/1
continuity in the field pattern since the Roman Period?

When the Anglo-Saxons arrived in the area it is
certainly clear that the area now largely covered by Eye
parish was the only part to have been cleared from the
forest, as the place-names given to the surrounding
villages reveals. Yaxley was named after its most
prominent feature, namely 'cuckoo wood', while to the
north Brome is derived from the scrub or broom that grew
there. To the south and west are to be found Occold (oak
copse) and Oakley (oak wood). ¹ Even within Eye parish the
eastern side may well have been wooded during the Saxon
Period, suggested in the hamlet of Cranley (Map 34),
where the 'ley' element probably refers to the existence
of another wood. Ekwall translates it as 'Cranes' wood'. ²

Another interesting feature to be associated with
the settlement history of Eye is the peculiar shape of
the parish boundary. In the south there is a long narrow
strip of land which extends southwards for over a mile,
with its western edge along the Dove, and upsetting what
is otherwise a fairly compact parish. There seems little
reason for the inclusion of such a strip of land into
Eye parish rather than into the neighbouring parishes of
Braiseworth or Occold, unless some form of ownership was
established by Eye when the boundary was established at
the end of the Saxon Period (there appears to be no
evidence that it was altered at a later date). At the

¹ Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) pp. 543, 68 and 347
² Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p. 128
northern end of the strip was Eye Park, presumably the location of the deer park that was mentioned in the Domesday record. The park later acquired a house, but only the gate to the principal entrance survives. However, it is not felt that the existence of the park had anything to do with the extension of the parish boundary southwards, in view of the archaeological remains found within that sector. At Clint Farm, in the south of the strip (at TM144714) a number of Roman coffins have been found, together with a small building and over 600 gold coins in a lead coffer. The building itself does not appear to have been used for permanent occupation and the site seems to suggest a burial ground for a relatively wealthy family. The villa at Eye, in the absence of other similar sites in the area, is the obvious association, and may suggest why Clint Farm still lies within Eye parish. A final feature of the site would seem to provide corroborating evidence for there was also some indications (from pottery sherds) that it had been occupied during the early part of the Saxon Period as well. Whether the Anglo-Saxons were to become associated with the settlement at Eye, or with the ancient site of Braiseworth (on the opposite bank of the Dove, where the ruins of St Mary's Church, next to Church Farm, may mark one of the earliest settlement sites in a parish characterised by scattered settlement) is debatable, but the Dove even today appears to be a considerable stream difficult to cross.

2 N.M.R. Eye.
One and a half miles to the south-west of Clint Farm lies the village of Stoke Ash. Like Braiseworth, the pattern of settlement is scattered, but a small nucleus of church, hall and a number of cottages may be recognised on a back lane to the east of and parallel to the London-Norwich Roman road. The great majority of Anglo-Saxon villages appear to have avoided establishing themselves directly upon a Roman road, presumably for strategic reasons, and hence the 'Back Lane' form of settlement is very common near to such roads. (One of the few exceptions may be seen in north-west Essex, where Strethall lies on a Roman road, the name itself making reference to the Roman road). But it is also true that Romano-British settlements were not always established along such roads and this is the case at Stoke Ash. In fields north of the church, and on the northern side of a small valley, such a settlement was located. Its close location to the Eye villa reveals a somewhat similar pattern to be recognised at Stonham, Hitcham and the Lark Valley. Can there be some suggestion here that the native Britons were employed on, or were tenants of, the villa farmland, whether organised on an elaborate estate system or not? As the great majority of villas were inhabited by native chieftains there would seem some justification for such a view, and it certainly helps explain the close spatial relationships that have been observed in Roman Suffolk.

1 P.S.I.A.,2,(1852) p.101 and N.H.R. Stoke Ash
That such a relationship existed at Stoke Ash and was continued into the Saxon Period (which would seem to indicate something of Jones' Celtic estate system) is shown in the place-name. Ash may refer to the tree but it was not present in the name at the time of its recording in Domesday Book, when only 'Stoches' is listed. While Ekwall defines 'Stoke' as usually meaning monastery or holy place (in a similar way that Stow can be interpreted), he also believes that the name indicates that at some time the settlement had been attached to another vill or manor.¹ Is the association definitely with Eye, and does the name reflect survival of a British community? Certainly there does appear to be growing evidence that the incidence of settlement and villa is not a simple coincidence, and that such patterns did continue into the Saxon Period.

Wortham and Burgate are the other two settlements that have been mentioned as having possibly been inhabited during the Roman Period. Separated from Eye by a line of later Anglo-Saxon settlements (Mellis, Yaxley and Throndeston) they appear at first to be rather 'typical' Anglo-Saxon villages (although such ideas are now largely discredited), the settlement grouped around a number of extensive greens and commons. (See Map 33).

The largest of the greens is Wortham Long Green, over a mile in length and varying in width from 100 to 700 yards. Other areas of common pasture in the

¹ Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p.443, 445
Wortham Hall, WORTHAM & BURGATE

Roman-Saxon burials

Former church & Roman-Saxon settlement

Iron Age to Saxon site

Redgrave Parish

Bottesdale Parish

Mellis Parish

WORTHAM & BURGATE

Scale in miles

0 1/4 1/2 1
parish are The Marsh, a small area to the east of Long Green; and Magpie Green to the north of the latter (Map 35). In the Waveney Valley lay an extensive area of rough grazing land, known as Wortham Ling, which still has a few houses and farmsteads around its edge. It may be possible that that area represents one of the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement sites in the parish, for a small 'inlet' of the Waveney leads south from the Ling to the isolated church and moated manor house of Wortham Hall. The church is important as it is the one with the largest round tower in England, although in a semi-ruined condition. Such towers I have argued elsewhere as originally being erected as watch towers or signal stations, erected in the 10th Century at strategic points overlooking the river valleys of East Anglia.¹ If the early Saxon settlement had originally been around the Ling it would certainly have moved further inland by the 10th Century, away from the river. From the top of the present tower both Waveney River and Long Green may be seen.

Archaeological discoveries show that there was considerable activity in the area during the Roman Period. In 1843 a number of Roman tombs and pagan Saxon urns were unearthed several hundred yards west of Low Farm, near Magpie Green (at TM076783 - see Map 35)², while a considerable number of sites have been found at the eastern end of Long Green. For example, at TM087771 a large Roman building

¹ Bigmore, P "Round-towered churches in Suffolk- a reasoned account of their distribution and structure", The Local Historian, 8, No. 8, (1969) p. 282-7

² N. M. R. Wortham
of dimension 142'x34', together with a hypocaust, has been found, with further occupation debris towards the east.\(^1\) Leading north from the building was a Roman road, which has been traced further across The Marsh, 200 yards to the north, of some 30' in width. Finally, in that part of the parish, a group of Romano-British huts stood 500 yards to the south-west of the large building (which may be presumed to belong to a villa).\(^2\) But, in returning to the line of the Roman road it appears to have a direction leading to a site where occupation can be shown from the Late Iron Age to the early part of the Medieval Period.

Two sites are of importance here, lying in close proximity to one another and to the south-east of Wortham Hall, considered to be the original manor of Wortham.\(^3\) The more westerly of the two contains the remains of the church of Wortham Everard. There were two churches in Domesday Wortham, which became known at a much later stage as Wortham Jarvis and Wortham Everard, named after their respective rectors in the 16th Century. By that time, however, Everard must have become a sinecure for the church was no longer in existence.\(^4\) Jarvis was otherwise known as Eastgate and was held by Wortham Hall, which places it on the site of the existing church. But Everard was associated with the village of Southmore, and while a number of Roman and early Saxon pots have been found around the site of the abandoned church, church and village do not

\(^1\) P.S.I.A. 30, (1964-6) p.122 and N.M.R. Wortham

\(^2\) At TM084766. N.M.R. Wortham

\(^3\) Information from the N.M.R. Wortham

\(^4\) Typescript manorial and ecclesiastical history of Wortham (anonymous). E.S.R.O. FB131/A4/1,2
appear to have actually coincided. Evidence of a small village, immediately adjacent to the large Roman building, has been found at TM087771, showing occupation from the Late Saxon Period until the time of the Stuarts.\(^1\) There is also evidence of Late Saxon occupation in fields next to The Marsh, where the Roman road ran out to the church. Finally, to complete the picture of occupation during the Roman Period, as known from the archaeological record, the more easterly of the two sites mentioned earlier needs some elaboration. On that site pottery again indicates a settlement in existence throughout the Roman Period and into the first half of the Saxon.\(^2\)

Therefore, it can be seen that the settlement history of Wortham is extremely complex, and does not show the stability that is normally recognised in High Suffolk. The existing pattern has little to do with that of the Roman or Saxon Periods. Yet there are some interesting points. Here again is the important Roman building with a number of closely associated Romano-British settlements. The sites of the Roman Period appear to have attracted the first Anglo-Saxon settlers in the area, and the relationship of Southmore village and its church seems to have particular importance. More than one settlement nucleus existed at the end of the Saxon Period, as witness the two churches, and this is certainly true of today, although it appears that the pattern that has evolved

\(^1\) N.M.R. Wortham

since shows a far greater emphasis being placed upon the commons and greens and much less upon the pattern established in the Roman Period.

