

BLYTHING HUNDRED:

A Study in the Development of Settlement AD. 400 - 1400.



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Contents.BLYTHING HUNDRED: A Study in the Development of Settlement from AD.400-1400.

Chapters	Sections	pages
Preface and Introduction		viii
I. <u>GEOLOGY & TOPOGRAPHY</u>	1. Relief & Surface Geology	2.
	2. Soils and Parent Materials	5.
	3. Coastal Erosion	3.
II. <u>HABITATS AND LANDSCAPES</u>	1. Introduction	13.
	2. Saltmarsh and Sea-shore	14.
	3. Sandling Heaths	19
	4. Meadow, Marsh and Low Moor	27.
	5. River Valleys & Gravel Slopes	31.
	6. Upland Clay-Commons & Moors	33.
	7. Woodlands and Parks	37.
III. <u>ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND</u>	1. Introduction	42.
	2. Prehistoric Background	45.
	3. Early Roman Settlement	48.
	4. Roman Roads and Centuriation	50.
	5. The Focus of Roman Settlement	54.
	6. The Late Roman Period	55.
	7. The Pagan Saxon Period	58.
IV. <u>THE EARLY CHURCH</u>	1. The Pre-Viking Background	65.
	2. Dunwich and its See	68.
	3. Blythburgh	75.
	4. Round Towers	82.
	5. Mother Churches	86.
	6. Independent Churches	92.
	7. Fluidity and Change	97.
	8. The Later Church	102.
V. <u>ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES</u>	1. The County	106.
	2. The Hundred	109.
	3. Letes and Ville Integre	114.
	4. Parochial Territories	119.
	5. Sub-Hundredal Areas	126.
	6. Private Sokes & Summary	128.
VI. <u>ELEVENTH CENTURY BLYTHING</u>	1. Introduction	138.
	2. Estates and Manors	142.
	3. Carucates	151.
	4. Freeholders	155.
	5. Domesday Woodland	163.
	6. Domesday Meadowland	174.
VII. <u>THE ANATOMY OF SETTLEMENT</u>	1. Introduction	180.
	2. Primary Settlement	181.
	3. Secondary Settlement	187.
	4. Primary and Secondary Villis	192.
	5. Hall Farm Estates	197.
	6. Fieldings and Brecks	203.
	7. Desertion	211.
VIII. <u>THE STRUCTURE OF TENEMENTS</u>	1. Introduction	221.
	2. Dependent Tenements	224.
	3. Development of Tenements	231.
	4. The Structure of Tenements	237.
	5. The Function of Tenements	245.
	6. Conclusion	253.
IX. <u>THE CONCLUSION</u> with Appendix and Bibliography.		257.

The Figures.

<u>TITLE PAGE</u>	Blything Court Seal from <u>Gardner</u> p.130	
<u>GEOLOGY & TOPOGRAPHY</u>	I. Regional Geology	1.
	Blyth and Dunwich River Estuary	2.
	Benacre Ness	3.
<u>HABITATS & LANDSCAPES</u>	II. Sotherton Moor	4.
	Section of Sotherton Moor	5.
	Great Haugh, Thorington	6.
	Henham Park	7.
	Huntingfield Park	8.
<u>ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND</u>	III. Mesolithic & Neolithic sites	9.
	Bronze Age & Iron Age sites	10.
	Prehistoric sites in Blythburgh	11.
	Roman sites and finds	12.
	Commons & Roads in Fressingfield	13.
	'Centuriation' in Ilketshall	14.
	'Centuriation' in Long Stratton	15.
	Roman Plough-shoe & Cheese-press	16.
<u>THE EARLY CHURCH</u>	IV. Roads and Tracks to Dunwich	17.
	Saxon Writing Tablet and Seal	18.
	Eleventh Century Churches	19.
	Fressingfield Parish	20.
	Linstead Parva Chapel	21.
	Norwich Taxation of 1254	22.
	Inquisitiones Nonarum 1341	23.
<u>ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES</u>	V. The Suffolk Hundreds	24.
	Blything Watershed Area	25.
	Ville Integre in Blything	26.
	Parishes & 'Lost' DB. Vills	27.
	The Mendham Minsterland	28.
	Middleton and Fordley	29.
	Rumburgh Parish	30.
	Sub-Hundredal Areas	31.
	Sokes	32.
<u>ELEVENTH CENTURY BLYTHING</u>	VI. Notional Areas	33.
	Manors in Blything Hundred	34.
	Sibton and Peasenhall	35.
	Domesday Pannages	36.
	Old Halesworth Parish	37.
	Bramfield Woods	38.
	Reydon Woods	39.
	Meadows in Blyford & Bulcamp	40.

<u>THE ANATOMY OF SETTLEMENT</u>	VII.	Commons in Reydon & Wrentham	41.
		Valley Farms and River Crossings	42.
		Blyford Parish	43.
		Church Farm Blyford	44.
		Westhall Great Green	45.
		Relict Greens	46.
		Three Secondary Vill	47.
		Withersdale Parish	48.
		Hinton Hall Estate	49.
		Spexhall Hall	50.
		Wenhaston Old Hall	51.
		Benacre Manor c.1580	52.
		Kessingland	53.
		South Cove	54.
		Yoxford Manor and Site	55.
		Blois Family Estates & Extents	56.
<u>THE STRUCTURE OF TENEMENTS</u>	VIII.	Wenhaston Black Heath Farm & Hor's Farm Wissett	57.
		Darsham Highstreet	58.
		Friston Moor Farm	59.
		Rookery Farm, Chippenhall	60.
		Cobbestenement, Darsham	61.

TABLES.

- Va. Key to Suffolk Hundreds in Figure 24.
- Vb. Documents relating to ville integre.
- Vc. Ville integre and gelt assessments.
- VIa. Domesday holdings in Sibton.
- VIb. Manors in Blything Hundred of 5 carucates and over.
- VIc. Sizes of carucates on clay and Sandling soils.
- VId. Manorial affiliation of meadow plots in Yoxford, 1471.
- VIIIa. Manorial affiliation, south side of Middleton Moor, 1471.
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All figures and photographs in this thesis are the work of the author, unless otherwise stated on the caption.

The length of this thesis (including the appendix and footnotes) does not exceed 100,000 words.

LIST OF PLATES.

1. Eroding Coastline at Reydon
2. Blyford, looking west from the air
3. The Valley Gravel Soils at Wenhaston
4. Classic Sandling Scenery at Blythburgh
5. Flooded Marshes at Bulcamp
6. Heath and Marshland at Westwood Lodge
7. The Blyth Valley at Mells
8. Waterlogged Clay Commons, Chippenhall Green
9. Hornbeam Coppice Woodland, Kingshaugh, Bramfield
10. View of Bulcamp by Humphrey Repton
11. Westhall Hall
12. The Valley Gravels at Wissett
13. Ring-Ditches on Heathland at Reydon
14. The Rockstone, Cookley
15. Gardner's View of Southwold from the Southwest
16. Blythburgh Holy Trinity Church
17. Blythburgh Church in the Early Nineteenth Century
18. The Setting of Wissett Church
19. Isaac Johnson's View of Sizewell Chapel
20. Chediston Church, Square Unbuttressed Tower
21. The Grove Moats at Chediston
22. The Bramfield Oak
23. Meadow Plots in Blyford Street
24. Walnut Tree Farm, Blyford
25. The Meadows at Blyford
26. Green-side Tenements on Chippenhall Green
27. The Remains of Blunts Green, Benacre
28. Bleach Farm and Moat, Wissett
29. Moated site at Cheney Green, Darsham
30. Grove Farm, Chediston
31. Reydon Cullier Rent Dial
32. Scratch Dial, Blythburgh Church

ABBREVIATIONS

A.P.	Aerial Photograph.
A.H.E.W.	<u>The Agrarian History of England and Wales</u> H.P.R.Finberg (Ed.) I. ii, 1972.
Agric.Hist.Rev.	Agricultural History Review.
Antiq.Jour.	Antiquaries Journal.
A.J.	Archaeological Journal.
Baron	M.C.Baron 'The Place-Names of East Suffolk' unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Sheffield 1952.
Bede	<u>Bede: A History of the English Church and People</u> L.Sherley Price (Trans.) 1968.
C.B.P.	<u>The Cartulary of Blythburgh Priory</u> C.Harper Bill (Ed.) 2 Vols. 1980-2.
Chorography	<u>The Chorography of Suffolk</u> D.MacCulloch (Ed.) 1976.
C.L.A.	<u>The Cartulary of Leiston Abbey and Butley Priory</u> <u>Charters</u> R.H.Mortimer (Ed.) 1979.
Copinger S.MSS.	<u>Suffolk Records and Manuscripts</u> W.A.Copinger 5 Vols 1904-7.
Copinger Manors of Suffolk	<u>The Manors of Suffolk</u> W.A.Copinger 7 Vols 1905-11.
C.P.R.	Calendar of Patent Rolls.
DB.II	The 'Little' Domesday Book as translated in the Victoria County History for Suffolk Vol.II, 1911.
D.B.& B.	<u>Domesday Book and Beyond</u> F.W.Maitland 1897.
Dugdale	W.Dugdale <u>Monasticon Anglicanum</u> 1817-30.
E.A.A.R.	East Anglian Archaeological Reports.
E.A.M.	East Anglian Miscellany.
Econ.Hist.Rev.	Economic History Review.
Eng.Hist.Rev.	English Historical Review.
Ekwall	E.Ekwall <u>The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English</u> <u>Place-Names</u> 1959.
Gardner	T.Gardner <u>Account of Dunwich, Blythburgh, Walberswick</u> <u>and Southwold</u> London 1754.
I.M.	Ipswich Museum.
I.P.M.	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem.
I.R.O.	Ipswich branch of the Suffolk Record Office.
J.B.A.A.	Journal of the British Archaeological Association.
Jour.Hist.Geog.	Journal of Historical Geography.
K.A.S.	<u>The Kalendar of Abbot Samson of Bury St Edmunds</u> <u>and Related Documents</u> R.H.C.Davis (Ed.) Camden Society 3rd Ser. Vol.LXXXIV, 1954.
Kirby	J.Kirby <u>The Suffolk Traveller</u> 2nd edn 1764.
L.A.L.H.S.	Lowestoft Archaeological and Local History Society.
Leland	<u>The Itinerary of John Leland 1535-43</u> L.Toulmin Smith (Ed.) 1964.
Liber Eliensis	<u>Liber Eliensis</u> E.O.Blake (Ed.) Camden Society 3rd Ser. Vol.XCII, 1962.
Med.Arch.	The Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology.
Norf.Arch.	The Norfolk Archaeological Society Transactions.
P.P.S.	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.
P.P.S.E.A.	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia.
P.S.I.A.	Proceedings of the Suffolk Archaeological Institute.
R.C.H.M.	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.

- S.E.A. The Sibton Abbey Estates; Select Documents 1325-1509
A.H.Denney (Ed.) 1960.
- S.A.U. Suffolk Archaeological Unit.
- Skeat W.W.Skeat The Place-Names of Suffolk Cambridge
Antiquarian Society 1913.
- S.R.S. Suffolk Records Society.
- Suckling Rev. Alfred Suckling The History and Antiquities of
the County of Suffolk 2 Vols. 1846-8.
- Suffolk in 1327 Suffolk in 1327 H.A.H.Sydenham (Ed.) Suffolk Records
Society No.IX Vol.II, 1906.
- Trans.Inst.Brit.Geog. Transaction of the Institute of British Geographers.
- Trans.Roy.Hist.Soc. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.
- T.R.E. Tempore Rex Edwardi.
- V.E. Valor Ecclesiasticus.
- V.C.H. Victoria County History.
- Yoxford Yesterday 'Yoxford Yesterday' Rev.R.T.L.Parr, unpublished
typescript deposited in the Ipswich branch of the
Suffolk Record Office 5 Vols. c.1914-56.

PREFACE

Interdisciplinary research of this kind cannot be completed without incurring innumerable debts of scholarly advice and encouragement. I would first like to thank all the staff at the Ipswich branch of the Suffolk Record Office for their help, particularly William Serjeant, who helped to find the 'Yoxford Dragge'. Also I would like to thank Stanley West and members of the Suffolk Archaeological Unit for their specialist knowledge and for access to their files and collections of aerial photographs. Many people have contributed more than they realise by way of stimulating conversation. In this respect I would like to mention Mrs Nesta Evans for her help at Fressingfield and South Elmham; Mrs Margaret Meek and Miss Janet Tacon for their tireless help, field-walking and hedge-counting. I owe a special debt to the farmers and landowners in the Blything Hundred area who have kindly allowed me access to their land and let me collect samples of pottery from archaeological sites. (In three seasons of field-walking I met with only three refusals.) In particular, I am grateful to Capt. John Hill of Blyford Hall Farms, whose interest in this work provided an important stimulus when it was most needed; to Lord Stradbroke for access to sites on the Henham Estate; to Sir Charles and Rodney Blois for granting permission to walk on their lands in Yoxford and Westleton; to numerous other kind Suffolk farmers, whose warm kitchens and hot cups of tea kept me going through the bitterly cold winter of '78-9; to a Norfolk farmer, Bob Marjoram, whose light aircraft took us on several memorable flights and helped to supplement a deficient aerial photographic record of the research area. My gratitude also goes to Homerton College, Cambridge, for the use of their facilities during the final stages of writing up and to Mrs Moira Coleman and Miss S. Proctor for the final typing. I am specially grateful to Mrs Mary Tilney, whose meticulous reading of the typescript was given for nothing more than the love of words.

Last but not least is the very considerable debt I owe to Dr Harold Fox and the Department of English Local History at Leicester, whose advice, timely admonishments and constant encouragement have never failed, in spite of illness and great pressure of work from other quarters.

P.M.Warner, Homerton College Cambridge, October 1982.

Introduction

Behind this thesis lies a deep-seated curiosity and affection for the Suffolk landscape. This interest became more than superficial in 1975-6, when a study of the archaeology of the parish of Westhall was carried out for a B.A. thesis in the department of Archaeology at University College Cardiff. The choice of Westhall was in some ways fortunate; it contained two vital elements, a large number of deserted green-side medieval sites, and an ancient church standing in semi-isolation beside an abandoned river crossing. The contrast between an apparently ancient place, full of relics from the past, and what was clearly a secondary place-name associated with abandoned green-side farms, is nowhere more evident than at Westhall. The first study therefore generated many more questions than it answered. In fact, however long and searching a study of Westhall might have been, it is doubtful whether it could have produced more than half the evidence for its settlement history. The other half can only be found by looking at the neighbouring parishes of which it was once undoubtedly part. The same might be said for any one of a dozen or more apparently ancient parishes in Suffolk, that is to say those parishes which seem to produce an excess of antiquities. But all places are 'ancient' when one looks beneath the surface. What was needed was a study in depth of a group of parishes, including a wide range of both primary and secondary settlements, integrating their documentary and archaeological sources in such a way that the pre-medieval, pre-colonising pattern might be revealed more clearly.

Blything Hundred was an obvious choice, for at least one writer had commented on it as a likely Saxon 'regio'.¹ Its size was rather daunting, but when my historical supervisors told me it was too small, and my archaeological advisers told me it was too large, I concluded that it was probably just right.² The neatness of its geographical area was not fully appreciated until well into the first year of research, even so, the survival of such a large hundred, so clearly related to a watershed with the name of Blything meaning 'the dwellers on the river Blyth',³ promised to provide an ideal historical and geographical framework for tracing the development of medieval settlement.⁴ The fact that Blything Hundred was a surviving

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1. N.Scarfe The Suffolk Landscape 1972 pp.94-5 ; F.M.Stenton Anglo-Saxon England 1971 (3rd Edn) pp.293-5.
 2. White's 1844 Directory lists Blything Hundred with 47 parishes, 7 hamlets and one township. It extends over 87,941 acres or about 125 square miles and includes about 20 miles of coast.
 3. Ekwall; Barron.
 4. G.R.J.Jones 'The Multiple Estate as a Model Framework for Tracing Early Stages in the Evolution of Rural Settlement' Les Congres et Colloques de L'Université de Liège 58, 1971 pp.251-267.

'regio' made it all the more worthwhile exploring; there was the added knowledge that King Anna had been buried at Blythburgh after the battle of Bulcamp in 654 AD.,⁵ and with it the constant hope of finding the remains of Saxon settlements or cemeteries, but this was not to be. That they exist can hardly be doubted, and one day they will probably come to light through a chance discovery. Perhaps, like the cemeteries at Snape, immediately south of Blything Hundred, or at Pakenham to the north, Saxon barrow burials may be found on one of the heathland commons where a number of barrows are known to exist.⁶ If pagan Saxon cemeteries or village sites do eventually come to light, it is likely that they will appear, as they do in other areas, as just another unexplained phenomenon of settlement, unrelated to either Roman or later medieval settlement patterns.⁷

There were three areas of study which the thesis set out to explore. The first objective was to produce a study in depth of the Suffolk landscape. However, the chronological limitations of the thesis meant that some of the more interesting major landscape changes in the post-medieval period, such as the marshland drainage and the nineteenth century enclosure of the clayland commons, could only be given superficial treatment. It was not possible, within the required word length, to produce a comprehensive survey of the large number of earthworks and archaeological sites, without jeopardising the content and argument of the thesis. Archaeologists may therefore find the result disappointing, but, rather than produce a catalogue of sites, efforts have been directed towards shedding some light on the changing nature of the medieval landscape within the period prescribed.

The second objective was to search for the origins of the primary settlement pattern. Like other enquiries which have gone before, notably in Northamptonshire, Dorset, Norfolk and Cambridgeshire, total failure has to

5. Liber Eliensis p.18. See Chapter III sec.7 & Chapter IV sec. 3.

6. Chapter III sec.2.

7. R.C.H.M. Archaeological Sites in Central Northamptonshire 1979 Vol.II p.xlix, 'This evidence for Saxon occupation, of whatever date, needs to be seen against a continuing failure to discover any material earlier than the tenth century in the later medieval settlement sites examined in the area. The origins of the medieval settlement pattern are unknown, but the available evidence indicates the complexity of these origins. The only statement that can be made with reasonable certainty is that by the late eleventh century the known medieval pattern of settlement was in existence, although it may not have been very old at that date.' J.G.Hurst 'Wharram: Roman to Medieval' in Angles, Saxons, and Jutes V.I.Evison (Ed.) 1981 pp.241-255. Work at Wharram has extended over 30 years; the question of continuity there still remains unresolved.

be admitted.⁸ This is the central problem which lies behind any study of the medieval landscape in southern Britain. For lack of evidence one is forced, interestingly enough, to grapple with the shadowy mysteries of administrative history at a local level, in order to find some trace of possible continuity; or to look at the evidence of boundaries and the esoterics of Latin loan-words in place-names. It is important not to forget why this is necessary. It has to be said that this line of investigation is a last resort because of the lack of material evidence for Romano-Saxon continuity. But this type of investigation could act as the stimulus for more research workers who may try to answer the question of continuity by selective excavation.

The third objective was to seek out the origins of secondary medieval settlement on the claylands of Suffolk and attempt to explain the reasons behind the characteristic dispersed green-side settlement pattern, which is also the hall-mark of many clayland landscapes in other areas. In this a degree of success must be claimed. From the outset it seemed unlikely that the solution could be found in documents, as it was already known that some green-side sites had been established before the twelfth and thirteenth century, before local documents become abundant.⁹ Ultimately the answer was found in the simplest way, by studying the anatomy of settlement in clayland areas on the ground, and by studying documents relating to land ownership, particularly late medieval extents. Such simple documents as farm sales particulars, often as late as the nineteenth century, proved invaluable once the basic mechanics of settlement had been understood. A study of the function and form of medieval tenements and the long drawn out process of piecemeal enclosure, desertion and engrossing of land was only made possible by the lucky survival of a particularly fine collection of fifteenth century

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8. R.C.H.M. op.cit. p.xlix; C.C.Taylor The Making of the Dorsetshire Landscape 1970 pp.72-3; P.Wade-Martins 'The Origins of Rural Settlement in East Anglia' in Recent Work in Rural Archaeology P.J.Fowler (Ed.) 1975 pp.137-157; R.C.H.M. County of Cambridgeshire Vol.II 1972 pp.xxxii-iii.
9. H.C.Darby Historical Geography of England before 1800 1936 p.209; Wade Martins op.cit. pp.152-3; D.Dymond 'The Suffolk Landscape' in East Anglian Studies L.M.Munby (Ed.) 1968 pp.26-7. 'by the Norman Conquest, High Suffolk was fully settled, and carried with central Norfolk a population denser than anywhere else in England.'

extents.^{10.}

Greens and green villages have attracted the attention of geographers and historians for a number of years.^{11.} Writers on East Anglian settlement have long recognised that greens and commons on the Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk clays go hand in hand with a distinctive form of dispersed settlement pattern.^{12.} Wade Martins rightly felt inclined to draw a distinction between the East Anglian dispersed settlement around greens and commons and the more nucleated, and in some cases planned, variety of green village identified by Thorpe and Roberts in the north of England.^{13.} Green villages come in all shapes and sizes, but the more attenuated variety are now largely confined to the claylands of East Anglia because it was there that a number escaped enclosure in the nineteenth century.^{14.} At one time, before the urban expansion of the late Industrial Revolution, similar large commons and associated sprawling settlement patterns could be found in other clayland areas as far apart as the Forest of Arden, south of Birmingham, and the Woodgreen

10. These documents, which are usually titled 'Extent', 'Terrier' or 'Dragge', should not be confused with official extents of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, which are brief, rarely extending to more than ten lines, and which were primarily concerned with valuation. The extents used in this thesis are essentially late medieval tenurial surveys, sometimes serving also as rentals. Many of them are extremely long, running to several hundred folios in some cases. See T.Lomas 'The Development of the Manorial Extent' Journal of the Society of Archivists VI(v) 1980 pp.260-73.
11. H.Thorpe 'The Green Villages of County Durham' Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 15, 1949 pp.155-80; H.Thorpe 'The Green Village in its European Setting' Fourth Viking Congress 1965 pp.85-111; B.K.Roberts Rural Settlement in Britain 1977 pp.117-58.
12. C.T.Smith 'Settlement and Agriculture in Eastern England' in Field Studies in the British Isles J.A.Steers (Ed.) 1964 pp.127-8. 'Modest cottages are frequently grouped near one or two larger farmhouses around the margins of a large green or common. Features of this type are frequent near the Norfolk Suffolk border, but they overlap into areas of early enclosure in Essex. Most greens, commons and ends are almost certainly medieval, but little work has been done on their origin, which seems, however, to be related to the flexibility of traditional East Anglian field systems and to the multiplicity of small manors.'
13. Wade-Martins op.cit. p.138; B.Roberts 'Planned Villages from Medieval England' in Man Made the Land A.R.H.Baker & J.B.Harley (Eds) 1973 pp.46-58.
14. The reasons behind the late survival of common land in north Suffolk and south Norfolk have never been firmly established, but a ground-swell of opposition by smallholders to Parliamentary enclosure, and the lack of powerful landlords may be the cause. See D.Dymond 'Opposition to Enclosure in a Suffolk Village' The Suffolk Review V(i) 1980 pp.13-21.

area of London.¹⁵ Nor are these attenuated greens and dispersed settlements confined to flat clayland areas, examples can still be seen surviving in the area around Shaftesbury on the Dorset/Wiltshire border.¹⁶ Although more usually associated with flat claylands they are to be found in areas where there were once extensive woods and wastes.¹⁷ A study of the claylands in Blything Hundred, a small part of East Suffolk, is therefore of more general interest to students of green-side settlement in other areas.

Wade Martins was uncertain about the origins of greens and associated settlements in Norfolk: 'At what time did these greens come into existence? What were the reasons behind the creation of such a distinctive form of rural settlement?' He felt sure that by 'collecting surface pottery, by examining earthworks, by excavating selected sites of different periods, and by using documents, a relatively clear-cut picture of the evolution of villages within an area can be obtained as far back as the seventh century, and possibly earlier.'¹⁸ His faith in pottery as a means of dating is not shared by this writer.¹⁹ No sherds of definitively Anglo-Saxon pottery were found on any green-side sites in Blything Hundred, and yet the main period of settlement on the clayland must have begun sometime before the Norman Conquest, if we are to believe the Domesday survey.²⁰

Wade Martins suggests that while greens may 'have been set aside for common grazing before the Norman Conquest,they did not usually become focal points for settlement until later.'²¹ In some cases this may have

15. B.K.Roberts 'A Study of Medieval Colonisation in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire' Ag.Hist.Rev. 16(ii) 1968 pp.101-13; J.B.Harley 'The Settlement Geography of Early Medieval Warwickshire' Trans.Inst.Brit.Geog. 34, 1964 pp.115-30.
16. D.R.Denman, R.A.Roberts & H.J.F.Smith Commons and Village Greens 1967 p.479 map 19, Semley and Gutch Commons, near Shaftesbury on the Wilts/Dorset border.
17. See for example the forest 'Clay' district identified by Chambers north of Nottingham, through Southwell and Retford. J.D.Chambers Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century: a Study of Life and Labour under the Squirearchy 1932 pp.154-6, and the figure facing page 154.
18. Wade Martins op.cit. pp.138-9; P.Wade Martins 'The Development of the Landscape and Human Settlement in West Norfolk from 350-1650 AD. with Particular Reference to the Launditch Hundred' unpublished Ph.D. Leicester 1971.
19. Wade Martins 1975 op.cit. p.140. 'Our knowledge of the seventh - to eleventh- century pottery is now /1975/ quite sufficient to provide not only general distribution maps of settlement, but also much more detailed information about the form and size of many village sites from the earliest days.'; J.G.Hurst 'The Pottery' in The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England D.Wilson (Ed) 1976 p.290 'it must be stressed most strongly that the subject is now moving so fast that this account is only an interim statement of the Anglo-Saxon pottery situations as it appears in 1973'.
20. See note 9 above.
21. Wade Martins 1975 op.cit. p.153.

been true, but the presence of important churches on or beside greens, such as those at Palgrave and St Michael South Elmham, both of which have square unbuttressed towers, and both of which are almost certainly included in the Domesday survey, suggests that a number of greens and commons had indeed become the foci of settlement before the Norman Conquest.

Wade Martins' work on the Launditch Hundred in Norfolk was a pioneering work as far as the claylands of East Anglia are concerned. He was able to disprove that green-side settlement was in anyway related to pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon settlement. As he likewise failed to find Anglo-Saxon pottery on the Norfolk greens of Launditch, and, relying heavily upon pottery for his dating evidence, while noticing the small number of identifiable green place-names in the Domesday survey, he concluded that the majority of greens were settled in the eleventh century, when its high population is recorded in the Domesday survey, but that green-side settlement continued to develop into the twelfth and early thirteenth century, when the last of the late clayland parishes were being created.

The Primary Sources

The sources used break down into four types of material, which, when properly integrated prove collectively revealing. The evidence from work in the field is perhaps the most important as it serves to unify the other three sources of information, namely aerial photographs, documents and maps. Finding archaeological sites in the field is just one aspect of field work, it is perhaps initially important to spend time in the field in order to gain a long-term knowledge of topographical possibilities. This understanding comes from getting out into the field in an inquisitive frame of mind at all seasons of the year. If one has walked across waterlogged clay moorland in March, or seen gorse wilting on the sandling heaths in July, a first-hand understanding of agricultural and settlement possibilities is acquired, which the terse words of a P.J.O. Trist or an Arthur Young fail to impart.¹

An enduring curiosity to wander and enquire must extend to all landscape features in order to be effective; not only must major archaeological sites be visited, but even those outside the period in question.² Thus it is not

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1. A. Rogers & T. Rowley (Eds) Landscapes and Documents 1974 p.3 'Landscape studies are themselves only partial history not total. Although it is highly desirable and satisfactory to understand the landscape and its components, the landscape is essentially an 'archaeological' source.'
 2. D. Dymond 'Archaeologists and Documents' in Rogers & Rowley op.cit. p.8. 'problems are solved not ... by mysteriously choosing the 'best' evidence available, but by using all the available evidence which is relevant to the problem, whether documentary, archaeological, oral or scientific.'

possible to understand the changing nature of the valley floor without enquiring about modern drainage schemes, canalisation, water-meadows and traces of pre-canal navigation. Only when these have been identified and eliminated from the enquiry can the true nature of the medieval marshland landscape be conceived. Having said that, it never fails to astonish the writer, how relatively minor and ephemeral landscape features, such as the low sandy banks of brecks on the coastal heathlands, manage to survive in a recognisable form. These are the more tangible and readable margins in the palimpsest of the landscape. This thesis is perhaps more concerned with the centre of the palimpsest, where the lines of the landscape have become almost unintelligibly overwritten and obliterated by centuries of continuous use.

The archaeological material used in this thesis is summarised in Appendix I, which lists archaeological sites by parish together with information about pottery samples collected from them. It is not intended to be a complete archaeological survey.

Chapter I

GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

1. Relief and Surface Geology
2. Soils and Parent Materials
3. Coastal Erosion

Figures

1. Regional Geology
2. Blyth and Dunwich River Estuary
3. Diagram of Benacre Ness

1. Relief and Surface Geology

The subtle and subdued relief of the East Suffolk landscape owes its appearance to the malleable soft clays, sands and gravels of its surface geology. (Fig.1.) These deposits were laid down in the Pleistocene period, within the last two million years, as a result of glacial and marine action throughout succeeding glacial and inter-glacial climatic phases. The Pleistocene deposits of East Suffolk can be broadly divided into three series.¹ The lowest of these overlie older Eocene formations and are formed from marine and fresh-water deposits, which collected in the Crag basin. This basin or geosyncline experienced alterations in sea level caused variously by movements in the earth's crust, including isostatic recovery, and major changes in sea level brought about by the onset and recession of glaciation.² The deposition of the Crag is complex and much studied for its fossiliferous contents, which do not concern us here.³ The middle series are of both glacial and inter-glacial origin. Sparks and West admit that 'the number of glacial advances in East Anglia is not easy to decipher',⁴ but at Corton Cliff near Lowestoft two layers of glacial till are recognisable, separated by stratified sands. Elsewhere it is not uncommon for these layers to be recognisable, but much contorted by ice-pushing and sludging during periods of thaw. The upper of the two tills is the distinctive blue-grey chalky boulder clay known as Lowestoft till, which is widespread over 'high' Suffolk and South Norfolk and is the thickest and most prominent of the East Anglian tills. It is rich in Cretaceous and

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1. The following is based on B.W.Sparks & R.G.West The Ice Age in Britain 1972 pp.142-3, and A.Straw & K.Clayton Eastern and Central England 1979. In addition the more localised, but out of date, Geological Memoirs were consulted. W.Whitaker The Geology of Southwold and the Suffolk Coast from Dunwich to Covehithe 1887; W.Whitaker & W.H.Dalton The Geology of the Country around Halesworth and Harleston 1887; B.W.Funnel 'An account of the Geology of the Bungay District' Transactions of the Suffolk Natural History Society IX,1955 pp.115-26.
 2. R.G.West East Anglia 1977 International Union for Quaternary Research. Congress X.
 3. See H.M.S.O., British Regional Geology; East Anglia 1961. Some notable works on the palaeobotanical remains of the Sandlings are to be found in the Transactions of the Suffolk Natural History Society by H.E.P. Spencer, see 'Crag Mammalia' VIII (iii); 'Red Crag Deer from Trimley and Felixstowe' X (i); 'The Contemporary Mammalian Fossils of the Crag' XII (v); 'New Mammalian Fossils from the Red Crag' XIII (iii); 'A Contribution to the Geological History of Suffolk' XIV (iv).
 4. Sparks & West op.cit. p.146.

Jurassic erratics picked up to the west of East Anglia. The stone orientation also suggest a west to east movement.⁵ The lower till is the so called North Sea Drift and consists of two types; a bluish Cromer till, similar to the Lowestoft till, and a more weathered till, the Norwich Brick Earth. The exact relationship of the two tills is unclear; although the North Sea Drift contains erratics of Scandinavian origin they are both thought to belong to the same period of glacial advance, because their stratigraphic positions and stone orientations are similar.⁶ Subglacial channels, ground-ice depressions and other irregularities in the upper layers of the Lowestoft till are filled with inter-glacial deposits and material weathered out of the boulder clay, mostly during the period of the Hoxnian temperate inter-glacial.⁷ The succeeding glacial period, the Wolstonian, is difficult to interpret, but seems to have left its traces in the form of the Gipping till, which is only found in the western parts of East Anglia. Stone orientation suggests movement from the north, but the distribution of till is irregular and its precise relationship to Hoxnian inter-glacial deposits remains uncertain.⁸ The final Ipswichian inter-glacial and succeeding glaciation have left relatively superficial terraces and alluvial deposits in the existing river valleys of East Suffolk.⁹

The main rivers are relicts of a much earlier and larger river system flowing south east towards the Thames and North Sea basin, which was partly dependent on a watershed or drainage divide now submerged beneath the north-east Norfolk coast.¹⁰ The drowned valleys of the Flegg represent truncated tributaries which once flowed south-west into the river Bure. The medieval peat workings of this area were inundated by the sea to form the present day Norfolk Broads.¹¹ The river Blyth and its lesser neighbours, the two 'Hundred Rivers' to the north and south,

5. Sparks & West op.cit. p.147.

6. Ibid. p.146.

7. H.C.Prince 'The Origin of Pits and Depressions in Norfolk' Geography 49, 1964 pp.15-32.

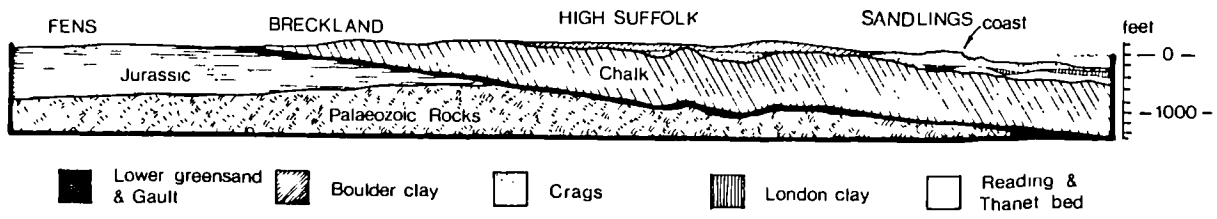
8. Sparks & West op.cit. p.147 'It (Wolstonian) has not been certainly found on top of a Hoxnian inter-glacial deposit. At Hoxne, sand and gravels probably deposited near the ice margin and containing Gipping erratics rest on inter-glacial deposits.'

9. Ibid. pp.147-8.

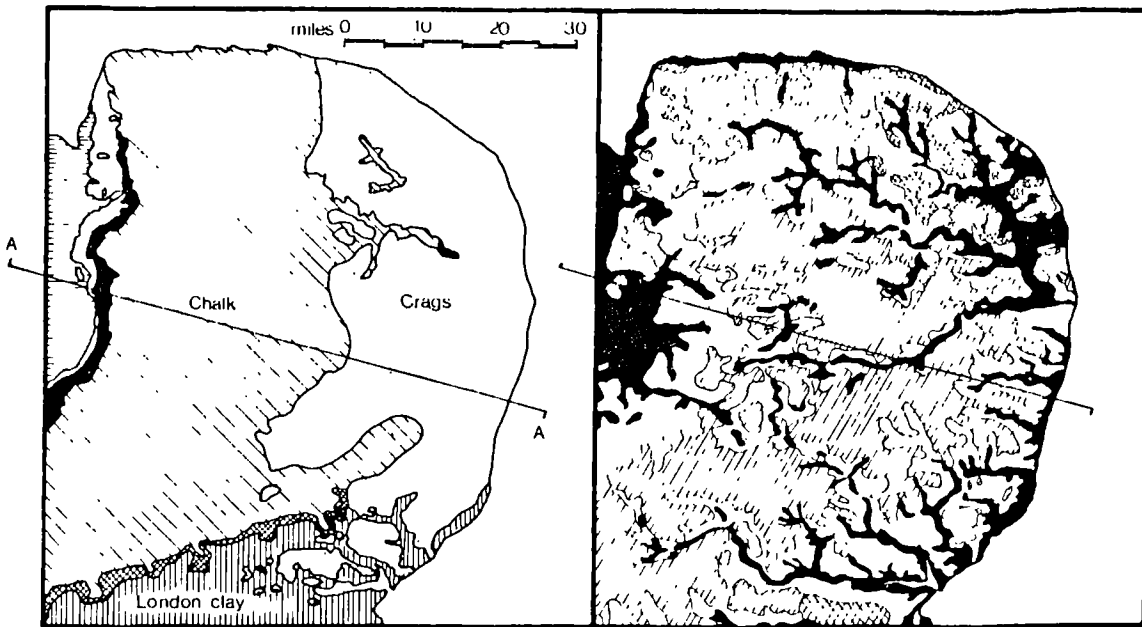
10. Straw & Clayton op.cit. p.72. See also J.C.Barringer 'The Rivers of Norfolk and Suffolk' in East Anglian Studies [J.M.Munby (Ed) 1968 pp.1-16.

11. J.M.Lambert, J.N.Jennings & C.T.Smith The Making of the Broads 1960.

REGIONAL GEOLOGY



DIAGRAMATIC SECTION A-A



UNDERLYING SOLID

- Crags
- Lower Greensand
- Jurassic
- Reading & Thanet beds
- Gault

OVERLYING DRIFT

- Sands & Gravels
- Drift very thin
- Chalky boulder clay
- Norwich brickearth
- Alluvium Peat & Coastal deposits

Figure 1.

which form the boundaries of Blything Hundred, were all tributaries on the right bank of the river Bure drainage system, which once flowed out into the North Sea basin. With the rise in sea level in the post-glacial period these tributaries became detached as separate rivers; the old channel known as 'Buss' or 'Woods End Creek', which cut off the island of Southwold, is probably a truncated tributary of the river Blyth.¹² The peat and alluvium which form the infill of these drowned valleys accumulated as the sea level rose in relation to the land in the post-glacial period. In Broadland, the Waveney Valley and in the Cambridgeshire Fens, three phases of alluvium are detectable, a lower Flandrian fresh-water peat, a middle Flandrian estuarine silt or clay, and an upper Flandrian fresh-water peat overlaid by estuarine silts.¹³ Similar deposits of peat have been recorded from bore holes made in the lower and middle reaches of the Blyth valley.¹⁴ Although extensive turbaries are recorded throughout the medieval period in the middle reaches of the Blyth, there is no evidence to suggest that the so called 'broads' found at Benacre, Covehithe, Easton, Minsmere, and the 'broad' which once existed down stream from Blythburgh are in any sense the result of flooded turbaries.¹⁵ Early cartographic evidence suggests that these were once estuaries open to the sea, which with inland drainage and a declining volume of water in the main channel silted up and became blocked by a shingle bar thrown up by the surf.¹⁶ The natural vegetational succession and draining in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries greatly reduced the area of these 'broads'.¹⁷

12. Straw & Clayton op.cit. fig.6.1. See also Fig. 2 of this thesis.
13. J.D.G. Clarke et.al. 'Report on Recent Excavations at Peacocks Farm Shippea Hill' Antiquaries Journal XV, 1935 pp.284-319.
14. East Suffolk and Norfolk River Board, proposed tidal barrage on the River Blyth at Southwold in Suffolk. Report on the Preliminary Site Investigation. Feb.1964. Bore Hole No.1. (at TM. 493757) encountered 'very soft dark brown peat' from a depth of 5 ft. below the topsoil of the marsh, down to 18 ft. In a communication to J.B.Hill of Blyford Hall Farm Estate, concerning soil investigations, the Anglia Water Authority stated that the 'soil overlays a peat varying from 9 ft. in thickness near Blythburgh to 3 ft. near Blyford. Below the peat is a coarse sand which varied in colour and tended to contain flints and small stones with chalk nodules nearer Blyford. The maximum depth of boring was 27 ft.' A.W.A. correspondence Ref.PAI/PS. BL/3/11: 17 June 1976.
15. See Hodskinson's Map of the County of Suffolk 1783 and also Chapter II Sec.2.
16. See Saxton's Map of England and Wales 1575; Map of the Manor of Benacre 1580 I.R.O., T.631, which shows the 'lords fishing water' (Benacre Broad).
17. See p.15.

2. Soils and Parent Materials

Above the one hundred foot contour, the soils of 'high' Suffolk are mostly derived from the Lowestoft Till. The chalky boulder clay which characterises this till is a stiff grey calcareous clay varying to clay-loam or sandy clay, often with as much as 30-50% chalk nodules and flints.¹ Occasionally glacial erratics several feet in diameter, usually of limestone or sandstone, are turned out by the plough or by quarrying.² The upper surface is confused by later inter-glacial deposits which have filled ice wedges and depressions with coarse upland gravel consisting of angular flints and various rocks weathered out of the boulder clay. In the words of one writer, 'the agricultural implications of such a variable soil depth above a calcareous parent material are important. Crop yields within individual fields vary considerably over small distances as a result of the variable moisture retention properties and p.H. of the soil profile. Fertiliser application is clearly a difficult problem.'³ Generally speaking, the surface horizons of soils derived from the chalky boulder clay are acid in reaction, because of the water-retaining properties of the flat clay plateau and the tendency for the chalky element to dissolve after prolonged exposure to the atmosphere.⁴ On the clay-sand margin large marl pits are common-place, many date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but some are medieval in origin.⁵ Beds of quartz sands with occasional flints outcrop from below the Lowestoft Till and these are also extensively quarried.

The eastern edge of the clay plateau becomes thinner as it is eroded by many small streams in shallow valleys. Here the clay is weathered and mixed

1. W.M. Corbett & W. Tatler Soils in Norfolk: TM.49 Beccles North H.M.S.O. Soil surveys of Great Britain. 1970 p.4.
2. Good examples of glacial erratics in Blything Hundred are visible at Rock Stone Manor Farm, Cookley (TM.366765), see Chapter III Sec.1. note 9; The Devil's Pit, Wenhaston (TM.417759); Chediston Hall, Chediston (TM.371778); Thyme Cottage, Wissett (TM.372792).
3. L.F. Curtis, F.M. Courtney & S. Trudgill Soils of the British Isles 1975 p.136.
4. P.J.O. Trist Survey of the Agriculture of Suffolk 1971 p.137.
5. P. Armstrong The Changing Landscape 1975 pp.104-106. A late twelfth or early thirteenth century marl pit is recorded in C.B.P. 453: '...a certain pasture on both sides of the road from Thorington church to Blythburgh, with one marl pit which lies towards the north of the said way...' This could well be the deep pit which can still be seen on the north side of the road near Thorington church (TM.423742).

with the underlying sandy gravels to form an excellent loam, being well drained by many small streams found in the more undulating landscape in the middle reaches of the river. Above the main valleys the slopes on the monotonous clay plateau are seldom more than 3° giving rise to serious drainage problems. However, since the eighteenth century, piped land drains have improved the cereal crops on the claylands making them more profitable.⁶ The very slight topography is nonetheless important and shallow streams in the upper reaches of the river are frequently used as parish boundaries, just as some form the main arteries of settlement, where ancient churches are often found at minor road-river crossings. The gravel slopes bordering the main flood plain are often more steep. In places late glacial meanders in the river have undercut the valley sides and slopes of 30° or more may be encountered.⁷

A wide hinterland of exposed crag and sandy gravel stretches between the edge of the clay and the sea, where the austere but picturesque coastline is characterised by bleak heathlands and saltmarsh. This area is known as the Suffolk Sandling. In contrast with the clayland interior the sandy, leached and podzolised soils suffer from an almost permanent water deficiency.⁸ The most extreme type of Sandling heath is encountered at Dunwich and Westleton where stony outcrops of the 'pebble series' appear as small, densely packed, blue-grey pebbles in a sparse soil of grey or black sand. Such 'black-heaths' are almost totally sterile and at best only thin clumps of heather will grow.⁹ Further inland, small pockets of the Westleton 'beds' or pebble series outcrop on the valley sides, giving rise to agricultural 'hot spots', or small pebbly patches, where crops frequently fail.¹⁰

Small outcrops of brick-earth have given rise to innumerable brick-clamps and kilns in most of the East Suffolk parishes, but larger outcrops

6. H.C.Darby 'The Draining of the English Claylands' Geogr. Zeits. 52, 1964 pp.190-201; Trist op.cit. pp.68-70.

7. See p.49.

8. See Chapter II Sec. 3.

9. Trist op.cit. p.18 'the heath at Westleton will always be of more geological than agricultural interest. Here some 6-12 inches of dark grey acid soil overlies 2-3 feet of densely packed rounded pebbles over a firm sand'.

10. Trist op.cit. p.137.

are found on the clay sandling edge where the lower layers of the Lowestoft Till are encountered. Large brick works functioned in the nineteenth century at Frostenden and South Cove.^{11.} The last brick kiln in Blything Hundred is still periodically fired on the Benacre estate.

Variability is therefore the hallmark of the soils of East Suffolk.^{12.} This is particularly true for the farms which occupy the middle reaches of the river Blyth where soils can vary from the heaviest loam on the clay upland through sandy gravels on the valley sides to rich peaty meadow.^{13.} Such variability must have rendered the middle reaches of the river particularly attractive to early settlers dependent on mixed farming. The close proximity of soil types, varying from heavy clay to light sand, would not only provide a range of contrasting habitats, but also ameliorate the effects of an excessively dry or wet season. In the long term, settlements in the middle reaches of the river would be less likely to suffer from the effects of minor climatic changes and fluctuations in local market prices.

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11. I.R.O., S9. Southwold and Neighbourhood. 'Illustrated and Historical Guide' c.1900. Mentions '...the peculiar nature of the soil in the Frostenden district. ..for the...production of even the best class of pottery and the manufacture of bricks and tiles (both red and white), it probably has no rival in Suffolk.'
12. White's 1844 Directory, p.30 'SOIL - No county in England contains a greater variety of soil, or more clearly discriminated than Suffolk.'
13. B.G.Jackson Distribution of types of Farm in the Eastern Counties 1961 University of Cambridge, Farm Economics Branch pp.30-8; C.T.Smith 'Settlement and Agriculture in Eastern England' in Field Studies in the British Isles J.A.Steers (Ed) 1964 p.137.

3. Coastal Erosion

The long bleak coastline of north-east Suffolk is composed of sand cliffs, at the most sixty feet high, but often much lower, interrupted by long stretches of open saltmarsh, broads and estuarine mudflats. The shingle banks of the foreshore offer little resistance to the rage of North Sea winter storms. Coastal erosion is a fact of life which Suffolk people have learned to live with; the loss of land, where it is recorded in medieval documents, is given matter-of-fact treatment.¹ Nonetheless, its effects can be catastrophic in just one or two nights of violent storms, when sand cliffs dissolve before the waves rising as they do sometimes, on a high spring tide. Then years may go by before a similar event is witnessed in the same place. The result is a patchwork of myths and legends stitched together by a bewildering array of antiquarian writers, the more recent of whom seem to be more concerned with extending the myths than with unravelling the facts.²

The process of erosion has not been constant; particular stretches of the coast seem highly vulnerable at certain periods, while others for a time seem to be immune. The main force of erosion is not aimed directly at the shore, but lengthwise down the coast; rather as a potato might be peeled with a sharp knife. Powerful currents running parallel to the coast keep the sand banks and shingle bar constantly on the move, much to the annoyance of holiday makers searching for the sand. The general movement of shingle is southwards. This is particularly well evidenced at Orford, where the Alde river has been deflected southwards for about eleven miles by the gigantic shingle bar of Orford Ness.³ All the Suffolk rivers are blocked or deflected to a greater or lesser extent, but the Alde is the best example.⁴ There can be no doubt that the river Blyth was also

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1. C.Richmond John Hopton 1981 pp.83-4, between 1475-8 allowances were made for the rents of tenements which had lost land through coastal erosion at Easton Bavents.
 2. The most important antiquarian source for erosion along the Blything Hundred coast is Gardner (1754). He is however indiscriminately and inaccurately plagiarised by all later writers on the subject. Suckling is the worst offender. Stow's account of Dunwich in 1573, quoted by Suckling (pp.244-52) has given rise to many misunderstandings. See chapter IV. sec.2 note 14.
 3. J.A.Steers The Coastline of England and Wales 1966 pp.385-9 ; J.A.Steers 'The Suffolk Coast: Orford Ness' P.S.I.A. XIX(ii) 1926 pp.117-140 ; J.A.Steers (Ed.) Orford Ness, a Selection of Maps Mainly by John Norden 1966.
 4. Steers 1926 op.cit. p.120.

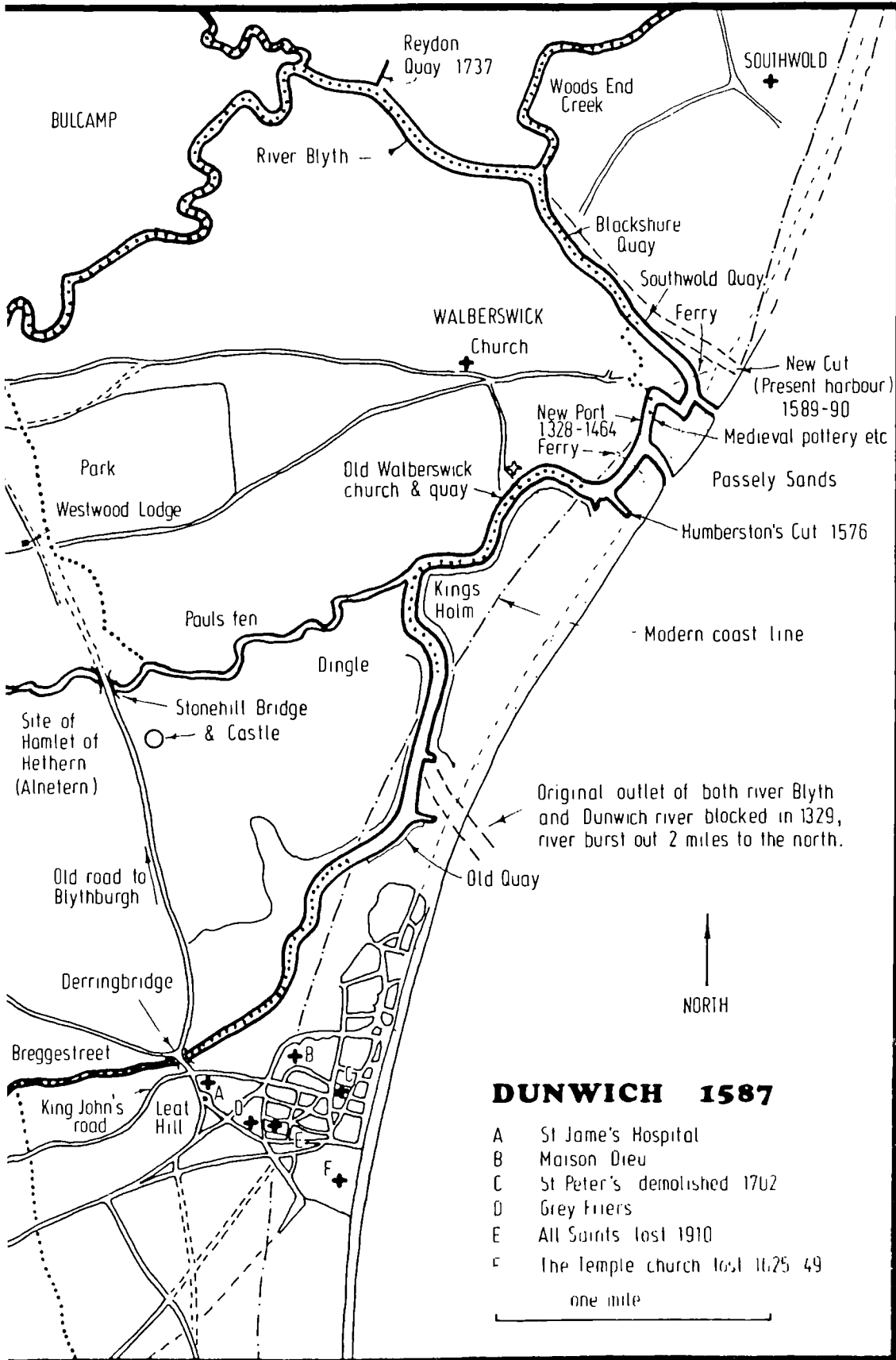


Figure 2. Blyth and Dunwich River Estuary.

Based on Gardner's engraving of Agas' map dated 1589 with additional documentary evidence.

at one time deflected southwards behind a great shingle bar, joining up with the Dunwich river and entering the sea near the 'Old Quay' (Fig.2). There is a wealth of historical evidence to support the old jibe 'Soul /Southwold/, and Dunwich, and Walberswick, All go in at one lousie creek.'⁵ Before the old haven was blocked by shingle in the fourteenth century 'all Vessels passed by Dunwich-Key, before they arrived at Walberswick';⁶ Dunwich had an ancient right to charge a toll on all vessels passing up-stream to Blythburgh and Walberswick if they did not unload at her quay. This was the cause of lengthy and expensive litigation when, after 1329, the mouth of the river had moved further north. Dunwich still claimed her ancient rights, but now her trading rivals refused to pay. The matter was not finally resolved until 1466-7.⁷ (Fig.2).

The Domesday survey records that one carucate of land at Dunwich had been carried away by the sea before 1086.⁸ During most of the long reign of Henry III the old Dunwich haven was unusable due to the shifting mouth of the haven. From the middle of the thirteenth century there began a long sequence of disasters followed by complaints to the Crown, the latter only occasionally resulting in relief or reduction in taxes. Severe erosion took place in the 1280's when most of the parish of St Leonard's was probably lost. In 1328 the 'Old Port' seems to have been blocked and by 1349-50 over four hundred houses paying rent towards the Fee-Farm had gone.⁹ At this time the river broke out of the ness, forming a new harbour two miles further north (See Fig.2). By 1399, the new harbour was itself blocked, and a cut was made on the north side of the 'Passely Sands', described as a 'Bank of Ouze', which causeth the back Water to turne off the Beach, and to lie straight again the Mouth, as hath happened divers Times since the same was opened first.'¹⁰ In the sixteenth century Dunwich enjoyed something of a revival; her charter was renewed by Elizabeth I in 1559, and

5. Daniel Defoe A Tour through England and Wales 1778 (1948) I, p.55.

6. Gardner p.178.

7. C.Richmond John Hopton 1981 p.44 & 49; Gardner pp.20-21, 'The Report of Dunwich by Radulph Agas 1589'...'appeareth bie sondrie Evidence, videliz. that the Men of Bliborough, Walberswich, and Southwold, shall paie duelye to Dunwich Men their Toules and Customes.' p.138 'Great Variances subsisted betwixt the Bailives and Commonality of Dunwich, and John Hopton, Esq; Lord of Blythburgh, touching their Liberties and Properties, both by land and Water, for Wrec, Customs, etc. The former demanding (as parcell of their Fee-Farm held of the Crown) Dues for Stallage, Standings, etc. in Dunwich Markets,....with other Dues for Ships, Vessels, and Boats passing in or out of the Haven.'

8. DB.II 312.

9. Gardner p.94.

10. Gardner p.21, Radulph Agas' Report of 1589.

in 1578 money was raised from the sale of materials from Ingate church near Beccles and the chancel of Kessingland church to make a new cut slightly further south of the earlier one. The work was supervised by 'her Majesties Surveyor' in Suffolk, Mr Humberston.¹¹ (Fig.2). The result was far from satisfactory, partly due to disagreements between Southwold and Dunwich over parish boundaries in this area. In 1589 - 90 a new cut was made in almost the same position as the present harbour, largely as a result of Ralph Agas' report and recommendations made in 1589.¹²

With Dunwich went lesser settlements; Minsmere church, which stood in the suburbs of Dunwich, together with 'Mysemeare street' and 'Mysmeare row' were said in 1573 to have been long since 'drowned in the sea'.¹³ The church and chapel of Easton Bavents had disappeared or decayed by the sixteenth century; little is now left of the original parish.¹⁴ In the fifteenth century the old settlement of Northales disappeared and was replaced by the new name of Covehithe; the church being rebuilt on a new site. The earliest reliable maps of the coastline of Blything Hundred come in the sixteenth century.¹⁵ Saxton's map of England and Wales for 1575 illustrates a large projection off Easton Bavents, similar to Benacre Ness but much larger and apparently too far south. This might be dismissed as a cartographic error, but for the fact that the gradual northward movement of Benacre Ness, and at the same time its gradual decrease in size, can be charted on later maps from the late eighteenth century to the present day. Hodkinson's map of 1783 shows the Ness as a prominent feature off Covehithe church. In 1887, Whitaker, writing his Geological Memoir on the 'Waste of the Coast', says that while living at Southwold he noted no change, 'the low cliff being fairly protected'. But he recalls the remarks of Redman that 'this place suffered much during the winter gale of 1862, large portions of the cliff were then washed down, and this was no doubt induced by the constant degradation of the cliff south of Covehithe Ness'.¹⁶ This ness is clearly illustrated on the first series

11. Suckling Vol.II 243.

12. Gardner pp.20-22.

13. Suckling Vol.II p.252 (Stow's account of Dunwich).

14. Gardner p.259; Richmond op.cit. pp.83-4.

15. V.B.Redstone 'Angulus Anglie' P.S.I.A. XXIII(i) 1937 pp.155-164.

16. W.Whitaker The Geology of Southwold and the Suffolk Coast from Dunwich to Covehithe 1887 p.47.

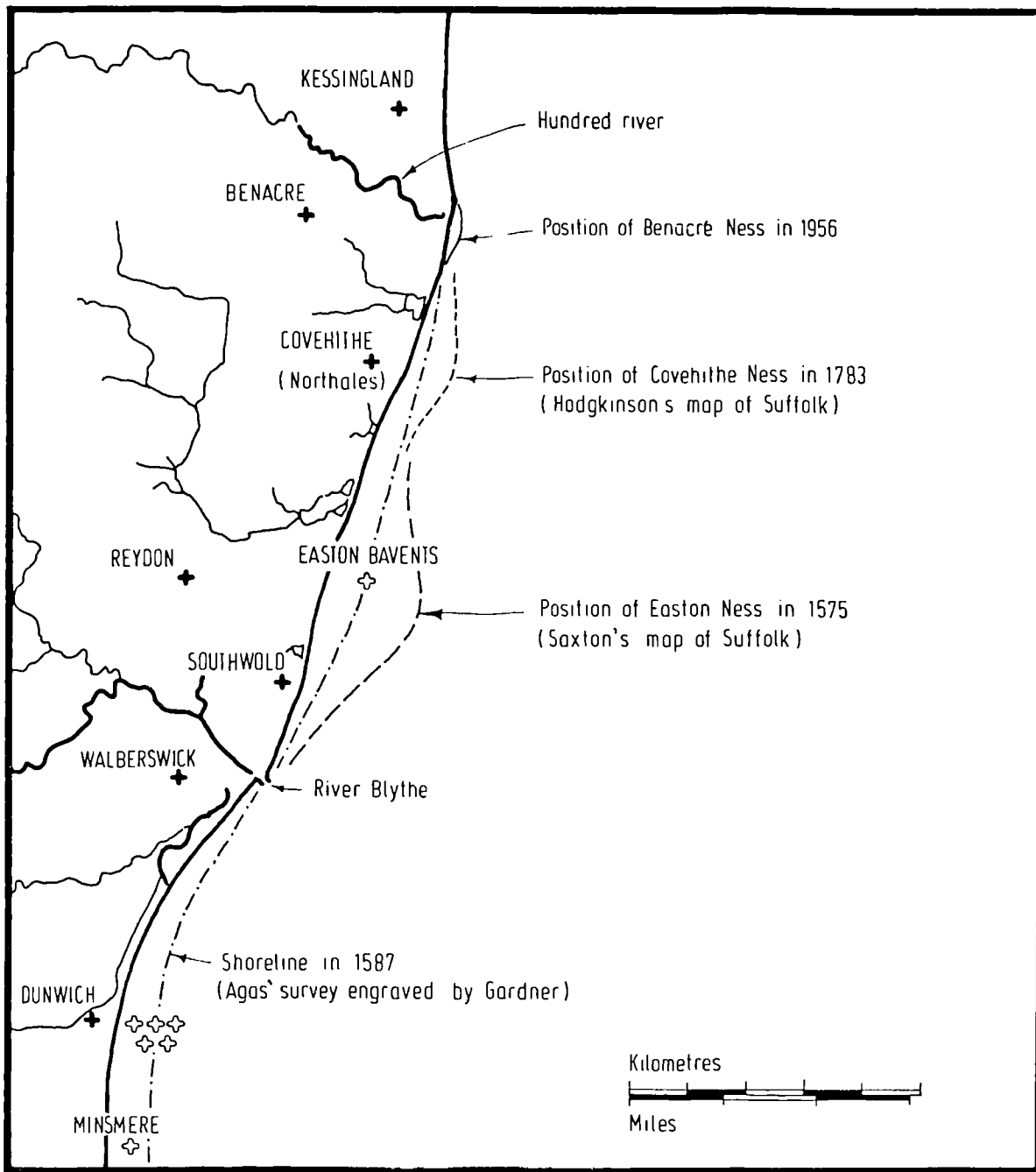


Figure 3. Benacre Ness.

Ordnance Survey map drawn in 1837, when it is still called 'Covehithe Ness'. The present beach of Kessingland, north of Benacre Ness, is becoming ever wider, but this was not always so. We are told that, 'the Sea Row, a part of the parish [of Kessingland], once thickly populated, was swept away by the sea about the year 1843. The encroachment of the waves has now [1920] ceased and the beach is steadily increasing in extent.'¹⁷ On the 2½ inch Ordnance Survey Revision for 1956 the ness lay off the north east corner of Benacre parish, and the coastline to the south, particularly at Covehithe, has been subject to very severe erosion in the last two or three years, (1978-81).

The Ness itself forms a protective shingle bank gradually edging its way north. But the shingle moves south, rather like the sand ripples on the bed of a stream; shingle is deposited on the northern edge of the Ness while it is scoured away from the southern or trailing edge. The visual and topographical effect is of a northward movement.¹⁸ The distance covered by the Ness in just under 200 years between 1783 and 1979 is approximately 3,600 yards. In other words it has progressed at the rate of approximately 18.65 yards per year, or just over 180 yards in ten years. (Fig.3). This progress was probably not constant, the Ness being much larger in the sixteenth century than it is in the twentieth. However, projecting its movement back through time at the estimated rate, it would have been just south of the existing Walberswick village during the reign of Henry III, at the time when Dunwich haven was becoming choked with shingle. It seems very likely that the great mass of Covehithe or Benacre Ness owes its origin to the break up of the ness which once protected Dunwich Haven and deflected the Blyth and Dunwich rivers southwards. On its long and eventful journey northwards the shingle has become scattered and dissipated through the action of the southward moving current, more shingle being scoured away than is deposited at any one time.

The transient nature of the Suffolk coast never ceases to fascinate the visitor. Antiquarians give them the erroneous impression that the landscape was 'by rage and surgies of the sea, daylie wasted and devoured'.¹⁹ But, Dunwich will always stir the imagination, to Stow, it 'excited my curiosity of visiting this place, where I beheld the remains of the rampart, some tokens of Middlegate; the foundations of down-fallen edifices, and tottering fragments of noble structures, remains of the dead exposed, and naked wells, divested of the ground about them by the waves of the sea.'²⁰

17. H.R.Baker East Suffolk Illustrated 1908-9 sub. Kessingland; Suckling Vol.1.p25:

18. W.W.Williams Coastal Changes 1960 p.138 fig.V.11.

19. Suckling Vol.II p.243.



Plate 1

An eroding coastline of sand cliffs and saltmarsh only protected by a narrow band of shifting shingle. In the foreground the oak trees of Reydon wood, long since killed by salt spray, have toppled over the cliff onto the beach. The projecting point of shingle, opposite the end of the wood, envelops the wave battered remains of a war-time pill-box, which once guarded the top of the cliff. In the distance the cliff-top town of Southwold juts out into the North Sea, beyond it, further to the south can be seen the sweep of Sole Bay and in the extreme distance the cliffs of Dunwich.



Plate 2

The left bank of the river Blyth at Blyford looking west towards the clay plateau. Church Farm, Blyford, is the first farm on the left hand side of the road running parallel to the river in the foreground. A lokeway leads up from the farm onto the clay on the right hand side. The disturbed subsoil in the field on the south side of the loke, close to Church Farm, marks the remains of a small Roman farmstead site, one of many in similar positions overlooking the Blyth valley.



Plate 3

The variability of the valley gravel soils can be seen here in the crop-marks caused by differential growth in the area of Wenhaston Grange, south of Halesworth, in the middle reaches of the river.

Chapter II

HABITATS AND LANDSCAPES

1. Introduction
2. Saltmarsh and sea shore
3. Sandling heaths
4. Meadow marsh and low moor
5. River valleys and gravel slopes
6. Upland clay-commons and moors
7. Woodlands and parks

Figures

4. Sotherton Moor
5. Section of Sotherton Moor
6. Great Haugh, Thorington
7. Henham Park
8. Huntingfield Park

1. Introduction

The contrasting soils derived from the drift geology, described in the last chapter, profoundly affected the development of settlement in the medieval period. In order to assist the reader in understanding the complex relationships which existed between settlement and landscape, both in an unending state of metamorphosis, six broadly defined ecological habitats are described in this chapter.

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|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Saltmarsh and seashore. | 4. River valleys and gravel slopes |
| 2. Sandling heaths. | 5. Clay commons and upland moors |
| 3. Meadow, marsh and low moor. | 6. Woodlands and parks |

These habitats appear as recurrent themes throughout the thesis. The Sandling, with its characteristic coastal scenery, has claimed the attention of previous writers. But other habitats, such as the upland clays, are rarely described, because only fragmentary historical evidence of them survives. Indeed, the distinction made here between areas of woodland and areas of open moor on the clay plateau has only been arrived at through the course of documentary research. It is inevitable, therefore, that the description of these habitats will at times anticipate some of the material presented later in the thesis.

Each habitat is discussed in terms of its original natural resources, so far as they may be interpreted from the available evidence. At different times all six have been transformed by nature's bitter or benign reaction to their exploitation by the hand of man. The effects of tillage, following forest clearance, reduced the Sandling to heath, but the clays have benefited from clearance, drainage and cultivation, and have continued to improve with careful husbandry. The more unstable and marginal habitats such as the saltmarsh and sandling have become battlefields between man and nature, while the ancient valley gravels probably underwent only one gentle transformation in the Neolithic.

This contrast between stability and change is reflected in the degree of continuity of settlement. While the expansion and contraction of sites on the more marginal areas is not difficult to trace, the lack of change on the more stable habitats leaves few deserted sites and little evidence of development in the medieval period. Continuity of settlement on the valley gravels is therefore implied only by the lack of evidence for change, and the presence of ancient churches at natural foci in the landscape.

2. The Saltmarsh and sea shore

The saltmarsh and estuaries of East Suffolk are by nature unstable. The marshes nearest the sea have changed drastically within living memory and historical sources suggest that changes in the past were equally frequent and dramatic. Three powerful forces affect the vegetational development of the saltmarsh; changes in sea level and tidal fluctuations; coastal erosion associated with major changes in the river channels and shingle banks; the embanking, draining and raising of the mud-flats, which restricted the areas covered by tidal salt water and reduced the volume of water clearing the estuary on a falling tide.^{1.}

There is a limited range of plants that can withstand saline conditions, but this range rapidly expands in brackish water and with it comes a great mass of water fowl dependent on that environment. In winter, when food supplies are short elsewhere, there is a tendency for birds and animals to congregate in the estuaries where salt water tides keep the ground unfrozen. There can be no doubt that early man found the estuaries a constant source of food in the greatest variety. Mesolithic and Neolithic flint artifacts are to be found in profusion on the low-lying Sandling slopes bordering the estuaries.^{2.}

Rising sea levels, combined with the effects of coastal erosion and changing river channels, have caused many local variations in this habitat. Charles Green and other writers have suggested that considerable fluctuations in sea level took place in the Roman and post-Roman periods.^{3.} In the early medieval period it is likely that salt-water tides reached further inland than at the present day. Domesday Book records salt-pans as far inland as Uggeshall, Wangford and Frostenden, but we cannot be certain that those industries lay within the modern parish boundaries.^{4.}

Axel and Hosking, writing about Minsmere, suggest that a stabilisation of sea level took place about 1700,^{5.} but the seaward retreat of the

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1. P.J.O.Trist Survey of the Agriculture of Suffolk 1971 p.20;
R.Clarke Black Sailed Traders 1961 pp.110-129.
 2. The scattered distribution of Mesolithic and Neolithic artifacts is to a certain extent determined by the distribution of local field workers. See Chapter III Sec.1.
 3. C.Green 'East Anglian Coast-line Levels since Roman Times' Antiquity XXXV, 1961 pp.21-8; J.M.Lambert The Making of the Broads 1960.
 4. DB. II 299b, 414b, 444.
 5. B.Axel & E.Hosking Portrait of a Bird Reserve 1977 Chapter 1.

saltmarsh continued after that date. Some attempts were made in the seventeenth century to drain the marshes around Blythburgh, possibly using Dutch engineers.⁶ After the river had been embanked for the Blyth Navigation in 1756-7, it was a logical step to convert the saltings into prime meadow grazing by the cutting of dykes and the erection of wind-pumps.⁷ This had already been done a few years earlier above Wolsey bridge by Sir John Rouse, who built a sluice there in 1747 to 'to raise in pasture-grounds all the low lands above it which were subject to be overflowed by high tides.'⁸ Thomas Gardner mentions a wind pump on the site of the present ruined one in Westwood marshes by 1743.⁹ By the early nineteenth century there was very little true saltmarsh left in Blything Hundred except the 'common salts' around Walberswick and Southvold.¹⁰ There had originally been a large expanse of open water or 'broad' down stream from Blythburgh and extensive saltmarshes where winkles could be gathered above Blythburgh bridge in Bulcamp and Blyford.¹¹ These were enclosed in about 1780, and by 1804 all the salts as far as Reydon had been raised into meadows.¹²

6. I.R.O., HA30: 50/22/3.1. (1638) 'Pauls fen & East Marsh were inclosed wth. a wall by the Complts. agents (Sir Robert Brooke), but the Complts. father did not inclose the same when he walled in other Marshes, wch. might then have byn done wth. lesse charge.' 'That they have a Towne booke wherein the charges of makeing passages & draynes unto & in the said Pauls fen are set downe to be done at the cost of the inhabytants.' A graffito in Blythburgh church is thought to have been carved by a Dutch school boy on the Hopton chantry bench. It reads, 'Dirck Lowerson Van Stockholm AD 1665 AG 12'.
7. See Henham estate maps by William Peak and John Stagoll, showing reclaimed meadows in the Blyth valley. I.R.O., HA11/C9/74. Also Isaac Johnson's map of Minsmere Level surveyed in 1786 I.R.O., HD:306/1/1.
8. Gardner p.257.
9. Gardner p.111.
10. White's Directory for 1844 p.399. There were 130 acres of open salt marshes and heath still surviving at Walberswick.
11. Clark op.cit. p.122. 'That at Blythburgh bridge the tides used to flow all over the marshes (Bulcamp side), above bridge, on ordinary tides. great creeks there used to get full of water like sluices, and the tide used before that to run far stronger than it does now... About 40 or 50 years ago (before 1839) I used to go pinpatching (Winkle gathering) all over the marshes, called the salts and flats, and they always were under water, neap tides and spring tides'. Blythburgh Broad is illustrated on Hodkinson's map of Suffolk for 1783. It was copied on later maps by Bryant and Greenwood long after it had been drained.
12. P.R.O., No.3019. Survey made by John Wright (1840) of the river Blyth from Southvold Harbour to Blyford Lock for the Commissioners of the river Blyth. 'Bulcamp Saltings', west of Blythburgh Bridge, consisted of '86 acres enclosed about 1780'. 'Bulcamp New Saltings', north of the river opposite Tinkers Marshes consisted of '105 acres enclosed in 1804'.

Small scale attempts at embanking parts of the saltmarsh had taken place in the medieval period. Substantial banks still survive to the north of the first site of the Abbey at Leiston. These are probably late 12th or 13th century. The site was abandoned after widespread flooding in 1362 when the Abbey was rebuilt on higher ground, which may have been in response to a temporary rise in sea level.¹³ Similar banks survive around what is now called Pauls Fen on the Blythburgh/Westleton boundary. In 1463 these banks were already old, being described as the 'ancient enclosure butting Pallifen'.¹⁴ Possibly they were constructed to protect the now deserted hamlet of Hethern which was situated in the area south-west of the old road which once ran directly between Blythburgh and Dunwich across the saltmarshes of 'Brakenest Common'.¹⁵ Hethern, or 'Ernthern' was a possession of Ely in the 11th and 12th century and these banks may have been constructed at the instigation of that Abbey.¹⁶ Several attempts were made to enclose this area of Saltmarsh in the seventeenth century and an enclosure award was drawn up in 1862, but these were abortive and the dykes and allotments are now totally water-logged and choked with reed swamp, sallow and alder-carr.¹⁷

Peat turf dug out of the marshes at Bulcamp, Blythburgh and Reydon, provided a valuable supply of fuel in the medieval period, but it seems likely that Blythburgh Priory was already acquiring ancient turbaries and marshes for conversion into meadows in the 12th and 13th centuries; the grazing was probably more valuable than the peat.¹⁸

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13. C.L.A. p.7. In 1362 the Abbey's buildings were threatened with ruin by the recent inundations. This waste caused by flooding is also reflected in the Nonae Rolls for Leison in 1341. See W.A.Wickham 'Inquisitiones Nonarum for Suffolk' P.S.I.A. XVII (ii) 1920 p.102. & A.R.H.Baker 'Evidence in the 'Inquisitiones Nonarum' of Contracting Arable Lands in England during the early Fourteenth Century' Econ. Hist. Rev. 2nd Series XIX 1966 p.3.
14. I.R.O., HA30:372/2. fol.57 'Pallifen' (Paul's Fen.) See also note 6 above.
15. Ibid. fol.3, 56b, 71 & 85b. Hethern was located in the area of TM.466728 now covered by Forestry Commission plantation.
16. DB. II 385b Alnetern (Lands of St Etheldreda); E.O.Blake (ed) Liber Eliensis Camden Society Vol.XVII 1962 p.383 note 3. See also W.A.Copinger The Manors of Suffolk Vol.II, pp.198-200 'Hernthorne's Manor in Westleton' later Cliffs or Cleves, held by John de Clif in 1343.
17. I.R.O., FC:198/A3/1. See also note 6 above.
18. C.B.P. Nos. 66, 74-6, 111, 117, 285, 291, 302, 319, & Hinton Cùstumal No. 285.

In Blything Hundred there are very few settlements dependent on the saltmarsh. The Premonstratensian Abbey of Leiston was founded on an island in the saltmarshes of Sizewell and Minsmere in the 1180's.¹⁹ The wild secluded spot doubtless suited the rule of that minor monastic order. The salts on Minsmere Level or 'Huntingfields Flats' once formed a large area of inter-commoning; Theberton's wet common, which lay close to the site of the first Abbey, was not enclosed until 1824, when it lay in Leiston as a detached portion of Theberton parish.²⁰ Old Walberswick, which was originally situated on the edge of the saltmarsh one mile south of the present village, may have been a sheep-dairy dependent on marshland grazing, similar to other marshland 'wicks' on the Essex coast, which are thought to have been detached sheep-dairy pastures in the eleventh century.²¹ In the late medieval period Walberswick looked to the sea, fishing for sprat and herring and plying a rich but short-lived coastal trade.²² The village was surrounded by great tracts of heathland and common saltmarsh, much of which still survives. To the north, the 'Town Marshes' are shared with Southwold whilst on the south, the 'Town Salts' are still held as common land. The cliff top town of Southwold was in origin a dependent fishing hamlet, belonged to the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds in 1086, when it had a fish weir or 'sea-hedge', which supplied the monks with 25 thousand herrings.²³ These weirs probably consisted of wattle fences set on sand banks in the form of a 'V' which, as the tide flowed out through the meshes, caught the fish in a wicker basket called a 'kiddle'. Sibton Abbey owned a weir at Orford, and the canons at Butley had an official called the 'keper of the weares'.²⁴

19. C.L.A. pp.1-8.

20. I.R.O., EF5/H1/1. Two maps with enclosure awards of 1825. See also 'Leiston Old Abbey' estate maps, I.R.O., HB:306/1-11. & H.M.Doughty The Chronicles of Theberton 1910. pp.208-10.

21. H.C.Darby The Domesday Geography of Eastern England 1971 pp.241-44. See also chapter VI. Sec. 6. note 5,7.

22. Gardner pp.145-6, & pp.19-20.

There was a considerable trade in 'White' and 'Red' herrings, which was controlled by the 'Barons of the Cinque-Ports'. White herring was packed in barrels of thirty two gallons 'wine measure'. No fewer than one thousand herrings were deemed a barrel, but there were six score to the hundred and ten thousand to the Last. 'The more ancient Package of Red-Herrings was by the Cade, containing 600 Herrings, being a Frame called a Cade-Bow, made with Withs, having a Top and Bottom, with two hinges folding, wherein Straw is laid inclosing the Fish, secured with small Rope-Yarn.' See also Chapter IV sec.9. note.4.

23. DB.II 371b ;A.F.Bottomley A Short History of the Borough of Southwold 1972. p.1.

24. W.G.Arnott Alde Estuary 1961. p.49.

Two fishing hamlets are entirely post-medieval in origin. The quay at Blackshore with its cluster of cottages grouped around the 'Harbour Inn', originally called the 'Fishing Buss Inn', replaced an earlier quay and ship-yard at Woods End after the establishment of the Free British Fishery Society and the arrival of the first Sheldand fishing busses in 1750.²⁵ Similarly the bridge-head hamlet of Reydon, which grew up around the 'Bear Inn', utilised 'Buss Creek', which was originally called the 'Wood's End Creek'²⁶.

Most of the modern saltmarshes at Reydon, Blythburgh and Minsmere have developed since the last war, when they were flooded with sea water as part of the anti-invasion policy. They are now bird sanctuaries where stretches of open water have to be artificially maintained by the Nature Conservancy, who prevent the natural vegetational succession from developing by clearing the undergrowth.²⁷ The modern salts and estuaries represent a redundant and abandoned pastoral landscape, where the banks and drains of the eighteenth century can still be traced in the reed-swamp and alder-carr.

25. Gardner pp.196 & 214. See Chapter IV. Sec.8; Bottomley op.cit.pp. 11-2.

26. Gardner p.214 & I.R.O., HA11/C9/28, Map of the parish of Reydon by William Peak, late 18th century.

27. Nature Conservancy Council Walberswick National Nature Reserve 1965 (brochure). See also Trist op.cit. pp.20, & 333-40.

3. Sandling heaths¹

It is now generally accepted that Mesolithic man began to make an impression on the tree cover of lowland Britain before the main elm-decline which marks the beginning of the Neolithic; it would seem that Mesolithic activities, including the use of fire led to the development of some British heaths in both the upland and lowland zone.² Clearances created by fire in areas where there were fragile ecosystems may have resulted in an irreversible soil change, which prevented the development of a natural succession back to woodland. Over-grazing may also have been partly responsible for soil deterioration. At Hockham Mere, in central Norfolk, there is evidence for a decline in the pollen of elm, birch and later of oak and a slight increase in hazel, which may have been colonising temporary clearings, before the advent of the elm-decline.³ It would not be unreasonable to suggest that similar temporary clearings, leading to the eventual development of total heathland and podzolised soils, were being made on the Suffolk Sandling, even though there is no direct supporting evidence in the way of pollen diagrams from the immediate area. By the time of the elm-decline, certainly by 3,000 bc.,⁴ the heath-lands of the Suffolk coast were established, soon they were to become the focus of Neolithic and Bronze Age field monuments, which were clearly intended to be seen in a largely open landscape.⁵

In view of the lack of local pollen evidence it is difficult to assess the natural climax vegetation on the sandling before the clearance made by Mesolithic and Neolithic man. Indeed it is hard to imagine trees ever growing on some of the out-crops of the Westleton Pebble Series where, as on the higher spots of Dunwich heath, not even heather will grow today.⁶

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1. The name 'Sandling' is probably no older than the 18th century: W.G.Arnott The Place-Names of the Deben Valley Parishes 1946 p.1.
 2. I. G.Simmons, G.W.Dimbleby & C.Grigson 'The Mesolithic' in The Environment in British Prehistory I.G.Simmons & M.Tooley (Eds). 1981 pp.102-6.
 3. R.E.Sims 'Man and Vegetation in Norfolk' in The Effect of Man on the Landscape: The Lowland Zone S.Limbrey & J.G.Evans (Eds) 1978 C.B.A. Research Report No.21 pp.57-62. See also Chapter III Sec.1.
 4. A.G.Smith et al. 'The Neolithic' in Simmons & Tooley op.cit. pp.125, 134-6.
 5. R.Rainbird Clarke East Anglia 1960 p.78; A.J.Lawson et al. The Barrows of East Anglia 1981, East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 12 pp.64-87.
 6. See Chapter I Sec. 2 note 9.

Some place names indicate that there were once woods on the Sandling. The name of Southwold and Woodsend together suggest that the ancient island of Southwold was once a great wood.⁷ Westwood and Eastwood Lodge are similarly indicative in Blythburgh and Walberswick.⁸ The surviving oaks of Easton Wood are a splendid testimony that great woods once flourished on these poor sandy soils.

The remarkable work of G.F.Peterken on the early medieval park of Staverton in the southern Sandling suggests that holly might ultimately be the climax forest tree.⁹ However, this is highly speculative, and it is doubtful if such a climax could ever have been achieved in the post-glacial. Only a good series of pollen cores from the area could answer this question. Dr Peterken's work has shown that where controlled woodland has been allowed to run wild over several hundred years, the holly gradually takes over from the cultivated species, especially the polled oaks in open floored woodland. The oak fails to regenerate once the evergreen tree canopy starts to blot out the forest floor and prevents the acorns from germinating.

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7. Ekwall. Skeat. Baron. 'Sudwolda' DB. means 'Southern Wood'. See also A.Everitt 'River and Wold: Reflections on the Historical Origins of Region and Pays' Journal of Historical Geography 3 (i) 1977, pp.1-19. References to Dunwich 'Forest' have misled writers. Gardner p.38 says that 'the "Kings Forest", extending several Miles, South-east of the Town, but has been for many Ages past quite destroyed by the Sea'. In fact Dunwich 'forest' was probably synonymous with the heathland. The Rev.Gay Glorious Dunwich 1946, p.85, quoting from the Dunwich Bailiff's Account books, mentions a lease to William Davesour (1596) of a tenement with ground thereto belonging, in Dunwich Forest in the parish of St. Peter. It is significant perhaps that there is no mention of the 'forest' in Stow's account of Dunwich. Suckling (Vol.II p.230) quotes from Gardner whose source was Weever, Funerary Monuments p.718. 'Weever says, that the Men of Dunwich, requiring Aid of William the Conqueror against the rage of the sea affirmed that it had devoured a great Part of their Forest'. Gardner goes on to suggest that it may have been a medieval hunting forest, in which case it may not necessarily have been wooded.
8. Westwood Lodge became a hunting park in the late medieval period. The land is mostly heath with some loam. Trist op.cit. p.18 says of the soils in this area: 'On the reclaimed heathlands of Westwood Lodge, Blythburgh, clay pits are to be seen /~1969/ in most fields. On the slopes the textures alter from a sandy loam to a loamy sand, which lies 6 ins over a clay loam. The sand drift is aptly illustrated on this farm in a 35 acre field, part of which is a loamy sand whilst 13 acres comprise a clay loam, which must be ploughed before November. This field lies less than ¼ mile from unreclaimed heather and bracken.' These slightly stiffer soils of the Sandling upland may have been the main wood-land areas in the medieval period.
9. G.F.Peterken, 'The Development of Vegetation in Staverton Park' Field Studies III. 1969. pp.1-39 ; O.Rackham Ancient Woodland 1980 pp. 293-4, 345-7.

The holly is particularly well adapted to the light acid soils and low rainfall of the Sandling. The result is that Staverton Thicks now has the highest hollies in England, the tallest being over 70ft. and the girth of some of the older holly trees being up to 7ft. Such hollies are not confined to Staverton Park; similar polled oaks side by side with very large hollies can be found on the heathland soils of Westleton and Dunwich growing out of ancient heath banks.^{10.}

A few place names suggest that hollies were once a significant part of the Sandling landscape. The most obvious example is the hamlet of Hulver, which means simply holly.^{11.} (The hamlet of Hulver Street, now part of Henstead, grew up on part of a vast open common called 'Hulver Heath' which was poor Sandling soil.) More pertinent perhaps, are some of the heathland field names from medieval extents, such as 'Hulverbustdole' and 'Hulsato heath' and 'Hulvermeres'.^{12.}

The junction between the Sandling and salt marsh is surprisingly abrupt, often with a steep drop of 3 - 5 metres from the level heath down to the marsh floor. These slopes are too steep for cultivation. Oak, birch, holly and, in more recent times, Scots pines are usually allowed to grow on them. These narrow borders of woodland and scrub, a most attractive feature of the Sandling scenery, are sometimes called the 'Hangs' or the 'Skirts', names which turn up frequently in the 19th century tithe awards.^{13.}

10. TM.455711., TM.455705. For rainfall in East Suffolk see Trist, op.cit. p.43. Blything Hundred has an average annual rainfall ranging from 23 inches on the coast to 25 inches on the clayland in the west.

11. O.Rackham Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape 1976 p.56. He equates 'Hulver' hamlet of Henstead with holly. See also Suckling Vol.II pp.383-4. Being a minor place-name, it is not mentioned in the works of Skeat, Baron or Ekwall. The latter gives the derivation of Hulverstone, Wilts, as the personal name Hunfrid's Tun. A.H.Smith English Place-Name Elements 1970 edn. gives, HULVERE, ME. - Holly. & HULFERE, OE. - Holy.

12. I.R.O., HA30:372/2 fol.5(ii) ; Rackham 1980 op.cit. pp.345-7.

13. Westleton	I.R.O.	FDA.280/A1/1b	Stockle Skirts.
Benacre	"	FDA. 24/A1/1	Croft Skirt.
"	"	" "	Walk Skirt.
"	"	" "	Stone Water Skirts.
"	"	" "	Holly Hang.
Wrentham	"	FDA.302/A1/1b	The Hangs.
Wenhaston	"	FDA.276/A1/1	Hanging Hill.
See Sec.4 note 1.			

The natural resources of the Sandling are notoriously sparse and the many 'hungry' field names, which abound on the nineteenth century tithe maps of the area, indicate that manure had little effect.¹⁴ These exceptionally well drained soils also lie in an area of nationally low rainfall; water stress in crops can be apparent by mid season one year in every three.¹⁵ The process of soil leaching is very rapid on the more pebbly sands. After a few years of clearance and cultivation, soil sterility must have been an inescapable fact for Neolithic man. Cultivation could then only take place between longer and longer periods of fallow.¹⁶ In the medieval period a complex system of shifts may have worked, similar to those found on the Breckland soils of West Suffolk.¹⁷ Many 'breck' field names can be traced back to the medieval period on the more marginal soils of Blything Hundred.¹⁸

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14. V.B.Redstone 'The Sandling' P.S.I.A. X(i) p.56 ; Trist op.cit. p.122
15. Trist op.cit. p.43; Peterken op.cit.p.2.
16. C.L.A. No. 114 (1345). At Wade Hall in Leiston there were '125 acres of land so sandy it could only be sown to any profit twice in ten years' White's 1885 Directory p.55; 'such lands, the better spots at least are occasionally broken up and cultivated for a few years then laid down again on a self-sown herbage for a ten, twenty, or perhaps a thirty year rest.'
17. H.C.Darby & J.Saltmarsh 'Infield-Outfield System on a Norfolk Manor' Econ.Hist.III, 1935 p.30 ; M.R.Postgate 'The Field System of Breckland' Agric. Hist. Rev. X, 1962, pp. 80-101; H.L.Gray English Field Systems 1915 pp.169-70, mentions similar practices in Scotland, Northumberland and Cumberland ; J.H.Clapham An Economic History of Modern Britain 1926 , I p.23 also mentions examples in the East Riding of Yorkshire and Cornwall ; J.D.Chambers Nottinghamshire in the 18th century 1932 pp.154-6, noticed the practice in forest villages of the county.
18. Examples of Breck and Break field names in Blything Hundred.
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| Brakyland. | I.R.O., HA26:371/135. Darsham Abbot's Extent. |
| Breaker Cackers | I.R.O., FDA.128/A/1. Henstead tithe map. |
| Brakenest Common | I.R.O., HA3):372/2. Westleton extent(1463). |
| Brake Hill | I.R.O., FDA.165/A1/b. Leiston tithe map(Winters Heath area). |
| Pot Break | I.R.O., FDA.85/A1/lb. Dunwich tithe map. |
| Break Beds | I.R.O., FDA.280/A1/lb. Westleton tithe map. |
| Brakedale | <u>C.B.P.</u> 85(Early to mid 13th century). |

In the medieval period the heath was overrun with rabbits, which in some areas were enclosed in warrens and cultivated profitably. In the late fifteenth century over one thousand rabbits a year were harvested on the Westwood Lodge estate, many hundreds being sold to a London poulterer.¹⁹ A naturally occurring lichen (*Cladonia*) made it possible for sheep and rabbits to graze together on the late medieval sheep walks, but even the rabbits were of poor quality. The appearance of the heath has changed greatly since the advent of myxomatosis, after which bracken, furze and birch scrub began to overgrow the commons.²⁰

Before 1638 the men of Walberswick were dependent on the heath for grazing; their sheep, which numbered three or four hundred, were fed together with one shepherd, they had the right to take rabbits with dogs and nets in the day time, and when the heathland commons were ploughed and sown by the lord of the manor or his farmers, they had the right to reap and carry away 'a great part' of the crop.²¹ Evidence of

19. C.Richmond John Hopton 1981. p.38; P.Armstrong The Changing Landscape, 1975, p.82. See also Norden's survey of Orford and Sudbourne 1601 'good land for the rearing of Conies'; C.L.A. p.25; Yoxford Yesterday Vol.I. p.234. The ploughed-out remains of 'Pillow mounds' have left a distinctive crop-mark on the cliff top warren at Covehithe. S.A.U., A.St.J.97. TM.520805.