The settlement pattern of Burgate is of equal interest here, although the Roman influence is certainly something that cannot be proven as in Wortham. The existing pattern is rather similar to Wortham's, with settlement around two greens (Burgate Great Green and Little Green) and an isolated church in the centre of the parish, accompanied only by Burgate Hall (See Map 35). A number of farms are scattered in remote parts of the parish.

As mentioned earlier, the name Burgate refers to the 'gate of a burg', where the 'burg' often refers to a pre-Saxon fortification, although Ekwall does also believe that it may sometimes refer to a Saxon fort, possibly a fortified manor. At Burgate there is no positive evidence to suggest that either interpretation may be settled upon. A number of enclosures have been discovered in the parish, principally around the church. One Anglo-Saxon site lay immediately to the west of the church, with the indication of a road leading westwards into Burgate Wood, where another, earlier Saxon moated site has been found. In between the two lies the present moated Burgate Hall and it would seem reasonable to assume that they represent earlier locations of that same manor. But the church is itself enclosed within a rectangular moated site, with the traces of baulks on the inner side. Pottery taken from the

2 N.M.R. Burgate
baulks is on display in the church, and appears to be of Romano-British in origin rather than Anglo-Saxon. Certainly it has the smoothness of a wheel-turned vessel and the thickness of the pot wall is not characteristic of the more clumsy efforts of Saxon potters. Can this be the site of a Roman fortification on so slim an amount of evidence? Certainly the site has long been presumed to be some form of defensive site as much as a spiritual centre, for fields immediately to the south were formerly known as 'Great Castle Field' and 'Little Castle Field'.

While the history of settlement development around the church may now be realised, that of Burgate Great and Little Green remains a mystery. Are such developments to be seen purely in terms of an origin in the Saxon Period or even later? One puzzling feature of Great Green comes from two field names on its western edge; 'Painted-room Meadow' and 'Painted-room Field'. They would appear to be a reference to a former building that stood in that area, which from the description would suggest either a Roman villa or a medieval chapel. There does not appear to be any documentary evidence that such a feature as a chapel ever existed in Burgate, and it is certain that the site lies close to a road that must have run from the pottery area further west (Wattisfield, Rickinghall and Hinderclay) towards Wortham (where its line is also picked up on The Marsh, crossing the north-south one already mentioned and on towards an important crossing of the Waveney at Scole.

1 Burgate Tithe Apportionment and Map, 1840. E.S.R.O.

FDA50/A1/1

2 J.R.S., 46, (1955)
In the early part of the Medieval Period further settlement change appears to have occurred in the parish, and deserves mention here, for while it is a common characteristic of many Suffolk parishes it is shown particularly clearly at Burgate. As noted earlier, outside the greens and the isolated church, the settlement pattern is composed largely of remote farmsteads, noted for their position on the very edge of the parish. Such, for example, is Stubbings Entry, in the south-west and a mile from the nearest settlement on Little Green (Map 35). Another lies on the east, but only as a field-name, as 'Moated Yards' at TM097759. On this site a number of early medieval sherds have been found, supporting the idea that such moated areas on the outer edges of parishes are probably a reflection of the wave of colonisation into the remaining areas of woodland in the period 1150-1350 A.D. In the case of Burgate it is also true to say that there does not appear to have been any additions to the settlement pattern of the parish since that date.

It remains now to consider one further area of High Suffolk where a definite Roman influence can be recognised, where the pattern of Anglo-Saxon settlement (and much of today's pattern) cannot be explained without some reference to earlier patterns. This is the area of south-west Suffolk, where it might be assumed that the Anglo-Saxons settled some time after other parts of Suffolk and hence the influence of earlier cultures upon them difficult to find.

1 Burgate Tithe, 1840. Op cit
2 N.M.R. Burgate.
Chapter Thirteen

South-west Suffolk.
Being over forty miles from the eastern sea-board it is perhaps remarkable that some of the settlements of the south-west of the county have place-names that indicate a 5th or 6th Century colonisation. Although being nearer to the Lark Valley than the North Sea it hardly seems feasible that the Anglo-Saxons who first settled the area came from that direction, in view of the dense forest and absence of river valleys that lay between. The early villages of Edington, Great and Little Wratting, and Great and Little Thurlow, all stand close to the River Stour, where it is interesting to note that the upper reaches seem to have been settled before those parts lower downstream.

The topography and soils of the south-west suggest that it was not an area easy to colonise. Not only was it the highest and wettest part of the county but Map 9 shows that the heaviest loams and clays were to be found there. The lighter soils on the chalk, immediately to the west in Cambridgeshire, would perhaps have proved more attractive to early Anglo-Saxon settlers, as evidence from other parts of the county has shown a preference for the light and medium loams. Yet that area does not have any evidence to suggest that it was colonised earlier; in fact the place-names such as Carlton, Great Bradley, Brinkley and Weston Colville point to a later phase of settlement (although Balsham and West Wickham are also to be found). The reason for selecting the heavy soils appears again tied to the existence of earlier communities, notably those of the Roman Period.
A major Roman road crossed the chalklands of the south-west, being the Via Devana from Leicester via Cambridge to Colchester. A fork in the road between Havering and Wixoe (Map 11) followed the line of the Stour towards Long Melford, previously mentioned in the discussion of that parish. At the junction, presumably in the parish of Sturmer, a number of settlements appear to have been established. A Roman camp was located on the road\(^1\) and a small burial ground with 10 skeletons and a few urns has been found nearby.\(^2\) Another cemetery was located in Withersfield parish, to the north of the road and three miles north-west of the camp, but as it was uncovered in 1757 the details have been lost.\(^3\) To the east of the camp a small Romano-British settlement was established at Baythorn End, on the south side of the Stour in Essex, while a villa was located on the opposite bank in Wixoe parish.\(^4\) There are still two fords across the river at that point and seems quite feasible that the two settlements were related in the same way as has been seen elsewhere.

The villa's life was comparatively short-lived, pottery found on the site being dated within the limits 60-200 A.D. Yet the quantity of tiles, mortar and building flint found on the site (TL704941) indicate that the building had reached considerable proportions in that short time.\(^5\) The site itself was on a low level area of gravel

1 Archaeologia, 14, (1803) p. 70-1
2 Camp at TL706430, cemetery at TL706432. N.M.R. Sturmer
3 N.M.R. Withersfield
4 J.R.S., 46, (1956)
5 P.S.I.A., 27, (1958) p. 46, and N.M.R. Wixoe
that formed part of the inner bend of the Stour flood plain. It is at that point that the river makes a major turn onto an west-east course (from its north-south align­ment in Suffolk), and acts as the Suffolk-Essex boundary.

Unlike the majority of Roman villas in Suffolk, the Wixoe villa does not have any evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation in the immediate area in the early years of the Saxon Period. The Anglo-Saxon settlement at Wixoe itself (to the east of the villa site - see Map 36) is certainly not proven as belonging to the pagan era of settlement; the place-name refers to 'Widuc's spur of land', an apparent reference to the area that the curve of the river creates.¹ The discontinuity here would appear difficult to dis-prove.

But apart from the small linear settlement of Wixoe there is one other element in the settlement pattern of the parish which may suggest that the area farmed by the Romano-British villa was not altogether ignored by later settlers. This is the large farm and manor of Water Hall, which lies on the extreme west of the parish, well isolated from the village and site of the villa (Map 36). It is the only large farm in the parish and the system of early medieval moats that surround the farm­house suggest that it stands on the site of the one large manor referred to in Domesday Book.² The fields that the manor held seem significant here, for pre­inclosure maps of 1707 and 1728³ show that there were

¹ Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p.529
² Round et al. V.C.H. Op cit (1911) Risbridge Hundred
originally three great open fields, Home, Church and
Hill, which all lay to the south of the Hall and almost
certainly overlying the area formerly cultivated by the
villa. It is perhaps also interesting to reflect here that
while the peripheral fields of the manor were divided into
strips and furlongs the three main fields, like those
examined at Exning and Icklingham, do not appear to have
been so divided.

However, it is clear that the evidence for an
influence of Romano-British settlement and cultivated
area upon later patterns of the Anglo-Saxons is rather
obscure, and certainly lacks the conviction that other
eamples may carry. This brings out the important point
for the county that the distribution of 'influence' is
certainly something that can be readily recognised; it is
the feature of south-west Suffolk, and the Sandlings, that
is most noticeable in the following examples, where the
'influence' may be hinted at but rarely defined.