20. White's 1885 Directory p.55. The heath, or 'sheep walk ... is covered with a short velvety herbage of grass or moss and studded more or less with furze or whin bushes. In other places it is completely covered with 'ling' or heather' and p.57...'the only way to turn these large tracts of sterile sand to account is by the keeping of breeding ewes. In the day time, as soon as the lambs are weaned, the ewes are made to browse on the young shoots of the whin-bushes or pick the scanty herbage of velvety turf which grows between them. At night they are folded on the arable lands, bare fallow, old layers, or turnips, as the case may be.'

21. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/3.1, Evidence given at an inquiry into the illegal enclosure of commons at Walberswick and Blythburgh (1638-9). The lords '& their farmers have had two foldcourses & a warren in the Manor of Blythburgh cum Walberswick, upon ye sheepswalk or heath there cont. 5 hundred acres, And that the Sd conyes & sheep have fed all over the said heath unto the very town of Walberswick.' 'That the Lords of the Manors or their farmers have used to plow such parte of the said (walk or) heath as they would, and when any part thereof was sowed with corne the Inhabitants of Walberswick did not put their cattle upon any such plowes soe sowed until the corn was reaped, but if the cattle did stray and come on ye corne they were impounded. And that it appears by the Riggs & furrowes on the most parte of the heath, that the same have usually byn plowed.' 'That the said Inhabitants used to have a follower with their great beasts when they put them upon the Walke or Heath, to keep them from straying.' 'That the said tennants & Inhabitants have usually fed their sheep with a shepheard upon the said heath. The number of the sheep being 3 or 4 hundred.' 'When any part of the said heath have been plowed & sowed with corne by the Lord or Lords of the said Manors or their under tennants that a great part of the said corn have been reaped & carryed away by the Commoners of Walberswick.'

cultivation in the form of ridges and furrows was also apparent on the heath at that time, as it still is in one or two places today.^{22.}

Recent arable encroachments onto the heath have been made possible by the introduction of subsoil busters and modern fertilizers.^{23.}

Government barley subsidies accelerated this process; now rye, carrots and oil-seed rape are successfully grown on the lighter soils where once bracken and Bronze Age barrows were to be seen. Armstrong illustrated this process of encroachment by showing two maps, one of 1889 and another of 1966, but encroachment was not a continuous progression.^{24.} In fact this is not the complete story. A study of the 1840 tithe map of heathland parishes such as Westleton reveals fields in areas where only heath can now be found. The remains of medieval field banks can still be seen in the heather.^{25.} These areas may have come under cultivation as a result of necessities created by the Napoleonic wars, only to be abandoned in the agricultural depression following the repeal of the corn laws. Hodskinson's map of 1789, if it is to be trusted in such detail, indicated very extensive heathlands, much more so than at the present day.^{26.} The Westleton extent of 1463 makes it clear that large areas of what is now heath had at some time in the past, probably in the 13th or 14th century, come under the plough, but were then (1463) being

22. A large area of upstanding ridge and furrow can still be seen today on the heath at TM.754724.

23. Heathland reclamation did not start on a large scale until 1949. Problems of soil acidity and trace element deficiencies were not mastered until 1960. See Trist op.cit. p.120.

24. Armstrong op.cit. p.83 figs. 34 & 35.

25. Of particular interest are the areas of heath named on the 1840 Westleton Tithe Map as 'Pot Break', either side of the Westleton/Dunwich parish boundary TM.468689. These fields are now overgrown heathland bounded by banks topped with ancient thorn bushes. Part was cultivated recently and during the last war, but is now overgrown with willow herb, while other areas are covered by heather and dense furze thicket and have probably not been cultivated since the 19th century. The name of 'Pot Breade' appears as a field name in the 1463 extent of Westleton where it can be pinpointed to the same area by its abbutals coinciding with the old Eastbridge/Dunwich road, and the Westleton/Dunwich parish boundary. I.R.O., HA30:372/2. fol. 67. In 1463 it was heathland, but may have been cultivated at some time in the past, perhaps periodically as a breck. It seems likely that the heath banks in this area may be at least as old as the original late fourteenth century Swillington extent. (See Fig. 56).

26. Duc de la Rochefoucauld 1784. 'Me-langes sur Angleterre': A Frenchman in England. trans. with notes by S.C.Roberts. 1933 p.179. Rochefoucauld describes the difficult, soft, sandy roads north of the river Deben and the vast stretches of heathland to be seen in East Suffolk. Hodskinson's map of the same date supports Rochefoucauld's description, but waste land was not likely to be surveyed with great care.

tenanted as heath.²⁷ Some of these areas may not have come under the plough again until the end of the 18th or early 19th century. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that cultivation of these marginal lands has followed the fortunes of arable husbandry, expanding and contracting accordingly.

One or two small deserted medieval villages are found on the Sandling in Blything Hundred. It is unlikely that any of them were totally dependent on the Sandling habitat. Supplementary economies associated with the salt-marsh, particularly fishing and the influence of major centres such as Dunwich and Blythburgh, seem to have been necessary to support them. Places such as Breggestreet, Ernetern and Minsmere lay at one time on the main arterial routes into Dunwich. All were waste by the middle of the fifteenth century.²⁸ Westleton and Leiston might at first appear to be true heath-land communities, but closer inspection reveals them to be sited at the tip of clay projections onto the Sandling. The large pond in the middle of Westleton green, and the moat close to Leiston church illustrate this fact.²⁹ However, both villages are largely surrounded by heath, from which much of their livelihood must have been derived.

Cliff-top Sandling settlements invariably originate from medieval herring fisheries. Often they have chapelries dependent on settlements further inland; even Dunwich was historically dependent on Blythburgh in the eleventh century.³⁰ Many have been devastated by erosion. Out of six in Blything Hundred, - namely Northales, Easton Bavents, Southwold, Dunwich, Minsmere and Thorp, - only Southwold remains intact, perched precariously on its sand cliff.³¹ By the late medieval period Covehithe (the new name

27. I.R.O. HA30:372/2. fol.109. The fifth gathering of this extent (1463) is titled 'Westleton Hall Heath' and includes pieces of 'Heath' of 1-12 acres in extent. It also lists other 'pieces' of 'Land', on the heath, of 3 rods and upwards which were presumably reverted arable, while other 'pieces of Heath' lie in 'fields' e.g. fol. 109.v.4., '1 piece of heath containing 1 acre lying in the field called Boleynes'.

28. Breggestreet. TM.464707.
Ernetern. TM.466728.
Fenstreet. TM.433681.

29. See tithe maps. I.R.O., FDA.164/A1/1b (Leiston), FDA.280/A1/1b. (Westleton)

30. DB.II 312-312b. See Chapter IV. Sec.2 note 7.

31. Northales was rebuilt in the fifteenth century as Covehithe. Easton Bavents lost its church and chapel of St Margaret in the 17th century. The last vicar was c.1666. See E.A.M. 3,541 & Gardner p.259. For the erosion of Dunwich and Minsmere see chapter I. Sec.3 For Thorp see P.S.I.A. XIV (ii) 1911 pp.243-8, remains of chapel at TM.47195992.

for Northales), Southwold and Walberswick were wealthy enough to rebuild their churches in grandiose perpendicular style, but Covehithe and Walberswick were unable to maintain theirs after the Reformation and thus fell into ruin.³² This concentration of ruined churches and one-time chapelries along the coast illustrates well the instability of the Sandling, saltmarsh and fishing economies.

32. Gardner p.162. See Chapter IV, pp.103-4.

Meadow, marsh and low moor

The valley floors present a surprising contrast in vegetation, where marsh either side of the central channel is slightly higher and drier than the marsh close to the valley sides. This is caused by an accumulation of silty alluvium in the centre of the flood plain, while the underlying peat exposed at the valley sides has a tendency to waste through decomposition and extraction as turbary. Natural storm water drainage from the valley slopes tends to accumulate in the spongy peat of the marshland edge. The result is sometimes visible as a belt of dense reed swamp, sallows and alder carr running around the rim of the flood plain, or as a network of dykes leading water away from this area.¹ The phenomenon is most noticeable in wider parts of the Waveney Valley. Large scale drainage in the 18th century involved raising the level of the meadows with imported soil, thus eliminating these boggy areas.²

There are few natural meadows in the middle reaches of the river Blyth, for nearly all the existing meadows started out as overgrown wet marsh or moorland where common rights were exercised. Conversion of marsh & turbaries into prime grazing meadows by digging of dykes and the control of water levels started in the medieval period.³ Reeds, sedges and peat were all valuable natural resources, but as the value of meadow grazing increased in the Middle Ages, drainage became more worth-while. By the early 19th century very few areas of rough marsh and moor survived.

1. On tithe maps in Blything Hundred these areas are usually called 'Rands' or 'Reedrands' the steep slopes above the rands were called 'hangs'. In 1638 an inquiry at Walberswick found that the tenants and inhabitants 'have from time to time made and mayntayn'd Causyes, Hanges, & passages for their Cattle to go and passe into the said East Marsh and Paules fenne'. A map of Rankin's Farm, Henham, dated 1700, by R. Nicholson (I.R.O., HALL/C9/22.) mentions 'banks' and 'forelands' rather than hangs and rands.
2. This was observed at Lime Kiln Marsh, Reydon, where banking operations in 1978-9 exposed a section of the marsh floor. A thin layer of calcareous boulder clay about one foot thick overlying dense brushwood peat was covered by soil and recent accumulations of reed peat. These marshes were reclaimed in the 18th century, only to be inundated again in 1940. See I.R.O., HALL/C9/28.
3. There is as yet no evidence for Roman activity on the valley floor where, as in the Fens, it might reasonably be expected. See R.C.H.M., North East Cambridgeshire 1972, p.liv-lv. In the Blyth valley Roman levels may be covered by later alluvium. An R.B. cooking pot and ox skulls were found 14 ft. down at Rushmere Bridge at TM.49158690. An iron Age weaving comb was found 6 ft. down in a sewer trench at Yoxford TM.701689. It was lying on a layer of crushed shells. See P.S.I.A. XXX(ii) 1962 p.197.

A number of low wet moors covering large areas of the central flood plain at wide points in the valley were held and grazed in common. One or two of these low wet pastures survived into the 19th century when they were enclosed by Act of Parliament.⁴ The origin of these commons remains obscure, but possibly they may have been shallow watery meres, which gradually became infilled with peat and alluvium, but somehow retained their common rights.⁵

At Theberton and Leiston there were two or three low-lying commons enclosed in 1824. One already mentioned, called Theberton Common Fen, lay in Leiston close to the site of the Old Abbey in a large area of saltmarsh. A larger area of marshland, also held in common, lay between the river to the north and the rising ground of Theberton south-vest of East Bridge. This area was called 'Theberton Bogs', and to this day consists largely of reed swamp, sallows and alder carr.⁶ Similar areas of wet marshland bordering on saltmarsh survive at Ressemere Common Fen in Reydon, and Brakeness Common in Blythburgh. Likewise the 'Folkmersh' in Westleton may once have been held in common.⁷

4. For the Dole meadows, Homersfield, see Trist op.cit. p.59, 'letting of marsh grazings by auction'.
5. D.G.Hey An English Rural Community: Myddle under the Tudors and Stuarts 1974 pp.37-8(Plate 2), Harmer Moss at Myddle in Shropshire was once an area of open water with turbary and fishing rights held over it. At Bungay Stow Fen the river may have divided to flow either side of the fen. A similar phenomenon is detectable at Chermore, (Bulcamp & Blyford) and at the 'Lows' on Bungay Common.
6. See Section 2, note 21.
H.M. Doughty, The Chronicles of Theberton 1910, p.208, & Enclosure Maps, I.R.O., EF5/H1/1.
7. Ressemere Common (Reydon Enclosure Award) I.R.O., HB26/412/911-22; Blythburgh Common Fen (Brakenest) Enclosure Award I.R.O., FC. 198/A3/1; Brakenest as above. I.R.O., HA30:372/2. fol.4 'the common of Blythburgh called Brakenest' lying north of 'Pallyfen' (now Pauls Fen); Westleton Folkmersh, I.R.O., HA30:372/2 fol. 31, 32, 33, 50, 63, 69,74.

Further inland, but not out of the influence of tides, was Chermore and Waseley Common spanning the river Blyth from Wenhaston to Bulcamp.^{8.}

'Syremore' is first mentioned in the twelfth century when turbaries in it were granted to Blythburgh Priory.^{9.} Chermore was on the borderline of salt and fresh water marshes before 'Bulcamp Sallings' were enclosed in the late eighteenth century.^{10.} In 1591 Waseley extended from 'Thistley meadow' upstream of Blyford bridge, to Bulcamp meadows and Chermore. A number of parishes intercommoned here, including Blythburgh, Wenhaston and Blyford. Troubles arose when tenants failed in 'skoring the Common ryver' and in maintaining 'draynes' and 'wet fences' bordering the common.^{11.} In 1658 it was decided to restrict the grazing to three beasts per tenement, 'And not to put on any Cattell from Christmas to Mayday.'^{12.} An indication of the original ambiguity of common ownership is given by the parish boundary, which breaks away from the old river course at this point to enclose the 'Great Abbey Meadows', which lay at the extreme western end of Waseley.^{13.} The name recalls possessions held here by Blythburgh Priory, which may have been responsible for its enclosure. (A similar irregularity can be seen at the junction of Brampton, Uggeshall and Stoven parishes where they meet in the marsh called 'Brampton Town Fen'.^{14.}) It seems likely that this practice of intercommoning on meadows once extended to the upper reaches of the river.

These low moors and common marshes are all that remains of what may once have been a more widespread system of marshland grazing. Such resources must have been attractive to early settlers, and many of the older valley farms stand on the edge of the valley slopes overlooking the meadows.

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8. See Chapter VI. Sec.6. Fig.40. 'Chermore' or 'Shermore' may mean the 'Shire-moor'. 'Waseley' may mean 'guard-house'-ley, see M.Gelling Signposts to the Past 1978. p.146. But OE. 'waesse' meaning 'swamp' seems more likely in this context. See also 'Warley' Chapter VI Sec.1 note 12.
9. C.B.P. Nos.66, 74-6, & 78. I.R.O., HA30:372/1 Wenhaston Extent (Temp. Hen.VII) 'Chermore'; I.R.O., HA11/C9/21 Rouse map of 1669 'Shermeadow'; I.R.O., P.440. A7(1), 1747 'Siermouth' and 'Shermeadow'.
10. See Section 2 note 12.
11. I.R.O., HB26/371/73: 'The Verdict for Wasley Leete in Wenhaston by the inquest there to the steward the xiiii day of october 1591 the Jewrye present that the Landholders of the townshippe of blyborowe for not skoringe the Common ryver in thistley medowe & their wet fence betwen wasley common & the f/irst7 meadow...'
12. Ibid. Waseley in Wenhaston, Court with Leet held 23rd April 1658 '... for the better orderinge & rigulating of the said Common...' etc.
13. Ibid. 1591 '...& the landholders of the estermost medow called Abbottes meddowe for not skoringe ther part of the Common ryver therfor we Amercye every of them...'
14. White's 1844 Directory p.361: 'About 12 acres of meadow land called the Town Fen is let for £30 a year, and the rent is applied in the service of the church.'

Upstream the regular division of meadow plots, laid out at right angles to the main river channel, suggests an organised process of manorial enclosure. This is particularly evident at Blyford and Holton, Fenstreet in Westleton and at Yoxford in the area of Cockfield Hall. Nearly all these meadows are likely to have been enclosed in the early medieval period.¹⁵ The smaller areas of common marsh on the upper reaches of the river, such as the Brampton Town Fen, may have been converted into meadows at an even earlier date, while those bordering the more extensive marshes and salts in the lower part of the valley were not enclosed until the late seventeenth or eighteenth century. The conversion of marsh into meadow land and its division into allotments, corresponding with the siting of tenements along the valley sides, may reflect the earliest form of medieval settlement, itself not far removed from the scattered distribution of Roman and Iron Age sites spread out along the valley sides, and sited some ten metres above the medieval farms.¹⁶

One reason for this change of settlement pattern from the Roman to the medieval period, with medieval farms lying nearer to the valley floor, could be the drying out of the valley floor itself, which may have been largely inundated in the Roman period, and the appearance of marshland pasture in the late Saxon period. Names such as 'Chermoor' and 'Waseley' suggest that large parts of the valley floor were rough moors and swamps in the early medieval period. The 'ley' element in 'Waseley' might also suggest the clearance of 'carr' type swamp for the purpose of common grazing. The medieval farms may therefore be sited lower down the valley sides in order to utilise this vital new marshland resource.

A few large moated manor sites are to be found on the meadows of the valley floor. Those at Yoxford (Cockfield Hall), Blyford, Brendfen in Middleton and Empoles in Westhall relate to areas of early enclosed low-moor.¹⁷ None have been investigated archaeologically, so their foundation date remains uncertain. The manors of Cockfield and Empoles would seem to have originated as subinfeudations of the thirteenth century, but Blyford and Brendfen may be much older. These moated sites are very similar to ones found on the fen edge of Cambridgeshire, some of which appear to have Roman antecedents, but even here continuity remains unproven.¹⁸

15. See Chapter VI Sec. 6.

16. This measurement is taken from Church Farm, Blyford, where a Roman site lies immediately above the modern farm. See Fig.42.

17. See Chapter VI Sec.6. notes 14 & 15.

18. R.H.C.M. North-East Cambridgeshire 1972 p.128, The pattern of R.B. sites 65-69 'probably represents a line of settlement along the fen edge'. Medieval moated sites 5, 17, & 72 lie along this line, see Figure 105.

5. River Valleys and Gravel slopes

Inland from the Sandling and the saltmarsh, the valley slopes lying between the marsh-meadows and the upland clay represent the prime arable areas. The gravelly soils of this habitat are for the most part varied and difficult to describe; in that variety lies their virtue. At best they are good corn-growing loams, at worst like the Sandling, with some occasional outcrops of the Westleton pebble series.¹ The climax vegetation must have been equally varied, with a rich flora and fauna. It is no surprise to find that settlements sustained by this habitat have the most enduring links with the past. Flint artifacts from the Neolithic and Bronze Age are common finds on the valley sides, but continuous cultivation has removed all trace of prehistoric field monuments.² In the Roman period the distribution of small farms on the gravel slopes overlooking the valley floor suggests a more or less equitable division of resources. Where the evidence can be retrieved, small Romano-British farmstead sites are spaced at approximately one thousand yard intervals, about half way up the slopes at positions where clear views of the valley can be obtained.³

In the medieval period the farms tended to occupy slightly lower sites, and in a few cases are similarly spaced to their Roman predecessors, but no evidence is as yet forthcoming for the intervening Saxon period.⁴ Like their Roman predecessors, many of the medieval farms became deserted or engrossed in some way.

1. Trist op.cit. p.137.

2. Some field names suggest the previous existence of ring ditches or pre-historic monuments. For example 'Round Riges' Ubbeston I.R.O., FDA.264/A1/lb. No.3. TM.309727 (Field north of 'Castle Hill' R.B. site, TM.310726 Ubbeston site 1.); 'Rowel Hill' Cookley I.R.O., FDA.68/A1/lb Nos. 63 &66. TM.344760; 'Round Ditch Field' Huntingfield I.R.O., FDA.140/A1/1. No.262. TM.334733; 'Round Meadow' Bramfield I.R.O., FDA.35/A1/lb.No.409. TM.411730 (Field north of R.B. site TM.41357295 Thorington site 4.) (TNG.005) Possible site of B.A. hoard. See Suckling Vol.II p.174. This report derives from the finding of a flanged bronze axe in c.1839 'part of a hoard of at least 12 implements. A smaller narrower palstave was seen with this group', ploughed up in a 'round meadow', which is wrongly assumed to be the Castle. See W.A.Dutt 'East Suffolk Neoliths' P.S.I.A., XI(iii) 1902 p.327.

3. See Chapter III Sec.4 Fig.12.

4. See Chapter VII Fig. 43.

The foci of medieval settlements in the valleys are usually found at road-river crossings where early churches are frequently encountered.⁵ This phenomenon can be regarded as the primary settlement pattern within the hundred. At Chediston, Darsham and Westhall there are Roman remains close to the churches, but this may be purely coincidental.⁶ Wissett is a good example of a church with an early round tower low down near a road-river crossing.⁷ At Wangford and Blyford, churches and road-river crossings go together with ford place-names. In most cases there is no evidence of there ever having been any substantial nucleated settlements at road-river crossings. Instead the settlement pattern consists of scattered farms more or less evenly distributed along the valley sides. The earliest medieval pottery from these farms is similar to that found near the churches, which appear to serve as the foci for the dispersed primary settlement pattern.

5. Examples of churches at road-river crossings in Blyting Hundred; Brampton, Wissett, Chediston, Cookley, Ubbeston, Blyford, Heveningham, Yoxford, Middleton & Darsham. See chapter VIII Sec. 1.

6. See Chapter III Sec. 6.

7. See Chapter IV Sec. 4.

6. Clay Commons and Upland moors

The unrelieved flat landscape of the upland clay plateau, with its isolated farms, endless winding lanes and sugar beet fields, forms a lasting impression on many visitors to Suffolk. Today it presents a somewhat monotonous picture, but in the early medieval period it would have been rather different. Two contrasting landscapes of woodland and open moor would have been apparent, the one often blending into the other.^{1.}

The impervious boulder clay is prone to water-logging, particularly in places where the plateau is slightly concave and covered by thin upland gravels. This tendency is accentuated in the winter months when the water table frequently rises to the surface.^{2.} Water-logging, combined with the acid surface reaction of the boulder clay and the tendency for it to become baked hard during the summer months, would have limited the natural vegetation. With continual common grazing the result would have been an open moorland landscape. Coarse grasses and spike-rush with occasional clumps of thorn scrub and furze are characteristic, interspersed in winter time with shallow pools of stagnant water. Trees were largely confined to the edges of such impoverished clay moorlands, but in the late medieval period of arable regression, where grazing rights were discontinued, trees were sometimes allowed to encroach upon the common.^{3.}

Where the clay plateau is intersected by the main river channels and tributaries, low clayland promontories are found between gravel valley slopes and meadows. This common topographical relationship involving several different habitats occurs most frequently in the middle reaches of each river. Figure 5, a - b, illustrates in exaggerated relief a typical clayland promontory sectioned approximately at right-angles to the

1. This contrast is reflected in the 'feld' place-name endings of the clayland areas. See M.Gelling 'The Effect of Man on the Landscape: the Place-Name Evidence in Berkshire' in The effect of man on the Landscape: The Lowland Zone. Limbrey & Evans (Eds) C.B.A. Report No.21 1978 p.125. 'Essentially it denoted land which was "open", as opposed to land which was wooded. Although "feld" means the opposite of woodland, it is associated in place-names with wooded areas because it is used in places where the contrast between open land and forest is apparent.' See also Chapter VI Sec.5.
2. Trist op.cit. p.137.
3. Trees have grown up on Thorington Common (once called 'Overmore'). See Fig.54. For woods growing beside commons see Hodskinson's map of Suffolk for 1785, Blackmere Wood and Wrentham Wood in the area of Wrentham Black Moor. (Black Moor Farm). Greenwood's map of 1824, Cutmore Wood next to Sudbourne Common. Bushey Grove & Buxlow Forest next to Tylers Green in Leiston. See also chapter VI. Sec 5. & D.Dymond 'The Suffolk Landscape' in East Anglian Studies L.M. Tunby (Ed.) 1968 pp.30-31.

Section

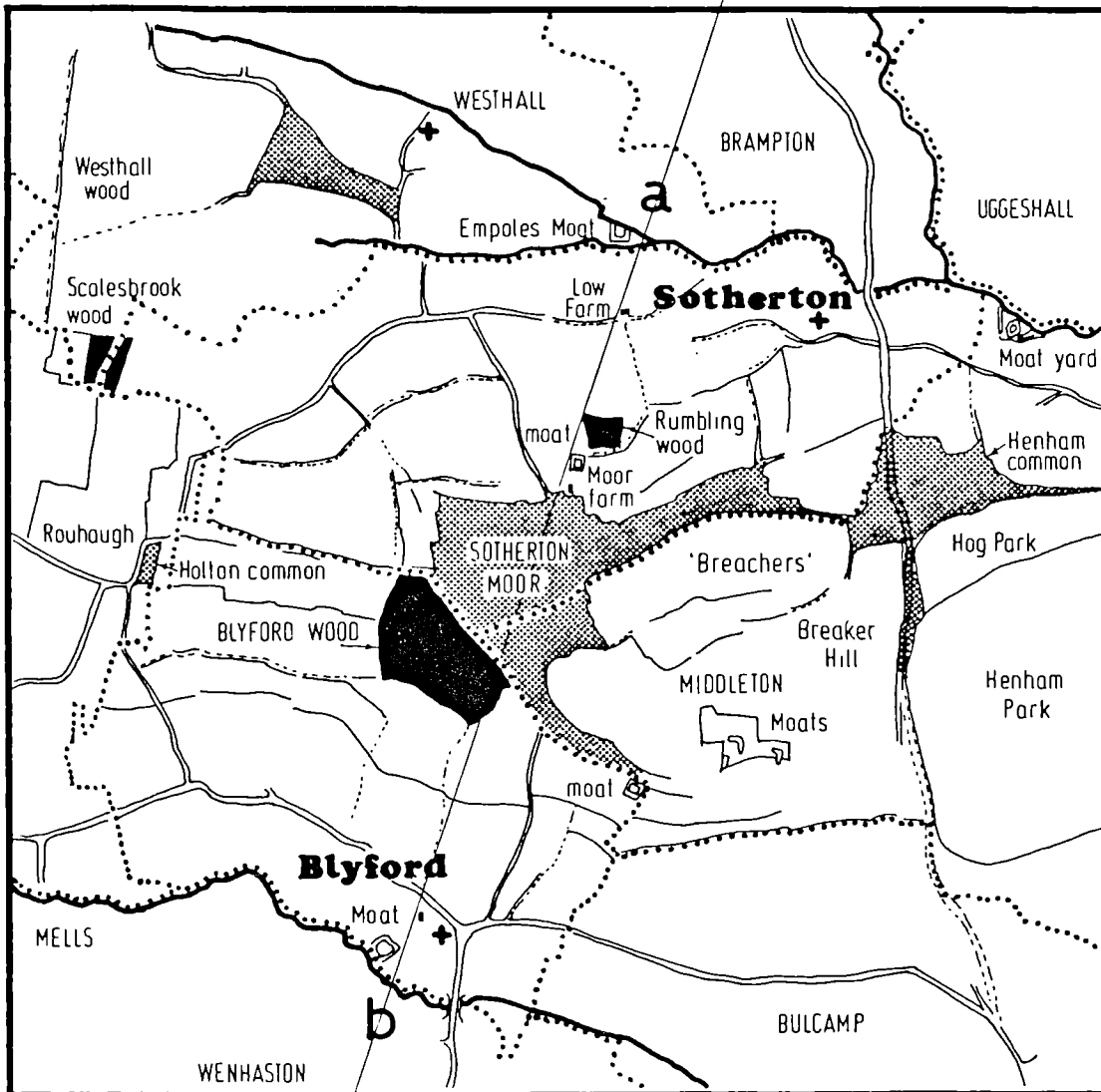


Figure 4. Sotherton Moor.

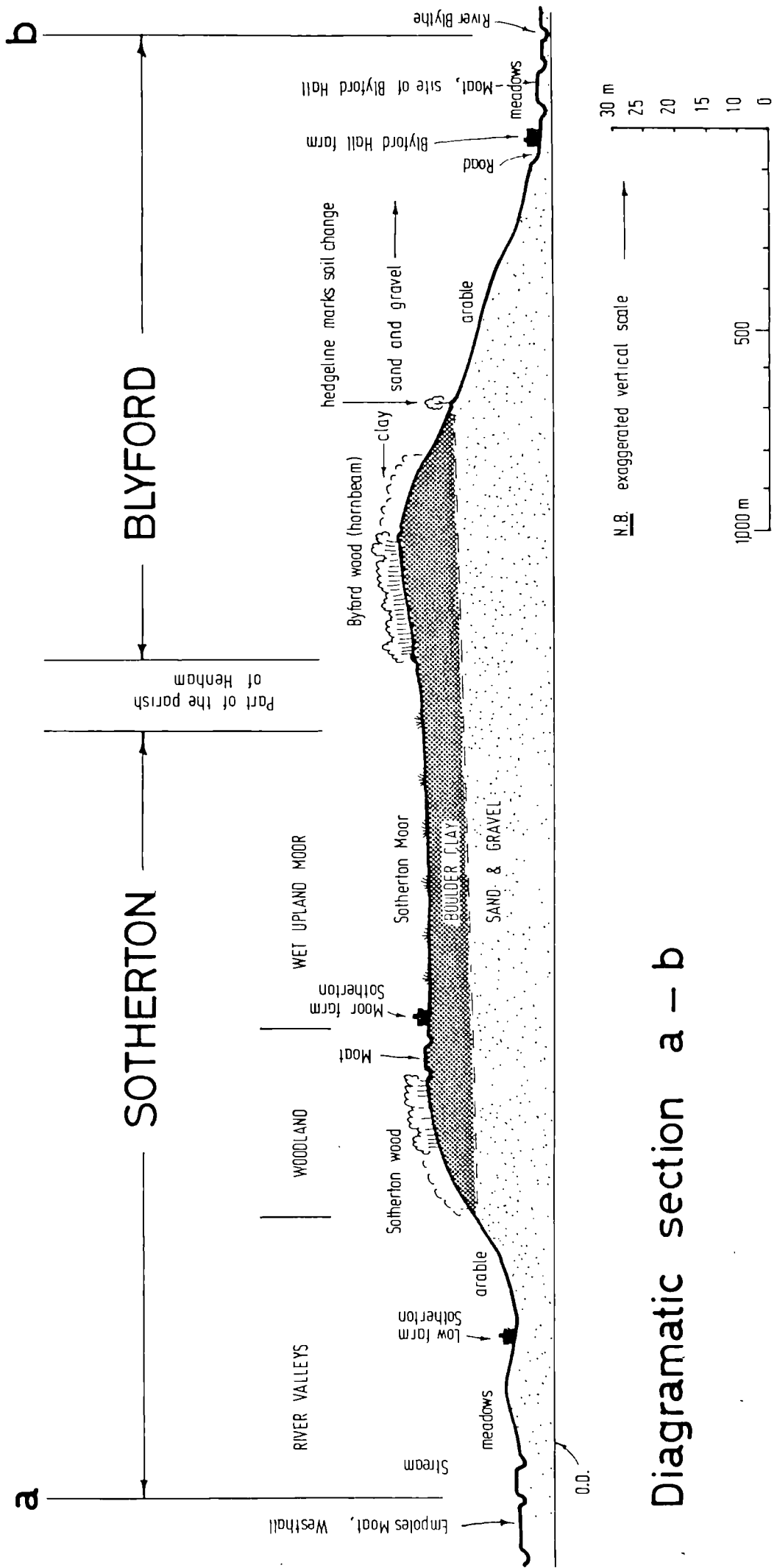
main river channel at Blyford (See Fig.4). The upland relationship of 'Moor Farm' to its more ancient neighbours in the river valleys can be clearly seen. Woods growing on the clay slopes can be seen on either side of Sotherton Moor, where both Rumbling Wood and Blyford Wood are hornbeam coppices. These trees prefer the clay slopes where surface water tends to drain away.

Clay moorland of this type was usually found on the more poorly-drained uplands where the plateau is slightly concave and the clay subsoil is covered by thin upland gravel with its jagged flints. It was probably too difficult to cultivate in the medieval period. Both the farms in the valleys and the farms on the upland clay lie along the junction of open arable land and rough meadow grazing. The valley farms look out over their meadows, which were once common marshes, while the upland farms look out over their clay commons. Both types of settlement pattern are, as it were, back to back. (Fig.5). Unusual, perhaps, are the two valley moats shown in section a-b. The majority of moats in Suffolk lie on the periphery of the upland commons, like the moat near Little Moor Farm. Many of these moats are quite small and are unlikely to be defensive in character. Their function would seem to be two-fold. Firstly they provided a slightly raised dry building platform; (the timber framed house was usually constructed on the clay extracted from the ditches of the moat). Secondly they provided protection from stray animals on the common, fields and woods about the farm. Many commons and greens are circumscribed by a wide 'green ditch', similar in profile to some of the smaller moats. Indeed, in many cases the moat is nothing more than an extension of the green ditch running around the field side of the farmstead and so creating a small island. The green ditch serves as a permanent boundary between two fundamentally different types of land use; the one permanent common pasture, the other private arable land. The orchards, barns and house toft present a third type of land use, demarcated by an extension of the green ditch, forming a moat.

In some cases the green ditch may correspond with the boundary of an early estate. In the case of Hinton Hall estate the boundary of the manor appears as a curving ring-fence with the woods and wastes of Thorington Common lying in the triangular areas between similar curving estate boundaries.⁴ The Hinton Hall boundary may well be of middle Saxon origin, dating back to the foundation of a Saxon minster at Blythburgh.⁵ It is possible that some

4. Chapter VI Sec.6 note 14 and Fig. 54.

5. See Chapter IV. Sec.3.



Diagrammatic section a – b

Figure 5. Section of Sotherton Moor.

ring-fences of this type may date back to Roman or even pre-historic times. It seems likely that they were formed at a time when a curving boundary could be created in an open landscape unencumbered with trees and woodland. Such would have existed either in the late Iron Age and early Roman period, or in the middle to late Roman period at a time when there was large-scale desertion of early Roman farmstead sites.⁶ That such Roman sites existed on the claylands of Blything Hundred is now an established fact.⁷ But to what extent these boundaries were re-used in the medieval period it is impossible to say.

Up to the time of piped land drains in the 19th century, very large areas of wet clay moorland could be seen in Suffolk.⁸ A few, for which detailed enclosure maps remain, such as Ellough Moor and Sotherton Moor, were in excess of two hundred acres.⁹ Piecemeal enclosure spread over a long period of time caused the extinction of many large tracts of moorland which can now only be surmised through field names and other evidence.¹⁰ Clay Common (Frostenden), Holton Common and Friston Moor are clearly fragments of much larger areas of moorland which once existed on the outskirts of several parishes. In all these examples parish boundaries cross or converge on them. In contrast, some greens and commons, usually of smaller size, are concentrated within the bounds of some parishes. Westhall, Stoven and Linstead Parva are typical examples and these parishes owe their origin to the early development of secondary settlement around greens.¹¹

There is no shortage of deserted Roman sites on clay or gravel, but the upland clays, in contrast with the valley gravels, would seem to be an area of discontinuity. On the clay plateau north of Halesworth, early Roman

6. Chapter III Sec.7.

7. See Fig.12.

8. H.C.Darby 'The Draining of the English Claylands' Geogr.Zeits. 52, 1964 pp.190-201 ; R.W.Sturges 'The Agricultural Revolution on the English Clays' Agric.Hist Rev. XIV, 1966 pp. 104-21.

9. I.R.O., HB:150/1/2.9 (Great Ellough, Little Worlingham & North Cove 1797); I.R.O., HB:26:412/560 (Sotherton Moor and Henham Green survey by Isaac Johnson 1794).

10. For example, Darsham Moor, see I.R.O., HA11/C9/74.(9) two 'moor' field names can be seen west of Priory Farm, & I.R.O., HA26:371/135 Extent of Darsham Abbot's 'Little Moor' and 'Little Moor Lane'. Peasenhall, see A.H.Denny Sibton Abbey Estates 1960.p.15 'Segmore' & p.91: 'Seggemere' & Segmore Farm. Copinger S.MSS. Buxlow Moor (Bodleian Suffolk Charters 1170 & 1168 p.ii 7d.) 'le Mor'. For 'relict' greens see Chapter VII. Fig.46.

11. See Fig. 47.

sites were later covered by secondary woodland, which formed an important feature of the eleventh century landscape.¹² In the late Saxon and early medieval period secondary settlement appears on the edge of many commons and it is one of the aims of this thesis to study and explain this phenomenon in Blything Hundred.

Those few large clay commons which survive today in Fressingfield, Mellis and South Elmham present a similar picture of coarse grasses interspersed with furze scrub and wet areas of spike rush, thus indicating the undrained character of the clay. Modern fertilisers and selective weed killers are beginning to change this picture, even though the common rights theoretically remain. The distinction between moorland, commons and greens is largely a question of degree. Many have two names because they lie in at least two parishes. Sotherton Moor runs into Henham Common and both had common rights exercised upon them; Sotherton Moor is very large, with few farms on its perimeter, while Henham Common is smaller, more akin to a village green, with many small farms and tenements once built around it. But local terminology is unreliable; Middleton Moor is smaller than Henham Common and even more like a village green.

The late Saxon - early medieval development of secondary settlement on the clay uplands is indicated by the absence of some places, which contain little else but green-side settlement, from the Domesday survey. Examples include Westhall, Linstead Parva, Buxlow and Rumburgh.¹³ But this was probably an absence of name only, for many were undoubtedly in the process of formation at that time.¹⁴ All these late secondary parishes contain small, much older valley settlements, with ubiquitous traces of Roman and pre-historic activity.

12. See Chapter VI Sec.5 Fig.3 .

13. See Chapter V Sec.4.

14. See Chapter VI, pp.177-8.

Woodland and Parks.

That the claylands of Suffolk were largely wooded in the late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon period has been generally accepted. The most dramatic piece of evidence in support of dense woodland on the Suffolk clay being the undefended south eastern terminals of the Cambridgeshire dykes, in particular the Devil's Dyke. Here the wood-green area of Woodditton, Ditton Green and Stetchwoth Ley must have presented a physical barrier to an enemy approaching from the south west. The Dyke itself is of uncertain date, although it must be 'limited between the fourth and the seventh centuries'; a date in the years immediately after 369 AD. is perhaps most likely.¹ At the time of its construction the greens on the clayland to the south must have densely wooded; if they had been even partially wooded the Dyke would have failed as a form of defence.² In addition the lack of pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries from the claylands of East Anglia as well as from other wooded areas, such as the Weald of Kent, suggests that these areas were not ones of primary Saxon settlement, even though the woodlands may have been utilised for their timber and swine pastures.³ A combination of clearance and overgrazing may have resulted in the development of clay-moorland intermixed with woodland over which common rights were either inherited from an earlier period, or established from more distant primary settlement.

The oldest woods most commonly found on the clay slopes have hornbeam as the dominant species. The classic late medieval embanked and coppiced hornbeam wood is one of the most delightful features of the Suffolk landscape. Blyford Wood is itself a typical example. Recent work on the hedgerows of Tasburgh, in Norfolk, has revealed a high incidence of hornbeam in areas where other woodland species occur on the wettest, heaviest soils, and a complete absence of hornbeam outside those areas.⁴ It is the opinion of Oliver Rackham that hornbeam in Norfolk and Suffolk could represent the climax woodland species on the upland clays and loams and that it reflects 'the mosaic of vegetation in the pre-historic forest'.⁵ However, most of

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1. R.C.H.M. County of Cambridgeshire Vol.II 1972 p.144.
 2. R.Muir 'The Cambridgeshire Dykes retain their Secret; Investigating a Dark Age Mystery' Geographical Magazine December 1980 pp.198-204.
 3. D.Wilson (Ed.) The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England 1976 fig. 2.21 ; K.Wade 'Excavations at Langhale, Kirstead' E.A.A.R. No.2, 1976 p.11 fig.1.
 4. S. Addington 'The Hedgerows of Tasburgh' Norf. Arch. XXXVII (i) 1978 p.70.
 5. Addington op.cit. p.73 notes 18 & 19. Hornbeam is also evident in the Ipswichian Inter-glacial. See I.Simmons & M.Tooley The Environment in British Prehistory 1981 p.34 '...whereas the late (Ipswichian) temperate zone with more open woodland, probably dominated by hornbeam..'; Rackham 1980 op.cit. pp.221-35.

Late medieval embanked coppice wood at Thorington

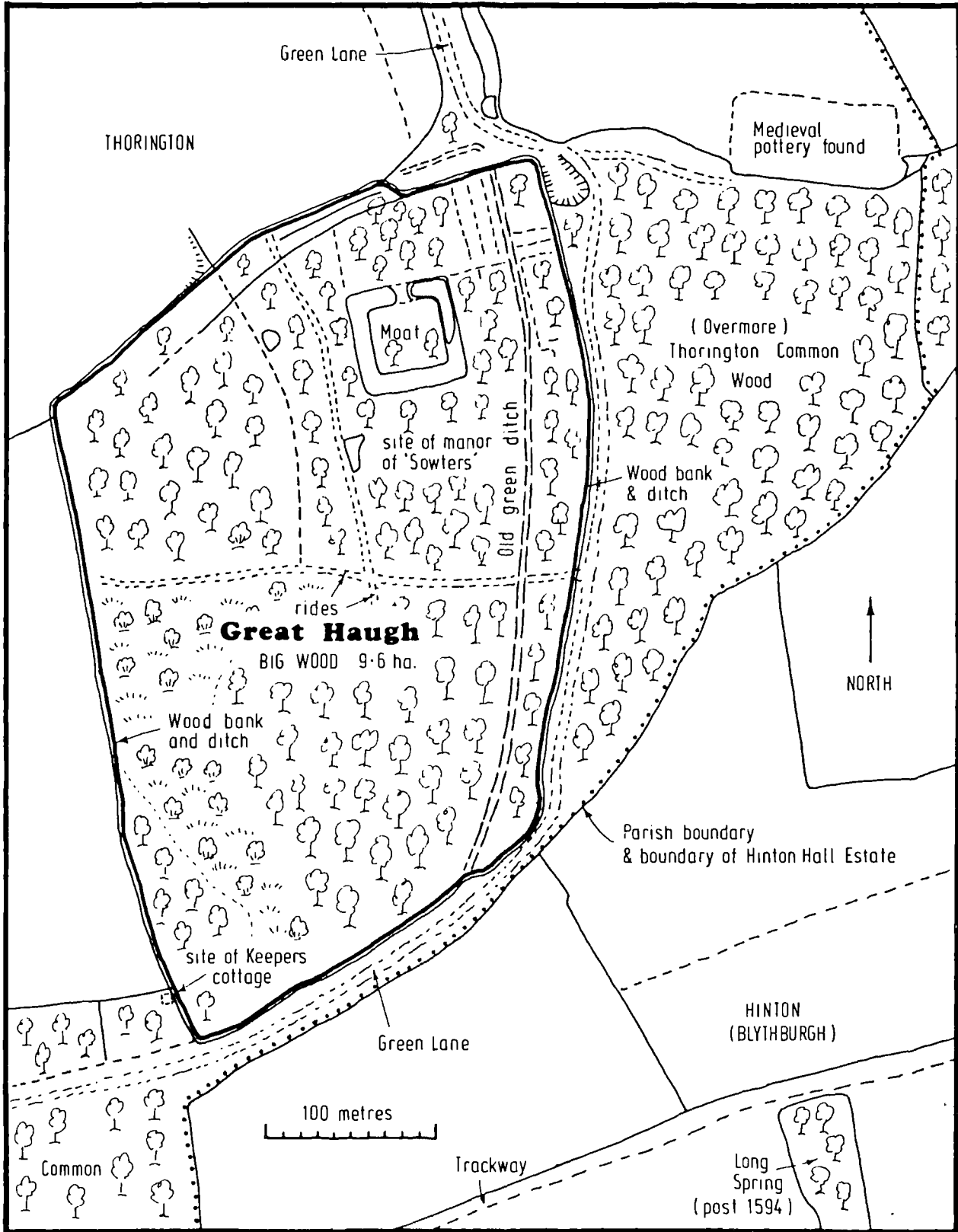


Figure 6. Great Haugh, Thorington.

the surviving hornbeam woods such as Blyford, Kingshaugh (Bramfield) and Great Haugh (Thorington) are embanked medieval coppice woods.⁶ In the case of Great Haugh the wood bank encloses a large area of medieval desertion centred around a massive moat, out of which the ancient hornbeam stools grow. (Fig.6.) The wood bank cuts across a much older green ditch and encloses part of Thorington Common.⁷ In this instance, and possibly in others also, the coppice hornbeam wood is undoubtedly a late medieval creation.⁸ This large area of controlled woodland was formed out of abandoned tenements and reverted agricultural land. The hornbeam may also represent the climax woodland species on the upland clays, having become re-established there in the late medieval period of arable regression.⁹ It was only in long-term controlled coppice woods that it was encouraged to regain predominance.

Large emparked estates were, until the last war, a feature of East Suffolk, and it would not be out of place here to include these contrived man-made habitats in this chapter.¹⁰ The great Neo-Classical landscaped parks of the 18th century are well illustrated on Hodskinson's map of 1785. In the area of Blything Hundred there were Sotterley Hall, Henham Hall, Westwood Lodge, Thorington Hall, Cockfield Hall and Kelsale Lodge, with a number of lesser gentlemen's residences forming an estate belt parallel with the coast, following the division between Sandling and clay upland.

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6. See Figs. 4 & 43 for Blyford, 38 for Bramfield, 6 & 49 for Thorington. The element 'haugh' is derived from 'haga', meaning the bank or enclosure usually found around a coppice wood. Subsequently it became applied to the woods themselves. See D.Hooke 'Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands' English Place-name Society Journal 11, 1979 pp.9-10.
 7. See Fig.49 (I.R.O., JA2/7/1); C.B.P. No.450 re. commonage on Thorington 'Overmor', which is probably this same common.
 8. Other moats found in woodland in Blything Hundred include Frostenden TM.46058285; the 'Old World Wood' Knodishall TM.418610; 'Tutles Wood' Henham, TM.45707885; 'Bondishaugh' Yoxford TM.392670.
 9. J. Saltmarsh 'Plague and Economic Decline in the later Middle Ages' Cambridge Historical Journal VII, 1941 pp.23-41. A.R.H.Baker 'Evidence in the Inquisitiones Nonarum of contracting arable lands in England during the early fourteenth century' Econ. Hist. Rev. 2nd Series XIX(iii) 1966 pp.518-32 ; C.Platt Medieval England 1978 p.131.
 10. Rev.E.Farrer The Deer Parks of Suffolk 1923, being a series of articles from the East Anglian Daily Times (I.R.O., S9); J.Whittaker A Descriptive List of Deer Parks and Paddocks of England 1892; L.M.Cantor and J.Hatherly 'The Medieval Parks of England' Geography 64 (ii) 1979 pp.71-85.

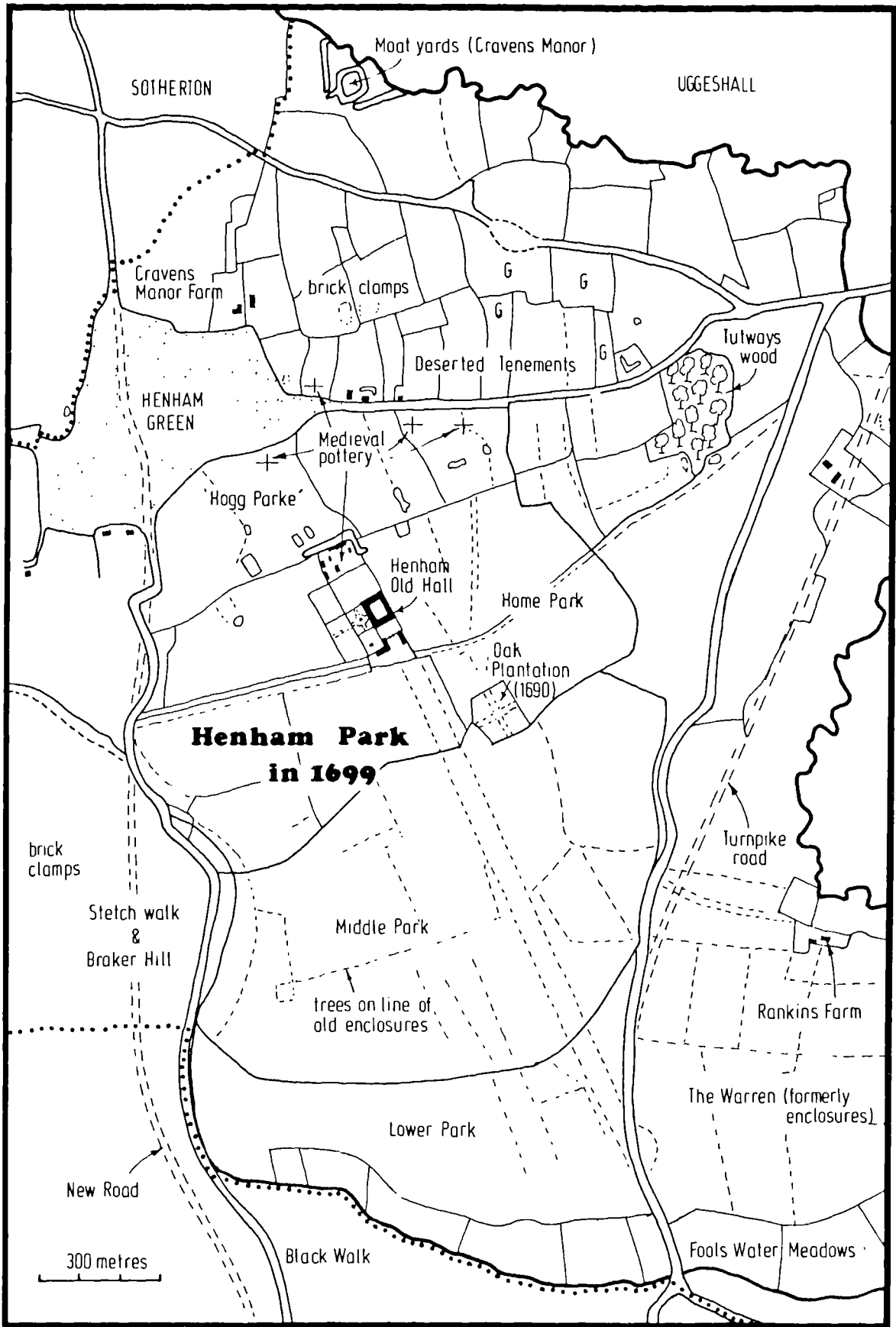


Figure 7. Henham Park.

Large parks on the clay upland are few and far between, Heveningham Hall is a notable exception, but it was not particularly important before the 18th century. The grand houses which form the centre pieces of these parks are all 18th or 19th century rebuildings of earlier, and sometimes larger, Tudor houses. A few, such as Sotterley and Cockfield, are close to the sites of medieval manor houses. In most cases the parks of the original Tudor mansions survive in a modified form, but only Henham and Sotterley retain the remains of earlier medieval parks. Henham Hall was demolished in 1956, but its splendid park remains, the best preserved and the best documented in Blything Hundred. (Fig.7.) In the Elizabethan period there were a number of grand houses of slightly lesser rank scattered more broadly over this estate belt.¹¹ These were pretentious mansions, built out of the proceeds of dissolved monastic land and the amalgamation of small medieval manors. They were larger than their estate resources could maintain: none of them now survives. Few of them had empaled parks, but their influence upon the landscape was considerable and lasting.

In the medieval period there was no comparable estate belt. Instead there were a great many substantial manor houses evenly scattered, one or two in almost every parish. Some of the larger medieval houses such as Huntingfield Hall, Westwood Lodge, Wissett and Peasenhall had licensed hunting parks detached from the main residence.(fig.8).¹² Smaller manors also had areas of unlicensed park of 'Laund', but these were much smaller than the large empaled hunting parks that distinguished the great medieval

11. Brook Hall, Bramfield. Late 16th century, demolished 1805: Suckling II p.171.
 Fordley Hall, Copinger Manors of Suffolk II pp.123-6;
 Huntingfield Hall, See E.Sandon Suffolk Houses 1977 pp.189-190;
 Westhall Hall, built by Francis Bohun in 1570, demolished in 1849;
 Wrentham Hall, built by the Brewsters in the 16th century, demolished in 1810, Copinger Manors of Suffolk II pp.209-17;
 Reydon Hall, Gardner p.252 'The Hall in the Park, was taken down in 1684 by Mr Oliver Dave.';
 Halesworth Manor, Chorography p.44 'In this towne was a park & in it a goodly house, the one now ruinated & the other disparked' (before 1586).
12. Huntingfield Park (Fig.8.) Copinger S.MSS.; C.P.R. 7 Edw.II pt.1.5d.(p.69) 1313. Commission to enquire about persons who forcibly entered the park of the late William de Huntingfield at Huntingfield.
 Westwood Lodge, C.Richmond John Hopton 1981 p. 40, 61.
 Wissett Park, Ibid. p.62.

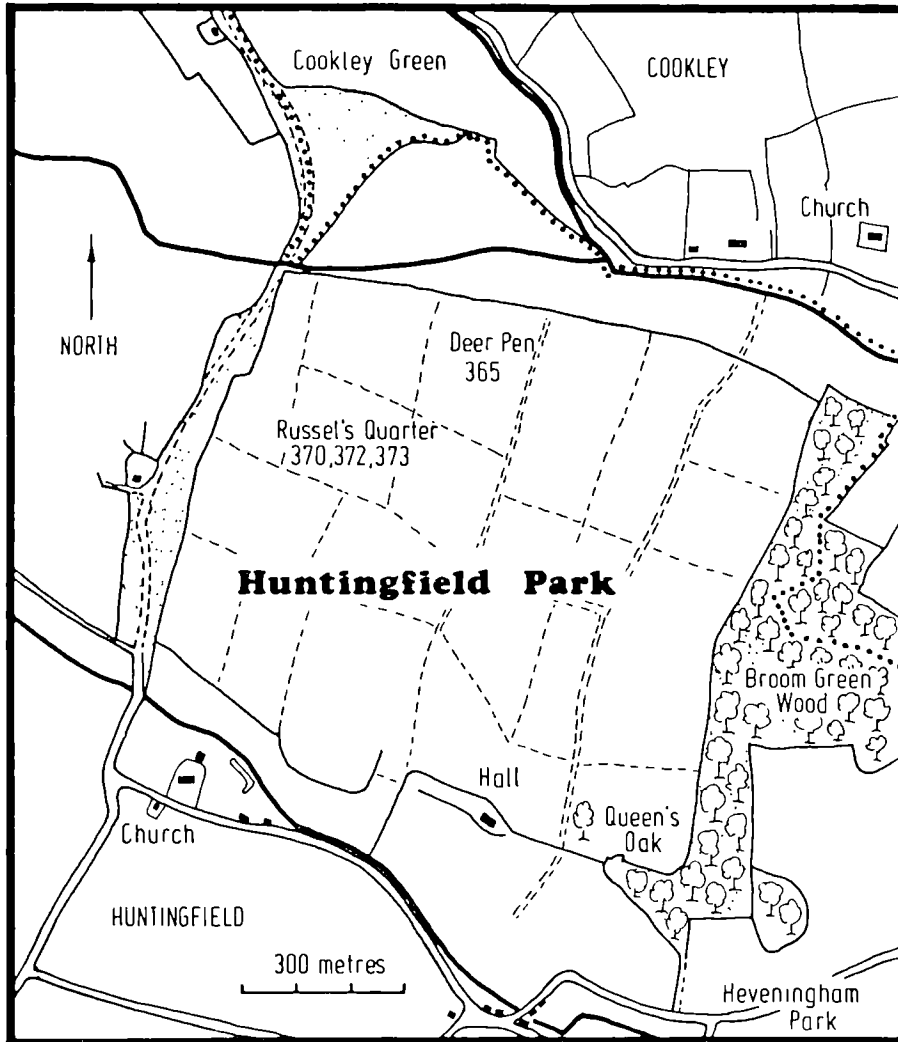


Figure 8. Huntingfield Park.

estate. They leave little or no trace on the modern landscape and can only be detected through documents and field names.^{13.}

The existing estate belt would therefore seem to be a post medieval phenomenon, starting after the dissolution of the monasteries, contracting and being consolidated in the eighteenth century and expanding again up to the decline of the 1920s. Many of these late estates emparked and enclosed large areas of poor soil, Benacre, Henham, and Westwood Lodge seem to have been created out of little more than heath land, and in their early days must have been a sorry sight compared with contemporary estates in the home counties. These parks were imposed on the late medieval landscape and in some cases areas of medieval desertion have been enclosed and preserved within them.^{14.} Some of the medieval parks have themselves left an indelible mark on the landscape of the Blything area.^{15.}

13. Copinger ascribes 'Ukenhall' in Suffolk to Uggeshall, which is doubtful. Copinger S.MSS.; C.P.R. 8. Edw.II.pt.1. 20d.(p.236) 1314. Complaint by Richard Amoundeville 'That Will.Dalezun, with others, broke into his park at Ukenhall, entered his free Warrens there and at Thorneye and did other damage.' William Dalison seems to have had it in for the Amoundevilles, for in 1327 he made another raid on their park at Okenhill. The 'Parkway' is mentioned in 17th century deeds of Uggeshall I.R.O., HB26/412/878. Copinger could therefore be correct.
14. See Fig.7. Henham Park, deserted tenements of Henham village in the area of 'Tulways Wood' (Tuttles Wood). Heveningham Park, TM.34247268; A.P., St J.ATT.69.
15. For Whittingham Park see, I.R.O., HD78/2671. & FDA. 106/A1/1b, double boundary 'the Walks' No.526 'Old Park Plough' moats & possible remains of medieval park. Site of Elizabethan Hall and garden moat. Hunting-field park can be reconstructed from the tithe map of 1846 I.R.O. FDA.140/A1/1. Nos. 370,372, 373 'Russel's Quarter' & 365 'Deer Pen' the other three quarters of the park can be recognised. (Fig.8.). Henham, I.R.O., HA11/C9/20. (Fig.7.). The medieval park at Henham probably corresponds with the 'Home Park' as it was in 1699. The 'Middle Park' and the 'Hogg Parke' are later Elizabethan extensions. Westwood Lodge, see C.Richmond John Hopton 1981 p.40. The thorn hedge boundary of the park where it adjoins the heath can still be clearly recognised. Kelsale Park I.R.O., JA.2/2/7/2 map by Tho. Waterman dated 1638, shows part of 'the late disparked park ... now divided into diverse enclosures.'



Plate 4

The classic Sandling scenery. Scots pines standing on the steep 'hangs' overlooking the marshes of the valley floor at Blythburgh. Although presented to the tourist as a natural landscape it is of very recent origin. The scots pines were introduced in the last century and the reed-swamp encroaches on the remains of drained meadowland, flooded as part of a war-time anti-invasion policy.



Plate 5

Flooded saltmarshes at Bulcamp. This is an abandoned landscape inundated during the Second World War. Water now laps against the footings of vanished farm buildings and unused gateposts. Before the canalisation of the river in the 1760's this was common marshland, it had all been raised into meadows by 1804.



Plate 6

Heath and marshland looking south of Westwood Lodge towards the plantations of Dunwich Forest. The slight bump on the horizon, marked by taller trees, is the remaining earthwork 'castle' near the deserted hamlet of Hethern. The old Dunwich to Blythburgh road passed across this marsh over 'Stonehill Bridge' and through the gap in the trees to the right of the castle. The close cropped 'velvety' turf in the foreground is typical of the traditional Sandling sheep and rabbit pasture. The whole area, which was once common land, is now guarded as a nature reserve.



Plate 7

The Blyth valley at Mells, looking towards Holton windmill. A gravel pit on the right has eaten into the side of the valley. Small early Roman farmstead sites abound in this area.



Plate 8

Chippenhall Green on the Hoxne/Blything Hundred boundary. The water-table rises to the surface in the late winter months and stands, as it can be seen here, in shallow pools among the thorn scrub, spike rush and gorse of this wet, clay moorland pasture. Large timber-framed farmhouses and thatched cottages stand around the edges of the green.



Plate 9

Kingshaugh, Bramfield, a typical coppice hornbeam wood on the clay edge. Most ponds in woods are man-made, but some like this shallow water filled depression may represent the natural post-glacial surface topography. See O. Rackham Ancient Woodland 1980 p. 13.



This unusual sketch of Bulcamp was made by Humphrey Repton for the Henham 'Red Book'. He was probably standing on the high ground about half a mile south of Blythburgh church looking at the church tower through a telescope. He was preparing his scheme for the extension of Henham Park and the siting of South Lodge on Bulcamp Hill. The small cottage in the middle distance is the newly built turnpike toll house, which stood until recently at the junction of the A12 with the Beccles road. Bulcamp hill is scarred by ridge and furrow. 'Black Walk' and 'Stetch Walk' in the extreme distance form the traditional tree-less landscape of the old Sandling. They now abound with woods, ilex and ~~rod~~rodedendron plantation on the edge of Henham.

Repton's scheme.

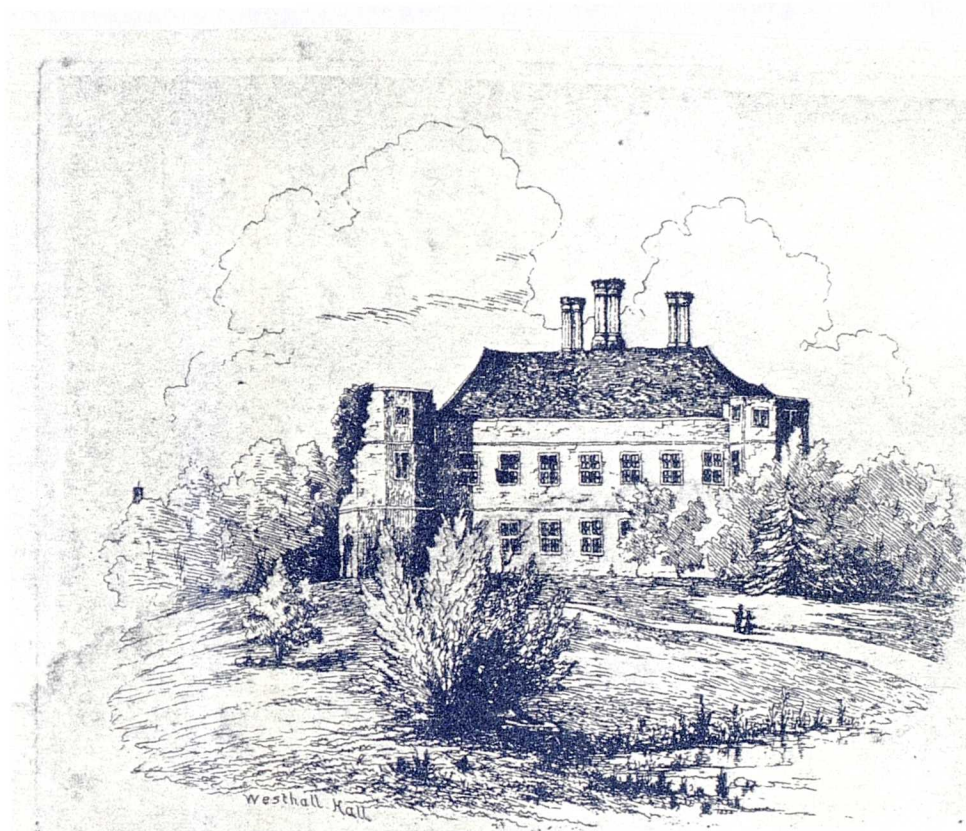


Plate 11

The remains of Westhall Hall, built by the Bohun family in 1570, as it was shortly before demolition in 1849. The octagonal brick turrets have lost their cupola roofs, but some of the Elizabethan chimneys survive, although three sides of the original courtyard plan had already disappeared. The house was enclosed by a circular ha-ha. Westhall Hall is one of a number of lost Tudor houses in Blything Hundred. Illustration from S. Wilton Rix (Ed.) Diary and Autobiography of Edmund Bohun 1677-97 1852.

Chapter III

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

1. Introduction
2. Prehistoric Background
3. Early Roman Settlement
4. Roman Roads and Centuriation
5. The Focus of Roman Settlement
6. The Late Roman Period
7. The Pagan Saxon Period

Figures

9. Mesolithic and Neolithic distribution of flint artifacts
10. Bronze Age and Iron Age Sites and Finds
11. Prehistoric Sites in Blythburgh and Westleton
12. Roman Sites and Finds
13. Roman Pottery Cheese Press and Plough Shoe
14. Commons and Roman Roads in Fressingfield
15. 'Centuriation' in Ilketshall
16. 'Centuriation' at Long Stratton, Norfolk

1. Introduction

The following discussion of the prehistoric background of Blything Hundred is in no sense intended to be a total survey; it lies outside the main date range of the thesis, but the Roman and medieval landscapes would not be complete without the prehistoric sub-structure, however disconnected they might seem to be from it. A discussion of prehistory also gives the opportunity to present material discovered incidentally during the course of fieldwork in search for Saxon and medieval sites.

The evidence for early prehistoric activity in the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods in the area of Blything Hundred is still remarkably scarce; the same could also be said for the Iron Age. But in recent years, with the advent of aerial photography and the enthusiasm of one or two local field-workers, more material has come to light. The prehistoric background is therefore constantly changing and developing as each year new discoveries are recorded. Such finds are rarely of any significance in themselves, a flint arrowhead here, a ring-ditch showing up there, but when carefully recorded the total picture can be seen developing in an interesting way, often posing more questions than it answers. This 'quantitative explosion' is particularly evident for the early Bronze Age and Roman periods. The advent of metal detectors, although still unusual in this area, will probably continue to add to the large numbers of discoveries made in the last ten years.

The distribution of Mesolithic and Neolithic sites undoubtedly reflects the distribution of archaeologically interested persons, (Figure 9), for example, the concentration of sites around Chediston is very much the work of one man,¹ while the general scatter of discoveries in the Benacre/Kessingland area represents the hunting grounds of two or three members of a Lowestoft archaeological society.² It is hard to judge to what extent these are 'rich' areas, but the general distribution of more scattered finds, such as the more easily recognised polished stone axes, suggests that similar discoveries of

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1. G. Burroughs. The Grange Farm, Chediston. See P.S.I.A. 32(ii) 1979 p.207 and P.S.I.A. 34(iii) 1978 p.215 (Ipswich Museum No. 1971-79).
 2. Lowestoft Archaeological & Local History Society Annual Reports; P.S.I.A. 32(ii) 1971 p.206.

the more rare microlithic industries could be made elsewhere if time and dedication would allow.

Since 1933, when Fox produced a distribution map of stone axes in East Anglia, there has been an ever increasing number of recorded axe finds promoted by the post-war extension of arable farming and a better informed public interest in archaeology. As a result the newly recorded finds have redressed to a certain extent the imbalance on Fox's distribution map, without adding significantly to the heavy concentrations in Breckland and elsewhere which he defined as areas of 'primary settlement'.³ This more general distribution, while not substantially altering the main concentrations, suggests a more even spread of Neolithic activity over a greater variety of soil types. Some imported stone axes in East Anglia also suggest widespread contacts established perhaps as a result of trading in flint, which was mined in the Breckland area.⁴ Recent discoveries made by aerial photography suggest that substantial prehistoric field monuments once existed in East Suffolk, a causewayed-camp or interrupted ditch system photographed at Freston, about three and a half miles south of Ipswich, may have been the focus of early Neolithic settlement in the southern Sandling.⁵

A number of standing stones and glacial erratics, some still surviving, but mostly now only recorded in antiquarian sources, may once have been important features of the Neolithic landscape of East Suffolk. It must be said that few of these are mentioned before the eighteenth century and some could have been glacial erratics discovered while digging for marl in the medieval period. However, some were significant features of the medieval landscape such as the one which gave its name to 'Rockstone' manor in Cookley.⁶ (Plate 14) Others, like the huge stone which once stood on Rumburgh Common and the 'Druid' stone in St Mary's church yard at Bungay, have folklore

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3. C.Fox 'The Distribution of Man in East Anglia' P.P.S.E.A. VII(ii) 1933 pp.149-165.
 4. I.F.Smith 'The Neolithic' in British Prehistory C.Renfrue (Ed.) 1974 p.105; W.G.Clarke (Ed) Report on the Excavations at Grimes Graves, Weeting, Norfolk, March-May 1914 1915 ; See note 15 below..
 5. Information given by Dr St Joseph in a lecture to the Suffolk Archaeological Institute at Ipswich Grammar School, May 1979. A.J.Lawson et al. The Barrows of East Anglia East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 12 1981 p.66.
 6. The Rockstone is a massive sandstone glacial erratic, said locally to have been nearly 20 feet high. Similar large sandstone and pebble conglomerates have been found recently at Chediston Hall and Bonds Farm, Wissett.

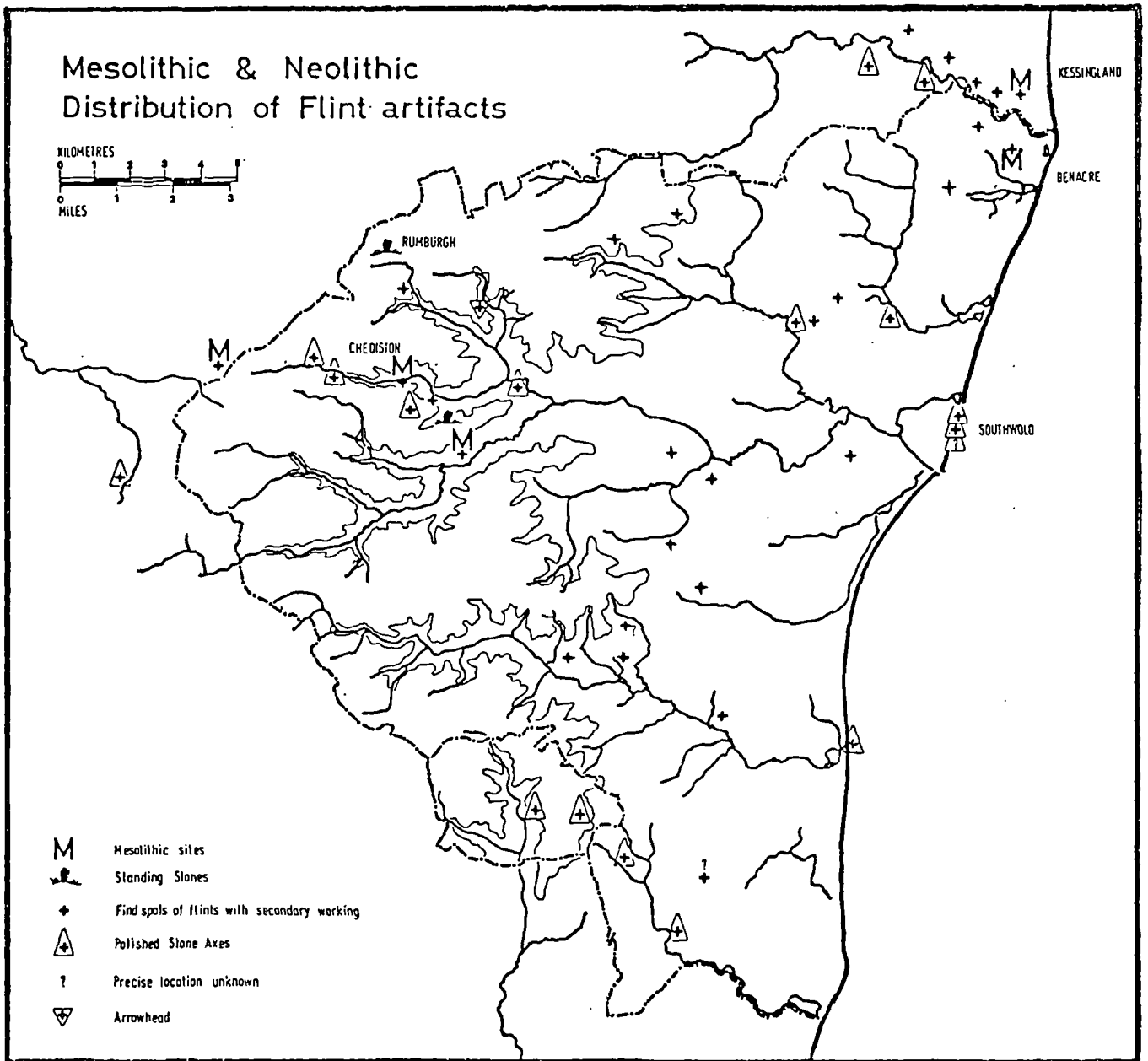


Figure 9.

associations which might suggest pre-Christian origins.⁷ Local traditions also tell of larger stone monuments, which are said to have once existed; in particular the strange structure known as 'Ilketshall Bower',⁸ and the most easterly British stone circle, which is said to have existed at Gorleston,⁹ both have an element of truth about them.

As yet little work has been done on the vegetational history of the Blything Hundred area, we must look to the meres of south Norfolk for the nearest detailed pollen analysis;¹⁰ it can only be hoped that one day the great wealth of paleobotanical evidence locked up in the deep peat deposits of the drowned valleys along the Suffolk coast will be properly explored.¹¹

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7. E.Mann Old Bungay 1934 p.22, the 'Druids Stone' stands opposite the west end of the north porch, 'a custom prevailed until recently of children dancing around the stone twelve times to raise the evil one'; E.A.M. 1907:2,128. The 'Common Stone' at Rumburgh 'At the northern end of the common there was an immense stone, unlike anything else in the neighbourhood, on which the village children would sit and play around. At the time of the enclosure this old landmark was buried nearby'. A local story says that bargains conducted over this stone held good. W.A.Dutt Ancient Mark-stones of East Anglia: their origin and Folklore 1926.
 8. R.Reyce 1618 Suffolk in the XVII Century: The Breviary of Suffolk by Robert Reyce Lord Frances Harvey (Ed.) 1902. Ilketshall Bower is first mentioned in the 'Ballad of Bigod' from the Suffolk Garland of 1680. An incorrect description is given by Suckling II p.173, of an ice house at the back of Flixton Hall.; E.A.M. 1920 5,597. The 'Old Bowery' is said to have stood in Spexhall, close to the Ilketshall boundary on the left hand side of Stone Street Roman road going towards Bungay. 'A ruined archway in the bank or side of the road. It was of stonework rubble and some slabs under an earthen mound, backed by trees... divided from the road by a low bank'. See also C.B.P. No.333, which mentions the unlocated chapel of St Alvere in Ilketshall.
 9. E.A.M. 1922:6,401.
 10. R.E.Sims 'Man and Vegetation in Norfolk' in The Effect of Man on the Landscape: The Lowland Zone. S.Limbrey & J.G.Evans (Eds) 1975 C.B.A. Report No.21 pp.57-62. Recent, as yet unpublished, work has been done by Sylvia Peglar and Dr John Birks of the Cambridge Botany School on the pollen of Diss Mere, also in south Norfolk.
 11. See Chapter I Sec.1 note 14.

2. The Prehistoric Background

In common with the southern Sandling, the lighter soils of Blything Hundred have many 'tumuli' marked on large scale Ordnance Survey maps. Many more barrows once existed on the better heathland soils and some of these, which are now only visible from the air as crop-marks and ring-ditch features, have been recorded in a recent survey of barrows in East Anglia.¹ Several antiquarian sources mention lost earthworks, some of which are sure to have been barrows Gardner describes the remains of an ancient fort and a 'hollow way' on Eye-Cliff at Southwold where the 'tokens of circular tents, called Fairy Hills, round which the vulgar report these Sylphes were wont to dance.'² The field name of 'Fairies Hill' in Thorington may also indicate the presence of a lost barrow,³ and a number of other field-names such as 'Round Riges' at Ubbeston, 'Round Ditch Field' at Huntingfield and the 'Round Meadow' at Bramfield, where a late Bronze Age hoard was found in 1839, may all mark the remains of ring-ditch features.⁴ Leland's description of what was probably the remains of 'Stone Hill Castle' suggests that there were other similar earthworks in this, the 'Foxborrow' area of Dingle in Westleton.⁵ Gardner also talks about 'tokens' of 'edifices' and the remains of some 'structure' on the hill at Dingle.⁶ Some late medieval field-names in Westleton, in particular, 'Memerhill' and 'Hoplowhill' may also be taken as likely sites for lost prehistoric or Anglo-Saxon barrows.⁷

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1. Lawson et al., op.cit. pp.64-88.
 2. Gardner pp.188-9. Near the parapet constructed for the guns on Gun Hill in 1745 were the remains of 'the ancient fort; the platform whereof, and the hollow way, are still to be seen.' 'The Fire Beacon stood on the South Point of the Hill called Eye-Cliff. On this Hill, and several others that are near them are the Remains of a Camp, and where the Ground has suffered no Rupture are to be seen Tokens of circular Tents, called Fairy Hills Before the sea had eaten away the Cliff, the Camp might extend to the Extremity thereof.' A perforated greenstone axe hammer was found after a cliff fall in 1926, information from Ipswich Museum.
 3. I.R.O., FDA 254/A1/1 No.66. TM.431741; See also L.V.Grinsell 'Scheme for Recording the Folklore of Prehistoric Remains' Folklore 50(iv) 1939 p.327.
 4. See Chapter II Sec.5 note 2.
 5. Leland's Itinerary Pt.IV fol.43; See Sec.7 note 7 following.
 6. Gardner p.111.
 7. I.R.O., HA30:372/2 Westleton 1463 Extent. fol.112 & 109; J.Blatchly (Ed.) A Journal of Excursions Through the County of Suffolk 1823-1844, David Elisha Davy S.R.S. Vol.XXIV, 1982 p.31: Davy 'walked up on to the heath near the Mills/Westleton7, where I found that one or two of the Barrows which were there, have lately been carried clean away. Two only...remain.'

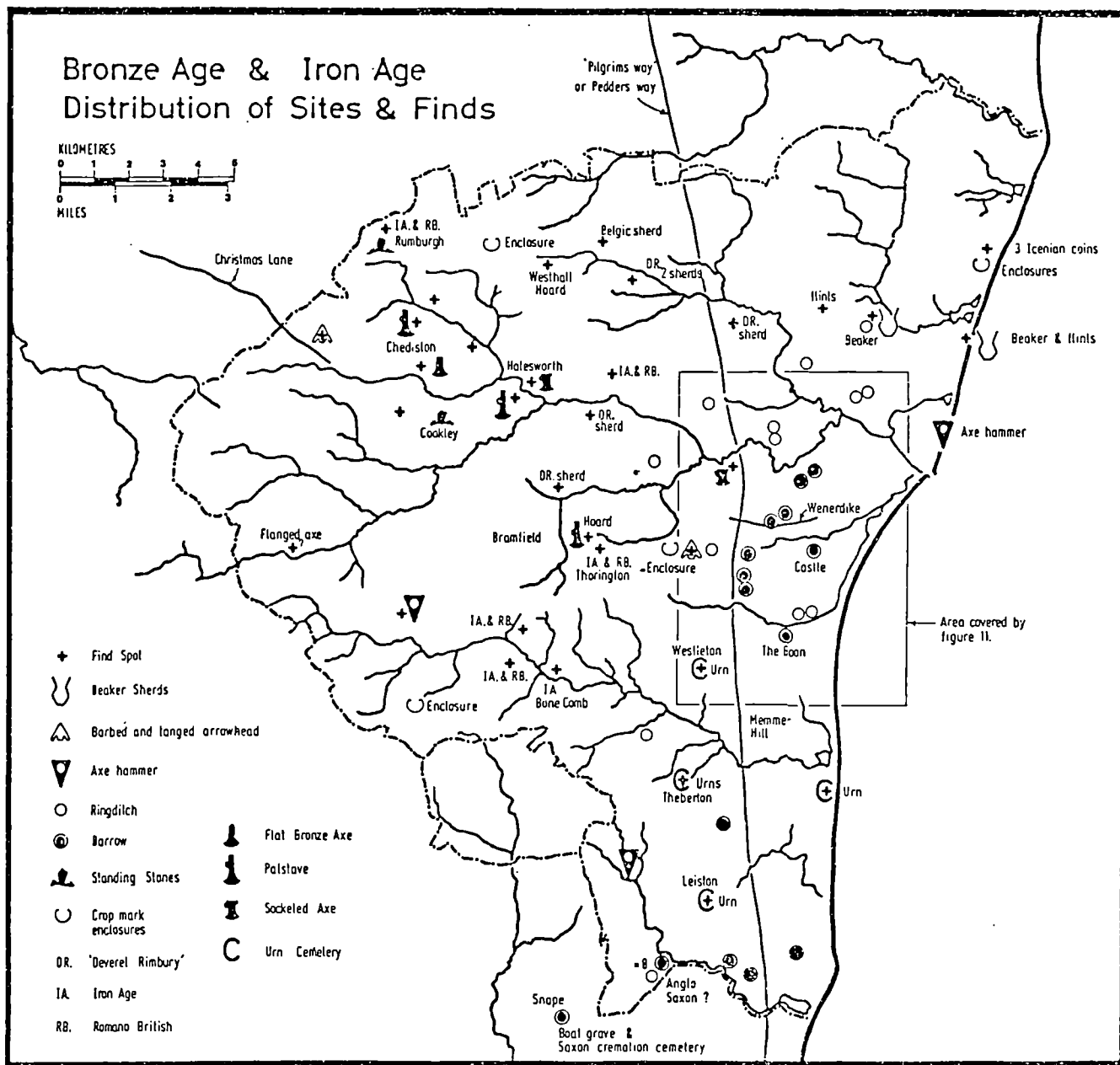


Figure 10.

In addition there are a few smaller barrows still surviving on the heath, which were never recorded by the Ordnance Survey.⁸ We can only speculate about the date of many of these barrows and ring-ditches, only one barrow has been excavated in Blything Hundred; the result was inconclusive.⁹ However, many must be early Bronze Age, similar to those more commonly found on the southern Sandling in the Martlesham and Foxhall area.¹⁰ A few may be found to contain secondary burials of the later Bronze Age and one or two could even be of Anglo-Saxon origin. Indeed the possibility of another discovery of a dark-age Swedish style ship-burial, similar to those found not so far away at Ashby, Snape and Sutton Hoo, cannot be ruled out.¹¹

The Bronze Age barrows and urn cemeteries are sited on the higher ground, in some cases false-crested, in order to be visible on the skyline from the valley floors. This is particularly evident in Figure 11, where a number of field monuments of various kinds cluster in the heathland parishes of Blythburgh and Westleton. The 'Pilgrim's Way', which passes through this area, is bisected by a linear earthwork known as the 'Wen' dyke' or 'Wenerdyke'.¹² This earthwork appears as a low bank, about two metres wide with a shallow ditch on either side, running east-west from the fenland below Westwood Lodge to the higher ground in the area of 'Lumphall Walks'. (Fig.11). Similar

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8. Westleton TM.453720 (two barrows close together); Blythburgh TM.462735 (two barrows close together); Blythburgh TM.47057465; Reydon TM.476769 (two ring-ditch features).
9. The large 'tumulus' marked by the Ordnance Survey on the Walberswick/Blythburgh parish boundary was 'opened' in 1908. E.A.M. 1908 : 2,627. The remains 'of what appears to be an ancient tumulus and some flint instruments found therein', are mentioned. Not far from this spot, at 'Deadman's Cross' there was a stone cairn 'where the Boys heaved Stones to the old Heap, according to their old Custom' when beating the bounds of Walberswick parish in 1678. Gardner p.177. See also Lawson et al., op.cit. p.27, 86.
10. Lawson et al., op.cit. pp.67-75.
11. Ibid. p.87 ; R.T.L. Bruce Mitford 'Anglo-Saxon Suffolk' A.J. 108, 1951 pp.132-3 ; A barrow group at Knodishall (TM.431607) consists of one large and eight smaller barrows in two rows. According to Ipswich Museum records, the largest one was 'trenched' at an unspecified date; burnt flints, charcoal, one piece of human leg bone and a small coarse pot described as 'Iron Age or Anglo-Saxon' was found. These barrows stand on the northern end of Cold Fair Green, not far from the boat grave excavated on Snape Common. R.L.S. Bruce Mitford 'Snape Boat Grave' P.S.I.A. XXVI(i) 1952 pp.1-26; S.E. West & E. Owles 'Anglo-Saxon Cremation Burials from Snape' P.S.I.A. XXX(i) 1973 pp.47-57.
12. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/27. 6(part 4, p.4.) c.1525-6 'Idem / John Gordon 7 holds one piece of heath between the way leading from Bramfield towards Dunwich to the south and one 'ffossat' called 'le Wen'dyke' extending north and one headland butts upon the way leading from Blythburgh towards Eastbridge to the west....' For the 'Pilgrims Way' otherwise called 'Pedderisway' see E.A.M. 1923 : 6,552 ; C.B.P. 88.

linear earthworks have been recorded in association with prehistoric field monuments in Norfolk and Lincolnshire.¹³ The linear ditch at Billingborough was also associated with an extensive late Bronze Age settlement and salt industry on the edge of the fen.¹⁴ Alternatively, the Wenerdike could mark the line of a 'ranch boundary' of the type linked with Deverel Rimbury settlements in Southern Britain.¹⁵

Throughout the whole of southern Britain objects from the later Bronze Age and Early Iron Age are very scarce. Little can be said about local rural settlement at that time, except to point to the paleobotanical evidence for woodland regeneration from the meres of south Norfolk.¹⁶ Ward Perkins was probably correct in 1937, when he said, 'the East Suffolk blank represents in part the incidence of a backward 'negative' culture rather than an uninhabited desert'.¹⁷ He thought that the increased local interest in archaeology might redress this, but it has in many ways confirmed it. This backwardness is still evident in Blything Hundred at the end of the Iron Age, with the presence of hand-made Iron Age pottery, found with sherds of early Roman ware, in a post-hole on the early Romano-British farmstead site at Thorington.¹⁸ It should be pointed out however that there are several crop-mark sites in Blything Hundred, including ring-ditch features, which produce little or no archaeological material of any kind, and the possibility of a continuing cemetery tradition with un-urned and undatable cremations being deposited as secondary burials in Bronze Age barrows, cannot be ruled out.¹⁹

13. D.Edwards 'The Air Photographs Collection of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit: Third Report' in East Anglian Archaeology No.8, 1978 p.97 ; P.Chowne 'Billingborough Bronze Age Settlements: An Interim Note' Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 13, 1978 pp.15-21. p.17 'Linear cropmark, probably a ditch, running west-eastThe ditch has been traced from the limestone uplands west of Sempringham Abbey, down to the gravels of the fen margin.'
14. Chowne op.cit. pp.15-21.
15. C.Burgess 'The Bronze Age' in British Prehistory C.R.Renfru (Ed.) 1976 p.215n ; Limbrey and Evans (Eds) op.cit. pp.115-22.
16. See Sec.1 notes 18 & 20 above.
17. W.Perkins 'Iron Age Sites in East Suffolk' Antiq.Jour. 17, 1937 pp.195-7.
18. P.S.I.A. XXXIV(iii) 1979 p.217.
19. See, for example, G.Maynard & H.E.P. Spencer 'Report on the Removal of a Tumulus on Martlesham Heath, Suffolk' P.S.I.A. XXIV(i) 1946 pp.36-57.

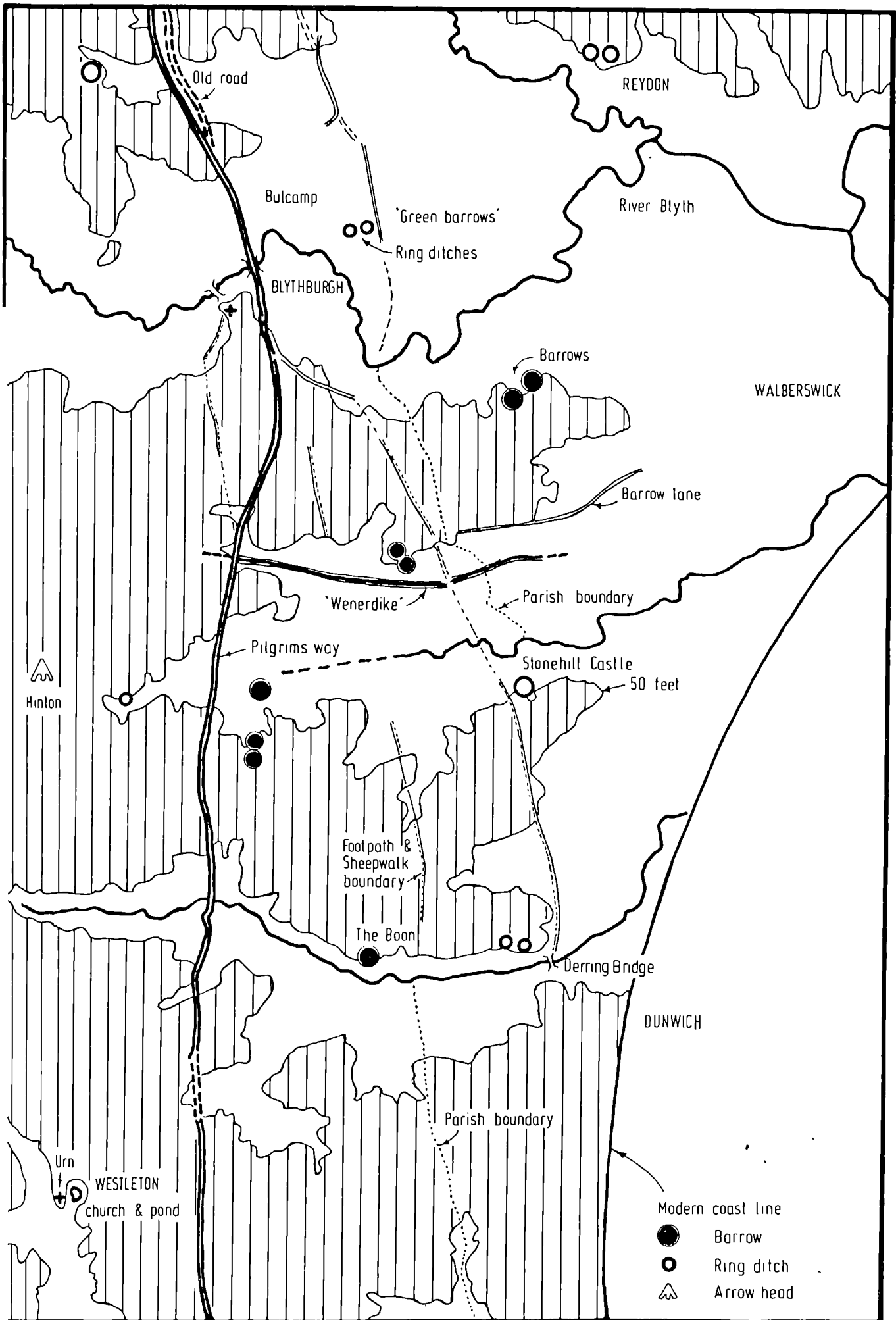


Figure 11. Prehistoric sites in Blythburgh and Westleton.

3. Early Roman Settlement

In contrast with the dearth of Iron Age material, evidence for settlement in the early Roman period is very extensive. The settlement pattern consists of many small dispersed farmstead sites, insignificant in themselves, but altogether they represent a substantial farming community. (Fig. 12) These small, often impoverished sites cannot be compared with the rich villas found in the southern part of the county.¹ In Blything Hundred, fragments of two pottery cheese presses and a ploughshare from a clayland site illustrate the classic mixed farming still practised in Suffolk today.² (Fig. 13) In those parts of Blything Hundred where evidence can be retrieved over large areas by field walking, the density of farms is comparable to that prevailing in the late medieval period, suggesting a well-developed agrarian landscape. We must try to understand why it has taken so long for this evidence to come to light.

As late as 1960, when Rainbird Clarke was writing about the archaeology of East Anglia, only four major finds had been recorded in the Blything Hundred area.³ Since then at least 50 sites have been authenticated. About half of these were recorded by the writer during the course of research with the help of two or three local amateurs.⁴ It would not be difficult to double this figure by intensive field walking. The location of minor farmstead sites can frequently be predicted, but for the purposes of this thesis it was decided that few questions would be answered by attempting to discover yet more sites. The point has already been made; in the early Roman period Blything Hundred had the appearance of a well-developed agrarian landscape, with many scattered and isolated farms all along the valley sides, with a few up on the clay plateau. This settlement pattern is not dissimilar in character to the dispersed farms of the medieval period, but the Roman sites occupy quite different positions in the landscape, particularly in relation to heights above sea level.⁵

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1. I.E.Moore 'Roman Suffolk' P.S.I.A. XXIV(iii) 1948 pp.163-181 ; P.S.I.A. XXX(iii) 1964 p.278, glass tesserae decorated with gold foil from Capel St Mary ; See V.C.H.Suffolk Vol.I, 1907 p.303; G.E.Fox 'Roman Suffolk' A.J. 2nd Ser. 7, 1900 pp.89-165.
 2. Spexhall TM.388801 site 9.
Chediston TM.359778 site 2.
Thorington TM.41357295 site 4.
 3. R.Rainbird Clarke East Anglia 1960 p.116 fig.29.
 4. Most of the Roman sites in Wenhaston and Ubbeston are the discoveries of Miss J.Tacon, those in Chediston were found by Mr G.Borroughs, those in Benacre and Kessingland by the L.A. & L.H.S.
 5. See Chapter VII Sec.2 Fig.43 .

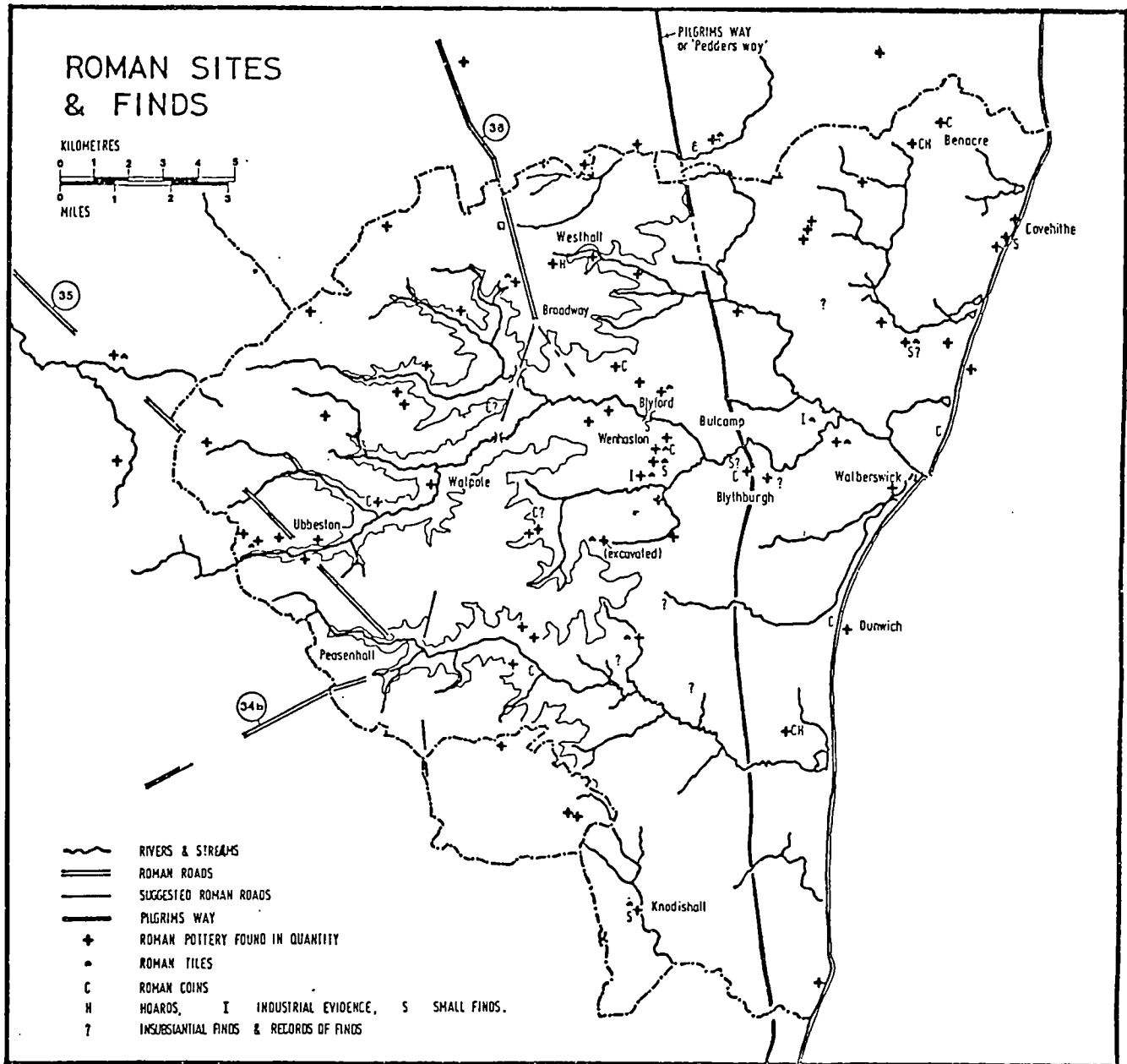
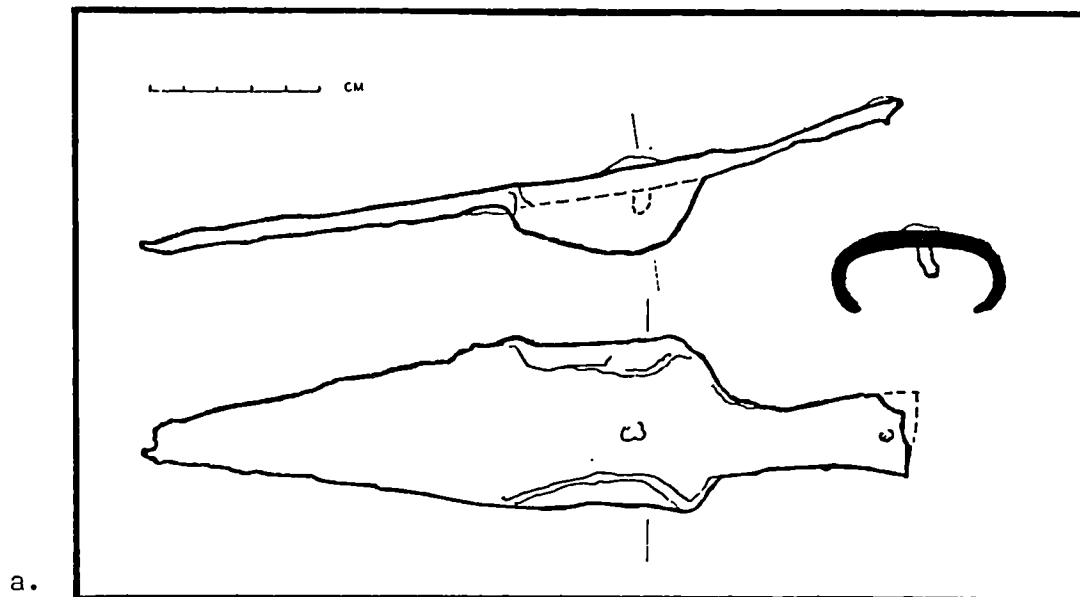
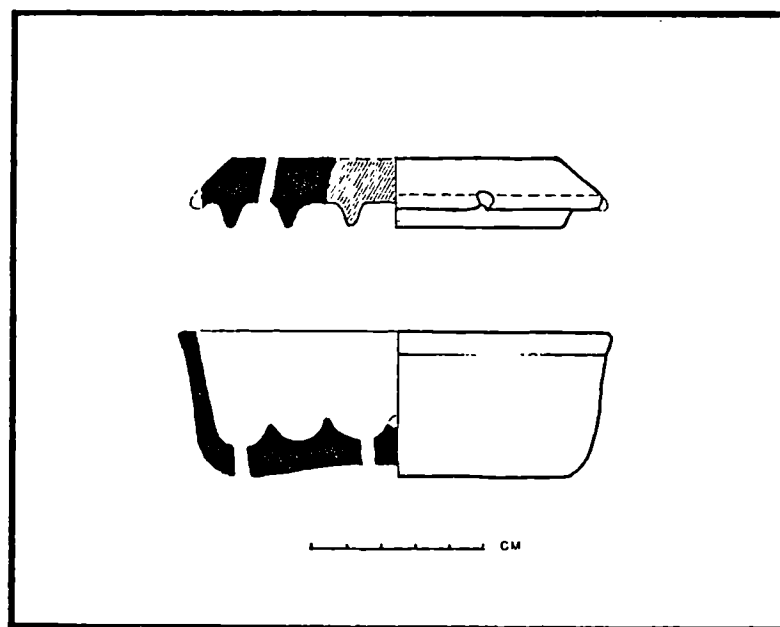


Figure 12.



a.



b.

Figure 13.

- a. Roman plough shoe from Spexhall.
- b. Roman cheese-press fragments from Chediston and Thorington.

It must be emphasised that this settlement pattern could only have developed slowly and not suddenly happened with the arrival of Roman conquerors as the ubiquitous first to second century pottery found on these sites would suggest. Several sites produce a small quantity of handmade Iron Age pottery of a distinctive local kind and, like other valley sites found elsewhere in lowland Britain, they may one day prove to have had prehistoric origins, perhaps of an aceramic nature.^{6.}

Before these small sites were found the Roman material evidence was of two very different kinds. Firstly there were the fragmentary remains of Roman roads, which gave a disjointed view of communications over the clay plateau of East Suffolk. Secondly there were a few remarkable finds, such as the lost Venus statuette from Blyford Bridge,^{7.} and the spectacular silver coin hoard from Benacre,^{8.} neither of which was associated with settlement sites. In view of the large number of humble farmstead sites found in recent years, both the roads and the rich finds now seem rather out of place in this simple rural landscape.

Not all of the farmstead sites produce the same standard of material evidence. A few sherds of imported Samian ware are usually found amongst quantities of local grey wares on the more prominently sited farms. Roof tiles and box flue tiles tend to mark the better class of site where the odd coin may also be found. The evidence from field walking must not be pushed too far, but on the better sites there is a sense of comfort and security; a timber framed building with a tiled roof, pleasantly situated, overlooking a shallow valley; a warm chimney and some imported pottery on the shelf; home-made cheeses in the larder; some pigs out in the yard and, on the slopes

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6. For example, sites at Thorington TM.41357295 site 4 ; Blyford TM.41357770 site 4 ; Yoxford TM.38857050 site 4 ; TM.385693 site 6 ; Fressingfield TM.272778 site 8, 9. Comparisons can be made with sites in the Nene valley, on the Thames gravels and in Wessex, see; R.H.C.M. Archaeological Sites in Central Northamptonshire 1979 Vol.II pp.xliii-xlix ; G.Lambrick & M.Robinson Iron Age and Roman Riverside Settlements at Farmoor, Oxfordshire C.B.A.Report No.32 1979 ; H.C.Bowen & P.J.Fowler 'Romano-British Rural Settlements in Dorset and Wiltshire' in C.Thomas (Ed.) Rural Settlement in Roman Britain C.B.A. report No.7 1966 pp.43-67.
7. Rev.J.B.Clare Wenhaston and Bulcamp; curious parish records 1903 (1894). The Blyford Venus formed part of the collection of the Rev.Blois Turner, it was subsequently stolen from a glass case in Wenhaston church during the early part of this century.
8. Fox op.cit. p.135. A 'stone bottle' was found at Benacre in 1786, containing 920 silver coins /Germanicus to Aurelian/ It is likely that they were disturbed when the road was being diverted around Benacre Park. 'Money Clump' next to the road marks the site. The coins are said to have been sold to a Jewish dealer. A similar hoard comes from Lavenham.

about the house, a few acres of barley.⁹

At the lower end of the scale are those sites which produce no coins or Samian-ware at all but only a few small sherds of very coarse grey local pottery. The rare objects, the bronzes, the coin hoards and the hypocaust tiles upon which our knowledge of Roman settlement in Suffolk was once based, should not be forgotten. While they contrast with the meagre finds from the farms, they are also complementary to them and suggest a unifying prosperity and local native aspirations towards 'Romanitas', no doubt a vital element in early Romano-British society.

4. Roman Roads and Centuriation

Margary's plan of East Anglia shows two kinds of Roman road, although he draws no clear distinction between them.¹ Firstly, there are the main trunk roads, which run directly between well-known urban centres or cantonal capitals. Secondly, there are shorter interrupted lengths of road leading away from the main roads and conurbations towards blank areas of the map. Numbers 34b, 35, and 36, leading into the once blank area of Blything Hundred are typical of this latter category; they radiate out of the Blyth valley linking up with the main roads leading in the direction of Colchester and Venta Icenorum. Margary's 35 illustrates well the interrupted nature of these minor roads. The gaps coincide with the shallow gravel valleys and streams, which intersect the clay plateau. Some Roman sites producing pottery of the first to mid-third centuries can usually be found on the south facing slopes,

9. This reconstruction is based on evidence from various sites, but principally the excavations carried out at Thorington TM.41357295. P.S.I.A. XXXIV(iii) 1979 p.217. Evidence of timber structures and roof tiles were found with one or two fragments of flue tile. Pig bones and teeth came from the trampled remains of a kitchen midden, which included quantities of local and imported pottery as well as part of a pottery cheese press. (see Fig.13) Environmental analysis of the ditches about the site produced husks of barley.

1. I.D.Margary Roman Roads in Britain 1955 p.244 fig.9.

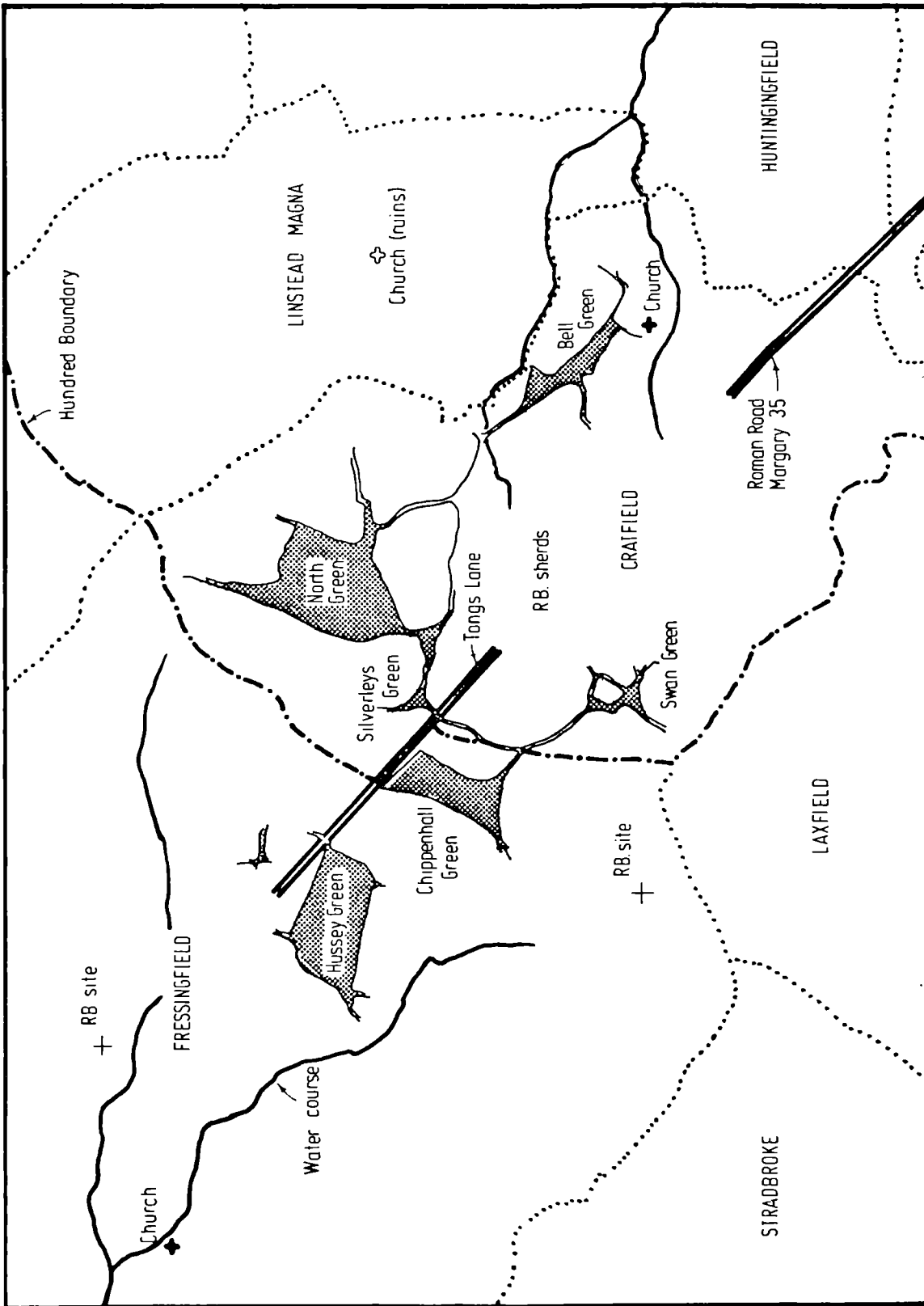


Figure 14. Commons and Roman Roads at Fressingfield.

very close to the projected Roman road-river crossings.² In fact there is very little evidence for Roman roads extending across these gaps, though clearly the sections of surviving Roman road on the clayland were once connected. A number of minor roads have been sectioned in the county and their made-up surfaces have proved to be characteristically insubstantial.³ It would seem that what survives today as a recognisable Roman road, particularly if of a minor category, is in fact little more than the memory of the line of the Roman road maintained through customary use, rather than the road itself. But this 'memory' only survives on the more marginal clay upland soils, and not on the valley gravels, where continuity of arable husbandry has ploughed away all trace of it.⁴

Where the Roman roads survive in this way on the claylands they are often associated with other ancient features, particularly clay commons and parish boundaries, as can be seen at Fressingfield in Figure 14. The curving arcs formed by the boundaries of these commons extend over the same general area of clayland spanned by the Roman road, and like it, they too, tend to fade away on the better soils and valley gravels. A similar process of preservation would seem to be at work. The clay upland is an area of discontinuous settlement, but the customary use of the old Roman roads led to their fragmentary preservation in those areas which were not subject to the plough in the immediate post-Roman period. Likewise, the uninterrupted practice of inter-commoning on the waste land between estates on the clay land may have led to

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2. One such site at Fressingfield (TM.272778), consisting of a substantial Roman farm overlooking the projected line of the road, may be of particular interest. In Bungay museum, two matching colour-coated flagons of thin Rhin^eish pottery with delicate swan-necked handles are said to have been given to the museum by Rider Haggard, who lived at Ditchingham. They come from Fressingfield and rather improbably are described as having been 'ploughed up'. The Fressingfield Tithe Map, (IRO.,FDA.106/A1/1a & b 1838.) records two mill mounds set low down near the valley bottom, (701, Little Mill Mount. & 599, Mill Mount.) close to the line of the projected Roman road. It is possible that these were Roman barrows similar to the ones excavated at Rougham by Prof.Henslow in 1843. The flagons could possibly have been preserved within a tiled cist similar to that discovered in Eastlow Hill, Rougham. J.S.Henslow 'Roman Remains at Eastlow Hill' P.S.I.A. IV, 1843-4, p.257. See also section 7 note 11 for references concerning the barrow burial custom in East Anglia during the Roman period.
 3. E.Owles 'A Roman Road at Saxstead' P.S.I.A. XXXII(iii) 1972 pp.272-3; E.Owles 'A Roman Road at Otley' P.S.I.A. XXXI(ii) 1968 pp.185-7, '...when the road has gone derelict all traces of it seem to vanish entirely.' See also Margary op.cit. p.245.
 4. C.C.Taylor Roads and Tracks of Britain 1979 pp.272-3.

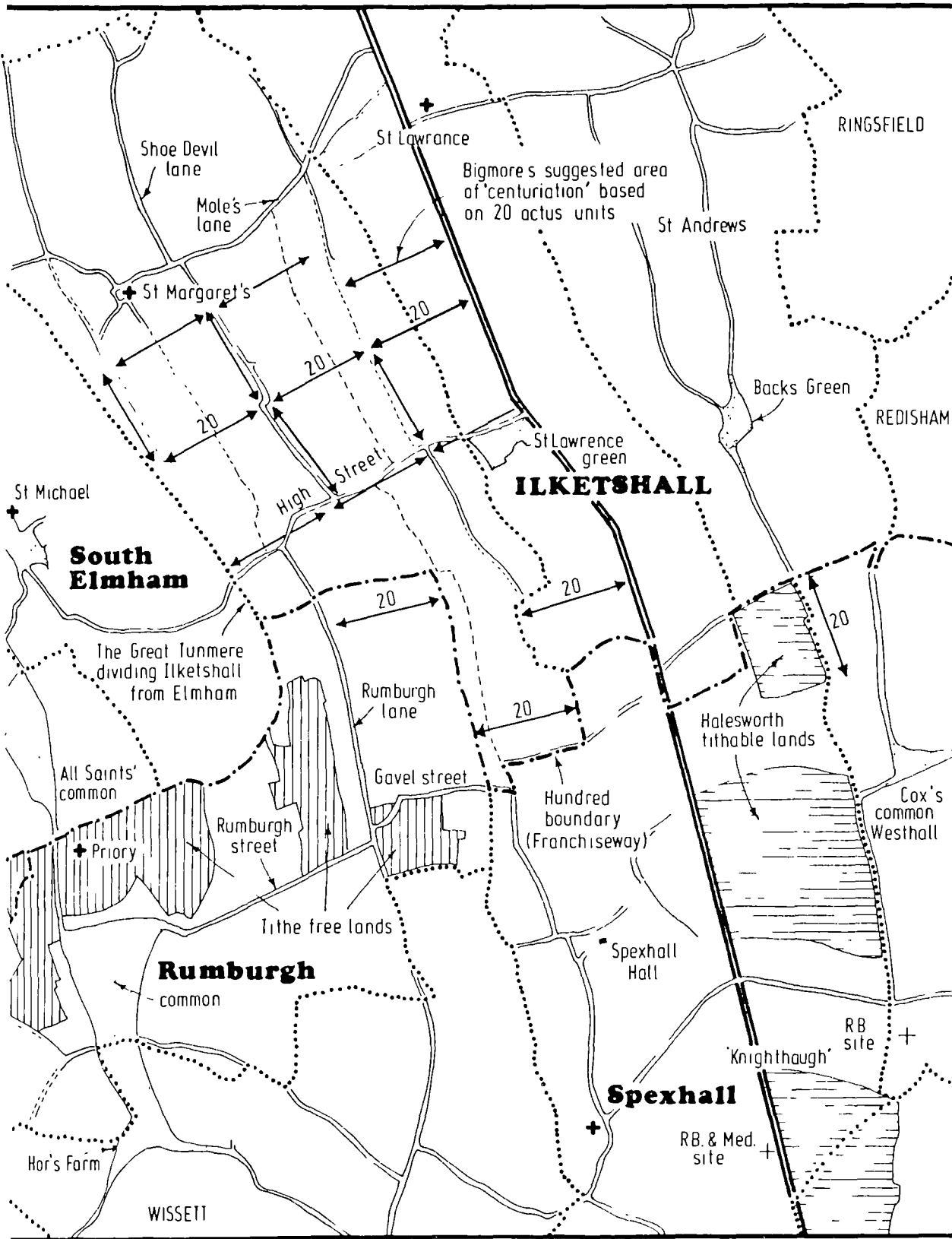


Figure 15. 'Centuriation' in Ilketshall.

the preservation of some common land boundaries, or green ditches, themselves the fragmentary remains of ancient estate boundaries - of Roman, or even pre-Roman origin. Later on, in the late Saxon and early medieval period, these clayland areas were characterised by late recolonisation, with the development of secondary green-side settlement on the edges of the commons.⁵

In one of these clayland areas, on the hundred boundary at Ilketshall, a remarkable regular field system was noticed by P.G.Bigmore in 1973 and described by him as an area of surviving Roman Centuriation.⁶ As the title of his thesis suggests, he explained its survival in terms of continuity of use, but because this field system is so obviously in a clay upland area of late medieval colonisation, partly spanning the hundred boundary, Bigmore's theories have not been widely accepted.⁷ It was generally supposed that the survival of such a large area of 'Roman' fields necessarily implied continuity of arable husbandry, which seems unlikely in this area. In 1973 it was not appreciated by Bigmore that the ancient boundary of Halesworth parish extended up to Ilketshall and that it included detached rectangular blocks of land close to his hypothetical areas of centuriation, nearly corresponding with his proposed system of 'acta' measurements. This point is illustrated in Figure 15. His argument would seem to have been greatly strengthened by this fact, but it would still have left unanswered the question about continuity of use.⁸

5. See Chapter VII Sec.3.

6. P.G.Bigmore 'Suffolk Settlement, a Study in Continuity' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester 1973, figs 31, 32.

7. Bigmore op.cit. fig.32. He outlines a plan of centuriation in the parishes of St Lawrence and St Margaret, Ilketshall, close to the Blything-Wainford Hundred boundary. The adjoining parishes of Spexhall and Westhall into which this same regular field pattern extends are not mentioned by name in the Domesday survey, but were probably part of Wissett and Bramfield respectively. Spexhall was probably a chapelry of Wissett and gives every impression of being a secondary dependent vill. The 'halla' place-name endings of Spexhall, Westhall and Ilketshall all suggest secondary settlement, meaning a nook or corner of some larger primary area. (Gelling op.cit. p.97.) For the evidence for early woodland in Spexhall and the northern extension of Halesworth parish, see Chapter VII section 10.

8. More widely accepted theories of Roman centuriation have been published using a combination of grid plan measurements coinciding with property boundaries, fields and roads, particularly at Cliffe in Kent; at Ripe in Sussex and elsewhere.

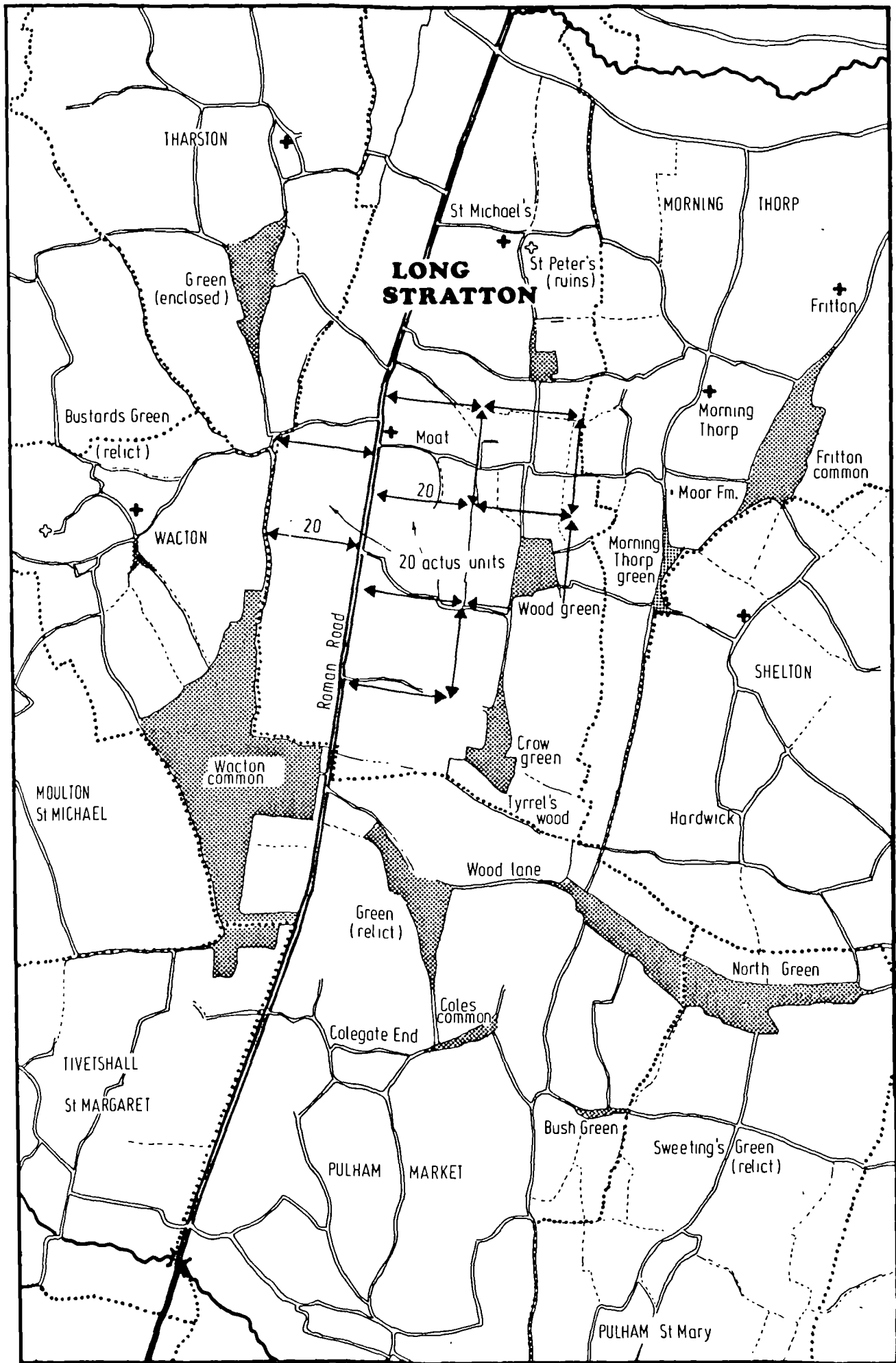
M.Nightingale & C.E.Stevens 'A Roman Land Settlement near Rochester' Archaeologia Cantiana LXV, 1952 pp.150-9; G.Ward 'A Roman Colony at Brancaster' Norfolk & Norwich Archaeological Society XXV, 1935 p.373; A.R.H.Baker and R.A.Butlin Studies in Field Systems in the British Isles 1973 pp.360, 398-9; F.Haverfield 'Centuriation in Roman Britain' Eng.Hist.Rev. XXXIII, 1918 pp.290-6; A.H.E.W. I(ii) pp.43, 97-102; I.D.Margary 'Roman Centuriation at Ripe' Sussex Archaeological Collections LXXXI, 1940 pp.31-41; J.S.Moore Laughton: A Study in the Evolution of the Wealden Landscape 1965.

In chapter VI. section 6. of this thesis it is suggested that this area to the north of Halesworth, which included parts of old Halesworth parish, was in fact covered by pannage forest in the early medieval period, and that this had overgrown at least two important Roman sites on the clay upland at Westhall and Spexhall, demonstrating that this area of supposed centuriation was in fact one of settlement discontinuity.

At Long Stratton in Norfolk (Fig.16) a very similar regular field system to that at Ilketshall coincides likewise with a Roman road and is also bounded by a most unusual angular system of greens and commons. It too lies in a woodland area where medieval secondary settlement was established bordering the clayland commons.⁹.

What we see here are perhaps large areas of late Roman arable regression, a one-time abandoned landscape, partly reverted to common grazing and woodland, with the salient features, the Roman roads, the associated regular Roman field system, and the pre-Roman curvilinear estate boundaries all surviving, in outline, and being reused in the subsequent period of settlement expansion in the late Saxon and early medieval period. The commons, being on the most intractable clay, represent the wastes between early estates; grazing rights over these commons may have persisted into the post-Roman period long after the estates bordering the claylands had reverted to wood.¹⁰ Some of the woods bordering the commons were probably split up into regular blocks of land and exploited as private pannages, in the same way as they were in the area between Halesworth and Ilketshall in Blything Hundred in the eleventh century.¹¹ It is possible that these blocks of pannage woodland followed the line of abandoned Roman 'centuriated' fields. The Roman roads and some of the wasteland boundaries have thus been preserved and fossilised during a period of arable discontinuity.¹² Such areas of arable discontinuity would appear

9. O.Rackham Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape 1976 p.139.
10. J.E.A.Jolliffe 'Northumbrian Institutions' Eng.Hist Rev. 41, 1926 pp.1-42; W.E.Rees 'Survivals of Ancient Celtic Custom in Medieval England' in Angles and Britons J.R.Tolkein et.al.(Eds) 1963 pp.154-61. While common rights survived in the north and west, there is no proof that they survived in the remoter parts of East Anglia.
11. Chapter VI Sec. 5.
12. Field monuments in the primary arable areas do not last long, while the best preserved field systems, be they prehistoric or Roman, are to be found in the upland and moorland areas which later agriculturalists failed to cultivate except as outfield or brecks. The real problem confronting archaeologists and landscape historians lies in trying to prove that the best arable land was also cultivated in prehistoric and Roman times. This can probably only be done through environmental evidence, by analysing biological remains found in buried soils and peat deposits. See for example, M.A.Robinson 'The Effects of Man in the Upper Thames Valley' in Limbrey & Evans et al., op.cit. pp.35-43.



20 actus = 776 yards

Figure 16. 'Centuriation' at Long Stratton, Norfolk.

to be very extensive on the clay plateau; the implications for the date of some boundary ditches bordering the clay commons is therefore of considerable interest, but these and the nature of the early medieval pannage woodland will be discussed in a later section of the thesis.^{13.}

5. The Focus of Roman Settlement

The scattered early farmstead sites can be contrasted with one or two 'central' settlement complexes, sites such as Wenhaston, Reydon, Darsham, Knodishall and possibly one unlocated in the Peasenhall area.^{1.} These sites produce similar material to the better farmstead sites, but their occupation area is more extensive, they are more wealthy in the number and quality of their artifacts, and they have a longer life extending into the late Roman period. In addition to the Samian wares and local grey wares, they produce a few 'luxury' items: some small fibulae brooches, a number of coins dating from the first to the fourth centuries, and the occasional piece of glass.^{2.} In addition they produce more sophisticated building material in greater quantities, including box-flue and hypocaust tiles. At Wenhaston, in the centre of Blything Hundred, this type of material is scattered over a wide area, but seems to be concentrated on four or five separate sites, suggesting a loose linear village of prosperous farms perhaps spread out along a road or lane, which has since disappeared. There is no surviving evidence for Roman defences at Wenhaston, but it seems likely that there were still some visible remains left in the sixteenth century, which were recorded in a second-hand report by Leland.^{3.}

'Mr Hopton of Blythburgh /Sir Arthur Hopton of Westwood Lodge/ told me that there appeare at a little village caullid Wenhestun about half a mile above Blithburg on the same side of the riye that Blithburg is on certain dikes and tokins wher sum great notable place.'

In common with other Roman 'villages' in East Anglia, Wenhaston has the remains of some industrial activity, but without excavation its purpose and date cannot be ascertained.^{4.} The settlements at Darsham, Reydon and

13. Chapter VI Sec.5; Chapter VII Sec.3.

1. No Roman site has yet been found in the Peasenhall area, although several Roman roads converge on the area of the modern village. Some medieval field-names in Peasenhall might be suggestive of Roman remains, for example, 'le Stonheg', 'Tylhous', and 'Tilehouse Croft' S.A.E. p.52, 59.

2. Moore op.cit. pp. 172-9.

3. Leland's Itinerary Part IV fol.43. See also Sec.7 note 7 below.

4. C.E.Stevens 'The Social and Economic Aspects of Rural Settlement' in Rural Settlement in Roman Britain C.Thomas (Ed.) C.B.A. Report No. 7 1966 p.122.

Knodishall are smaller than Wenhaston, but nonetheless larger than most of the early farmstead sites. They are notable for the quantity of roof tiles, which can be clearly seen, scattered over several acres.

6. The Late Roman Period

At some time in the third century a series of profound and lasting changes in the settlement pattern took place. All the smaller, more isolated, farmstead sites both on the clay as well as on the valley gravels were abandoned and there is little evidence of late Roman activity over large areas of the hundred, where many small farms had once prospered in the first and second centuries. On the other hand, the central clustered settlements, particularly Wenhaston, continued to thrive. These 'villages', for want of a better term, produce no shortage of late Roman material and, to judge from the fine fourth century coins from Wenhaston, they seem to have enjoyed some degree of prosperity. An approximate date for this extraordinary contraction of settlement is provided by one or two 'barbarate radiate' coins found on a few of the isolated farms and the complete absence of late Roman pottery commonly found at Wenhaston and one or two other sites.¹ The reasons for this apparently dramatic change may well be more complex and less sudden than the archaeological evidence itself would suggest. The general lack of coins and the lack of other dateable material from the vast majority of sites place the burden of chronology on the stylistically nondescript local pottery, for which only very broad dates can be suggested. Late Roman pottery, both imported and locally made, comparable to Castor ware and Neane valley types are largely absent from the outlying farms, but are commonly found in the central settlements.

Economic and political chaos in Britain during the middle years of the third century, may be in some way related to a contraction of settlement at this time.²

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1. Recognisable 'barbarate radiate' coins come from isolated farmstead sites in the Blyth valley at Blyford TM.413577, & Thorington TM.41357295.
 2. S.Frere Britannia 1974 p.215: 'It was very probable, in the period 268-82, that the threat of Saxon sea raiders first became acute.' A spectacular rise in the number of coin hoards is apparent at this time. See S.Johnson The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore 1976 fig.2. (Coin hoards AD.270-285). The Saxon Shore Forts at Burgh, Brancaster and Reculver were all started before 282 AD. in the reign of Probus.

In the second half of the third century East Anglia and the south-east took on the aspect of a military frontier, with the first forts of the 'Saxon Shore' being constructed in response to coastal raiding.³ The coin series for Burgh Castle starts in the 250's, with the bulk of the coins suggesting continuous occupation from the late third century up to the beginning of the fifth.⁴ Because of coastal erosion, no reliable, comparable coin series can be constructed for the lost Walton shore fort, except to say that late third and fourth century occupation seems likely.⁵ Suggestions that another fort once existed at Dunwich cannot be supported by comparable archaeological evidence although the possibility cannot be entirely ruled out.⁶ It is well known that these shore forts were connected by signal stations and beacons along the coast at the time of the fourth century reconstructions of Theodosius.⁷ In this respect the place name of Leiston, possibly meaning 'fire-tun', should be noted, but no remains have yet been found to suggest late Roman activity in the area.⁸ Roman shore forts generally leave no trace of sophisticated road systems commonly found serving earlier military and urban centres.⁹ It is generally supposed that these forts were served from the sea, or that adequate inland communications already existed. However Burgh Castle and Brancaster are unusual in that, according to the Notitia Dignitatum, units of Cavalry were stationed there in the late fourth century.

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3. D.A.White Litus Saxonicum: the British Saxon Shore in Scholarship and History 1961 p.29-30, he suggests the alternative view that some Saxon shore forts might have been built to defend Britain from Maximian at the time of the British separatist movement under Carausius and Allectus. But this cannot have been the original function of Burgh Castle, Brancaster and Reculver. (See note 2 above).
 4. A.J.Morris 'The Saxon Shore Fort at Burgh Castle' P.S.I.A. XXIV(iii) 1948 pp.112-3 fig.5 & coin list.
 5. However, see Moore op.cit. p.173. Coins from Felixstowe include 23 first century, 55 second century, 99 third century and 240 fourth century coins in private collections.
 6. Johnson op.cit. p.19 & 67. This suggestion is based on the mistaken belief that Dunwich is the site of Sitomagus mentioned in the Ptolemy's Table and other late Roman Itineraries. Evidence of Roman occupation at Dunwich is meagre, no greater than some of the surrounding parishes, there is certainly no coin series to suggest late Roman occupation on a large scale. A ninth century copy of Bede mentions 'Dommocceaster' and B.C.S., 845-70 mentions 'Dommuciae civitatis', but no corresponding fort appears in the Notitia. See Chapter IV Sec.2 note 24.
 7. Johnson op.cit. p.151.
 8. Ledestuna, Leistuna DB. Ekwall A personal name is another possible interpretation. In Blything Hundred beacons were maintained during the medieval period at Eye Cliff, Southwold, and at Cachecliff near Dunwich, the latter was kept in repair by the Hundred of Hoxne. See Gardner p.117, 188.
 9. Johnson op.cit. unfortunately does not discuss roads leading to shore forts.

While there may be some discrepancy between the historic name and the actual function of some army units in the fourth century, it might be an indication that hostilities on both land and sea were expected, particularly on the more exposed coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk. Perhaps the early Saxon raiders had already gained a foothold in the area, making life intolerable for the indigenous farming population.^{10.}

In contrast with other parts of the country very few new fourth century sites have been discovered.^{11.} The older centres such as Wenhaston do not appear to have expanded significantly at this time. The evidence all points towards large-scale desertion of the more exposed and isolated early Roman farms without any corresponding expansion in other places. At the beginning of the fifth century a sign of further unrest comes in the form of several large coin hoards, perhaps signalling the departure of the Roman army.^{12.}

10. The Equites Dalmatarum Branoduuensium at Brancaster and the Equites Stablesianorum Gariannonensium at Burgh both include place-names in their titles, implying that the units had become established at their forts long before 369AD., the supposed date of the Notitia. See Johnson op.cit. p.69.
11. Applebaum, writing in the A.H.E.W. Vol.I(ii) p.26, mentions 'immigrant capitalists' in Suffolk in the early third century. This was inferred from the abandonment of some farms at that time and some occupation beginning on new sites. No evidence to support this can be found in Blything Hundred. The intrusive Barrow burial custom, an example of which has been tentatively suggested already in this chapter, had its origins in the Low countries and makes its appearance in East Anglia in the first to mid-second century. None, with the possible exception of Eastlow Hill, Rougham, is later than the second century. See G.C.Dunning 'Roman Barrow Burials' Antiquity X, 1936 pp.37-49. See also above. Sec.5. note 2.
12. Moore op.cit. p.174-5. Some important late Roman coin hoards have been found at Little Bealings, Eye (600 gold coins), Icklingham, Orfordness and Tuddenham St Mary, (where the latest coins were all of Honorius) and Sutton, (where the latest coin was of Theodosius); V.C.H. Suffolk Vol.I 1907 p.300 also mentions coins of the lower Empire in large quantities between Aldeburgh and Orford. The two gold coins of Honorius from Blythburgh are said to have been extremely worn, and are therefore more likely to have been lost or deposited during the Saxon period. See also section following.

7. The Pagan Saxon Period

No county can boast more archaeological evidence for the pagan Saxon period than Suffolk, but nowhere else does the evidence present a more incomprehensible contrast between the magnificence of the royal cemetery at Sutton Hoo and the squalor of village life at West Stow.¹ It is in the nature of archaeological interpretation that it is likely to flounder when dealing with migrating, shiftless and de-stabilised cultures. Archaeology flourishes on land-based materialistic societies and long established cultures with stable economies and regular habits.

The evidence for the continuity of Romano-British enclaves in the post-Roman period in East Suffolk rests entirely on place-names, but their frequent association with known centres of late Roman activity is nonetheless convincing. The name of Walton, connected with the late Roman shore fort suggests some overlap of Saxon settlement and Roman occupation on the southern Sandling.² The presence of a pagan Saxon cremation cemetery just outside the walls of Burgh Castle suggests a brief cultural overlap even though the coin series for Burgh does not extend beyond Honorius.³ The 'wic' element of Wickham Market has been commented upon as a possible Latin loan-word survival by Margaret Gelling.⁴ The same element may also be recorded in the name of the five and a half hundreds of Wicklaw, which once met at a moot site close to the late Roman settlement of Hacheston.⁵ In Blything

1. R.Bruce Mitford et al. The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial 1976 Vol.I; S.E.West 'Interim Report on the Excavations at West Stow' Med.Arch. XIII, 1969 pp.1-20.
2. K.Cameron 'The Meaning and Significance of Old English 'Walh' in English Place-Names' English Place-Name Society Journal 12, 1980 pp.1-46.
3. A.J.Morris 'The Saxon Shore Fort at Burgh Castle' P.S.I.A. XXIV(iii) 1948 pp.116-8.
4. Gelling op.cit. p.76-85, also 'Latin Loan-Words in Old English Place-Names' Anglo-Saxon England 6, 1977 pp.1-14.
5. See Chapter V Sec.2 note 18 ; For late Roman Hacheston see 'The Native Towns of Roman Britain' in Current Archaeology 52, 1976 (Sept.1975) pp.134-8; P.S.I.A. XXXIII(ii) 1974 p.216.

Hundred, the early recorded name of Bulcamp may also be a Latin survival; a local tradition has it that the original Blything Hundred meeting place was at one time on Bulcamp Hill, but this is not authenticated.⁶ This otherwise insignificant hamlet of Blythburgh forms an interesting link between the hundred capital and the late Roman settlement at neighbouring Wenhaston.⁷ Walpole may also have been a sub-Roman enclave, the interpretation by Ekwall as the 'Pool of the British' certainly fits the topography well,⁸ where the church at Walpole stands high above a steeply undercut river bank, formed by an ancient meander of the river. In winter time a large pool sometimes forms below the church in the depression left by the oxbow. However, no sherds of late Roman pottery have yet been found in the area of the church and it is possible that the first element in Walpole

6. J.Becker Essay on the Village of Blythburgh 1935 p.9 ; Gelling 1978 op.cit. pp.76-86.
7. The battle of Bulcamp, like other Anglo-Saxon battles such as Winweard and Maldon, may well have been fought at the river crossing just below Blythburgh church at the old site of 'Kampisbrigge', close to the Royal 'Burh' of Blythburgh. However local traditions point to several other places within the hamlet of Bulcamp, which is generally thought to be all that part of Blythburgh parish north of the River. 'Battles Low Ground' appears on the modern O.S. map at TM.452767, but is absent from earlier maps, particularly the important Henham estate map for 1699, where the area is called 'Lower Park Meadows'. (see Fig.8.) Gardiner, writing in 1754, speaks of 'a prevailing traditon current in those parts' of the death of King Anna in Bulcamp Wood. This tradition may be the cause of renaming the park meadows, in the eighteenth century. The missing Domesday vill of 'Varley' or 'Warsley' could possibly have been in the western half of Bulcamp and, if interpreted as the 'War clearing', could lend credence to this story. No precise location for Varley has yet been found, but Bulcamp Wood is recorded in the late 12th century adjoining Syremoor at TM.4476 (B.P.C. 66, 74-5). Leland, in the passage concerning Wenhaston already mentioned (Sec.5 note 3.) goes on to say 'Sum say that the castelle and abbey that Bede spekith of was on the farther side of Blythe, wher a creke cummith yn a mile from Dunewiche, and about a mile and a half from Blietheburgh at a place caullidhille wher yet appere dichis and hilles. wherof one is notable: and this is more likely to be the place that Bede spekith of.' This must be 'Stonehill Castle' marked as a circular wood on the first series O.S. map, at TM.47157270, and mentioned as 'Stonhill Mount' on 'Castle Heath' in the 1463 Wenhaston Extent. (IRO., HA30:372/2.fol.87.) This site and Blythburgh are the most likely positions where Saxon defensive earthworks might yet be found.
8. Walepola DB. Ekwall.

means simply the wall or natural cliff, above the pool, upon which the church now stands. A steep hill of this kind would have been the cause of comment in this area of shallow relief.

There are no recorded pagan Saxon cemeteries from Blything Hundred, or none that have been recorded reliably.⁹ However, a large barrow group at Knodishall is said to have produced 'Iron Age or Anglo-Saxon' pottery, which may well have been a plain Saxon burial urn; barrow burials of the Iron Age are exceptionally rare. This site lies close to the Saxon ship-burial and urn cemetery at Snape in the neighbouring hundred of Plomesgate.¹⁰

Spectacular finds of national importance have been found in princely pagan Saxon cemeteries along the whole length of the Suffolk coast either side of Blything Hundred. Many of the records of these finds are obscure, like the ship-burial found at Ashby in 1830,¹¹ and the Visigothic coin from a barrow at Pakefield,¹² more common-place pagan Saxon grave goods come from Lound near Lowestoft.¹³ All these sites lie in Mutford and Lothingland half

9. A. Page Supplement to the Suffolk Traveller 1844 p.226 'Dunwich... a pot or urn, of about a quart measure, was taken out of the cliff ... about five feet below the surface of the earth in 1786. Many others of similar and different make were found at the same time, filled with ashes, bones etc.' The source for this oft-quoted statement probably comes from The Gentlemans Magazine 1788 p.792 Plate III fig.D, which shows a medieval jug with handle and pinched base.; Fox op.cit., p.141 ; & A.J., XV 1858 p.155 'in various places in the face of the cliff, within 5 feet of the top I observed numerous pieces of coarse pottery... some... were... of Roman manufacture, while other fragments were perhaps Saxon.' Gardner p.95, describes the storm of 1740, which he probably witnessed, including the exposure of a church-yard associated with the chapel of St Francis, including 'a Stone Coffin vherin vere human Bones covered with Tiles.' The fragments of this coffin vere used to build Derring Bridge. See also G.G.Carter The Forgotten Ports of England 1951 pp.35-8, where this information has been elaborated upon.
10. See Sec.2 note 11 above.
11. R.Rainbird Clarke East Anglia 1960 p.133.
12. Bruce Mitford op.cit. p.663; E.A.M., 1910, 3,042., 'A barrow on Bloodmoor Hill was opened in 1768 and a skeleton with a gold "redal" with onyx setting hung round the neck'. The medal was in fact a Visigothic coin.
13. The Gentlemans Magazine 1788 Part II p.593, Plate III. Antiquities found at Warner's Hill Farm, Lound, in 1788, included a 'francesca', a 'hook', a 'Kentish buckle' and 'helmets', the latter vere presurably shield bosses.

hundreds to the north of Blything Hundred. To the south, the ship-burial at Snape, a later cemetery at Framlingham and possibly another at Parham continue the picture down the coast towards Sutton Hoo.¹⁴ A Merovingian gold coin from Aldeburgh, and another believed to be from Walton or Felixstowe, confirm the Dark Age continental contacts implied by the coins in the Sutton Hoo purse.¹⁵

From the Blythburgh area come two very worn fourth century gold solidii.¹⁶ Within the village, 'rude Roman urns' are said to have been found when houses were being cleared after a disastrous fire in the 17th century.¹⁷ In Dunwich Museum there is a single very worn Saxon disc brooch with the characteristic East Anglian 'backward biting beast' design, which was probably found on the beach below the cliffs.¹⁸ In view of the wealth of finds from East Suffolk as a whole, not forgetting Sutton Hoo, we must assume that the pagan Saxon cemeteries in Blything Hundred have yet to be found. We know that at least one East Anglian king was buried at Blythburgh in the early Christian period, so possibly the mounds between Blythburgh and Dunwich could indeed be 'the place that Bede spekith of', described by Leland.¹⁹

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14. G.M.Knocker 'Excavations at Framlingham Castle' P.S.I.A. XXVI(i) 1958 pp.65-88 ; Kirby p.125 Parham, 'in a gravel pit in a field called Friars Close, a skeleton of a man with an urn and a spear'.
15. W.S.Fitch 'On a Merovingian Coin found at Aldburgh' J.B.A.A. I, 1843 p.258. (The coin was mounted as a signet ring.); S.E.Rigold 'Further Evidence about the site of Dommoc' J.B.A.A. 37, 1974 p.97.
16. Two reports by Mr Page, (presumably A.Page, author of 'Supplement to the Suffolk Traveler') are entered in the A.J. XXXII 1875. That on page 327 corrects the one entered in error on page 251. 'two gold Roman coins one being of Honorius (393-423 AD.) an armlet and fibula of bronze found near Blythburgh' The first report says that the precise date of the coins was uncertain owing to their condition; 'the armlet perfect, about four inches in diameter with longitudinal lines in the centre portion, crossed near the ends, which are simply rounded off. The fibula bow-shaped, having a bulbous body, with four facets, the facets scoured with diagonal lines.'
17. Fox op.cit. p.135 quotes from Magna Britannia 1730 V. p.193 ; Suckling Vol.II p.143 says that about two years after the fire of 1676, labourers digging up some old foundations 'discovered several Roman urns and coins which are the only relics connected with the people /Romans/ yet found here.'
18. N.Smedley & E.Owles 'Some Anglo Saxon Animal Brooches from the collections in the museums of Dunwich and Ipswich.' P.S.I.A.XXX(ii) 1965 pp.166-174.
19. For Leland extract see note 7 above; Rev.J.B.Mackinlay St Edmund King and Martyr 1893 p.16, He probably misquotes from Suckling Vol.II, p.141. when he says that the tomb of Anna was 'still pointed out in the north aisle of the neighbouring church of Broad'. He probably means Blythburgh Holy Trinity, being neighbour to the Priory, he is generally a most unreliable source, no explanation can so far be found for his reference to the 'church of Broad'. It is probably a misprint.

As yet, we have no evidence for a mass influx of Anglo-Saxon peasants into Blything Hundred, or into East Suffolk as a whole. The relatively few, in some cases splendidly rich, Anglo-Saxon cemeteries dotted along the East Suffolk coast suggest a princely aristocratic power, probably of Swedish ancestry,²⁰ with relatively few followers. However, it must not be forgotten that there are a number of minor graves and cremation urns at Pakefield, Lound, Snape and even at Sutton Hoo itself. Such an aristocratic bias in the sepulchral evidence is in contrast with the very large number of extensive cemeteries, some admittedly with rich graves in them, found in West Suffolk, particularly in the Lark Valley.²¹ The rather patchy nature of the cemetery evidence, even within kingdoms, with some areas producing fewer but richer graves than others, is beginning to be recognised by some archaeologists, and this may in turn lead to a reassessment of the evidence for settlement continuity.

A case in point is the cemetery evidence for the Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia. In 1977, Margaret Faull put forward a case for British survival, where there was some evidence to suggest that certain anomalous graves in pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries might be the remnants of a residual British population, 'who had adopted the Anglo-Saxon material culture while retaining their British traditions.'²² Here too, she observed the survival of Latin loan-words such as 'Wykeham', indicating a cultural overlap, but she also suggested that the graves were poor and indicated an Anglo-Saxon 'subsistence economy'.²³

A more recent reassessment of the cemetery material made by Leslie Alcock concluded that the Bernician graves 'though scant in number, are rich in quality compared to those of Wessex.'²⁴ The inference now being that the

20. R.Bruce-Mitford The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial: A Handbook 1972 pp.80-3.

21. B.Green et.al. 'The Illington/Lackford Workshop' in Angles, Saxons and Jutes: Studies Presented to J.N.L.Myres V.Evison (Ed.) 1981 p.188.

22. M.Faull 'British Survival in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria' in Studies in Celtic Survival L.R.Laing (Ed.) B.A.R. 37, 1977 p.9.

23. Faull op.cit. p.2.

24. L.Alcock 'Quality or Quantity: the Anglian Graves in Bernicia' in V.Evison (Ed.) op.cit. p.175.

high level of British survival in that part of Northumbria was due, not to the impoverished nature of Anglo-Saxon settlement, but rather to a relatively peaceful takeover of power by an Anglo-Saxon aristocratic minority. This takeover came relatively late, but was complete by the third quarter of the sixth century.²⁵ It had been preceded by a more intensive fifth century settlement of peasant farmers in the kingdom of Deira, where large primary Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are found in the Vale of Pickering. Expansion out of this area into the North Wolds and west towards York and Malton took place in the sixth century.²⁶ In Bernicia it would seem that the major British defensive works and administrative centres, such as the ancient Votadinian hill fort at Yeavinger and the 'pre-Anglian "din" or fort' at Bamburgh, were taken over as the principal 'villa^e regia^e' of the incoming Anglo-Saxons.²⁷ Furthermore, archaeological evidence points towards some trace of British influence at the new royal palace of Yeavinger, suggesting an acceptance of certain aspects of British culture at the highest level.²⁸

The parallel with East Anglia, and with Suffolk in particular is an interesting one. It seems likely on the basis of the present evidence that in East Suffolk we have an area comparable with Bernicia, both being part of larger kingdoms, and both being apparently subject to an aristocratic take-over of power without any large-scale mass migration of Saxon settlers. The take-over of East Suffolk may have been preceded by a mass migration of Anglo-Saxon peasant farmers into West Suffolk, where the main areas of primary settlement would seem to be concentrated. The most likely date for the take-over of East Suffolk is dependent on the arrival of the Wuffingas, the East Anglian royal house, with their distant Swedish background. Their early genealogy is fraught with chronological difficulties, but it is unlikely that they were a power in the East Anglian kingdom much before the middle of the sixth century.²⁹ We thus have a relatively late arrival of Anglo-Saxon power to the Blything Hundred area and by inference the long term survival and integration of a residual British populace, evidenced in the survival of Latin loan-words such as Wickham and Bulcamp, and also by the retention of ancient administrative boundaries such as the watershed area of Blything Hundred itself, a point which will receive more detailed attention in Chapter V.

25. Alcock op.cit. p.168.

26. Faull op.cit. pp.2-3.

27. Alcock op.cit. p.179.

28. Ibid.

29. F.M.Stenton 'The East Anglian Kings of the Seventh Century' in The Anglo-Saxons : Studies presented to Bruce Dickins P.Clemoes (Ed.) 1959 pp.43-52. F.M.Stenton Anglo-Saxon England 3rd edn 1971 pp.50-53.



Plate 12

The valley gravels at Wissett. Ancient farmsteads stand in similar positions dotted along the valley slopes. These soils have probably been in continuous cultivation since prehistoric times. A small Romano-British farmstead site lies in the middle of the dark field with the round corner on the right hand side of the picture. In that same round corner, higher up the hill, is a deserted medieval farmstead site. This farmstead completes the valley settlement pattern by standing equidistant from its neighbours on the same slope and may well have replaced its Roman predecessor, although there is no direct evidence for settlement continuity.

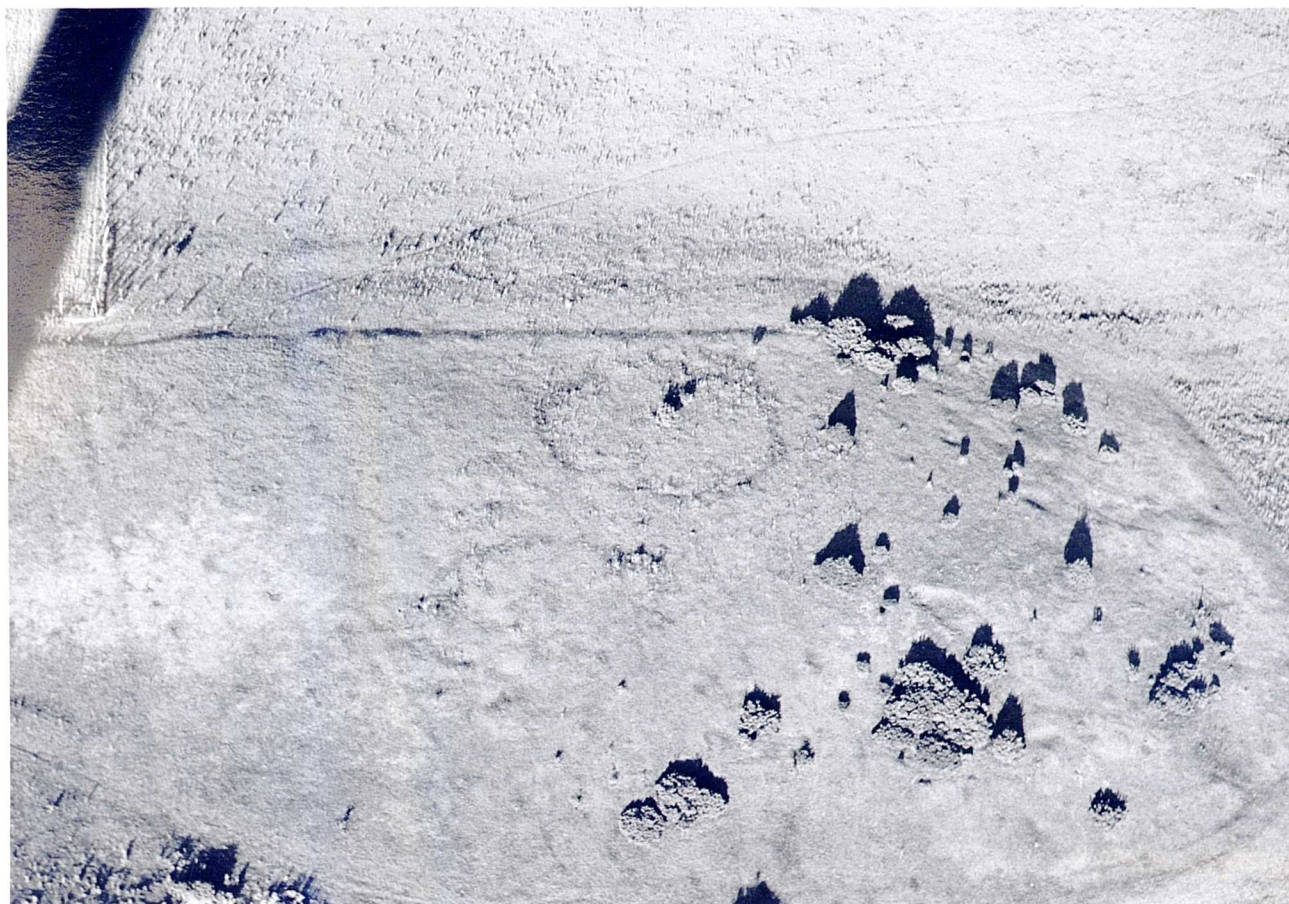


Plate 13

An unusual survival of upstanding ring-ditches on heathland at Reydon. There is no trace here of a central mound. Photographed in low oblique evening light.



Plate 14

The rock-stone, Cookley. A large glacial erratic now broken into several pieces, it is said to have once been 6-8 feet high. The name was applied to Rockstone Manor in Cookley, suggesting that the stone was already a landmark in early medieval times.

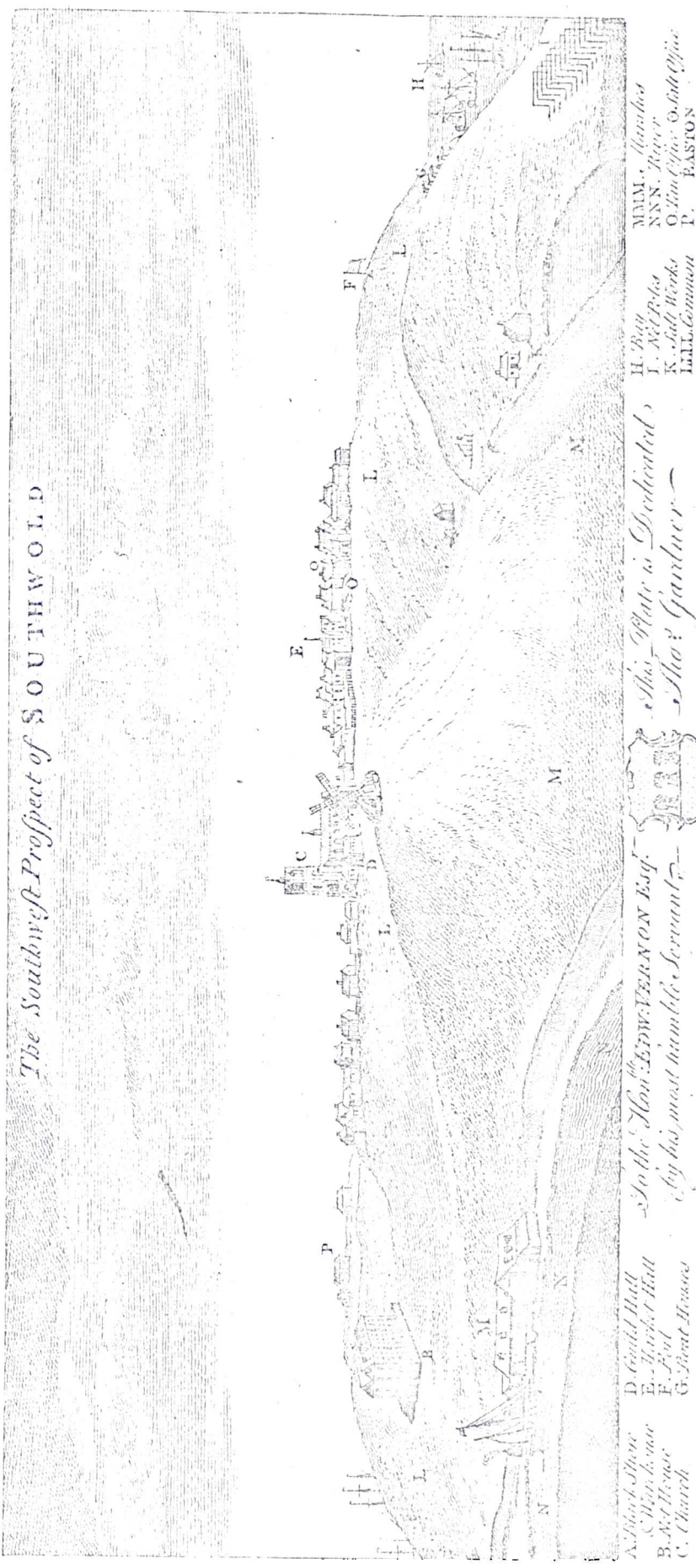


Plate 15

Gardner's prospect of Southwold, showing the saltworks, nethouse and buildings associated with the Free British Fishery of 1750. The mast tops of ships moored in Buss Creek beside the Woods End ship-yards can be seen on the extreme left. The 'Fort', or gun emplacement on the cliff top was probably on the site of an earlier earthwork. Here the 'Fair-y Rings', prehistoric ring ditches, could still be seen.

1. The pre-Viking Background

The medieval churches of Suffolk are renowned for their architectural splendours and their often remote positions in the landscape. Much has been written about the minutiae^e of church structure and content, but little thought has been given to the significance of churches as settlement indicators.¹ Without doubt they record, to a greater or lesser extent, the fortunes of parishioners, generation after generation, laid down layer upon layer, in numerous alterations, additions and subtractions to the fabric of these epicentres of settlement.² It is here that community, economy and landscape meet in an architectural flourish.

In fact, the surviving church structure tells only half the story of the local settlement history; there are no certain architectural remains, incorporated in upstanding churches earlier than the ninth century in Blything Hundred. However, the first documentary evidence for missionary activity comes in the early seventh century;³ churches were probably established at Dunwich and Blythburgh by the mid-seventh century. There is no real evidence either documentary or archaeological for church building in the Hundred between the late seventh century and the Domesday survey of 1086, and yet by that date almost the full complement of parish churches had appeared.⁴ During the course of this chapter an attempt will be made to trace the development of church building from the advent of the major minsters in the area during the seventh century, through the establishment of mother churches and their offspring within the ancient minsterlands, to the subsequent alterations and changes to parochial territories in the early medieval period,

1. H.M.Cautley Suffolk Churches and their Treasures 1937 4th edn 1975 ; A.V.Steward (Ed.) A Suffolk Bibliography S.R.S.20, 1979 pp.116-20.
2. P.V.Addyman & R.K.Morris The Archaeological Study of Churches C.B.A. Report No.13 1976; W.Rodwell The Archaeology of the English Church 1981 pp. 105-30.
3. Bede II.15.
4. See Sec.4 notes 1 & 2 below.

but first the documentary history for the pre-Viking Age church in Blything Hundred must be summarised.

The early days of Christianity in East Anglia were troubled indeed. Redwald, the first Christian king, who was baptised in Kent, apostatised from the true faith and tried to serve both Christ and the ancient gods.⁵ His son, Earpwald, accepted Christianity and some attempt was made to convert the province during his reign in 625-627 AD.⁶ However, he was soon deposed and killed by a pagan named Ricbert and for three years the province lapsed into heathenism.⁷ At last, in 630 AD, Sigbert, brother of Earpwald, a man educated in Gaul with high Christian principles, came to the throne and the conversion of East Anglia began in earnest. Bede writes:

'Sigbert was a devout Christian and a man of learning, who had been an exile in Gaul during his brother's lifetime and was there converted to the Christian faith, so that when he began his reign he laboured to bring about the conversion of his whole realm. In this enterprise he was assisted by Bishop Felix, who came to Archbishop Honorius from the Burgundian region His episcopal see was established at Domnoc /Dunwich/ 8. and after ruling the province for seventeen years, he ended his days there in peace'. Bede also tells us that: 'when he /Sigbert/ returned home and became king, he wished to copy what he had seen well contrived in Gaul, and he was quick to found a school for the education of boys in the study of letters'.

This school was also probably at Dunwich.⁹ Sigbert and his kinsman Egric were killed together attempting to defend East Anglia against the heathen king Penda of Mercia in about 635 AD.,¹⁰ it is not known where this battle took place. During Sigbert's reign, 'a holy man named Fursey',¹¹ came from Ireland to build a monastery at Burgh Castle in about 633 AD. Subsequently:

'Anna, king of the province, and his nobles endowed the house with finer buildings and gifts.'¹²

5. Bede II.15.

6. The chronology of the early East Anglian Kings is fraught with difficulty, see M. Powicke & E.B. Fryde Handbook of British Chronology 1961 2nd edn.

7. Bede II.15.

8. Some doubt has been cast on the supposed site of 'Domnoc', see following section of this chapter.

9. Bede II.15 ; III.18n.

10. Bede III. 18 & 19. See also F.M.Stenton & P. Clemoes 'East Anglian Kings of the seventh century' in The Anglo Saxons, studies presented to Bruce Dickins P.Clemoes (Ed.) 1959 pp.43-52.

11. Bede III.19. See also D.Whitelock 'The Pre-Viking Age Church in East Anglia' Anglo-Saxon England I, 1972 pp.1-22.

12. Bede III.19.

'At this period, the province was again distressed by attacks of the heathen'. 13.

Not long afterwards, in 654 AD., King Anna and his son were killed at the Battle of Bulcamp by Penda at the head of a Mercian army. According to the *Historia Eliensis*, Anna was buried nearby in the church of Blythburgh, where his body was still venerated in the twelfth century.¹⁴ This fragmentary record, together with an incomplete list of Bishops of Dunwich from Felix to the division of the see in 673 AD., and afterwards up to 869 AD., forms the essential documentary history of the Pre-Viking age church in Blything Hundred.¹⁵ The extraordinary dearth of archaeological material for this period means that there is very little to add to this history.¹⁶

13. Bede III.19 'heathen' in this context probably means the attacks of Penda of Mercia. However, Whitelock *op.cit.* p.6, quoting from the 'Virtutes Fursei' says: 'the heathens heard of the approach of King Anna and were afraid. The monks were redeemed from captivity and the holy relics found' etc., this would suggest a sea-borne raid on Fursey's monastery at Burgh Castle possibly preceding the main Mercian attack in 654 AD.
14. Liber Eliensis p.18.
15. Whitelock 1972 *op.cit.* pp.20-22 ; D.Whitelock 'The Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw' Saga Book of the Viking Society XII 1945 pp.159-76 ; V.C.H. Suffolk Vol.I, 1907 Chapter 1 ; D.Whitelock (Ed.) English Historical Documents Vol.I, 2nd edn 1979 p.164. 'Botolph began to build the minster at Icanho' in the same year as Anna's death. It seems that the attacks of King Penda were not wholly disruptive to the Christian Church.
16. R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford 'Anglo-Saxon Suffolk' Arch.Jour. 108, 1951 pp.132-3. 'Although pre-Conquest Suffolk was one of the three wealthiest and most populous counties in England, there is, so far, an extraordinary dearth of archaeological material for the Christian period and the Viking Age in Suffolk.'

2. Dunwich and its See

The question mark surrounding Dunwich as the site of the first East Anglian See in the seventh century raises a host of archaeological problems which are unlikely to be solved now that the town has almost totally disappeared through coastal erosion.¹ However, certain points can be discussed which may help us to understand the nature of Saxon Dunwich, and possibly, its origins. The small number of Roman artifacts deposited in Dunwich Museum and recorded elsewhere over the years, may now be regarded in their true light; they represent nothing more than the type of artifact one might expect to be retrieved from small early Roman sites found throughout the hundred.² The distinctive road system leading into Dunwich (Fig. 16) bears little relation to the Roman road system of East Suffolk as recorded by Margery.³ Both these points suggest that Dunwich did not have any significant Roman antecedents, though doubtless there were several small settlements there. The speculations of early writers that Dunwich might be the site of the missing Roman town of 'Sitomagus', mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, plainly do not fit the facts and must be discounted.⁴

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1. For articles concerned with the Dunwich controversy see, S.E.Rigold 'The Supposed See of Dunwich' J.B.A.A. XXIV 3rd Ser. 1961 pp.55-9 ; Whitelock 1972 op.cit. p.4 n.2 ; S.E.Rigold 'Further Evidence about the site of Domnoc' J.B.A.A. XXVII 3rd Ser. 1974 p.97. In this article Rigold qualifies his argument 'we must admit that the documentary evidence, none of which is anywhere near contemporary, may not be enough to put the question to an issue in point of fact.'
 2. The 'Roman Standards' from Dunwich in Gardner Plate IV. Nos. 5,6,7 , are medieval purse swivels.
 3. I.D. Margery Roman Roads in Britain 1955, fig. 9, p.244. The date of roads leading into Dunwich remains uncertain, Gardner p.38-9 mentions 'King John's Road', said to lead from Dunwich to Bury St Edmunds.
 4. Sitomagus (Iter IX), see J.J.Raven The History of Suffolk 1907 pp.28-29 ; See also Suckling II p.231 ; V.C.H. Suffolk Vol.II,1911 p.2.

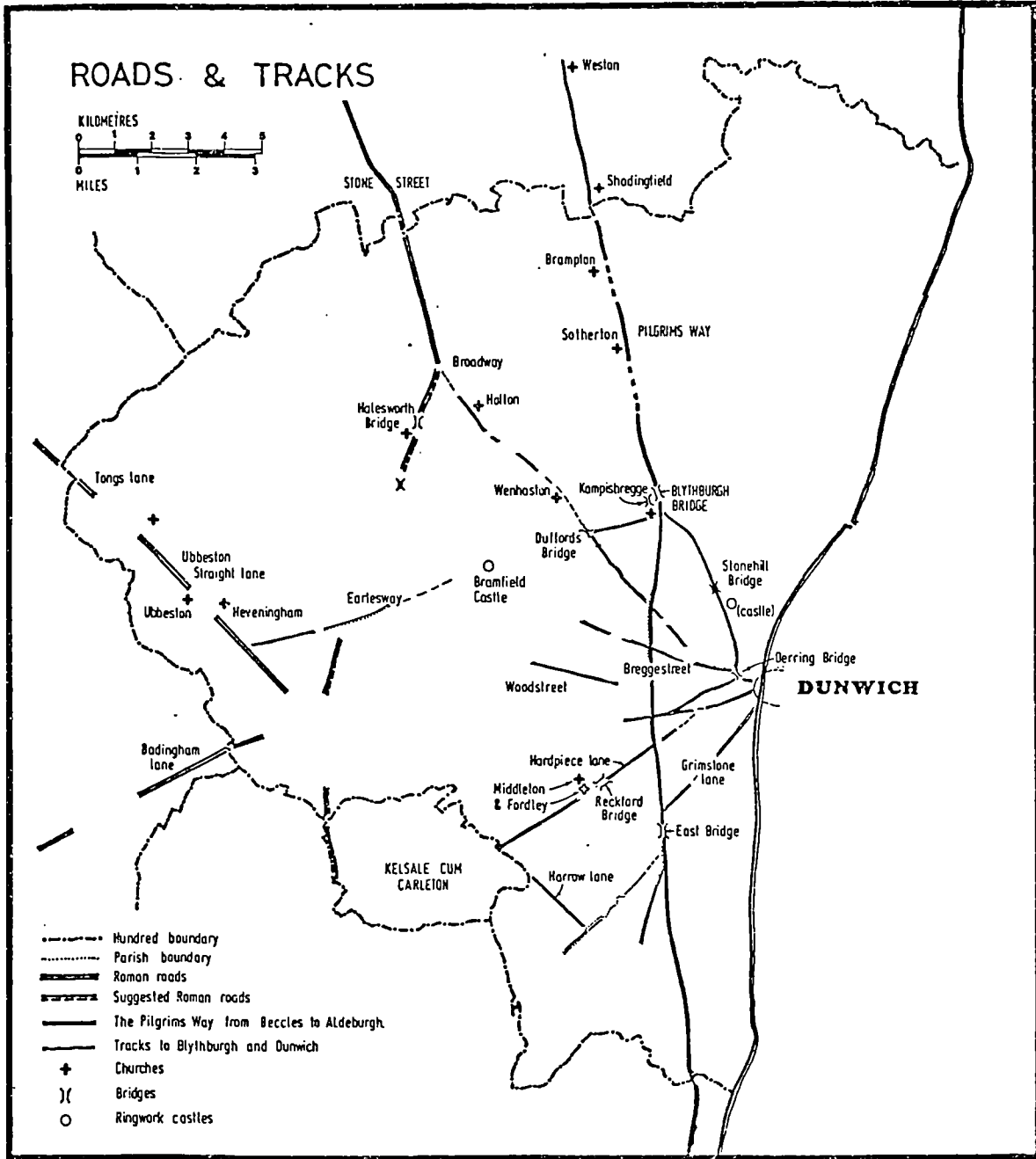


Figure 17.

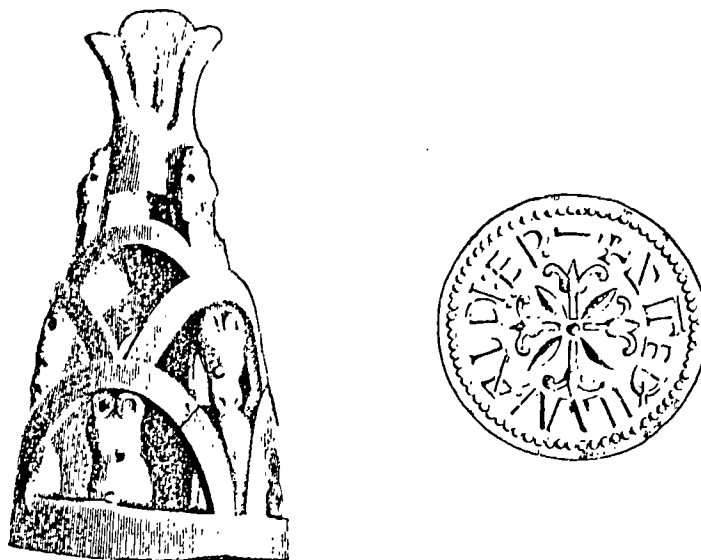
It seems likely that Dunwich forms one of a group of early Saxon trading centres which share the place-name ending 'wic'. These 'wics', such as Fordwich, Sandwich, Ipswich, Hamwih (Southampton) and their continental counterparts, Quentovic and Bardowick, share certain common characteristics. They all lie in riverine, coastal situations, perhaps where boats could be easily beached and trade conducted, and they appear to have a special relationship with royal centres further up-stream.⁵ They also appear to have no Roman antecedents, at least in so far as they do not occupy former Roman walled towns or shore-forts. The wics may have started out as minor coastal trading settlements, but they soon mushroomed into towns in the middle Saxon period.⁶ Dunwich has all the characteristics of an early Saxon 'wic'. As far as we can tell, it was not an important place in the Roman period, but it was clearly of some consequence by the time Felix established his See there in 630 AD.⁷ It was situated near the coast and, before the river altered its course in 1329, it lay at the mouth of the Blyth estuary where there was once a natural harbour or landing-place.

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5. R.Hodges Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade AD.600-1000 1982 pp.52-6, 181 ; M.Biddle 'Towns' in The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England D.Wilson (Ed.) 1977 Chapter 3, pp.112-4.
Examples at Ipswich and Hamwih have been extensively excavated, producing evidence of occupation from the seventh to the tenth centuries. Biddle observes the relationship between Hamwih and Winchester; the one a Royal ecclesiastical and ancient ceremonial capital, the other a bustling crowded commercial port. 'A comparable rationale may lie behind the appearance of other trading centres at this period in similar riverine and coastal situations.'; P.H.Sawyer 'Wics, Kings and Vikings' in T.Andersson & K.Sandred (Eds). The Vikings Uppsala 1978 pp.23-31.
 6. Biddle op.cit. p.112 Merchandise at Hamwih included, 'From Germany fine Glassware, pottery from Bardorf and Pingsdorf type, Tating ware, Lava millstones from the Niedermendig area; from France pottery similar to that from Beauvais and Savan in the Loire and other types not yet identified, but probably also of French origin'. See also S.Dunmore, V.Gray, T.Loder & K.Wade 'The Origin and Development of Ipswich' E.A.A.R. No.1 , 1975 pp.57-67 ; Bardorf type ware, Ipswich ware and relief band amphorae from Ipswich are discussed in S.E.West et.al. 'Excavations at Cox Lane' P.S.I.A. XXIX(iii) 1963 pp.233-303.
 7. It should be pointed out that there is no material of Dark Age date from Dunwich. The earliest object found so far is a brooch with a backward biting beast motif of eighth or ninth century date. See N.Smedley & E.Owles 'Some Anglo-Saxon Animal Brooches' P.S.I.A. XXX(ii) 1965 pp.166 - 74 ; Excavation has proved unrewarding in this respect, see S.E.West 'The Excavation of Dunwich Town Defences 1970' P.S.I.A. XXXII(i) 1970 pp.25-37.

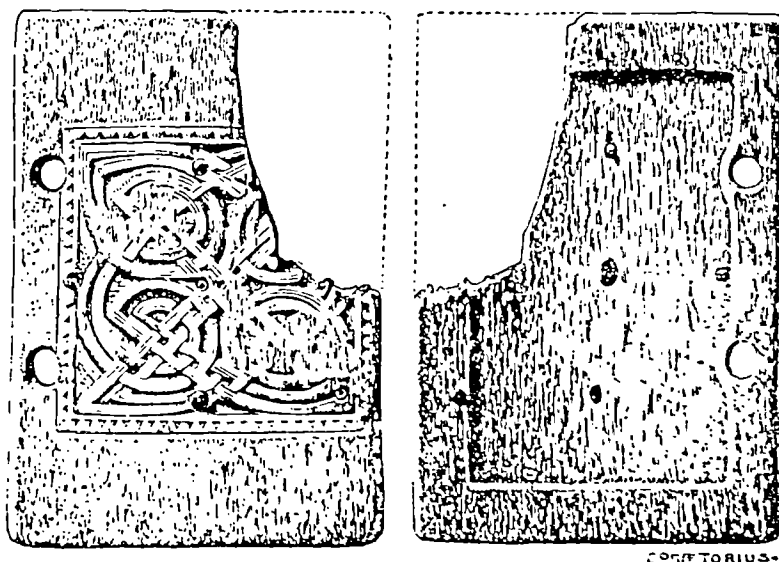
The Domesday survey makes it clear that Saxon Dunwich was judicially dependent on the Royal burgh of Blythburgh, the central estate of Blything Hundred.⁸ Dunwich's rise to fortune may have been as spectacular as its decline. The eleventh century Domesday borough was one of the largest in the eastern counties, while Blythburgh remained little more than a substantial Royal manor.⁹ The judicial and monetary subordination of Dunwich to the royal hundredal centre of Blythburgh probably stems from a time before the mission of St Felix, when Dunwich was a dependent coastal trading settlement or 'wic'. The road system leading into Dunwich, which would appear to be post-Roman in origin (Fig.16), may well date from the rise of the town in the middle Saxon period. It has left an indelible mark on the landscape of the hundred and is a testimony to Dunwich's importance as a major trading centre, not only as a sea-port, but also as a focus for inland trade. Late medieval extents for the parishes surrounding the town give the impression that all roads once led to Dunwich.¹⁰

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8. Dunwich DB.II.312, 312b. 'The King has in Dunwich the custom following, that two or three shall go to the Hundred /court/ if they shall have been duly warned. And if they do not do this they shall make forfeiture of 2 ores. And if a thief be there caught, there he shall be brought to trial, and he shall suffer corporal punishment at Blythburgh, and his property shall remain to the lord of Dunwich. And T.R.E. there was no exchanger /cambitor/ therein, but at Blythburgh.' Unlike other 'wics' at Hamwih and Ipswich, Dunwich never had a mint of its own; nearly all 'burhs' had either a mint or a moneyer ; H.R.Loyn Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest 1962 pp.120-8.
9. DB.II,282.
DB.II,312.
10. eg. I.R.O., HA30:372/2.

Figure 18.



- a. Seal of Bishop Ethilwald, found at Eye in 1822. It is dateable to between 845 and 870 AD., his precise dates are unknown. The print is from Archaeologia XX, 1822 p. 478. The original seal is now in the British Museum. A copy can be seen at Dunwich Museum. For dates of Ethilwald see Whitelock op.cit. p.21.