Kedington is a fine example. The parish lies
immediately north of Wixoe, with a settlement nucleus
around a number of interlocking minor roads and a number
of outlying farms that are chiefly to be found around a
number of commons (the majority long enclosed). One of
those commons was Sturmer Common, outside of Sturmer
parish to the south, which may suggest again that early
inter-commoning arrangements might be recognised. The
place-name points to a settlement in the pagan period
('The tun of Gyda's people')¹ and presumably the existing

¹ Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p.269
nucleus, straddling across the Stour, marks the site of that first settlement. But the main interest at Kedington lies not with the village but with the parish church, which stands on the northern edge of the nucleus and overlies a Roman building.

Renovations of the church floor over the past 60 years have revealed an extensive Roman floor a few inches below the surface, still visible in one part of the church through a small trap-door. A substantial wall, 4'6"x5'6", was also found, and evidence of a hypocaust in pipes and tiles suggest the whole structure was part of a villa. That a Saxon church preceded the present building (which is a mixture of styles from Norman to Perpendicular) is confirmed by a 9th Century cross that was also unearthed from the nave floor. There must have been a considerable gap in time between the cessation of the villa and the construction of a church upon its foundations, but it is clear that the site was still held in some esteem by the Anglo-Saxons. The foundations appear in part to have been re-used (which accounts for the two floors being so close together) and the quantity of thick Roman tile in the outer fabric of the church is most noticeable, particularly along the south wall (See Photo 27).

The topography around the villa does little to suggest where the fields were in the Roman Period; there are few areas of flat land, and the narrow twisting roads and small irregular fields in the southern part of the

1 P.S.I.A., 18, (1918) p.47 and N.M.R. Kedington
27. Roman brick in the fabric of Kedington Church

and

a Roman building(s) from the shape bricks in the exterior north wall of the church of St Mary (Class 13).

It should be explained here that Wraxall does not contain the early 'inga' element, but is simply interpreted as 'place where corn grew', implying a place of cultivation.
parish, around Calford Green (TL699453 and Map 36), suggest an area where reclamation straight from the waste occurred in the Saxon and Medieval Periods. This might lead to some thoughts, in the light of experience elsewhere, that the 'villa' was nothing of the kind but represented some religious site instead (although the existence of hypocaust pipes does then become difficult to explain).

To the north of Kedington lies another of those parishes that has become divided into two at some time in the past, now known as Great and Little Wratting. Both lie across the Stour Valley, although Little Wratting has only a very small piece on the left bank (See Map 37). Wratting is not listed as two separate settlements in 1066 but the mention of two churches would show that they did in fact exist by that date. Yet there does not appear to have been a village of Little Wratting; there is no evidence to show that the existing isolated church as central to a number of outlying farms (a number with moats, such as Boyton Hall at TL674467 and Great Wilsey Farm at TL687463) as being drastically different to the pattern suggested in Domesday. The village of Great Wratting would appear more likely to be the site of the earliest Anglo-Saxon village, and there is some indication that it was established near a Roman building(s) from the Roman bricks in the exterior north wall of the church of St Marys (TL688481).

It should be explained here that Wratting does not contain the early 'ingas' element, but is simply interpreted as 'place where crosswort grew', implying a

1 N.M.R. Great Wratting
2 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p. 537
relatively late settlement of the Saxon Period. But an influence upon the pattern of settlement in the parish from the Roman Period may be recognised here, in a similar way to that of Kedington. The small church at Little Wratting is structurally Saxon in origin (another reason for believing that the present pattern is that of 1066), and this is seen in the Saxon inscription on the lintel of the south doorway (See Photo 28). But the churchyard may be of an earlier date, for it forms a rather unusual circular mound, although the existing burial ground goes beyond those limits.(Photo 29). Within the circular area two large rectangular stone slabs have been found, one of which had a shallow basin cut into it. The slabs are believed to be Roman in origin, used as grave vessels or coffins in the same way as those recognised at Wortham and Icklingham. In the north jamb of the church's chancel arch a similar but smaller slab can still be seen, certainly implying that the slab was considerably older than the Saxon church as it was used in its construction. If a Saxon stone it may well be expected to have found a rather different position within the church structure. It is suggested, therefore, that the Saxon church was established upon a Roman site; certainly that would seem to provide an answer to the puzzle as to why the Anglo-Saxons should have chosen such a bleak site (on a slope facing north-east and with no nearby water supply) and isolated position for the location of the church.

1 N.M.R. Little Wratting and Little Wratting parish file, W.S.R.O. (Report in the East Anglian Times - no date).
28. Saxon lintel, Little Wratting Church

29. Little Wratting Church on a Roman mound
On the northern edge of Great Wratting parish lies another divided parish, now Great and Little Thurlow. Like the Wrattings they stretch across the Stour Valley, but unlike the former they were already divided in 1066, for Thurlow Parva receives separate mention. Great Thurlow was a large manor of some seven carucates (approx. 840 acres), which is probably to be seen today in Thurlow Hall on the left bank of the river, next to the parish church and surrounded by a massive rectangular moat. The only challenge to the antiquity of that site is an abandoned moat in the west of the parish; there are no other large farms in the parish and there do not appear to have been any in the period before enclosure of a large part of the parish. The Hall held a compact group of fields, enclosed at an earlier date than 1825, on the eastern side of the river.

The settlement at Great Wratting is compact, the isolated moat being the only feature outside the small nucleus by the river (the village lies opposite the hall and church, appropriately where a ford was available). But the location of the village seems again to have been partly determined by the existence of an earlier Romano-British community. In fields immediately to the south of the settlement stood a small Romano-British hamlet, the excavation of which revealed the site to have also been occupied by a group of Anglo-Saxons in the 5th Century, perhaps one of the first groups to penetrate that far up the Stour Valley and settle. Certainly it appears that

2 Pre-inclosure working map, Great Thurlow, 1825. W.S.R.O., 279/27
3 P.S.I.A., 24,(1949) p.163. Also Meaney,A Op cit (1964)
the present village is the direct descendant of that Romano-British settlement, and might also suggest that settlement at Little Thurlow is later than that of Great Thurlow.

As a place-name Thurlow is full of interest for it has a confusing etymology. The Celtic god, Thor, was once attributed to the settlement, particularly in relation to Temple End, a local name in the west of Little Thurlow, but there would appear to be little justification in holding to such an idea in the absence of any evidence. The Domesday name was 'Tridlawa', which Ekwall suggests as either 'Famous tumulus' or 'meeting place', the latter presumably a Saxon moot or centre of the hundred. It is interesting to note, therefore that the generally accepted centre of Risbridge Hundred, the extra or ex-parochial area of Monks Risbridge, adjoins Great Thurlow parish on its eastern edge. There is no reference of any tumulus being found in the area and the relationship with the early Saxon meeting place would therefore appear more feasible. The problem of Temple End can also be fairly easily solved. That part of the parish was apparently held in the Middle Ages by the Order of the Knights Templars, who established a small chapel there. Excavations have revealed great quantities of brick (presumably of a later building than the chapel) and traces of buildings leading towards the Old Hall, now a moated site in the middle of the fields. Here

1 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p.471
2 Typescript comment in Thurlow parish file. W.S.R.O. Also N.M.R. Little Thurlow
was probably the 'gate-house' to Little Thurlow Park. Temple Field, south of the road at Temple End (Map 37), is one that still awaits any excavation, perhaps as the site of the Templars' chapel.¹

Great Thurlow can therefore be seen as the one example in the south-west where the archaeological data reveals early occupation by Anglo-Saxons, and in association with an earlier settlement of the Romano-British hamlet. Yet there are suggestions, most of them in the existing landscape, that the influence of the patterns created in the Roman Period is not something that can be totally ignored, in an area that would appear to have been one of the last to have been colonised in the first half of the Saxon Period. The other major area of such late settlement is the Sandlings (as it has already been seen that the first Anglo-Saxons entered the county via the rivers of the Fens, or penetrated well inland along the eastward flowing rivers), although in that region where Sandlings and High Suffolk meet a number of quite early Anglo-Saxon settlements may be recognised, and the influence of the Roman Period is again apparent.

¹ Tithe Apportionment and Map, Little Thurlow, 1841.

W.S.R.O. 103/1,2
Chapter Fourteen

The Eastern Edge of High Suffolk.
There is no clear dividing line to be seen today between High Suffolk and the Sandlings, although that area to the west of the A12 trunk road is generally higher and has more evidence still of its former forest cover, the cover that is partly responsible for the large number of narrow, twisting minor roads found in that area (such multiplicity and duplicity of the road system is far less marked in the Sandlings). As a generalisation it can also be said that the settlements to the west of the road are larger and the pattern is more nucleated. The Sandlings is noted for its high proportion of isolated churches, and the relative absence of 'infill' in the settlement pattern of the hamlet, 'green' and 'street'.