- b. Writing tablet or 'tabella' of whale bone, found at Blythburgh. Print from Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries XIX (1902) p. 40. The interlace ornament has been paralleled by some writers with the Bewcastle cross, and a tenth century date seems likely. See V.C.H., Suffolk Vol. I, 1907 p. 351. The original is now in the British Museum. A copy is retained by Mrs. Hubbard at the Priory House, Blythburgh.

In 1961, S.E. Rigold, in a controversial article entitled 'The supposed See of Dunwich' suggested that the Domnoc of Bede was, in fact, more likely to be at Walton Castle near Felixstowe. His arguments were complex and persuasive but did not meet with universal acceptance.¹¹ At the time he was writing the full implication of 'wics' and the archaeological importance of finds from Hamwih and Ipswich had not been fully appreciated. Much of Rigold's argument hinges on the place-name evidence. He suggests that the Domnoc, or Dommoc, of Bede may be etymologically incompatible with the usual medieval spelling of Donwic or Donewic.¹² His quotation from Harleian 261, which was written in the early thirteenth century, shows that there may have been some belief that St. Felix founded a church of 'Dommoc' at a place called Felixstowe. However, the earliest spelling of Felixstowe is 'Filcheston'.¹³ Ekwall gives as an alternative to 'Felix's - stowe' the Saxon personal name of 'Filica' with a 'tun' ending. This would seem to be the more likely interpretation. The tradition of St. Felix at Felixstowe would seem to be a late medieval invention by the monks of Felixstowe Priory to explain the dedication of Walton church near Felixstowe to St. Felix, so giving rise to the late form of the parish name.¹⁴

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11. See Sec.2 note 1 above and N.Scarfe The Suffolk Landscape 1972 pp.81-2.
12. Dunneuuic (DB.); Donewic (Dugdale III pp.404-6) ; Donwic (I.R.O., HA30:372/2, Extent of 1463). There is a great variety of spelling in the eighth and ninth centuries, see Whitelock 1972 op.cit. p 21.
13. Filcheston 1245 Ekwall;
V.B.Redstone 'Angulus Anglie' P.S.I.A. XXIII, 1938 p.155, when discussing Colness Hundred he mentions that 'Burgh' was the earlier local name for Felixstowe and that the Benedictine monks of the Priory of St. Felix always adopted the later names of FILTHESTOW or FILCHESTON when compiling the rolls of their manor or when communicating with the parent house of Rochester.
See also Scarfe op.cit. p.82. The 'cheston' element in some of the earlier spellings is of interest in view of the Roman shore fort nearby at Walton.
14. See Sec.2 note 1 above and Rigold 1974 op.cit. note 2.

We do not know the dedication or the site of the first church at Dunwich,¹⁵ but St Felix was buried there and his remains were moved from Dunwich to Soham in the Isle of Ely at the time of Danish raiding. Soham church was itself burnt in the great raid of 869-70 AD. and the bones were translated to Ramsey.¹⁶ If there ever was a church dedicated to St Felix it could well have been lost before the Conquest: one carucate of land was washed away by the sea before 1086.¹⁷ Although only three churches are recorded in the Domesday survey, in the later medieval period there is good evidence for at least eight parish churches, three separate chapels, and five or six monastic sites,¹⁸ all of which suggest the continued importance of Dunwich as a great ecclesiastical centre. The name of Dunwich also became applied to the deanery, almost co-extensive with Blything Hundred, rather than the more usual duplication of the Hundred name.¹⁹

15. H.E.P.Spencer 'Notes on the Excavation of Temple Hill Dunwich' P.S.I.A. XXII(ii) 1935 pp.198-200 fig.1. This drawing represents a tracing of a map of Dunwich drawn by the antiquarian Hamlet Watling, which is said to have been based on a medieval map. It shows a church of St. Felix next to the church of St. Anthony, which was lost in c.1330. This map is almost certainly spurious. It is based on a reconstruction of Stow's account of Dunwich given by Suckling Vol.II, pp.244-252. Stow reports the existence of 6 churches 'for profe thereof there is aunchent evidence to be seen.' But by 'common fame and report' there were 70 churches of which St. Felix 'was one, very many years past taken and drowned in the sea.' See H.Watling History of Dunwich, Ancient and Modern. Compiled from most of our historians. 1853.
16. Whitelock 1972 op.cit. p.4, footnote 2.
17. DB.II 312.
18. Rev. William Hudson 'The Norwich Taxation of 1254' Norf.Arch.XVII(i) 1910 p.144; W.A.Wickham 'Nonarum Inquisitiones for Suffolk' P.S.I.A.XVII(ii) 1920 p.97.
19. V.B.Redstone 'The South Elmham Deanery' P.S.I.A. XIV(iii) 1915 pp.323-331 ; Hudson op.cit. p.144. Before the Norman Conquest civil and ecclesiastical cases were heard together in the Hundred courts; they were separated in 1071 and Deanery courts established with the same areas of jurisdiction as the hundreds. However, where soke rights were owned by the church differences between hundreds and deaneries might occur. For this reason, Aldringham always lay in the Deanery of Hoxne Bishops, but Thorpe lay in Dunwich Deanery. See Rev. A. Jessopp Norwich: Diocesan Histories 1884, frontispiece map of Deaneries.

Four of the churches in fourteenth century Dunwich paid dues to the Prior of Eye, probably in accordance with an eleventh century charter, which granted to Eye priory 'all churches which then existed or might subsequently be erected in the town of Donwic'²⁰. One of these churches, dedicated to St Martin, the same dedication as the first church at Canterbury, is perhaps the most likely candidate for St Felix's church; it was certainly the one nearest to the sea, having lost all but seven of its one hundred houses between 1292 and 1341.²¹ Leland, while being confused at first by the location of Bede's 'Domnoc', was persuaded in favour of Dunwich by the monks of Eye, who claimed that the 'Red Book of Eye' originally belonged to St Felix and came to them from their cell at Dunwich, which had been washed away by the sea.²² The chance find at Eye in 1822 of the remarkable ninth century seal of Bishop Ethilwald of Dunwich lends further credence to Leland's antiquarian notes for it is very hard to imagine how such an unusual object could possibly find its way to Eye via Felixstowe.²³ (See Fig.18a). It seems reasonably certain therefore, that Sigbert's enthusiasm for the conversion of his realm led to the establishment of Felix at Dunwich. The Burgundian missionary could hardly have been better placed in a town where continental trade was probably well established by 630 AD.

20. The following churches paid dues to the Priory of Eye: St Nicholas, St Martin, St Peter and St John ; D.Whitelock 1972 op.cit.p.4 fn.2 ; Gardner 1754 p.52, Note H.1: 'The Register of Eye Priory mentions that the churches of St Michael and St Bartholomew were swallowed by the sea before the year 1331, when the Prior and Convent of Eye petitioned the Bishop of Norwich to impropriate the church of Laxfield to them; and, amongst other reasons for it, alleged that they had lost a considerable part of their revenues at Dunwich by the breaking of the sea.' The churches of St Leonard and All Saints may also be of early foundation.
21. Wickham op.cit. p.97 ; the important dedication to St Martin is sometimes taken as an indication of the survival of Roman culture, see P.A.Wilson 'The Cult of St Martin in the British Isles, with Particular Reference to Canterbury and Candida Casa'. Innes Review 19, 1968 pp.129-43. An adoption of the Canterbury dedication would seem more likely in the case of Dunwich.
22. See Whitelock 1972 op.cit. p.4 note 2.
23. Hudson Gurney 'Observations on the Seal of Ethilwald, Bishop of Dunwich lately discovered at Eye' Archaeologia XX,1822 p.479; J.Campbell (Ed.) The Anglo-Saxons 1982 p.135, fig.123, 'it is of great interest as an almost unique testimony to East Anglian ecclesiastical culture in the ninth century.'

While all the evidence supports the belief that Dunwich was the site of the first East Anglian See, there still remains the central problem raised by Rigold concerning the curious place-name of Domnoc. In fact there is considerable variation among the earliest spellings. It appears as Domnoc and Dommoc in early versions of Bede, as Domnoc and Dummucae in Anglo-Saxon charters and as Dommocceaster in the ninth century version of Bede.²⁴ This latter name may only signify its importance as a town at that date.²⁵ In 1086 it is called Duneuuic, but throughout the medieval period it is called Donwic in local documents. The significance of the second element 'wic' has already been discussed. The first element is somewhat controversial, Ekwall suggests that it derives from the Celtic 'dubno', or Welsh 'dwfn' meaning deep. But he ignores the earlier and more usual spelling of Don- or Dom-, which is a common-place British river name giving rise to many settlement names such as Doncaster, and 'Done muthe', the earliest name for Jarrow in Northumberland.²⁶

Possibly we see here the early remembrance of the original Romano-British river name, Don, meaning simply water, pre-dating the name of Blyth, but this explanation does not fit the early evidence for the dependent origins of Dunwich in relation to Blythburgh. Alternatively, the first element may mean no more than the common-place 'don', a hill, as in the local place-name of Reydon. A simple topographical interpretation would fit the site of Dunwich, where the coastal riverine landing-place or 'wic' lay beside the high heathland down, the sand cliffs of which are such a feature of the site today. In view of the Domesday evidence that Blythburgh was originally the principal settlement, it seems unlikely that 'Don' pre-dates 'Blyth', the alternative topographical interpretation would therefore seem to be the most acceptable.

24. Ekwall, Dunwich ; Whitelock 1972 op.cit. p.21.

25. J.Campbell 'Bede's Words for Places' in Names, Words and Graves: Early Medieval Settlement P.H.Sawyer (Ed.) 1979 pp.34-53.

26. Ekwall, Doncaster.

Blythburgh

The hundredal centre of Blythburgh has a particularly interesting ecclesiastical history. The *Historia Eliensis* says that the pious King Anna was buried at Blythburgh after his defeat and death at the hand of Penda in 654 AD., and that his body was still venerated there in the twelfth century.¹ A later tradition says that his son Furminus, a figure otherwise undocumented, was buried with him there but later translated to Bury St Edmunds.² Anna supported the Christian faith and was interested in the endowment of monasteries.³ Some form of monastic foundation may well have sprung up close to the Royal 'burgh' or 'villa regalis' at Blythburgh. Several authors have suggested that the Priory of Black Canons at Blythburgh, a semi-independent house attached to St Osyth's in Essex, had its origins in a pre-Conquest foundation.⁴ The archaeological implications of a possible seventh century monastic establishment are particularly important in this

1. Liber Eliensis p.18.
2. Whitelock. 1972 op.cit. p.9, note 1.
3. Bede III,19. An extract, derived from the 'Vita Fursei' available to Bede, describes the establishment of Fursey at Burgh Castle. 'Subsequently Anna, King of the province, and his nobles endowed the house with finer buildings and gifts'. In the same chapter Bede mentions 'monasteries' in the plural, Whitelock op.cit. p.5. takes up this point and suggests that there may have been others. In note 7, she mentions the ninth century 'Virtutes Fursei', which makes the claim that Fursey constructed monasteries and churches and established monks and virgins for the service of the Lord. This is particularly interesting as it may indicate the presence of mixed 'Celtic' type monasteries in seventh century East Anglia. See R.J.Cramp 'Monastic Sites' in Wilson (Ed.) op.cit. pp.205-6.
4. N.Scarfe, P.S.I.A. XXXIV(ii) 1978 p.155 ; C.B.P. p.2; J.Campbell 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Towns' in The Church in Town and Countryside D.Baker (Ed) 1979 (Studies in Church History 16.) p.126.

area in view of the lack of identifiable Dark Age sites.⁵ The circumstantial evidence, both documentary and archaeological, must therefore be examined in detail.

No less than eight pieces of circumstantial evidence can be used to highlight the probability of an early Saxon minster at Blythburgh:

(i) The *Historia Eliensis*, written in the eleventh century, contains the statement:

'Est in eadem provincia locus, vulgo Blideburch vocitatus, in quo corpus venerandi Regis Anne sepultum est, et usque ad hanc diem pia fidelium devotione veneratur' 6.

This implies that Blythburgh was a place of pilgrimage on account of Anna's burial there, for some considerable time after his death in 654 AD.

(ii) In 1086, the main church at Blythburgh had an exceptionally large estate of two carucates; Osbern Masculus held this land 'in Alms for the King'.⁷ A further twelve acres at Hinton, a hamlet of Blythburgh, were held by Robert of Blythburgh 'by way of Alms from the King, to wit, of the church of Blythburgh'.⁸

(iii) The place-name of Hinton means the 'tun' of the 'Hiwan', or the tun belonging to members of a religious household.⁹ Hinton Grange remained one of the principal possessions of Blythburgh Priory until the time of the Dissolution. It seems to have played a vital part in the maintenance of

5. Of the priory itself little remains; many of the stones were used to build a bridge for the turnpike in 1795, and finds from excavation in the early nineteenth century were auctioned off at the White Hart Inn. J.Becker Essay on the Village of Blythburgh 1935 p.24 ; E.Bradley The Story of the English Abbeys: Eastern Counties 1939 p.134 ; P.S.I.A. VIII, 1894 p.425 ; P.S.I.A. XXXII(iii) 1972 p.278. Reports of doubtful late Roman and Saxon finds have already been discussed in Chapter III Sections 6, 7.

6. Liber Eliensis p.18.

7. DB.II, 282. See also N.Scarfe P.S.I.A. XXXIV (ii) 1978 p.155.

8. DB.II, 331.

9. Hinetuna (DB.) Barron HIWAN - 'members of a household or Religious house' Ekwall HIGNA-TUN - 'the monks' or nuns' tūn'.

the Priory. A thirteenth century custumal of the men of Hinton describes an easy, undemanding relationship, with food and ale provided by the Priory on most work days, and the men dining with the convent at Christmas.^{10.}

(iv) Hinton is a place-name usually associated with hamlets which have a subordinate relationship to major vills. In some cases such Hintons can be proved to have been attached to pre-Conquest religious foundations.^{11.} A few Hintons have connections with Royal pre-Conquest manors which were the scene of important Anglo-Saxon battles, similar to the one fought at Bulcamp in 654 AD. The suggestion is that some Hintons may date from the foundation of monastic communities on, or near to, a Saxon battlefield, a practice well documented in the Saxon and early medieval period.^{12.}

(v) Blythburgh Priory claimed to be an independent foundation in the medieval period. Henry II granted the Canons of St. Osyth's the power to appoint the Prior of Blythburgh, probably an acknowledgement of an earlier state of independence. Dr Harper Bill writes '...the Cartulary reveals that

10. C.B.P. 285 (1254).

11. e.g: Hinton Ampner (Hants). Given by Ethelred (990-992) to the church of St. Peter and All Saints, Stanham (Stoneham). Stoneham Minster was later given by Edward to the Old Minster at Winchester in 1045. (Hart, op.cit. p.59, K.712);
Hinton - ? (as above). Edward gave to Aelfwine, Bishop of Winchester eight 'mansae' in 1054 (Hart op.cit. p.64, K.780);
Little Hinton (near Wanborough). Given to Winchester by Aethelwulf in 854 (C.S. 477). An endorsement to this charter says that Wenbeorgen (Wanborough) is 'now called Hinton', the bounds given are in fact those of Hinton parish, which adjoins to the east. (A.J. LXXXVI, 1919 pp.172-7);
Hinton on the Green. Aelflaed, sister of King Ethelred II, granted 'Hynetone' to St. Peter's Gloucester. (Cartulary of Gloucester Priory I. p.87).

12. Bede III, 24. In 655 AD., King Oswy gave twelve grants of land for the building of monasteries in thanksgiving and fulfilment of his vow following the battle of Winwaed.
Hinton (Glos. 3 miles south of Chipping Sodbury); the modern hamlet is built within the hillfort, probable site of the battle of Dyrham 577 AD. Battle Abbey, established by William the Conqueror, was supposedly on the site of the Battle of Hastings.

in the acquisition and disposal of land the prior and convent acted as an independent corporation. They possessed their own common seal.' ¹³.

(vi) A whale-bone writing tablet with incised interlaced decoration of tenth century style (see Fig. 18b) was found at Blythburgh in 1902 on land once owned by the Priory ¹⁴. The object has been re-used or mounted in some way, leaving the remains of seven small bronze pins still in the bone. It was probably in circulation for some time before it was lost and is therefore only circumstantial evidence. Other finds relevant to the late Saxon period are some sherds of late 'group III' Ipswich ware which were found in the field between the Priory and the River.¹⁵ But these could well be of late eleventh or even twelfth century date.

(vii) It is one of the characteristics of minster churches that they have a number of dependent daughter churches or chapelries to serve the very large parochial territory which forms the minsterland. At the time of the Domesday survey the main church at Blythburgh held two carucates of land to which were attached two landless churches, but we do not know where these churches stood. Blythburgh parish is exceptionally large for the

13. C.B.P. p.2, and charter No.63.

14. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries XIX, 1902 pp.40-2;
V.C.H. Suffolk I, 1907 p.351.

15. P.J.Higgins 'Excavations at Waltham Abbey' Appendix I.
Med.Arch. XX, 1976 p.104. Similar sherds of Ipswich ware have been found by Janet Tacon in the 'Appleton' area of Blythburgh at TM.447749. Finds of Ipswich ware and Thetford ware were reported to Ipswich Museum by Miss E. Leedham Green at TM.45137558.

hundred, consisting at one time of at least three dependent hamlets; Bulcamp, Hinton and Walberswick, as well as the main township. Walberswick had a dependent chapel, which is first recorded in 1278,¹⁶ and there were several other chapels at Blythburgh in the late medieval period. The chapel of the Holy Rood, situated near Great Bridge, may have had burial rights as many skeletons were found here in 1879.¹⁷ A post-Dissolution document mentions the 'Parsonage of Bulcamp', so possibly one of the two landless churches mentioned in Blythburgh's Domesday entry may have belonged to Bulcamp.¹⁸ We also know that a cross stood in 'Bulcamp Street' separated by a causeway from the chapel of the Holy Rood.¹⁹ The Chapel of Mary Magdalen is also mentioned as standing in Blythburgh.²⁰ The lost hamlet and one-time vill of 'Bregge' is sometimes referred to as lying in Blythburgh.²¹ If this is to be equated with the deserted settlement of 'Breggestreet', situated on the outskirts of Dunwich, then it lay not far from the hamlet of Hethern, both of which are described as being in a

16. C.B.P. 482. Walberswick chapel stood about one mile south of the present church, as 'Walberswick Old Church', it is marked on Agas's map of 1587, reproduced by Gardner in 1754.
17. Becker op.cit. p.19. In making the embankment for the great bridge 'the workmen dug up endless skeletons and placed the skulls along each side of the road'.
18. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/27/3.
19. Gardner p.130. Will granting land for the repair of the causeway from the picture of Our Lord (Holy Rood) so northward to the Cross in Bulcamp Street.
20. I.R.O., HA30: 50/22/10.9 Lands of Maria Harson. Widow. 1657. Extent of 'Blythburgh nuper Prioritas'.
21. Copinger Manors of Suffolk Vol.III p.217. Grant of lands at 'Brege a hamlet of Blythburgh' to the Prior of Blythburgh, 36.Ed.III.

ruinous state in the 1463 Extent of Westleton.^{22.} Hethern can be equated with 'Ernethern' or 'Alneton', which is described as having half a church in the Domesday Survey.^{23.} The history and remains of this church are obscure, but it seems likely that it lay near Stonehill Castle on the road between Dunwich and Blythburgh, and that the whole of the northern projection of Westleton parish, including this lost vill and church, once lay in Blythburgh.^{24.} In all, four or possibly five, churches or chapels once stood in the minsterland of Blythburgh.

(viii) Evidence from the Blythburgh Priory Cartulary suggests that grants of land were being made to the church and convent before its formal foundation as a Augustinian cell of St. Osyths in 1120. A series of confirmations on folio 28 shows that one of the ancestors of William de Falsham (c.1144), who had given land to the priory at an early date, was Fulcred of Peasenhall. It is likely that this is the same Fulcred mentioned as holding one carucate in Peasenhall in 1086, and who, according to the Domesday Survey, added two villeins and one carucate of land at Easton to the Manor of Blythburgh in Robert Malet's time.^{25.}

22. I.R.O., HA30:372/2.

23. DB.II, 385b ; Liber Eliensis p.383 fn.3.

24. For Stonehill Mount on Castle Heath see Chapter III sec 7 note 7., and I.R.O., HA30:372/2.fol.87. The Chorography p.67 mentions 'Westletoun cu' capella de Dyngle', this could have been the church of Hethern, but it is more likely to have been the chapel of the Hospital of St. James in Dunwich, which was used by the men of Dingle. Gardner in 1754 says that there were only two dwellings at Great and Little Dingle, p.111: 'By Tokens, the former has been accommodated with more Edifices, On the Hill are the remains of some Structure, supposed to have been for Signals to People at Sea. At the House is a Stone Coffin misused for a Trough'. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/3.1 (1638-9) The area of Paul's Fen was included in the preambulation of Walberswick parish bounds.

25. DB.II.282 (in Hartismere Hundred).

A precept of Henry I, issued some time after 1116, which refers to the King's grant of the churches of Blythburgh and Stowe (Stowmarket) to Richard (de Belmeis) Bishop of London, later used for the foundation of St. Osyth's, is an interesting one and may reflect a more ancient tradition connecting East Anglia with the See of London.²⁶ Dorothy Whitelock mentions that at the date of the will of Bishop Theodred of London, that is to say between 942 and 951 AD., Suffolk, if not the whole of East Anglia, was being administered by the Bishop of London following the disruptions caused by Danish raiding.²⁷ Stowe, later Stowmarket, was also ancient Royal Demesne and the capital vill of Stow Hundred; its grant together with Blythburgh may represent the formal transfer of two ancient royal hundredal minsters to a newly reformed monastic house.²⁸

Through this haze of circumstantial evidence, none of it conclusive by itself, and much of it obscured perhaps by typical monastic reforms of the twelfth century, we can perhaps perceive a sizeable pre-Conquest minster at Blythburgh. Its foundation date, like everything else about it, is obscure, but perhaps it began with the royal Christian patronage of King Sigbert in conjunction with Bishop Felix, or even as a mausoleum for King Anna in 654 AD.²⁹ Continuity from the seventh century through the period of Danish raiding seems likely if the remains of Anna were still being venerated there in the twelfth century. It is important to remember that, if Blythburgh had a minster at all, it was a Royal minster, an essential appendage to a Villa Regalis, and therefore of considerable importance to the development of churches in East Suffolk.

26. C.B.P. p.1, Charter 8.

27. Whitelock 1945 op.cit. p.171.

28. A.C.H. Hollingworth History of Stowmarket 1844 p.68;
V.C.H. Essex Vol.II, 1907(1977) p.157.

29. If, like a number of important Saxon minsters which have been excavated recently (such as Repton, Barton-on-Humber, and St Marks Lincoln), Blythburgh Holy Trinity was found to have been sited over a mausoleum, a crypt, or relic chamber, substantial archaeological remains might reasonably be expected. See Rodwell op.cit. pp.122-72.

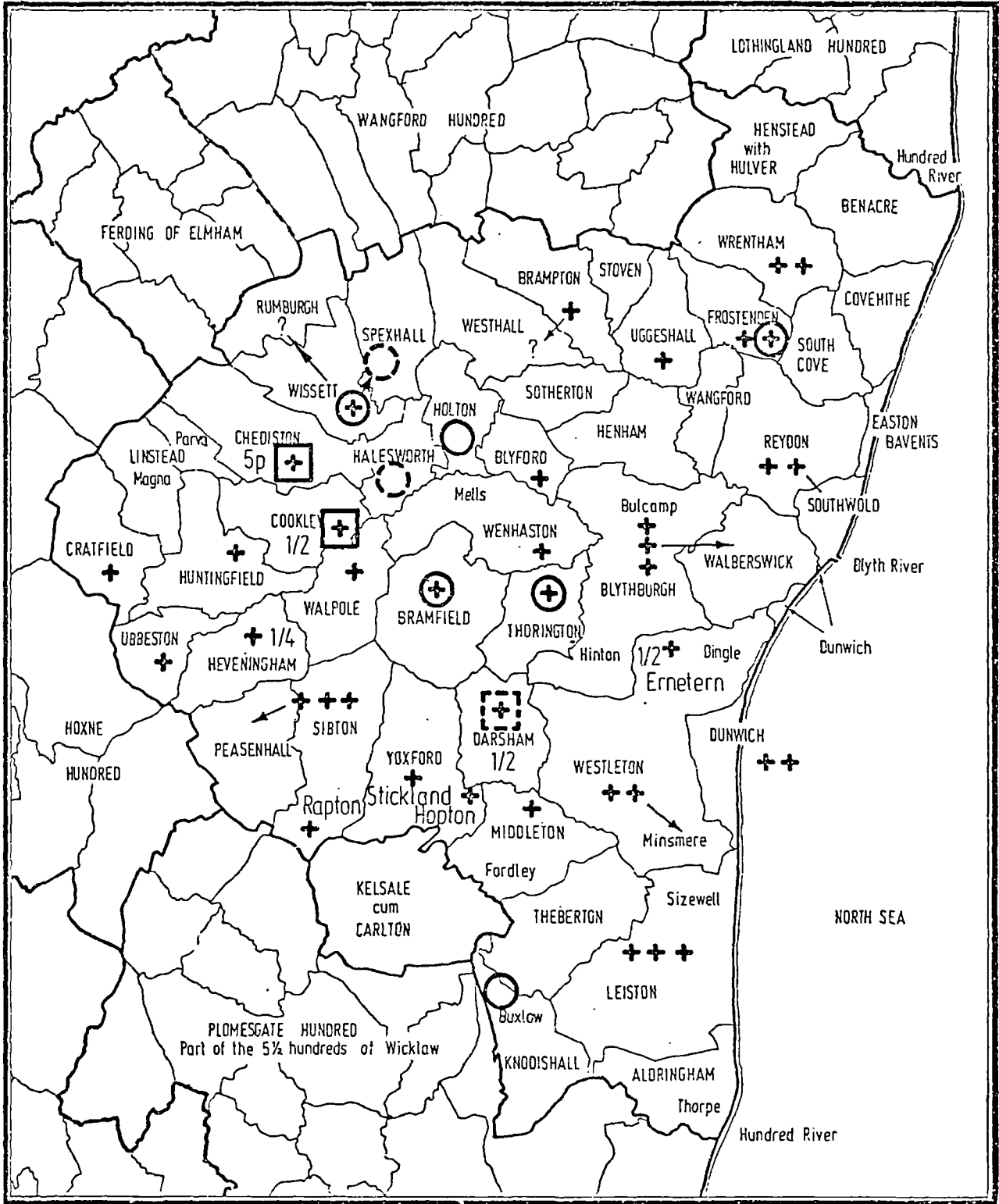
Round Towers and the Eleventh Century Church

The number of Domesday churches recorded in 1086 begs the question as to how many of the forty-three in Blything Hundred made their appearance after the so called 'century of pagandom', following the creation of the Danelaw, and how many had earlier origins.¹ It seems very likely that many churches in the heartlands of the Hundred are pre-Viking foundations, but because of the scarcity of ashlar building stone, relatively few identifiable Anglo-Saxon architectural features survive in Suffolk. This is particularly important in view of the large number of churches mentioned for the whole county of Suffolk in 1086.²

Amongst the most pleasing features of Norfolk and Suffolk churches are the splendid round towers overlooking the rivers and estuaries of the east coast.³ At one time there may have been many more. Several round towers in Blything Hundred were superseded by later buildings, as at Halesworth, where the foundations of a round tower are said to have been seen under the existing nave. Others were allowed to fall into decay as at Buxlow, but in one form or another six examples of round towers may still be seen in the

1. D.Whitelock 'The Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw' Saga Book of the Viking Society XII, 1945 pp.159-76. She minimises the importance of the 'century of pagandom' so described by T.C.Lethbridge V.C.H. Cambs. Vol.I, 1938 p.330; J.Campbell 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Towns' in Baker (Ed.) op.cit. p.127 : 'The proliferation of churches in the East Anglian countryside was as marked /as towns/ '. & p.128: 'the dearth of early charters from East Anglia will serve also to explain in part the abundance of late churches there; that the minsters had been destroyed or weakened by the Danish invasions.'
2. H.Munro Cautley Suffolk Churches and their Treasures 4th edn 1975 p.3, suggests a minimum 390 and a maximum of 448 Domesday churches for the whole of Suffolk.
3. E.A.Fisher Anglo-Saxon Towers 1967 p.144, fig.4. This distribution map does not show all Round Towers in Suffolk, but only those with definitive ashlar stone work dated to the Anglo-Saxon period by Taylor and Taylor. In East Anglia, where freestone is an expensive luxury, such a distribution map must be misleading. It excludes all but one of the known round and square unbuttressed towers in Blything Hundred. Recent repairs to Wissett round tower exposed three double splay circular windows without ashlar facings, which are of late Saxon Workmanship.
See also S.E.Rigold 'The distribution of Early Romanesque Towers to Minor Churches' A.J. 136, 1979 pp.109-18.

ELEVENTH CENTURY CHURCHES



- + - Domesday churches
- - Round towers
- ? - Churches not recorded in the Domesday survey, but probably existing in 1086
- Towers where the structure has been altered
- 1/2 - Fractions of churches. p - Parts of churches
- - Square unbuttressed towers

Figure 19.

Hundred. In addition there are at least two or possibly three, examples of simple, thick-walled, square, unbuttressed towers, which may be of similar date.⁴ Square unbuttressed towers at Chediston and Butley have the remains of high loft doorways into the nave. These are found elsewhere in England in some dateable Saxon towers of thick-walled, square unbuttressed construction. The function of these doorways is uncertain, but it is known that they are not normally found after the Conquest.⁵ The discussion by Taylor and Taylor of the round tower at Haddiscoe Thorpe, would suggest that it was built as a late Saxon appendage to an existing church, possibly in response to Danish raids of the ninth century.⁶ Similar round towers in the Waveney valley are sited on high ground with wide views of the river and estuary. An almost identical tower, at Thorington, with external pilasters and blind arcading, forms one of a central cluster of round towers surviving in Blything Hundred.⁷ (See Fig.19).

Objections to the argument that both groups of round and square unbuttressed towers stem from a defensive response to Danish raiding are based on negative evidence for undateable masonry and their absence in a few cases from the Domesday survey. In Blything Hundred two examples of churches with round towers at Holton and Halesworth are not mentioned in the survey. In the case of Holton the Domesday entry is patently incomplete.⁸ At Halesworth we have only some dateable fragments of a cross shaft base, possibly from

4. Round towers in Blything Hundred:
Bramfield (detached), Buxlow (ruined), Frostenden, Holton, Spexhall (rebuilt), Thorington, Wissett.
Square unbuttressed towers in Blything Hundred:
Chediston, Cookley, (and possibly Darsham, with cosmetic buttresses added at a later date.)
5. H.M.Taylor Anglo-Saxon Architecture III, 1978 pp.893-4:
'No thoroughly convincing explanation has ever been presented for these doorways but it seems at least possible that they were used for the periodic display of relics'.
6. H.M.Taylor & J.Taylor Anglo-Saxon Architecture I, 1965 pp.271-2.
7. Ibid, Vol.II, Thorington pp.612-3. See also Tasburgh, ibid Vol.II pp.605-6 & fig.300.
8. DB.II,356.

the eleventh or twelfth centuries and the foundations of a round tower said to have been seen at the west end of the nave when the heating was installed in the nineteenth.⁹ While the Domesday survey fails to record the church, it almost certainly records the Rectory manor, as the small manor of forty acres held by Ulf the Priest.¹⁰

The function of Anglo-Saxon bell-towers seems to have been largely secular and, in the days of the private Saxon church, it must be an open question whether such towers would merit a place in the Domesday survey, particularly if they stood in a grave yard where there was as yet no church.¹¹ In this respect Bramfield church in the heart of Blything Hundred is of special interest, having perhaps the only example of a detached round tower; the church is mentioned in 1086, and the tower could well have been standing by that date.¹² Bramfield was an important late Saxon estate, the unusual ring work about a quarter of a mile from the church, known as Bramfield Castle, may also be of

9. C.Morley 'Suffolk Dane Stones' P.S.I.A. XVII, 1922 (ii) p.93.

A recent reappraisal of the date of these carvings was given in private correspondence with James Lang, who suggested an early twelfth century date. For comparison see G.Zarnecki English Romanesque Sculpture 1066 - 1140. 1951 Plate 79.

10. DB.II, 299, 299b.

11. In the foundation charter of the secular canons of Clare granted by Aelfric son of Whitgar (Hart op.cit. No.110, 1044-1065), it is stated that 'he gave half the church to Abbot Leofstan and his son Whitgar dwelt in a certain tower where the hospital now is'. In F.M.Stenton's paper 'The Thriving of the Anglo-Saxon Ceorl' Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England 1958 pp.389-90. Ine's law on this matter makes it clear that a thegn should have ..'a church, a hall, a bell tower and a fortified dwelling..' etc.; H.E.Butler (Ed.) The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond 1949 p.139. The appendix on the lands of Robert of Cockfield by William of Diss mentions the great messuage where the hall of Adam the First of Cockfield was once situated, 'together with a wooden belfry, seven score feet high'. See also G.J.Davis The Secular Use of Church Buildings 1968.

12. Suckling Vol.II p.175, noted in 1848 that Bramfield detached tower 'shows no marks of the ruggedness or fractures which would have remained, had other walls been affixed'. The eastern door is clearly a later medieval insertion. Bramfield church was granted to Blythburgh Priory in 1146-61: C.B.P. p.88-91.

Saxo-Norman origin.^{13.}

Both round and square unbuttressed towers cluster in the centre of the hundred. It seems very likely that they reflect in some way the ancient heartland of early valley gravel settlements in the middle reaches of the river Blyth. Figure 19 illustrates this central cluster of towers, with two outliers at Buxlow and Frostenden. It would be foolish to suggest that they were all early Saxon churches in view of the poor architectural and archaeological evidence, but if any of the forty-three churches standing in Blything Hundred in the eleventh century were there in the first half of the ninth, before the period of Danish raiding, a good case can be made for some at least of this group. It is interesting to note the strategic position of Blythburgh in relation to this cluster. We can see the 'burgh' of Blythburgh, defending not only the 'villa regalis', which undoubtedly existed there, but also holding a front line of riverine defence, with the towers of the heartland acting as observation posts in the ninth and tenth century for the more remote settlements upstream.

It is always possible that the remains of other Saxo-Norman towers may yet be discovered under the floors of late medieval churches, but it nonetheless seems likely that the present distribution reflects an ancient core of early pre-Viking foundations. Churches on the claylands at Rumburgh and Linstead are known to be late, while a number of the coastal churches at Covehithe, Southwold and Walberswick started out as dependent chapelries.^{14.} The fact that the more ancient churches in the heartland of the Hundred were not replaced by later buildings may be due to the allocation of tithable lands to new parishes on the more marginal soils of the clay and Sandling. The creation of Rumburgh parish took away a large part of Wissett some time after 1064.^{15.} In the final section of this chapter, in Figures 22 & 23, it will be seen that the heartland areas were overtaken economically by the new and more peripheral clayland and coastal parishes in so far as their church income increased in value, while the old churches in the centre of the Hundred remained static or even declined in value and presumably lacked the finance to indulge in major rebuilding projects.

13. The earliest mention of a castle in this area comes from the C.B.P. No.434, 'le fossatum dicitur le fossatus castelli'. No.453, mentions land in Thorington extending up to 'le fossatum castelli versus occidentis' (c.1340). Charter No.434 is datable to c.1250, it suggests that the castle had been out of use for some time. The name 'Castle Meadow' appears on a copy of a map by Benjamine Reeve dated 1745. I.R.O., HD.42/1 (332). For a discussion of the origin of this castle and its estate boundary see Chapter VI Sec.10.

14. C.B.P. 359, Northales (Covehithe), Robert Pincerna gave the church which he built there ; C.B.P. 482 ; Gardner p.200.

15. See Sec.5 note 14 below.

Mother churches and Monasteries

The Domesday survey is not primarily concerned with the status of churches, only the land which they held. Early charters occasionally record the presence of a minster, but these are only mentioned incidentally.¹ However, within Blything Hundred it is possible to detect the classic framework of Saxon rural church building; beneath the royal hundredal minster of Blythburgh were a succession of sub-minsters or mother churches with dependent churches and chapels.² In addition there appear to have been some independent parochial churches and chapelries established by freemen, but these will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. The more subtle distinctions within the church hierarchy can only be inferred from the Domesday survey together with later evidence for dependency and monastic reform. Chapels, of which there were a number in the later medieval period, are rarely mentioned in the Domesday survey.³ There can be no doubt that many chapels in 1086 were called 'ecclesia', such as the two landless churches under Blythburgh.⁴ The survey was not concerned with such distinctions.

Nine vills in Blything Hundred have more than one church listed in 1086.⁵ Of these Dunwich, Blythburgh, Leiston and Sibton had three churches each. The importance of Dunwich and Blythburgh as major minster centres and the sites of monasteries has already been discussed. Both Leiston and Sibton likewise

1. Minsters in East Suffolk, mentioned in early charters:
 - Cnobheresburg (Burgh Castle) Bede III.19. established by the Irish missionary saint Fursey in c.633. soon abandoned.
 - Dommoc, (Dunwich) Bede II.15. Bishop Felix established his See here in 627-8 AD. possibly with a school and religious community.
 - Icanho, (near Aldburgh) Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (654AD., A, B & C.) (653 AD., E.) established by St Botolph, who built his minster there.
 - Mendham, D. Whitelock Anglo-Saxon Wills 1955 p.510-11. No.106 Will of Theodred, mentions 'community at Mendham church'.
 - Hoxne, C. Hart The Early Charters of Eastern England 1966. No.88 Will of Bishop AElfric of Elmham (1035-1038), fenland worth 1,000d granted to 'the Priests' at Hoxne (St Ethelbert's church).
 - Stoke by Nayland, Hart op.cit. No.50. (946-951) Will of Aelfgar, the 'community' at Nayland is implied from the context.
2. H.R. Loyn Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest 1962 p.252 mentions the collegiate basis of many old minsters, 'such establishments are to be found in the east as in the west, and were exceptionally well suited to areas where the population was not concentrated but settled in hamlets scattered over a relatively wide area'; See also C.J. Godfrey The Church in Anglo-Saxon England 1962 p.321 ; M. Deansley 'Early English and Gallic Minsters' Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc. 4th Ser. 23, 1941 pp.25-53.
3. eg. Wissett DB. II 293 & Stowmarket DB. II 281 b.
4. DB. II 282.
5. Dunwich, Blythburgh, Leiston, Sibton, Wissett, Reydon, Wrentham, Frostenden & Westleton.

acquired large monastic houses in the twelfth century. A Cistercian monastery was established at Sibton in 1150,⁶ and a Premonstratensian house was founded at Leiston in the early 1180's.⁷ It seems very likely that both these houses were endowed with the lands of private Saxon mother churches together with their dependent chapelries. That minsters and mother churches were first established on large private estates is a well known fact. In Suffolk several of these Saxon estates had soke rights which were transferred with gifts of land for the endowment of a monastery. An early eleventh century charter for Rickenhall⁸ illustrates the process well and at Leiston soke-rights formed an important part of the endowment of Rannulf de Glanville, just as they had formed an important part of the estate of Edric of Laxfield the pre-Conquest lord of Leiston.⁹ 'Leiston Sokene' was partly tenurial as well as jurisdictional, but as time went by the full extent of these rights was challenged and eroded regardless of their ancient origin.¹⁰

Without archaeological investigation it is impossible to say whether the post-Conquest monastic foundations in Blything Hundred were built on new sites or whether they incorporated earlier ecclesiastical buildings. In some cases it seems certain that they were built on virgin ground, such as the first Premonstratensian church at Leiston, which was built on an island in Minsmere level in 1182.¹¹ The present parish mother church of Blythburgh is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, a common minster dedication, so the priory church of St Mary, situated close by, could be a later foundation, but not all scholars would agree with this statement.¹²

Five other vills in Blything Hundred have two churches each in the Domesday survey and two of them, Wissett and Reydon, are associated indirectly with later monastic foundations. Both vills had important manors which were kept in demesne by their Norman tenants-in-chief, and both probably had soke

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6. D.Knowles and R.N.Hadcock Medieval Religious Houses 1953 p.115 ; R.Allen Brown 'Early Charters of Sibton Abbey, Suffolk' Pipe Roll Soc. NB 36, 1962 pp. 65-76 ; V.C.H. Suffolk I, 1907 p.89-90.
7. C.L.A. p.1.
8. Hart op.cit. No.83 c.1005, grant by Ulfketel to Bury St Edmunds of estates in Rickinghall...with sake and soke as he owned them.
9. C.L.A. p.24-25 & DB.II 311b. See F.M.Stenton Anglo-Saxon England 3rd edn 1971 p.156 'In 1086 a Derbyshire jury declared that a certain pre-Conquest lord could provide himself with a church on his land or in his 'soke' without anyone's licence, and pay his tithe wherever he wished.' (DB.I 280).
10. C.L.A. p.25.
11. Ibid. p.7.
12. C.B.P. p.2. 'If the existence of a minster at Blythburgh is probable, it is impossible to state definitely whether it was located at St Mary's ...or at Holy Trinity, later the parish mother church; it is likely, however that the canons would have occupied the mother church after it was granted to them.'

rights before the Conquest.¹³ The Benedictine cell of Rumburgh was founded on waste land close to the hundred boundary north of Wissett in 1064, as a daughter house of St. Benet's Holm.¹⁴ Rumburgh is not mentioned directly in the Domesday survey for Blything Hundred, for it was probably not yet regarded as a vill, but some of its lands appear in Norfolk D.B.,¹⁵ and 40 acres lay in the adjoining parish of Elmham in Wainford Hundred.¹⁶ The vill of Wissett included 12 monks and under them a chapel, meaning almost certainly the embryo monastic house of Rumburgh as it was in 1086.¹⁷ A later charter of Count Alan of Richmond, the 1086 tenant-in-chief of Wissett, purports to be the foundation charter granting Rumburgh to St. Mary's of York, even though Rumburgh is known to have been founded a matter of two years before the Conquest.¹⁸

The Cluniac Priory of Wangford, a cell of Thetford, was probably founded in about 1160.¹⁹ No church is mentioned in Wangford's Domesday entry, but the whole of Wangford had been held by Toret with the vill of Reydon where two churches are recorded before the Conquest. The arbitrary parish boundary which divides Wangford from Reydon suggests that at some time, not long before the Conquest, both parishes were part of one estate, both sharing the same woodland, and contained within a long curving estate boundary which swept through both parishes.²⁰ The pre-Conquest private estate of Toret may reflect this ancient land unit.²¹ The main land holding in both parishes

13. DB.II 293. Soke rights are not mentioned under this entry, but it seems that Ralf the Staller held a soke which would have been centred on his main manor at Wissett, with soke rights extending over outlying properties in Uggeshall (DB.II 299b), and Reydon (DB.II 414-414b); Dugdale Vol.III p.615. Survey of the manor of Rumburgh made in the reign of King Henry the eighth. 'There is a Court called a TURNE, which courte is ever kept after Michaelmas, and grete appearance at the same (for 3 weeks). The Lord hath no lete there, but he hath all such profits as concerne a lete. etc. The Lordship is so free to the Lord that neither Sheriff exchequer nor coroner have none intermedeling with the same'. Such liberty suggests the survival of a soke.
14. V.B.Redstone 'Site of Rumburgh Priory' P.S.I.A. XIV (iii) 1912 pp.319-22 ; V.C.H. Suffolk I, 1907 p.77; Dugdale Vol.III p.615.
15. DB.II 149b (Alburgh) & 177 (Mundham); H.C.Darby The Domesday Geography of Eastern England 1971 p.158-9.
16. DB.II 298. 60 acres at 'Ston', probably Stone Street hamlet, were also said to be included in Rumburgh's valuation, (DB.II 292b).
17. DB.II 293.
18. See note 14 above.
19. V.E.Vol.III p.438 ; V.C.H. Suffolk I, 1907 p.88
20. See Figure 41.
21. DB. II 414, 414b.

during the medieval period belonged to Wangford Priory and was centred on a grange called 'Le Reye', situated almost astride the straight parish boundary dividing Wangford from Reydon.²² It seems very likely that Reydon takes its name from the upland pasture belonging to this estate or area called 'Le Reye'. By the time of the Domesday survey Reydon was an important vill, the centre perhaps of Toret's extensive estate. Reydon church, dedicated to St. Margaret, stands in an isolated upland situation in keeping with the interpretation of its place-name. Wangford Priory, founded in 1160, has the more important dedication to St. Peter and St. Paul and stands close to the major road-river crossing after which the vill is named. Reydon, in spite of its apparent importance in the Domesday survey, must be considered as a secondary settlement to Wangford. Furthermore, while Reydon supported the dependent chapel of Southwold, Reydon was itself a possession of Wangford Priory and the chapel of Southwold was included in the Priory's revenue.²³ It seems likely that Wangford Priory was founded on the site of an earlier minster or mother church and was included under Reydon in 1086.

A feature of the monastic churches of Wangford and Rumburgh is that they have dual dedications and their naves continued to function as parish churches after the Dissolution. The reason may be that these monasteries incorporated pre-existing churches or chapels. The dedication of Rumburgh

22. V.E. Vol.III p.438 ; V.C.H. Suffolk Vol.I 1907 p.88; Rienduna DB. 'Rye-hill' Ekwall.

23. K.A.S. p.150 Charter No. 130 (dated 1206)
An agreement between the Abbot Samson and the men of Southwold by which the latter agree to give the cellarer three marks a year for the use of the chaplain officiating in Southwold chapel. This is the earliest mention of the chapel, A. Page, in his Supplement to the Suffolk Traveller 1844, quotes from Gardner 1754 p.254-6, who concluded that Southwold church had been erected about the time of King John, and who also equated the chapel of Ressemere with Reydon. V.C.H. Suffolk I, 1907 p.88, also quoting Gardner, somehow equates Ressemere with Southwold. However, there can be no doubt that the church of Reydon St. Margaret and the chapel of St. Margaret Ressemere are distinct and separate buildings, which should not be confused with the chapel, now church, of St. Edmund at Southwold.
See also Gardner pp.199-202 ; V.E. Vol.III p.438.

to St Felix and St Michael is an unusual combination; the more important local dedication to St Felix must surely go with the foundation of the priory as a cell of St Benet's Holm in 1064, while the rather minor dedication to St Michael might be more compatible with the establishment of a remote chapelry close to the hundred boundary in Wissett, as the Domesday entry of twelve monks and a chapel would indicate. The dedication of Wangford to St Peter and St Paul is commonly found as one dedication, but some early charters suggest that the parish church of Wangford was dedicated solely to St Peter in the late twelfth/early thirteenth century.²⁴

There seems little doubt that Leiston Abbey was founded on new ground in the twelfth century, but when the Abbey was moved in the fourteenth century it appears to have been re-sited to incorporate an earlier, exceptionally wealthy parish church.²⁵ The great soke of Edric of Laxfield passed to the Abbey and is still recognisable as 'Leiston Sokene' in the late fourteenth century.²⁶ In 1086, Leiston included three churches, it is impossible to identify them all with certainty, but they could have been Leiston, Aldringham and Knodishall, but it seems unlikely that the mother church was the present church of Leiston St Margaret, a dedication normally reserved for minor chapelries in the area.²⁷ In the Norwich Taxation of 1254 Leiston church was exceptionally wealthy, comparable to Blythburgh.²⁸ The incorporation of this earlier church into the later rebuilding is supported by good

24. Early charters and confirmations are directed to 'the church of St Peter and the Convent there', Gardner p.254 ; For plan of the church before restoration in 1876 see I.R.O., HA11/1316/16.
St Felix and St Michael Rumburgh. Dugdale Vol.III p.615.
(See also note 13 above), 'The Township of Rumburgh clayme their church to be a parish church, but it is none, and the profits thereof will not find a pryest.' Rumburgh clearly won its claim.
25. Leiston Abbey moved from its island site because of flooding and was re-established shortly after 1362, see R.H.Mortimer, C.L.A. p.7.
26. C.L.A.p.25.
27. The cult of St Margaret of Antioch was prevalent in East Suffolk, see J.Salmon Saints in Suffolk Churches 1981 p.37.
28. See Fig.22.

architectural evidence, which has puzzled several distinguished historians and architects.^{29.}

It would seem, therefore, in summary, that some later monastic sites were founded on the remains of large Saxon private estates, including the holdings and dependencies of pre-existing mother churches, together with soke rights and other customs which once belonged to those estates. It would seem also that there were three options open for the foundation of a post-Conquest monastery; it might be sited on new land, but it could also incorporate an earlier minster or mother church, or it could incorporate one of the old minster's dependent churches or chapelries. The reformed monastic houses of the Norman period are perhaps a less drastic innovation in the landscape than their documentary history might have us believe; a degree of continuity must therefore be expected if any of these monastic sites should happen to be investigated by archaeologists.

29. C.L.A. p.6 ; W.St John Hope P.S.I.A. VII,1891 pp.227-8;
 A.W.Clapham 'The Architecture of the English Premonstratensians'
Archaeologia LXXIII,1922-3 pp.137-41.
 Leiston church was by far the most valuable possession of the Abbey
 (C.L.A. p.21) In 1292 and 1341 it was worth £34.13.4 per.an. compared
 with Aldringham and Middleton, both worth £8 each. By the time of the
 Valor, Leiston church was only worth £15, while the other two were still
 worth £7 each. This change could reflect the movement of the Abbey onto
 the site of Leiston church and so account for the architectural anomalies
 evident in the surviving ruins.

Independent Churches

Apart from those places with mother churches already mentioned, three other vills in Blything Hundred had more than one church in 1086. These were Westleton, Wrentham and Frostenden. In the Westleton and Wrentham entries the churches are mentioned under different manors and there is a considerable contrast between the size of their respective glebe lands. At Wrentham there was one church with 40 acres and another with 8 acres. At Westleton one had 20 acres the other only 3 acres. These minor churches with a few acres of their own probably enjoyed a greater degree of independence than landless establishments dependent on a mother church. Possibly the smaller church at Wrentham belonged either to the berewick of Henstead,¹ or to the embryonic vill of Benacre.² The very small church at Westleton can probably be equated with the church of Minsmere, which was eventually destroyed by the sea.³ There is no indication in either of these cases that the larger church was a mother church or that the smaller was in any way dependent. At Frostenden two churches held jointly 28 acres.⁴ All Saints' church Frostenden with its round tower is undoubtedly an early foundation and Frostenden was an important vill with an inland sea-port in the eleventh century.⁵ There is no ready explanation for the second church there; possibly they were merged into one as may have happened at Fressingfield,⁶ but no evidence can be found to support this suggestion and, like many other double church entries in the Suffolk Domesday, the site of the other church listed in the Frostenden entry is a matter of guesswork.

Three priests are mentioned as land-holders in Blything Hundred in 1086. It is possible that they held and worshipped in private independent chapels of their own which have no place in the survey. Oskettel the priest held a manor of two carucates at Uggeshall,⁷ but no church is mentioned. Ulf the priest held 40 acres as a manor in Halesworth, possibly this became known as the Rectory Manor, but again no church is mentioned. Ulf was the son of a

1. DB.II 399b.

2. DB.II 371b.

3. Chapter I. Sec 3 note 13.

4. DB.II 414b.

5. Ibid. (Portus maris)

6. N.Evans & W.E.A. Fressingfield (Eds) Looking back at Fressingfield 1979 p.34; DB.II 329, 368. Two half churches with 20 acres each are mentioned under different lordships in Chippenhall. In the middle ages there were always two rectories in Fressingfield.

7. DB.II 299b.

chegn, Manny the Swarthy, owner of Bramfield and one of the principal landowners before the Conquest in Blything Hundred.⁸ It would not be surprising to find that Ulf the Priest had a church of his own at Halesworth⁹; alternatively the early Saxo-Norman shaft base, found at Halesworth in the nineteenth century, may have marked the site of an open-air place of worship, which would not have found a place in the Domesday survey.

At Middleton, half a priest was added to the church with five freemen, but this could relate to the advent of Fordley church built on the edge of Middleton's church yard.¹⁰ The titheable land of Fordley church lay in the southern half of Middleton, but the small church of Fordley St Mary stood a mile to the North beside the mother church of Middleton Holy Trinity.¹¹ The occurrence of two or more churches in one church yard is not uncommon in East Anglia, although few examples are left standing.¹² The usual interpretation for this phenomenon is the rival interests of two manors within the same vill, but there is no evidence to support this suggestion.¹³ The Domesday survey for Thorney in Stowmarket gives us an insight into how two churches might come to share the same church yard; as such it is worth quoting in full.¹⁴

There was T.R.E. a church with 1 carucate of free land. But Hugh de Montfort has 23 acres of that carucate and claims it as belonging to a certain chapel which 4 brothers, freemen under Hugh, built on land of their own hard by the cemetery of the mother church. And they were inhabitants (manentes) of the parish of the mother church, (and built this chapel) because it could not take in the whole of the parish.

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8. DB.II 292b (Bramfield) Ulf son of Manningswart is mentioned under Theberton DB.II 314. Ulf held lands and freemen at Halesworth (DB.II 299-299b) and Stickingland (DB.II 335).
9. See Sec.5 note 9 above ; R.Lennard Rural England 1959 p.292 fn.1., concerning land holding priests in Cambridgeshire.
10. The church of St Mary, Fordley, granted to Leiston Abbey in 1180 (Suckling Vol.II p.448) was situated against the west wall of the present grave yard about 50 feet south of Middleton Holy Trinity. Some writers say it was 37 'paces' long by 14 'paces' broad. (E.A.M. 11,084). In 1620 a dispute arose between the two church ministers concerning the ringing of bells during each other's services, as a result the parishes were merged in 1659. Rev. H.S.Cochran Notes on Middleton and Fordley 1946.
11. I.R.O., FDA102/A1/1. (See Fig.29); Chorography p.42
12. C.J.W.Messent Ruined Churches of Norfolk 1931 ; R.C.H.M. North East Cambridgeshire 1972 p.116 ; D.Owen Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire 1971 p.4.
13. R.C.H.M. 1972 op.cit.p.116. The two churches at Swaffham Prior are the best preserved example in East Anglia. The church of St Cyriac and Julitta occupies the central highest position in the church yard, with the church of St Mary lower down near the church yard edge. The Commission says 'this probably reflects an early manorial or tenurial division', but the names of seven manors are known in the parish and it is not known when such a division might have taken place.
14. DB.II 281b.

The mother church had always a moiety of the burial fees, and had by purchase the fourth part of other alms which might be made. And whether or not this chapel were consecrated the hundred doth not know. In this carucate of the church there were 5 bordars and 1 villein. Then as now two ploughs...' etc. (DB.II 281b).

This is also one of the few clear instances of corporate church building undertaken by a group of freemen in the eleventh century. In East Anglia, where groups of freemen abound, it seems likely that this was a more widespread practice than the Domesday survey might suggest. Several historians have touched on the problem, particularly in relation to the population expansion which is implicit in the reference to the overcrowded church at Thorney.¹⁵ It is interesting to note that at a significant number of sites in Norfolk where two or more churches stood in one church yard, one of the churches was dedicated to St Mary.¹⁶ At Swaffham Prior in Cambridgeshire the church of St Mary is built on the edge of the church yard, so is the famous example of the parish church of St Mary's at Bury St Edmunds. Like Fordley St Mary, the small church of St Mary, Thorney is now no more than a scatter of rubble on the edge of Stowmarket St Peter's church yard.¹⁷ The cult of St Mary is well attested in pre-Conquest Christian imagery in this country; possibly the date of the Annunciation of 'Lady Day' was associated in the minds of East Anglian freemen with the time of fallow ploughing and shearing.¹⁸

Fordley at the time of the Domesday survey consisted entirely of groups of freemen holding land under different tenants-in-chief.¹⁹ Like Stowmarket, Middleton Holy Trinity may have been a minor minster, but it only had fifteen acres of land, and was probably no more than a substantial mother church.²⁰ The topographical relationship of Middleton to Fordley parish is more fully discussed and illustrated in Chapter V. Sec.4 and Fig.29. The development of secondary churches associated with groups of freemen clearly shows that the process of colonisation and expansion was well under way in the eleventh century, and that these men were capable of demonstrating a degree of social independence within the vill in which they dwelt.

15. D.B.& B. p.181 ; R.Lennard Rural England 1959 p.290 ; J.Campbell 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Towns' in Baker (Ed.) op.cit. p.127.

16. Messent 1931 op.cit., Antingham, St Mary and St Margaret; Barton Bendish, St Andrew, St Mary and All Saints; Great Dunham, St Andrew and St Mary; Gillingham, All Saints and St Mary; Rockland, St Margaret and St Mary; South Walsham, St Lawrence and St Mary; Great Melton, All Saints and St Mary; Stiffkey, St John Baptist and St Mary.

17. See note 13 above ; A.G.H.Hollingsworth History of Stowmarket 1844 p.39.

18. M.D.Anderson History and Imagery in British Churches 1971 pp.129-131; C.Phythian-Adams Local History and Folklore 1975 p.21.

19. DB.II 311, 312, 314, 334, 334b.

20. DB.II 400.

There are five vills in Blything Hundred where only fractions of churches are mentioned in 1086.²¹ In most cases the fractions are mentioned in isolation under one vill and there do not appear to be corresponding fractions in other vills which might add up to a whole church. The fractions of churches probably represent a share in the alms offerings or 'profits' of partly private churches, such parts stemming from joint patronage at the time of foundation as at Stowmarket where the mother church 'always had a moiety of the burial fees and had by purchase the fourth part of other alms [offerings] which might be made'. (DB.II 281b). But for this exotic entry, caused by the dispute over ownership of glebe land, the mention of Thorney's chapel would have been submerged within the one carucate of free land belonging to the church of Stowmarket. The missing fractions for the Domesday churches of Suffolk lie hidden in the compounded entry for their mother church. Only those fractions or parts of churches are mentioned which belonged to separate vills or manors, and there is seldom any clue as to which mother church retains the missing parts. However, the fractions of churches can nonetheless be regarded as representing whole churches and separate congregations.²² The fractions may record the corporate effort of groups of freemen. Maitland pointed out rather grudgingly that some churches can be 'treated as belonging to the men of the vill who have subscribed to erect and endow them.'²³ V.B.Redstone pointed to Helmingham as the best illustration of freemen holding together several parts of one church.²⁴ The Domesday survey is unconcerned with the origins and history of these fractional churches, but the general impression given is that, like the chapel at Stowmarket, they were recent eleventh century creations and as such they may well represent the needs of a rapidly expanding population.

21 Alnetern, Cookley, Darsham, Heveningham, Hopton.

22. D.Owen op.cit. p.4 ; F.M.Stenton Anglo-Saxon England 1943 p.153.

23. D.B.& B. p.181.

24. V.B.Redstone Memorials of Old Suffolk 1908 p.27 ; DB.II 374b, 376 ; L.Redstone Suffolk 1930 p.41, (Braiseworth DB.II 320b, 321, 323b, and Willingham DB.II 407); F.Barlow The English Church 1000-1066 p.193, Wantisden (DB.II 306b, 307, 344) and Stonham (DB.II 428), where there was a church with 20 acres, which nine freemen had given for the salvation of their souls. Barlow adds, 'there is no good reason for making the Danes responsible for this pattern.'

It is likely that the Domesday record of churches for Suffolk is almost complete, but we cannot be certain about this.²⁵ It is possible that some small, recently established and corporately owned churches on the Suffolk claylands passed unrecorded, either because no profits accrued from them, or because, like Thorney, they were submerged within the holdings of the mother church and there was doubt about the legality of their consecration. At Holton, the church of St Peter has a Saxo-Norman round tower and other early Romanesque features to suggest that it might have been standing in 1086. The survey mentions Osbert's land in Holton, but fails to describe it, clearly we are dealing with an incomplete entry, which might have included a church.²⁶ There is very little evidence for manorialisation; although several manors came to hold land in Holton, there is no evidence of a Holton Manor.²⁷ Holton church, like so many others in Suffolk, once stood in splendid isolation.²⁸ Corporate action in the foundation of churches, such as Holton, by groups of freemen living in scattered farmsteads, could well explain the isolated position of many Suffolk churches, built for mutual convenience at natural foci in the landscape, such as road-river crossings.

Before the Conquest the villis of Stoven, South Cove, Holton and Fordley all consisted largely of groups of freemen, no manor and no church was mentioned, and yet churches existed in all four by the late twelfth century. The impression could be given that a number of churches were created as a result of Norman manorialisation. Manors did appear in most of the freeholding villis after the Conquest, but manorialisation was always weak and the existence of a small church built by freeholders before the Conquest can never be ruled out. It should certainly not be assumed on the basis of surviving Norman architectural remains that a large number of parishes and churches came into being as a result of the Norman Conquest. While this may be true for some urban areas and for parts of the country which were intensively manorialised,²⁹ in the freeholding areas of East Anglia we may conclude that the majority of parishes and churches were in existence before 1086, and that a significant number of them had come into being through the independent efforts of freemen.

25. R.Lennard Rural England 1959 p.294 note 2 ; H.C.Darby The Domesday Geography of Eastern England 3rd. Edn 1971 p.190.

26. DB.II 331b.

27. Copinger Manors of Suffolk Vol.II p.98.

28. I.R.O., P.440 Blyford Map c.1610.

29. C.Platt Medieval England 1978 p.25 n.76.

7. Fluidity and Change

The impression gained from a superficial study of churches in the landscape is one of enduring stability, of communities living out their generations within clearly defined and unchanging boundaries, burying their dead at a central place of worship wherein all generations past and present, and all levels of society meet in common supplication. Allowing for minor changes, parish boundaries can indeed be some of the oldest features of the English landscape. This is recognised and will be discussed more fully in the following chapter on administrative boundaries. No one seriously doubts the great age of many churches, but we cannot conclude that a parish is necessarily as old as the church to which it relates. In other words, a deceptively ancient church need not necessarily have an equally ancient place-name and parish boundary attached to it. This section is concerned with the need for an awareness of change in what may seem to be ancient and enduring features of the landscape. By looking at some examples in the area of Blything Hundred it will become clear that stability of boundaries and place-names in relation to churches can never be taken for granted.

The reasons behind changes to a parish boundary or a place-name are seldom obvious or even apparent, indeed a change may only be suspected without any proof or explanation being available. However, a number of changes can reasonably be ascribed to manorial reorganisation following changes in land ownership as a result of the Norman Conquest. At Yoxford, the present church may well be on the site of an eleventh century building mentioned under the vill of Stickingland in 1086.¹ Stickingland is now a very minor place-name within Yoxford, but it lies on the same side of the stream which divides the parish of Yoxford as the church. Possibly this stream once divided Yoxford from Stickingland, but that when the two vills were united the church of Stickingland became Yoxford's church. The amalgamation of the two vills can be traced back to the period between 1086 and 1156 when the Bigod family, who already had holdings in Yoxford and Stickingland acquired the main manor of Yoxford from Robert of Toden. The lands were the subject of a lengthy tithe dispute between rival monasteries established by the two families in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.²

1. DB.II 335.

2. W.R.Gowers 'The Chapel of St Margaret Mells' P.S.I.A. VIII(iii) 1894 p.351 ; Copinger Suf.Rec. & MSS. Vol.VI p.121 ; C.B.P. p.12 ; R.T.L.Parr 'Two Townships in Blything Hundred' P.S.I.A. XXV(iii) 1951 pp.297-303.

The church of All Saints at Ellough in Wangford Hundred may once have been the main church of the neighbouring parish of Willingham, whose parishoners seem to have built themselves a new church in the thirteenth century dedicated to St Mary.³ Now all that is left is the church of Ellough All Saints, the church of St Mary having long since disappeared.⁴ In the eleventh century Willingham was a substantial place with a church holding forty acres, Ellough was no more than a berewick of Willingham, and lay as a detached portion of the half Hundred of Lothingland.⁵ In this case the berewick has overtaken the primary settlement in importance, taking over its church, but not all of its titheable lands. The neighbouring parish of Shadingfield now includes the township of Willingham together with the site of the church of St Mary.

The parish of Fressingfield in Hoxne Hundred presents a similar but more subtle problem. At the time of the Domesday survey Fressingfield was a minor vill containing only one socman with six acres.⁶ Contained within the large present parish of Fressingfield are the two hamlets of Whittingham and Chippenhall, both of which appear to have been quite extensive vills in the eleventh century, particularly Chippenhall, which contained two half churches in 1086.⁷ In the eleventh century, the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds acquired extensive lands

3. Chorography p.69 'There were either two towns of this name /Willingham/, or there were in this town two churches, St Mary and All Saints. Willingham Alsaints is otherwise called Elow and...the other town called commonly Willingham and is Marie hath no church' ; DB.II 407 Willingham church with forty acres was valued at 7s., but 'several persons have part thereof' ; The churches of 'Heleg Omn' Sancton' and 'Willingham Sce Marie' are both mentioned in the Norwich taxation of 1254; Rev.W. Hudson 'On the Taxation of Norwich 1254 and Pope Nicholas 1291' Norf.Arch. XVII, 1910 p.143-4. See also Suckling Vol.I. pp.101-2.
4. Kirby p.272 writing in 1735, mentions that the church was standing in 1529, but now in ruins. The site is marked as an antiquity on most Ordnance Survey maps.
5. DB.II 283b.
6. DB.II 321 (Fessefelda).
7. DB.II 329, 368, 349.

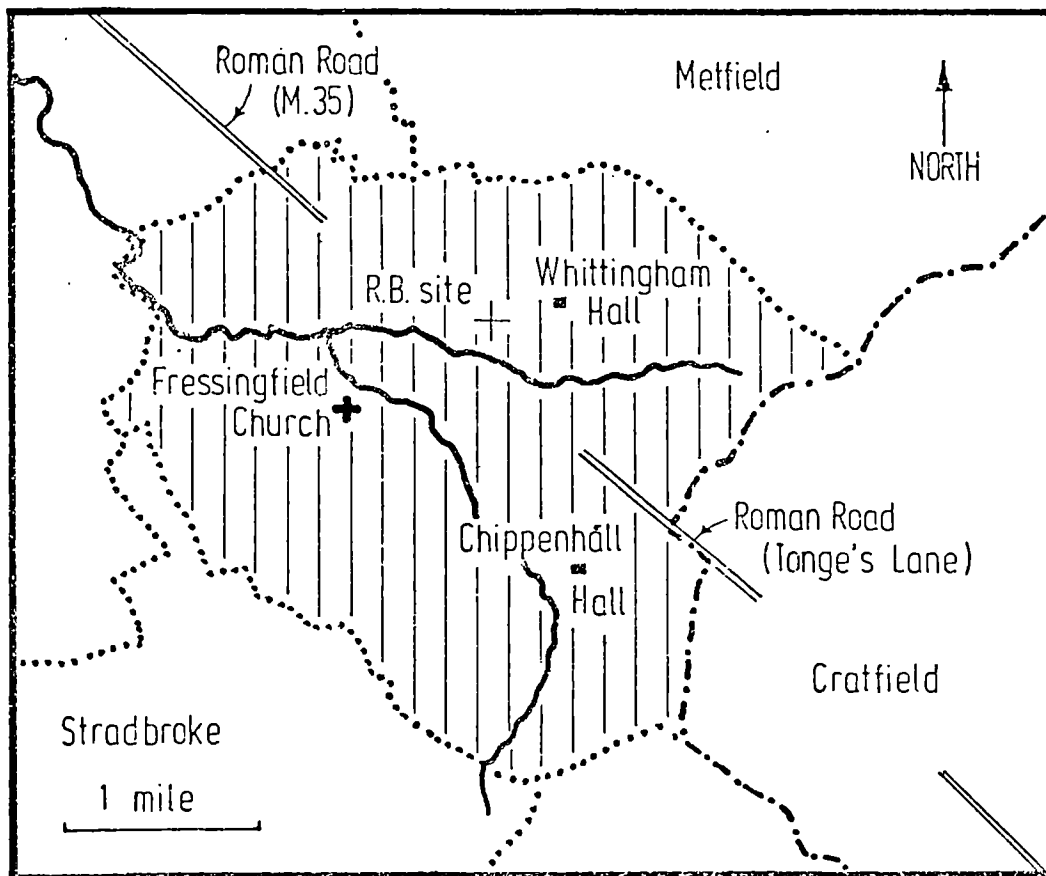


Figure 20. The Parish of Fressingfield.

in these two hamlets,⁸ in addition to one half of the manor of Whittingham, which had been granted to the Abbey by Thurketel of Palgrave before the Conquest.⁹ Thus we see a large ecclesiastical estate formed out of three vills and the name of Fressingfield, which was probably the name given to the Bury estate, being applied as an umbrella term for the whole group. The present church of Fressingfield might have had a dual origin; it has the not uncommon dedication to St Peter and St Paul, but there were always two rectories from an early date,¹⁰ probably representing the two half churches recorded under Chippenhall's Domesday entry. The 'hala' and 'feld' place-name endings of Chippenhall and Fressingfield suggest that they might be secondary to the 'hām' of Whittingham.¹¹ There is no archaeological evidence to support a case for Whittingham as the original centre of settlement in the Saxon period, but a minor Roman road passes through the centre of the parish, interrupted at a river crossing not far from Whittingham Hall (Fig 20.) At this point there was a substantial Roman farmstead site, established like so many others in the late Iron Age and occupied into the middle of the third century.¹² This site would appear to be the centre from which the three vills, first Whittingham, then Chippenhall and Fressingfield developed in the middle and late Saxon period. With the amalgamation of manors in the late eleventh century we find that a minor, relatively late, place-name is adopted for a large and important group of vills.

8. C.R.Hart The Early Charters of Eastern England 1966 p.249 ;
K.A.S. p.126 Charter No.126; DB.II 368.

9. Hart op.cit. No.90 (Before 1038)

10. N.Evans & Fressingfield W.E.A. (Eds) Looking back at Fressingfield
 1979 p.34.

11. B.Cox. 'The Significance of English Place-Names in ham in the Midlands and East Anglia'. in Place-Name evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and the Scandinavian Settlements K.Cameron (Ed) 1975 (1973) pp.55-98.

12. TM.272778(Fressingfield site 9.)

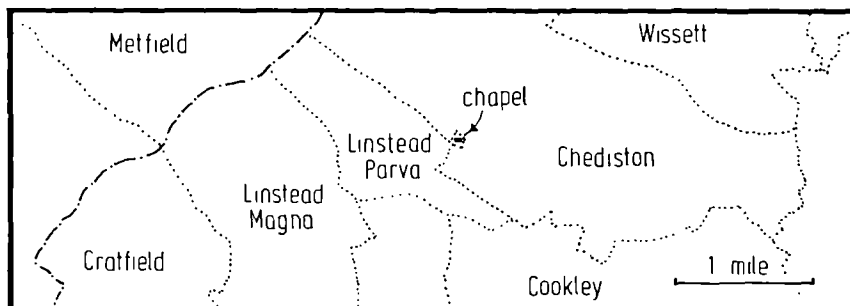
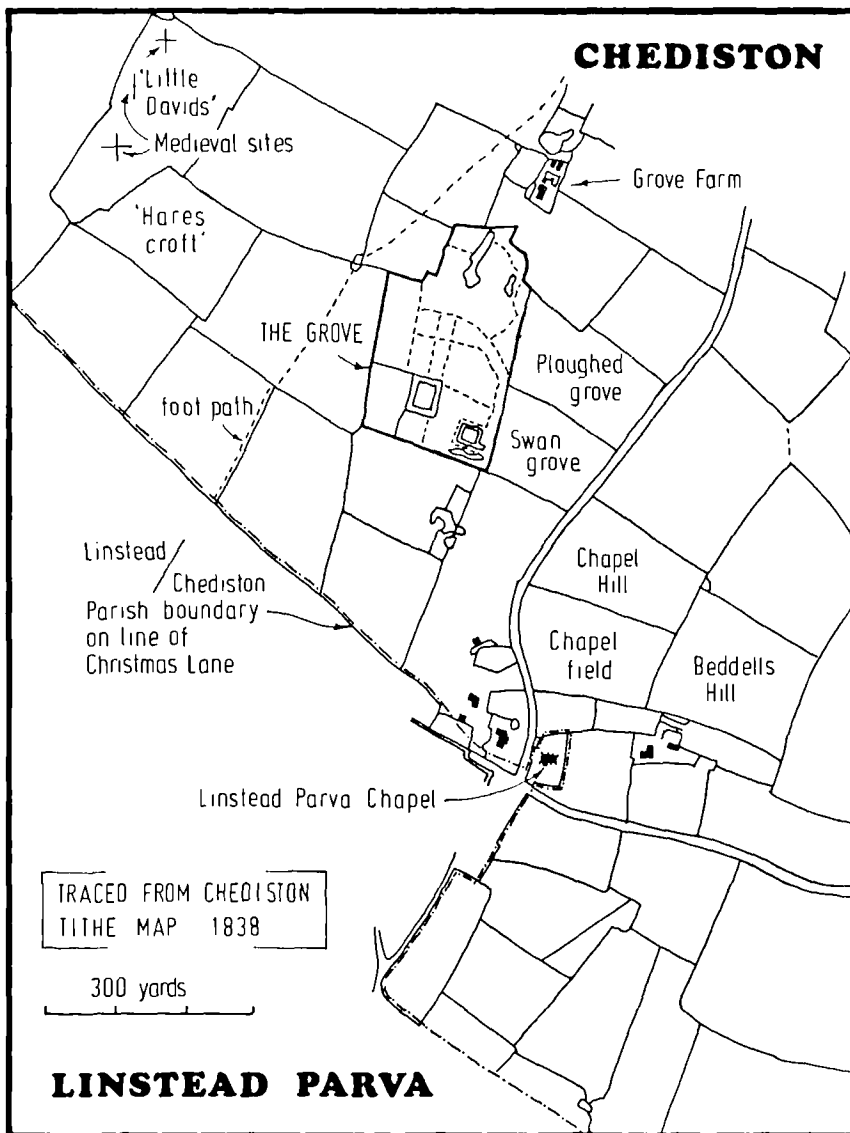


Figure 21. Linstead Parva Chapel.

At Linstead Parva (Fig.2.) there is an interesting example of a late vill utilising an abandoned chapel, part of a neighbouring deserted hamlet within the vill of Chediston. The small church and churchyard of Linstead lie as an enclave within the parish of Chediston (Fig.20). There is a strong suggestion of duality among the several Domesday entries for Chediston, particularly the two different assessments for gelt.¹³ These, more than anything else, suggest the emergence of a hamlet approaching vill status within Chediston in the late eleventh century. By the thirteenth century a new vill of Linstead Parva had emerged with its own chapel, recorded in the Norwich Taxation of 1254.¹⁴ Close to Linstead Parva church, but on the Chediston side, there is an extensive area of abandoned moats and earthworks, suggesting that this was the main nucleus of settlement nearest to the chapel (Fig.20). The church itself shows signs of having been ruined at some period in its history and later restored, but none of the visible structure is earlier than the thirteenth century. There is no certain date of desertion for the moats in the area of Chediston Grove, but it was probably abandoned by the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁵ If this deserted settlement had a name, no record of it survives, nor is there any record of the adoption of this chapel by an emerging Linstead Parva.

13. DB.II, 332b (5½d).
DB.II, 293 (7½d).

14. Hudson op.cit. pp.46-157. Linstead 'cum Parva' are valued together in 1254, but separately in the Inquisitiones Nonarum of 1341, where Parva is clearly little more than a chapel.

15. There are several reports of medieval finds from the Grove area. E.A.M. 1910: 3,042. A large mound was opened in this area (possibly by Professor Henslow). Trees on the top of the mound were cut down and a long sword and a few coins were found in it. Some thirteenth century pottery was found in 1961 when the owner of the land, Mr J.Ingate was 'excavating' it. Some thirteenth century sherds were found in a ditch on the site of a large moat at TM.33537820, reported in 'Archaeology in Suffolk' P.S.I.A. XXIX (i) 1961 p.93.

As will be seen in the next chapter the development of parochial territories took place within a framework of more ancient minsterland boundaries. The more ancient vill names might well be relegated to the names of hamlets, while as in the case of Fressingfield, the name of a hamlet might ultimately be used as an umbrella term for several ancient vills. New vills, such as Linstead Parva, might adopt older churches, where the original settlements that served them have become deserted. It is important to remember that in the eleventh century, some of the churches on the clay land of Suffolk would have been no older than many of the scattered farmsteads and place-names which formed the parish. Thus we should not be surprised to find evidence of what appears to be a fundamental change in the place-names and tithable areas attached to churches. Rather we should regard the church as the one more or less fixed point in the landscape, fixed by its graveyard, around which there is a degree of fluidity, within the bounds of larger, more ancient land units.

8. The Later Church

Two useful surveys of church revenues exist for East Anglia, the Norwich Taxation of 1254 and the Inquisitiones Nonarum of 1341. In addition there is Pope Nicholas IV's taxation of 1291, but because it is very similar to, and largely based upon, the Norwich Taxation of 1254, it will not be included in this section for the purpose of comparison.¹ None of these surveys can be regarded as wholly reliable in all points of detail, but nevertheless, two major changes are noticeable in Blything Hundred when the total value of each church, given in the returns for 1254 and 1341, are compared.² In both cases the valuation from which the taxation was assessed was given in marks (13s 4d.), the figure of 160d. was probably chosen for ease of computation. Half marks are occasionally encountered, so it seems likely that the assessors arrived at a valuation to the nearest 80d., from which the tax figure could be more easily calculated. The results of the two valuations are illustrated in diagrammatic form in figures 22 and 23.

Most noticeable are the spectacular increases in the revenues of the later coastal churches and chapelries, most of which had 'tithes of the sea', usually in the form of sprat and herring.³ Covehithe, Reydon with the chapel of Southwold, Easton Bavents and Benacre all show a substantial increase in revenue. The churches of Blythburgh, Walberswick, Southwold, Covehithe and also Kessingland were largely rebuilt on a grand scale and re-equipped with finery in the middle of the fifteenth century at a time when they were at their peak of prosperity.⁴ It is clear from the contract made for the

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1. Rev.W.Hudson 'The Norwich Taxation of 1254 and the Taxation of Pope Nicholas' Norf.Arch. XVII, 1910 pp.46-157; W.A.Wickham 'The Nonarum Inquisitiones for Suffolk' P.S.I.A. XVII, 1920 pp.97-122.
 2. Readers may wish to note that at the time of compilation in 1342 a direct comparison was made between the collected returns of the Inquisitiones Nonarum of 1341 and the 1291 valuations from the taxation of Pope Nicholas, jurors were required to explain any discrepancy between the old and new value, although these explanations do not always survive. See A.R.H.Baker 'Evidence in the Inquisitiones Nonarum of Contracting Arable Lands in England during the Early Fourteenth Century' Econ. Hist. Rev. 2nd Ser XIX(iii) 1966 p.518. Because the taxation of Pope Nicholas was based on the Norwich Taxation (note 1. above) a direct comparison between the figures for 1254 and 1341 can be made.
 3. Tithes of the sea had been collected at Walberswick before 1279: C.B.P. 482; P.Millican 'Christs Dole' Norf. Arch. 35(i) 1970 pp.154-7.
 4. The large numbers of persons listed in the 1327 Lay Subsidy returns for the villis of Leiston, Northales (Covehithe), Blythburgh with Walberswick, Reydon with Easton and Southwold, suggest that the run on herring had started in the early fourteenth century. The fragmentary Suffolk Poll Tax returns for 1381, list ten persons described as 'piscator' at Benacre, see E.Powell The East Anglian Rising of 1381 1896 p.116.

Norwich Taxation of 1254 Dunwich Deanery

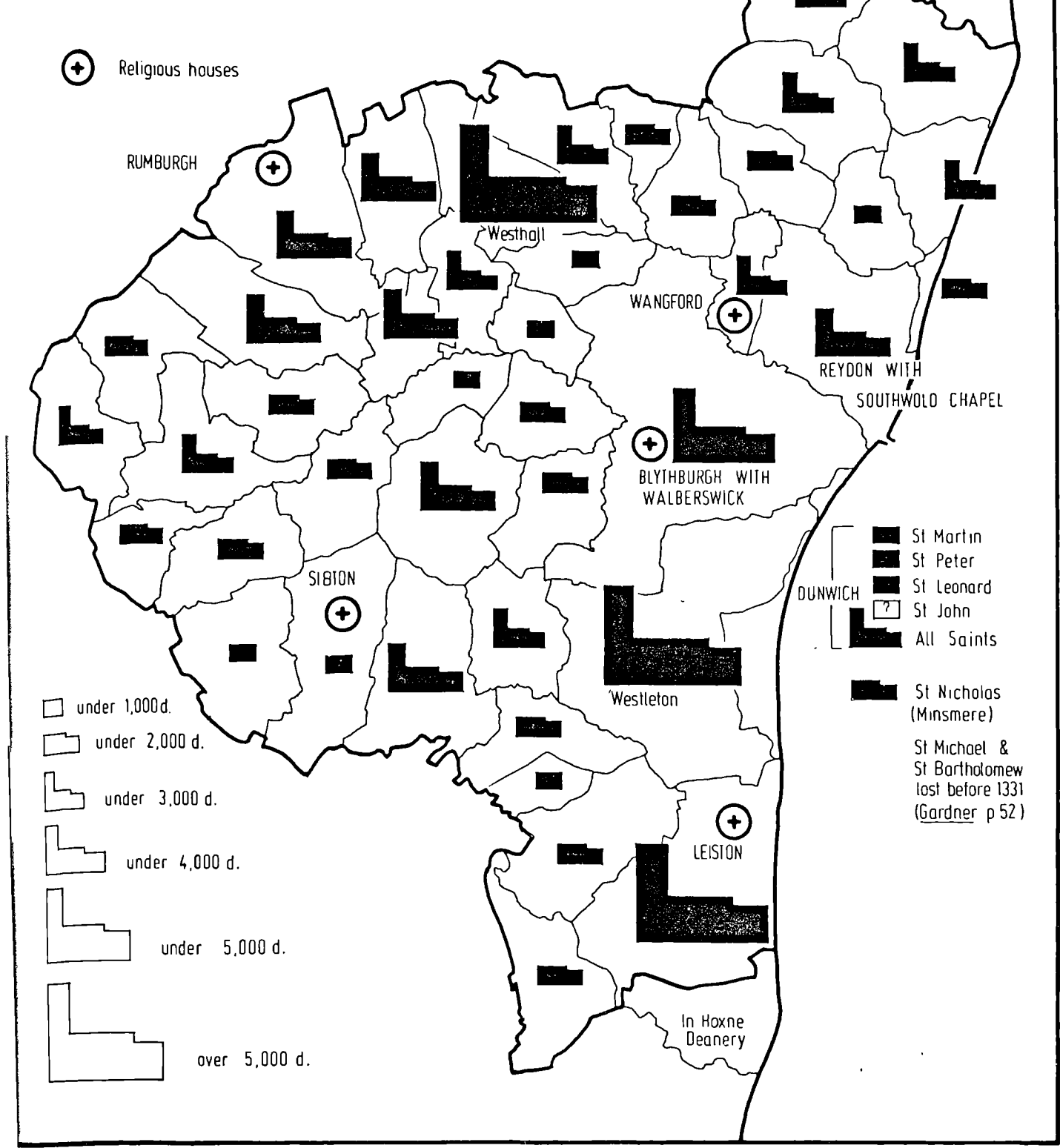


Figure 22. The Norwich Taxation of 1254.

Inquisitiones Nonarum 1341

Dunwich Deanery

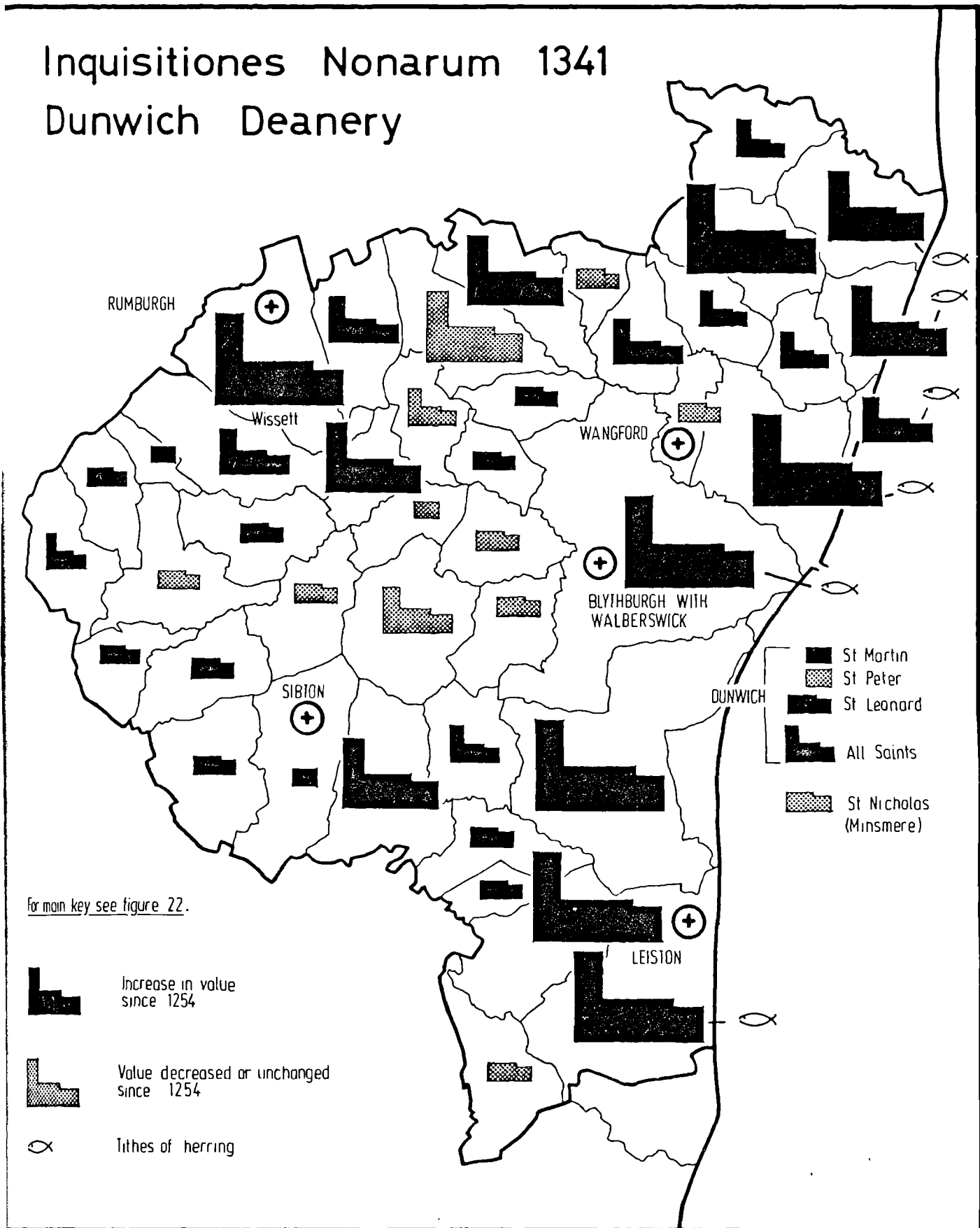


Figure 23. The Inquisitiones Nonarum of 1341.

building of Walberswick tower in 1425-6, that the 'town of Walberswick' was responsible for its construction, and not the owners of the church, Blythburgh Priory.⁵ Other increases at Theberton, Wissett and Wrentham may be due to a combination of tithes on turbary and hemp production, large entries for which feature in the returns for 1341.

Secondly, and in contrast, the values of the older churches with their surviving round towers, forming the ancient core of settlement within the hundred, had either remained static or had actually declined between 1254 and 1341. The exact cause of this is uncertain, but a loss of revenue on the part of the valley parishes to upgraded chapelries on the peripheral clayland, where the land was gradually being drained and improved by cultivation may be partly to blame.⁶ Some of the vills containing a preponderance of clayland show a slight improvement in the value of their churches. For example, Fordley and Linstead Parva, both late developing secondary clayland vills, increased in value from 1254 to 1341.

There is no doubt that the great fifteenth century churches of Blythburgh, Walberswick, Southwold and Covehithe owed more to herring and sprat than to wool and sheep. Walberswick had thirteen barks trading with Iceland, Farra and the north seas in 1451, as well as twenty-two fishing boats or 'farecosts' drawn up on the beach 'for full and shotten herrings, sperlings or sprats, etc.' in the mid fifteenth century.⁷ By the sixteenth century there was also a flourishing coastal trade in butter, cheese, bacon, corn, timber, coals, salt and fish.⁸ The one time chapelry of Walberswick had been moved to a new site and totally rebuilt on a vast scale by 1470.⁹ But a down-turn in trade was apparent in the middle years of the century, Blythburgh's flourishing market declined from a profit of 12s on market stalls in 1419-20, to less than 6s in the 1460's and 70's. Its annual fair recovered slightly in the 1480's but by 1490-1 there was only 3s profit from one stall in the market.¹⁰

The herring fishery collapsed at about the time of the Dissolution, at the same time as tithes of herring, which in part had supported these dependent churches, were appropriated. At Walberswick, lack of church funds caused the

5. Rev.C.Chitty 'Kessingland and Walberswick Church Towers' P.S.I.A. XXV, 1950 pp.164-71; C.Richmond John Hopton 1981 p.174.

6. Baker op.cit. p.519. A contrary picture has been found in Sussex, where the highest valuations were recorded on the most fertile soils and the lowest in parishes with the least fertile soils. See E.M.Yates 'The Nonae Rolls and Soil Fertility' Sussex Notes and Queries 15, 1958-62 pp.325-8. See also C.Platt Medieval England 1978 pp.98-9.

7. Gardner p.145, 146; Richmond op.cit. p.41.

8. Gardner p.145, 146.

9. Gardner pp.152-59.

10. Richmond op.cit. p.42.

sale of the 'great bell' in 1585.¹¹ In 1609 it was decided to limit the number of craft occupied in the coastal trade for butter and other goods to 'non but the old men' in order to combat 'the neglect of the fishery'.¹² This crisis was not helped by a voracious landlord who attempted to enclose the commons and take away from the town the profits of a quay which had been used for the repair of the church.¹³ In addition there were several disastrous fires and in 1628 the local justices of the peace considered it necessary to cause a rate to be raised by surrounding parishes for the relief of Walberswick's poor and destitute.¹⁴ In 1695 a 'petition for Lessening the church' was enacted by removal of the roof from the nave, chancel and north aisle, and, by selling the bells, enough money was raised to block off and maintain a small church in part of the south aisle.¹⁵ A similar fate befell Covehithe church, and Blythburgh only escaped by being used partly as a barn and cattle stall. Southwold and its magnificent church survived with the help of Queen Anne's Bounty, eventually reviving its fishery in the eighteenth century with the creation of the 'Free British Fishery' and the arrival of the first fishing Busses from Shetland in that 'memorable year' 1750.¹⁶

The rise and fall of these splendid churches along the coast are a direct reflection of the social and economic changes which were taking place in the late medieval period. In the same way, the slight decline in value of the churches on the hundredal heartlands, and their unchanging architectural form, record much earlier social and economic developments. They remind us of a time when administrative changes were taking account of new settlements developing on the claylands above the river valleys, and new parishes were being created for an expanding colonising population. We must look now at the development of these administrative boundaries within the hundred for what they can tell us about the development of settlement.

11. Gardner p.159.

12. Gardner p.151.

13. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/3.1 'he the said Sr Robert Brook hath taken away from yor pet^{rs} an ancient key belonging to the Town the benefitt whereof in former times was imployed for the repaire of the church & releife of the poor....'

14. Gardner p.169 'The number of Pore being such apering unto us, as well by the Information of the said Inhabitants, as by our own Vewe, to be the Number of fowerscore Persons, and upwards.'

15. Gardner p.162.

16. Gardner p.197; A.F.Bottomley A Short History of the Borough of Southwold 1974 pp.4-12.



Plate 16

Blythburgh Holy Trinity parish church, sometimes called the 'Cathedral of the Marshes', dominates the landscape in the centre of the Hundred. It was probably here that King Anna was buried in 654 AD. It was a natural focal point for the centre of an Anglo-Saxon royal estate and the administrative heart of the 125 square miles of Blything Hundred.



Plate 17

Blythburgh church at its nadir in the early nineteenth century. James Raven, writing in the late nineteenth century, recorded that ruins of the Priory buildings could still be seen in the field between the Priory church and the river and also in the foundations of this ruined cottage opposite the east end of the church. According to Janet Becker, a thatched cottage called the 'Almshouse', standing opposite the chancel, was burned down in about 1900. It is one of many houses to have disappeared from the centre of Blythburgh since the sixteenth century.



Plate 18

The late Saxon round tower of Wissett church stands, like several others in Blything Hundred, low down at a road-river crossing. It probably owes its survival to the formation of Rumburgh parish in the eleventh century, the resulting loss of tithes inhibited the rebuilding of the old mother church of Wissett in later centuries.

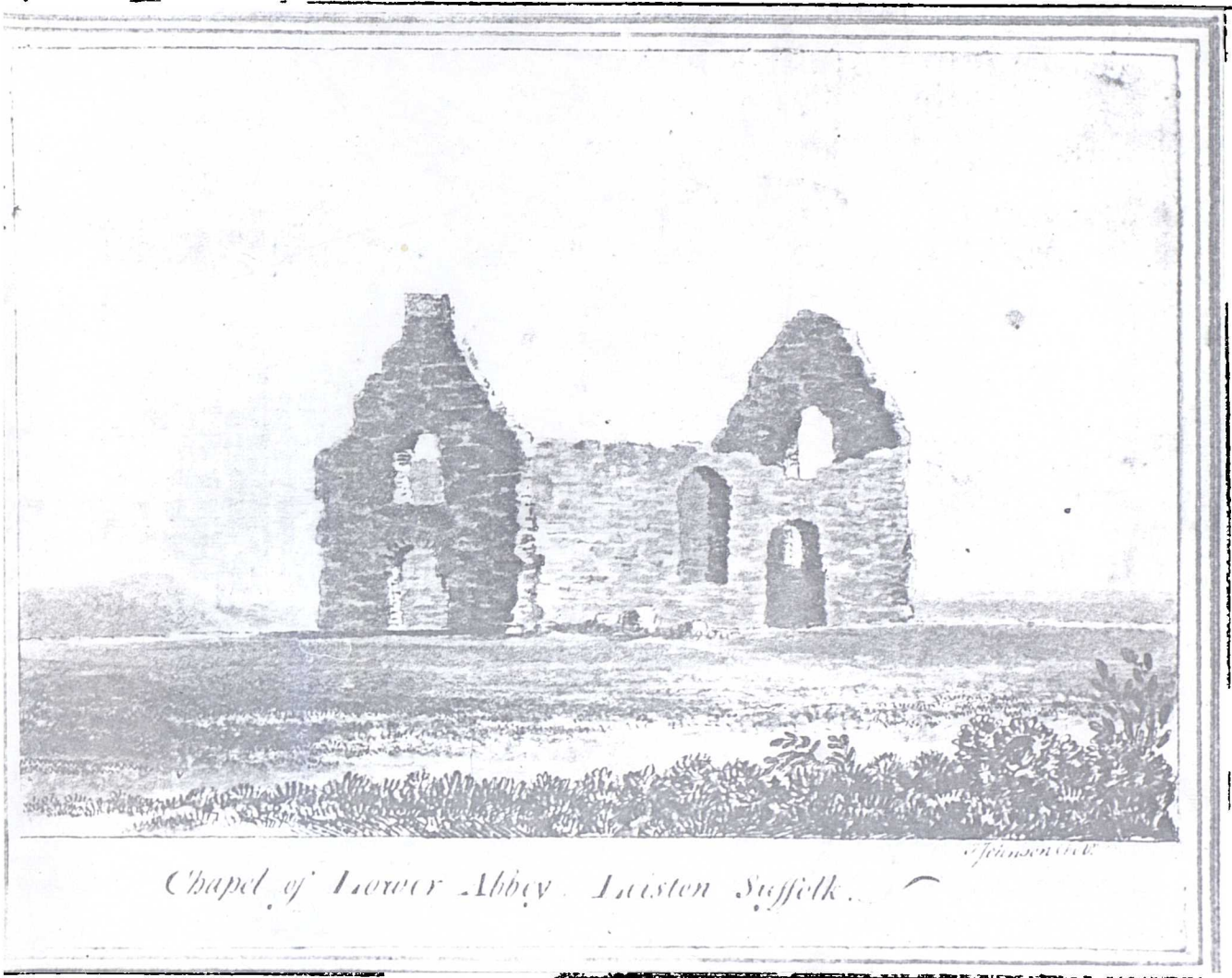


Plate 19

The Chapel of St. Margaret at Sizewell, built on the site of the first Premonstratensian Abbey of Leiston, which had been moved in 1362 to its present site. Sketch made by Isaac Johnson while surveying Minsmere Level in 1786.



Plate 20

The square unbuttressed tower at Chediston. Although there is no architectural confirmation of its age, square unbuttressed towers of this type may be as old as some of the late Saxon round towers in the same area, such as Wissett and Thorington. These towers probably represent a cluster of early churches in the ancient heartlands of the Hundred, some of which may have been established before the Danish raids of the ninth century.

Chapter V

ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES

1. The County
2. The Hundred
3. Letes and Ville Integre
4. Parochial Territories
5. Sub-hundredal Areas
6. Private Sokes

Figures

24. Suffolk Hundreds
25. Blything Watershed Area
26. Ville Integre in Blything Hundred
27. Parishes and 'lost' Domesday Villis
28. Mendham Minsterland
29. Middleton and Fordley
30. Rumburgh parish
31. Sub-hundredal Areas
32. Sokes

Tables

- Va. Key to Suffolk Hundreds in Figure 24.
- Vb. Documents relating to Ville Integre.
- Vc. Ville Integre and Gelt assessments.

1. The County

Division of a north and south folk to form the separate counties of Norfolk and Suffolk suggests that they were once members of a single autonomous land unit.¹ Considering the rather obvious geographical divide formed by the rivers Ouse and Waveney the administrative division of the two counties came surprisingly late. The Earldom of East Anglia was not divided into Norfolk and Suffolk until some time after the Norman Conquest.² The sheriffs likewise remained the sheriffs of both Norfolk and Suffolk up to the time of Queen Elizabeth I.³ Both offices reflect a degree of continuity from the time of the old Saxon Kingdom of East Anglia which itself constituted both counties.

It has been suggested that the pre-Roman tribal identity of the Iceni may have survived, to a greater or lesser extent, throughout the Roman and post-Roman period in place-names such as Ickburgh, Ickworth and in the name of the prehistoric Icknield Way itself, which passed through the heart of Icenian territory in the Brecklands of S.W. Norfolk and N.W. Suffolk.⁴ The full extent of the Icenian tribal lands in pre-Roman times has only recently been fully realised.⁵ Early distribution maps given in works by Fox and Rainbird

1. R.Rainbird Clarke East Anglia 1960 p.165. He suggests that the Alfredian charter (C.S.571) is the earliest evidence for the division of East Anglia into Norfolk and Suffolk. Unfortunately, this charter is almost certainly a forgery, see C.R.Hart The Early Charters of Eastern England 1966 p.40, 53.
2. H.S.Cumming 'On the Kings of East Anglia', and J.R.Planche 'On the Earls of East Anglia', together in J.B.A.A. 21, 1865 pp.22-31, 91-103; F.M.Stenton 'The East Anglian Kings of the Seventh Century' in The Anglo-Saxons studies presented to Professor Bruce Dickins P.Clemoes (Ed.) 1959 pp.394-402. In the tenth century the earldom of East Anglia may have been very large, including Cambridgeshire and possibly also Northamptonshire: see H.M.Chadwick Studies in Anglo-Saxon Institutions 1963 p.177.
3. N.Scarfe The Suffolk Landscape 1972 p.42.
4. N.Scarfe 'The Place-name Icklingham: A Preliminary Re-examination' E.A.A.R. No.3, 1976 pp.127-34.
5. These place-names concentrate in the Breckland region where an abnormally large number of Iron Age and prehistoric sites are recorded. While the importance of the area is not in question, the early distribution maps should be qualified. See Chapter III Sec.1 note 3.

Clarke⁶. show the south eastern part of Suffolk in Trinovantian territory. This must now be corrected in the light of new archaeological evidence. Excavations at Burgh-by-Woodbridge carried out by the Suffolk Archaeological Unit in 1975⁷. revealed a massive late Iron Age fortification overlain by later Roman building material. The distribution of Icenian coins suggests that this lowland 'hill-fort', together with a similar one at Clare, and possibly another at Sudbury, represent the military dispositions intended to defend a southern Icenian boundary running along the line of the Stour-Granta Valleys. The tribal affiliation of the Shotley peninsula, in the south east corner of Suffolk, where large Iron Age sites are known, remains in question. Indeed this area and the Stour Valley itself may have been a disputed frontier, being so near to the Trinovantian heartland at Camulodunum. The newly postulated, more southerly, location of the boundary of the Iceni is of importance to Blything Hundred because it was once believed that the hundred lay on the frontier, whereas now it is seen lying well within Icenian territory. If the fens of west Suffolk and Norfolk once formed the western tribal boundary, it will be appreciated that the modern counties of Norfolk and Suffolk correspond to the Icenian tribal area as it is now understood.

Norman Scarfe has suggested a post-Roman survival in the form of 'Icen' as a tribal name in place-names such as Icklingham and Ickworth.⁸ It would be unwise to speculate about the significance of Icenian place name survival in terms of tribal identity in the post-Roman period and the etymology of

6. C.Fox 'The Distribution of Man in East Anglia' P.P.S.E.A. VII(iii) 1933 pp.149-65; R.Rainbird Clarke 'The Iron Age in Norfolk and Suffolk' A.J. XIV, 1940 pp.1-113.

7. E.A.A.R. forthcoming.

8. Scarfe 1976 op.cit.

Mr Scarfe's suggestions has not been verified by place-name scholars, but nonetheless his arguments are extremely persuasive. It seems very likely that the old Icenian territory, in accordance with Roman provincial policy, formed a convenient administrative unit and that the old tribal identity was maintained not least in the name of the civitas capital of Venta Icenorum.⁹ The late Roman coin series from the pagan Anglo-Saxon village of West Stow, very close to Icklingham, itself an important late Roman site, suggests that the intrusive Saxon community might have traded with their sub-Roman neighbours and come to regard them as 'Icklingas' according to their ancient tribal affiliation.¹⁰ So we may see the 'Folk' of Norfolk and Suffolk as the new settlers and overlords in this ancient tribal area, in which there remained a strong residual Romano-British element.

9. J.M.Reynolds 'Legal and Constitutional Problems in The Civitas Capitals of Roman Britain J.S.Wacher (Ed.) 1966 pp.70-75.

10. S.E.West 'Interim Report on the Excavations of the Anglo-Saxon Village of West Stow'. Med.Arch. XIII, 1969 pp.1-20; S.E.West & J.Plouviez 'The Roman Site at Icklingham' E.A.A.R. No.3, 1976 pp.63-102.

Suffolk Hundreds

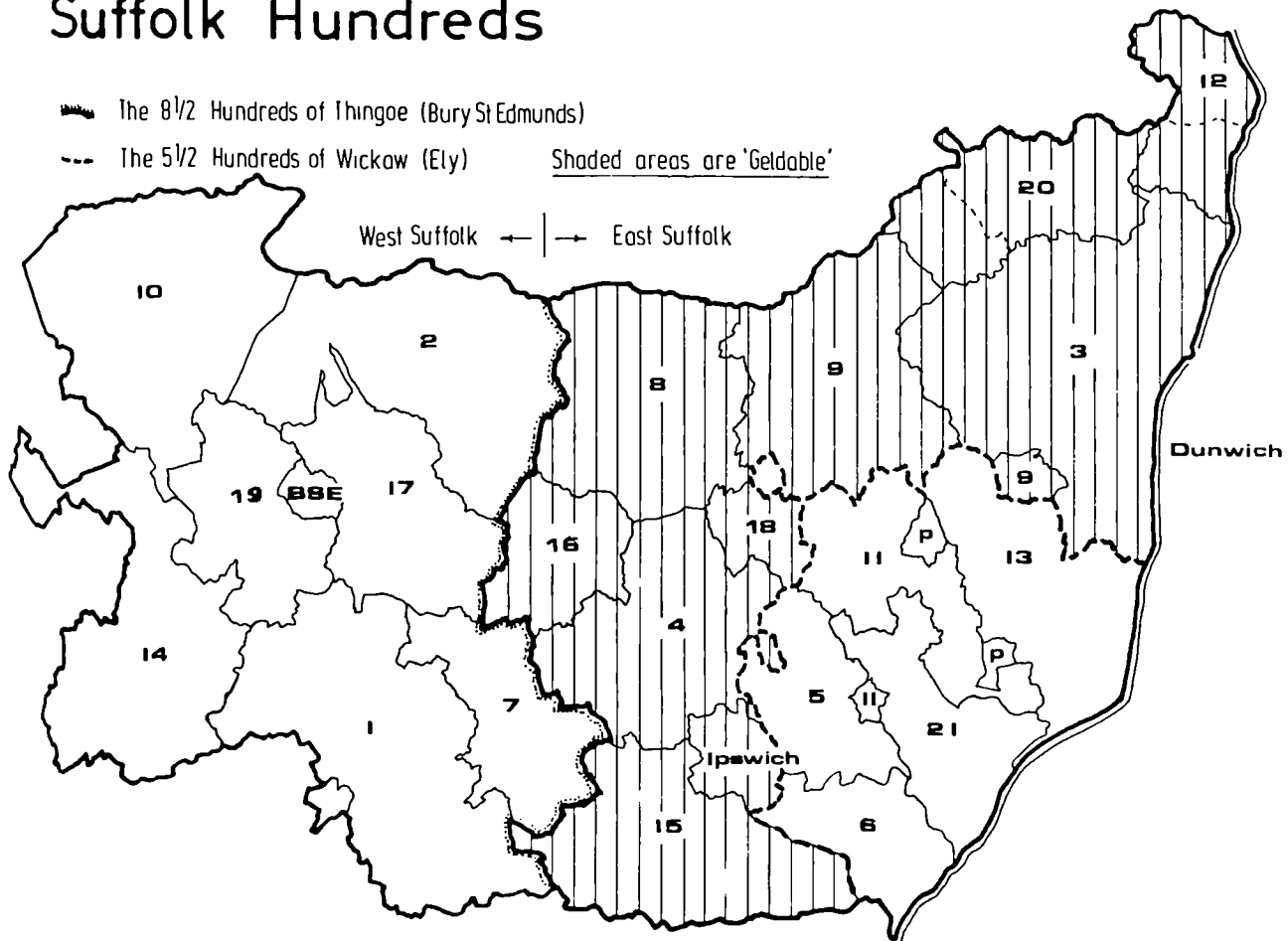


Table Va. Key to Suffolk Hundreds: Figure 24

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Babergh | 12. Mutford and Lothingland |
| 2. Blackbourn | 13. Plomesgate |
| 3. Blything | 14. Risbridge |
| 4. Bosmere and Claydon | 15. Samford |
| 5. Carlford | 16. Stow |
| 6. Colneis | 17. Thedwastre |
| 7. Cosford | 18. Thredling |
| 8. Hartismere | 19. Thingoe |
| 9. Hoxne | 20. Wangford |
| 10. Lackford | 21. Wilford |
| 11. Loes | P. Parham half hundred |
| | BSE Bury St Edmunds |

2. The Hundred

The hundredal pattern of East Anglia was undoubtedly very old and full of anomalies when it was first recorded by the Domesday survey in 1086.¹ Historians are generally agreed that the medieval administration based on hundreds in East Anglia was essentially a post-Danish imposition, but that it overlay a much earlier system of hundreds and 'shires' the meeting places and boundaries of which were, in some cases, reused, so that an element of continuity from pre-Anglo-Saxon times can occasionally be detected.² The underlying more ancient hundreds or 'shires' vary considerably in size, but they usually comprise a number of the later medieval administrative hundreds. Within these 'shires' some writers have seen an underlying 'agrarian and political' lordship which can be recognised in administrative units as far apart as the lathes of Kent and the shires of Northumbria as well as the liberties of East Anglia, such as the eight and a half hundreds of Thingoe in West Suffolk.³ It is possible that we see in Blything Hundred a small 'shire' which remained undivided as an administrative unit throughout the medieval period.

The boundaries of many ancient 'shires', and Blything Hundred is no exception, follow the line of watersheds, the division between natural

1. K.A.S. p.xliv, R.H.C.Davis points out a number of anomalies in the county and hundredal boundaries: Thetford was part of Suffolk; Bures lay partly in Suffolk, partly in Essex; Nayland was in Essex but was geldable in Suffolk; Diss, in common with other centres for socage dues, lay outside Norfolk in the Suffolk hundred of Hartismere. The parish of Mendham included land on both sides of the river Waveney. (See Fig.28).
2. H.M.Cam 'The Private Hundred Before the Norman Conquest' in Studies Presented to Hilary Jenkinson J.Conway Davis (Ed.) 1957 p.89; J.Morris The Age of Arthur 1973 pp.491-5. Morris points to the earlier usage of the hundred formed long before the creation of large counties, he describes the hundred as a 'shire', literally a division of a kingdom. Concerning hundreds named after burial places he says, 'they remained in use when they had already been meeting places in the sixth or seventh century. Such meeting places were familiar to the continental English; one at Thorsberg in Angel, marked by a monument in the midst of a large cemetery, was a regional centre, possibly the national centre.' The process of justice conducted at the hundred courts or moots and wapentakes, as far as it is known, was largely Germanic in character. At Loveden Hill in Lincolnshire, site of an extensive pagan Saxon cemetery and the meeting place of the Wapentake of Loveden, evidence of summary executions tend to endorse the pre-Roman descriptions of assemblies given by Tacitus in his 'Germania': H.Mattingly (Trans) The Agricola and the Germania 1948(1970) pp.110-2; K.R.Fennell 'Pagan Saxon Lincolnshire' A.J. 131, 1974 pp.285-6. I am grateful to Mr N.Kerr for drawing my attention to this site.
3. G.W.S.Barrow The Kingdom of the Scots 1975 pp.8, 11. See also Maitland D.B.& B. pp.266-7, 410; C.S.Taylor 'The Origin of the Mercian Shires' in Gloucestershire Studies H.P.R.Finberg (Ed.) 1957 pp.58-9.

BLYTHING HUNDRED WATERSHED AREA

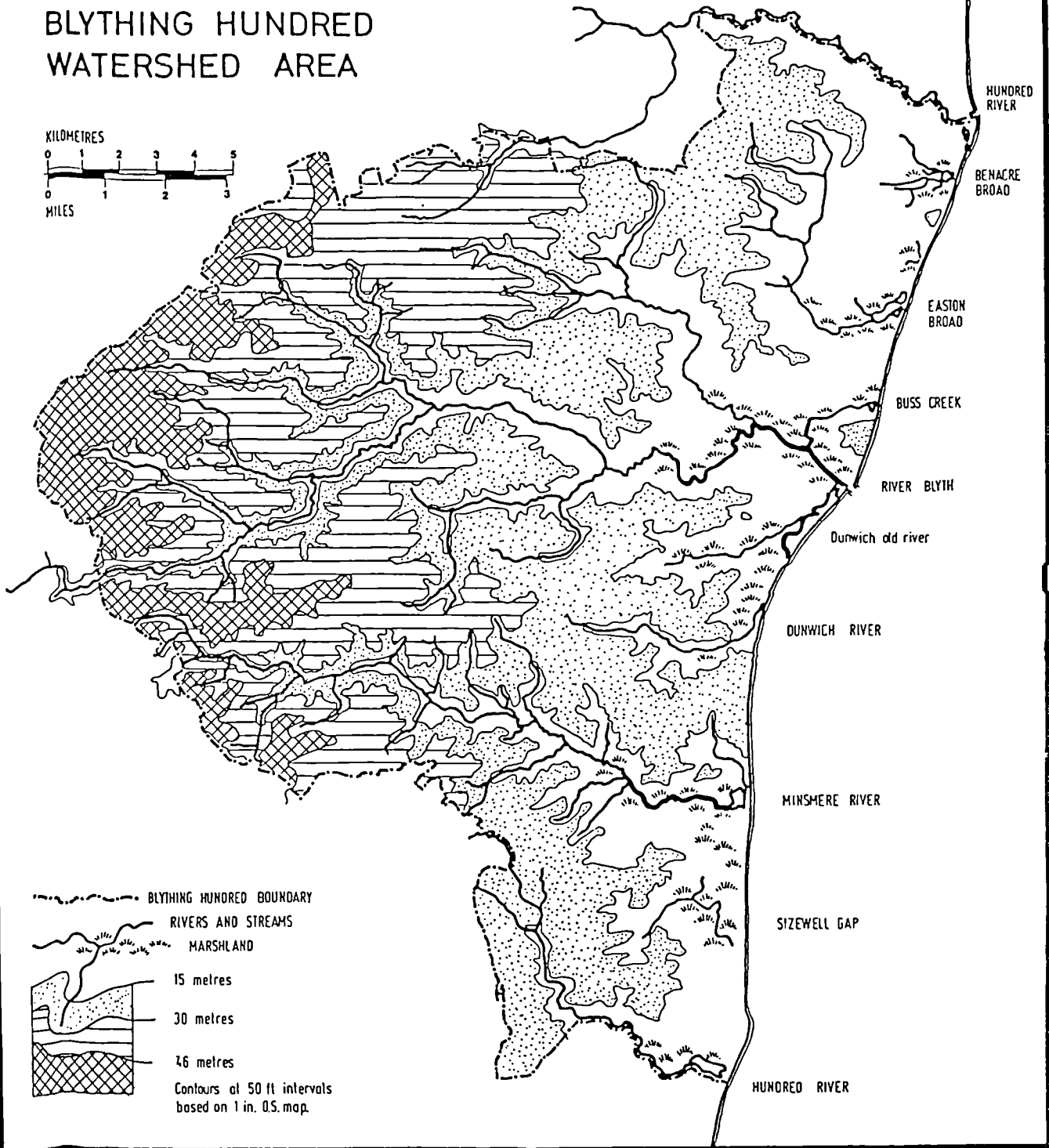
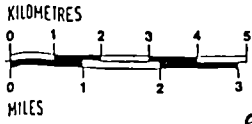


Figure 25. Blything Hundred Watershed Area.

rainwater catchment areas (Fig.25).⁴ Later changes and administrative compromises have clouded the picture so that some hundreds are now no more than sub-divisions of areas once defined by watersheds.⁵ There is no doubt that these watershed boundaries are extremely old. The name of Blything means the people of the river Blyth and in this instance the watershed is almost certainly implied as it marks the western boundary of their territory, while the Hundred Rivers mark the northern and southern boundaries.⁶ The watershed area of the hundred, while being clearly defined geographically cannot be physically defended as a separate territory. Furthermore, on the flat clay plateau to the west, the watershed boundary would have been almost undetectable in a wooded landscape; the boundary must therefore have been laid out at a time before the early Saxon period when the clayland landscape was at least partially clear, in the late Iron Age or early Roman period. Blything Hundred should therefore be seen as a subdivision of a wider Icenian territory which, as we know, was adequately defended.⁷

The pattern of watershed boundaries relates only to the separation of

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5. Some irregularities are noticeable in the watershed boundary of Blything hundred. An example being Rumburgh parish, which was carved out of the waste land between Blything and Elmham shortly after Rumburgh Priory was founded in 1065. The line of Rumburgh Street probably marks the earlier hundred boundary. It should be noted that the 1929 East Norfolk and Suffolk River Board catchment area boundary runs almost down the line of Rumburgh Street: see 1929 revision of 6 inch O.S. map. The line is illustrated on Fig. 30a. The hundred river which defines the southern boundary is crossed by Knodishall parish, which in the Domesday Survey is described as a hamlet of Saxmundham. This would place it in Plomesgate Hundred, but because the Soke lay in Leiston it became part of Blything Hundred, C.L.A. p.24. Part of Sotterley may once have lain in Blything Hundred, the neighbouring parish of Shadingfield (Scadenafella DB.) means Scaden-feld - the 'feld' on the boundary. Laxfield should lie in Blything if the watershed boundary were to be complete. The Saxon landowner Edric of Laxfield owned not only that village but large parts of Blything Hundred including the Soke of Leiston and the whole of Dunwich. Laxfield may have been taken into Hoxne Bishop's Hundred after the creation of the Honour of Eye, by Robert Malet, Edric of Laxfield's Norman successor.
6. Blidinga DB. - 'the dwellers on the Blyth': Ekwall.
7. See Section 1, above.

larger hundredal areas. Thus to the south of Blything Hundred the Liberty of Ely known from the 10th century as the five and a half hundreds of Wicklaw, which once also included the Trilling of Winstow, corresponds with the land held either side of the River Deben, from its source at Debenham to the sea.⁸ The five and a half hundreds are clearly subdivisions of the main hundredal area of Wicklaw and were subordinate to it for their administration.⁹ The Hundred of Wangford was quartered by the 'Ferding' of Elmham, an ancient estate itself representing a subdivision of a large catchment area on the south side of the Waveney.¹⁰

The hundreds of Suffolk fall into two categories, the 'Franchises' and the 'Geldable'. (Fig.24). The two franchises or Liberties of Bury St Edmunds and Ely represent large hundredal areas granted at an early date by the crown to those monasteries. Geld was payable by the tenants within these areas to their monastic overlords rather than to the King and they sought justice in the Abbots' courts. They were Liberties in name only. The 'Geldable' hundreds, on the other hand, owed gelt direct to the King through the hundred court and its bailiff in the usual way.¹¹ This system of administration lasted beyond the dissolution of the monasteries, so that the Liberty of St Edmund, or the eight and a half hundreds of Thingoe, corresponding with the whole of west Suffolk, maintained a separate

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8. H.M.Cam Liberties and Communities in Medieval England 1944 p.185. According to the Liber Eliensis, Wicklaw once included six hundreds and they belonged to Sudbourne: Liber Eliensis II.41; W.G.Arnott The Place-Names of the Deben Valley 1946 p.2.
 9. The medieval administrative centres of Wicklaw were successively, Sudbourne, Melton and Woodbridge, where the 'Shire Hall' still stands in the market place.
 10. The 'Ferding' as a hundredal sub-division is also found at Huntingdon, Wisbech and Ludham: see K.A.S.p.xxix, and J.H.Round Feudal England 1895 p.101. There are two possible interpretations: 1. that it represents a quarter hundred, as the Ferding of Elmham would appear to do; 2. the Ferding may derive from the word 'Fyrd' and relate to the system of Anglo-Saxon military service.
 11. Cam 1944 op.cit. p.187; H.M.Cam The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls 1930 p.207.

jurisdiction and administration until the 1971 county reorganisation.^{12.} Similarly the five and a half hundreds of Wicklow were administered as a separate entity until the County Council of East Suffolk was created in 1888.^{13.} At one time there may have been similar but smaller hundredal franchises in the remaining 'Geldable' areas. The Trilling of Winstow was probably one of these, being originally part of the Wicklaw, and the 'Franchise way' which divided Blything Hundred from the Ilketshalls might be an indication that they, part of Wangford hundred, were also once a Liberty.^{14.}

The names of hundreds are generally thought to be the names of early meeting places and these are points of considerable archaeological interest, sometimes being equated with sites of Dark Age or sub-Roman significance. Wicklaw in particular includes a number of important archaeological sites, and the name of Wicklaw may itself represent the survival of a Latin loan-word.^{15.} The manor of 'Wicklows' probably represents the surviving place-name; it lay very close to an important late Roman centre at Hacheston, adjoining the later medieval settlement of Wickham Market.^{16.} The Wicklaw hundreds include the whole of the Deben estuary where there was undoubtedly a major royal Dark Age centre, either at Redwald's 'Villa Regalis' near Rendlesham or at the hamlet of Kingston-by-Woodbridge, both in close proximity to the royal burial ground of the late pagan period at Sutton Hoo.^{17.}

12. Scarfe 1972 op.cit. pp.36-142.

13. Ibid. p.40.

14. Note 8 above; Scarfe 1972 op.cit. p.19, fig.17; G.C.Homans 'The Frisians in East Anglia' Econ.Hist.Rev. 2nd Ser. X, 1957 pp.190-206. For the 'Franchise Way' see J.Ridgard & Halesworth W.E.A. (Eds) Halesworth; Towards a Local History 1980 p.46 (fol.61).

15. M.Gelling 'Latin Loan-Words in Old English Place-names' Anglo-Saxon England 6, 1977; M.Gelling 'English Place-names Derived from the Compound Wicham' Med.Arch. XI, 1967 pp.87-104.

16. See Chapter III Sec.7 note 5.

17. Bede II, Ch.XV. See also the discussion in the introduction to R.L.S. Bruce Mitford Sutton Hoo Vol.I, 1976.

It is possible that the 'wick' of Wicklaw represents an enclave of sub-Roman activity surviving into the early days of the East Anglian royal house. Possibly it remained intact as a royal estate, passing with the dower of St Etheldreda, the daughter of King Anna and foundress of Ely, long before the estates and 'soke' were confirmed on the Abbey by Edgar in the tenth century.¹⁸ Her father was buried at Blythburgh, at the centre of Blything Hundred, which was the 'regio' adjoining Wicklaw to the north, and the earliest authenticated Christian burial place of the East Anglian royal house apart from Bury St Edmunds.¹⁹ Blything remained in royal hands, while Wicklaw, with its dangerous pagan associations, remained safely in the hands of the church. The hundred court of Blything traditionally met at Blythburgh, the hundredal capital, the later courts met at the Shire House in the market place. Another important meeting place, used perhaps by the men of Dunwich, was the curious mound marked on Gardner's map of the town as 'Leat Hill'.²⁰ We know from the Domesday survey that it was the King's custom for criminals tried at Dunwich to be executed at Blythburgh, and if Dunwich men were summoned to the Hundred they were obliged to attend. Blythburgh, therefore, almost certainly pre-dates Dunwich as the administrative centre of the Hundred.²¹

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18. Cam 1944 op.cit. p.185; V.C.H. Cambridgeshire Vol.IV, 1953 Ch.1. The earliest mention of the 'soke' comes in the charter of Edgar (970 AD), '...the two hundreds in the fens and the five and half hundreds of Wicklaw', in Suffolk: Liber Eliensis II, 5. These may well be the lands which Etheldreda brought to her marriage with Tonbert, earldorman of the Gyrwas, and used by her together with the Isle of Ely, her husband's marriage portion, to found the abbey in 673. But see E.Miller The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely 1951 pp.8-15, who refutes the idea of continuity which is hinted at in the chronicles of the cathedral priory. However, he concludes that 'there is no inherent improbability in the supposition that the island /of Ely/ may have been the endowment which St Etheldreda conferred', and that the liberty was made up of 'more than one original part'. Wicklaw has been identified by V.B.Redstone of Woodbridge, as a hill in the parish of Hacheston, but this identification is not certain: K.A.S. p.xlii; Copinger, Manors of Suffolk Vol.IV, 1911 p.289.
19. F.M.Stenton 'The East Anglian Kings of the Seventh Century' in Clemons (Ed.) op.cit. p.47: 'Ely presents remarkably few facts of interest derived from local memory about the independent Kingdom of East Anglia... the most probable is the statement in the Liber Eliensis that King Anna was buried at Blythburgh.'
20. Gardner, his map of 1754 was based on a survey by Ralph Agas made in 1587. R.Parker Men of Dunwich 1980 pp.27-28: '"Leet Hill"...never gets a mention in the annals of the town, though it appears on all the maps'. That Dunwich had a pre-Conquest folk court is evidenced by the Domesday survey. DB.II 312.
21. DB.II 312, 312b. See Chapter IV Sec.2 note 8.

3. Letes or Ville Integre

An apparent peculiarity of East Anglia is the sub-division of hundreds into letes or ville integre. Homans, inspired perhaps by J.N.L.Myres' rather dubious interpretation of Frisian place-names, considered the lete to be pre-Danish in origin and pointed out similar administrative units in ancient Friesland.¹ While the lete could conceivably be pre-Danish in origin, there is little evidence to suggest that it is as early as the formative period of Anglo-Saxon settlement. It is a feature of some letes that they do not form homogeneous units, but may consist of several vills scattered about the hundred. The reason for this relates to the collection of gelt. Douglas suggested that it was normal for some hundreds to be divided into 12 letes, each parcelling out its burden of gelt among its constituent vills in an equitable manner, though not always in exactly equal portions.² The purpose of letes was to disperse the burden of taxation fairly over the whole hundred. The lete system is best illustrated in the Liberty of St Edmund where the letes of the 8½ hundreds which comprised West Suffolk are listed in the

1. G.C.Homans. 'The Frisians in East Anglia' Ec.Hist.Rev.X, 1957 pp.189-206. He also commented on the similarity of some East Anglian regional differences to those of Kent, but added, p.197 'If lathes or their like ever existed in East Anglia, their boundaries cannot now be determined'; J.N.L.Myres Roman Britain and the English Settlement 1945 pp.340-1. Place names such as Fressing-field are unconnected with the Frisians (Fessefelda DB II 321 'furze-covered field'. Ekwall). The Freston, Friston, Frisby, Friesthorp group, which is widely dispersed in Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Sussex and Suffolk are almost certainly late personal names, two of which may be Danish in origin.
2. D.C.Douglas The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia 1927. pp.55-6. See note 4 below.

Kalendar of Abbot Samson. There, in Cosford $\frac{1}{2}$ hundred we find that 'every lete gives thirteen shillings and sixpence and divides it within itself', that is among its two, three or four constituent vills.³ The system of the letes would therefore seem to be later than the basic formation of vills and is probably later than the formation of the larger hundreds. However there is some evidence to suggest that letes, particularly those within the hundreds owned by Ely, might acquire the status of a hundred, becoming 'small hundreds' distinct from the larger official royal hundreds.⁴ The smaller hundreds of the liberty of Ely including the $5\frac{1}{2}$ hundreds of Wicklaw, like the small Norfolk hundred of Marshland which is referred to as the 'leta integra de maresco' in the 13th century Ely extents, are almost certainly letes up-graded into hundreds.⁵ Like letes they consist of two or three dispersed groups of parishes, as is most noticeable in Loes and the Parham half hundreds (Fig. 24.). The $5\frac{1}{2}$ hundreds of Wicklaw were confirmed as an entity in the charter of Edgar and if they were indeed an ancient pre-Danish possession of Ely, their peculiarity to that monastery would suggest that the upgrading of the Wicklaw letes into hundreds took place sometime before the 870's.

3. K.A.S. pp.60-61.

4. Homans op.cit. p.194; D.C.Douglas 'Fragments of an Anglo-Saxon Survey of Bury St Edmunds' Eng.Hist.Rev.43 1928. p.376. He suggests that the lete 'bears a striking resemblance in size and organisation to the small Danish Hundreds'. He quotes from W.J. Corbett (Roy.Hist.Soc. Trans. New ser. XIV. p.213) 'if leets could be proved to be early hundreds the disparity between statistics of D.B. II. and those of the tribal hidage might in some measure be explained'. He made no attempt to explain the fragmented arrangement of many letes.

5. Douglas op.cit. pp.196-8. See also H.C.Darby The Medieval Fenland 1940. p.68.

Homans makes the unfortunate mistake of equating 'Letes' (Ville Integre) with 'Leets' (Leet Courts).⁶ By the 13th century most vills had their own courts which dealt with minor policing matters which might otherwise be heard in the royal hundred courts. These leet courts existed as concessions out of the hundred and were eventually taken over by the larger manorial courts and were heard jointly with courts baron.⁷ Even so in 1471, Yoxford manor made yearly payments to the bailiff of the hundred of Blything for 'filsten' or sheriff's aid and 'to the same bailiff for the Lord King for fine of suit of Hundred'.⁸

In the 'Geldable' hundreds, unlike West Suffolk, no list of ville integra survives for the Conquest period, the Domesday survey mentions only a few gelt assessments for the larger vills; these were used by Round in a brave attempt to reconstruct the letes for the county.⁹ In Blything Hundred however, there are four important 14th century lists of parishes, the sequential order and grouping of which almost certainly relates to the late Saxon division of letes within the hundred. These sources are listed in the following table.

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6. Homans op.cit. pp.195-6.
 7. Homans op.cit. p.195; Cam 1944 op.cit. pp.210-11. (Leets do not necessarily coincide with parishes).
 8. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/13.15. (Yoxford Dragge). fol.139; R.T.L. Parr, Yoxford Yesterday Vol.1. p.87: Parr noted, the Leet fee (centum Letae) payable to the hundred Court Bailiff by each leet court, could be taken over in return for a fixed sum payable to the Bailiff by a Lord of the manor. Presumably the interested Lord came to an agreement with the Bailiff. In 1286, Simon de Cockfield when challenged, pointed out that he held view of frankpledge and assize of bread and ale in Yoxford in the presence of the King's Bailiff of the hundred and that the bailiff received the said fee of 4d. This was paid for centuries afterwards under the name Centum Letae. Yoxford, Cockfield and Murrels all had separate Leet courts, which were not united until the 16th century. Brendfen had only a Court Baron and its tenants went sometimes to the Yoxford Leet sometimes to Cockfield and sometimes to Middleton.
 9. J.H.Round, V.C.H. Suffolk Vol.II, 1911 (1975) p.368. See also 'The Domesday Ora' Econ.Hist.Rev. XXIII, 1908 p.77, and Feudal England p.98-103; See also B.Dodwell 'The Making of the Domesday Survey in Norfolk; the Hundred and a half of Clacklose' Eng.Hist.Rev. LXXXIV, 1969 pp.78-83.

Table Vb.

<u>Document</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Abbreviation</u>
Ville Integre	14th Century	Add.Ms.34560	VI.
Nomina Villarum	1316	P.S.I.A., XI. p.173	NV.
Lay Subsidies	1327 (1334)	Suff.Rec.Soc.	LS.
Ipswich D.B.	15th Century copy	P.S.I.A., VI. p.185	IDB.

The Domesday survey fails to give the gelt assessment for 27 of the 56 vills mentioned in the hundred; it is not possible therefore to reconstruct the gelt system with any accuracy. None of the 'missing' Domesday vills are included in the later lists, so the reconstruction of letes cannot be regarded as earlier than the 12th century. However, the new vills of Sizewell, Buxlow, Westhall and Spexhall are present suggesting that the lists date from after their appearance, perhaps in the late 12th or 13th century. In agreement with the Kalendar of Abbot Samson the composition of ville integre within Blything hundred appears to be quite arbitrary. Nevertheless there is some correlation between some of the late ville integre and internal relationships in D.B. For example, a large part of Huntingfield manor lay in Linstead in 1086,¹⁰ and both parishes are grouped together in the Nomina Villarum and the 1334 lay subsidy. Wissett, Spexhall and Rumburgh may likewise have been merged under the Wissett entries in D.B., but their villa integra also included Holton and as such may relate to the Nerford lordship of the late 14th century.¹¹ It is more usual for groupings to cut across the boundaries of ownership and ecclesiastical affiliation.

10. DB. II. 311.

11. Copinger. Manors of Suffolk Vol.II pp.202-8. There is no correlation between these later lists and the order of vills listed under D.B. tenants-in-chief, these are random, with many vills mentioned more than once under one tenant-in-chief. Dodwell op.cit. p.83.

Table Vc

14th Century Ville Integre in Blything Hundred based on Add.Ms.34560

and the Nomina Villarum of 1316. With Domesday Gelt assessments.

<u>Gelt</u>	<u>Vill.</u>	<u>Gelt</u>	<u>Vill.</u>
7½d	Huntingfield (+7½ Linstead) N.LS	-	Benacre
3s.1½d	Leyston	1¼	Bulcamp
-	Sizewell (Not in DB) } VI.	1¼	Brege
		3	
-	Theberton VI.	6½(+7)	Reydon (+ 7d Wangford)
		2½	Southwold
-	Thorpe } VI.	6	Easton
-	Aldringham } VI.	22	
-	Knodishall	-	Northales (Covehithe) VI.NV.
-	Buxlow (Not in DB) } VI.		LS.IDB.
		-	Brampton } VI.NV.LS.IDB.
		-	Stoven } VI.NV.LS.IDB.
7½d	Middleton } VI.	-	Blythburgh (Royal Demesne)
-	Fordley } VI.	7½	Thorington } VI.NV.LS.IDB.
7½d	Westleton VI.NV.	-	Wenhaston } VI.NV.LS.IDB.
7½d	Sibton	7½	
7½d	Walpole		
7½d	Cookley		
22½			
3¾	Bramfield	<u>NOMINA VILLARUM ONLY</u>	
-	Peasenhall } VI.NV.LS.IDB.	-	Darsham
2	Mells	3d 7½	Yoxford (+ 7½ Strickland).
5½		10½	
3	Ubbeston	7½	Halesworth } VI.NV.
4½	Heveningham } VI.NV.LS.IDB.	3½	Cratfield } VI.NV.
7½		11	
5½&7½	Chediston } VI.NV.IDB.*	-	Wrentham VI.NV.
3½	Blyford	178d	
16½			
-	Wissett	<u>'LOST' VILLS, mentioned</u>	
-	Spexhall (Not in DB) } VI.NV.LS.IDB.	in DB. only	
-	Holton	7½	Stickingland (Yoxford)
-	Rumburgh (? in Elmham)	-	Rapton
-	Westhall (Not in DB) } VI.NV.*	-	Hopton
1¾	Sotherton	-	Varley
-	Henham	-	Ressemere
1¾		-	Alneton Hernthorns Westleton
6	Uggeshall } VI.NV.LS.IDB.	1¾	Brincas (?Bregge)
4	Frostenden		
10d			
-	Henstead } VI.NV.		
-	Cove		

*. Blyford is not listed in 1327 Lay Subsidy. Westhall, Sotherton and Henham follow in sequence in the 1327 Lay Subsidy. Halesworth and Cratfield follow in sequence in the 1327 Lay Subsidy.

Ville Integre

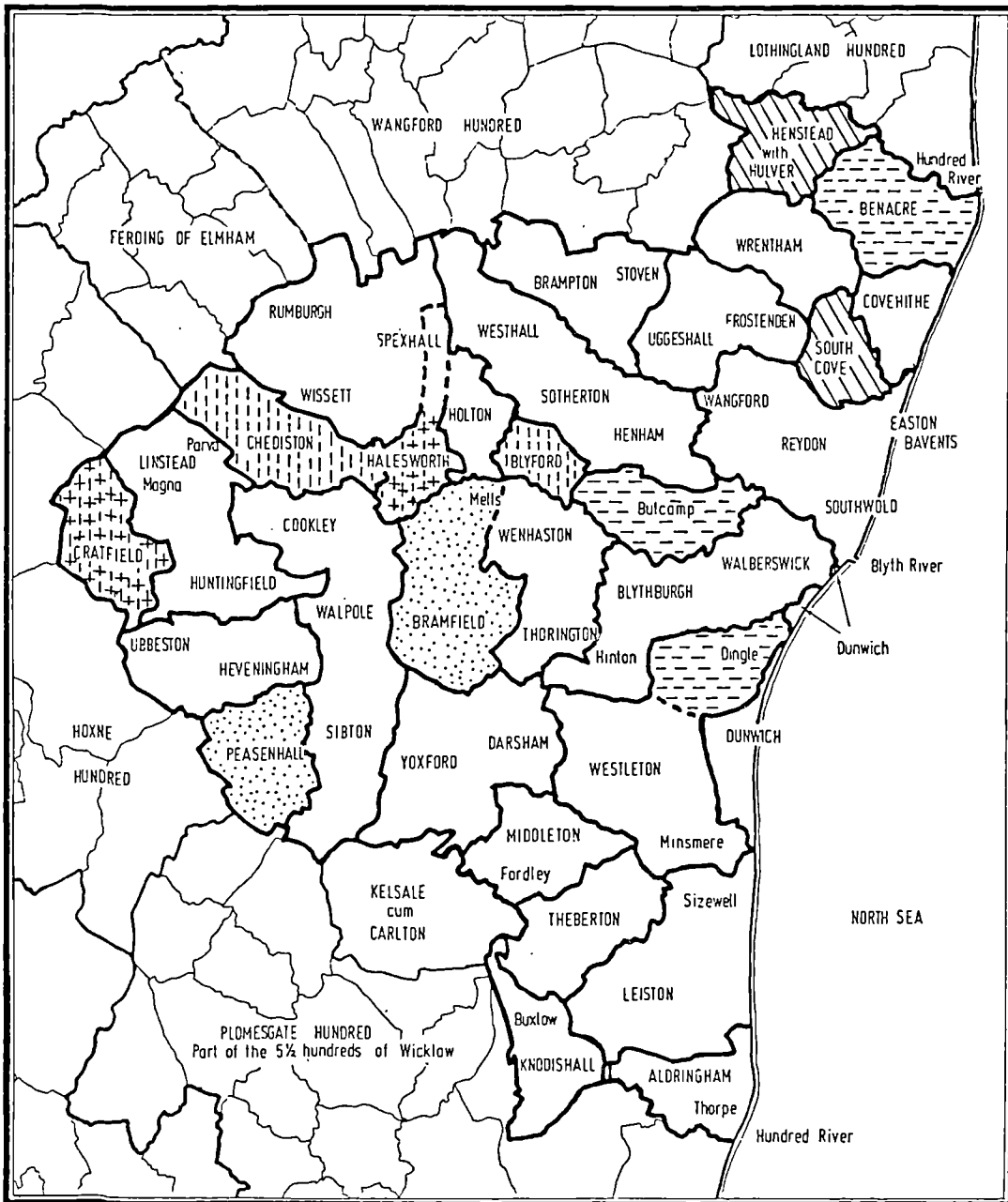


Figure 26.

For example the villa integra formed by Bramfield, Peasenhall and Mells is contrary to the dependence of Peasenhall chapel upon Sibton, and Mells chapel upon Wenhaston.¹² Similarly, the grouping of Westhall and Sotherton with Henham is contrary to the cardinal place-name group which ought to include Brampton and Uggeshall.¹³ The Nomina Villarum of 1316 lists the main lords within each vill and it is clear from this that the 14th century grouping of parishes had little relevance to the existing state of lordship. However the grouping of Westhall with Sotherton might hark back to the large Lordship of Hubert de Burgh who established markets in both parishes in 1228 and 1229.¹⁴

There are certain similarities between the Domesday gelt assessments for the ville integre of Blything Hundred and the letes of Cosford half hundred listed in the Kalendar of Abbot Samson.¹⁵ In Blything there are nine vills with a gelt of $7\frac{1}{2}d$ and two ville integre, which together have gELTS amounting to $7\frac{1}{2}d$ each. (Table Va) In Cosford there are two assessments of $7\frac{1}{2}d$ and four or possibly five letes totalling 15d. Reydon, (excluding Wangford) Southwold and Easton in Blything total 15d and are so grouped in the Nomina Villarum and the Ville Integre. Sibton, Walpole and Cookley are each assessed at $7\frac{1}{2}d$, the villa integra which they form may represent $1\frac{1}{2}$ letes, including as it almost certainly does the 'missing' D.B. ville of Rapton.¹⁶ The very large gelt assessment for Leiston of 3s $1\frac{1}{2}d$ can only be explained as five units of $7\frac{1}{2}d$ and presumably includes the parishes which comprised Leiston Soke.¹⁷

The large number of vills without gelt assessments, particularly in the northern part of the hundred, prevents any more detailed analysis, but nonetheless it is possible to catch a fleeting glimpse of the original pre-conquest system of gelt collection, based perhaps on a 15 pence unit settled on each villa integra. As there appear to be 24 letes within the hundred it can be tentatively suggested that Blything, a very large Royal hundred, supplied a total of 360 pence.

12. See Chapter IV Sec.7 note 2.

13. Sotherton, Westhall, Brampton and Uggeshall radiate around the head waters of the 'Wang' tributary of the River Blyth.

14. Copinger. Manors of Suffolk Vol.II pp.153 & 186.

15. K.A.S. pp.xx-xxi.

16. Rapton Hall lay in Sibton, See Greenwood's map of Suffolk. 1825.

17. R.H. Mortimer(Ed.) C.L.A. 1979 pp.24-5. Leiston Soke extended into Fordley, Theberton, Knodishall, Aldingham and Carleton.

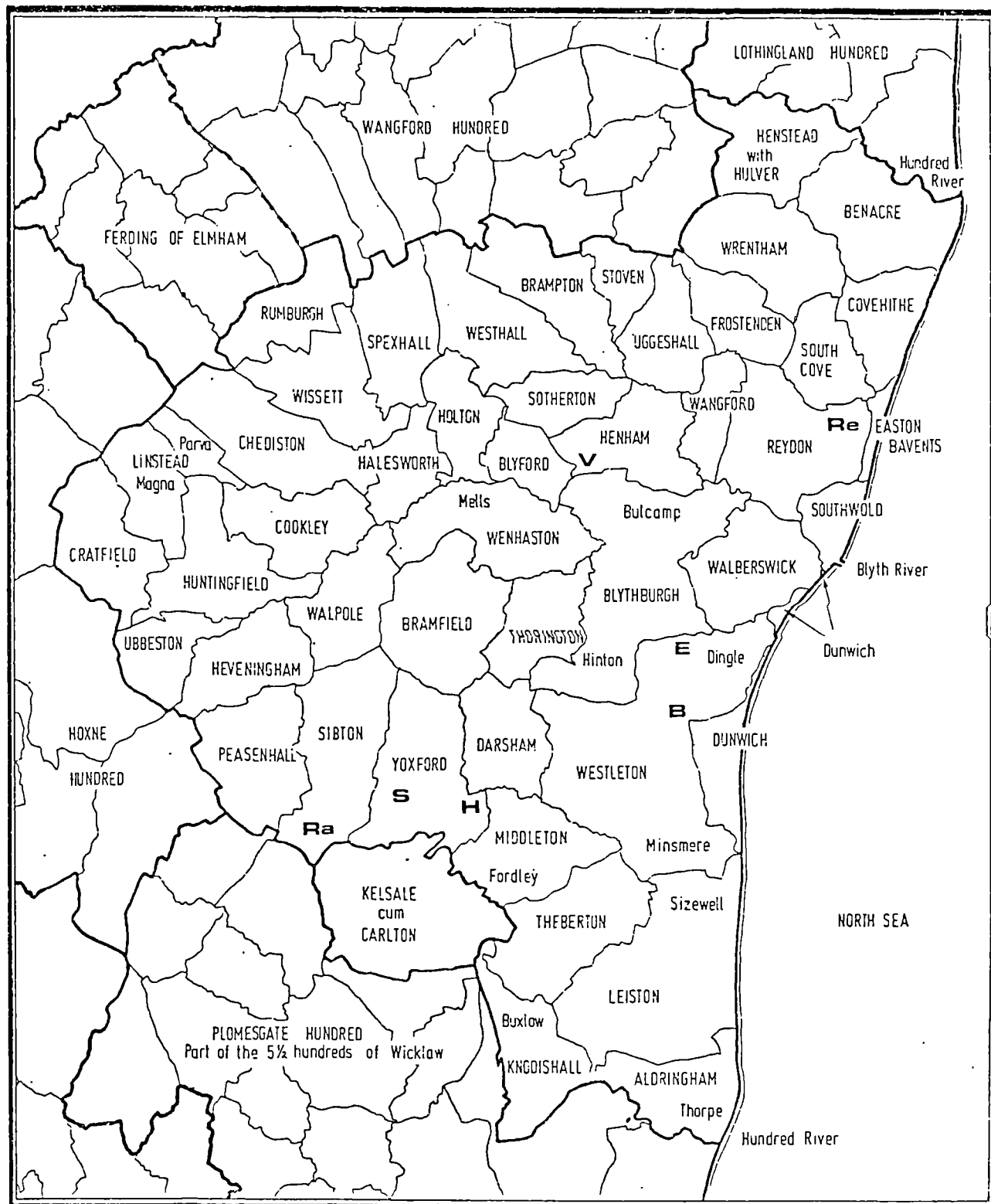
4. Parochial Territories

The classic Suffolk landscape of scattered hamlets and isolated farms belies the normal view of that same landscape neatly parcelled out into parishes centred on ancient medieval churches. In fact only the most ancient parochial territories, which relate to early minsterlands, have concise blocks of land, while many later parishes present a fragmented and disjointed appearance. The churches are like the farmsteads of their parishioners, frequently standing in complete isolation, though very often they stand at significant points in the landscape, such as important road-river crossings, or on the remains of Roman buildings. Without excavation and in the absence of any known pagan Saxon burial sites in Blything Hundred, the whole question of continuity in the landscape must remain open, but nonetheless we can glean some indications of continuity not only at these foci in the landscape but also by looking at the territories to which they apparently relate.

One obvious unifying factor in a parochial territory is the communal use of one burial ground, a custom common to Christian and pre-Christians alike. In Blything Hundred we have no evidence for the pagan Saxon period, but elsewhere the abandonment of pagan cemeteries in the middle Saxon period followed the conversion of the populace to Christianity and the change to a consecrated burial ground near a newly founded church. In some areas it is also known that the abandonment of pagan cemeteries coincides with a change in settlement sometimes called the middle Saxon 'shift',¹ and with it a trend away from a dispersed settlement pattern towards one which was more nucleated. These changes should now be seen in the more general light of settlement mobility.² In areas such as Blything Hundred still characterised by a dispersed settlement pattern, it is clear that the use of a central common Christian cemetery failed to affect the settlement pattern or cause it to become more nucleated.

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1. C.C. Taylor 'The Anglo-Saxon Countryside' in Anglo-Saxon Settlement and the Countryside BAR.6, 1974 pp.5-15.
 2. C.C. Taylor 'Aspects of Village Mobility in Medieval and Later Times' C.B.A. Report No.21 The Effect of Man on the Lowland Zone S.Limbrey & J.Evans (Eds) 1978 pp.126-134.

Parishes and 'lost' Domesday vills



Ra - RAPTON **H** - HOPTON **V** - VARLEY **Re** - RESSEMERE
S - STICKINGLAND **B** - BRINGAS **E** - ERNETERN

Figure 27.

While it seems certain that there was no 'middle Saxon shift' in these areas it must be remembered that this conclusion is based on negative evidence and that there are some important princely Saxon cemeteries to the north and south of Blything Hundred. However, faced with a dearth of pagan burial grounds and no general evidence for a middle Saxon shift, it seems likely that some of the more ancient Christian burial grounds may be on pre-Christian sites and that the old minsterlands could be ancient catchment areas for those burial grounds related to pre-Christian territorial subdivisions.

Continuity of use of burial sites from pre-Christian times cannot be proved without excavation, but it should be noted that six of the churches in Blything Hundred, - Darsham, Westhall, Ubbeston, Wrentham, Wenhaston and Chediston - all stand very close to, if not on top of, Roman sites. No rural Roman cemeteries have been confirmed in that area, yet with so much evidence for Roman settlement, they must have existed. The practice of interment in a common place of burial represents one of the most conservative social customs in a rural community. This would seem to be especially important in East Anglia where cemeteries can be foci in a relatively featureless landscape.³

The folk tradition of communal burial may well be therefore an important unifying factor in some very dispersed settlement patterns. In Christian and pre-Christian times folk moots took place on cemetery sites.⁴ Indeed, some churches may have been built on cemeteries, not because they were important as burial grounds, but because they were traditional assembly points. In very large minster lands, where distant hamlets never developed churches of their own, such as Blythburgh, there was a long tradition of burial exclusively at the mother church. From Hinton a 'Beerway' was used to carry coffins two miles to Holy Trinity church yard,⁵ and at Wenhaston 'the way leading by Beerhedge towards the church of Wenhaston', connected the mother church with

3. The vexed question of 'developed' cemeteries with churches added to earlier Celtic type circular church yards can only be resolved by excavation. C.Thomas The Early Archaeology of Northern Britain 1971 Ch.3, pp.49-60, put forward the view that some circular 'enclosed' cemeteries might be 'the primary field monuments of insular Christianity'. More recently he has qualified this view: C.Thomas Christianity in Roman Britain to AD.500 1981 p.236: 'the correct elucidation is still beyond our corporate capacity.' Circular church yards may once have existed in Blything Hundred at Wrentham, Holton and Darsham, but it should be remembered that circular grave enclosures are common to Celtic, Anglo-Saxon and later Christian cemeteries. See also Chapter IV Sec.6 note 2. For the continued use of cemeteries long after the church has decayed in the post-medieval period, see for example E.A.M. 1927: 7,516.
4. Miller op.cit. p.16; Liber Eliensis II pp.12, 18, 24. See also Sec.2 note 2. above.
5. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/10.9(6) Extent of Hinton 1525-6: 'le beerway leading from Hynton towards Blythburgh'.

the chapelry of Mells, where in spite of efforts to prove burial rights bodies always had to be brought to the ancient church yard at Wenhaston.⁶

The tithable areas of early minsters, in so far as they can be traced on the ground, appear to be the earliest definition of folk territories or catchment areas for early cemeteries. The laws of King Edgar relating to tithe seem to assume that most tithe-payers were parishoners of an 'old minster'.⁷ But at the same time he recognised the private church and its grave yard which could be legally created within the minsterland at the will of a secular lord.⁸ Such a development is clearly reflected in the creation of new tithable areas within the bounds of ancient minsterlands; the tithes from the private estate being granted in part for the endowment of the new church. Not all new churches were endowed with tithes from the irregular landholdings of a secular lord, for freemen were likewise capable of endowing their own church, and their tithable areas appear as concise sub-divisions of the minsterland. The tithable land of the old minster was greatly depleted by this process, and by the time of the Norman Conquest many old minsters were reduced to little more than minor mother churches.

This threefold development is nowhere better illustrated than in the nineteenth century tithe maps of Mendham, Metfield and Withersdale in Hoxne Hundred (See Fig. 28). The tenth century will of Theodred, which mentions 'the community at Mendham church', implies that we are dealing with a minster church.⁹ Like those minster-mother churches already discussed in Blything Hundred,¹⁰ Mendham became the site of a Cluniac cell attached to Castle Acre Priory in the twelfth century.¹¹ Both Metfield and Withersdale were dependent hamlets of Mendham in the medieval period, but neither is mentioned separately as a vill in the Domesday survey for Hoxne Hundred although they and their churches were almost certainly included in the lengthy entry for Mendham¹² and one of the many detached portions of Withersdale finds mention in Blything

6. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/10.9; Rev. W.R.Growers 'Chapel of St Margaret's Mells' P.S.I.A. VIII (iii) 1894 pp.334-379.

7. C.J.Godfrey The Church in Anglo-Saxon England 1962 p.326.

8. Ibid.

9. D.Whitelock Anglo-Saxon Wills 1955 p.510 (No.106) c.955 AD.

10. Chapter IV. Sec.5.

11. V.C.H. Suffolk Vol.I, 1907 pp.86-89.

12. DB. II 301b, 329b, 349, 368 & 379b.

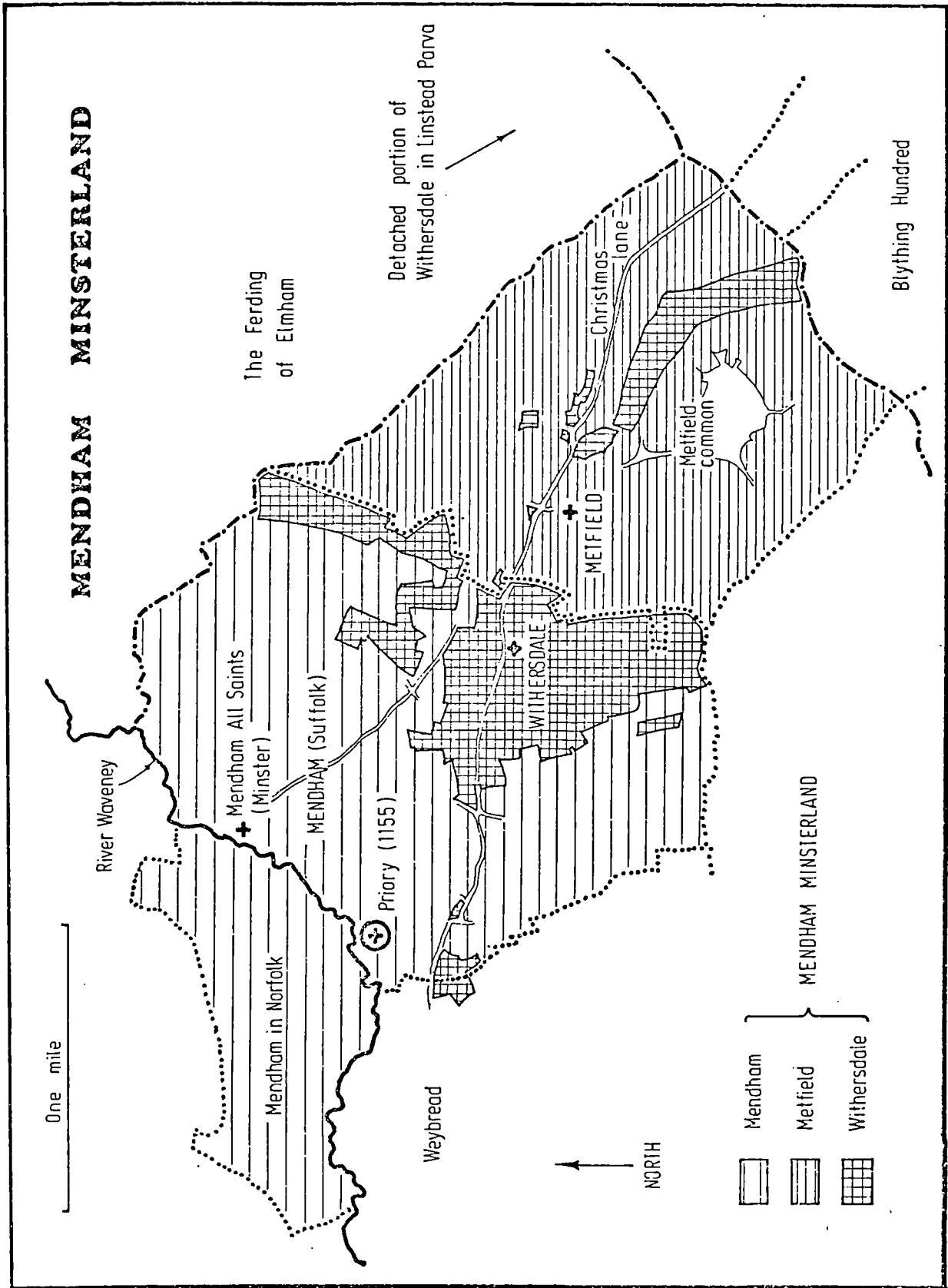


Figure 28.

Hundred in Linstead.¹³ It is almost certainly this same detached portion in Linstead which is described on the 1839 tithe map for Withersdale.¹⁴ This extraordinary parish, which was merged with Mendham in 1885, consisted of fourteen separate pieces of land.¹⁵ There can be little doubt that we see here the scattered land holdings of a private estate centred on Withersdale Hall, the tithes of which went to endow a small private church built nearby in the late Saxon period.¹⁶ The fragmented appearance of this estate-parish is in marked contrast to the concise area of the whole minsterland, which on the south side of the river Waveney forms a sub-division of the watershed. The upland parish of Metfield, which contains extensive commons, was probably an earlier grant of the more remote part of the tithes of the minsterland for the endowment of a church used by freemen pastoralists.

A comparable situation is found in the eleventh century upland vill of Fordley.¹⁷ (See Fig.29). The area of Fordley parish is very similar topographically to the parish of Metfield, in that it is clearly a segment of the mother parish of Middleton, even though Fordley church stood a mile away in Middleton's church yard. Both were probably eleventh century foundations, and their parishioners may well have been only recently established, colonising the clay upland soil and feeding their beasts on the commons and pannage woods which abounded there.¹⁸ The name of Fordley is itself a lesson in the topographical interpretation of place-names. The 'Ford-' can only be Rackford in Middleton, known as the 'Recknewade' in medieval times when it was an obstacle on one of the main roads into Dunwich. The 'ley' must represent the tithable area of the parish of Fordley in the southern corner of Middleton, perhaps in origin an upland clearing or wood-pasture. The fact that Fordley church stood a mile away from its tithable lands, may suggest that the original 'ley' had no permanent residents but was grazed seasonally by the men of Middleton. The upland part of the mother parish

13. DB. II 311.

14. I.R.O., FDA295/A1/1b.

15. London Gazette 4451, 5781, 1704. See also Ch. VII Sec. 4. Fig. 48.

16. Withersdale church is a remarkable survival of a very simple Norman church, some of the masonry shows Saxo-Norman features.

17. See Chapter IV Sec.6; I.R.O., FDA.102/A1/1 (1840).

18. For pannage woods in this area see Chapter VI Sec.5.

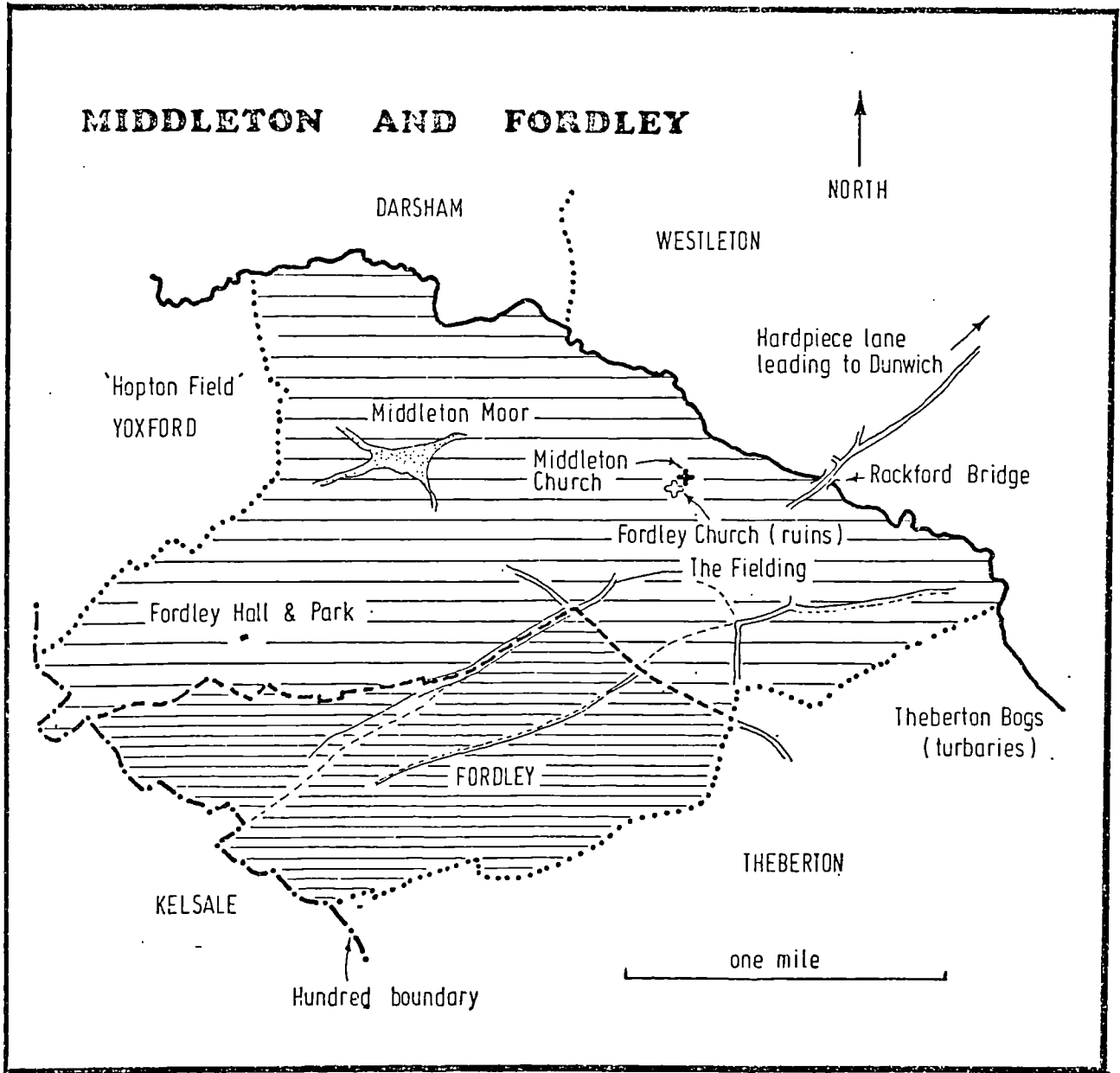


Figure 29.

was linked to the low lying meadows and commons to the north by a hollow driftway or loke called 'washlane'. (See Fig.29).

The formation of a similar late secondary parish can be detected in the upland part of Wissett, which must once have been a very extensive territory centred on the ancient mother church of Wissett with its round tower close to the road-river crossing in Wissett street. Rumburgh owes its existence to the foundation of a monastery by Ethelmar, Bishop of Elmham, and Thurston, Abbot of St Benet's Hulm, as a cell of St Benet's Hulm, on the waste land between Wissett and Elmham on the Blything Hundred boundary in 1064.¹⁹ In Figure 30, the tithe free lands of the priory, as shown on the tithe map of 1842 for Rumburgh indicate the main land holding of the priory,²⁰ although this was probably much consolidated before the suppression of the priory in 1528-9.²¹ The original hundred boundary may have run along the line of 'Rumburgh Street', corresponding with the watershed. The moated site of the priory stands between All Saints Common and Rumburgh Common in what must have been a no-mans-land of rough pasture between the two estates of Elmham and Wissett. The rectangular blocks of land in the eastern part of the parish are comparable to the out-lying blocks of Halesworth's tithable land. These will be discussed and illustrated more fully in Chapter VI Sec.6, where it will be shown that they relate to ancient woodland, possibly pannage woods recorded in the eleventh century. We can see therefore, in Rumburgh, the late creation of an eleventh century parish in a bleak clay-upland situation, where a small community of monks was established just before the Conquest exploiting the woods and wastes along the hundred boundary.

Topographical relationships, place-name evidence and the subordinate nature of some churches all suggest that there was a considerable disparity in age from the formation of one parish to another. It is also clear that many of the older parishes were once much more extensive minsterlands including hamlets, which subsequently acquired parish status within the ancient minsterland boundaries. These boundaries can be traced tentatively by using

19. See Chapter IV Sec.5 note 14.

20. I.R.O., FDA.208/A1/1.

21 V.C.H. Suffolk Vol.I, 1907 p.77; D.Knowles & R.N.Hadock Medieval Religious Houses 1953 p.75.

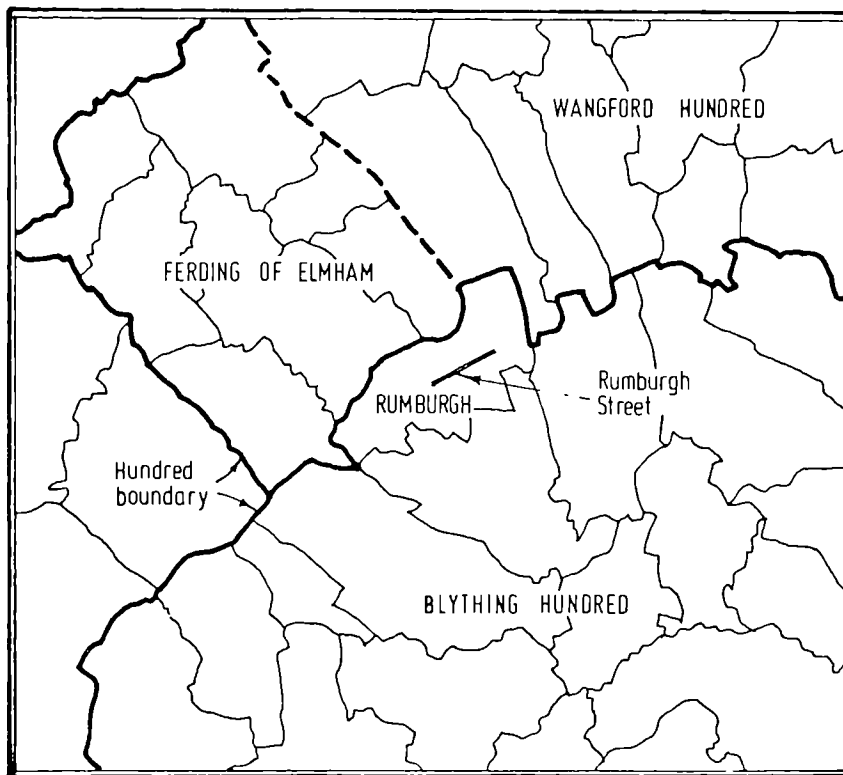


Figure 30 a. Rumburgh Parish.

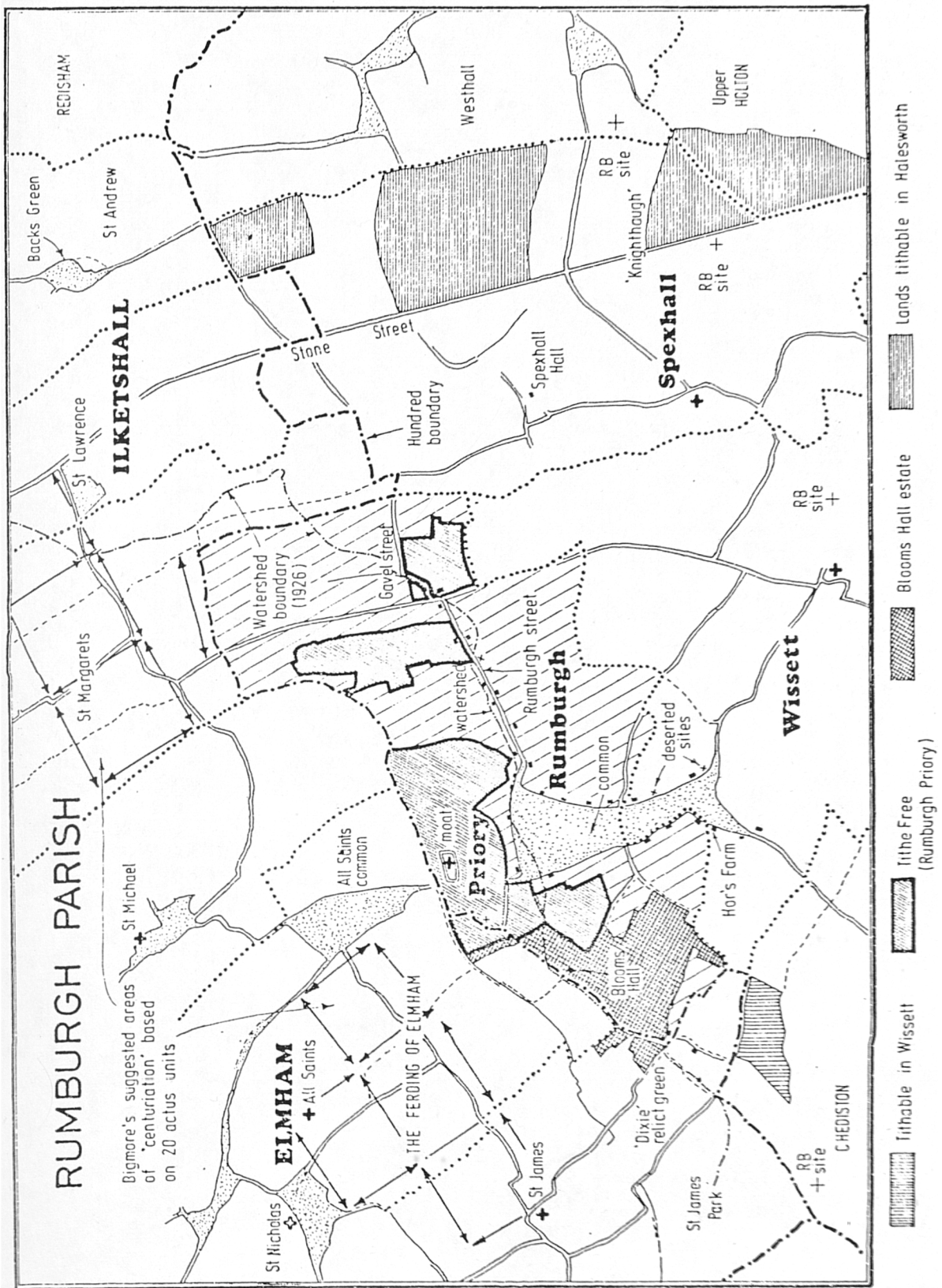


Figure 30 b.

the nineteenth century tithe maps, although many minor changes took place throughout their history, the oldest minsterland boundaries tend to remain unaffected by internal subdivisions.^{22.}

Within Blything Hundred it is possible to detect a late phase of eleventh century parish development, in which Rumburgh and Fordley probably came into being just before the Conquest, while others such as Westhall, Spexhall and Buxlow, which are not mentioned in the Domesday survey but are clearly included in neighbouring entries,^{23.} probably came into their own as parishes in the immediate post Conquest period. Others which include Stoven, Benacre, Theberton, Knodishall, and South Cove are clearly secondary villas with very small Domesday entries and may also be included in this eleventh century group of embryonic parishes. As a group they represent a phase of gradual colonisation and expansion starting in the late Saxon period and continuing into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the end of this final phase of parish formation can be seen in villas such as Linstead Parva, which does not appear in the documentary record until 1254,^{24.} and one or two obscure failed villas such as Rughaugh,^{25.} Bregge,^{26.} and Ressemere.^{27.}

Earlier than the eleventh century we are groping in the dark, yet it is possible to detect several villas which have substantial Domesday entries but which for one reason or another can be seen to be secondary. Peasenhall, which was in later years a chapelry of Sibton, is a good example.^{28.} The parishes of Aldringham, Knodishall, Buxlow, Theberton and Fordley grouped around the villa of Leiston are probably subdivisions of that great soke.^{29.} Frostenden, Henstead and Benacre are undoubtedly appendages to Wrentham.^{30.}

22. Many minor changes in parish boundaries coincide with the sites of monastic granges and were presumably made shortly after the granges were established. Wenhaston Grange and Mells hamlet may explain the western projection of Wenhaston parish. At Chediston Grange the parish boundary makes a detour to enclose the moated farm house. A similar deserted moat in a wood at the north west corner of Frostenden may likewise explain the strange shape of that parish. Deserted medieval settlements have also caused some anomalies in modern parish boundaries. For example Breggestreet and Ernetern lay in the northern arm of Westleton parish, Hopton lay in the south east of Yoxford, Raption in the south of Sibton, Scalesbroke and Overholton in the north of Holton and Buxlow in the north of Knodishall.

23. See Chapter VI Sec.1 Fig.33.

24. See Chapter IV Sec.7 Fig.22.

25. See Chapter VI Sec.5 note 15.

26. See Chapter VI Sec.1 note 9.

27. See Chapter VI Sec.1 note 11.

28. See Chapter VI Sec.2 Fig. 35.

29. See section 6 of this chapter.

30. DB. II 399b. & Fig. 41.

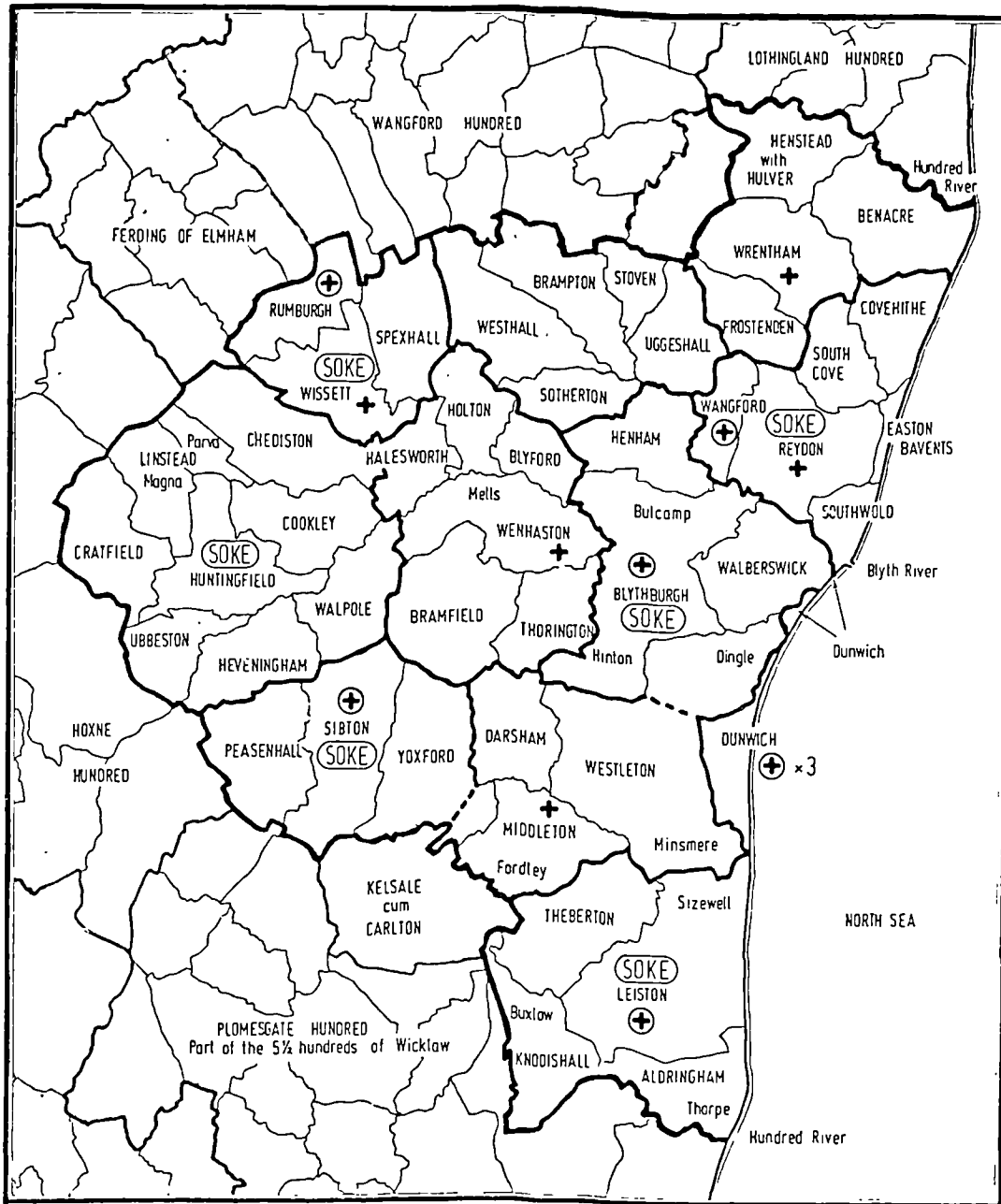
Some of these must represent a middle or late Saxon phase of parish formation. We are then left with a very ill-defined collection of ancient mother church territories, which are seemingly subdivisions of the hundredal area. As such they will be discussed as sub-hundredal areas.

5. Sub-Hundredal Areas

Just as some vills can be seen as concessions out of other vills which once had more extensive territories, so some early vills may be seen as concessions out of the hundred. The minsterland of Mendham is a good example; bounded north and south by hundred boundaries, its lands in Suffolk can be seen as a segment of the south side of the Waveney Valley catchment area, comparable to the neighbouring minsterland or 'Ferding' of Elmham.¹ Within Blything Hundred the radial pattern of the river Blyth tributaries complicates the picture. The parish of Blythburgh itself once constituted three hamlets, Hinton, Bulcamp and Walberswick, the latter ultimately achieving parish status.² It is possible that Henham also once formed part of this territory,³ as did the deserted hamlet of Breggestreet which now lies in the blank northern projection of Westleton.⁴ Similar areas comprising four or five parishes can be tentatively recognised. In three cases place-name evidence, indicating simple cardinal relationships, supports the idea that sub-hundredal areas pre-date or underlie the parish and vill structure; Southwold, Easton (Bavents) and Northales may relate to an area which once included Wangford, Reydon and Cove.⁵ Further west a similar cardinal relationship is suggested by the place-names of Westhall and Sotherton. In addition this area may have included Brampton, Stoven and Uggeshall in its northern and eastern sectors. To the south of the Hundred, the place-name of Middleton may be significant and could recall the middle of an area which included Darsham, Westleton,⁶ Minsmere, Fordley and possibly the lost vill of Hopton. To the east, the neighbouring vills

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1. For Mendham and South Elmham Minster see Chapter IV Sec.5.
 2. See Chapter IV Sec. 3 note 16.
 3. In 1086, the manor of Henham was held by Robert of Blythburgh probably on behalf of Blythburgh priory. Robert of Blythburgh also held 12 acres at Hinton 'in alms for the King, of the church of Blythburgh'. DB. II. 331.
 4. An extent of the Manor of Blythburgh (1525-6) makes it clear that the boundary between Blythburgh and Westleton has changed. (HA30:50/22/27.6) See Chapter IV Sec.3 note 21 & 24.
 5. South Cove is so called to distinguish it from North Cove near Beccles. It is simply 'Cove' in the Domesday Survey.
 6. NB. Westleton is not a cardinal place-name, but derives from a personal name 'Vestlidi's-tun' Ekwall, Baron & Skeat.