Although the antiquity of the A12 road is somewhat dubious (for the most part it was not a Roman road) there do appear to be a number of examples of Roman and early Anglo-Saxon activity that lie near to it. It is not suggested from this that there is an argument for believing the road to be Roman, but to give recognition to the fact that its alignment does appear to follow closely the western 'edge' of the Sandlings, that area where the soils improve in quality, there is a sharp diminution in the extent of barren heath and a corresponding rise in the number of perennial streams that flow out of the higher ground to the west. In other words, in the apparent rejection of the Sandlings by the Anglo-Saxons (at least until the 7th Century) and their penetration further inland the western edge of that area was the first to yield sites that would be acceptable for permanent settlement.
It has already been seen that the Gipping valley acted as a major route of entry for some of the Anglo-Saxons (as shown in the settlement to the north and northwest of Ipswich), and it certainly appears from the evidence of early Saxon settlements along the A12 that much of the activity before the 7th Century was concentrated in the south-east of the county. There are few pagan sites to be recognised north of Aldeburgh and Dunwich on the coast (Map 12), or north of Wickham Market on the A12.

In the extreme south of this area, south of Ipswich, the A12 does follow in part the line of a major Roman road, the main Colchester to Norwich road that ran to the west of the Gipping, before crossing at Baylham Mill and near the fort of Combretovium. The road crossed into Suffolk, over the Stour, at Stratford St Mary (See Map 38), where the piles of the Roman bridge have been found alongside the existing one which connects the village with Essex.¹ The line of the Roman road has been found to coincide with the present village street, and the alignment over Great Hill, as suggested on Map 38, seems more appropriate than the existing A12 which runs to its east (even that road has now been superceded by a new by-pass).² Yet apart from the road there is little evidence of settlement during the Roman Period in that area, although a Roman spindle whorl has been found in the village and there is the site of an alleged camp at TM053350, half a mile east of Great Hill.³

¹ P.S.I.A., 24, (1948) p. 170-1
² Archaeological Journal, 35. p. 82
³ N.M.R. Stratford St Mary
There is also no clear evidence that Stratford St Mary was settled at an early stage in the Anglo-Saxon colonisation, although the strategic crossing of the Stour may have had some influence. The place-name is interesting as it refers to a ford by which the Roman road crossed the river, whereas it has been shown that a bridge had in fact existed. Would it be correct to assume that by the time the Anglo-Saxons settled there the bridge was no longer usable?

If there is little evidence of Romano-British settlement at the crossing of the Stour, this is certainly not true of the area a few miles further north. Where the road crosses the next stream, two miles from the Stour at Lattinford Bridge, a number of native settlements of the Roman Period can be recognised. At the crossing Romano-British sherds and tile over an extensive area, together with several cinerary urns of the 1st Century A.D., have revealed one settlement of the first half of the Roman Period, and sherds found a quarter of a mile away, further up the road, are most probably to be associated with the same site. Upstream from the ford and less than a mile away stood a small villa, again revealing the close association of hamlet/village and villa. The prosperity of the villa seems to have closely paralleled that of the settlement, for it too had disappeared at the end of the 2nd Century. Yet its fittings did not necessarily indicate a meagre dwelling of some native British chieftain. Although

1 At TM080369, P.S.I.A., 25, (1952) p.209
only small, the villa contained an abundance of mosaic tesserae, of which some of the cubes were of glass, wall plaster, other glass, and a pair of bronze lions.¹

The site of the villa is very close to the existing village of Capel St Mary (Map 38), where a number of Roman burials have been found adjacent to the 14th Century parish church.² But the disappearance of settlement after the 2nd Century and the lack of evidence for an early Anglo-Saxon site seem to suggest that here is a coincidence of occupation areas that has nothing to do with continuity. While such coincidences are rarely found in the county (where it can definitely be established that a settlement existed in the Roman Period) there does appear to be a considerable number on the eastern side of the county.

Most activity in the Roman Period to the south of Ipswich can be related in some way or other to the Roman road, but this cannot be said of the native British settlements that have been found to the east of Ipswich and hence some distance from the main routeways of Roman influence. Most of the settlements in that area can be seen to be the natural continuation of sites that were occupied in the last century B.C. by the Belgae, who moved up the east coast from their more established sites in north-east Essex. Unlike other prehistoric groups they appear to have ignored the heaths and chosen the higher, more densely wooded slopes to the west (where early Anglo-Saxon sites are also in evidence). In this context the parishes of Great and Little

² P.S.I.A., 31, (1957) p. 74
Bealings are of interest, particularly as they have the early 'ingas' element. The derivation is 'the people of the glade', which would seem to most appropriate to the area in which the villages lie. Three small rivers flow through the parishes, joining at Martlesham in the east to meet the head of the Deben estuary a quarter of a mile away (See Map 39). A mile or so further down the estuary, in Waldringfield churchyard (TM282442) a cinerary urn of the late 5th Century (a biconical pot, with 14 hollow bosses around the carination, revealing some traces of Roman influence in its style) has been found, sure evidence of early penetration into the area by some Anglo-Saxons.2

One of the rivers forms a boundary between the flat and low profile of Martlesham Heath, to its south, but the other two flow through steep sided valleys of the higher claylands to the north. The place-name does not specify one particular village so it is feasible that both Great and Little Bealings might be on 5th or 6th Century sites. But a further site of the 5th Century needs to be taken into consideration, unearthed from the south-facing slope of Beacon Hill in Little Bealings parish. On one site a number of pagan Saxon sherds were found in association with three huts, in which were also a number of loom weights,3 whereas another site nearby showed a group of Anglo-Saxon huts close to a site that had been occupied during the Roman Period (Map 39).4 It would appear that

1 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p.32
2 Myres, J.N.L. Op cit (1969) p.49 and Fig.25 (2098)
3 At TM228464. N.M.R. Little Bealings
A SMALL AREA OF SETTLEMENT
CONTINUITY EAST OF IPSWICH —
BURGH & BEALINGS

KEY

*: TUMULI
X: ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE
: PARISH BOUNDARY
_/ EDGE OF RIDGE
*: MUD FLATS

CLOPTON

Church in Roman enclosure

Fynn Hoo
Finn Hough

GRUNDISBURGH

HASKETON

CULPHO

WOODBRIDGE

4th century coin hoard

4th century coin hoard

4th century coin hoard

Romano-British site

Pagan X
Saxon huts

PLAYFORD HEATH

MARTLESHAM HEATH

SCALE IN MILES
Here again is an example of the initial Anglo-Saxon settlement being established alongside the sites of earlier, or existing, communities, before sites of their own choosing are selected.

Other sites in the area also suggest that the settlement during the Roman Period was to last up till the Anglo-Saxon invasions. Immediately north of the church of Little Bealings has been unearthed a large coin hoard (of over 500 coins) of the late 4th Century, and another, with much debased coins of the early 5th Century, has been found close to the church of Great Bealings. On the top of Beacon Hill (TM230470) there was also a small Romano-British settlement that existed into the 5th Century. One might be inclined to accept this area as one of the few examples in eastern Suffolk where late Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon sites are in close proximity, where settlement continuity might be recognised. One final feature which might be mentioned here is the name of one of the rivers, the central one that dissect Little Bealings parish. Is there some evidence for a substantial British survival in this area from the name of the River Finn, which would seem to accord so closely to the Celtic 'fyn' for brook or stream.

Three miles north of the Bealings is the parish of Burgh, characterised by its scattered settlement of hamlet and farmstead, and with an isolated church. The church lies only a quarter of a mile from that at Clopton,

1 N.M.R. Little Bealings
3 P.S.I.A.,27,(1958) p.179
yet three-quarters from the hamlet it was presumably meant to serve. The place-name, like that at Burgate, is indicative of some of the early settlement pattern and history in the parish, for the name refers to an early fortification. Other names in the parish that may suggest something of early settlement comes again from the name 'Finn' or 'Fyn', seen in the name of the stream that lies on the south-western edge of the parish and in the name of two houses that lie near to it, Finn Haugh and Fyn Hoo (Map 39).

Grundisburgh is the parish that lies on the southern edge of Burgh and Ekwall translates the name as 'the burgh by the grund or foundation'\(^1\), which implies that more than one ancient site should be looked for. As the 'burgh' is now recognised for Burgh, is it correct to assume from this definition that the 'foundation' was in Grundisburgh? Burgh was the Anglo-Saxon name given to the large rectangular enclosure that was found in the area when they settled there, and in the south-eastern corner of which they later placed their church (which in part would appear to account for its isolation). The enclosure was a large one, its earthen banks encompassing an area 220x225 yards. In use throughout the Roman Period, the site had apparently begun as a Belgic farmhouse, being turned into a villa in the 3rd Century, which might account for the enclosure.\(^2\) In fields nearby a number of brooches of the 1st and 2nd Century A.D. have suggested further that the site was originally Belgic.\(^3\)

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1 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p.207
3 Brooches exhibited in Ipswich Museum 1969. N.M.R. Burgh
The fields which the Belgic farmstead cultivated do not appear to have survived in any recognisable form today but it seems that again the survival of British communities in this part of Suffolk into the Saxon Period is beyond doubt. Whether the Anglo-Saxons who settled Burgh chose the area because it was or recently had been clear of dense vegetation cover is still a matter for conjecture, but it seems likely that the area was settled before its neighbouring parishes, which have late Saxon names such as Clopton, Hasketon, Boulge ('uncultivated ground covered with heather and the like')¹, Culpho and Debach.

The final area that remains to be considered on the edge of the Sandlings lies another seven miles north-east of Burgh. From its place-name Wickham Market represents the most northerly of the early Anglo-Saxon settlements on the western edge of the Sandlings, a suggestion that is substantiated by the discovery of a 6th Century inhumation burial at TM502558 in the centre of the present settlement.² Its position at the head of the navigable stretch of the River Deben (for small barges) would also appear relevant here.

While being an early Anglo-Saxon settlement there is further interest here as the result of the discovery in recent years that the village almost certainly overlies some form of Romano-British settlement. When the existing bridge over the Deben was reconstructed the piles of a Roman bridge were found³ (in the same way as at Stratford St Mary) and the alignment suggested through the main

2 P.S.I.A., 16, (1917) p.179-80
street of Wickham Market. The road would almost certainly form part of that which ran eastwards from Combretovium towards Aldeburgh (Map 11), but whose course in eastern parts has been lost.

But Wickham Market's foundation as an early Anglo-Saxon village should not only be seen in the context of the Roman road, but also in the very considerable activity on the northern side of the river at that point in the Roman Period, a Romano-British site that covered over 60 acres in Lower Hacheston (Map 40). Here was an industrial site that began with the Belgae in the 1st Century B.C. but reached its greatest extent in the 3rd and 4th Century A.D. Unlike the rather similar area in northern Suffolk, however, the interest was not primarily in pottery manufacture (although a number of kilns were found) but in metal working, particularly iron goods (agricultural goods, swords and knives were all made). ¹ Although situated beside a Roman road there does not appear to be any straightforward reason as to why such a specialised site developed where it did. Unlike the pottery area already examined there is no indication of the use of any local raw materials in manufacture, and the area would appear to have been strongly reliant upon considerable trade from outside, for imports and exports. One of the outlets may have been by the use of the Deben and hence along the east coast, for the topography of the area (Map 40) suggests that a large shallow depression, now marked by drainage ditches,

THE POSITION OF LOWER HACHESTON - A ROMAN INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE.

Glevering Hall

WICKHAM MARKET

ROMAN ROAD AND REMAINS OF ROMAN BRIDGE

POSSIBLE "HARBOUR" AREA

AREA OF ROMANO BRITISH KILNS

SCALE IN MILES
may once have acted as a small harbour to the industrial area.

The industry does not appear to have survived the end of the Roman Period and there is certainly no suggestion of any early Anglo-Saxon occupation of the site; yet there is the early Anglo-Saxon village on the other side of the river, barely a hundred yards away. Is this to be seen as one of those meaningless coincidences in location or is it not more appropriate to believe that the present village may overlie the settlement that housed and supplied the industrial area by the river? Certainly it appears that the site in Lower Hacheston had little to do with the later establishment of Hacheston itself, whose nucleus around church and Bloomville Hall lies well over a mile to the north and with no evidence of any settlement near Lower Hacheston since the Roman Period (which in itself is most odd as the area has retained its separate identity in the name). However, despite the lack of a large Domesday manor at Hacheston (the largest is of 30 acres) there is still the puzzle of a very large number of freemen (41) and half-freemen (11) listed for such a small parish and one which does not appear to have ever had a large settlement.¹

With the example of Wickham Market and Lower Hacheston one reaches almost a threshold in Suffolk, as one of the last examples where a close relationship can be shown between Roman activity and Anglo-Saxon settlement; there remain but a few in the Sandlings.

¹ Round et al. V.C.H. (1911) Loes Hundred.
Chapter Fifteen

Early Settlement of the Sandlings.
It has already been seen that the 4th and 5th Century colonisation of Suffolk affected mainly the north-west of the county, and certain river valleys in High Suffolk. Settlement of the Sandlings seems to have been a feature of the 6th and 7th Century, although some earlier sites are to be found in the south-east, in Arthur Young's 'goodloam' area between the Deben and the Stour rivers. The sites are shown in the 5th Century cremation urn already referred to at Waldringfield, and in the place-names of Bucklesham, Falkenham, and Levington (all in the peninsula formed by the estuaries of the Orwell and Deben). Roman pottery and tiles, suggesting a settlement of the 2nd Century, have been found at Bucklesham.

Yet, despite the emphasis of early Anglo-Saxon settlement being placed outside the Sandlings, the eastern coastal region became of major importance at the end of the 6th Century as the centre of the first of the East Anglian kingdoms, based upon the Wuffingas dynasty that maintained its independence into the 8th Century. The origins of the new wave of settlers into the area that made the creation of the kingdom possible remained something of a mystery until the grave-goods of the Sutton Hoo ship burial were analysed. Charles Green sees the bulk of the newcomers coming from Halland and Scania, the western provinces of Sweden, settling for a short period in the Jutish peninsula before making a long-shore movement as far south as Belgium, across the North Sea into Kent and ultimately

1 N.M.R. Bucklesham. At TM244416
2 Green, C "Sutton Hoo" (1968, 2nd Ed.) p.130-9
along the east coast into south-east Suffolk. Evidence for the association of the area with Kent comes from a number of 6th Century Kentish cast disc brooches with wedge shaped garnet insets that were found in some of the inhumation burials in the large cemetery at Hadleigh Road, Ipswich, which has been mentioned earlier, and the garnet decorated jewellery found in the ship burial. Other finds in that burial, however, show affinities with another part of Sweden than that mentioned, namely the Uppsala area of Central Sweden. It is from that area that Green argues most persuasively that the leaders of the Wuffingas kings came from. The similarities with that area are certainly very clear: a number of boat burials; fragments of bronze sheeting (stamped) showing a warrior almost identical with that portrayed on the Sutton Hoo helmet; the great shield boss at Sutton Hoo, almost certainly made at Uppsala or in that area; and a number of Swedish sword pommels, all of which were apparently given prominence in the ship barrow.¹

Yet despite all that the ship burial can tell of the 6th and 7th Century settlement of the southern part of the Sandlings there is some debate as to whom it was dedicated as a memorial (there was no body inside). Green² argues that it might have been erected to commemorate Aethelhere, who died in 654. He was apparently a nominal Christian, which would account for the baptismal spoons

¹ Green, C. Op cit (1968) p.66-90
² Green, C. Op cit (1968) p.92-102
found in the barrow, but also the last of the East Anglian kings to retain pagan practices, of which the burial is a prime example. Most assessments of recent years have placed the burial into the period 650–660 A.D.⁰, although the most recent by Bruce-Mitford sets the dating rather earlier at 615–640, with the most likely date being 624 or 625 A.D., which is the time that King Raedwald died. Bede tells us that he was also a Christian, having been baptised in Kent, but that he too retained a pagan temple, which would seem to fit the pattern again suggested in the boat burial.²

Apart, therefore, from the extreme south of the Sandlings where there is evidence of pre-6th Century settlement, it is difficult to recognise many areas where Romano-British activity could have much influence upon the existing patterns. The sites that can be mentioned are principally those concerned with the defence of the Saxon Shore in the late 3rd and 4th Century, and where some survival of British communities can be seen. Regarding the latter one of the best examples lies in the south of the Sandlings, where Walton betrays the name given by the Anglo-Saxons to a Romano-British community, 'the hamlet of the Britons'.³ There must have been considerable activity in Walton in the second half of the Roman Period, for on its

2 Sherley-Price, L Op cit (1968) p. 130
3 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p. 495
The eastern side was built one of the substantial forts of the Saxon Shore (now below low water mark as the result of coastal erosion), and a number of Roman burials have been found in the cliffs. But perhaps more significantly, an analysis of fragments of pottery found during the last century in the area have revealed a joint Roman-Frisian culture in the design of the pots, which would appear to substantiate a similar feature of the pot found a few miles to the west in Waldringfield churchyard. Here at least there is some evidence for settlement continuity on the east coast.

Further north along the coast another site was almost certainly the place where another Roman defensive position was established, at Dunwich (See Map 12). While most of the medieval port and town has been lost to the sea, considerable fragments have been constantly washed ashore alongside the later material that point to a former Roman position. An examination of the alignment of some of the west-east roads that cross the county also show (Map 11) that one or two may have ended on the coast at Dunwich. The remnant of the considerable prominence on which the town once stood is also relevant here for the fortification would have commanded an excellent view over sea and a wide hinterland. The place-name itself is helpful for it is a hybrid of the Celtic 'Dumno' or 'port with deep water' and the English 'wic', here used for 'town or port'. Finally, the Anglo-Saxon would appear to have been

1 N.M.R. Felixstowe.
2 N.M.R. Dunwich
in occupation of the site some time before the 7th Century, for in 630 A.D. St Felix established a monastery there (which, unlike medieval foundations, did not seek solitude, but quite the opposite) and by 670 Dunwich was the centre of a diocese, that of East Suffolk (whereas Elmham was created to serve the western and northern parts).