Sub-hundredal areas



(SOKE) - Private soke evidence from Domesday and later
 (+) - Monastic Sites (+) - Mother Churches

Figure 31.

which constitute the Soke of Leiston form the southern-most sub-division of the Hundred.⁷ Other sub-divisions are less clearly defined and are unsupported by place-name evidence, but by a process of elimination within the Hundred, the parishes grouped around the soke of Huntingfield form a likely sub-division, while the heartland of the Hundred may be defined as those parishes grouped around Wenhaston. It should be noted that at least six of these sub-hundredal areas contain private sokes,⁸ while another six relate to important mother churches some of which developed into post-Conquest monasteries.⁹ Furthermore it is interesting to note that two of them appear to be centred on major Roman sites, at Reydon-Smere and Wenhaston.¹⁰ The origin and function of the sub-hundredal areas remain obscure, but perhaps it should be sought in the origin of private sokes and ancient mother churches, themselves perhaps developing at places which may have been centres of late Roman activity.¹¹

7. C.L.A. p.24-5 Nos. 25 & 47.

8. See Sec.7 following, notes 6, 7, 17, 18, 20-22.

9. See Chapter IV. Sec. 5.

10. See Chapter III Sec. 6.

11. Such a pattern is well known in the north of England, particularly in Northumbria. G.W.S.Barrow The Kingdom of the Scots 1975 pp.21-64; In East Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire ancient 'regios' or 'shires' contained within them equally ancient 'sokes' themselves centred on 'Eccles' place-names, in some cases the 'Eccles' place-names are distributed 'shire by shire'; for example the 'Soke of Sheffield' or Ecclesfield, and Hallamshire; 'Welton Soke' and Howdenshire; the sokes of Caistor, Kirton-in-Lindsey and others.

7. Private Sokes

In his discussion of the Kalender of Abbot Samson R.H.C.Davis observed that in East Anglia 'soke' meant far more than jurisdiction.¹ The grant of hundredal soke carried with it not only the profits of justice in the hundred court and the right to exact the attendance of certain suitors or sokemen, but also the right to receive from the sokemen or holders of socage lands in the hundred such customary dues as wardpenny, overpenny, foddercorn and hidage.² The tenurial aspect is also evident in some private sokes which existed as royal concessions out of Blything Hundred, both before and after the Conquest.³

Blything Hundred was intermittently the property of the crown until the 17th century since when it has devolved with the manor of Heveningham.⁴ The jurisdictional and administrative power of the hundred courts gradually declined from the late 11th century when ecclesiastical law was separated

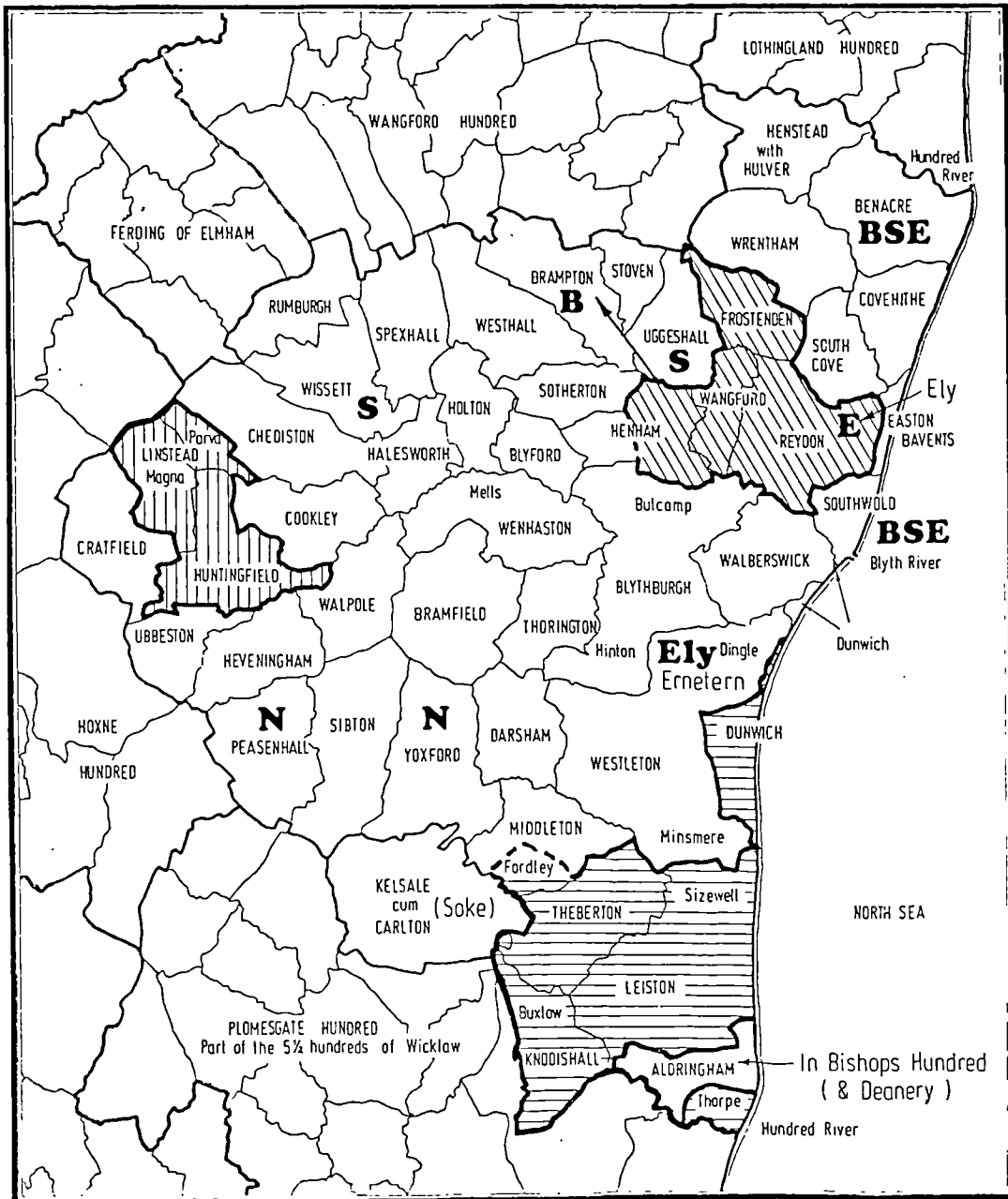
1. K.A.S. p.xl. See also H.M.Cam 'The Private Hundred before the Norman Conquest' in Conway Davis (Ed) op.cit. pp.50-60.
2. K.A.S. p.xxxii-xliv.
3. C.L.A. p.25 No.47. William son of Theabald held a 'militia' within the soke of Leiston. (Wade Hall). He resigned the rights which he and his ancestors had acquired in the soke and the gifts his father had made to the Abbey. The Abbot confirmed to William the lands, rents, men and tenements which his father held within the soke, plus land in Theberton and some men in Fordley were returned to him as part of his 'militia' within the soke - Mortimer says: 'Thus the soke had a tenurial as well as an administrative and legal aspect, affecting by no means only the lower reaches of society: it also included lands and rights in vills neighbouring Leiston'. Leiston Soke was held by Robert Malet at the time of the Conquest, it had belonged to his predecessor Edric of Laxfield T.R.E.
4. Copinger Manors of Suffolk, Vol.II.p.1. Until Edward I's time, Blything Hundred lay in the crown and the government with the sheriff. Edward I settled it upon John De Clavering but after his death it reverted to the Crown, where it remained until Henry VIII settled it upon Hugh ap Howel in 1527 but only to the extent of goods and chattels of felons fines of waifs and strays etc. Again it reverted to the Crown. Elizabeth I granted it to Sir Edward Coke in 1601 and it was later conveyed to Joshua Vanneck in 1752 and so to the present Lord Huntingfield.

from civil litigation; cases concerning both had originally been heard together in the hundred courts.⁵ One hundred years later major concessions were made by the crown to the newly founded monasteries of Leiston, Sibton and Blythburgh, whose foundation charters all contain the standard phrases confirming that they held their possessions, 'cum soca et saca et tol et theam et infangnetheof, et cum omnibus aliis libertatibus, et liberis consuetudinibus' etc.⁶ Such concessions made an almost total break with the judicial functions of the hundred for they held their lands 'quietas de sectis scirarum et hundredorum' and all the many petty charges which suit of court might entail.⁷

In the case of Leiston, the soke already existed by 1086, when it was held by Robert Malet as part of the Honour of Eye.⁸ Indeed it is quite likely that it existed before the Conquest when the estate was held by Robert Malet's predecessor, Edric of Laxfield, the largest Saxon landholder in North East Suffolk.⁹ The Domesday survey for Fordley mentions an interesting three-cornered dispute between one of Edric's former tenants, the hundred court, and the new tenant in chief, which suggests that Edric of Laxfield

5. F.Barlow The English Church 1066-1154 1979 (1963) p.150-1
6. C.L.A. No.25. extract from Charter of Liberties, 1185-89.
7. Ibid. the hundred dues from which Leiston soke was free are listed, p.74-75, 'et placitis et querelis et de pecunia danda pro forisfacto de murdro, et de wapentach, et scutagio, et geldo et denegeldo et hidagio et assisis, et de operationibus castellorum et pancorum et pontinum et calcearum, et de ferdwita, et de hengewita et de flemmenefrenthe et de hamsoca et de warpeni et de averpeni et de blodwitha et de fichtwita et de leerwitha et de hundr(ed) peni, et de thiethingpeni'... Most of these had long been obsolete by 1189 and simply represent the legal formalities of the Liberty.
8. The manor of Leiston was part of the Honour of Eye and the tithes from its demesnes were granted to Eye priory by Robert Malet the tenant in chief in 1086. C.L.A. p.23.
9. DB. II. 311b. Edric of Laxfield held Leiston T.R.E.

Pre Conquest private Sokes






 Huntingfield soke (in Blything hundred)
  Leiston soke (Eric of Laxfield)
  The soke of Torret in Reydon, Frostenden and Wanford
B - Bungay **S** - Ralph the Staller **BSE** - St Edmund **N** - Norman the Thane

Figure 32.

held a soke at Leiston.¹⁰ This ancient soke is clearly indicated as part of the generous foundation grant of Ranulf de Glanville.¹¹ But Henry II's Charter of Liberties would seem to restrict the soke to lands actually held by the Abbey.¹² This may well have been the cause of misunderstanding and litigation in the 13th century.¹³ Later still the judicial authority of the soke was seriously challenged. Mortimer writes: 'Despite the centuries of history behind it, the Abbot was accused in 1399 of claiming a soke called 'Leyston Sokene' where he had none, and of preventing the King's sheriffs and bailiffs from executing writs, receiving complaints and delivering goods unjustly seized within it, insisting on holding such pleas in his court'¹⁴. It could be argued that the soke as exercised by Leiston Abbey was not the same, or as extensive, as the pre-Conquest soke of Leiston, even if the Abbot wished that it were, but we do not know the outcome of the Leiston Litigation.¹⁵

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10. Fordley DB. II. 311. (See Chapter VI p.156, where this reference is quoted in full)
11. C.L.A. No. 26.
12. C.L.A. No. 26.
13. C.L.A. p.24-25.
14. C.L.A. p.25.
15. Ibid. The fact that Leiston Abbey Soke extended into Fordley in the 13th century corresponds with Robert Malet's Lands in Fordley in 1086, which were included in the valuation of Leiston (DB. II. 311). Robert Malet's Soke was probably transferred to Leiston Abbey as part of the foundation gift of Ranulf de Glanville, and subsequently confirmed by a Royal Charter of liberties.

The precise nature and extent of pre-Conquest sokes remains uncertain, for the Domesday survey gives away few clues. However it is clear that the soke might be limited in various ways. A full soke might constitute the 'Six forfeitures' which Maitland understood to be 'gridbrice', 'hamsocu', 'fihtwite', 'fyrdwite', outlaw's works and the receipt of outlaws, while lesser grants of four and three forfeitures and the 'commendable forfeitures' would seem to constitute limited sokes.¹⁶ But the Domesday survey usually only gives the owner of the soke rights for each entry without describing the extent or nature of the soke. The soke may lie 'in the Hundred', or in the hands of 'the King and the Earl', or in the hands of a particular temporal or spiritual lord.¹⁷ It is therefore not always possible to identify the precise legal entity of the soke itself.

The private sokes of Blything Hundred are confined to small groups of adjacent vills, although several entries suggest more scattered socage lands extending beyond the hundred.¹⁸ (Fig.32). These sokes could be exchanged, rescinded or even forfeited, as when Edric of Laxfield forfeited his estates to Edward the Confessor after he was declared an outlaw.¹⁹

16. D.B. & B. p.119.

17. The term 'The King and the Earl have the Soke' is synonymous with the Hundred. e.g. DB. II. 311. Huntingfield 'the soke lies in Blythburgh to the use of the King and the Earl'. This rather more lengthy remark is of interest because Huntingfield is mentioned later as a private soke (B.P.C. No.198), possibly the soke had temporarily reverted to the hundred.

18. See DB. II. fol.288, 288b. Lands of Stigand in Brampton and Northales. The phrase 'This all belongs to Bungay (Bongeia), the Soke to Stigand' almost certainly refers to Bungay Soke which held these outlying portions of land in Blything Hundred. Bungay soke was particularly large and important, it is still mentioned as an entity as late as the 18th century e.g. I.R.O., HB 16:52/14/5. Hil. 3rd George III. final agreement between Stephen Gardiner Esq. & John Hunt re. Mettingham Castle estatewith appertēnances in Bungay Soke, etc. See also B.M. Add. Mss. 33988. Extent of the Manor of Bungay Burgh, Bungay Priory and Bungay Soke, 1453-4.

19. See note 10 above.

The pre-Conquest soke of Toret, which included the villas of Reydon, Wangford and Frostenden, was returned to the King and the Earl, 'by reason of the exchange'.²⁰ This soke once constituted all six forfeitures;²¹ the 'exchange' probably means that Ralf Baynard, the Norman successor to Toret, had exchanged or transferred socage rights in Reydon to his estates in Cratfield and Ubbeston.²²

The division of sokes under the Norman lords and vagaries concerning the precise nature of some pre-Conquest sokes may have led to litigation before 1086, which the Domesday survey was at pains to record. But the sokes themselves do not come under the same detailed scrutiny as the manors. We are told that Ralf the Staller held Wissett before the Conquest,²³ and that in Uggeshall he had soke over all the lands of Ostetel the priest.²⁴ At Halesworth, Ulf the Priest had 40 acres as a manor T.R.E.²⁵ When Earl Alan took possession of Ralph the Staller's estate at Wissett he claimed the land in Halesworth and the hundred was his witness.²⁶ Earl Hugh had acquired the lands of both priests, Ulf and Osketel, in Halesworth and Uggeshall. Earl Alan's claim almost certainly derives from the soke of his predecessor Ralf the Staller which after the Conquest extended over the lands of two tenants -

20. Reydon, Frostenden, Wangford, Henham. Lands of Ralf Baynard DB. II.414. At Reydon Toret held 5 carucates T.R.E. 'over these his predecessor had commendation and sake and soke. T.R.E.' 'The King and the Earl have the soke this is by way of the exchange.'
21. Frostden DB. II. 414b. Lands of Ralph Baynard. At Frostenden Toret held 3 carucates as a manor. 'The King and Earl have the six forfeitures ... by way of the exchange'.
22. Five Francmen render soke to the demesne of Ralph Baynard at Cratfield (and Ubbeston) which was held by Toret T.R.E. DB. II.415
23. DB. II.293.
24. DB. II.299b.
25. DB. II.299, 299b.
26. DB. II.299b.

-in-chief. The manor and Soke of Wissett still functioned in the 13th century when it is mentioned in the Charter Rolls of Henry III.²⁷

Similarly Huntingfield Soke, part of the Honour of Eye, is described in a charter of Blythburgh Priory as extending into Cookley as well as Linstead.²⁸ (Fig. 32).

The antiquity of these sokes cannot be established beyond the late Saxon period. However, it has already been tentatively suggested that some sokes lay within sub-hundredal areas, which can be identified by the cardinal place-names of some of their constituent vills and, like sokes in other parts of the country, they may lie at the core of ancient 'shires' centred on possible enclaves of late Roman activity.²⁹ Elsewhere in East Suffolk some sokes appear to coincide with places of known late Roman activity. Bungay soke is a particularly good example.³⁰

Another is the soke which comprised the three adjoining parishes of Walton, Kirby and Thorpe, which were once grouped around the late Roman shore fort of Walton Castle.³¹ This particular 'Liberty of the Soken' had a separate ecclesiastical court in which wills were proven and marriages granted. In the 18th century the parish registers of Walton-on-the-Naze record a special burial custom or 'Mortuary' for ^astranger comprising 'his best upper garment and four shillings', which went to the church as 'double

27. Copinger Manors of Suffolk. Vol.II. p.204. Wissett soke was probably granted to Rumburgh Priory. According to a survey of the manor of Rumburgh in the time of Henry VIII quoted in Dugdale's Monasticon. p.515. 'A court called a Turne, which courte is ever kept after Michaelmas, and grete appearnace at the same (for 3 weeks). The Lord hath no lete there, but he hath all such profits as concerne alete etc. The Lordship is so free to the Lord that neither Sheriff exchequer nor coroner have none intermedeling with the same.'

28. C.B.P. No. 189. (See also Vol.II p.137)

29. See Sec. 5 above.

30. See note 18 above. For Roman finds from Bungay see G.E.Fox 'Roman Suffolk' A.J. 2nd series 7, 1900. pp.89-165.

31. Fox op.cit.; I.E.Moore 'Roman Suffolk' P.S.I.A. XXIV (i) 1946 p.163.

fees', the upper garment being given 'according to the custom of the socken'.³² Much more needs to be done to investigate and reconstruct sokes in Suffolk and Norfolk before any firm conclusions can be reached, but there remains a distinct possibility that some sokes coincide with late Roman estates which may have retained some degree of judicial autonomy throughout the post-Roman period.³³

R.H.C. Davies was quick to note the similarity of pre-Danish institutions in both Kent and Northumbria and Jolliffe asserted that the lathes of Kent were comparable to sokes; indeed the word 'lathe' according to him was the 'exact synonym' of soke, and was used with exactly the same inflection of meaning.³⁴ The special tenure of gavel-kind in Kent involved partible inheritance as did socage tenure in parts of East Anglia.³⁵ R.H.C.Davis commented on the significance of this coincidence: 'Previously it has proved extremely puzzling to explain why it was that the early institutions of Kent and Northumbria were so similar and yet apparently unparalleled in the rest of England. If the institutions of East Anglia fit into the same pattern,

32. E.A.M. 1932; 8,729.

33. C. Hoare The History of an East Anglia Soke 1918. Gimingham Soke in Norfolk used a rotating system of tenements to elect the officer of 'Wickner', or 'Wigner', a post identical to that of 'Cullier' which has been linked to ancient sokage lands in Lincolnshire. (See Chapter VIII p.251 .)

34. K.A.S. p.xlv; J.E.A. Jolliffe. Pre-Fuedal England: The Jutes 1933 p.40.

35. Jolliffe op.cit. pp.32-65; D.Dodwell. 'Holdings and Inheritance in Medieval East Anglia' Econ. Hist. Rev. 2nd ser. 20, 1967 pp. 53-66. The word 'gavel' occasionally makes its mark on the Suffolk landscape as in the tenement row in Rumburgh called 'Gavel Street'. (See Fig. 30).

the difficulty disappears, since institutions that previously seemed to be both local and exceptional are now found to be general for at least a half of Pre-Danish England'.

Sokes have attracted remarkably little research in the intervening years even though, as has been found in Blything Hundred, remains of their jurisdictional and tenorial institutions lingered on into the early modern period.³⁶ However, there seems to be no shortage of evidence to reinforce the suggestion that the original economic unit of East Anglia was not the manor but a comparatively large district dependent on one centre of economic administration, like the 'villa regis', which was the head of a hundred or lathe.³⁷ This institution was overlaid, but not totally superseded, by the hundredal system introduced by the Kings of Wessex after they had conquered the Danes of East Anglia. By its similarity to the Kentish lathe and to a certain extent its similarity to Northumbrian and even some medieval Welsh institutions³⁸ the East Anglian soke can be regarded as pre-Danish in origin, although some Sokes were still being 'exchanged' after the Norman Conquest.

It has already been suggested in this chapter that some early sokes may coincide with centres of late Roman activity. Further research in this field is hampered by our almost total lack of knowledge of the nature of minor administration in the rural areas of late Roman Britain.³⁹ Vici are known

36. K.A.S. p.xLvl. See notes 18, 27, and 33 above.

37. K.A.S. p.xLvl.

38. J.E.A.Jolliffe 'Northumbrian Institutions'. Eng. Hist. Rev. XII, 1926 pp.2-3. quoted by Davis. K.A.S. p.xlv.
G.R.J.Jones 'Post Roman Wales' in The Agrarian History of England and Wales I. (ii) H.P.R.Finberg (Ed.) 1972 pp.281-382.

39. Prof. Sir Ian Richmond said in his introduction to 'The Civitas Capitals of Roman Britain' J.S.Wacher (Ed.) 1966. 'Environmental study of the cantonal capitals is also much needed, since interest in their development as towns often tends to eclipse their importance as heads of districts. So little is known as to how their territory was organised or even what were the minor administrative centres, controlling the pagi, within it'. J.M.Reynolds in the same volume p.70-74, mentions 'pagi' in rural areas and 'vici' in minor built-up ones. 'It may also be that in some, or all, of the tribes there were pagi or something like them, as sub-divisions of the rural areas; and the curia Textorerdorum, which occurs at Chesterholm may well be such a rural sub-division'. The evidence of tribal areas divided into pagi comes from Senones in northern France.

to have existed and it is possible that some may have left their imprint on the landscape in the survival of latin loan-words in place-names such as Wickham and Wicklaw.⁴⁰ But lesser administrative districts or 'pagi' may have existed in more remote rural areas. It is tempting to see behind the ten sub-hundredal areas, with their framework of multiple estates centred on private Sokes, the survival of Romano-British or even Celtic institutions within the wholly Anglo-Saxon regio of Blything Hundred.⁴¹ But we must not lose sight of the total lack of Celtic place-names, and even the one Latin loan-word survival of Bulcamp does not argue for large scale administrative continuity. Even if the centre of an important early soke could be identified and excavated it is hard to see how such continuity could be proved other than by pointing out the coincidence of early shires and minsterlands with sokes and late Roman sites at their centres. The question of administrative continuity is likely, therefore, to remain unanswered for many years to come.

40. See Sec.2 note 15 above.

41. G.R.J.Jones 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement' in Medieval Settlement P.H.Sawyer (Ed.) 1976 pp.15-41; C.E.Stevens 'The Social and Economic Aspect of Rural Settlement' in Rural Settlement in Roman Britain C.Thomas (Ed.) 1966 pp.108-28.

Chapter VI

ELEVENTH CENTURY BLYTHING

1. Introduction
2. Eleventh Century Estates and Manors
3. Carucates
4. Freeholders
5. Domesday Woodland
6. Domesday Meadowland

List of Figures

33. Notional Areas
34. Manors
35. Sibton
36. Domesday Pannages
37. Old Halesworth Parish
38. Bramfield Woods
39. Reydon Wood
40. Meadows at Blyford

Tables

- VIa Domesday Holdings in Sibton
- VIb Manors in Blything Hundred of 5 carucates and over
- VIc Size of carucates on clay and sandling soils
- VIId Manorial affiliation of meadow plots in Yoxford 1471

Chapter VI

ELEVENTH CENTURY BLYTHING

1. Introduction

The Little Domesday Book, which covers the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, was probably compiled with the aid of pre-existing assessment lists as well as the original returns made by the Domesday Commissioners.¹ For most parishes in East Suffolk it represents not only the first record of the place-name but also a small oasis flowering two centuries earlier than the first comparable surviving local records.

Like the distribution map of Roman farmstead sites, the Domesday Survey presents us with what appears to be a very well developed landscape; in the words of Lennard, we see a very 'old country' by 1086. But the picture is by no means complete; wastelands, commons and pasture, all of which must have existed in the eleventh century, are not included in the entries for Suffolk. The entries for meadow-land are so restricted in their acreages that it is likely they exclude common meadow-land; this problem is discussed more fully in section six of this chapter. Pannage woodland is recorded in almost every vill, but it is unlikely to represent the full extent of woodland at the time. The precise nature of this pannage woodland is uncertain, but it was probably a very open wood-pasture with large, scattered, standard oaks. Furthermore, as will be more fully discussed in section five of this chapter, most of this pannage woodland lay concentrated in great blocks shared by adjoining and some distant vills, suggesting its rather specialised nature. In the larger entries, where 'before and after' figures are recorded, substantial reductions in woodland had taken place by 1086.² However, these entries are only five out of the forty-four woodland entries for

1. S.Harvey 'Domesday Book and its predecessors' Eng. Hist. Rev. LXXXVI, 1971 pp.753-773; B.Dodwell 'The Making of the Domesday Survey in Norfolk: the Hundred and a half of Clacklose' Eng. Hist. Rev. LXXXIV, 1969 pp. 79-85; V.H.Galbraith Domesday Book: its place in Administrative History 1974 pp.19, 56-64.

2.

<u>Woodland</u>	<u>Numbers of swine TRE./1086</u>	<u>DB.II Fol.</u>
Halesworth	360/126	299-299b, 293
Huntingfield	150/100	311
Leiston	500/200	311b
Linstead	30/20	311
Wissett	300/60(?)	293

H.C.Darby 'Domesday Woodland' Econ.Hist.Rev. 2nd Ser.III, 1950 pp.21-43; R.Lennard 'The Destruction of Woodland in the Eastern Counties under William the Conqueror' Econ. Hist. Rev. XV, 1945 pp.36-43.

the Hundred, and contrary to the conclusions of some writers.³ These reductions in fact represent no more than a tentative nibbling at the available woodland.

The Little Domesday Book is remarkable not only for the number of its entries, but also for the impressive and sometimes overwhelming detail in which some of the larger manors are recorded. Much of this detail concerns livestock, which must have been difficult to assess reliably. This was soon appreciated and in the Great Survey the detail was edited out. The *Inquisitio Eliensis*, which largely duplicates the holdings of Ely recorded in the Domesday survey, describes the method by which the information was collected. We are told that the Commissioners took on oath the Sheriff, the Barons and the Frenchmen of each County. Each Hundred with its priests and reeves similarly gave evidence on oath and, at a lower level, six villeins from each vill also testified. Four Frenchmen and four Englishmen were appointed to verify the details supplied by the others and two additional commissioners were appointed to carry out random checks. The returns were then rearranged according to the rank of tenants-in-chief in each county with their holdings arranged as their land lay in each hundred. We cannot be certain that this was the only method used in Suffolk, for some great tenants-in-chief such as the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds may have used pre-existing feudal assessment lists, which already contained information about their carucated lands within each hundred.⁴

The function of the Domesday survey has given rise to much debate among scholars, who for many years believed that its sole purpose was connected with taxation, particularly the raising of Gelt.⁵ It seems likely that a survey of such magnitude would only have been conducted for multifarious reasons, taxation being but one of them. Two other important motives may have been the need to record new tenurial relationships (as a land register) and for the valuation of estates which might escheat to the crown. For this

3. See note 2 above and O.Rackham Ancient Woodland 1980 p.120.

4. Harvey op.cit. p.761; Dodwell op.cit. p.80.

5. Galbraith op.cit. pp.1-17, 161-183.

Notional areas

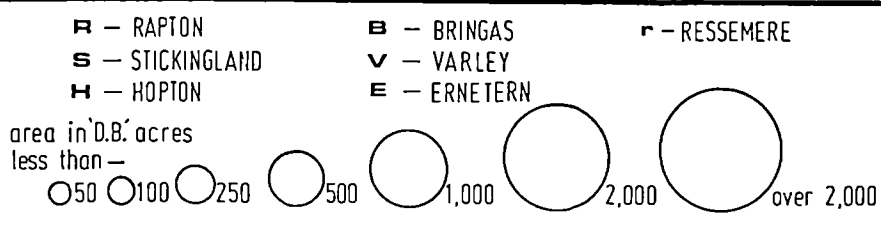
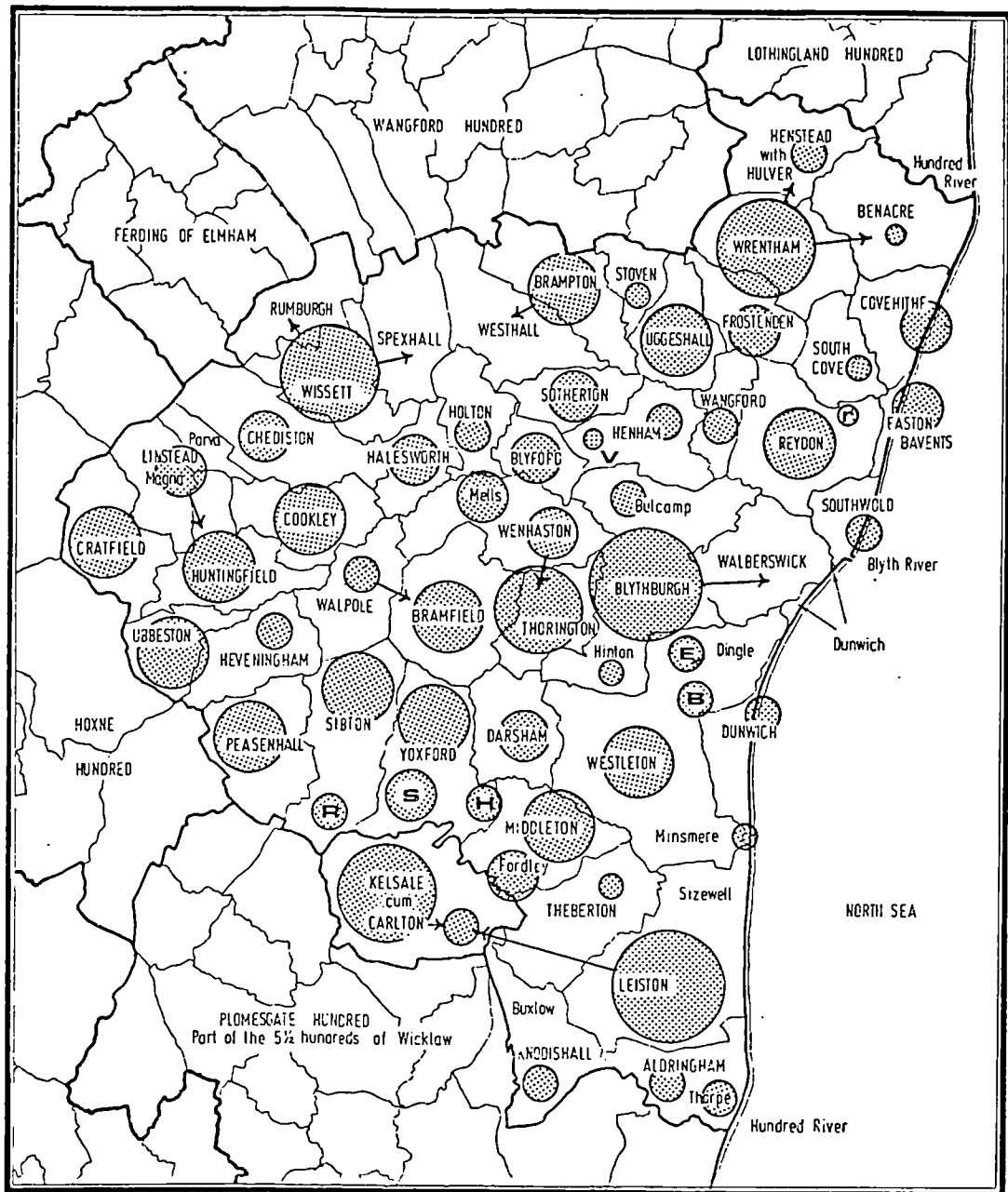


Figure 33.

latter reason it may have been thought necessary to record the details of livestock on large manors.⁶ The Inquisitio Eliensis gives a brief or questionnaire upon the basis of which the survey is thought to have been carried out, but many additional details are included in the Little Domesday Book which are not asked for in the Ely brief. These include details about socage relationships and the land held by churches. We cannot be certain, therefore, that both surveys were conducted on exactly the same basis.

It must also be pointed out that many settlements likely to have been in existence by 1086 are either absent from the survey or are recorded in a patently incomplete form; occasionally an entry under a vill claims, 'others have holdings therein' but fails to list them, nor is it always possible to disentangle estates which have been ascribed to one vill but which probably lay in another.⁷ This problem can be exemplified by a reconstruction of the purely notional areas of vills in acres imposed in diagrammatic form on a map of the modern parish boundaries (Fig. 33). Such a diagram must not be regarded as in any sense a true presentation of vill areas; merely a collation in map form. For this purpose it is necessary to convert carucates to acres by using the conventional figure of 120 acres to the carucate. This must not be taken as a literal interpretation, for, as will be seen later in section three of this chapter there is evidence to suggest that a discrepancy existed within Blything hundred between the size of carucates on the claylands and those on the Sandling soils. It must also be remembered that until the Divided Parishes Act of 1876, a number of parishes in Blything Hundred had detached portions. These included Wissett, Chediston, Halesworth and Dunwich, and there may once have been many more. There is therefore no indication that an entry under a vill in the Domesday survey is contained within the modern bounds of the surviving parish place-name.

6. Harvey op.cit. p.765.

7. Holton DB.II 356; Chippenhall DB.II 368; Walpole DB.II 292b; Wangford DB.II 414b; See also Dodwell op.cit. p.80; Spexhall and Westhall find no mention in the survey, but are probably included in the Wissett and Brampton entries respectively. (Fig.33)

A number of Domesday vills are now nothing more than hamlets within larger parishes. These are commonly referred to as 'lost' vills, and are listed as such by the Medieval Village Research Group, but they are usually recorded in later documents and can be pinned down through surviving minor place-names. Examples in Blything Hundred include Stickingland and Hopton in Yoxford parish⁸, Alnetern and Bregge or Brincas in Westleton⁹, Raption in Sibton¹⁰, and Ressemere in Reydon¹¹. One vill which has proved particularly troublesome to locate is the important place-name of Varley, later known as Warsley.¹² It lay somewhere on the Bulcamp - Blyford boundary and is relevant to the site of the battle of Bulcamp which has already been discussed in Chapter III, section eleven.

8. R.T.L.Parr 'Two Townships in Blything Hundred' P.S.I.A. XXV(iii) 1951 p.287.
9. For the location of Alnetern at TM.466728, see Ch.II Sec.2 p.16. Brincas (DB.II 331b) is probably Bregge, which can be located at TM.466707 where the partly deserted hamlet of Breggestreet is described in 1463:I.R.O., HA30:372/2 fol. 57b, 61, 62, 70, 72 & 72b; Janet Becker and Claude Morley attempted to locate Brincas at Brinces Bridge, Wenhaston. This is disproved by the Wenhaston extent, I.R.O., HA30:372/1. Land of John Fyske once Roger Bryce, '...the bridge called Brynces breg formerly called Duffords Bregge..' (16th century.): E.A.M. 1947: 11,672.
10. Raption survives in the name of Raption Hall; (see Bryant's Map of Suffolk, 1826) and as a large area of earthworks near Sibton South Grange at TM.368683 (S.A.U., St.J., ARD.18 & 20). Raption probably fell victim to deliberate clearance by the Cistercian house at Sibton; for its early history see R.Allen-Brown 'Early Charters for Sibton Abbey' Pipe Roll Society NB.36 1960(1962) pp.65-76.
11. Ressemere, now corrupted to Reydon Smear is a hamlet of Reydon. It is sometimes wrongly transcribed from Little Domesday as 'Bessemere'.
12. Varle DB. II 356. In 1275 Will. de Monchensey held land at 'Warsle' in Blything Hundred. Rotuli Hundredorum II, 147. It is not possible to locate this vill exactly. The order of the holdings of Goderic Dapifer (DB. II 355b - 356), which include lands in Blyford, Holton, and Bulcamp suggests that it lay at the junction of those three vills. 'Valley' Farm, Henham, which lies close to the deserted medieval hamlet of Middleton at TM.43807760, is a possible candidate. The name may have come down in the form of 'Wassely common', which lay at the Blyford river crossing, but no settlement is associated with it. See Chapter II Sec. 4 note 8, and Chapter III Sec.7 note 7.

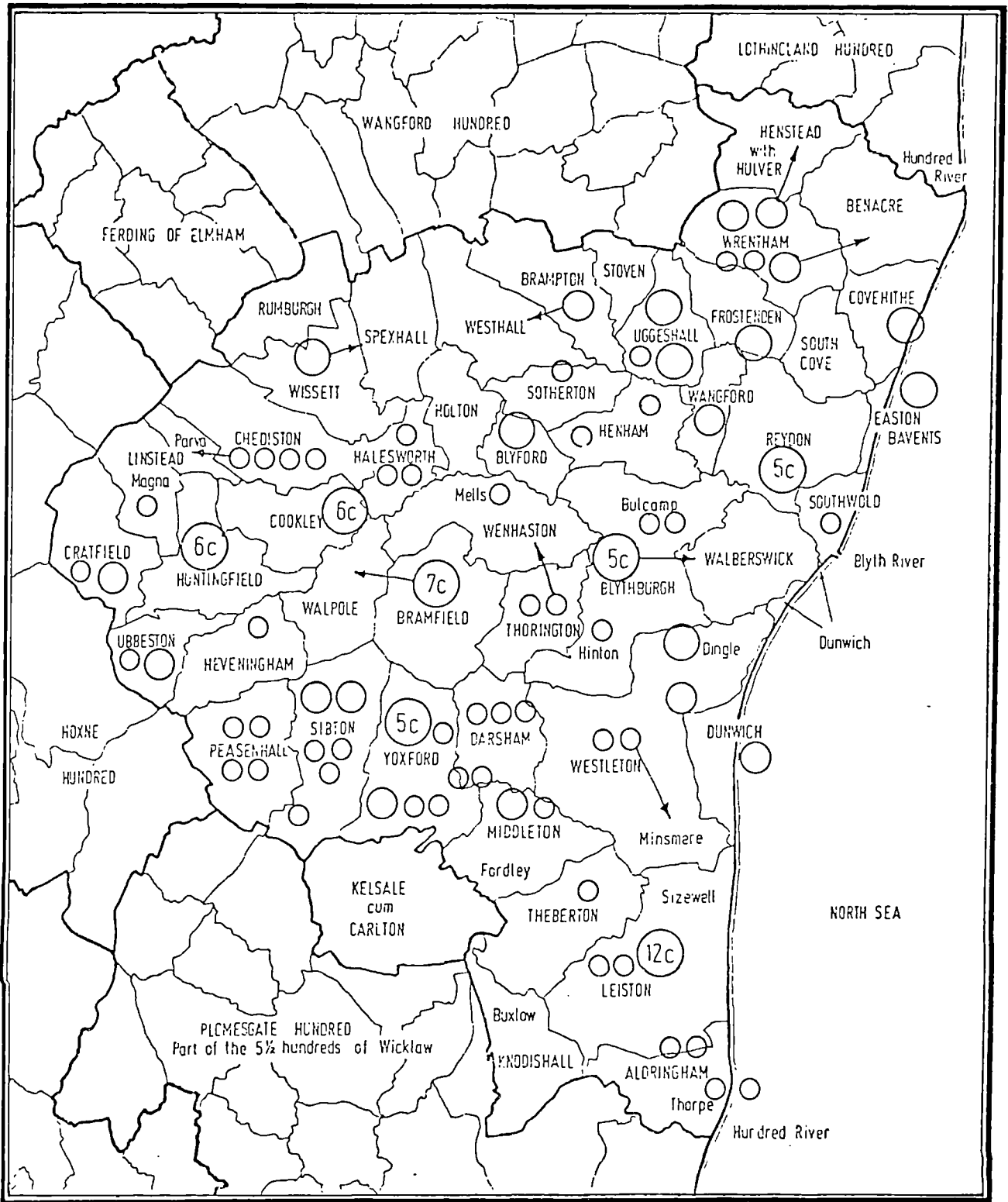
2. Eleventh Century Manors and Estates

The Domesday survey lists 78 manors in Blything Hundred, but there were at least ten vills which had no manors at all in their Domesday entries.¹ In contrast there were many vills which had more than one manor, some up to five. (Fig. 34.) As J.H.Round noticed, the norm in Suffolk was the 'petty' manor: out of 659 manors in the county he observed that 294 or nearly 45% were of under one carucate and only 70 manors were of five carucates or more. The eleventh century Suffolk vill was almost exclusively 'exterior' to the manor, and in only one or two instances were manor and vill co-terminous.²

In Blything Hundred, Blyford is the only example of a carucated manor, complete with church and gelt assessment, which appears to be one and the same as its vill, without freemen or any other independent holding.³ Many Suffolk manors have very few acres, the smallest observed by Round being at Sutton in Wilford Hundred, with only 12 acres. The norm is therefore one of many small manors per vill; some even smaller than the larger freeholdings in the same vill. It is hard to detect any significant difference in valuation on the 'petty' manors which could be attributed solely to manorial rights; indeed it is hard to imagine such minor estates functioning in the full sense as manors, yet in many cases their history can be traced into the medieval period and beyond when they functioned complete with manorial courts,

1. Benacre, Ressemere, (South) Cove, Fordley, Holton, Knodishall, Minsmere, Stoven, Walpole, Wenhaston. The fact that no manor is included in their entries does not mean that no manor existed, or that they did not contain any manorial land; indeed most of them include freemen holding land attached to manors in neighbouring vills.
2. V.C.H. Suffolk Vol.II, 1911 p.368, J.H.Round observed that Edwardston was the only example where gelt, vill and manor seemed to be co-terminous, but this was probably not the only example. Similar small manors are to be found in the northern shires; J.E.A.Jolliffe 'Northumbrian Institutions' Eng.Hist.Rev. 41, 1926, p.5; F.M.Stenton 'Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw' in Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History II, P.Vinogradoff (Ed.) 1910 pp.3-96.
3. DB.II 355b.

Domesday Manors



- Pre-Conquest manors under one carucate
- " " " over one carucate & under five
- 5c " " " over five carucates

Figure 34.

just the same as estates many times larger.⁴ It was usual, however, for there to be one or two manors in a vill significantly larger than the rest. Table VIa, which shows the Domesday holdings in Sibton, illustrates this point and also exemplifies the fragmented relationship of estates commonly found within one vill before the Conquest.

After the Norman Conquest there was a tendency for estates to merge under the hand of tenants-in-chief and their sub-tenants. Thus we see the de-Caen holdings of Robert Malet in Sibton held by the two brothers Walter and William (Table VIa). These estates were almost certainly those used by William de Chesney, a descendant of the Malets, to endow Sibton Abbey in 1150.⁵ To what extent such estates could be engrossed and farmed as one, it is difficult to say. Later evidence suggests that their fragmented entries in the Domesday survey are a direct reflection of a scattered settlement pattern, making large scale demesne farming difficult. The distribution of tithable lands in Sibton, recorded in the tithe award map of 1840 (Fig.35), illustrates the fragmented nature of the tithe-free lands of the Cistercian Abbey.⁶ The Domesday land holdings must, if anything, have been even more fragmented and, consequently, more difficult to farm as one unit.

The origins of this radiating and dispersed pattern can be tentatively suggested. Several Roman roads converge on the area, which may in origin have been a single large estate; Peasenhall being no more than a dependent chapelry attached to Sibton, even though it is given lengthy treatment as a vill in the Domesday survey.⁷ While no evidence for Roman occupation has

4. A good example is the manor of Hinton (DB.II 331) Fifty acres are mentioned in 1086, when six freemen were added with another fifty acres. There was also an acre of meadow and twelve acres of land held in alms for the King. In 1594, when the estate was surveyed by Christopher Saxton, the demesnes came to 216 acres with another 119 acres on lease, 91 acres of copyhold land and 47 (large) woodland acres are also listed all lying in Hinton. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/12.6. The documentation for small manors, such as Hinton, in the fifteenth century suggests that they were run in much the same way as their larger counterparts, particularly on the north-east Essex and Suffolk clay lands. See R.H.Britnell 'Minor Landlords in England and Medieval agrarian Capitalism' Past and Present 89. 1980 pp.3-22.
5. Allen-Brown op.cit. pp.65-76.
6. IRO. FDA218/A1/1b.
7. DB.II 312b., 314, 332, 333b; Chapter IV Sec.5 note 6.

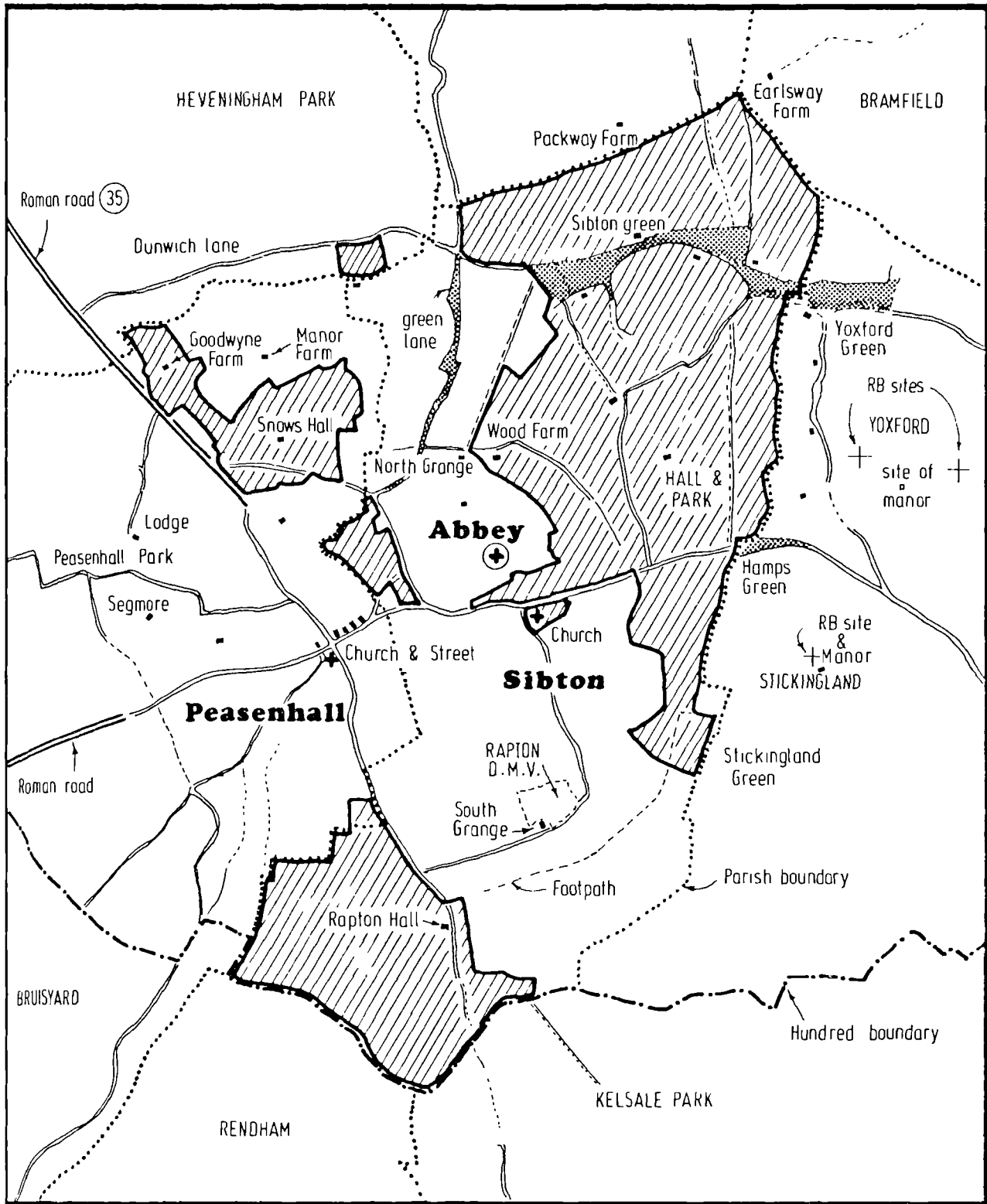
DOMESDAY HOLDINGS IN SIBTONMANORS

<u>DB II. fol.</u>	<u>Tenant-in-chief.</u>	<u>Under-tenants (1086)</u>	<u>Held T.R.E.</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Value T.R.E.</u>
292b/293	Earl Alan	Ralf Maynard	Alwin(Freeman)	1.c.,20a.	
312b	Robert Malet	Walter de Caen	(Freeman)	25a.	4s. + 1.church.
312b	Robert Malet	Walter de Caen	(Freeman)	1.c.,20a.	20s.
312b	Robert Malet	William de Caen	Alluric	60a	10s. 3 score + 13 sheep
313	Robert Malet	(demesne)	Blackman	50a	10s.

FREEHOLDINGS

312b	Robert Malet	William de Caen	Freeman	25a	4s
312b	Robert Malet	William de Caen	Edric	16a	3s
312b	Robert Malet	William de Caen(?)	3½ freemen	72a	10s + 1.ploughteam in demesne
312b	Robert Malet	Walter de Caen	2 freemen	32a	4s + 1.ploughteam in demesne
312b	Robert Malet	+ 2 churches with 18a and 3a of meadow			

NB. William de Caen died in 1071. Sibton Abbey was founded in 1150 by William de Chesney, who held the Barony of Horsford and the Honour of Eye (Robert Malet's holding of 1086)



Lands Tithable in Sibton Church IRO FOA 218/A1/16

Figure 35. Sibton and Peasenhall.

yet come to light in Sibton, there is no shortage of the usual small, early Roman sites in the neighbouring vills of Yoxford and Stickingland,⁸ both vills had similar fragmented Domesday entries.⁹ The ancient manors of Yoxford and Stickingland were deserted in the medieval period but their sites can be precisely located by descriptions given in the Yoxford Dragge of 1471.¹⁰ Two small, early Roman sites, probably with Iron Age origins, lie on either side of the earthworks of Yoxford manor, while the site of Stickingland manor, which produces early medieval pottery, is an example of a re-occupied Roman site, again probably with Iron Age beginnings. It seems highly likely that this pattern extends into the neighbouring settlements of Sibton and Peasenhall, where some at least of the nine 'petty' manors could be expected to have had equally ancient and obscure origins.

Not all the eleventh century petty manors were old. A few entries suggest that some manors had been divided shortly before the Conquest. The two manors of one carucate and twenty acres each, held by Earl Alan and Robert Malet in Sibton, are an obvious example.¹¹ While these two manors show differences in stock, they each held four villeins and ten bordars, each had nine 'animalia' and wood for sixty hogs and both were valued at forty shillings, suggesting that division had taken place recently, perhaps, it might be thought, as a result of partible inheritance.¹² Other examples can be seen at Wrentham, where a more precise division of stock is evident, but with just enough variation to rule out the possibility of scribal error.¹³ At Weston in Wainford Hundred two similar manors of forty acres each are valued as one, and at Peasenhall two such manors appear to have been rejoined under one valuation after the Conquest.¹⁴ Such clear indications of divided

8. See Chapter III Sec.6 note 6.

9. DB. II 282b, 312, 313b, 334b.

10. IRO., HA30:50/22/13.15.

11. DB.II 292b/293 & DB.II 312b, see also table VIa.

12. F.M.Stenton Anglo-Saxon England 1943 p.487.

13. DB.II 399 'In the same township (Wrentham), Turchil a freeman in TRE. always held 2 carucates of land as a manor. Always 5 villeins, always 11 bordars. 2 plough-teams might be made up on the demesne. And there was the one when he took it over. 2 acres of meadow. Wood for 20 hogs. Always valued at 40s. And this Robert de Petro-ponte holds himself.'

'In the same township Woolrich, a freeman, held 2 carucates of land as a manor. Always 5 villeins, 11 bordars, 1 plough-team in demesne. Another might be made up. 2 plough-teams belonging to the men. 2 acres of meadow. Wood for 20 hogs. Always valued at 40s.'

14. DB. II 282b, 283, 332.

manors are, however, uncommon and the overall impression of the many small manors in Blything Hundred is that they were not the result of divisions. This point is further supported by the boundaries of early manors which can be traced on the ground in the form of a curvilinear ring fence; two examples at Hinton and Wenhaston are discussed and illustrated in the section on Hall Farm Estates in Chapter VII of this thesis.¹⁵ Small manors of the ring-fence type represent one of the most stable and long-lasting features of the Suffolk countryside. There is no evidence on the ground in the form of property boundaries to suggest that they have been divided by partible inheritance at any time.

Large conglomerate villis, consisting of several small manors and numerous freeholdings are in marked contrast to the few great manorial villis such as Blythburgh, Bramfield, Huntingfield, Leiston and Reydon. In these latter examples, the manor and particularly the soke rights attached to those estates extend into neighbouring villis. The manor of Bramfield embraced freeholdings in Walpole.¹⁶ Huntingfield manor was added to after the Conquest with lands in neighbouring Linstead.¹⁷ Leiston's soke extended far into surrounding parishes in the adjoining Hundreds of Hoxne Bishops (Kelsale-cum-Carleton) and Plomesgate.¹⁸ In most cases expansion can be detected on these great manors in the late Saxon and early Norman periods. They were probably large princely estates from an early date; the great antiquity of the large Royal manor at Blythburgh can hardly be called into question.¹⁹

With few exceptions, the largest manors of five carucates and over, like the Royal estate at Blythburgh, were the private demesnes of great men, whose interests extended beyond the hundred. Edric of Laxfield, who held the largest single carucated manor in Blything Hundred, at Leiston, and many smaller manors besides, was also the largest single pre-Conquest landowner in East Suffolk. *We know that for a time he was outlawed and later reconciled*

15. Figs 49 & 51.

16. DB.II 292b.

17. DB.II 311.

18. DB.II 311b Leiston. See also Aldringham, DB.II 317 (Bishops Hundred) and Knodishall, DB.II 333b/334, regarded as a 'berewick of Saxmundham'.

19. Stenton 1943 op.cit. p.482.

Table VIb

MANORS IN BLYTHING HUNDRED OF FIVE CARUCATES AND OVER

<u>Vill & Manor</u>	<u>Carucates</u>	<u>Holder T.R.E.</u>	<u>Holder in 1086</u>	<u>Before</u>	<u>Value Then</u>	<u>Now.</u>	<u>Ref. DB.II</u>
Blythburgh	5	Royal demesne	Royal demesne	-	-	-	282
Leiston	12	Edric of Laxfield	Robert Malet (T.in C.)	£16	£28	£28	311b
*Huntingfield	6	Edric of Laxfield	Robert Malet (T.in C.) Walter son of Aubrey (sub.)	£8	-	£7	311
Reydon	5	Toret	Ralph Baynard (T.in C.)	£5(100s)	-	£7.10s	414
Bramfield	7	Manny the Swarthy	Earl Alan (T. in C.) 'holds in demesne'	£8	£16	£15.13s.4d.	292b.
Cookley	6	Woolrich (freeman)	William de Scoies (T.in C.)	?	?	£2.8s(?)	353b/354
Yoxford	5	Manning	Robert de Todenii (T.in C.)	£2	-	£3	429b.

* NB. Huntingfield is the only manor with a sub-tenant and the only manor to show a decline in value.

(At Wissett the four carucate estate held by Ralph the Staller before the Conquest was kept in demesne by the Norman tenant-in-chief Earl Alan, it rose in value from £8 to £20).

to Edward the Confessor who granted to him 'a sealed charter that whosoever of his freemen under commendation might choose to return'.²⁰ Of the other large pre-Conquest landowners we know very little. Some were of thegnly class,²¹ others were seignorial freemen, such as Edwin, who held the manor of two carucates at Blyford; he was described as a 'vir gloriosus'.²² Of the seven great manors in Blything Hundred which were of five carucates and over, all but one were kept in demesne by their new Norman tenants-in-chief. The exception is Huntingfield, which was farmed by Walter, son of Aubrey, under Robert Malet; it shows a marked decline in value, reminding us of the importance to the great Norman magnates of large demesne farms. The others, Yoxford, Leiston, Reydon and Bramfield, which were kept in hand, show a spectacular rise in value (see Table VIb). Figures are not available for Cookley, which has no 'before and after' entries; it is clearly rather exceptional in having had two Normans, probably knights, Huard de Vernun and Robert de Vallibus, quartered (casati) on the estate.²³ It seems likely that these estates were taken over by tenants-in-chief and singled out for special treatment; possibly they were of strategic importance for supplying their lords with vital provisions in time of war, or because they had previously been owned by thegns or distinguished seignorial Saxon freemen, the loyalty of their tenants might have been questionable.

The Norman Conquest resulted in the reorganisation of manors in Suffolk, with many 'petty' manors becoming merged with larger ones. By 1156 all the Bigot manors in vills around Yoxford had become merged with the main manor of Yoxford, which was held by Robert of Toden in 1086.²⁴ The result seems to have been that both Hopton and Stickingland ceased to exist as vills in their own right, but maintained their identity as minor place-names within

20. DB.II 311.

21. Norman the Thegn (DB.II 333.) held 100 acres as a manor in Yoxford. He also held other freemen and lands in Peasenhall, Darsham, Fordley, Thorington, Uggeshall and Northals, but his main holding lay in Hoxne Hundred, where he held four carucates in Kelsale. Manny the Swarthy who held Bramfield, is also described as a thegn. (DB.II 292b.)

22. D.Whitelock Anglo-Saxon Wills 1930 pp.86-89, 199-201. See section 3 of this chapter.

23. DB.II 334.

24. See Chapter IV Sec.7 note 2. Bigot tenants in Hopton and Stickingland were probably merged at this time. The remaining holdings in those vills, being the possession of Robert Malet, probably found their way into the hands of Sibton Abbey after 1150. S.A.E. p.11.

the modern parish of Yoxford.²⁵ Several writers have commented on the names of 'lost' vills, which survive in the form of manors and minor place-names. J.Ridgard mentions Lymbourn Manor in Homersfield.²⁶ N.Scarfe discusses the interesting example of Beckling Manor in Snape,²⁷ and D.Dymond mentions Martley Hall in Easton and Chilton Hall in Stowmarket.²⁸ The relationship between manor and vill is almost totally obscure as far as the Domesday survey is concerned.²⁹ Only in a very few instances is there an equation between the two and yet the high incidence of seignorial and -tun place-name endings,³⁰ and the almost universal medieval practice of giving the main manor the same name as the vill, suggests that manor and vill are so closely linked that when asking which might be the earlier, we are left with a 'chicken-or-the-egg' argument. It is important to remember, however, that some vills in Suffolk had no manors at all, but these vills, consisting as they did largely of freemen, were generally secondary and dependent on major manorial or conglomerate vills nearby. For example, Fordley was little more than an upland hamlet of Middleton.³¹ Knodishall was a berewick of Saxmundham³² and Henstead a berewick of Wrentham.³³

We cannot be certain that all the places mentioned in the Domesday survey were in fact vills in the technical sense; that they supplied six villeins to testify at the Hundred. It is very doubtful if some vills in Blything Hundred could find six villeins from among their recorded Domesday entries. Benacre had only one socman with ten acres.³⁴ At Resemere there

25. Parr op.cit. p.287.

26. J.Ridgard 'The Social and Economic History of Flixton in South Elmham' unpublished MA.Thesis, University of Leicester 1970 p.19.

27. N.Scarfe The Suffolk Landscape 1972 p.95.

28. D.Dymond 'The Suffolk Landscape' in East Anglian Studies L.M.Munby (Ed.) 1968 p.36.

29. See note 2 above; H.R.Loyn Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest 1968 p.36.

30. M.Gelling Signposts to the Past 1978 pp.124-6, 180-6.

31. See Chapter V. Fig.29.

32. DB.II 333b.

33. DB.II 399b.

34. DB.II 371b.

were only three freemen with fourteen acres and at Minsmere there were four freemen with forty-five acres.³⁵ Some 'lost' vills, those which did not achieve parish status, clearly fall into this minor vill category. At Limbourne in Wainford Hundred, where St Edmund held thirty acres and part of a mill, no tenants are listed.³⁶ Beckling in Snape had but a socman with twenty acres in 1086.³⁷ Chilton was a hamlet of Stowmarket with two socmen and thirty-six acres.³⁸ These are not 'lost' vills, but simply the minor place-names they are today, just as when they were first recorded. Of the seven 'lost' vills in Blything Hundred, two can be said to fall into this category, Ressemere and Varley. Brincas and Ernetern were larger, but being suburbs of Dunwich they declined with the fortunes of that town. The three important lost vills of Hopton, Ripton and Stickingland, all of which merited substantial Domesday entries, owed their demise to Norman administrative reorganisation caused by the amalgamation of Bigot manors in and around Yoxford, and the take-over of Ripton by the Cistercian Abbey at Sibton. In the case of Ripton and Stickingland the names survived attached to the manor or Hall farm. Both these were ancient estates of no great size or consequence, yet as such they are one of the most enduring features of the Suffolk landscape, surviving and possibly pre-dating the vills which shared the same name.

35. DB.II 385b, 334.

36. DB.II 370.

37. DB.II 338b.

38. DB.II 382b.

The vague term 'maneria' used by the Domesday commissioners for Suffolk undoubtedly covered a whole range of estates, from those scarcely distinguishable from humble freeholdings, to great demesne farms of five carucates and more. It is impossible to tell from the internal evidence of the survey what made an estate a 'maneria'. Possibly it was the presence of an 'aula' or chief dwelling of some kind, where petty courts may have been held as a judicial concession out of the hundredal court.³⁹ Or perhaps it was used to distinguish estates which were held by some form of written evidence of title; if so, no such evidence survives.⁴⁰ Some writers have suggested that the manor was a recent artificial institution imposed on the tenth and eleventh century landscape of East Anglia.⁴¹ Gelling would argue that the evidence from seignorial and some 'tun' place-names supports a tenth or eleventh century advent, at least in so far as manorial structure made its presence felt on the formation of vills. Stenton has always advocated earlier origins for the manor, claiming that elements of manorial relationships in Wessex can be detected in the seventh century laws of Ine;⁴² that early manors came into being as 'immunities' within early kingdoms, but were later subject to fragmentation through the process of partible inheritance, although there were always those families who 'had been careful to preserve the integrity of their individual estates.'⁴³

The evidence from Blything Hundred does little to illuminate this contradictory picture. We have many small 'manors', some of which were probably never manors at all, a few of which had recently come into being possibly through a process of partible inheritance. But we also have a great body of small to medium sized manors which give every appearance of being intact ancient ring-fence farms, which show no signs of partible inheritance. The

39. Stenton 1943 op.cit. p.481; A.H.E.W. pp.462-465; Jolliffe op.cit. p.5.

40. Stenton 1943 op.cit. p.307.

41. D.C.Douglas The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia 1927 pp.209, 217-8; Loyn op.cit. p.341.

42. Stenton 1943 op.cit. p.313.

43. Ibid. p.487; T.H.Aston 'The Origins of the Manor in Britain' Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc. 5th Ser. VIII, 1958 p.30.

two vills of Ubbeston and Sibton, which fall into the so called 'Grimston Hybrid' class of seignorial place-name could be taken as evidence for ninth century Danish influence in the transition from manor to vill, but only Ubbeston is in any sense manorialised,⁴⁴ and as a single example it could hardly be said to represent a significant impact on the development of settlement. The great thegnly estates of five carucates and over are probably the most ancient, developing in conjunction with the royal manor of Blythburgh, but they had been through recent changes in the eleventh century due partly to late Saxon expansion followed by reorganisation as Norman demesne farms. There is just enough evidence from field work in Blything Hundred to suggest that some manors of the hall farm estate or ring-fence type stand on re-occupied early Roman sites.⁴⁵ The significance of this in terms of continuity is hard to gauge, but at least we can pin-point the sites where further investigation, particularly excavation, might lead to a more certain understanding about the origins and development of these estates.

44. DB.II 415.

45. Stickingland Manor TM.385693 (Yoxford Site 6.); Chediston Grange(site 5.)& TM.346768 (Chediston Site 3.); Peartree Farm, Fressingfield TM.281748 (Fressingfield Site 10.)

3. Carucates

In Little Domesday Book the largest land measurement was the carucate.^{1.} In East Anglia this measure would seem to be a post-Conquest introduction replacing the 'hide', but its notional area commonly put at 120 acres has not always been accepted by all scholars, and it has come to be regarded as purely fiscal and, like the hide, unrelated to a fixed area.^{2.} Dodwell carefully observed that there was no average size of holding in eleventh century East Anglia, although many multiples of acres occur, as they sometimes do in later tenements which can be equated with virgates recorded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.^{3.} She suggested a one hundred acre carucate for Suffolk, pointing to examples in Blything Hundred, where one hundred acres were held by fourteen freemen at Northales, while two units of fifty acres were valued at Hinton.^{4.} However, these are isolated examples where carucates are not specifically mentioned.

In origin the carucate probably meant 'plough-land', but as a fiscal measure it had become divorced from its original meaning, so that by the eleventh century it was used to assess any large land holding. Nor should it be regarded as a statutory measurement entirely divorced from local 'customary' land measures; possibly the carucate was intended to be comprehensible at both local and governmental levels.^{5.} There can be no doubt that many of the carucates recorded on the Sandling soils were either not ploughed at all or only very infrequently broken up as 'brecks'.^{6.} Yet larger numbers of carucates are recorded on the sandy heathland areas of

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1. The virgate is something of a rarity in Suffolk and as such is mentioned in Chapter VIII Sec.5 note 1.
 2. K.A.S. p.xliii; D.C.Douglas 'Fragments of an Anglo-Saxon Survey of Bury St Edmunds' Eng.Hist.Rev. 43, 1928 p.380; R.Lennard 'The Origin of the Fiscal Carucate' Econ.Hist.Rev. 14, 1944 pp.51-63; J.S.Moore 'The Domesday Teamland in Leicestershire' Eng.Hist.Rev. 78, 1963 pp.696-703 and 'The Domesday Teamland: a reconsideration' Trans.Roy.Hist.Soc. 5th Ser. XIV, 1964 pp.109-30.
 3. B.Dodwell 'Holdings and Inheritance in Medieval East Anglia' Econ.Hist.Rev. 2nd Ser. 20, 1967 p.57.
 4. DB.II 332b, 400, 331.
 5. It is important to remember that wide discrepancies in the size of acres and perches were still common-place in the 1820's, Maitland himself commented that possibly 'the length of the "customary" perch varies inversely with the difficulty of the work to be done'. D.B.& B. p.437 note 3.
 6. See Chapter II Sec.3 notes 16, 18.

Blything Hundred than on the clayland areas. We find two carucates at Dunwich, two at Easton, five at Blythburgh and twelve at Leiston, all parishes with very sandy soils. They contrast with the small number of carucates recorded on estates with clay soils in the western part of the hundred where half carucates are occasionally encountered.⁷ If the carucate as a fiscal unit is to be equated with the hide, in as much as the hide represents a variable area sufficient to support a notional family unit, quite the reverse would be expected. But if we accept Maitland's theory that the size of land unit 'varies inversely with the difficulty of the work to be done', we might expect to find large carucates on the clay because it was 'difficult' land, and smaller carucates on the Sandling because it was light easy soil.⁸

The complex nature of many eleventh century Suffolk vills means that a number of carucates and acres are often brought together in one entry where they are occasionally given a collective valuation. When this happens there is an initial entry followed by a breakdown of its constituent parts concluding with the phrase 'and they are all included in the same valuation'. Two examples from the Blything Hundred area have sufficiently clear and succinct entries to allow for the construction of a simple equation of carucates and acres. The figures can be found in Table VIc. At Chippenhall in Bishops Hundred, now a hamlet of Fressingfield on the Blything Hundred boundary, we find six entries.⁹ The first states that there were nine freemen with 2½ carucates valued at £6. Then follow five entries which list a total of nine 'socmen' with the land that they held in a mixture of carucates and acres. These are almost certainly one and the same as the freemen in the first entry because they and half a church with 20 acres are included in the total

7. Cratfield 3½ carucates DB.II 415; Chippenhall 2½ & 1½ carucates DB.II 329, 368; Whittingham 1½ carucates DB.II 349.

8. See note 5. above. Moore 1964 op.cit. p.126: 'It is possible that the taxable capacity of each hide or carucate in any locality would be equal or very nearly so, since variations in soil quality, the main factor determining the yield from, and consequently the value of, each unit, would be compensated for by variations in the size of the unit.'

9. DB.II 329, 368.

Table VIc

SIZE OF CARUCATES ON CLAYLAND AND SANDLING SOILS IN 1086 AD.

<u>Leiston (Sandling)</u>		<u>Chippenhall (Clayland)</u>	
1.	DB.II 311b. Main manor of Robert Malet 12 carucates valued at £28	1.	DB.II 329. 9 freemen held 2½ carucates valued at £6
2.	DB.II 311b. 3 churches with 100 acres*	2.	DB.II 329. ½ church with 20 acres**
3.	DB.II 311b. 1 manor with 40 acres*	3.	DB.II 329. 4 socmen with 1 carucate**
4.	DB.II 311b. Gilbert with 140 acres (7 score)*	4.	DB.II 329. 3 socmen with 80 acres**
5.	DB.II 311b. 47 freemen with 7 carucates*	5.	DB.II 329. 1 socman with 20 acres**
6.	DB.II 311b. 8 freemen with 1½ carucates*	6.	DB.II 329. 1 socman with 120 acres**
	100a + 40a + 140a + 7c + 1.5c = 12c		20a + 20a + 1c + 80a + 120a = 2.5c
	100a + 40a + 140a = 12c - 7c - 1.5c		20a + 20a + 80a + 120a = 2.5c - 1c
	280a = 3.5c		240a = 1.5c
	80a = 1c		160a = 1c
	80 acres equal one carucate		160 acres equal one carucate

* In the above valuation

** In the above valuation

valuation of £6. Chippenhall is a typical clayland vill and so it is particularly fortunate that the other example should come from the Sandling manor later known as 'Leiston Socken', the largest estate in Blything Hundred, which extended into all the parishes surrounding Leiston itself. Within the vill of Leiston there are four entries, which include the main manor and three churches, which, though being valued separately, are included under the main manor because after the first entry comes the phrase, 'but they are part of the £28 aforsaid'.¹⁰ Because all these lands were part of the great Malet estate we can be reasonably certain that they are included in the main entry both in area and in value. In addition there were holdings in Aldringham, Fordley and Carlton, which are clearly stated to be included in the Leiston valuation. Because the Carlton entry and the holdings of Robert Malet in Aldringham lay in Bishop's Hundred,¹¹ we must conclude that they are duplicated in the Blything Hundred returns for Leiston. As carucates and acres are mixed together in these holdings, a similar simple equation can therefore be formed. See Table VIc.

The first equation for the clayland entries at Chippenhall produces exactly 160 acres to the carucate, while the second equation for the lighter soils at Leiston produces exactly 80 acres to the carucate, just half the area of the clayland carucate. It is not possible to be certain whether we are dealing with a universal truth or, more likely, simply an isolated fortuitous example, but it must be stressed that the mathematical odds are stacked against such equations coming out to exact round figures, and the fact that one is a multiple of the other suggests very strongly that they have a real and significant meaning. However, we may not have the whole picture in these simple figures, possibly, as one writer has suggested, 120 acres may have been the 'mean' with adjustments made for the local customary ploughland.¹² At least it can be suggested that the heavy claylands of Suffolk were measured by a large customary carucate, probably of a fixed 180 acres, while the lighter coastal soils were measured by a smaller 60 acre carucate.

10. DB.II 311b.

11. DB.II 317, 314, 310.

12. Moore 1964 op.cit. p.128-9.

While clearly much more work needs to be done on the equation of carucates and acres for the Domesday survey over a much wider area, there is nonetheless, considerable potential for testing such equations in the field. If we are to conclude that the carucate varied in size with the difficulty of the work to be done: (larger carucates on the heavy soils, smaller carucates on the light land), but that they were nevertheless composed of a regular number of customary eleventh century acres; (a fixed measurement of land area, rather than a fiscal unit), it should be possible to arrive at a rough estimate for the number of modern acres in an eleventh century carucate, where a connection can be made between the Domesday survey and the surviving boundary of an early estate.

In section 5 of this chapter (Fig. 38), the boundary of a large early estate, probably the five carucate estate of the thegn Manny the Swarthy, is delineated at Bramfield. The age of the boundary is supported by the unusually large number of woody stemmed species counted in the hedgerow.¹² An assessment was made of the internal acreage from the second series 25 inch Ordnance Survey sheets. An estimation was made for the incomplete southern section of the boundary, and a total of 772 acres was arrived at. If it is agreed that we are indeed dealing with a five carucate estate, each carucate could be the equivalent of 154.4 modern acres. The figure must be regarded as no more than a rule of thumb, but it is nonetheless very close to the 160 acre carucate arrived at through the equation for the clayland vill of Chippenhall, and helps to substantiate the theory for a carucate based on fixed acreages.

12. See Sec. 5 note 37 below.

4. Freeholders

Blything Hundred shares with Suffolk as a whole the distinguishing feature of numerous freemen. Darby estimated that they comprised 41% of the Domesday population of the county.¹ At one time scholars were eager to credit these freemen, or at least some of them, with Danish or Scandinavian ancestry.² But in Suffolk there never was any clear-cut correlation between the distribution of freemen and possible 'Danish' place-names.³ More recent reassessments of the place-name evidence have cast doubts on the Danishness of some 'Grimston Hybrid' and 'Thorp' names.⁴ Similarly, scholars are now reluctant to attribute the Scandinavian personal names of some Domesday freemen to a phase of Danish settlement, some two hundred years earlier, the density of which is still a point of debate.⁵ The liberty of freemen probably varied greatly with their position in the social structure, and the Domesday evidence suggests that they were commonly found at all levels of society. In pre-Conquest times theirs was essentially a liberty from manorial control, unlike the villeins, bordars and serfs, who were listed with the ploughs and chattels of the manor. The responsibility of freemen lay with the hundred court through the process of commendation, but after the Conquest many freemen were 'attached' to manors and became little more than privileged villeins. As many of these 'attached' freemen had very small holdings, the privilege of freedom may have been a doubtful asset.⁶

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1. H.C.Darby The Domesday Geography of Eastern England 1952 p.168. In Suffolk, freemen and socmen together formed 41% of the listed population. In Norfolk, socmen outnumbered freemen, but in Suffolk socmen amounted to about one ninth that of freemen. It is often difficult to draw a distinction between categories of freemen and socmen.
 2. Douglas 1927 op.cit. pp.215-7; B.Dodwell 'The Free Peasantry of East Anglia in Domesday' Norf.Arch. 27, 1941 p.152; Stenton 1943 op.cit. pp.516-7.
 3. R.H.C.Davis 'East Anglia and the Danelaw' Trans.Roy.Hist.Soc. 5th Ser. V, 1955 p.32.
 4. K.Cameron (Ed.) Place-name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and the Scandinavian Settlements 1975 pp.157-71; N.Lund 'Thorp-Names' in Medieval Settlement P.H.Sawyer (Ed.) 1976 pp.223-5.
 5. P.H.Sawyer 'The Density of the Danish Settlement in England' University of Birmingham Historical Journal VI(i) 1958 pp.1-17; Loyn op.cit.pp.54-5.
 6. Darby op.cit. p.114, of Norfolk freemen, 'their holdings were frequently so very small, often less than 10 acres and sometimes less than 5 acres.' See also Douglas 1927 op.cit. pp.110-12. In the later medieval period the advantages of freedom depended very much on the rent paid for the land in question. See J.Hatcher 'English Serfdom and Villeinage,towards a Reassessment' Past and Present 90, 1981 pp.14-5. See Chapter VIII sec.3 note 11.

In spite of the small size of their holdings, the dues from freemen formed an important part of the income of tenants-in-chief, so much so that the freemen of Roger Bigot form a substantial separate heading in the Domesday survey. Even before the Conquest many freemen may have felt the influence of manorial control; as every freeman was bound by commendation to another, often a superior seignorial freeman, so many found themselves commended to major landowners controlling manors in the vicinity of their freeholding. But it was rare for a freeman not to be able to sell or give his land, though one at Willingham in Wainford Hundred had lost this right.⁷ After the Conquest their attachment to manors probably meant that if bought, sold or given, the land and its dues and services remained attached to the manor.⁸

Before the Conquest all but the most senior freemen were under commendation one to another and there can be no doubt that a complex social structure existed among the freeholding 'community'. At Darsham we find Edric, probably Edric of Laxfield, the equivalent of a pre-Conquest tenant-in-chief, holding 94 acres as a manor. Below him were six freemen under his commendation. Also in Darsham was another freeman, called Blackman, who was also under commendation to Edric; he held a similar manor of 30 acres and beneath him there was another freeman with 22 acres who was under commendation to Blackman.⁹ Thus a three or four-tier structure of commendation existed before the Conquest. The complexity of this structure is further illustrated in an important entry for the non-manorial vill of Fordley.¹⁰

'This Edric freeman was under commendation to Edric of Laxfield, Robert Malet's predecessor before King Edward died. Afterwards Edric of Laxfield became an outlaw; King Edward seized all his land; afterwards he was reconciled to King Edward; and he granted him back his land. He gave him too a sealed charter that whosoever of his freemen under commendation might choose to return, by his grant they might return; this Edric, King Edward seized into his hand; afterwards the hundred saw no sign that he returned to Edric his lord; but he himself says, and offers proof by ordeal that he did return; and he holds the freemen who he has by commendation under him and as to them he vouches Robert Malet to warrant'.

7. DB. II 407.

8. Stenton 1943 op.cit. p.519.

9. DB.II 311.

10. DB.II 311.

From this and other entries in Blything Hundred it is possible to reconstruct three broad classes of freemen. Most important were freemen of the seignorial class. The majority of these were probably of old Anglo-Saxon stock, but a few were of Danish or Scandinavian origin. D.C.Douglas calculated that only 8½% of the personal names of freemen belonging to Bury St Edmunds were Scandinavian.¹¹ However many of the personal names are of an ambiguous nature and the more specialised study of Von Feilitzen is unfortunate because it excludes the majority of named freemen because they are not given 'before' entries and might therefore be post-Conquest in origin.¹² These seignorial freemen are equivalent to minor tenants-in-chief. Edric of Laxfield, whose lands went to form the Honour of Eye is the most obvious example. Edwin, the pre-Conquest owner of Blyford, would have left extensive but very scattered estates in Norfolk and Suffolk, had not the events of 1066 overtaken the wishes expressed in his will of the 1050's. In the list of benefactors granting land to the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds he was described as the 'vir gloriosus lauerd Edwinus',¹³. The holdings of these great men were taken over by Norman tenants-in-chief and their largest manors kept in demesne.¹⁴ There was one interesting survivor in Blything Hundred. At Peasehall we find 'Norman', holding two manors as one under Roger Bigot, both of which he had held before the Conquest.¹⁵ This is almost certainly Norman the Thegn, whose main manor at Kelsale had become Bigot demesne.¹⁶ He had also lost his largest manor in Blything Hundred at Yoxford and the commendation of several freemen in Darsham and Fordley, but he seems to have retained his holding at Peasehall with some detached land in Northales and another freeholding in Thorington. He was effectively reduced in status from thegn to minor sub-tenant.¹⁷

The second, or what might be called a middle class of named freemen,

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11. Douglas 1928 op.cit. pp.376-83; Davis op.cit. pp.23-39.
 12. O.Von Feilitzen The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Uppsala 1937.
 13. C.R.Hart The Early Charters of Eastern England 1976 p.67; D.Whitelock Anglo-Saxon Wills 1930 pp.86-89, 199-201.
 14. See previous section.
 15. DB.II 332.
 16. DB.II 330b.
 17. It is fascinating to speculate as to whether the Norman de Peasehall, who was active in the early 13th century and granted 3 acres in Peasehall to Blythburgh Priory, was a descendant of this thegn (C.B.P. p.13-14). He was probably a descendant of Fulcred, another Domesday manor holder in Peasehall (DB.II 313). By 1200 we know that Norman de Peasehall was a distant relative by marriage of the Justiciar, Rannulf de Glanville, the family would seem to have regained some of its former importance (C.L.A. p.15).

were holding or sharing, substantial, even carucated, estates and manors. Thus we find seven named freemen, all with separate commendations, holding one carucate in Darsham.¹⁸ Swarting, Agar Herewold and Osfert held 27 acres in Fordley,¹⁹ all were under commendation to Edric of Laxfield except for Osfert, who was only half free and was under commendation to Toli (the Sheriff). At Stoven, Gooday and Langaein held just 14 acres, both under commendation to Godwin son of Tuck.²⁰ The Domesday survey is packed with detail about this class of named and commended freemen. A few entries suggest that certain groups of freemen had kinship links. The example of the four brothers, freemen under Hugh, who built the chapel hard by the churchyard at Stowmarket has already been quoted.²¹ At Stickingland we find five freemen who were Ulf's men; Gode, Alfwin his brother, Bunde the smith, Aluric son of Bunde, who, together with Osketel held 60 acres.²² Outside the hundred one or two more entries suggest family relationships among groups of freemen.²³

The duplication of names makes it possible to reconstruct the estates of named freemen who held lands in several near by villis. Like their seignorial superiors their lands are scattered, but on a much smaller scale, over two or three villis rather than over hundreds and counties. Some notable examples are Stanwin, who held land in Heveningham, Peasenhall and Stickingland²⁴ and Ulf the priest, with his lands in Halesworth, Theberton and Stickingland.²⁵ Ulveva the freewoman, who held lands in Thorington, Darsham and Middleton, seems to have enjoyed a special relationship with Norman the Thegn, to whom she was commended. Before the Conquest she held a manor of two carucates adjoining the Thegn's manor in Kelsale. Later the two manors were merged to form Roger Bigot's demesne, but Ulveva probably retained her freeholding at Thorington and with it her obligation to Norman.²⁶ We see here a most interesting and no doubt prosperous 'middle-class' freeholder under commendation to a seignorial neighbour. Two reasons may lie behind the

18. DB.II 334b.

19. DB.II 314.

20. DB.II 333b.

21. Chapter IV p.93.

22. DB.II 334b.

23. Among the freemen of Roger Bigot in Colneis Hundred (DB.II 343b.), there are several groups of freemen where persons of the same name appear. This could be taken as a common family origin. See under the villis of Guthestuna, Burgh (Walton) and Burgate. At Maistana were 6 freemen, one Alfoh being the father of Wibald.

24. DB.II 332, 314, 313b.

25. DB.II 299/299b, 314(?), 335.

26. DB.II 335, 334b, 335.

scattered and dispersed nature of such holdings. Firstly there are, as we have seen, references to brothers in some of the entries which might suggest a process of partible inheritance, and secondly another divisive process may be the granting of land in dower. One important reference shows that this could cause a serious problem; under the freemen of Roger Bigot in Darsham we find that Robert Malet laid claim to 60 acres 'which a certain man gave with his daughter, whom a man of Roger Bigot's married in the time of King William.'²⁷.

The naming of freemen in the survey and the nature of their land holding has led some writers to the conclusion that later tenements are one and the same as the holdings of Domesday freemen.²⁸ While this theory has many attractions, and can be supported by one entry from Blything Hundred, (where Manulf held 40 acres as a manor in Middleton, described as a 'tenement'²⁹), it should be pointed out that the theory as a whole does not stand up to scrutiny when an attempt is made to trace back individual tenements. The problem is more fully discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.³⁰ Most tenement names probably date from the twelfth century or later, and relate to villein holdings subject to manorial reorganisation in the post-Conquest period.³¹ It must be conceded, however, that many of the more common-place tenement names, such as Aldrich, Aldwin, Goodrich, and Goodwin, appear also among the Domesday freemen. Lack of local documents for the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries makes it difficult to prove continuity on individual tenement sites.

27. DB.II 334b.

28. Scarfe op.cit. p.164. He lists the names of Woolnough, Thurston, Surman, Levitt, and Gooding in the Shotley peninsula.

29. DB.II 299b.

30. See p.238-9 below.

31. See Chapter VIII Sec. 4 note 5.

The third and largest class of freemen are unnamed, they are usually found in small groups sometimes holding pitifully small acreages. There can be little doubt they represent a relatively humble but important section of society. Stenton saw them as living on 'resources which can have been little more than adequate for bare subsistence'.³² He would tend to agree with Dodwell that sheep farming was not an important element in their economy.³³ But these conclusions are based on negative evidence: it is important to remember that common land and 'pastura' are not included in any of the Suffolk entries and the apparent absence of sheep from the Suffolk coastal marshes can be demonstrated to be a deficiency in the Domesday record for the county.³⁴ The main concentrations of groups of freemen are found in secondary dependent villis in upland wood-pasture situations, where secondary green-side settlement was evident in the medieval period. Fordley, itself a woodland place-name, is a clear example of a free-holding vill, little more than an upland hamlet of Middleton. Here we find one large free-holding of 60 acres and four groups of freemen, six with 26 acres, two with 24 acres, three and a half ^{freemen} with 27 acres and fifteen with 115 acres.³⁵ At Stoven, before the Conquest, there were four freemen with 50 acres, two with only 14 acres and under them two bordars.³⁶ Here part of the rent was paid in herrings, so fishing may have supplemented their meagre acres.³⁷ Stoven is also a good example of a wood-green settlement.³⁸ The name 'stofn', meaning stem or tree stump, suggests that it was a vill created by clearance and colonisation,³⁹ and Stoven is today characterised by medieval green-side settlement. The small Norman chapel was itself built overlooking 'Church Green'. It seems very likely that additional income could have been found in Stoven from pasture on its greens and commons. After the Conquest, Hugh de Montfort took the fifty acre freeholding in hand as demesne and the

32. Stenton 1943 op.cit. p.517.

33. Dodwell op.cit. 1941; Darby 1952 op.cit. p.114 note 2.

34. See Section 6 following.

35. DB.II 311, 312, 314, 334, 334b.

36. DB.II 406.

37. A large group of 40 freemen holding three carucates at Kessingland may likewise have supplemented their livelihood from the sea. (DB.II 301.) Kessingland is also notable for its classic green-side settlement associated with an open field system. See Fig. 52.

38. See Fig. 47.

39. Ekwall; Baron. See also V.B.Redstone 'The Sandling' (Part II) P.S.I.A. X(i) 1899 p.72, 'Stowing', a term used by the Suffolk peasantry for 'lopping' (polling oaks).

freemen who had previously shared it were reduced in number from four to three.⁴⁰

Relatively few of these secondary freeholding vills are recorded separately in the Domesday survey, indeed it would seem that the process of colonisation was caught at about the halfway stage in 1086. Symptomatic are the five 'hala' place-name endings in the hundred. Two, Westhall and Spexhall, do not appear as separate entries in the Domesday survey, yet they are clearly included in oversize entries for the neighbouring vills of Wissett and Brampton; the point has already been made in Figure 33. The eleven freemen with two carucates and 60 acres in Brampton,⁴¹ and the fourteen freemen with four carucates and 15 bordars in Wissett⁴² may indicate that the process of green-side colonisation was well under way. At Chippenhall, a classic late wood-green vill just beyond the hundred boundary, we find nine freemen with two and a half carucates and 17 bordars.⁴³ Of the three 'hala' place-names to find mention in the Domesday survey of the hundred two, Peasenhall and Knodishall, are clearly late secondary vills with many freemen on small acreages.⁴⁴ The third, Uggeshall, had three manors held by named freemen, but there were also four and a half other freemen, two sharing only 18 acres.⁴⁵ All the 'hala' parishes lie, as one might expect, close to the hundred boundary.⁴⁶

Many of the primary vills also have groups of freemen in their Domesday entries, but it should be remembered that secondary green-side settlement on the outskirts of most parishes is a common feature in the medieval period. At Chediston, Middleton, Sibton, Ubbeston and Linstead, green-side settlement can still be seen today on the outskirts of the parish, clearly reflecting a process of secondary colonisation within those vills. The pottery evidence makes it very doubtful as to whether all of the green-side sites had come

40. DB.II 333b, 406 This reference may record the first appearance of a manor of any kind in Stoven; it is likely to have been on or near to the small square moat which surrounds Church Farm at TM.448819.

41. DB.II 414b.

42. DB.II 293.

43. DB.II 329.

44. DB.II 312b, 314, 332, 333b; DB.II 333b, 334. Peasenhall was a chapelry of Sibton, and Knodishall was a berewick of Saxmundham in Plomesgate Hundred.

45. DB.II 299b, 331b, 371b.

46. Gelling op.cit. p.97; A.H.Smith English Place-Name Elements 1956, I p.223.

fully into being by 1086, but some of the groups of freemen listed in those vills may indicate that the process of secondary colonisation had begun. The pottery collected from green-side sites cannot be dated earlier than the eleventh century, but this may be no more than a statement of our ignorance about pre-Conquest pottery types in this area; excavation on dateable sites is badly needed here.