Map 12 shows most of the Roman sites along the east coast of Suffolk, of which one or two other sites deserve attention. At Aldeburgh, for example, there is again suggestion of a Roman settlement from the large number of late Roman coins that have been picked up along the foreshore¹ and from the place-name, which means 'old fort'.² In neighbouring Friston, which lies south and west of Aldeburgh, hypocaust tiles, oyster shells in great numbers, and samian pottery have been found on Barber's Point (TN432-573), which strongly suggests that a villa may also have stood in that area, the only one so far to be recognised in the Sandlings.³ In the town of Aldeburgh the finding of a 6th Century glass beaker, of a somewhat degenerate form⁴ lends some credence to the view that this may also be another coastal area where Anglo-Saxon settlement was somewhat earlier than elsewhere (although there is no suggestion of a 5th Century dating).

The relationships between Roman and Saxon settlement become even more vague the further north one goes along the coast. At Blythburgh, which Ekwall gives a rather

1 N.M.R. Aldeburgh
odd rendering as 'the people of the Blyth', relating to Blything Hundred rather than the settlement itself, there are a number of early references to urns and coins being found. As none of them have apparently survived, and the description of them insufficient, one can only presume that they were of Roman origin as the excavators believed. There is however the additional reference to a 7th Century writing tablet found in the village (of whalebone), which together with a number of very early Christian tombs (mid-7th Century) do suggest to Scarfe that Blythburgh may have been the site of a 'royal minster'. There is the story also that King Anna of the East Angles was buried there in 654, together with his son, which might imply a fairly important settlement. Blything Hundred, from its name, suggests that it might represent the administrative area occupied by Anglo-Saxons in the 6th Century, and the soke of the hundred was held at Blythburgh in 1066. Is there some reason to see here a pre-Saxon tribal arrangement, with Blythburgh continuing as the important centre of the area? Certainly there might be some evidence for an early Saxon administrative unit but the evidence for any pre-Saxon feature is sadly lacking.

At Southwold, a mile or so east of Blythburgh and situated on a prominence on the northern side of where the Blyth enters the sea, there are similar 19th Century references to a site of the Roman Period. In this case

1 Ekwall, E Op cit (1966) p.50
2 P.S.I.A., 4, (1874) p.225
a number of wells were exposed in the cliff face, revealing pottery and tile of the Roman Period. It appears that such wells did not have their usual function but had some religious significance, such as use as a burial shaft.\(^1\) Such shafts have already been mentioned in connection with the Whitton villa to the north of Ipswich, and there is some suggestion that they may have been Belgic in origin. At Covehithe, slightly further north along the coast, a number of Roman boarded wells were also found in 1871, 1876 and 1890.\(^2\) These were again exposed on the cliff face and it does not appear as if they were ever used as wells for holding water.

Finally, there is the one supreme example of settlement continuity which stands almost in complete isolation from other areas where such patterns can be recognised; this is Burgh Castle in north-east Suffolk, situated in the area that was the very last to be fully colonised in the Saxon Period, known as Lothingland. Although the name of Burgh Castle is now applied to a parish it originally referred to the large fort of the Saxon Shore that overlooked the wide confluence of the Yare-Waveney estuaries and the important port and Roman town of Caister on the opposite Bank. As such it did not overlook the North Sea but faced westwards over the estuary. Built of flint and a mortar concretion, the partially ruined walls still enclose the three landward sides of the fort. There is some argument as to whether a west wall ever existed.\(^3\)

\(^1\) P.S.I.A.,7,(1891) p.505 and Crawford, O.G.S. "Field Archaeology" (1966, 2nd Ed.) p.96
\(^2\) Covehithe, N.M.R.
\(^3\) See discussion in P.S.I.A.,6,(1888) p.345
Archaeological discoveries in and around the fort reveal much of the settlement history that is no longer visible, evidence that the site was occupied continuously until after the Norman Conquest. Aerial photographs have revealed extensive ranges of buildings within the fort, mainly concentrated along a road which ran north-south across the site. Excavations during and since 1955 have shown the fort to have been occupied by Anglo-Saxons at the end of the 4th Century, probably acting as foederati as they did at many other important centres along the east coast. A number of urns found in the field to the east of the walls in the 18th Century have now been identified as part of the 5th Century cemetery of that group of Anglo-Saxons.\(^1\) It is not certain whether the site continued in occupation until the 7th Century, but in 633 St Fursey established a monastery at Cnobheresburg or Cnobhers's Town, which Bede mentions as specifically being a fortification.\(^2\) Like Felix at Dunwich (and very similar to St Cedd's monastery in the walls of the Saxon Shore fort at Bradwell-on-Sea in Essex, established in 654 A.D.\(^9\), Fursey did not choose a site of solitude, which might suggest that the site was still occupied. However, the 7th Century wooden buildings of Fursey's monastery have been found within the walls, which was superseded in the 11th Century by a small motte and bailey castle, its central mound still just discernible in the south-west corner.\(^3\) The castle survived until the 13th Century, thus

\(^2\) Sherley-Price, L Op cit (1968) p.172
\(^3\) P.S.I.A., 28, (1961) p.90
bringing to a close some 900 or more years of occupation of the same site.

It is perhaps appropriate to close the detailed local studies of these various parts of Suffolk, where it has been the aim to examine all the main sites of the Roman Period and the patterns that were to follow, with an example of continuity from that period that is almost without parallel (for its duration on the same site) in the county, yet in an area where such associations of Roman and Saxon are almost non-existent. In coming to any conclusions over these studies a number of points have emerged which deserve examination: the patterns of settlement and agricultural activity created in Roman and early Saxon Suffolk, and the relationships that such patterns have with one another; and the re-assessment of the whole question of Continuity in the county, in what ways it may be recognised in the local studies and in the patterns that emerge from them.
Chapter Sixteen

Conclusions on the Development of
Suffolk Settlement.
The argument central to this thesis is whether or not the existing settlement pattern of Suffolk has its origin in the Saxon Period. From the general study at the beginning, of the place-name and archaeological evidence, and from the seventy or more settlements studied in greater detail, it must be concluded that the evidence available does not support an origin of the pattern before the 6th Century for the great majority of the villages. It would appear true to say that the number of settlements established by the Anglo-Saxons, even before the end of the 7th Century, far exceeded those that were in existence at the close of the Roman Period in Suffolk and hence to suggest that the pattern parallels that of that earlier period is an idea that does not seem plausible.

But, in the introductory remarks to the whole problem of explaining Suffolk's settlement pattern it was made clear that the concern was not to be with the whole of the Anglo-Saxon colonisation but with the initial waves of settlement, primarily those of the 5th and 6th Centuries. The general and local studies have certainly revealed that Suffolk was not evenly occupied in that period but that certain areas emerge as major centres of early Anglo-Saxon activity. Seen over the entire county one can generalise in saying that the earliest sites occur in the north-west and that there is a gradual progression towards later colonisation as one moves further east from the Breckland. In particular, a number of preferred areas emerge. In the Breckland they were the river valleys of the Lark and the Black Bourn, and the edge of the breck with the Fens. In
High Suffolk it was perhaps rather surprising to find that the middle and upper reaches of the river valleys that flowed eastwards were preferred to the lower reaches, surprising if it is assumed that the newcomers arrived via the east coast and penetrated up the river valleys. Apart from the extreme south-east of the county the east coast stands out as an area of middle or late Anglo-Saxon settlement.

While there is a noted concentration of the first Anglo-Saxon settlements in the major river valleys there is a further feature that needs stressing (particularly in relation to earlier patterns), and that is the great majority of such villages chose to locate themselves in areas where the soils were either medium or light loams; the heavy loams and clay areas are noted for their later settlement, apart from the one area of the south-west where a number of early sites are suggested. Such a factor may be considered most significant when it comes to drawing any conclusions about the relationships that can be recognised between patterns of Roman Suffolk and those of 5th and 6th Century.

Before commenting on those relationships it seems appropriate to re-examine the pattern of settlement in Roman Suffolk in the light of the local studies (in which all the known sites that suggest any form of permanent settlement have been included), especially as archaeologists have in the past generally regarded High Suffolk as an area largely devoid of settlement until the Anglo-Saxon invasions.
One of the most recent authoritative texts on Roman Britain has been S. Frere's 'Britannia', which takes a rather different approach to other works on the same period in stressing the importance of the considerable Celtic influence or contribution to the synthesis that was Roman Britain. Most writers on the Roman Period have paid far too little attention to the fact that outside the towns the peasant communities remained essentially British, their main contact with Roman culture being in the purchase of pottery or the use of Roman coinage. In re-examining Roman Suffolk, therefore, it does well to bear in mind Frere's work, remembering that Romano-British communities may well have existed in the same place long before the Roman conquests.