There has been much speculation over the years as to the origin of freemen. Some early writers were over-eager to suggest a Danish origin,⁴⁷ or even a Frisian one.⁴⁸ Others such as Lennard found it 'impossible' to draw any general conclusions about the holdings of freemen.⁴⁹ In contrast there seems to be no supporting evidence for the sweeping statement made by one writer that 'such free peasants constitute the tribesmen warriors of the first consolidated settlements'.⁵⁰ The evidence from Blything Hundred suggests that most freemen were the product of a long process of secondary colonisation; individuals and kinship groups moving up onto the clay-commons and clearing small acreages for their own use, owing dues only to the Hundred and Shire, yet under commendation to superior lords and freemen owning more ancient estates on the old heartlands and valley gravels. The scale of this settlement was small and piecemeal, spread out through time both before and after the Conquest. As one holding became consolidated so it established other, smaller, freeholdings in colonising situations about it.⁵¹ This process is reflected in the three-tier social structure of commendation, and above all it can be seen on the ground, where dispersed tenements in green-side situations lie on the periphery of older estates. The fine detail of this settlement pattern and the 'leap-frogging' process of green-side colonisation is more fully discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

47. eg. Dodwell and Stenton, see introduction to this section, note 2.

48. G.C.Homans 'The Frisians in East Anglia' Econ.Hist.Rev. 2nd Ser.X 1957 pp.190-206.

49. R.Lennard Rural England 1086-1135 1959 p.348.

50. Loyn op.cit. p.195.

51. Chapter VIII Sec.3 note 10 & 11.

5. Domesday Woodland

In Suffolk and Norfolk the usual Domesday assessment of woodland was specified as 'wood for x swine', a statement which has been taken to mean woodland for the pannage or fattening of swine.¹ The numbers of swine vary from just one or two to occasional impressive round figures, which may be no more than estimates, running into many hundreds. It seems more than likely that the very small numbers at least, are in fact, annual swine yields or renders, similar to those found in Kent and, like the entry for Kennington in that county, the East Anglian assessment of 'wood for x swine' should be extended to 'as much wood as renders for pannage x swine', or perhaps more simply as 'wood for (the pannage of which) x swine'.² The Suffolk swine yields in the eleventh century were almost invariably listed as the private possessions of large manors. Such pannage woods should not be taken as indicative of woodland as a whole. Firstly, in Blything Hundred, the pannage woods are not evenly distributed. (Fig. 36). Some probably lay outside the vill under which they were listed, being part of much larger areas of woodland which can be clearly identified in later documents. These large areas of pannage were probably divided up at an early date and shared among several different manors, as later property boundaries would seem to suggest. Secondly, the vills of Fordley and Stoven, both manor-less freeholding clayland vills in 1066, bear names associated with woodland yet neither of them has woodland entries. If, as might reasonably be expected, there was some woodland left in those vills by 1086, it was not of a kind to yield pigs, and therefore was not recorded. It is important to remember that we are not dealing with all the woodland in Blything Hundred as it was in 1086, but only with certain private manorial pannages from which profits accrued.

Several writers have noted the clustering of large woodland entries in the Domesday survey.³ A particularly high concentration comes at the junction of the Blything Hundred, Hoxne and Wangford hundred boundaries,

1. H.C.Darby 'Domesday Woodland' Econ.Hist.Rev. III, 1950 p.23, 'silva ad x porcos', 'silva de x porcis' or 'silva x porcos'; O.Rackham Ancient Woodland 1980 p.119.

2. Darby 1950 op.cit. p.27.

3. Ibid. p.34; Dodwell 1941 op.cit. p.148 map 2; R.Lennard 'The Destruction of Woodland in the Eastern Counties under William the Conqueror' Econ.Hist.Rev. XV, 1945 p.36; H.C.Darby 'Domesday Woodland in East Anglia' Antiquity VIII, 1934 pp.211-14.

Domesday Pannages, Wood for Numbers of Swine.

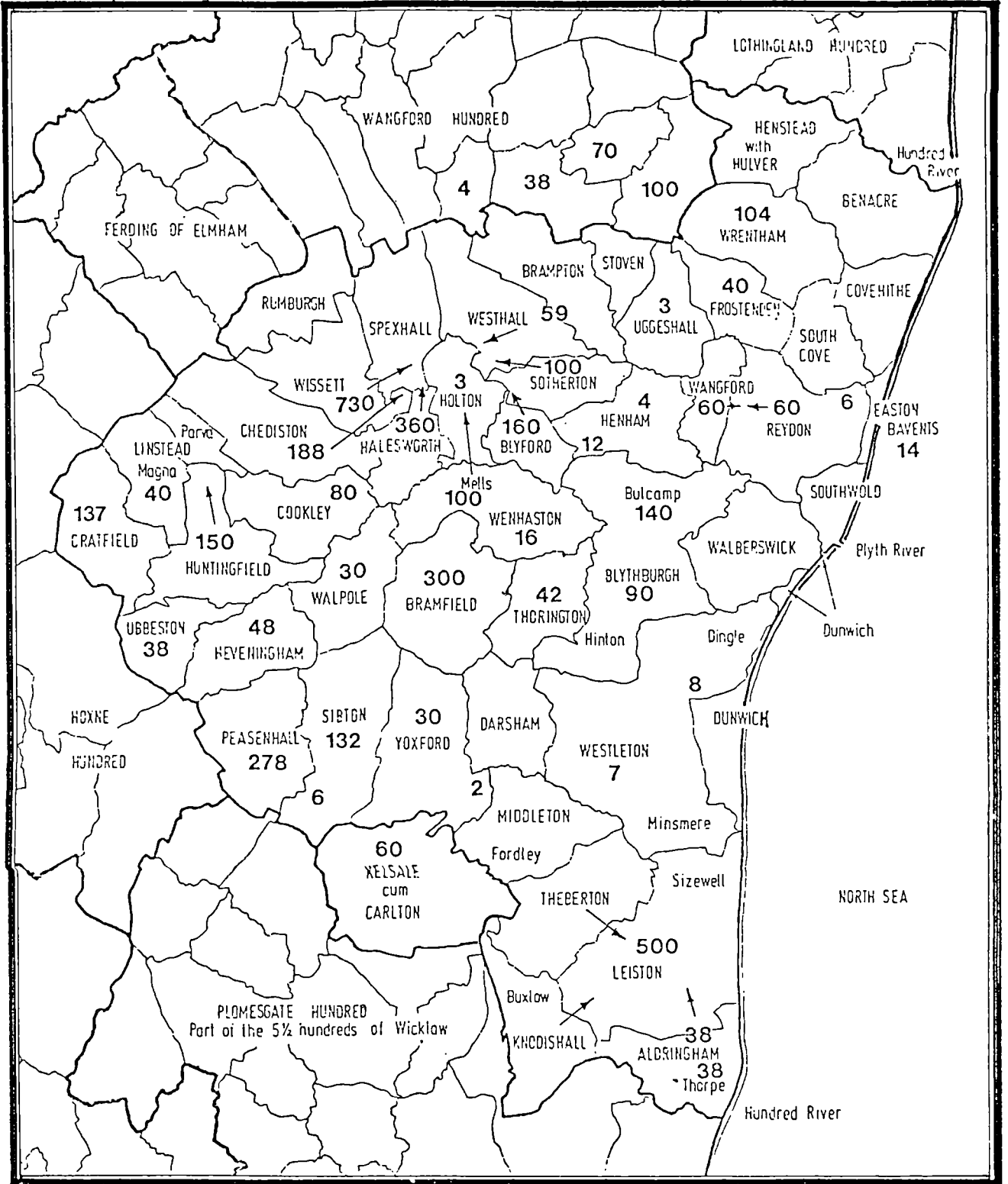


Figure 36.

where there are also several parishes with 'feld' place-name endings.⁴ The monks of St Edmund chose Chippenhall in this area 'because it abounded in woods', a century later we hear of the 'assart of Leofstaneshage' there.⁵ In the time of King Edward there were woods in Chippenhall yielding 460 swine, but these had declined to 400 by 1086.⁶ In the neighbouring vill of Cratfield there was wood yielding 137 hogs.⁷ This woodland probably lay to the north of 'Norwood Green', where the field names of 'Old Woods' and 'Great Woods' survive on the tithe map of 1838 beside the 'Townmere' on the hundred boundary dividing Cratfield from Fressingfield. Nearby in Linstead, adjoining the same hundred boundary, lies Wood Farm, and on the other side of the boundary in Metfield lay the long southern projection of Withersdale parish, which almost certainly represents a share of this large area of woodland.⁸ 'Greshaw Green' in Elmham, and 'Hushaw' or 'Hussey Green' in Fressingfield, also attest to the presence of woods in the area by their 'haugh' place-name endings.⁹ These names are now the only indication that this was once a woodland area.

More central to the hundred we find another block of Domesday woodland listed under the vills of Wissett and Halesworth, which altogether amounts to 26% of the pannage yield for the whole hundred.¹⁰ (See Fig. 36). However, there is good evidence to suggest that this huge block of woodland lay outside their present parish boundaries. The tithe map of Halesworth records that there were some large outlying blocks of tithable land beside the Roman road of Stone Street, in what is now Spexhall.¹¹ This curious parish boundary is illustrated here in Figure 37. The outlying blocks of land, the furthest of which lies on the hundred boundary next to Ilketshall, probably represent the

4. See Chapter II Sec. 6 note 1.

5. Hart *op.cit.* p.249; *K.A.S.* p.149 Charter No. 126.

6. *DB.II* 329, 368, 441.

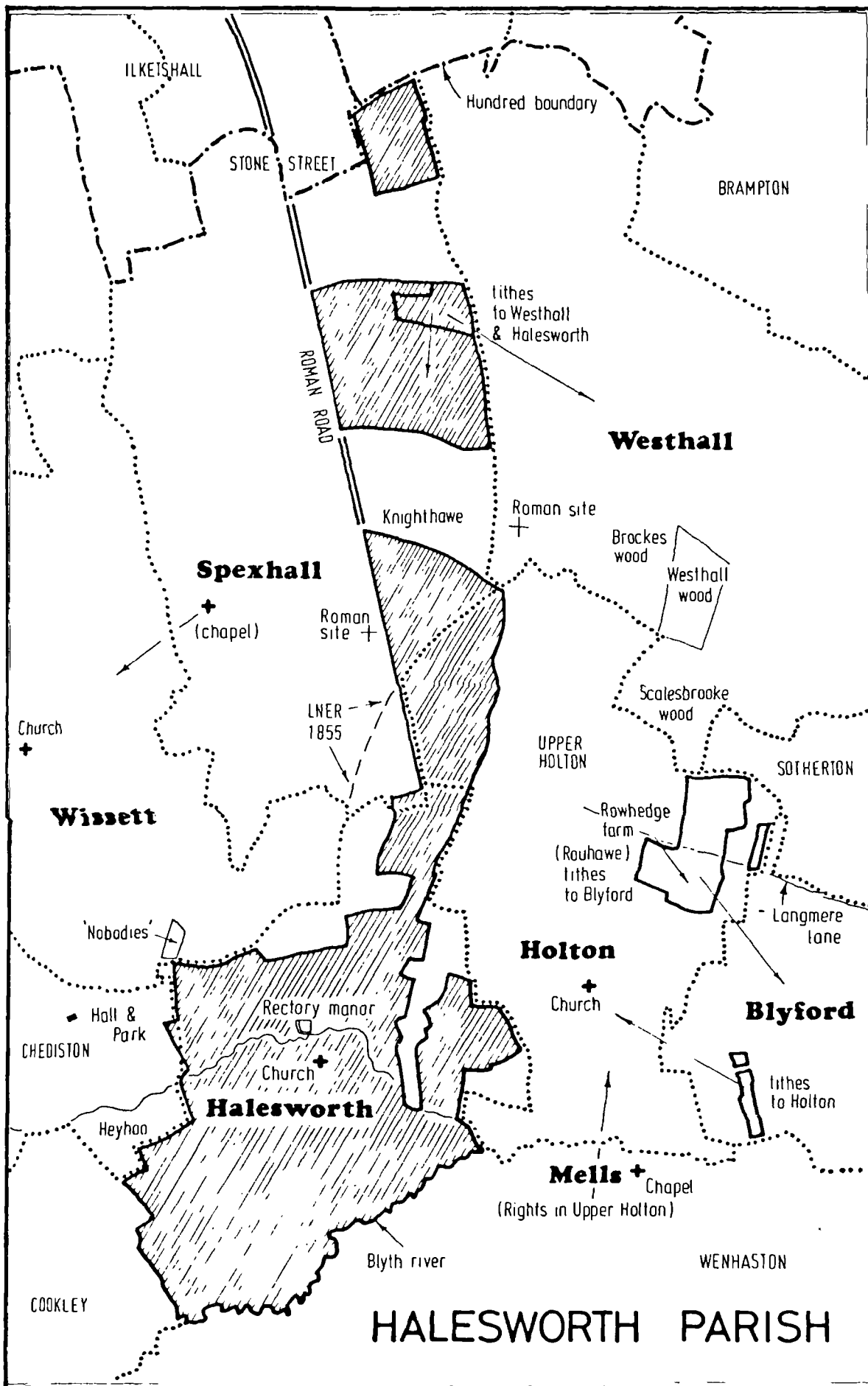
7. *DB.II* 415.

8. See Fig 48.

9. Chapter II Sec. 7 note 6.

10. *DB.II* 293; *DB.II* 299/299b.

11. *I.R.O.*, FDA.117/A1/1b.




 Lands titheable in Halesworth church (I.R.O., FDA 117/A1/1b.)

Figure 37. Old Halesworth Parish.

stage by stage conversion of pannage or grazing rights into enclosures for arable purposes; their diminishing size represents diminishing rights over diminishing areas, as stage by stage the woodland was cleared. The tithe map of Wissett shows a similar extension running into the same area.^{12.}

It is also clear from these maps that the parish of Spexhall, in origin probably a chapelry of Wissett, was much smaller and deeply intersected by blocks of land tithable in neighbouring parishes. The Westhall tithe map and a survey of the parish by Richard Barnes made in 1812 shows that a small part of Halesworth's tithable lands in what is now Spexhall paid double tithes to both Halesworth and Westhall, suggesting that Westhall also had an interest in this area.^{13.}

The documentary evidence for woodland in this area of confused parish boundaries comes from a variety of different sources, but is nonetheless conclusive. A very large area of woodland is illustrated on an estate map of 1654, close to the Westhall/Upper Holton boundary, of which Scalesbrook Wood is now the only survivor.^{14.} To the south, adjoining Scalesbrook Wood, lay 'Rowhedge Farm' in Upper Holton. This farm, which paid its tithes to Blyford, was probably the last surviving fragment of the obscure vill of 'Roughawe',^{15.} a good example of a 'haugh' place-name. There were also extensive commons in Upper Holton, of which Holton Common, visible on the tithe map, was the last surviving fragment. A number of far-flung manors had interests in this area, including those at Halesworth, Wissett, Mells and Bramfield.^{16.} In 1576, the area to the west of Stone Street between the

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12. I.R.O., FDA.280/A1/1b (1840) This map is damaged in its extremities and it was therefore necessary to examine a better preserved copy held by the Wissett church-wardens. Greenwood's map of Suffolk, published in 1823-4, shows the civil parish of Wissett extending into Upper Holton, but this cannot be regarded as reliable.
13. See Fig.37; I.R.O., FDA.280/A1/1b & I.R.O., T.4222.
14. I.R.O., HB.24/1175/2.
15. The name 'Rowhedge Farm' is marked on the 1st Ser.O.S.map for Suffolk. See also the Holton and Blyford tithe maps, I.R.O., FDA.135/A1/1b(1838) & FDA.31/A1/1(1843). Rouhawe or Roughawe is first mentioned as a vill in the Blythburgh Priory Cartulary (No.189), where a marginal note mentions a tenement extending into Huntingfield, Linstead and Rouhawe. This note was not included by the editor in Vol.I of the published Cartulary, but is mentioned in Vol.II p.136. See also Charter No.396 where Margarita, wife of Will.de Drenchestune granted 28d. from her 'Villa de Ruaghe'. See also Copinger S.MSS., Close Rolls 14 Edw.II 8d(1320), Release by Sir John de Fressingfield to Sir Walter de Norwich of Cookley Manor, 'with all his tenements of Ruhaghe'.
16. J.B.Hill Estate papers I.R.O., P.440/B.f.1, Blyford Manor: admission of Sarah Barfoote.

outlying portions of Halesworth parish was called 'Knighthaugh', part of which was at one time a possession of Blythburgh priory.¹⁷ In the same area south of 'Cakerow Street' lay a piece of land belonging to Halesworth manor called 'Newhaughes'.¹⁸ In addition it must be said that there were several small woods within the main body of Halesworth parish, but most of these lay within the remains of Halesworth Park.¹⁹ The proximity of woods in Upper Holton, Spexhall, Westhall and Halesworth, that is to say Knighthawe, Brookeswood, Westhall Wood, Newhaugh, Scalesbrook Wood and Rouhawe, suggests that they once formed one vast block of pannage wood shared by perhaps as many as seven different vills.²⁰ The secondary nature of the parishes of Westhall and Spexhall, with their 'hala' place-name endings, may reflect the remoteness of this woodland area.²¹ The name of Halesworth may mean no more than the place or the 'worthig' of the 'hala's', literally the enclosure associated with remote pieces of land, an interpretation which fits exactly Halesworth's curious tithable area.²² There is no indication that 'hala' was ever used to indicate woodland; it means a remote 'corner' where, of course, woods are likely to be found. Two important early Roman sites in the vicinity of Knighthawe and others close to Rouhawe and Westhall Wood suggest that we are dealing with secondary woodland which grew up in the late Roman period after these sites were deserted in the late third century. Possibly they reverted to pasture first before becoming overgrown with trees, thereby establishing a tradition that this was an area of wood-pasture or pannage, but pigs and cattle can themselves be destructive of woodland.²³

In Sotherton, a vill which was largely deserted in the late medieval period, a number of post-medieval wood names are recorded which include Inham Wood, Rockland Wood, Greyshawe, Ballfield Wood and Burwood. These may be no more than a reflection of late medieval desertion and the subsequent development of secondary woodland. But at least one twelfth century wood

17. J.M.Ridgard & Halesworth W.E.A. (Eds.) Halesworth; towards a local History 1980 pp.46, 41.

18. Ibid p.38.

19. Ibid p.12, 14.

20. Ridgard et al., op.cit. p.50. Lands were held here by the Manors of Wissett, Blyford, Rumburgh, Blythburgh Priory, Halesworth, and also Mells and Bramfield.

21. Smith op.cit. I p.223; Gelling 1978 op.cit. p.97.

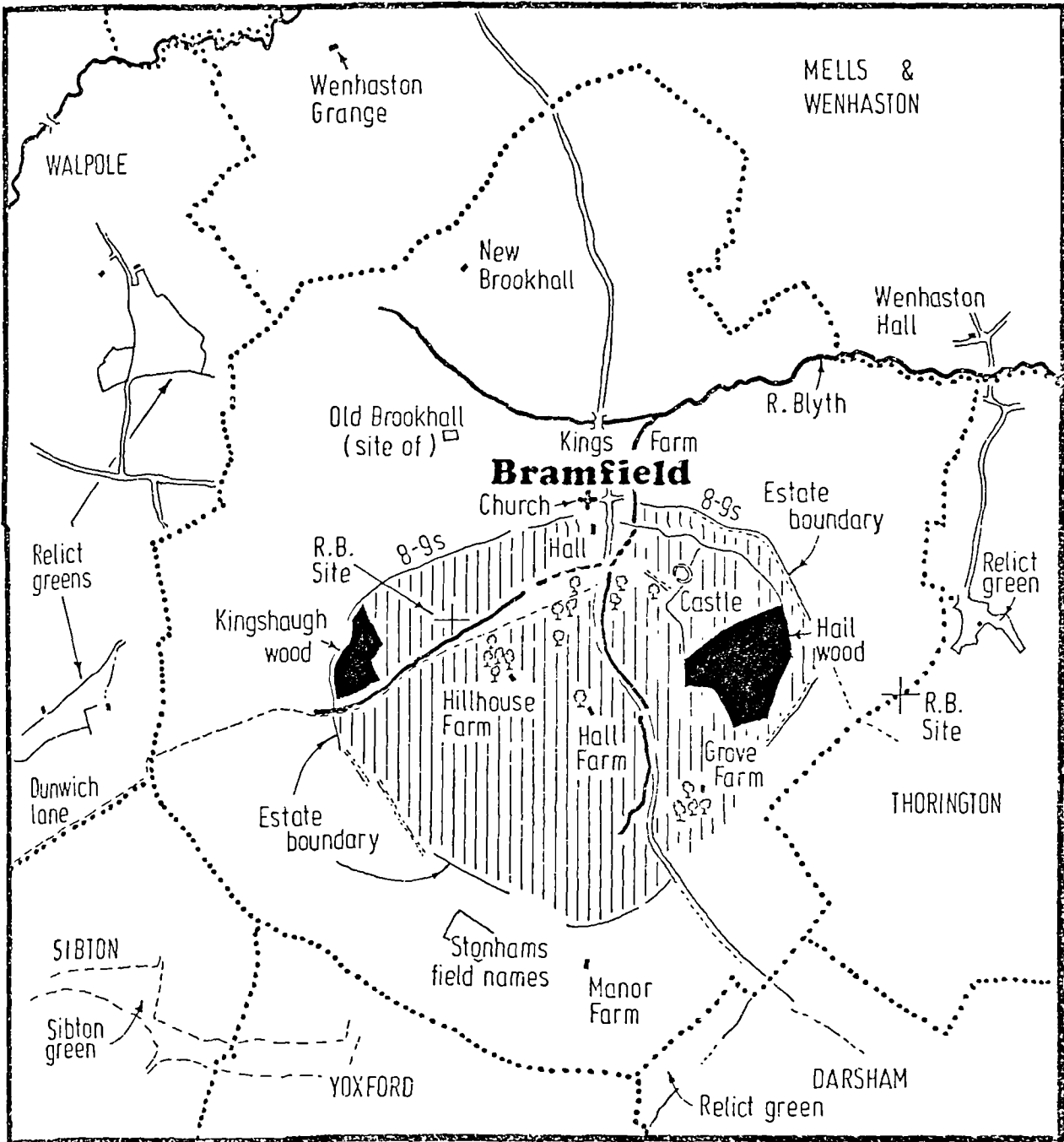
22. H.S.A.Fox 'Approaches to the Adoption of the Midland System' Ch.4 in T.Rowley (Ed.) The Origins of Open Field Agriculture 1981, p.86.

23. R.Bradley The Prehistoric Settlement of Britain. 1978 p.11; Rackham op.cit.p.5.

name, 'Wellehave', may recall the yield of 100 hogs recorded in 1086.²⁴ It is possible that this lay in the area of modern 'Sotherton Wood', at one time known as 'Rumbling Wood',²⁵ which originally extended further north and probably joined up with 'Inham Wood' and 'Ballfield Wood' in the vicinity of Wood Farm.²⁶ It may also have extended westwards in the direction of Rowhedge Farm and Scalesbrook Wood thus linking up with the great block of woodland north of Halesworth.²⁷

At Bramfield the large woodland yield of 300 swine may be distantly reflected in the beautifully preserved embanked hornbeam coppices of Kingshaugh and Bramfield Hall Wood²⁸. (See Fig.38 & Plate 9). While there is no reason to believe that these woods are anything more than late medieval coppices, they undoubtedly form part of a much larger enclosed woodland area, itself containing some remarkable polled oaks of prodigious age standing on the meadows adjoining Grove Farm, Hill House Farm and Hall Farm. The legendary 'Bramfield Oak' also stood in this area²⁹. (See Plate 22). Some of these oaks may once have stood in the Elizabethan parks attached to the

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24. C.B.P. No.400; DB.II 432. For deserted village site at TM.442796, see M.V.R.G. 1962 list.
25. I.R.O., HA11/C9/74. No.49 & HA11/C9/34. (Also Rumsby's Wood).
26. I.R.O., HB26/412/1640, the surrender by the widow and legatees of Richard Knights of his farm in Sotherton (1815), mentions the tenement Efoiles, with a piece of land etc. and pasture late of wood parcel of Inham Wood called Ballfield and three acres of wood also called Ballfield next to Goddards meadow. See also Sotherton Tithe Map FDA.221/A1/1(1837), 'Godards' field name No.171.
27. I.R.O., HA11/C9/36 On the estate map of Sotherton Hall Farm (c.1796), a detached part of this farm lay in the area of the Duke public house, called the Duke Field, on the opposite side of the road to Rowhedge Farm. The Farm beside the Duke pub was called 'Hogstye Farm'. For the 'Kingstye' on the Halesworth to Westhall road see Ridgard et al., op.cit. p.42. For medieval pigsties and attendant enclosures see S.A.Moorhouse 'Documentary Evidence for the Landscape of the Manor of Wakefield during the Middle Ages' Landscape History I, 1979 pp.44-58.
28. DB.II 292b. The earliest mention of Kingshaugh comes in a will of Robert Moyn given by Gardner p.166. See also C.B.P. No.443, which mentions 'sub-bosco de Bramfield'.
29. Suckling Vol.II p.173 (illustration); Lord Harvey (Ed.) 1902 Suffolk in the XVII Century: The Breviary of Suffolk by Robert Reyce 1618. 'The ballad of Bold Bigod'. This sixteenth century ballad would link Bramfield Oak to the events of 1174 when Hugh Bigod challenged the authority of Henry II. Suckling p.172 says that in 1843 the tree 'fell from sheer decay, with a most appalling crash, enveloping its prostrate form with clouds of dust.'



Shaded area approximately 772 acres,
 or the five carucate estate of the
 thegn Manny the Swarthy.

Figure 38.

original houses of Brook Hall and Bramfield Hall.³⁰ The two woods, and the isolated polled oaks, stand within a clearly defined boundary which may once have been an estate or park boundary attached to the circular earthwork known as Bramfield Castle. The castle ditches are first recorded in the thirteenth century.³¹ It is possible that the curving, almost circular, boundary enclosed a medieval hunting park, but the area enclosed would seem to be rather large and there is no documentary evidence for a licensed park at this time. Furthermore, medieval pottery from Hall Farm and nearby Hill House Farm suggests that these farmsteads were established within the boundary at least by the thirteenth century.³² The nineteenth century copy of a 1745 survey made of Bramfield Hall Estate for Reginald Rabett by Benjamine Reeve, shows that the existing park around Bramfield Hall is a late creation.³³

The most likely explanation and date for this boundary is that it reflects the seven carucate estate of the thegn, Manny the Swarthy, recorded in the Domesday survey.³⁴ In the thirteenth century this great manor was split by subinfeudation into the manors of Stonhams, Brooke Hall and Bramfield. The three 'Manor farms' can still be found in Bramfield today,³⁵ and from the disposition of these three farms, the original estate boundary would seem to have been broken at this time and, from the pottery evidence, tenant farms were established within it.³⁶ Species counting in the boundary hedgerow produced 7, 8 and 9 species per 30 yard run and it can be tentatively suggested that parts of the boundary could be at least seven hundred years

30. Brook Hall was demolished in 1805 and rebuilt about one mile further north. See Suckling Vol.II p.171. Bramfield Hall still contains some notable sixteenth century features. See Pevsner and Radcliffe pp.109-10.

31. C.B.P. 434, & 453. See Chapter IV Sec.4 note 13, also I.R.O., HD.42/1(332), and S.A.U., St.J.CQ.060.

32. TM.393729 (Bramfield site 8).
TM.399729 (Bramfield site 10).

33. I.R.O., HD.42/1(332).

34. DB.II 292b.

35. Copinger Manors of Suffolk II pp.21-22. It is not clear exactly when subinfeudation took place, but probably before 1269.

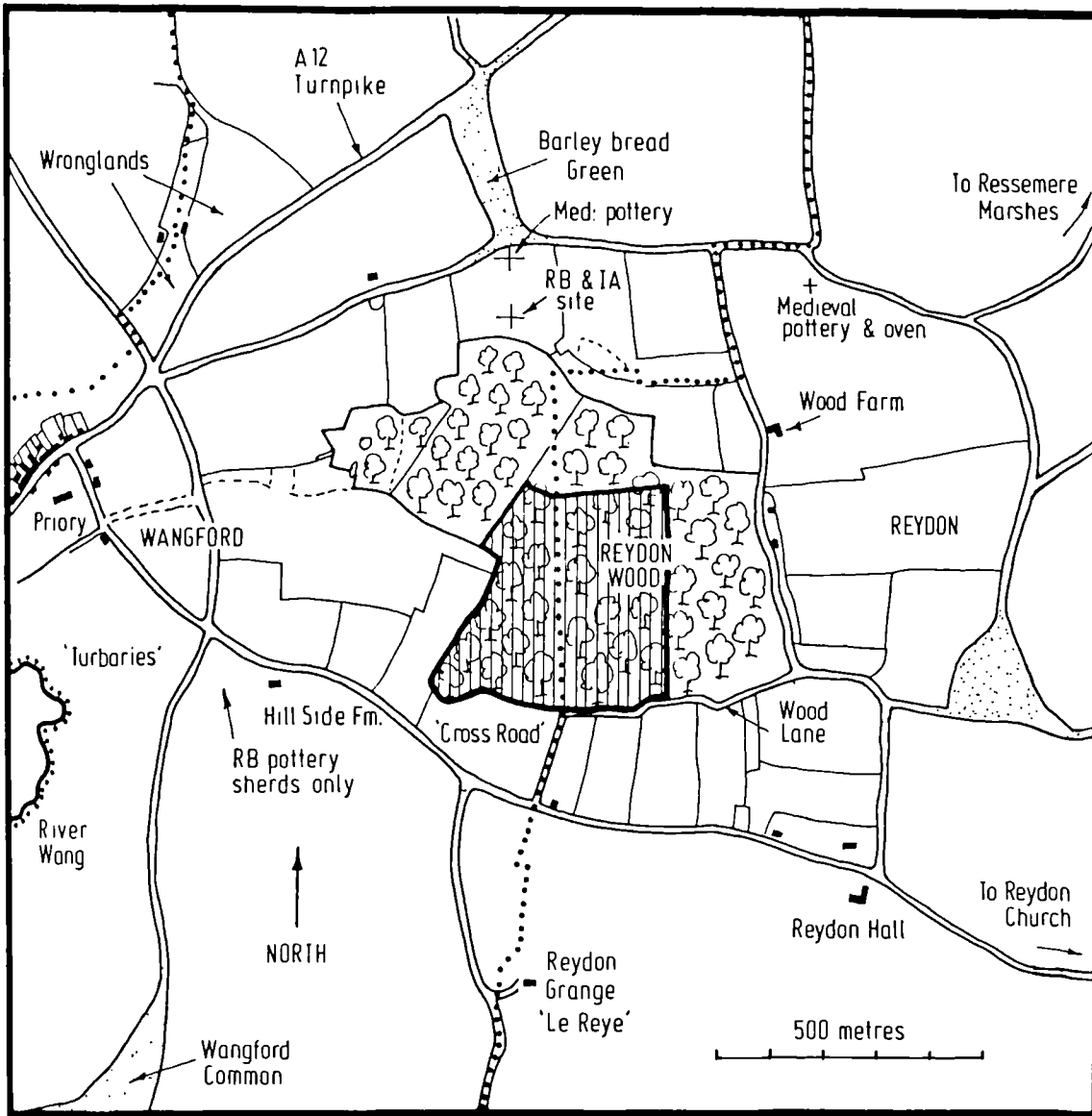
36. The location of Stonhams Manor is suggested by 'Stonham' field names on the Bramfield tithe map close to one of the 'Manor Farms' (see Fig.38). I.R.O., FDA.35/A1/1b. Field No.270. For pottery evidence see note 32 above.

old.³⁷. Two small early Roman sites from the centre of the enclosed area suggest that any pannage woodland which might have grown up in this area did so as secondary woodland in the post-Roman period.³⁸

'Reydon' or 'Wangford Wood', is one of the better-documented embanked hornbeam coppices surviving in Blything Hundred (See Fig.39). Although now largely replanted with conifer, some of the original coppice flora still survives.³⁹ The wood is cleft in two by the straight parish boundary dividing Wangford from Reydon. At one time the wood was much more extensive, particularly on the north-west and east sides, as can be clearly seen on an eighteenth century estate map of Hill Side Farm, Wangford.⁴⁰ The whole area centred on 'le Reye', the Wangford Priory Grange, was once enclosed by a vast estate boundary taking in most of the higher ground of Reydon and Wangford.⁴¹ This boundary was still evident on the nineteenth century enclosure award maps of both parishes.⁴² (See Fig.41). The form of the boundary may ultimately relate to the ancient Soke of Toret, which extended into both vills before the Conquest. The partition of Wangford from Reydon took place shortly after the Conquest; Toret's holding in both vills amounted to seven carucates. In 1086, Albold held two carucates in Wangford under Ralph Baynard while we are left to presume that Ralph himself kept

37. A species count was undertaken on the northern boundary of the estate by Margaret Meek and Jannet Tacon. The largest number of species per 30 yard run was encountered between Kingshaugh Wood and Bramfield church where 7, 8 and 9 species were regularly found.
38. TM.393733 & TM.392732 (Bramfield site 9.)
39. I am indebted to Mr George Scott of Reydon Grove for showing me this wood.
40. I.R.O., HA11/C9/46. See also HA11/C9/74, small 17th century map of Wood Close interleaved between Nos.41 & 42.
41. See Chapter IV. Sec.6; Chapter VII Fig.41.
42. I.R.O., HB26/412/913-4; HA11/C9/28.

Reydon Wood



Shaded area represents surviving woodland

Figure 39.

See note 40, for map evidence upon which this reconstruction of the original wood area is based.

the five remaining carucates in demesne at Reydon.⁴³ The equal division of Reydon wood by the parish boundary must surely represent the equal portions of woodland, each yielding 60 hogs, recorded for Reydon and Wangford in the Domesday survey. It is interesting to note that the original extent of the wood, as far as it can be determined from early maps, was approximately 180 acres. This does not mean to say that there is any equation between pannage yields and modern acres, indeed, later evidence for woodland in Blythburgh and further afield suggests that woodland acres were measured with a longer perch than arable acres.⁴⁴ A similar division may be seen in the equal amounts of woodland for 38 hogs recorded under Aldringham and its hamlet of Thorp.⁴⁵

Three areas of ancient woodland can be traced in Blythburgh parish. The first lay in the area between Westwood and Eastwood Lodges, on the demesne lands and one-time park of Blythburgh Manor. This was probably the wood for 90 hogs recorded in 1086.⁴⁶ In 1466-7 there were still enough polled oaks on the estate to produce 23 cartloads of 'ship tymbre de lez toppis querqum', and in 1477-8 we hear of a great close called 'le haughe', which was pastured by the Lord's beasts.⁴⁷ The fifteenth century park may well have been sited here to enclose an area of surviving woodland. The second area of woodland lay north of the river Blyth in Bulcamp. Here the large woodland entry for 140 swine can be traced to the area of Blything Union Workhouse on land to the north of 'Syremoor', where Blythburgh Priory held marsh and turbaries 'abuttat super boscum de Bulcamp' in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.⁴⁸ The historical significance of this wood has already been discussed in its relation to the possible site of the battle of Bulcamp in 654 AD.⁴⁹

43. DB.II 414, 414b.

44. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/12.6 'One Wood called priorshaw... measured by 16 foote and a half to the perche.' Survey by Christopher Saxton 1594. See also Maitland D.B.& B. p.437 note 3; Rackham op.cit. p.120.

45. The location of this wood is unknown, but it is possible that it may have been on the south side of the river Alde in the deserted vill of Hazelwood, with its ruined church at TM.434588, see D.Dymond 'The Suffolk Landscape' in East Anglian Studies L.M.Munby (Ed.) 1968 p.38.

46. DB.II 282.

47. C.Richmond John Hopton 1981 p.34, 40-1.

48. C.B.P. 74, 75.

49. See Chapter III Sec.7 note 7

The third area of woodland lay in Hinton. No pannages are mentioned here in 1086, but there can be no doubt that this was an important woodland area of which 'Priors Haugh', illustrated on Saxton's map of the manor of Hinton in 1594, formed the nucleus (See Fig.49). Perhaps this was the woodland for 20 swine mentioned under the two carucates of church land at Blythburgh in 1086.⁵⁰ This woodland area extended into Westleton, Darsham and Thorington where there is an angular junction of parish boundaries three hundred yards west of Haw Wood Farm. This area was known as the 'Kingshaugh' in the fifteenth century, but only in Thorington was there any quantity of pannage wood in the eleventh century.⁵¹ It is difficult to be sure where this woodland lay, because the 'Big Wood' in Thorington adjoining Priors Haugh and Kingshaugh is secondary woodland, mostly coppiced hornbeam, which has overgrown the deserted site of Sowter's Manor. (See Fig.6 Chapter II Sec.7). But if we accept that hornbeam might develop as the natural climax vegetation on this difficult clay sandling-edge soil, there would be time for post-Conquest clearance, followed by settlement, followed by desertion in the fourteenth century, and finally by the regeneration of woods on the same site, similar perhaps to their eleventh century ancestors.⁵³ As in the area to the north of Halesworth, there are several small early Roman sites in the vicinity, two of which may have Iron Age beginnings.⁵⁴ The Domesday pannage woods in this area should not therefore be regarded as primary forest.

Another area of eleventh century woodland lay in the southern part of Theberton on the Knodishall-Leiston boundary. Several eighteenth and early nineteenth century topographical maps illustrate 'Buckles Wood' and 'Bushy

50. DB.II 282.

51. I.R.O., HA30:372/2, fol.96b; DB.II 292b, 412b, 400; C.B.P. Nos 279 & 282. See also HA30:50/22/27.6 'le Lorde Haugh' next to Prior's Haugh, (Hinton Extent 1525-6) & HA30:50/22/1.13 'Great Haugh...3 score acres of wood... timber trees & underwood' (Great Haugh Farm lease 6. James I.)

52. DB.II 292b, 400, 412b. Westleton had only wood for 7 hogs. (DB.II 313b) Darsham was a largely freeholding vill and has no woodland listed.

53. Woodland regeneration must have been very extensive in this area. Not only do we have the example of medieval earthworks in Thorington Big Wood, but the notes taken by Christopher Saxton during the course of his survey record the illegal felling of many hundreds of oaks in 'Whyne Close' and other parts of the estate. Thorington Common, called 'Overmoor' in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century (C.B.P. No.450), may also have become overgrown with trees at this time.

54. TM.431729 (Thorington site 1) & TM.41357295 (site 4).

Grove' either side of Tylers Green, with 'Buxlow Forest' further to the north in Theberton.⁵⁵ Like Rouhaugh, Buxlow was an obscure late vill, part of Leiston Soke, which may have been composed of several scattered parts.⁵⁶ However, the remains of Buxlow St Peter, with its collapsed round tower on the edge of Knodishall Green, suggests twelfth century origins for this vill at the very latest. Buxlow lost its parochial status in 1721, but a few charters survive from the fourteenth century which serve to illustrate its rather uneasy relationship with Leiston Abbey concerning the pasturing of sheep on Buxlow Moor, which was probably an extension of Friston Moor.⁵⁷ Across the broad flat area south of 'Buxlow Forest' ran the ancient trackway marked on most large scale Ordnance Survey maps as 'Harrow Lane', now largely obliterated by a war time aerodrome.⁵⁸ Lanes are a feature shared by other woodland areas; the 'Langemere' or 'Longelang' is a distinctive feature running through Upper Holton, while 'Christmas Lane' is undoubtedly an ancient trackway passing through the wooded area of Metfield.⁵⁹ These lanes may well have given access to pannages and commons within the woodland areas.

These woodlands are the classic areas of discontinuous settlement; colonised in the late Iron Age and early Roman period, abandoned in the late Roman period, with woodland developing again in the early Saxon period, to

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55. See Hodskinson's County map of 1785, Bryants Map of 1826 & Greenwood's Map of 1823-4.
56. The extent of Buxlow parish is unknown, but the name of Buxlow appears on Hodskinson's map of 1785 close to the moats and earthworks in the 'Grove Wood' otherwise known as the 'Old World Wood' near Manor Farm in the south of Knodishall. The name is also applied to a green in Yoxford, Yoxford Yesterday. Vol.I, p.172.
57. See Chapter VIII Sec.3 note 4.
58. Harrow Lane is of interest as a possible 'heathen' place-name meaning the 'way to the heathen shrine'. Gelling 1978 op.cit. p.158; M.Gelling 'Further Thoughts on Pagan Place-Names' in Place-Name Evidence for The Anglo-Saxon Invasion and the Scandinavian Settlements K.Cameron (Ed.) 1975 p.103.
59. See Chapter III Sec.2. For 'Langemere Lane' see J.Ridgard et al., op.cit. p.45. It is no coincidence that all three areas were used for the sites of World War II airfields; they are extremely flat with relatively little settlement nearby. Their desolate fields would once have been great expanses of water-logged clay-upland, alternating between wood and open moor, only suitable for pannage and wood-pasture in the early medieval period.

be cut down and re-colonised in the late Saxon and early medieval period, only to be partially abandoned again in the late medieval period of arable regression. Archaeological continuity cannot be demonstrated in these areas; indeed the extent of early medieval woodland overlying areas of early Roman occupation suggests the reverse. But continuity of seasonal grazing and pannage rights exercised by surviving valley communities over the abandoned marginal lands, on the moors and in the woods, seems very likely. The Domesday survey suggests that the great pannage woods of Halesworth and Huntingfield were being seriously eroded before 1086. The late emergence of secondary vills associated with these areas of pannage, such as Spexhall, Westhall and Rouhaugh, suggests that the process of dividing up the woodland and the formation of tithe boundaries was complete by the late twelfth century, though large isolated areas of woodland remained down to the sixteenth century.

6. Meadowland

In Suffolk, only the larger manors and freeholdings are credited with meadowland in the Domesday survey and the number of acres given is very small, rarely more than two or three. Even the five carucate manor at Blythburgh has only six acres of meadowland listed.¹ If these meadow acres were measured with a long perch, like woodland acres, they would still not account for the many thousands of acres of meadow and marshland grazing which must have been available in the eleventh century.

Like the pannage entries, it would seem that the meadowland recorded in the Domesday survey for Suffolk was only private meadowland attached to large estates, no common pasture is recorded at all.² In the Domesday survey for Essex the picture is very different. Firstly there are numerous entries for pasture, mostly for sheep on the coastal marshes. Secondly, the entries for meadow are considerably larger for the inland areas than those just over the Suffolk border; it would seem that some of them at least included marsh with meadowland, so that entries of up to 200 acres are occasionally encountered. Thirdly, where the Essex meadow entries are illustrated on Darby's distribution map, they fade out towards the coast where the entries for sheep pasture begin.³ In Suffolk the absence of meadow and pasture entries is a notable feature of the Sandling coast, where, like the estuaries of Essex, there must have been great tracts of rough sheep pasture on the coastal saltmarshes. This absence does not seem to be reflected in the value of Sandling estates, which Darby noted were not significantly poorer than those on the clay, although he noted that the coastal belt of Blything was poorer than the country inland.⁴ Citing the work of P.H.Reaney, Darby also suggested that the numerous 'wicks' that enter into the names of small places along the coast of Essex testify to the primitive dairies of the

1. DB.II 282.

2. Darby 1952 op.cit. p.184. 'There is however one reference .../339b7 which says that "in the hundred of Colneis there is a certain pasture common to all the men of the hundred" '.

3. Darby 1952 op.cit. p.239-245 & Figs 62 & 63.

4. Darby 1952 op.cit. p.178.

marshes 'producing cheese from sheep's milk'.⁵ In Suffolk, Walberswick is the only place-name which would appear to be of this type, but nonetheless it would seem very likely that the pattern of marsh and coastal grazing recorded in Essex would have continued up the coast into Suffolk, and where suitable topography prevailed, as at the mouth of the river Blyth, tracts of sheep pasture and common fen might be expected.⁶ It is also possible that the Essex phenomenon of inland settlements owning sheep pastures on the coast may be reflected in Blything Hundred by a few freemen at Covehithe who had a relationship with inland vills. Under one of the Brampton entries we find two freemen in Northales (Covehithe) with 32 acres and one plough-team.⁷ Under a Northales entry we find four freemen with 16 acres and half a plough-team included in the valuation of Wissett.⁸ Also Norman (the Thane) always held 6 acres in Northales valued with his estate in Peasenhall.⁹ There is, of course, a wealth of evidence to suggest that large areas of the marshes around Southwold and Walberswick have been common land for many hundreds of years; these together with other areas in Theberton and Leiston have already been discussed in Chapter II Section 2 of this thesis.

We know that very large areas of marsh and meadow land in the middle reaches of the river Blyth were commonland until the canalisation of the river in 1758 (Fig.40). Waseley Common in Wenhaston and Syremore in Bulcamp were once very extensive areas of common grazing. In 1591, Blythburgh, Blyford, Wenhaston and Bulcamp intercommoned in Waseley with resulting controversy over who should scour the ditches. Agreement over the commonages was settled in 1658.¹⁰ The 'Abbey Meadows' in Waseley had probably been held, together with turbaries in Syre Moor, by Blythburgh Priory from the twelfth century.¹¹ Upstream at Blyford, the regular division of meadow plots is strongly suggestive of organised enclosure (Fig.40). The tenements of Blyford Street appear to have been established on the edge of an open marsh backing onto

5. Darby 1952 op.cit. pp.242-243, figs. 64 & 65.

6. Sheep pastures are also found in the Broadland area of Norfolk (Darby 1952 op.cit. p.130) but this is geographically a rather different area, all the more so since it was later inundated when the peat workings were flooded in the thirteenth century.

7. DB.II 288.

8. DB.II 293.

9. DB.II 332.

10. I.R.O., HB26/371/73.

11. C.B.P. 66,74, 75, 76, 117, 121.

Meadows in Blyford, Bulcamp and Wenhaston.

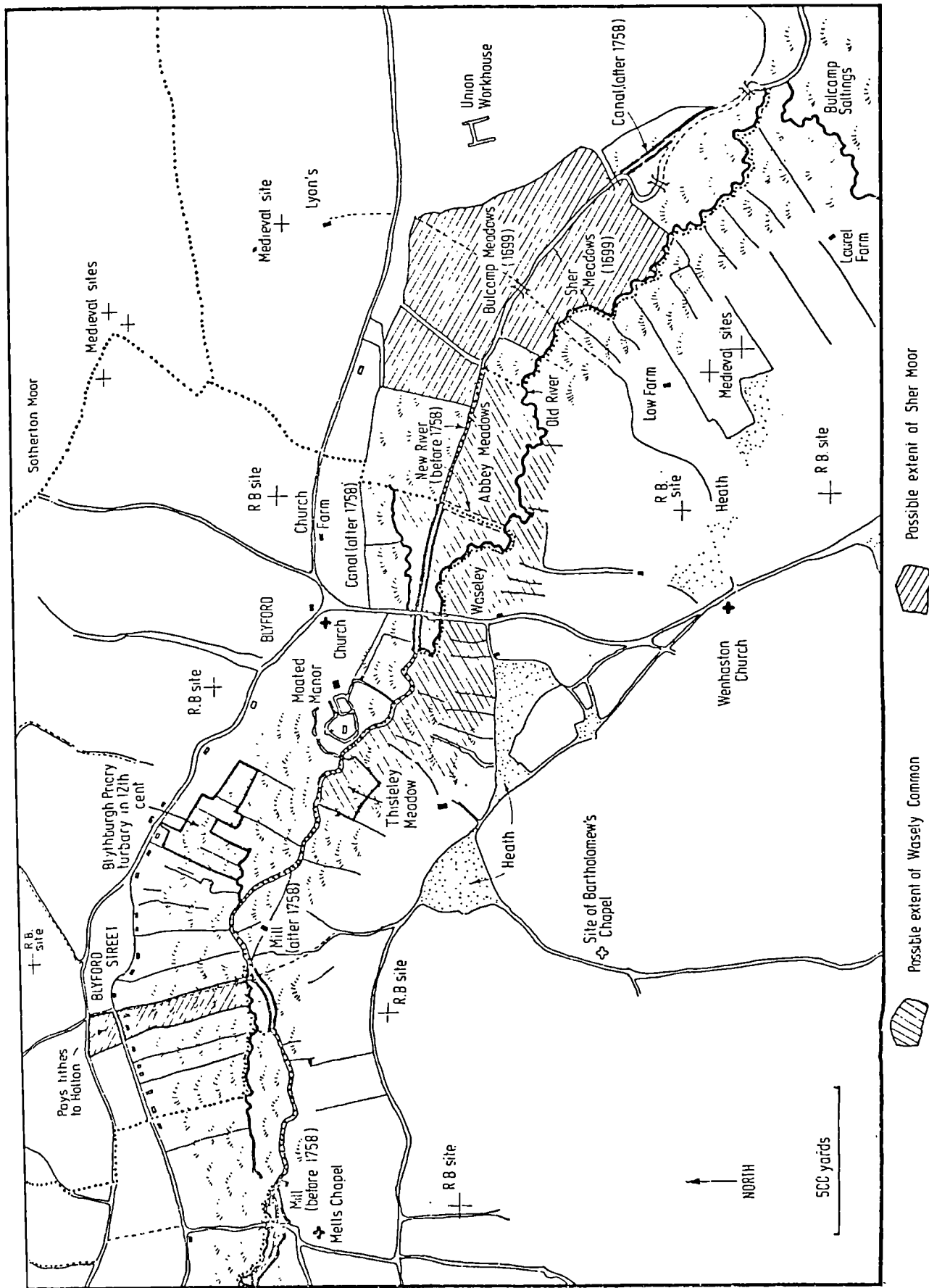


Figure 40.

their arable acres. One of the tenement plots in Blyford Street paid its tithes to Holton, (See Fig. 40.) suggesting that Holton may once have shared the intercommoning of Blyford meadows. Early medieval pottery from a tenement site at the Holton end of Blyford Street, and the twelfth century church, the site of which fits into the pattern of tenement plots, suggests that this basic pattern had been established by the twelfth century.^{12.}

Like other Domesday manors in Blything Hundred, Blyford held only one acre of meadowland. The sub-division of Blyford's common meadowland probably took place after 1086, but not long after. A massive, moated manor house, which once stood beside the river was itself probably built on enclosed marsh land. A similar low-lying moat at Cockfield Hall lies among a regular division of meadow plots each held by different tenements belonging to several different manors each recorded in the Yoxford Dragge.^{13.} (Table VI d). Cockfield Manor was in origin a small subinfeudated manor established before 1259;^{14.} as such it is comparable to sub-manors established in similar marshland situations at about the same date. Brendfen in Middleton, Empoles in Westhall and Cravens Manor in Henham are all large moated sites built in low-lying marshland areas.^{15.} Blyford is, however, a much earlier manor and it seems likely that its meadows were enclosed before the middle of the twelfth century. The regular division of tenant holdings suggests the strong hand of manorial control, this is more likely to have taken place before the 'integrity' of the Blyford demesne was destroyed in the late twelfth century; before Rahesia de Criketot granted the pasturage rights of

12. See Chapter VII Sec.2 note 18.

13. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/13.15. And also the extent of the manor of Brendfen, HA30:269/2.

14. See Copinger Manors of Suffolk Vol.II pp.220-1. Two distinct types of moated farmstead, the lowland meadow moat, and the upland clayland moat have been recorded in East Anglia. (See Chapter II Fig.5) For comparable meadowland moats in Cambridgeshire see, C.C.Taylor 'Medieval Moats in Cambridgeshire' in Archaeology in the Landscape P.J.Fowler (Ed.) 1972 pp.237-48, figs. 34-5.

15. Brendfen I.R.O., HA30/50/22/13.3 fol.1 & HA30:369/2 fol.15, where William Brown held part of the situation of the manor of Brendfen with lands adjacent enclosed with a 'fossate', containing by estimation 24 acres lying next to the river.
Empoles I.R.O., HB24:1175/2 Map of Westhall Hall estate showing the 'situation of the manor of Empoles. See also I.R.O., T.4222 p.96 Fig.29.
Cravens I.R.O., HA11/C9/20 Map of the Henham Park and estate in 1699 'Moat Yards'.

twelve animals and thirty sheep to Blythburgh Priory.¹⁶ The resulting regular division of meadow plots may well bear some relation to the state of land holding in the immediate post-Conquest period, in other words to the five villeins, three bordars and two serfs listed under the manor in 1086.

Between the staccato lines of the Domesday survey much can be read that is not contained within the survey itself. The general picture is one of an 'old country', steeped in ancient custom and animated by a complex social order, only dimly aware of its distant origins, while jealously guarding old privileges and inherited status. However that picture is not without change; indeed in certain areas, such as the great estates and demesne farms, where the influence of the new Norman elite was most acutely felt, changes were sudden and far reaching. The changes brought about by long-term colonisation of the more marginal clayland soils are more subtle to detect, but the evidence is there; in the appearance of new freeholding vills in marginal upland areas carved out of ancient minsterlands; in the appearance of new dependent churches built by freemen in clayland areas; in the reduction of secondary woodland in areas of discontinuous settlement; in the enclosure and parcelling out of meadowland in the immediate post-Conquest period. The main protagonists in this long drawn-out process of colonisation were on the one hand; the manors, particularly the great demesne farms developed by the Saxon thegnly class and expanded by their Norman conquerors, and on the other hand; small groups of freemen, working either collectively or individually, opening up new lands for cultivation on the edge of the upland clay commons. Both are related in so far as many freemen were attached to, and undoubtedly worked within, a manorial context.

Behind these changes runs an undercurrent of rising population, generation after generation of new men seeking new land to cultivate, which must be the driving force behind an expanding settlement pattern. The Domesday survey gives no indication of the time scale, except in its 'before and after' entries. It appears as a single frame or two cut out of a long epic film. We cannot say how long it took, between the first green-side settler becoming established, and the creation of a new secondary vill. Our ignorance of local early medieval pottery types makes it impossible to date the initial phase of settlement, but there is no metal-work from green-side sites earlier than the ninth century.¹⁷ The evidence from the Domesday survey suggests that

16. C.B.P. p. 9: 'Rahesia's subsequent donations to the priory may perhaps have destroyed the integrity of the demesne.' (Plate 24).

17. V.I.Evison 'An Enamelled Disc from Great Saxham' P.S.I.A.XXXIV(i) 1979 pp.1-13.

secondary settlement was well under way, but by no means complete in 1086.

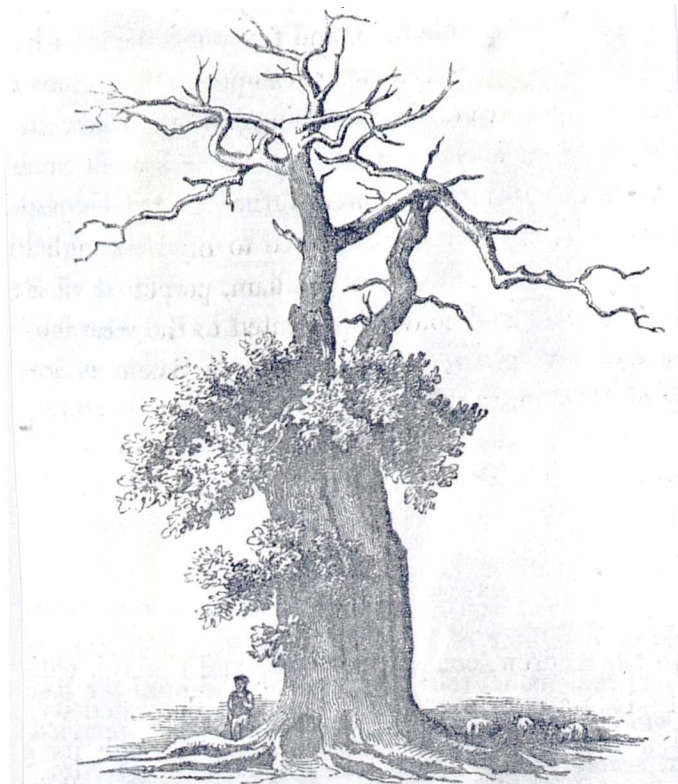
New vills continue to appear in the mid thirteenth century, but by that time the main force of settlement expansion had been spent and nearly all the available green-side sites had been used up. The rising tide of population could only be contained within existing holdings and from the late thirteenth century that tide began to ebb, until the disasters of famine and plague in the early and mid fourteenth century mark a retreat from many green-side sites and away from the more marginal clayland soils.

It is the process of colonisation by manors and by groups of freemen which gives the Suffolk landscape its distinctive character with farmstead sites scattered around the edges of open clayland commons. We must now look in detail at the anatomy of this settlement pattern.



Plate 21

The 'Grove' moats at Chediston in relation to other deserted valley gravel settlements. The earthworks of the 'Grove' can be seen inside the two hedged enclosures in the foreground. In the middle distance the crop-marks of an early medieval deserted valley farmstead site in 'Little David's Field' can be seen as an irregular shaped enclosure. Beyond it, Red House Farm survives on its original site. On the right hand side of the picture a road follows the line of a small stream up onto the clay plateau. Surviving farms and squatters' cottages can be seen interspersed with deserted medieval sites either side of the road as it crosses the remains of Collipy's Green. The long straight hedgerow running parallel to the road, midway between it and the deserted valley farms, follows the line of 'Christmas Lane', which may once have been a prehistoric trackway.



When the Bailly had ridden to Bramfield oak,
Sir Hugh was at Iksall bower ;
When the Bailly had ridden to Halesworth cross,
He was singing in Bungay tower, &c.

Plate 22

Suckling's view of the legendary Bramfield Oak as it was before it fell in 1843. The extract from the 'Ballad of Bold Bigod' refers to the events of 1174. The tree was one of a number of polled oaks of uncertain age, many of which are still standing within an ancient estate boundary.

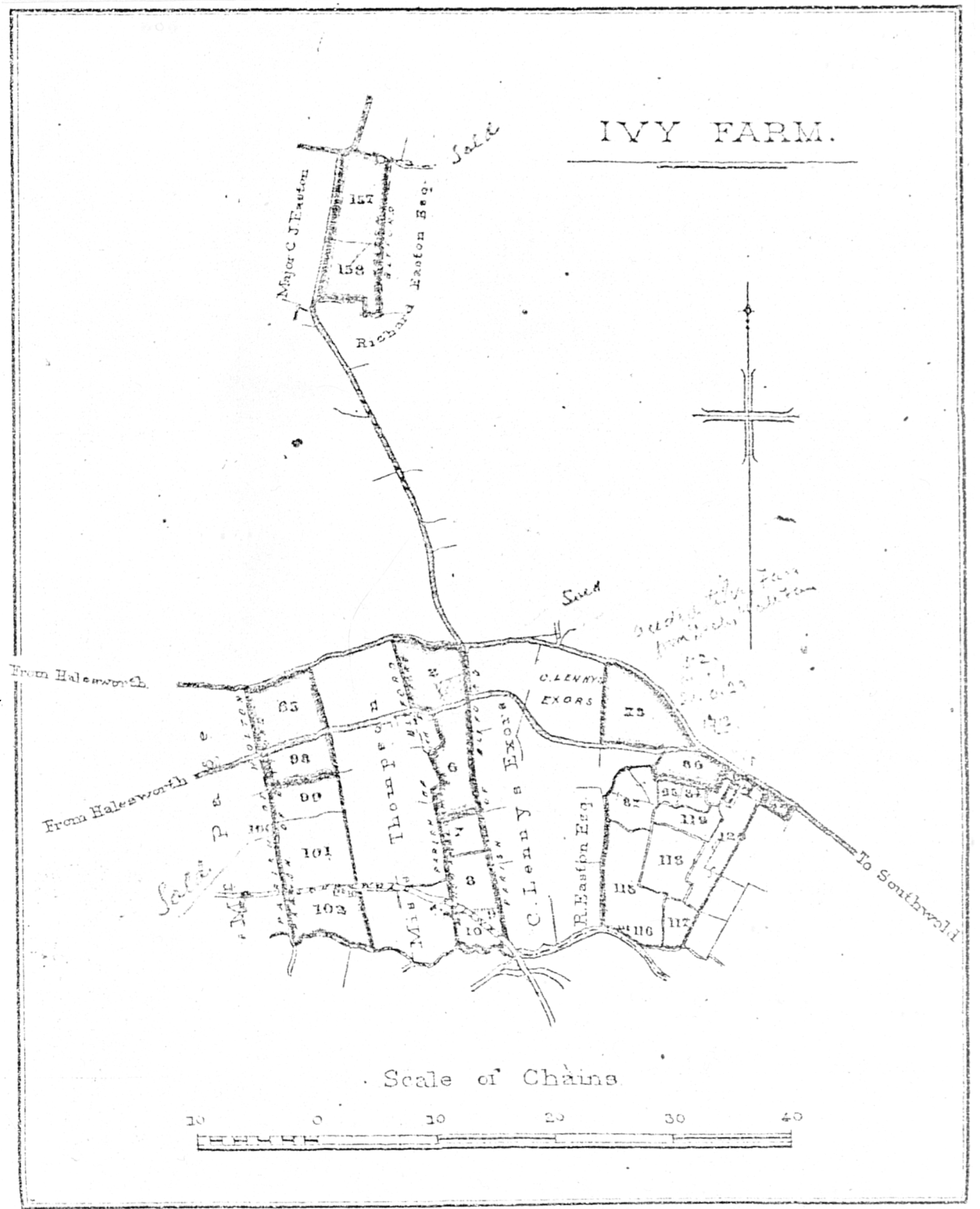


Plate 23

Meadow plots and tenements in divided ownership along Blyford Street. The central tenement in this plan of 1892 belonged to Bramfield manor, but it originally paid its tithes to the neighbouring parish of Holton. The twelfth century turbaries of Blythburgh Priory adjoined the tenement on the right. (Plate 24.) This pattern of regular tenement plots held by several different manors derives from an early enclosure of marshland, which had once been an area of intercommoning shared by a number of different manors sometime before the middle of the twelfth century. The detached block of land to the north may derive from a share of pannage woodland in the vicinity of 'Raughagh', on the Upper Holton/Blyford boundary.

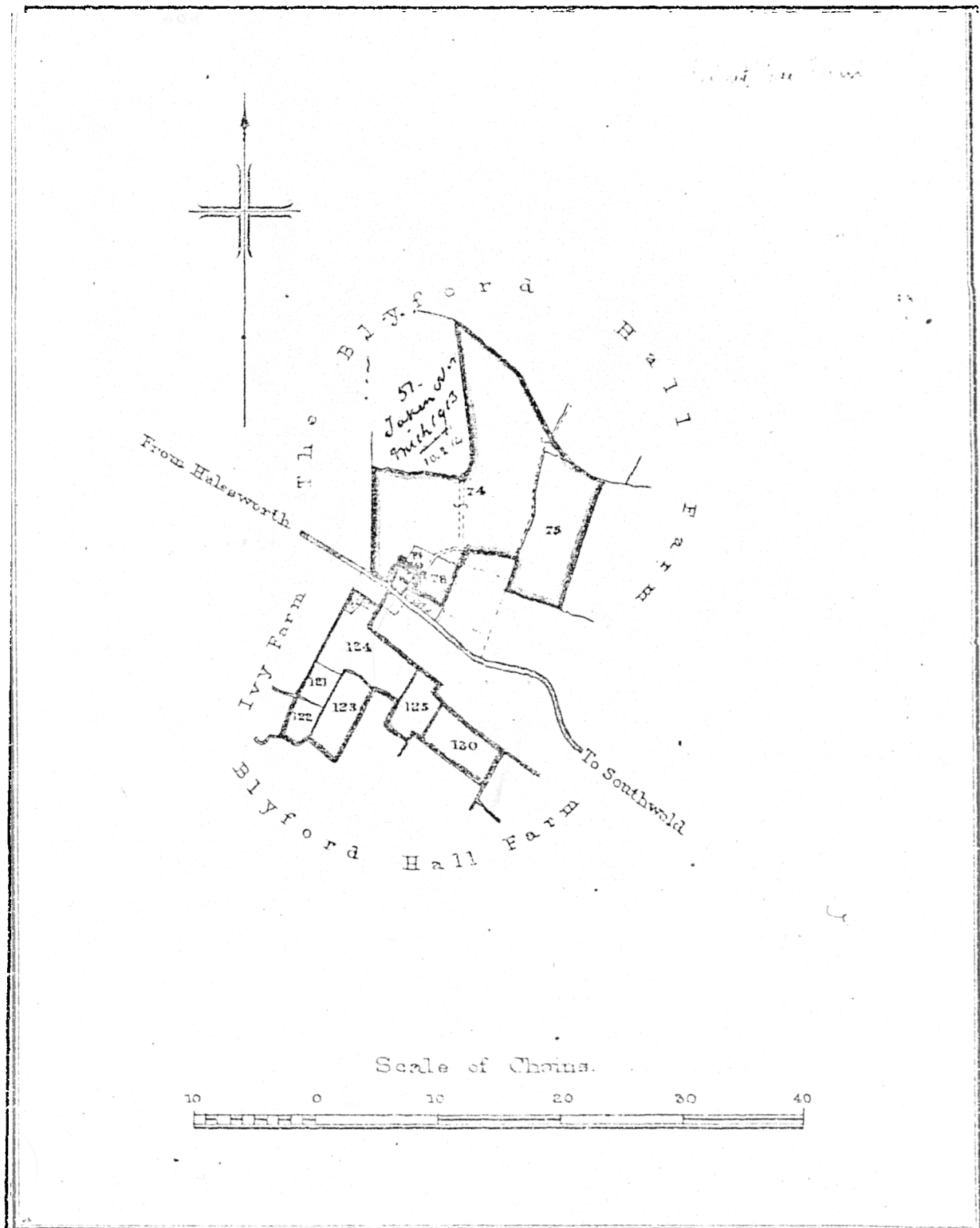


Plate 24

Walnut Tree Farm, Blyford, the land of Blythburgh Priory in the middle of the Blyford Estate. Land and pieces of turbary here were granted to the Priory in the twelfth century with the result that the 'integrety' of the demesne of Blyford Manor was said to have been broken. A special right of way had to be written into the charters to link the meadows and turbary south of the road with the Priory Grange to the north, thus suggesting that tenements and house tofts were already in existence on the south side of Blyford Street by the mid twelfth century.



Plate 25

Meadows at Blyford. From the river Blyth the farms and cottages of Blyford Street can be seen in the distance. Walnut Tree Farm, which stands on the site of the Blythburgh Priory Grange, is the second large house in from the right. There were peat workings here in the twelfth century in the area where the cows can be seen grazing.

Chapter VII

THE ANATOMY OF SETTLEMENT

1. Introduction
2. Primary Settlement
3. Secondary Settlement
4. Primary and Secondary Villis
5. Hall Farm Estates
6. Fieldings and Brecks
7. Desertion
8. Conclusion

Figures

41. Commons and Wastes in Reydon and Wrentham
42. Valley Farms and River crossings in the Walpole area
43. Blyford Parish
44. Church Farm Blyford
45. Westhall Great Green
46. Relict Greens
47. Three secondary villis
48. Withersdale parish
49. Hinton Hall Estate
50. Spexhall Hall
51. Wenhaston Hall
52. Benacre
53. Kessingland
54. South Cove
55. Yoxford Manor and Moat
56. Blois family Estates and Extents

THE ANATOMY OF SETTLEMENT

1. Introduction

The distribution of common land, greens and wastes is the key to the medieval settlement pattern on both clay and Sandling soils in East Suffolk. For many of these commons little more remains than a vestigial cartographic record, showing them in their final stages of decay in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In many cases the larger commons lie at the boundaries of estates, crossed and recrossed by parish boundaries. By combining in map form the evidence for common land over an area of several parishes, using the information which can be gleaned from early maps such as property boundaries and field names together with archaeological evidence, it is possible to build up a picture of the relationships which once existed between estates and also between parishes.

The way in which a sequence of estate and parish development can be recognised is illustrated in Figure 41, where the commons, greens and wastes in the area between Reydon and Wrentham have been reconstructed using tithe maps, enclosure awards and other evidence.¹ The area of Frostenden parish, circumscribed by common land, appears as an extension of Wrentham. Frostenden church appears to be sited close to a great curving estate boundary running through Frostenden parish itself, joining up with the Hundred boundary on the western side of Wrentham and swinging round in an arc through the waste land of Sotterley Common and Henstead Green. To the north of Wrentham Wood it continues round east and south of Wrentham church and back to Frostenden church again. The semi-circular boundary, which takes in the church and the central nucleus of the parish is bordered on the south and west by Frostenden Clay Common, and on the south and east by the green lane and road which join Clay Common to the Wrentham boundary. There is no indication of this relationship in the Domesday survey, but the '-den' place-name ending of Frostenden would suggest that in origin it was a dependent swine pasture.²

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1. In addition to the tithe maps for Wrentham, Frostenden, South Cove, Cove-hithe, Uggeshall, Wangford, Reydon and the enclosure awards for Reydon and Wrentham, two additional maps were used in the making of Fig.41: I.R.O. HALL/C9/74; HALL/C9/28; FC.186/C2/3. Post-medieval maps and field morphology have been used extensively by geographers in recent years to understand earlier medieval developments in settlement. See for example M.Harvey 'Regular Field and Tenurial Arrangements in Holderness, Yorkshire' Jour.Hist.Geog. VI, 1980 pp.3-16; B.K.Roberts 'Village Plans in County Durham: a Preliminary Statement' Med.Arch. 16, 1972 pp.35-56.
 2. A.H.Smith English Place-Name Elements I, 1956 pp.129-30; DE II. 414b, 399.

2. Primary Settlement

In Figure 41, the central position of Wrentham church in relation to its wasteland boundary is crucial to an understanding of the settlement pattern in this area. The almost isolated church stands on a slight rise above a minor road-river crossing, very close to a small deserted early Roman farmstead site.¹ Nearby stands the Rectory, one or two cottages and, four hundred yards away, a deserted medieval site; there is nothing to suggest that there was ever a very substantial medieval settlement around the church. The modern nucleated village of Wrentham grew up three quarters of a mile away to the east, outside the south gate of Benacre Park beside the turnpike road in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.² Apart from the church there was no one central medieval settlement at Wrentham. Instead the parish was formed out of a loose collection of estates, of which the Wrentham Hall estate was probably the largest.³ No pottery was found on the site of the Tudor mansion of Wrentham Hall to suggest that it might have had a medieval predecessor; possibly the earthworks in Wrentham Wood close to North Hall Farm are the remains of the medieval manor in this area.⁴

At the time of the Domesday survey there were five manors in Wrentham. The main manor of three carucates was held by William son of Ranulf under the de Warenne lordship; with it he held the smallest manor of only half a carucate. This amalgamated estate became centred on the farm known as South Hall or Pyes Hall, also known as the manor of Poynings, held for two knights' fees by Michael de Poynges and his tenants in 1374-5. This land lay in Wrentham and South Cove.⁵ The other three manors were merged under the holdings of Robert de Petro-ponte, being almost certainly the same holding

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1. TM.487831 (Wrentham site 2).
 2. The embryo of this village can be seen on Hodkinson's map of Suffolk 1785. The red brick Congregational church in the middle of the village is dated 1778.
 3. Wrentham Hall was built by the Brewsters in the time of Edward VI. It was demolished and its materials auctioned in 1810 by Sir Thomas Gooch, who is said to have disliked such a splendid house too near to his own at Benacre: Copinger Manors of Suffolk Vol.II pp.5-10 (illustration). Large fragments of a finely carved ornamental frieze, which probably came from the Hall can still be seen in the yard at Moor Farm.
 4. TM.49358405 (Wrentham site 6). A small ring-ditch is marked on the 6 inch O.S. map in the north west corner of this wood. O.Rackham Ancient Woodland 1980 p.14 fig.2.3a, does not illustrate this feature, he suggests that most of the ponds in this wood are of periglacial origin.
 5. P.R.O. VI, 518: I.P.M. Aymer de Valencia, Earl of Pembroke 18. Edw.II; Copinger Manors of Suffolk Vol.II pp.211-13.

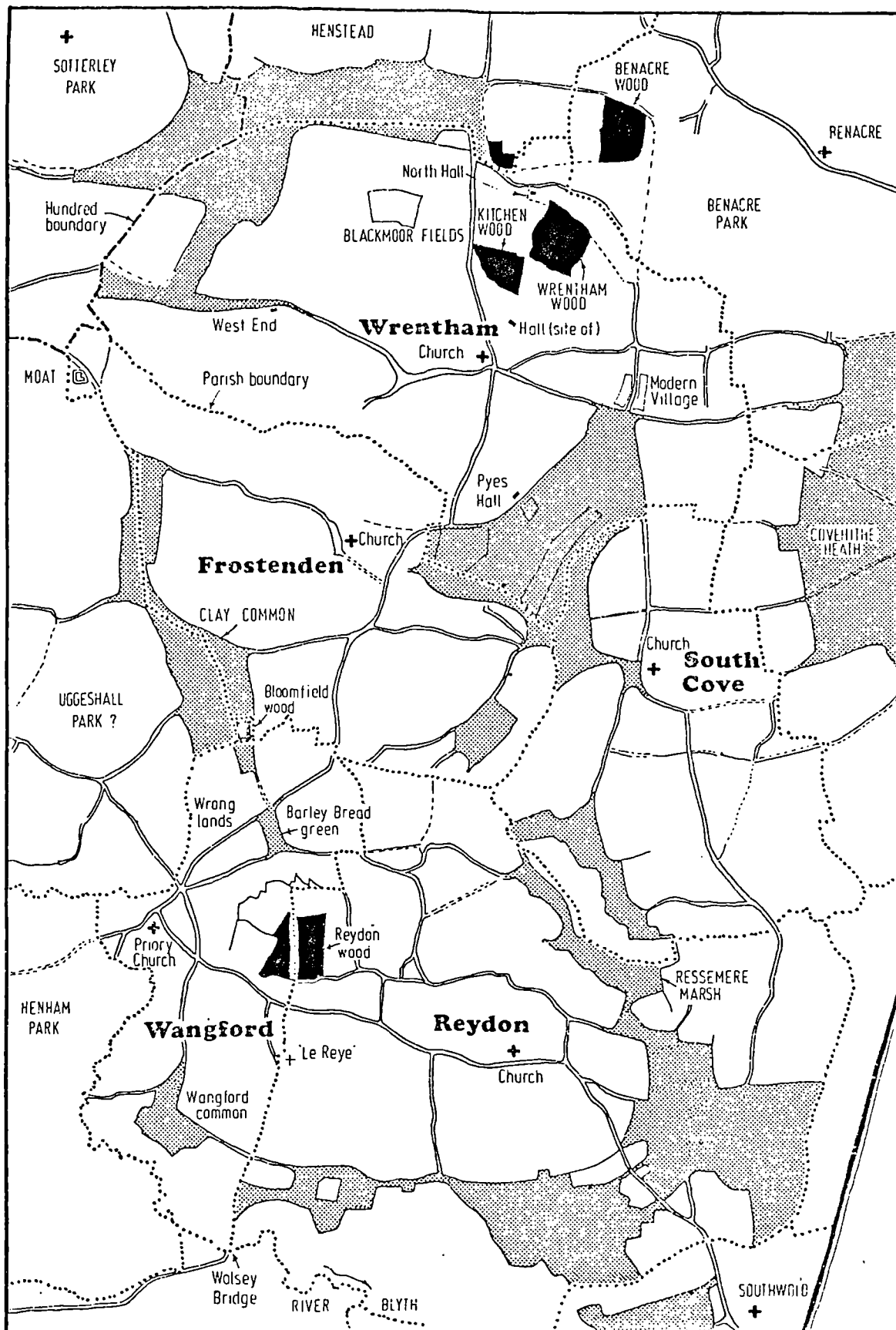


Figure 41.

Commons in the area of Reydon and Wrentham.

of two knights' fees held by Simon de Pырpound in Wrentham and Covehithe in 1324-5. This manor became known as Pierpounds (clearly the Norman-French version of Petro-ponte.) and was probably centred at North Hall. By the late fourteenth century both estates had probably merged under the name of 'Poynings' or 'Pierpounds and Poynings'.⁶ The frequency of small pre-Conquest manors may be reflected in the loose collection of holdings radiating out from Wrentham church. The farms of Pyes Hall and North Hall stand on the Wrentham wasteland boundary. It seems very likely that they were established before 1086, but how long before that date it is impossible to say.

The same basic pattern can be observed by studying the wasteland boundaries of South Cove, where the church occupies a position which appears to be central to several estates.⁷ The wasteland boundary surrounding Reydon and extending into Wangford has already been discussed.⁸ This boundary may delineate the seven carucate estate held by Toret before the Conquest, of which two carucates were held separately in Wangford, the woodland being divided equally between the two villis.⁹ The church at Wangford, like that at Wrentham, occupies a primary position at an early road-river crossing. In this case the ford, like that at Blyford, has entered into the place-name. The parishes which dominate the central valley gravels of the river Blyth grouped around Halesworth and Bramfield namely: Wissett, Chediston, Westhall, Cookley, Walpole, Sibton, Yoxford, Blyford, Wangford and Holton, all have early churches situated close to road-river crossings. In many cases the road-river crossings have gone out of use or have been modified in some way, but they are usually still detectable as minor roads and tracks continuing on as ancient through-ways connecting one parish with another. Particularly good examples can be seen at Wissett, Walpole, Blyford and Holton, but they are commonplace in most of the valley parishes. In several cases parks and monastic granges have disrupted the picture, but documentary evidence survives for the 'Earlesway', which once passed through

6. P.R.O. XIV, 190; Copinger Manors of Suffolk Vol.II pp.4-10.

7. For South Cove, which is essentially a freeholding vill, see Fig.54, and section 6 following.

8. Chapter IV. Sec. 5.

9. Chapter VI. Sec.5; DB.II 414b.

the middle of Cockfield Hall park in Yoxford.^{10.} At Chediston and Sibton, monastic granges appear to have modified the through roads to Heveningham and Cookley.^{11.}

It seems likely that the churches are additions to pre-existing road-river crossings. This is certainly the case for the churches at Weston and Shadingfield (in Wangford Hundred), for Brampton, and even Blythburgh itself, which all stand at road-river crossings beside the prehistoric trackway locally known as the 'Pilgrims Way', probably these early road-river crossings were natural meeting places suitable also for the siting of early baptismal churches, or some may have much earlier origins as communal burial grounds.^{12.} Apart from linking one parish to another the function of these through-ways is far from clear. The road-river crossings beside the churches at Peasenhall, Huntingfield and Linstead Parva lie on the same through-way, which eventually runs onto Rumburgh Common. Where it passes through Cookley and Linstead Parva it fans out into a wide green land (Fig.42.)^{13.} Ubbeston and Heveningham lie either side of a Roman bridge or ford, which was clearly still a major through-way even in the post-Roman period.^{14.} It is possible that some of these roads linked distant areas of common pasture and were themselves important for their extensive wayside grazing.^{15.}

The earliest medieval settlements which appear to harmonise with the siting of churches at road-river crossings are the farms on the ancient

10. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/13.15. (Yoxford Dragge).
11. S.A.E. p.57 The extent of North Grange Sibton in 1325 describes the demesne divided up into large closes of twenty or thirty acres. For position of North Grange and through-way, see Fig.35.
12. C.J.Godfrey The Church in Anglo-Saxon England 1962 p.317. On the basis of minster place-names which also contain Celtic river names, such as Sturminster, Axminster and Charminster in Wessex, Godfrey suggests that some minsters were deliberately sited beside running water where converts could be baptised. There are however a number of problems concerning baptismal rights in the early church. See M.Deanesley 'Early English and Gallic Minsters' Trans.Roy.Hist.Soc. 4th Ser. 23, 1941 p.37. It should be noted that not all of the churches with round or square unbuttressed towers stand at river crossings, the earliest example, for instance, at Thorington is some distance from any water supply. Similarly many of the round-towered churches in the Waveney valley are some distance away from the river. For the 'Pilgrims Way' see Chapter III Figs 10 & 11, Sec.2 note 12.
13. I.R.O., FDA68/A1/1b: FDA140/A1/1; FDA167/A1/1; I.R.O., 150/1/3.4 (Enclosure Award Plan 1864). Also Hodkinson's Map of Suffolk 1783.
14. The glebe lands of Ubbeston and Heveningham meet for some unknown reason at the point where the Roman road would have crossed the stream. I.R.O., FDA264/A1/1G & FDA129/A1/1.
15. C.B.P. 453 '...a certain pasture on both sides of the road from Thorington to Blythburgh.'

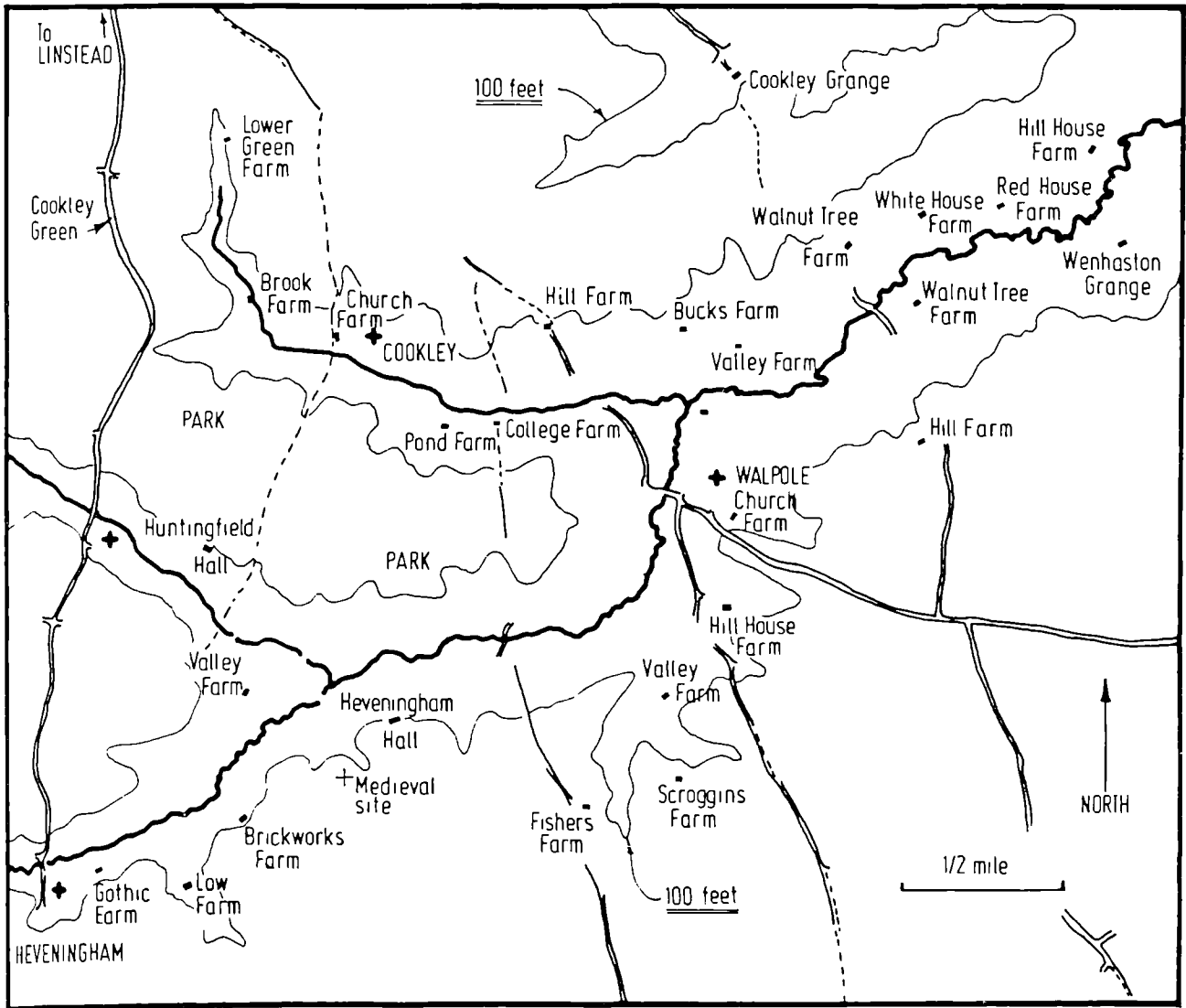


Figure 42. Valley Farms and River Crossings.

valley gravels. They are commonly found dotted at intervals along the valley sides, a few feet above the flood-plain in the lower reaches of the river and slightly higher up the valley sides further up stream where there is less meadowland (Fig.42). In many cases their property boundaries run parallel to the main through-ways and road-river crossings. The nature of land holding along the valley sides is irregular, but where the topography is even and the settlement pattern uninterrupted by later developments it is possible to see a more regular division of land resources along the valley sides.

This early land division is particularly evident in Blyford parish, where there is very little clayland settlement to confuse the picture (Fig. 43). Blyford is exceptional in having been a single manor without freemen recorded in the Domesday survey,¹⁶ but as has already been discussed and illustrated in the previous chapter, Blyford owes its 'street' settlement pattern to the enclosure of common meadow land beside the river Blyth on the edge of Waseley Common.¹⁷ The small size and regular appearance of the tenement plots suggests that secondary settlement in Blyford, which might otherwise have been accommodated on the upland wastes beside Sotherton Moor, was contained within the primary settlement pattern by the sub-division of older land units spread out along the valley sides. This sub-division of holdings, which probably took place under manorial supervision, had come into being some time after 1086 and before the late twelfth century.¹⁸ These regular narrow tenement plots laid out along Blyford 'street' accentuate the primary settlement pattern. They appear as an alternative development to green-side settlement, in that relatively rare example in Blything Hundred of a strongly manorialised vill, where freemen appear to have been excluded. The significance of Blyford is that it would seem to be the exception which proves the rule. It can be held up as one possible answer to the hypothetical question of what the Suffolk settlement pattern might have looked like had manorialisation been strong. The regular sub-divided tenements are confined to the western end of the 'street', while towards the east near the older nucleus of manor, church and river-crossing, the tenements are considerably larger and may relate to the ancient pre-medieval division of land resources.

16. See Chapter VI Sec.2; DB.II 355b.

17. See Chapter VI Sec.6 (Fig.40.)

18. Two fragments of early medieval pottery were found during building operations at TM.41157735 (Blyford site 5.) This site was occupied by a farmstead in the early 17th century, see I.R.O., P.440.

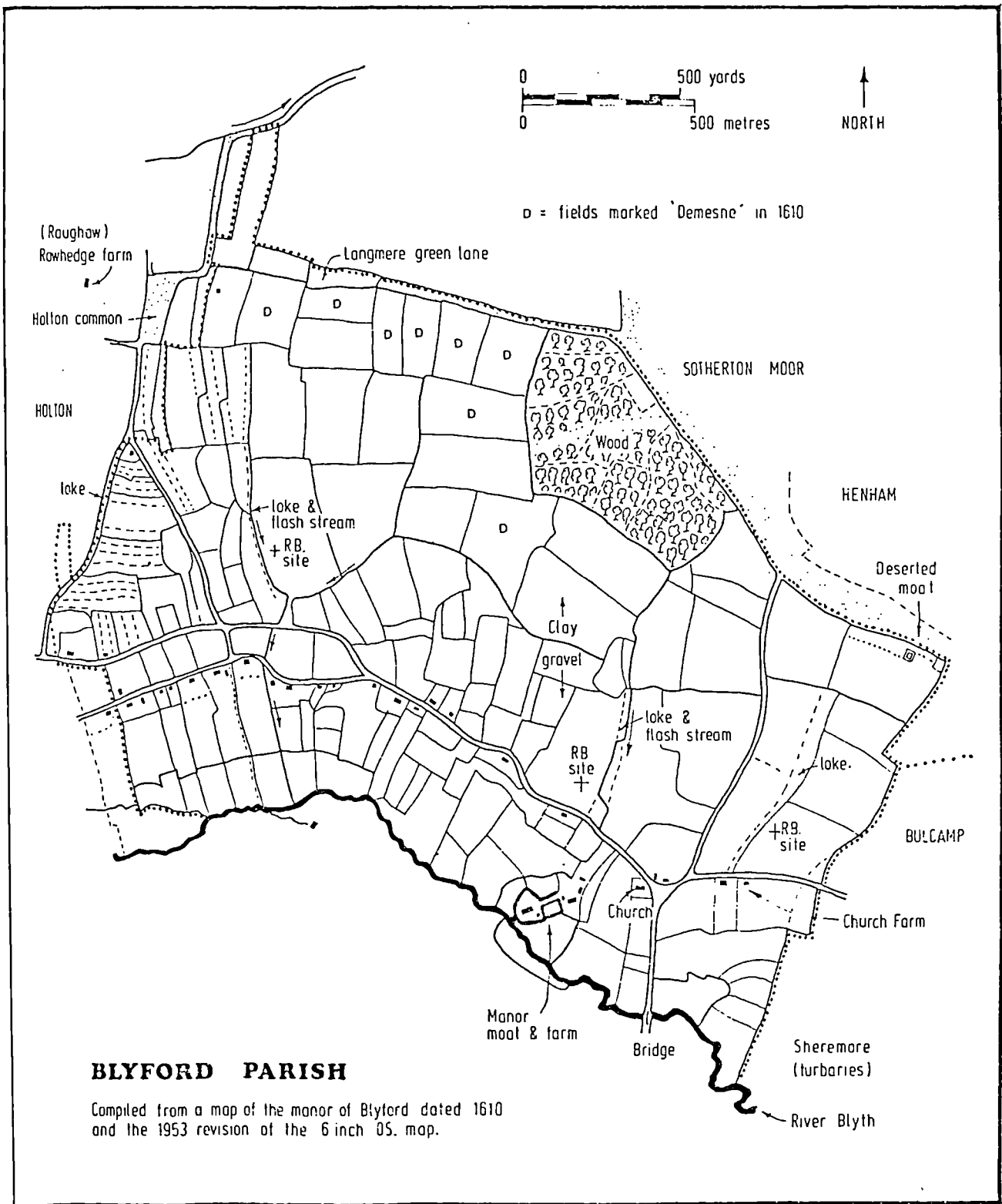


Figure 43.