The settlement in the Suffolk countryside may be seen on two levels: the villas, where Romano-British civilisation undoubtedly flourished; and the peasant settlements (too small in most cases to call villages), which remained essentially British. Regarding the villas, Frere makes the point that while they were run by native Britons they nevertheless had close political and business links with the towns. While there is evidence in Suffolk for the first part of that idea (especially where it has been seen that the villa overlay an earlier native farmstead, such as at Burgh and Ixworth), there has been no evidence put forward for a close association of the villas with the towns. Suffolk villas were some distance from any of the Roman towns, particularly those in the north-west.

1 Frere, S "Britannia- A History of Roman Britain" (London 1967)

2 Frere, S Op cit (1967) p.264
Yet in the north-west there are two villas where Christian communities have been recognised, at Mildenhall and Icklingham, and Frere believes that Christianity must have spread to the villas from the towns, which would seem to be a reasonable assertion.¹

While there may be some disagreement with Frere on the links of the villas with the towns, there is considerable agreement on other aspects. He says that the villas exploited the richest soils² and this is seen clearly in Suffolk, particularly in High Suffolk. But not only were the richest soils chosen but there is noticeable again the preference for the light and medium loams, and especially an area of very level ground. This is not only seen in the areas of centuriation in the Stonham and Elmham parishes, but also in the case of the villas at Mildenhall, Exning, Hitcham, Eye and Wortham. Unlike earlier workers, Frere also suggests that the running of the villas can be seen in a number of ways, the largest being worked by slaves or put out to tenants. This is important in explaining the pattern of settlement that is to be seen at Mildenhall, where the Rows have been suggested as outlying settlements or farms of the large villa estate. It may also account for the pattern of the Elmhams and the Ilketshalls, although no villa has been found in the area. Frere also believes that the large aisled building found in the north-west of Exning may well have been the workers' settlement, subservient to the main villa,³ and hence suggesting another villa estate in Suffolk. A similar case

¹ Frere, S Op cit (1967) p.333. 'Undoubtedly, however, it was through the urban aristocracy that Christianity reached the villas.'


³ Frere, S Op cit (1967) p.270
might perhaps be argued for the most recent villa to be excavated in the county, at Lidgate (TL720580) on the western edge of High Suffolk. Besides the villa there was a large building found nearby, of dimensions 24.5x8.25 metres, which had up to six buttresses on either side and was suggested as something more than a mere outbuilding. The villa was of the corridor-courtyard type.1

Apart from the estate system perhaps leaving a pattern in the present landscape (and most of the Suffolk villas do not appear to have been large enough to be the centre of any estate), mention should be made again of the great inter-mixture of villa and peasant community in the county. Yet the mixture has also a pattern, for it is usual to find a close (spatial) relationship between one villa and one peasant settlement, such as in the case of Stonham, Eye, Wortham and Ixworth. In other cases one villa may be found in association with several settlements, as at Icklingham, Whitton and Hitcham, but it is never the case of finding two or more villas together without their attendant hamlets. There is a strong implication in this pattern, particularly as the villas were occupied by local British chiefs, that some form of territorial arrangement can be recognised, an arrangement that is essentially pre-Roman in its origins. Does this pattern also not suggest that G.R.Jones' Celtic settlement pattern might underlie the territorial arrangement?

Finally, some mention should be made here of Frere's belief that the Belgae were capable of exploiting the

heavier soils of the valleys for the first time through the use of an improved wheeled plough (revealed over South-East England by aerial photographs and excavation), and this may account for the absence of any quantity of earlier Iron Age material in High Suffolk. Many of the Romano-British sites in that area would appear to have begun as Belgic farms in the last century B.C. if such an idea can be accepted, and it is certainly true that most of the sites have only very late Iron Age material in them, if any at all. For those sites that appear to have been established in the first two centuries of Roman rule in High Suffolk there is Frere's further point that the plough was improved even further in the Roman Period and this enabled an even wider spread of settlement than before, particularly into the more densely forested areas. If this were so then it would certainly help explain why central Suffolk became well populated during the Roman Period, although it should still be emphasised that the new settlers would be the native British, albeit Romanised to varying degrees, who would still retain their pre-Roman ideas on territorial and settlement arrangements.

One final word might be offered on the overall distribution of settlement in Roman Suffolk. Like the Anglo-Saxons who were to follow, the preference for the lighter soils has been noted. But of equal importance appear to have been a convenient water supply (the river valleys), and the existence of the pre-Roman settlement. There is

2 Frere, S Op cit (1967) p. 277
a notable concentration of sites of the Roman Period in the north-west, where the Iceni were known to be in strength at the end of the Iron Age, and in the south-east, where the Trinovantes and later the Belgae were known to have a similar concentration of settlement. The villas that were established were to be found in those traditional areas of the British or in the new area of High Suffolk, primarily near to the Roman roads that crossed the county. In most cases the villas rose to prominence in the second half of the Roman Period rather than the first. But the eastern coastal area remained largely empty throughout the period, as it did for the first century or more of the Anglo-Saxon settlement.

The main feature that might therefore be said to emerge from the analysis of Roman and early Saxon Suffolk is that there are considerable similarities to be recognised in the areas chosen for settlement, and in those areas the Celtic element cannot be ignored. What can be said then of the whole question of 'continuity' in the county from the Roman to Saxon Period? On one point Frere is adamant, and that is that the association suggested by Seebohm between Romano-British estate and the Saxon manor is certainly not proven; the evidence for Suffolk has revealed no cases where a villa can in any way be related to a later Saxon manor, the complex pattern of manors in the county making the one villa, one manor, one parish relationship almost impossible to find.

1 Frere, S Opi cit (1967) p. 374
The most valuable source of evidence in tracing the early history of settlement in the county has quite clearly been archaeological. This being so it seems relevant that one should first re-examine the archaeologist's view of continuity in the light of the local studies. It will be recalled that the main point of the archaeologist was that continuity should be something altogether precise, such as the evidence for continuous occupation of a site (occupation or burial) from the Roman Period into the Saxon. Such sites are not too difficult to find in the county, although in many cases the links between the two periods are somewhat tenuous. Examples of such sites might be the Lackford cemetery, the isolated moated site at Ashbocking or the Roman fort at Burgh Castle. But even where a site can be shown to be inhabited or used in some way by the Anglo-Saxons before the Romano-British community had disappeared (or been absorbed) one important feature characterises practically all such sites, and that is their abandonment by the Anglo-Saxons after a short period (in most cases the joint use or dual use of the site does not last more than a few decades). At the same time the movement away from the site usually only means a short-distance movement, in most cases to a more favourable position and still contained within the same parish. Although the parish bounds were probably not fixed until the 10th Century there might be a case here for arguing that the coincidence of Romano-British site and Saxon village within the same parish points to the retention of a pre-Saxon territorial arrangement. Although the Romano-British site did not continue in use down to the present day there is reason to argue
for continuous occupation of a particular parish from the Roman Period down to the present. For some of the Breckland parishes, such as Lakenheath and Eriswell, there might be a case for seeing parish continuity going back into the Iron Age.

One other aspect of the archaeologist's continuity needs mention here, although its relevance to a county-wide assessment of settlement patterns is rather obscure. This involves the sites where hybrid Roman-Saxon pottery has been found, most notably in the valleys of the Lark and Black Bourn but also to be recognised in isolated examples such as Felixstowe and Waldringfield. The value of such sites is to reveal locations where the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement may be recognised, but not necessarily areas where Anglo-Saxon and Romano-British communities might be found co-existing (as in some cases it is simply the copying of pottery found on the site that is being shown); there is certainly continuity of style to be noted but this again can be seen as a very transitional feature, not one which is lasting.

From the archaeologist's point of view, therefore, continuity can clearly be seen in Suffolk, particularly in the sites of the north-west. But it is also clear that a wider interpretation can be put on the term, especially if one thinks in terms of areas that have been constantly occupied or exploited since the Roman Period. This has already been suggested for the parishes of the early Anglo-Saxon villages that were examined in the local studies, and where those parishes coincide with particular valleys then they can be singled out as areas where settle-
ment continuity can be recognised, areas continuously occupied rather than the retention of a particular pattern. Such areas are the Fenland edge, Lark and Black Bourn Valleys, the middle Gipping Valley, the Elmham-Ilketshall area, and the southern side of the Waveney Valley.

But it is not sufficient to suggest areas that have been continuously occupied since the Roman Period; the evidence of the landscape in several parts of the county reveals that there is clear evidence for the retention of field patterns from the Roman Period. In the case of many of the villas it has been suggested that the reason for the adjacent early Anglo-Saxon village has been that the villa not only had the best land in the area but it also had the land that was cleared from the forest. M.W. Thompson asks whether the Anglo-Saxons were prepared to dispossess the native cultivators of their land or to seek new, virgin territory to cultivate, and concludes that the former must have been their first intent. ¹ But although it would appear that the initial Anglo-Saxon settlers were attracted to the cleared areas (and hence such areas have a history of continuous cultivation since the Roman Period) there are no clear examples of one particular village taking over a villa estate as Finberg would have us believe occurred. In all cases the village was established well away from the villa itself, and cultivated far more land than the villa could ever have provided. However, in most

¹ Thompson, M.W. "Britannia et Anglia- Notes and News", Medieval Archaeology, 13, 1969. p.204-6
cases the area and pattern of the villa's fields is some-
thing that can only be suggested as all traces have dis-
appeared. But in the case of the Elmham-Ilketshall area,
and that of the Stonhams, the survival of the centuriated
pattern of fields is considered of major importance to any
ideas of land-use continuity being recognised in the county.

It would appear from the local studies, therefore,
that much of the recent thought on continuity from the
view-point of archaeologist and local historian can be
largely substantiated. But neither contributes greatly,
from their own view-point, to the understanding of the
pattern of rural settlement to be seen in the county today.
Areas where the land has been cultivated continuously, or
it can be seen that it has been settled since the beginning
of the Roman Period (or even earlier) still say all too
little about whether the pattern of settlement has survived
that long. From the archaeological evidence one is tempted
to deny that any such pattern could have survived out of
the Roman Period, when it is seen that so many Anglo-
Saxon groups abandoned Roman sites and established virgin
settlements a short distance away. But then there is need
to come back to the parishes and the suggestion that the
pattern that is seen in the parishes that have 5th and 6th
Century settlements reflect to a remarkable degree the
territorial arrangements of the native British communities.
It is in this aspect of settlement pattern, namely the
administrative areas that settlements occupied, that it is
believed continuity can be recognised from the Roman Period,
rather than the settlements themselves. If such a pattern
is to be recognised then it should be equally true to say that the pattern is basically Celtic in origin and not Roman.

That a Celtic pattern of various administrative arrangements underlies much of the early Saxon settlement pattern has also been seen in the county in a number of other ways. The intercommoning rights in the Elmham–Ilketshall area, and the sharing of common pasture rights in Colneis Hundred, have been seen as possible remnants of a Celtic system. In a similar way the organisation of groups of villages into particular units of the hundred, such as the Ferding or quarter-hundred of South Elmham, may also indicate an organisation that pre-dates the Anglo-Saxon settlement. But it should be emphasised that such features as these are only to be found in isolated cases in the county and there does not appear to be the evidence to support their general application to all areas. Can it be argued that the Anglo-Saxon invasions in this part of Eastern England were so intensive as to destroy or absorb much of the earlier patterns?

Regarding the retention in the Suffolk landscape of the Celtic settlement pattern of the multiple or federal estate, it has already be shown that the methods originally used by G.R. Jones for its recognition in England are not entirely satisfactory for Suffolk. Some of the data is not available, and that which is can also have another interpretation placed upon it. On the question of intercommoning, and the value of the soke, in suggesting areas where the federal estate existed in 1066 the material available for Suffolk is again insufficient to suggest a widespread
application of the theory. But it cannot be denied that certain aspects of Jones' theory can be recognised in the settlement pattern of Suffolk.

One aspect of Jones' theory was not dealt with in the earlier discussion because it was felt that the results for Suffolk might more conveniently fit into a conclusion of the local studies. This concerns the method Jones used to identify the central manors of the Celtic estate in Wiltshire, namely those vills and manors that possessed over 25 teamlands, the large figure in fact concealing one or more hamlets attached to the manor. A number of separately listed hamlets have already been found in the Suffolk Domesday, so it may be considered that such a technique is unnecessary in this case. But it remains true that there are a considerable number of manors and vills in the county that held 25 or more ploughteams in 1066, and if the rule holds true for Wiltshire then there should be no reason why it should not be examined here as well.

Teamland and ploughteam (the former does not occur in Suffolk) may be taken as more or less meaning the same unit. The teamland referred to the acreage worked by one ploughteam in a year, normally taken as the (theoretical) carucate of 120 acres. The ploughteam was the eight oxen unit that was estimated to plough a carucate in one year. Where both are listed in the same county, such as in the Lincolnshire Domesday, there is therefore considerable overall parity of the figures (4,712 ploughteams and 5,043 teamlands). For Wiltshire it is said 'the teamlands
of Wiltshire are a rough estimate of the number of plough-teams of eight oxen which could be employed on the estate if it was being fully exploited', namely an interpretation that while both may refer ultimately to the area of land that was subject to cultivation the teamland was a reference to the theoretical potential of the estate and the ploughteam a more accurate figure of the actual area under the plough.1

Those vills and manors that held over 25 plough-teams2 are therefore as follows:

Acton, 33; Hundon 41; Pakenham 38, Wrentham 26;
Stonham 57; Hoxne 43; Kelsale 32; Thorney 51; Framlingham 41; Barking 27; Hintlesham 25; Clare 48; Bacton 28;
Bungay 37; Shotley 35; Long Melford 34; Hitcham 30;
Desning Hall 43; Leiston 31; Blythburgh 26; Eye 29;
Stradbrooke 27 and Elmham 34.

Of the twenty-three vills listed only those of Framlingham, Desning Hall and Stradbrooke are to be found listed in Table 1, which lists the Domesday vills that had attached bere-wicks, and if they do represent the centres of such estates it is perhaps not surprising to find them not listed. It is true that the great majority are early Anglo-Saxon villages, and equally true that a number have known connections with Romano-British settlements or villas. Such are the cases of: Acton, Pakenham, Stonham, Barking, Long Melford, Hitcham and Eye, with Blythburgh, Stradbrooke, Desning Hall and Elmham all clearly suspected as having some connection with the Roman Period.

1 Darlington, V.C.H. for Wiltshire, Vol II, p.49
2 No manor in Suffolk held over 12 carucates and hence the figures are all collective for the vill.
Strong justification for considering that most of the large Domesday vills in Suffolk had some connection with the Roman Period also comes from Table 2, which lists all those vills that held 20 or more ploughteams (which seems to produce a better correlation). As reproduced on Map 41 there is a marked spatial relationship with the Roman roads and the known settlements of the Roman Period. As it has already been shown through the local studies that the Romano-British settlements probably conform to some form of Celtic territorial arrangement over the county, particularly in association with the villas, then there is a strong suggestion that the Domesday pattern of the large vills also conforms to that pattern. As further justification it can be stated that very few vills below twenty ploughteams have recognisable connections with the Roman Period, whereas 29% of those between 20-25 do, and for those over 25 the percentage is 60. Most of the local study areas are represented on Table 2, and it has already been shown that they were the areas of earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement and where Romano-British activity was most noted.

In final conclusion, therefore, of the development of the early Anglo-Saxon settlement pattern in Suffolk, the following pattern of development is suggested. There is a recognisable coincidence in the distribution of Romano-British sites in Suffolk and the settlement of the 5th-6th Century. It seems almost a truism to state that the first Anglo-Saxons were attracted to such areas partly because they were already recognised as having good, workable soils and a reliable water supply, and partly
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VILL</th>
<th>NO. OF PLOUGHTEAMS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ilketshall</td>
<td>17½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homersfield</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badmondisfield Hall</td>
<td>20⅓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mendham</td>
<td>20½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wortham</td>
<td>20⅔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ixworth</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otley</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavenham</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eriswell</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cockfield</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
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<td>Assington</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flixton</td>
<td>22½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raydon</td>
<td>22½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monks Eleigh</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Bergholt</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framsden</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Combs</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrentham</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
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<td>Blythburgh</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barking</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stradbroke</td>
<td>27½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barton</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acton</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vill</td>
<td>No. of Ploughteams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hitcham</td>
<td>30½</td>
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<td>31½</td>
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<tr>
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<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desning Hall</td>
<td>43½</td>
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<td>Clare</td>
<td>48</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thorney (Stowmarket)</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stonham</td>
<td>57</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

All details were compiled from Round et al, "Suffolk Domesday", Victoria County History, Vol 1 (1911) p.417-582.
A RELATIONSHIP OF ROMAN ROADS AND SETTLEMENTS TO DOMESDAY VILLS HAVING 20 OR MORE PLOUGHTEAMS
because they represented the areas cleared from the forest. While the evidence does not support the taking over of Romano-British occupation sites and continuing to occupy them until the present, there is evidence to suggest that the territorial areas of the Roman Period were retained in the later parishes. Finally, through the evidence of the ploughteams there is the further suggestion that the pattern of the Celtic federal estate might underlie a number of those areas, the Anglo-Saxon villages continuing the importance of the central caput and the outlying hamlets the pattern of the former berewicks. However, it should be emphasised that the supporting evidence for such an idea still remains rather dubious and subject to an alternative explanation. Continuity of the settlement pattern in Suffolk from a Celtic federal estate cannot be regarded as proven here, although in the continuity of Romano-British 'areas' of settlement (in the early Anglo-Saxon pattern) and the continuity of other administrative units, it remains a possibility. Where continuity can be shown as relevant to the early development of settlement is in the archaeologist's site, where Romano-British and Saxon culture are found to mix, and in the pattern of some of the fields, which reveal continuity of farming, and of field boundary, since the 4th Century.
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