Some ten metres above the medieval farms and prominently sited overlooking the valley, are the remains of three or four small deserted Roman farmstead sites (See Fig.43).¹⁹. At the eastern end of the 'street' these sites lie almost directly above the medieval farms, but at the western end the picture is confused by the many sub-divided tenements. The relationship between Roman and medieval farms is particularly evident at Church Farm, Blyford (Fig. 44). The boundary of the farm as it was in the seventeenth century, takes in a section of the valley side including almost equal portions of meadowland, gravel slope and clay upland.²⁰. A hollow way or 'Loke'²¹. forms a passageway through the arable lands joining the meadows of the valley floor to the upland pastures on Sotherton Moor. This is the only farm in Blyford where there is evidence for secondary green-side settlement; at the top of the farm there is the remains of a small moat, beside which a thin scatter of medieval pottery was found near 'Hern Wood'.²². An early Roman site occupies a central position on the farm. There is a strong hint of regularity about the whole arrangement, but it must be stressed that this is an isolated example, where there is no evidence for continuity other than the coincidence of a small Roman farmstead, (probably deserted in the third century), standing in the middle of a medieval tenement. There are, however, other examples where there appears to be a similar tenuous relationship between Roman and medieval sites in valley farm situations.

At Yoxford, three abandoned early Roman farms, probably with late Iron Age beginnings, lie halfway up the steep valley sides. On the north side of the river two lie quite close together on the 30 metre contour just above the deserted site of the medieval manor of Yoxford.²³. A third Roman site lies on the south side of the river underneath the early medieval manor site of Stickingland, also on the 30 metre contour.²⁴. In Chediston two

19. TM.42857690 (Blyford site 2); TM.42257710 (Blyford site 3); TM.41357770 (Blyford site 4). Roman pottery is reputed to have been found in the area of the gravel pit on the Holton boundary.

20. I.R.O., p.440.

21. The origin of this word is obscure. It may have something to do with the custom of 'Loke' and 'Lokdayes', the collection of broken wool at sheep shearing. See W.A.Wickham 'Nonarum Inquisitiones for Suffolk' P.S.I.A. XVII(ii) 1920 p.114; P.R.O. VI, 519: I.P.M. Aymer de Valencia, Reydon Manor extent, including the custom called 'Lock' at Christmas day.

22. TM.43207742 (Blyford site 6). See also I.R.O., HA11/C9/26. TM.432774 (Henham site 4).

23. TM.39057010 (Yoxford site 3) & TM.38857050 (site 4). Yoxford Manor TM.389702 (Fig.55); I.R.O., HA30:50/22/13.15 fol.1-3.

24. TM.385693 (Yoxford site 6); I.R.O., FDA305/A1/lb.No.113. 'Pale Ditch Meadow'.

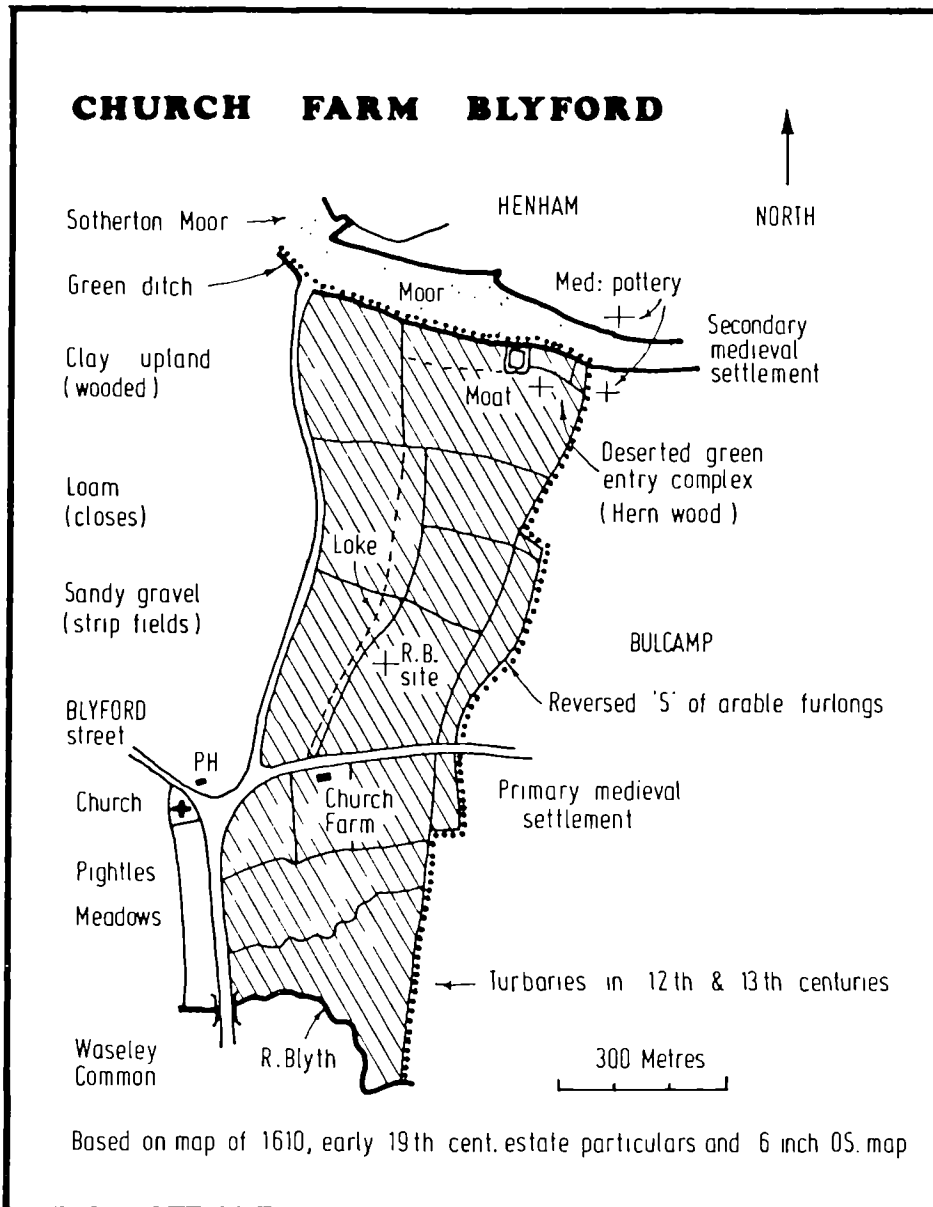


Figure 44.

deserted medieval valley farms also produced one or two sherds of Roman pottery. A cluster of three early medieval pottery scatters in 'Little Davids Field' fits into the pattern of valley farms, between the deserted earthwork site of Chediston 'Grove' and Red House Farm, just above the 40 metre contour (Plate 21).²⁵ On the site of West End Farm, demolished in 1970, John Ridgard found a mixture of Romano-British and medieval pottery sherds.²⁶ At Ubbeston an extensive Roman site was found in 'Castle Hill' field adjoining Hill Farm by Janet Tacon. Roman sherds were also found beside Valley Farm, and Roman and medieval pottery comes from the field below Allen's Farm. All these sites lie above the 30 metre contour.²⁷

There is no direct evidence for settlement continuity from Roman to medieval; the Roman pottery is seldom later than the third century, while the earliest medieval pottery is supposedly no earlier than the twelfth, yet it would seem that these sites, particularly those in the upper reaches of the river in Chediston and Ubbeston, cannot be explained away as coincidental. We can certainly say that a particular preference for settlement site and contour was maintained in those areas from the Roman to the early medieval period. Deserted medieval valley farms are relatively rare; occupying the better, more varied soils, these holdings were probably better equipped to survive economic and social changes. But as a result it is much more difficult to retrieve representative pottery samples from the valley areas than it is from the more marginal clayland soils, where a greater degree of desertion and discontinuity of settlement has resulted in a wealth of archaeological sites.

25. TM.33157860(Chediston site 7); TM.33107855 (site 8); TM.33057845 (site 9).

26. TM.326795 (Chediston site 1).

27. TM.310726 (Ubbeston site 1); TM.31407245 (site 7); TM.316725 (site 3); TM.318726 (site 5).

3. Secondary Settlement

The classic secondary medieval settlement sites are found grouped together overlooking the great tracts of rough grazing on the upland clay commons. Figure 45, illustrates a typical clay common at Westhall.¹ This green was densely settled in the early medieval period with a number of small farmstead sites, some of them moated, lying behind wide green ditches on opposite sides of the common. Like so many other large greens in Suffolk it is a partially deserted settlement, the tenements having been consolidated into larger farms in the later medieval period. These larger farms have nearly all survived down to the present day and in many cases the remains of their green-fronting moats and fine timber-framed buildings can still be seen. They are usually sited in the middle of the longest green sides, with the remains of smaller deserted tenements from which their land has been engrossed spread out either side.

Some of the surviving consolidated farms are to be found at the funnel-shaped entrances to most greens. They stand beside the green gate, frequently with other small farms and cottages, forming a small hamlet or green-entry complex. These are the 'Ends', such as West End on Sotterley Common, that are characteristic of clayland settlement in Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk.² These green entry complexes are sometimes deserted, as in the example already illustrated above Church Farm, Blyford (Fig.44). The reason for grouping and consolidation of tenements at the entrances or 'Ends' of commons may be twofold. The gate itself appears to have been an attraction for ale-houses and retail outlets, but more importantly, on some commons the tenement nearest to the gate held an extra 'beast going' for the maintenance of the gate. Thus the gate tenement at the 'End' of the green became the focus of consolidation,

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1. I.R.O., HB.109/1268/11. (1852-3) This enclosure map marks a pub and windmill on the green.
 2. C.T.Smith 'Settlement and Agriculture in Eastern England' in Field Studies in the British Isles J.A.Steers (Ed.) 1964 p.127.

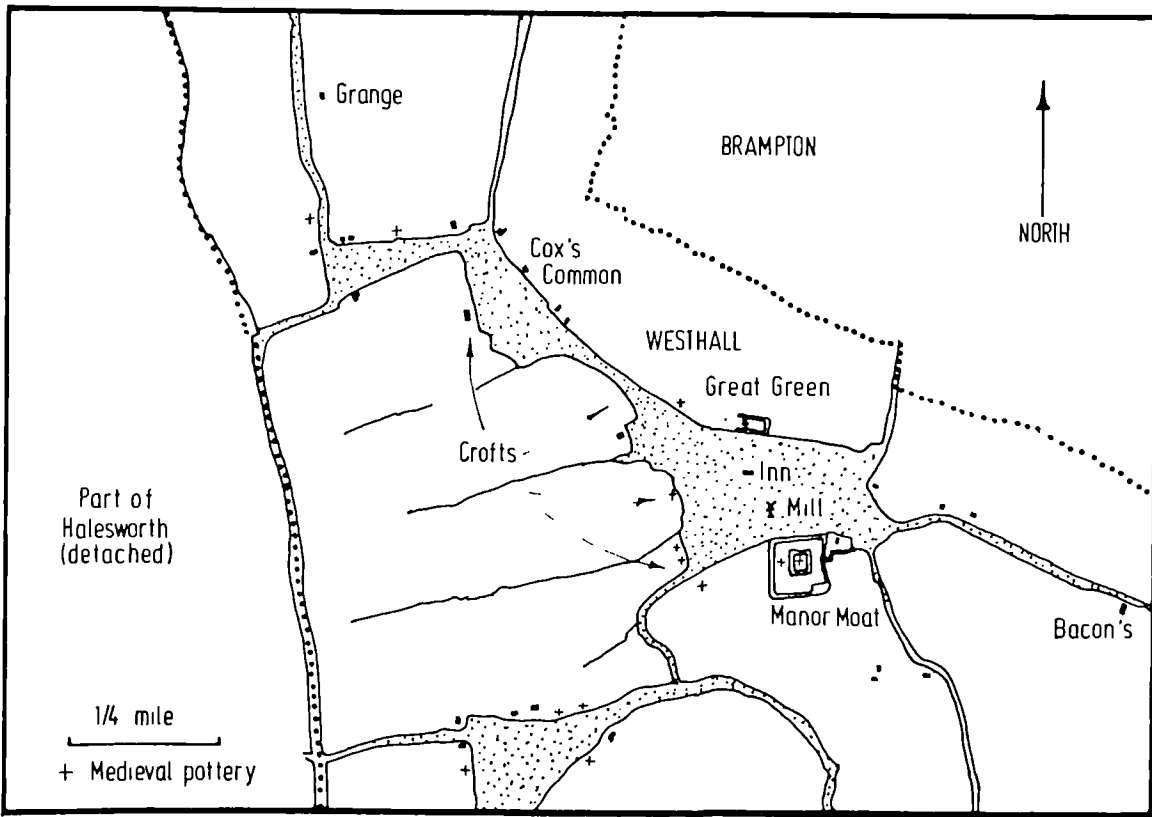


Figure 45. Westhall Great Green.

where the obligation to maintain the gate was retained.^{3.}

There may be a considerable discrepancy in the date of the green ditches from one side of the green to the other. At Westhall (Fig.45) the long gently curving green ditch on the north side is probably in origin the boundary of a much larger estate centred on the isolated moated complex of Brampton Hall,^{4.} whereas the more tightly curving green ditches which demarcate the farmsteads on the western side of the green are probably crofts established outside the Brampton boundary; as such they are probably later than the estate boundary itself (Fig.45). The croft boundaries must surely go hand in hand with the establishment of farmsteads in those areas. The pottery, which can only serve as a rough guideline, suggests that they had been established by the twelfth century on the west side of Westhall Green.^{5.} On the north side it is possible that the green ditch, being in origin a much earlier estate boundary, pre-dates the settlement behind it. The pottery from a deserted site west of Rookery Farm^{6.} is of much the same date as that from sites on the western side of the green; indeed all the pottery from sites around the green presents much the same picture, suggesting that they were all settled at about the same time, even though the green ditches behind which they were established differ in date. We must remember that the starting date for pottery is very uncertain, and that this green was probably in the process of becoming settled in the eleventh century.

3. For example Chippenhall Green where the three farms nearest the three gates each have one going 'for the gate'. Information from the land-owners and John Hurren, Holly Tree Farm, Fressingfield. Rookery Farm, (Fig.60) Fressingfield, has 8 beast goings plus 'one for the gate'. Public houses are commonly found on or beside greens and a number such as the 'Buck' at Rumburgh, the 'Greyhound' at Linstead Parva and the 'Jolly Farmers' at Chippenhall stood at the green-gate. These and the names of some others such as the 'Race Horse' in the middle of Westhall Green may indicate sporting events held there. (Rumburgh was a centre for illegal pugilist meetings in the 19th century). All Saints Common had a 'shop' beside the green-gate in the 18th century. E.A.M. 1907: 2,159. Here an extensive business was carried on in farm produce and local cheeses. The body of a negro boy was discovered there in a puncheon of treacle and is said to have been 'buried under the shop window'.
4. S.Wilton Rix. 'Moated Enclosures at Brampton "Old Hall" Suffolk' Journal of the British Archaeological Association XXI, 1865 pp.144-58.
5. TM. 40648060 (Westhall site 13).
6. TM. 40808195 (Westhall site 12).

Moats are commonly found in green-side situations, and in many cases where they appear to be standing in isolation, enough evidence can be found to suggest that they may once have faced onto a green.⁷ The most characteristic arrangement is that seen at Rookery Farm, Westhall (Fig. 45), where the whole farm stands behind the green ditch and a simple rectangular moat, which is really an extension of the green ditch, runs behind the farmstead enclosing the house, buildings, barns and orchard. There are, however, many variations on this layout; sometimes the moat projects out onto the green, while many farms had a pond immediately in front of the farmstead, which sometimes became incorporated into the moat. Encroachment onto the green can be easily detected in plan form, where it breaks the clean curving profile of a green ditch boundary. Not all green-side sites were moated; there is no evidence, for example, that many of the smaller scatters of medieval pottery around the greens in Westhall come from moated sites, but possibly they had ditches, which have since been filled and ploughed over. The dividing line between ditch and moat lies no doubt in the eye of the beholder. Many farms have what can only be described as a wide ditch and a few ponds surrounding them; in no sense could they be considered defensive, but then, many of the smaller farms could have had little that was worth defending in the medieval period. There can be no doubt that the function of the smaller green-side moat is closely related to the function of green ditches; that is to say they form a permanent boundary between different areas of land use. In post-medieval estate records it is usual to find that the larger green-side tenements which were moated (or look as if they had been moated), once had beasts going on the common.⁸ The moat may therefore be in part an indication of tenement status, showing that it is more than just a cottage, that it has beasts of its own to graze on the common, and that its owner is a farmer of some standing. The largest manorial moats are usually set back from the green-side, occasionally detached from greens altogether, or, as in the case of the large moated complex on the south side of Westhall Green, they may be linked to the green ditch by an outer enclosure.

The most characteristic manorial moat in Suffolk is the square raised island type, the sides of which are usually about 25-30 metres long. They can frequently be linked to manors by the survival of a manorial name, often one which has not been used in the parish since the fourteenth century. Examples include 'Lembaldes' in Westleton, 'Bacons' in Westhall and 'Cheney'

7. For example the moats in Thorington illustrated in Fig.46, or the moats in Westhall around Stradbroke Town Farm see I.R.O., T4222.

8. See for example Hor's Farm Rumburgh (Fig.57) I.R.O., X6/5. & Friston Moor Estate, (Fig.59) I.R.O., HA15/B11/1, also I.R.O., HB24:1175/2 No.3.

in Darsham.⁹ These names may be attached to a surviving farm, or a green, which the manor once overlooked. Medieval pottery can usually be found in great quantities on such sites, but a few moats produce no pottery at all; these may be moated gardens or orchards, which were never inhabited.¹⁰ A number of the named medieval green-side manors can be traced to sub-infeudation of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.¹¹ They would appear to relate to the final development and manorialisation of secondary green-side settlement.

A number of greens and commons were enclosed by Act of Parliament in the mid-nineteenth century when piped land drains and cheap drainage loans made cultivation of these waterlogged soils economically viable.¹² It is important to remember that these are but a fraction of all the commons and greens that once existed in the medieval period. In addition many small greens and commons were enclosed privately or were slowly eroded away by piecemeal enclosure. We know that the Sibton Abbey estate was able to enclose the 'Way Field', which had been part of Sibton Green, in lieu of common rights. Also a 'poor man' there had set up a house on the edge of the green with the consent of the rest of the tenants¹³ before a formal enclosure was considered in 1806.¹⁴ For the majority of greens and commons, however, there is no documentary evidence, except perhaps a field name, to give a clue that the land had once been open. Other clues, such as the siting of moats and areas of medieval desertion in relation to a curvilinear hedge boundary, or even the layout of the fields around a modern farm, have to be used to track down early enclosed medieval greens. The characteristic funnel-shaped entrances, with footpaths passing through them, and the general triangular form of many greens, with incurving sides close to parish boundaries,

9. TM.425708 (Westleton site 22).
 TM.423810 (Westhall site 8).
 TM.416400 (Darsham site 10).

10. For example TM.288767, moat called 'Garden Moat' in Fressingfield, information from Nesta Evans M.Phil.

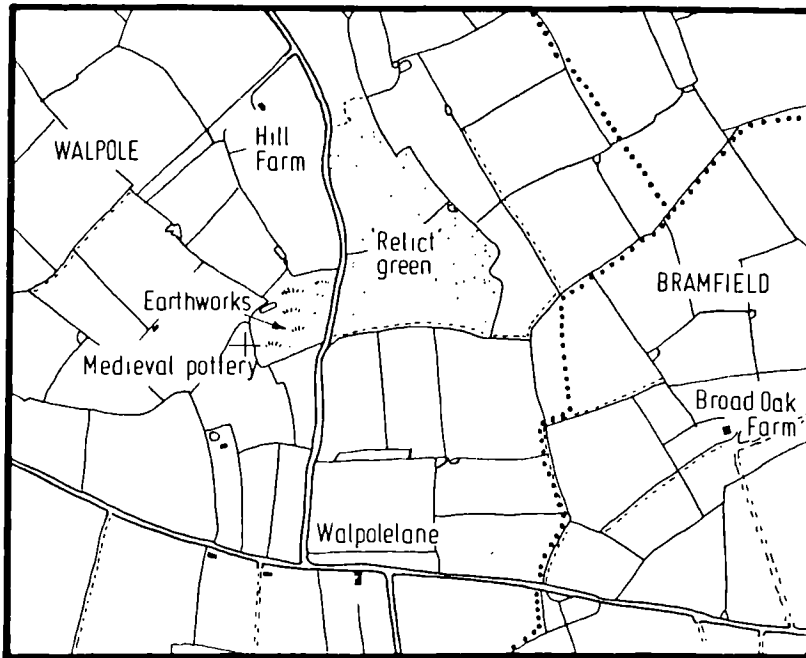
11. See note 9 above; Copinger Manors of Suffolk Vol.II pp.127-129, 190-193, 218-223.

12. H.C.Darby 'The Drainage of the English Claylands' Geog.Zeits. 52. (1964) pp.190-201; W.E.Tate 'A Handlist of Suffolk Enclosure Acts and Awards' P.S.I.A., XXV(iii) 1950 pp.225-263. See Chapter II Sec.6 note 8.

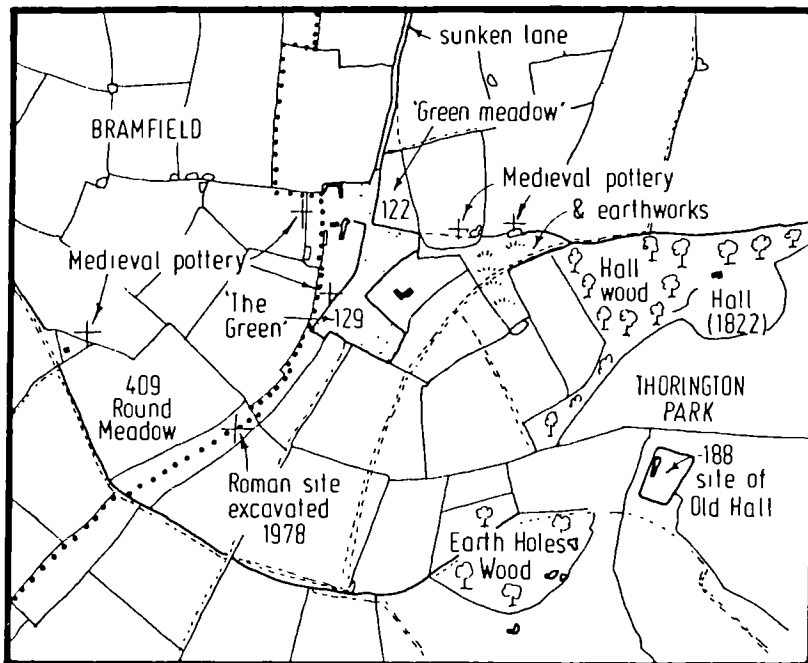
13. I.R.O., HA3:50/9/2.4 & 9. Under the Old Poor Law Act, many such paupers' cottages were erected on the waste land and road verges of Suffolk. See for example I.R.O., B105/2/1 fol.99r (Burgate).

14. Sibton Green was not finally enclosed until 1819, see Tate op.cit.p.253. See also an earlier agreement between Sibton and Yoxford concerning commoning on Sibton Green dated 1651, I.R.O., HA3:50/9/1.

Suspect or relict green at Walpole



Relict green complex at Thorington



300 metres

↑
NORTH

Figure 46.

are similar clues. Such clues appear on Figure 46 where the remains of two greens can be easily recognised. At Thorington the tithe map field numbers 129 and 122, 'The Green' and 'Green Meadow' are noted. The outline of the green can be partly traced by moats and medieval pottery scatters on the north and west sides.¹⁵ At Walpole the evidence is less conclusive; here substantial earth-works are all that remains together with the characteristic incurving line of the green boundary.¹⁶ These fragmentary remains are best described as suspect or 'relict' greens.

15. I.R.O., FDA.254/A1/1.

16. TM.378744 (Walpole site 1).

4. Primary and Secondary Vills

Nearly all villis contain two types of settlement, that is to say, primary settlement consisting of scattered farms on the valley gravels and secondary settlement clustered on the upland clay commons. As might be expected, most villis consist of a large primary core, with secondary settlement (much of which has been deserted), forming a peripheral element on the wastes and commons near the parish boundary. In most villis of this type the importance of the primary core outweighs the subsequent development and decline of the secondary elements; they therefore can be regarded as predominantly primary villis. However there are a number of villis, which are in many ways more interesting, containing only small primary cores, very often in the corner of the parish, while the bulk of the settlement is clearly of a secondary green-side type. In contrast to the primary villis, the greens and commons lie in a more central position rather than at the periphery. These villis can be regarded as predominantly secondary in character; Westhall, Linstead Parva and Stoven, illustrated in Figure 47, are good examples.

In many cases these secondary villis can be demonstrated to be late creations. Some are the sub-divisions of ancient minsterlands or mother church territories. Metfield, in Hoxne hundred, in origin an upland hamlet within the minsterland of Mendham, has already been illustrated. Settlement in Metfield consists entirely of green-side farms grouped around Metfield Common in the centre of the parish.¹ Similarly Rumburgh, created out of the wastes between Blything Hundred and the Ferding of Elmham following the establishment of Rumburgh Priory there in 1064, is a typical secondary vill with Rumburgh Common lying in the centre of the parish.² Likewise Linstead Parva is known to be a late creation, utilising a chapel which clearly once belonged to an upland hamlet of Chediston.³ Most of these secondary villis are not mentioned in the Domesday survey, or like Westhall, their entries are submerged within large entries for neighbouring primary villis.⁴ Or, as in the case of Stoven, their Domesday entries are very small and consist largely of freemen.⁵

1. Chapter V. Sec. 4 Fig.28. (Also Fig.48).

2. Chapter V. Sec. 4 Fig.30.

3. Chapter IV. Sec.7 Fig.21

4. Chapter VI. Fig.33.

5. DB.II 406.

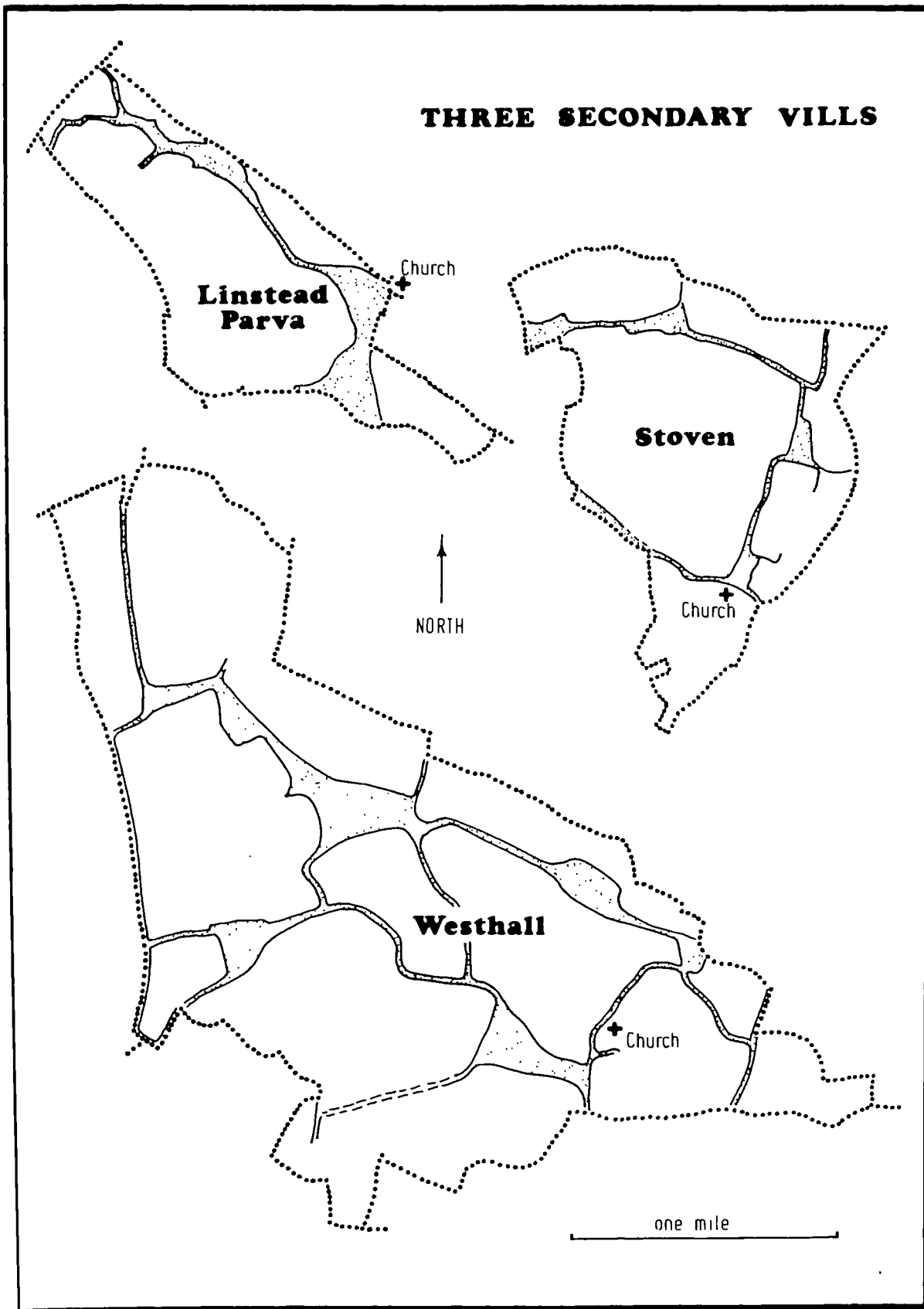


Figure 47.

Among the primary vills two small but significant sub-groups can be recognised. Firstly, there are those few vills which show the influence of a single dominant manor in the late Saxon period. They are characterised by a long, bulbous parish boundary, which may once have coincided with the limits of wasteland belonging to the manor. Within this boundary there are no large greens or commons and almost no secondary green-side settlement, although greens and relict green-side settlements may lie just outside the parish boundary. The highly manorialised vill of Bramfield, containing the great five carucate estate of the thegn, Manny the Swarthy, has already been described and illustrated.⁶ The parish boundary clearly reflects the circular form of this early estate, while the only greens which can be detected lie just outside the Bramfield parish boundary. At Blyford, which in the eleventh century was a single manor devoid of freemen, secondary settlement was contained within the primary areas; the northern boundary of the parish coincides with the edge of Sotherton Moor where only one very small green-side site can be found (Figs. 43 & 44).⁷ In the seventeenth century the fields in Blyford bordering the parish boundary at the western end of Sotherton Moor were all held in demesne by Blyford Manor.⁸ The form of Bramfield and Blyford parishes is very different, Blyford being a riverside parish, its farms spread out along Blyford street, while Bramfield has a more centralised pattern, its farms being grouped around the confluence of several streams. But essentially they are both primary vills. Their strongly manorialised character, the absence of freemen from their Domesday entries,⁹ and the absence of greens and green-side settlement, probably indicate an early maximisation of the parish boundary and with it the exclusion of waste land and green-side settlers.

The second sub-group among primary vills can be recognised where early and important vills appear to have been almost overtaken by the development of secondary settlements within their territories. In these vills, the primary cores are overshadowed by a network of commons and green-side farms. Where

6. Chapter VI Sec.5 Fig.38.

7. See section 2 above.

8. I.R.O., p.440.

9. The entry for Bramfield (DB.II 292b) has seven freemen 'In Walpole' included in its valuation.

areas of green-side settlement have been given over to the formation of a new secondary vill the old primary core may appear somewhat impoverished, leading perhaps to the survival of some early churches with round towers in the central area of Blything Hundred.¹⁰ Wissett church may well have been the poorer for the loss of revenue and lands, which went to the formation of Rumburgh Priory. Chediston may have lost lands to Linstead Parva. At Wrentham the isolated but centrally positioned church has a bleak appearance; it was no doubt much impoverished by the development of its berewick Henstead-with-Hulver into a separate parish. Frostenden may also have detracted from its parent vill of Wrentham.¹¹

Not all parishes can be easily categorised in this way; the combinations of late place-name, large greens in the centre of the parish, ecclesiastical dependence, upland situation and marginal soil are not always found together. For example, Fordley is undoubtedly a secondary parish, but even after a careful search no trace of green-side settlement could be found, although it almost certainly existed at one time.¹² The problems surrounding Fressingfield, where a secondary place-name appears to have been applied to an area covered by two other, probably earlier villas, have already been explained.¹³

Withersdale is clearly a secondary parish in so far as it lay within the minsterland of Mendham, as a dale or valley 'where wethers were kept' it suggests an upland pastoral situation, yet it does not fit into either category so far as its territory is concerned.¹⁴ So unusual is Withersdale that it commands our attention and requires a special place of its own. Figure 48 is based on the 1839 tithe map for Withersdale, which shows the thirteen or fourteen separate parts of the parish.¹⁵ The main land holding which formed the nucleus of the parish lay around the moated manor house of Withersdale Hall

10. See Chapter IV Sec. 4.

11. See Fig. 41.

12. The earthworks south of Hawthorn Farm, reaching down to Dovehouse Farm, in the area of TM.424662 are almost certainly the remains of green-side settlement in Fordley. But this area lies under permanent pasture and no medieval pottery has been found. (See Chapter V Sec.4 Fig.29).

13. Chapter IV Sec.7 Fig.20.

14. Ekwall *Wideresdale* (1190). He does not give the earliest spelling of 'Weresdel'. DB.II 314.

15. I.R.O., FDA.295/A1/1b.

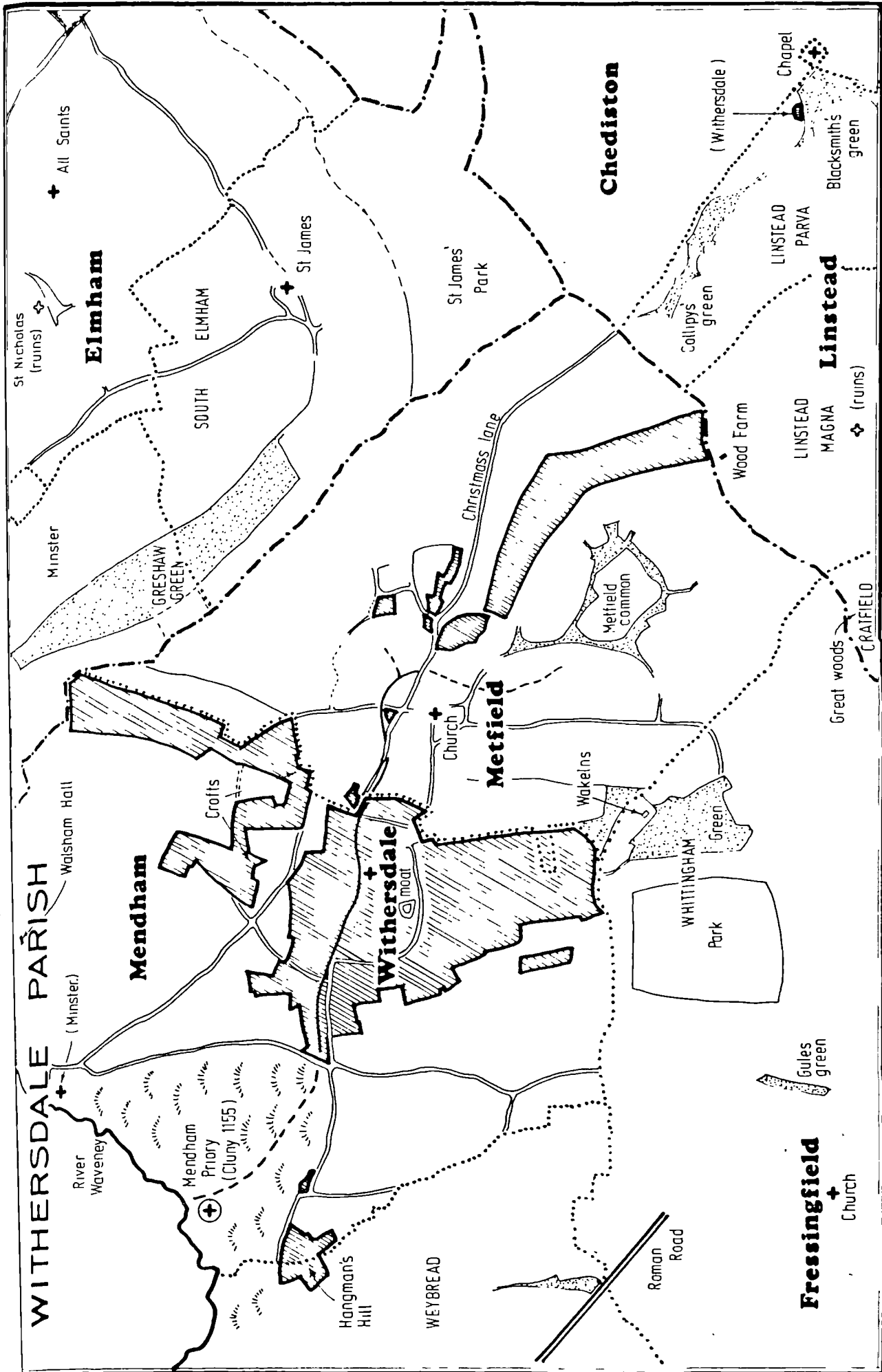


Figure 48.

and the small church of St Mary Magdalene. The rectangular block of land reaching south from the Hall to the Fressingland boundary probably represents the demesne of Withersdale Hall. The irregular shaped blocks of land north of the main holding in the Highfield area of Mendham are on rolling downland overlooking the Waveney valley. Numbers 62-65 on the Withersdale tithe map have 'croft' field name endings and are probably enclosures in an area of upland sheep pasture. Two long rectangular blocks of land reach out like arms to the boundary of the Mendham minsterland. The northern arm reaches to the boundary with Elmham in the area of Greshaw Green. The south eastern arm reaches down to the hundred boundary at Wood Farm, skirting around the side of Metfield Common. Both lie in typical wood-green areas and, like the outlying blocks of Halesworth parish, probably represent private blocks within great pannage woods on the upland boulder clay.¹⁶ Smaller fragments in Metfield may be the land of tenants in that area attached to Withersdale Hall. The small outlying block of land lying partly in Weybread, called 'Hangman's Hill' in 1839, is probably that which was granted to Mendham Priory in 1329-30.¹⁷

Most interesting of all is the small outlying piece of land in Blything Hundred, situated on the edge of Blacksmith's Green in what is now Linstead Parva. (Fig.48). This can only be the land described as '8 acres attached to Weresdel' in one of the Domesday entries for Linstead listed under the lands of Robert Malet's mother in Hoxne (Bishop's) Hundred.¹⁸ This is a typical green-side site, and although no tenants are mentioned with the eight acres in 1086, we can be almost certain that the plot beside the green was there ready for settlement. This is the only mention of Withersdale in the Domesday survey, but it suggests that if its furthest-flung portion was in existence by that date, so also must have been its vital parts. Indeed, they are almost certainly compounded with the entries for Metfield in the large and complex holdings mentioned under Mendham.¹⁹

The Domesday entries for Mendham can be tentatively unravelled by a process of elimination to reveal the entry which concerns Withersdale. From the tenth century will of Bishop Theodred of London we know that a large part of Mendham including the 'community' at its minster church, found its way

16. See Fig. 37; Chapter VII Sec.6.

17. Copinger S.MSS. (sub.Mendham) Licence for alienation in mortmain, Pat.Rolls, 3 Edw.III pt.ii.6.

18. DB.II 314.

19. See Chapter V Sec.4 note 12.

20. D.Whitelock Anglo-Saxon Wills 1955 pp.510-11.

into the hands of the Abbot of Bury St Edmunds.²¹ In 1086, this land comprised a manor of two carucates and a church with 20 acres, which was held of St Edmund by the tenant Frodo. Other lands held by the Bishop of Thetford under the name of 'Menneham', which included the 8th part of a church, may be the lands of Mendham lying in Norfolk.²² The lands in Mendham held by Robert Malet, which included a church with 8 acres and the 8th part of another church with 5 acres may be the land of the hamlet of Metfield.²³ The third largest holding was that of Roger of Poictou, which had been held by Ulric the Thegn in 1066 as a manor of one carucate and 40 acres, including the 4th part of a church with 10 acres. 'Hereto belong 40 acres and they lie in Weybread'.²⁴ This statement can be linked with the tithable lands of Withersdale where the detached lands of 'Hangman's Hill' lie partly in Weybread. Withersdale therefore probably represents the private estate of a minor Saxon thegn, much as it was in the eleventh century. Its various scattered lands represent the commutation of different common grazing and pannage rights once held over distant parts of the minsterland and surrounding parishes. It was essentially a late, secondary, artificial creation; but once formed into a parish it survived as an administrative entity into the late nineteenth century.

The end of Withersdale came in 1885, with the Divided Parishes Act, when for 'civil purposes' it was added to Mendham, except for those portions which lay in Metfield, which were added to that parish. The delightful church of St Mary Magdalene survived, however, and is now united to the living of Fressingfield.

21. DB.II 368.

22. DB.II 379b. (Hartismere Hundred.)

23. DB.II 310b, 329b.

24. DB.II 349.

Hall Farm Estates

Hall farms are one of the most interesting features of the Suffolk landscape. They are often found, like the example of Withersdale Hall previously described, at the core of parish settlement patterns. Their secluded buildings are often of great interest to scholars of vernacular architecture.¹ The universal use of the word 'hall' can be used to describe stately homes such as Heveningham Hall, as well as cottages such as 'Threadbare Hall' in Walpole and 'Flea Hall' in Westhall, which were so named because they were used as pest-houses in the eighteenth century.² Nonetheless, it would seem that rustic wit and gentlemanly aspirations looked to the 'hall' as the home of traditional English good living. The splendid timber-framed houses commonly found at the centre of hall farm estates in Suffolk suggest that such aspirations were well founded.

There is great variation in the date of hall farms generally, but some are undoubtedly very old, being the centres of small manors whose history can usually be traced back to the time of the Domesday survey. A number have minor place-names which relate to minor manors and so-called 'lost' vills recorded in 1086.³ Chippenhall Hall, an estate acquired by Bury St Edmunds before the Norman Conquest, is described as having an 'aula' in the twelfth century. The Saxon and medieval feasting hall, however modest the structure may have been, was the centre of both family and manorial life, and as such was the focus of settlement over a small but significant area of the landscape, particularly so where the settlement pattern was dispersed and the landscape relatively featureless.

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1. E.Sandon Suffolk Houses 1977 Sec.7 Appendix 1. Isolated Suffolk Halls.
 2. TM.362722 & TM.408798.
 3. Chapter VI Sec. 2 notes 26, 27 & 28.

The type site for hall farm estates in Blything Hundred is unquestionably the manor of Hinton Hall. It is first recorded in the Domesday survey under the lands of Roger Bigot held by Robert of Blythburgh 'by way of alms for the King, to wit of the church of Blythburgh'.⁴ The manor remained in the possession of Blythburgh Priory until the Dissolution, after which it formed part of the Cockfield Hall estate, its documents being preserved with the Blois family papers in Ipswich Record Office. A number of charters in the Blythburgh Priory Cartulary record the addition of small copyhold lands in Darsham and Thorington in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and there is a thirteenth century custumal of the work services of the men of Hinton describing an undemanding relationship between them and the Priory at that time.⁵ At the suppression of the priory in 1537, Hinton Manor was eventually granted to Sir Arthur Hopton, whose grandson sold the estate to Sir Robert Brooke.⁶ Between 1585 and 1597 there was a protracted lawsuit concerning the legality of this sale, during which time Christopher Saxton was commissioned to survey the estate. His excellent map, written survey and personal notes all made in the year 1594 have fortunately survived.⁷

Saxton's map of the 'Manor of Hinton' is reproduced here in Figure 49. The area of his survey is shaded and additional information has been added from the six inch Ordnance Survey map together with evidence from field-walking and air photography.⁸ The estate and hall survive unaltered largely due to the remoteness of the site and the variable nature of the soil, which ranges from the lightest Sandling heath on the east, north of Hinton Street, to the heaviest clay on the west, where woods and commons are found along the Thorington parish boundary. The estate is, in fact, an upland hamlet of Blythburgh. As such it is an early example of a secondary vill, being mentioned as a separate entity in the Domesday survey, but never subsequently regarded as a vill.

4. DB.II 331.

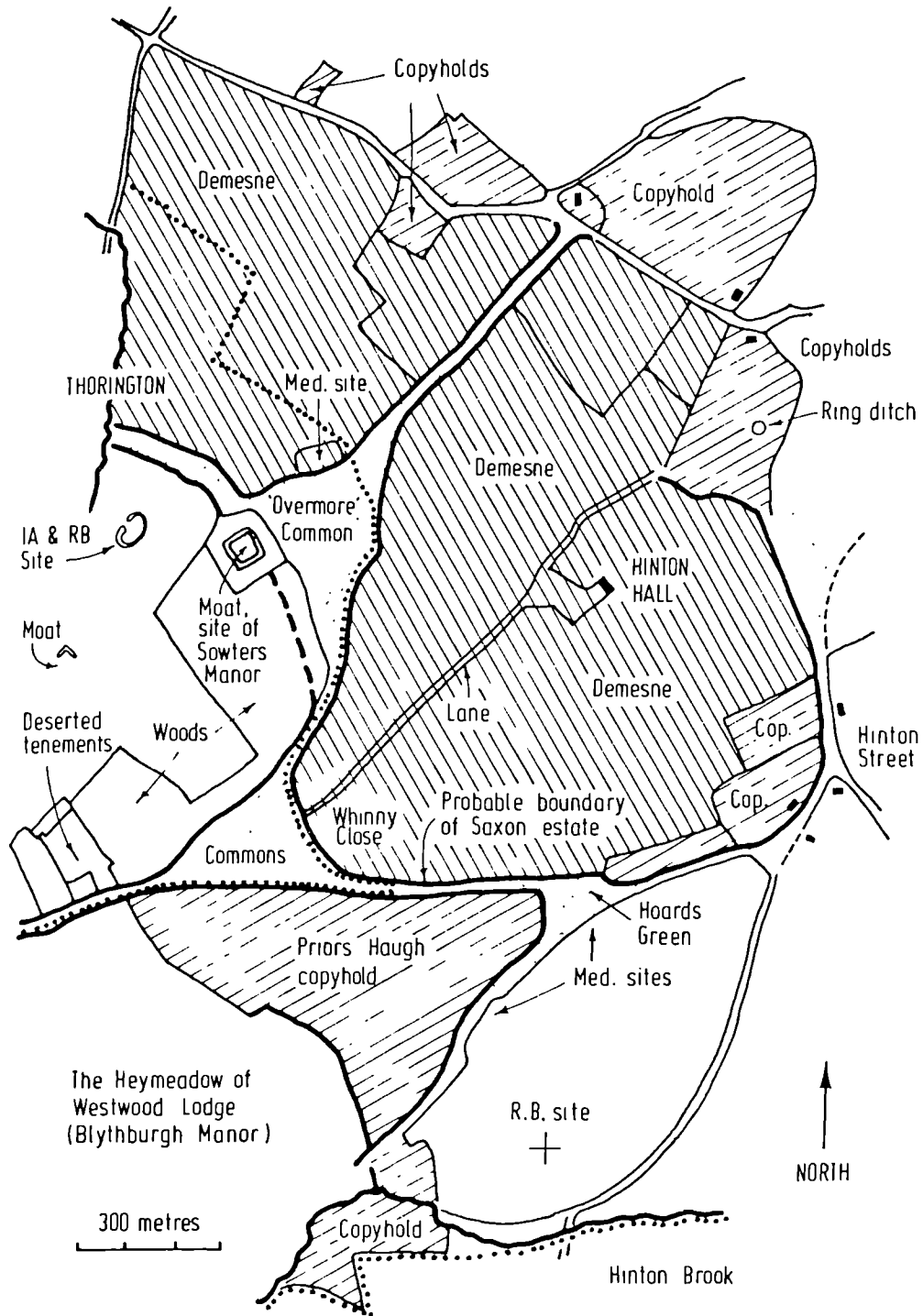
5. C.B.P. Nos. 227, 228, 229, 230 & 231 (The grant of the serf John le Brun of Darsham, with his offspring, capital messuage and tenement in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century may be reflected in Saxton's written survey of the manor of Hinton, where there was 'one tenement called brownes ... lying in Dersham, conteinyng foure acres.') For the custumal of the men of Hinton in 1254 see charter No.285.

6. Copinger Manors of Suffolk Vol.II pp.11-17, 218-23.

7. I.R.O., JA2/7/1; HA30:50/22/12.6; HA30:50/22/12.3.

8. See also Fig.6.

THE HINTON HALL ESTATE IN 1594



Shaded areas are recorded on Saxton's map of 1594, based here on 6 inch OS.map.

Figure 49.

The main features of this early estate are commonly found on other hall farm estates throughout Suffolk. The isolated position of the hall, reached only by a long trackway which passes right through the estate, the long, curving, ring-fence boundary, which encloses the main landholding around the hall, are all features which can be recognised in almost any Suffolk parish on a large scale map. The ring-fence boundary, which forms the nucleus of the manorial demesne, is particularly important. It forms in part the parish boundary of Blythburgh with Thorington, and is surrounded in characteristic fashion by green lanes and open commons, which are clearly the wastes and open spaces between the boundaries of other similar estates.

The area of curving boundaries and triangular shaped commons on the clayland side of the estate is now densely wooded. In Saxton's day the woods were even more extensive, covering some of the fields at the western end of the estate. His notes are greatly concerned with the loss of timber from the estate, '160 trees worthe iii^s a tre one wth an other' had been felled in 'Hinton Whinnye Close'.⁹ His map shows a few left standing at the western end of the estate bordering Thorington Common. (Fig.49). These trees had mostly grown up in the late medieval period; on the Thorington side of the common they cover the earthworks of a deserted medieval manor and its associated tenements.¹⁰ But the large wood then known as Prior's Haugh, only part of which now survives, must be much older. It extended across the Darsham and Westleton boundary into what was known in the medieval period as 'Kingshaugh', which was probably an area of pannage wood in the eleventh century.¹¹ The curving boundary around the hall could be the original Saxon estate boundary and, like its counterparts on the other side of Thorington Common, may pre-date the establishment of medieval tenements along its periphery. The copyhold tenements in Hinton Street are typical in that they lie well away from the hall on the edge of the estate bordering the green lanes and commons. Saxton's written survey makes it clear that the later servile tenements in Darsham and Westleton, added in the twelfth and thirteenth century, were not included on his map of the Manor of Hinton.¹²

9. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/12.3.

10. See Chapter II Sec.7 Fig.6.

11. See Chapter VI Sec. 5 Note 51.

12. See note 5 above. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/12.6. The tenements of Hinton Manor in Darsham and Westleton are listed at the end of the survey, but are described as 'not Suruayed'.

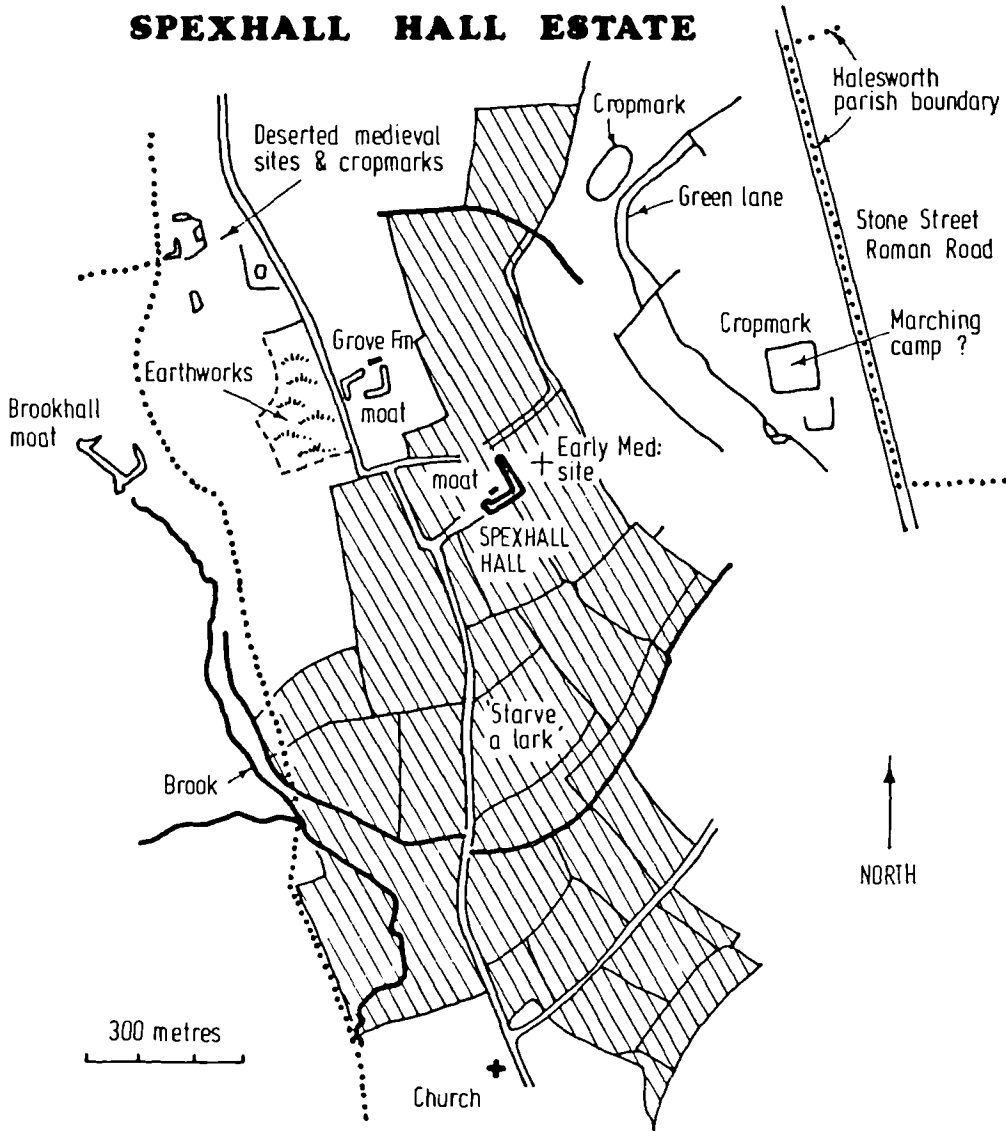
It is possible, therefore, that these tenements in Hinton Street are the descendants of freeholdings added to the manor at the time of the Norman Conquest.¹³.

Many other examples of hall farm estates in Suffolk show similar characteristics to the type site of Hinton Hall; two from Blything Hundred have been selected for illustration here in Figures 50 and 51. The details of Spexhall Hall are taken from sales particulars of 1854.¹⁴ The same basic pattern as that at Hinton Hall is discernible: the isolated, and in this case moated, hall almost at the centre of a fragmentary, but still recognisable, ring-fence boundary; through the middle runs a trackway or lane and on the north-east side, the curving boundary of a neighbouring estate can just be recognised. On the north-west side a series of earthworks and moats may be the remains of dependent tenements.¹⁵ A few yards to the east of the moated hall a small scatter of early medieval pottery marks the site of the original manor house.¹⁶ Unlike Hinton, however, we have no comparable documentation to suggest the antiquity of the manor. Spexhall was probably a dependent hamlet of Wissett in origin, it is not mentioned by name in the Domesday survey, but may nonetheless be included in the large Wissett entry.¹⁷

It is interesting to note the way in which the curving estate boundaries are interrupted by the Roman road of Stone Street. This is the area bordering on the rectangular field system in Ilketshall, regarded by Bigmore as a Roman centuriated system. It was probably covered by pannage woods in the late Saxon period.¹⁸ The edge of one of the outlying blocks of Halesworth parish is indicated in Figure 50, Spexhall Hall Farm lay on the edge of this woodland area. Its soils vary from heavy clay on the north to gravel slopes beside the 'Brook' on the south. The field name 'Starve a Lark' probably

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13. DB.II 331. 'To this manor have been added six freemen over whom Roger (Bigot)'s predecessor (Aegelward) had commendation.' Aegelward was probably the Saxon predecessor of Robert of Blythburgh, who held the lands of Blythburgh Minster. It was these tenements who probably performed the light plough works and customary services described in the Hinton Custumal of 1254: C.B.P. 285.
 14. I.R.O., HB24/412/1793.
 15. TM.373817 (Spexhall site 6) AP,SAU.DF.5.
TM.374814 (Spexhall site 7) (earthworks)
 16. TM.37908135 (Spexhall site 4).
 17. DB.II 293. See also Fig.34; Chorography p.63 'Manor of Burghards (Spexhall) ...holden of the manor of Wyssette', p.69 'Wysett cum capella'.
 18. See Chapter III Sec.5 Fig.14.

SPEXHALL HALL ESTATE



Based on estate particulars of 1854 and 6 inch OS. map

Figure 50.

marks a stony 'hot spot' high up the valley side.¹⁹ Like Hinton, its soils can be regarded as variable; and like Hinton it lies on the borderline between primary and secondary areas.

The estate of Wenhaston Hall, which was mapped in 1777 (Fig.51).²⁰ lies on the light Sandling edge soils bordering clay to the north and west, in a similar situation to Hinton. But unlike Hinton, the Hall stands on the edge of the curving, ring-fence boundary in a position characteristic of many valley gravel farms. A lane leads through the middle of the estate past the hall to a river crossing known as 'Knotford Bridge'.²¹ Wenhaston was an important late Roman centre, but by the eleventh century it had declined into little more than a hamlet of Thorington. Wenhaston Hall, like Hinton Hall and Spexhall Hall, lies on the edge of secondary settlement. Extensive heathlands still survive bordering the estate on the east. On the clayland areas, on the opposite side of the estate, the remains of enclosures and tenement plots can still be seen (Fig.51). To confirm the relative ages of the boundary fence and internal field boundaries, the hedgerows in the northern half of the estate were investigated and their species counted by Margaret Meek and Janet Tacon. The boundary hedge produced on average 5-6 species for every 30 yards of hedgerow counted, while the internal hedgerows produced an average of only 3 species per 30 yards, except those in the area of the deserted tenements which produced 5-6 species, similar to the boundary hedge. The tenements along the boundary in this particular instance may therefore be almost as old as the boundary itself, or at least their hedgerows may have become established at about the same time.

19. I.R.O., FDA.232/A1/1 Field No.157. For 'hot spots' see Chapter I Sec.2 note 10.

20. I.R.O.,X6/7 Leman Book of Plans. Fella's Farm in Wenhaston.

21. I.R.O., HA30:372/1 Lands of Roger Bonnett in Wenhaston 'the common way leading from the Chapel of St Bartholomew's leading towards Knotford Bridge'.

WENHASTON OLD HALL ESTATE

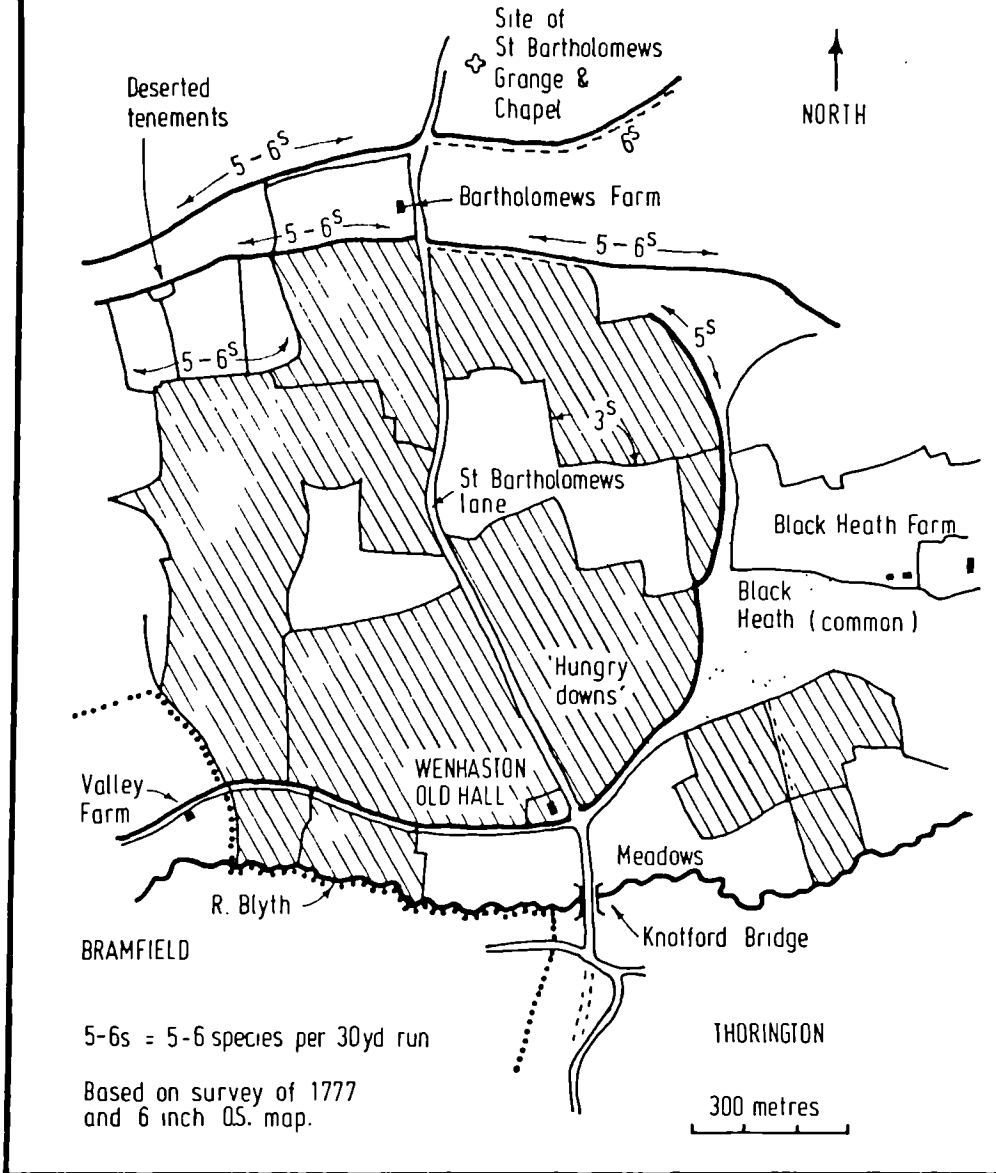


Figure 51.

The evidence from Hinton suggests that such hall farm estates have their origin in the middle Saxon period: it is possible that Hinton manor was granted to Blythburgh minster shortly after the battle of Bulcamp in 645 AD.²². But it must be stressed that there is no archaeological evidence to support this statement. The characteristic ring-fence of the estate boundary is the distinguishing feature of these farms. Such boundaries are more likely to have appeared at a time when there were no trees or dense woodland to obstruct the setting out of their curves. This would suggest a period either in late Iron Age or early Roman times, or at a time in the mid-to-late Roman period when there was a retreat from the more marginal lands, but before woodland had started to regenerate. On the other hand it is just possible that some ring-fence farms were set out in a very open form of wood-pasture or pannage wood of the kind which may well have existed in those areas in the middle-to-late Saxon period, but the ring-fences are in marked contrast to the severely rectangular boundaries found in areas which clearly relate to pannage woods recorded in the Domesday survey. It seems more likely therefore that the curving boundaries of hall farm estates in Suffolk relate to an earlier period of farming in Roman or even pre-historic times when there may have been a more open landscape, and that they have been reused or reoccupied in the middle and late Saxon period.

22. Chapter IV Sec.3.

6. Brecks and Fieldings

Open field systems are not generally considered to have been a common feature of East Suffolk. This is because very few open fields of any kind survived beyond the early nineteenth century in this area, whereas late eighteenth and early nineteenth century enclosure awards are relatively common on the chalklands of West Suffolk.¹ East Suffolk is a landscape of piecemeal enclosure. It is therefore very difficult to get a complete picture of an open field system and this seems to have deterred scholars from further investigation. There is, however, an abundance of evidence to suggest that strip fields once existed; their fragmentary remains survived in some parishes into the early twentieth century. For example, on the light coastal soils of Kessingland, to the north of Blything Hundred, a large area of strip fields can be seen on the 1929 revision of the six inch Ordnance Survey map. This had been much reduced by piecemeal enclosure since the first 1891 six inch edition, where it was shown much the same as when first recorded on a map of 1787.² A map of the adjoining manor of Benacre, in Blything Hundred, dated 1580, reveals a similar large area of open fields shading into enclosures further inland where the soils become more heavy. A detailed examination of this map reveals that these enclosures contained a large number of submerged strips, indicating that the strip fields were at one time much more extensive.³ Other sources, such as the tithe maps and glebe terriers of neighbouring parishes reveal that this pattern of open field strips extended uninterrupted into Henstead and Wrentham.⁴

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1. D.P.Dymond 'The Suffolk Landscape' in East Anglian Studies L.M.Munby (Ed). 1968 p.33; W.E.Tate 'A Handlist of Suffolk Enclosure Acts and Awards' P.S.I.A. XXV(iii) 1951 p.240 : 'of 30 East Suffolk awards only five specifically mention open arable field; of West Suffolk awards at least seventeen relate in whole or in part to open arable lands.'
 2. I.R.O., HA11/C9/36 Parliamentary enclosure of wastes 1787.
 3. I.R.O., T.631.
 4. I.R.O., HE2/398/2 Plan of freehold estate in Henstead and Benacre belonging to Charles Barkley, 1811-1834, marks strips of intermixed glebe with dotted lines underneath the modern enclosures, to the west of Henstead church and east towards Latymere Dam. See also Benacre glebe terriers I.R.O., T.631/2.

Very little evidence survives for the detail of medieval agricultural routine in the area of Blything Hundred.⁵ Some general indications of a periodic breckland type cultivation can be gathered from the use of field names such as 'breck' and 'dole'.⁶ Some of the open fields contained small clusters of furlongs called 'fieldings', in others the strips were arranged in long 'wents' rather than furlongs. The type of agriculture practised here was probably very similar to that found in parts of Norfolk.⁷ We know that the fields in Wrentham were subject to periodic fallow and common grazing rights in the period before 1339-40.⁸ Fold courses, both private and manorial, covering fen, marsh, heath and arable land, were a source of manure to some tenants, who paid for the folding of sheep on their land even though they might have 'cullet' sheep of their own in with the lord's flock.⁹ Large numbers of hurdles were required for the folding of sheep and protection of the growing crops.¹⁰ The thirteenth century Hinton custumal declares that on St Botolph's day (17th June) 1254, agreement was reached between the prior and his men of Hinton, who were subject to labour-services, that they should

5. C.Richmond John Hopton 1981 p.37, among the Blois family accounts for the fifteenth century he could only find information on the size of demesne sheep flocks. 'Nor do we have any useful information as to demesne arable husbandry.'
6. 'Doles' usually relate to the allocation of small plots of shared meadowland, arable or waste, some doles were plots allocated to the poor from charitable bequests being part of 'Town' estates. See A.R.H. Baker & R.A.Butlin(Eds) Studies in Field Systems in the British Isles 1973 pp.91-2, 156, 212, 294; M.W.Beresford 'Glebe Terriers and Open-field Buckinghamshire' Records of Buckinghamshire 15(v) 1951-2 p.288; P.Millican Horstead and Stanningfield, Norfolk 1937 pp.83-4, 'Another parcel of common pasture, furzeland and aldergrove....containing 60 acres... including divers turf-lands/terraecidia/ commonly called Dooles from which divers tenants...have, from ancient times, enjoyed the right of mowing and taking fallen wood for fuel'; I.R.O., HA26/412/911-22 'Dodds Doles', 'one heath dole formerly Mr Dodd'; H.M.Doughty The Chronicles of Theberton 1910 p.189 '1 rod and 20 perches lay in a field, not now identified, ...it was then marked with posts or dooles', c.1767. For meadow doles at Homersfield see Chapter II Sec.4 note 4. For 'brecks' see Chapter II Sec.3 notes 17 & 18. For tithe doles of fish see Chapter IV Sec.9 note 3.
7. M.R.Postgate 'Field Systems in East Anglia' in Baker & Butlin (Eds) op.cit. pp.281-326.
8. H.Gray English Field Systems 1915 p.45 note 2 (I.P.M., 13.Edw.III f.60.6) '..when not sown it was worth nothing because it lay in common.'
9. Richmond op.cit. pp.35-8, 85, 98; K.J.Allison 'The Sheep-corn Husbandry of Norfolk in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' Agric.Hist.Rev. V(i) 1957 pp.12-31 ; A.Simpson 'The East Anglian Fold Course System, some Queries' Ibid VI, 1958 p.94; H.Rider Haggard Rural England 1902 p.423. See also Chapter II Sec.3 notes 20 & 21.
10. Richmond op.cit. p.83.

no longer carry the hurdles and sheep to the sheepfold on the eve of Pentecost 'as they had been accustomed to do'. Instead, a system of money payments was introduced for a tenant's sheep 'and those in his charge' at the rate of one penny for four sheep.¹¹ In addition to that derived from the fold course, manure was cleared from the demesne farms at Blythburgh and Hinton starting in the week after Christmas.¹²

As yet there is no consensus of scholarly opinion as to the origin of the open fields; piecemeal colonisation, manorial imposition and partible inheritance may have all played their part at different times.¹³ The evidence from East Suffolk in the form of fieldings is so fragmentary that it is not possible to come to any conclusion as to their origins. Nevertheless some particularly good examples have been chosen for illustration here, from Benacre, Kessingland and South Cove (Figs. 52-54). Other examples of fragmentary fieldings can be found on nineteenth century maps for Middleton, Westhall, Uggeshall and Reydon.¹⁴ The survival of glebe land intermixed with tenant strips was in some cases responsible for the preservation of fieldings by acting as a constraint on the process of exchange and consolidation. Eventually the pressures became too great and even the glebe was consolidated into a manageable land holding, usually with the collusion of the lord of the manor.¹⁵

At Benacre (Fig.52) the relationship between the fieldings and tenements is clearly discernible. The church with its glebe land, marked in black on Figure 52, stands in a long street of tenements, which all have similar land-holdings. The larger tenements on the better soils at the western end of the

11. C.B.P. 285.

12. Ibid.

13. T.Rowley (Ed.) The Origin of the Open Fields 1981 p.12; R.A.Dodgshon The Origin of British Field Systems 1980 pp.29-46.

14. I.R.O., FDA.177/A1/1 Middleton Tithe Award, 1839, Field Nos.70 & 74 'Fielding's (small strips in area south of church); I.R.O., FB.182/C1/1 Westhall, see also I.R.O., T.4222 Fig.9; I.R.O., HA11/C9/39 & 40, map of the parish of Uggeshall c.1821, area south-east of 'Wash Lane Cottages' three pieces of isolated glebe, see also I.R.O., HB26/412/878 Abstract of title of William Bell 1731 '...two third parts in three parts to be divided in one enclosure called Goulds.' I.R.O., HB26/412/911-22 (No. 917) '... land in thirteen pieces...where the first piece lies in several pieces in a field anciently called Cockerills.'

15. I.R.O., HB26/412/878 Abstract of title of William Bell, 1731. Freehold in Uggeshall. In the '... common field called Benthamfield, 2 rods 20 perches in Uggeshall, in the garden now in the use and possession of Rev.William Leach...which said pieces of land are...in exchange for glebe lands belonging to the Rectory of Uggeshall.' The scattered glebe lands are then listed. See also Baker and Butlin (Eds) op.cit. p.288.

The Parish & Manor of Benacre Surveyed in 1580

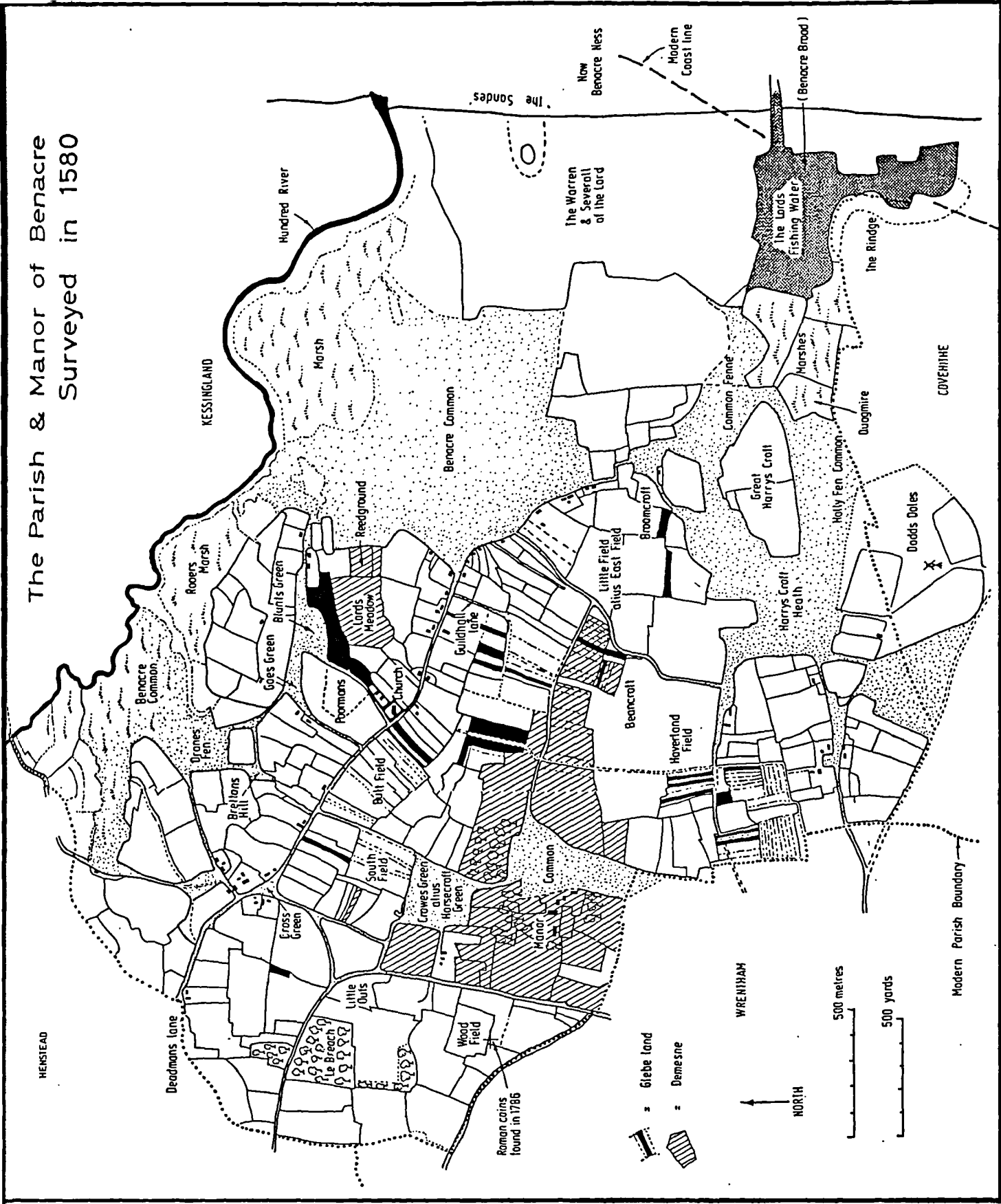


Figure 52.

street have largely consolidated their strips into closes near to the farm. The smaller tenements nearer to the heath at the eastern end of the street are like the glebe land, with their holdings scattered in the open fields. Out on the heathland, irregular crofts were probably cultivated on a periodic breckland basis. We know that at Walberswick the heath was cultivated from time to time by the lord of the manor or his tenants, but that the men of Walberswick had the right to carry away a proportion of the crop in lieu of common rights. The sharing of temporary common land intakes is well documented in other areas, particularly Lincolnshire and Northumberland.¹⁶ The gradation from heathland crofts, periodically cultivated, to strips attached to tenements, probably more frequently cultivated, is particularly clear on the 1580 map of Benacre (Fig.52.) The pattern of curving croft boundaries can be seen running through the strips of 'Haverland field' to the west of 'Harry's Croft Heath'. It is not difficult to imagine the gradual transformation of the loose collection of enclosures which form 'Dodd's Doles' or 'Great Harry's Croft', into a strip field system with tenements established on the boundary as can be seen in 'East Field' or 'Haverland Field'. At the western end of the parish the same pattern of curving croft boundaries can be seen beside Cross Green and in the area of the wood called 'Le Breach'.

The origins of Benacre are as uncertain as those of any other parish in Blything Hundred. There is good evidence of settlement in prehistoric and Roman times, including a rich Roman coin hoard found in 1786 when the turnpike road was under construction to the west of the manor house (Fig.52).¹⁷ The Domesday survey mentions only one socman with ten acres of land in Benacre; if this is a true assessment, it can only have been a very minor place in the eleventh century.¹⁸ The church is no earlier than the twelfth century

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16. Chapter II Sec.3 note 21; Dodgshon *op.cit.* pp.43-5; Richmond *op.cit.* p.85, at Easton Bavents in 1470-1 'when the administration of the estate was being carefully examined and overhauled, apparently only 11 acres of barley were harvested, although 18 acres had been ploughed and sown'. This might well be explained if the tenants had taken their share, however this estate was subject to coastal erosion, but seven acres may be considered too much to have been lost in one year without some explanation.
17. Chapter III Sec.3 note 8.
18. DB.II 371b.

(as far as eye can tell) and it probably represents the period of Benacre's settlement expansion. Air photographs and the discovery of medieval pottery reveal that there was once a small hamlet of secondary settlement in the area of Blunt's Green and Bretton Hill, which became deserted in the fourteenth century.¹⁹ The whole village was transformed almost beyond recognition by the emparkation of Benacre Hall and by efficient estate management in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.²⁰ Only the church and two tenements remain in their original position.

At Kessingland a very similar picture emerges, but here the surviving 'Wents' are arranged in long lines parallel with the shore (Fig.53). Most of the tenements are grouped around a large green very similar to that at Westhall, but the main development of settlement and enclosure has spread up from the river valley in the south onto the heath and commons to the north, where a pattern of crofts similar to that at Benacre is clearly discernible. The prime arable lands lie along the river side from Latymere Dam, where there were turbaries on the Henstead side of the river in the fourteenth century,²¹ to the salt marshes beside the coast at Sea Row Meadow.²² Prehistoric, Roman and deserted medieval sites have been found in typical primary positions along the valley sides.²³ The nucleus of medieval settlement, as it survives on the 1787 enclosure map, is the manor house and church, which stand side-by-side at the head of a typical hall farm, ring-fence boundary. Adjoining this estate to the north is the main row of tenements facing onto the green. Between these tenements and the sea lie the remains of their associated strip fields. Coastal erosion has claimed a large part of this field system. Due to the northward movement of Benacre Ness, most of Kessingland is now protected from erosion, but the 1974 cliff line is marked on Figure 53, indicating that about 200 metres of land

19. TM.516848 (Benacre site 6).

20. Suckling Vol.II p.124, the earliest part of Benacre Hall is believed to date from the time of Thomas Carthew, after 1708. It was purchased by Thomas Gooch in 1743 after which it was considerably enlarged, possibly by the architect Brettingham in 1763-4. It was refronted in about 1830.

21. I.R.O., HB:50/15/13 Bailiff's account roll for the manor of Poynings 1368-9 mentions no income that year from the turbarry near Latymere Dam.

22. See Chapter I Sec.3 note 17.

23. Chapter III Sec.1 note 2. Fig.9. See also P.S.I.A. XXXIV, 1977 p.149, TM.6285 R.B. roof tiles; TM.5286 coin of Constantius II; TM.5385 Med. pottery & lava millstone.

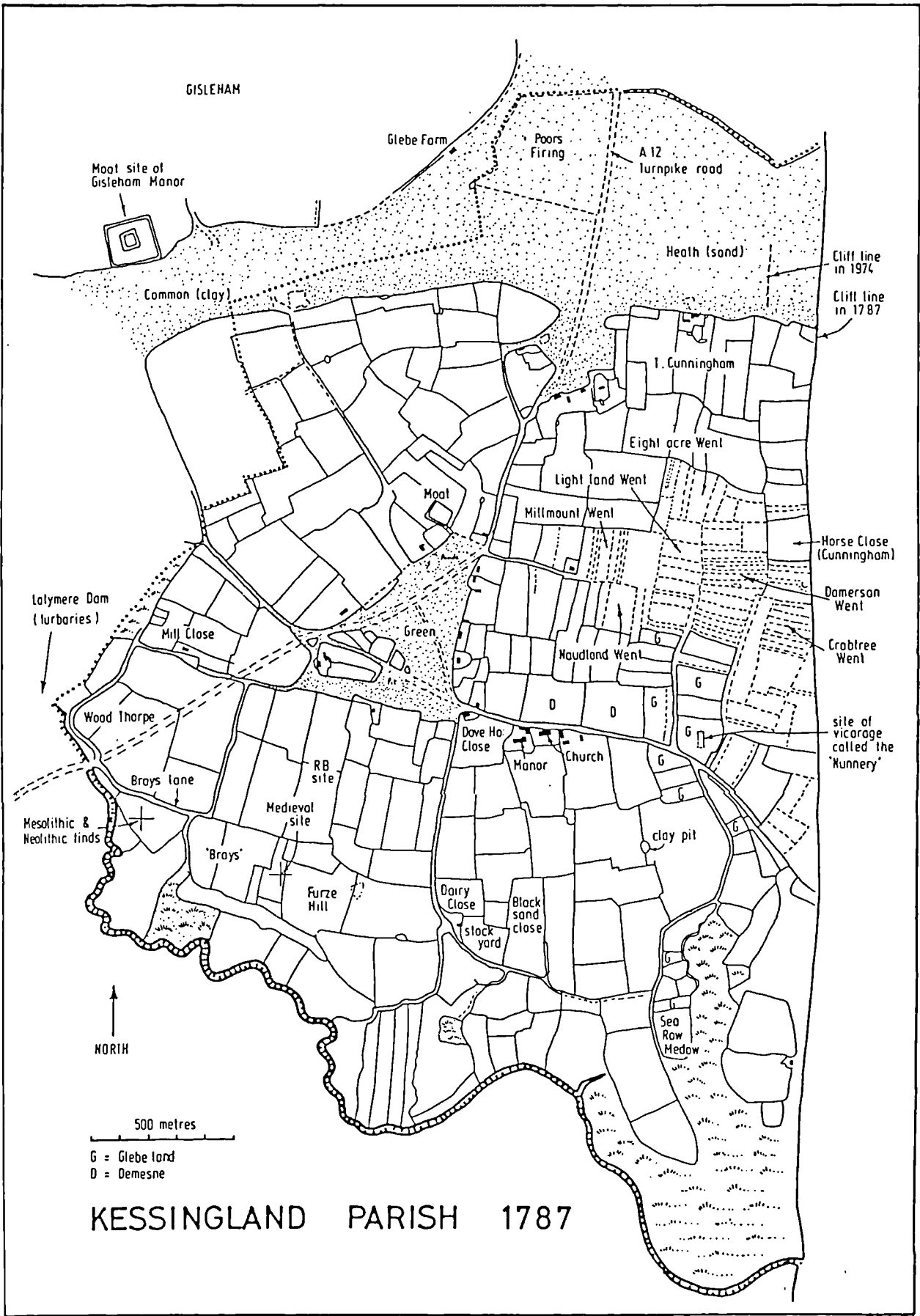


Figure 53.

have been lost since 1787. On the north-west side of the green a bulbous croft or estate boundary projects onto the common, spreading across the parish boundary into Gisleham. The centre of this estate appears to have been another small manor, of which only the moat remains, overlooking the northern end of Kessingland Green. It is probable that this green, like the green at Westhall, was more densely settled in the late thirteenth century. Many more tenements may once have stood in the gaps along the green-sides.

The three Domesday entries for Kessingland reveal a strong freehold element, which may be reflected in the tripartite division of the parish grouped around the three sides of Kessingland Green. The main manor of two carucates, which was held by Burchard before the Conquest, had forty freemen belonging to it who held an additional three carucates.²⁴ This, the largest estate, is probably the predecessor of the main manor (with its later church) and row of tenements occupying the whole of the eastern side of the green. These forty freemen may well have earned a living from the sea as well as from their three carucates of land. The second entry, which appears under the lands of Hugh de Montfort, was a small manor of only 30 acres held by a free-man and with it there were a further four freemen who held 90 acres before the Conquest.²⁵ These freemen appear to correspond with the tenements on the western side of the green, the small manor emerging as the small moated site, later to be deserted, lying at the northern end of the green. The fourth entry was royal demesne, but consisted of just one named freeman, Osfert, with 15 acres of land.²⁶ By process of elimination, this may have been the now deserted farm on the valley gravels, south-east of the green, close to the Latymere Dam river crossing, between Furze Hill and 'Brays' field.

The origin of the surviving fielding at Kessingland, with its long curving 'wents', may well go back to the foundation of green-side settlement in this area. 'Millmount West' and 'Naudlond Went' appear to be part and parcel of green-side tenements on the east of Kessingland green, even though tenements to the south in the same row appear to have consolidated their holdings in the same way as the demesne and glebe land in the same area. Towards the sea, the axis of the wents changes from east-west to north-south. 'Damersen Went' and

24. DB.II 301b.

25. DB.II 407.

26. DB.II 283. Suckling Vol.I pp.250-9, lists four manors in later years: Stapletons, Echinghams, Rotherhall, which lay substantially in Pakefield, and Kingstons, which could possibly be the descendant of this small fragment of royal demesne.

'Crabtree Went' are the best preserved in the fielding, they are some distance from the farmsteads on the green-side, and like those at Benacre may have come into being relatively late as the result of periodic cultivation of breckland.

Like Kessingland, South Cove shows the influence of an early 'hall farm estate' in the anatomy of its settlement pattern. The curving estate boundary and the lane leading past the church and the principal 'Church Farm' can be clearly seen on nineteenth century estate particulars, here illustrated in Figure 54.²⁷ Some half mile south of Church Farm, at Cove Bottom a straggle of tenements follows the curve of the river, spread out along the valley gravels, in primary settlement situations. Common Farm and Jay's Farm are now the only surviving farms in this area.²⁸ The land of these farms lay inter-mixed with isolated strips of the Church farm in an area of late surviving fieldings between the church and the valley tenements. Common Farm and Brick Kiln Farm at Cove Bottom are in green-side situations as well as being on the valley sides. Due to the very light soils in this area, a long narrow belt of common land survived between the farms on the edge of the fielding and the meadows of the valley floor. The fieldings are themselves on very light soil. Large areas of rough heathland still survive to the west at 'Broom Walks' and 'Rough Walks' (Fig.54). This scattered settlement pattern appears to have a curious blend of primary and secondary elements; it may, like Kessingland, be reflected in the Domesday entries for Cove,²⁹ which consisted entirely of freemen.³⁰ The larger holding of half a carucate held by six freemen may represent the scattered group of valley farms, while the two freemen who held just 16 acres may represent the more isolated holding of Church Farm. The church itself is a neat twelfth century structure; like Benacre it probably made its first appearance at that time. The pattern of strip fields in and

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27. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/3.32(1) & (2) The first series Ordnance Survey map for 1837, marks one of the farms at Cove Bottom as 'Manor House' (now called Brick Kiln Farm) this is probably a misnomer, it belonged to Church Farm in 1853.
28. The sales particulars of 1853 (See note 27 above) illustrate two more farms, one on the South Cove side of Potter's Bridge, where only a shed now stands, and another on the east side of Jay's Farm. Medieval pottery was reported from a mound in the area of Cove Bottom, but this would seem to be unconnected with the valley farms. (TM.493803) This mound was 'trenched' in 1951, see Basil Brown's note books in Ipswich Museum. C.Morley 'Sea Port at Frostenden' P.S.I.A. XVIII, 1924 p.167.
29. South Cove is so described to distinguish it from North Cove near Beccles.
30. DB.II 293 & 313b.

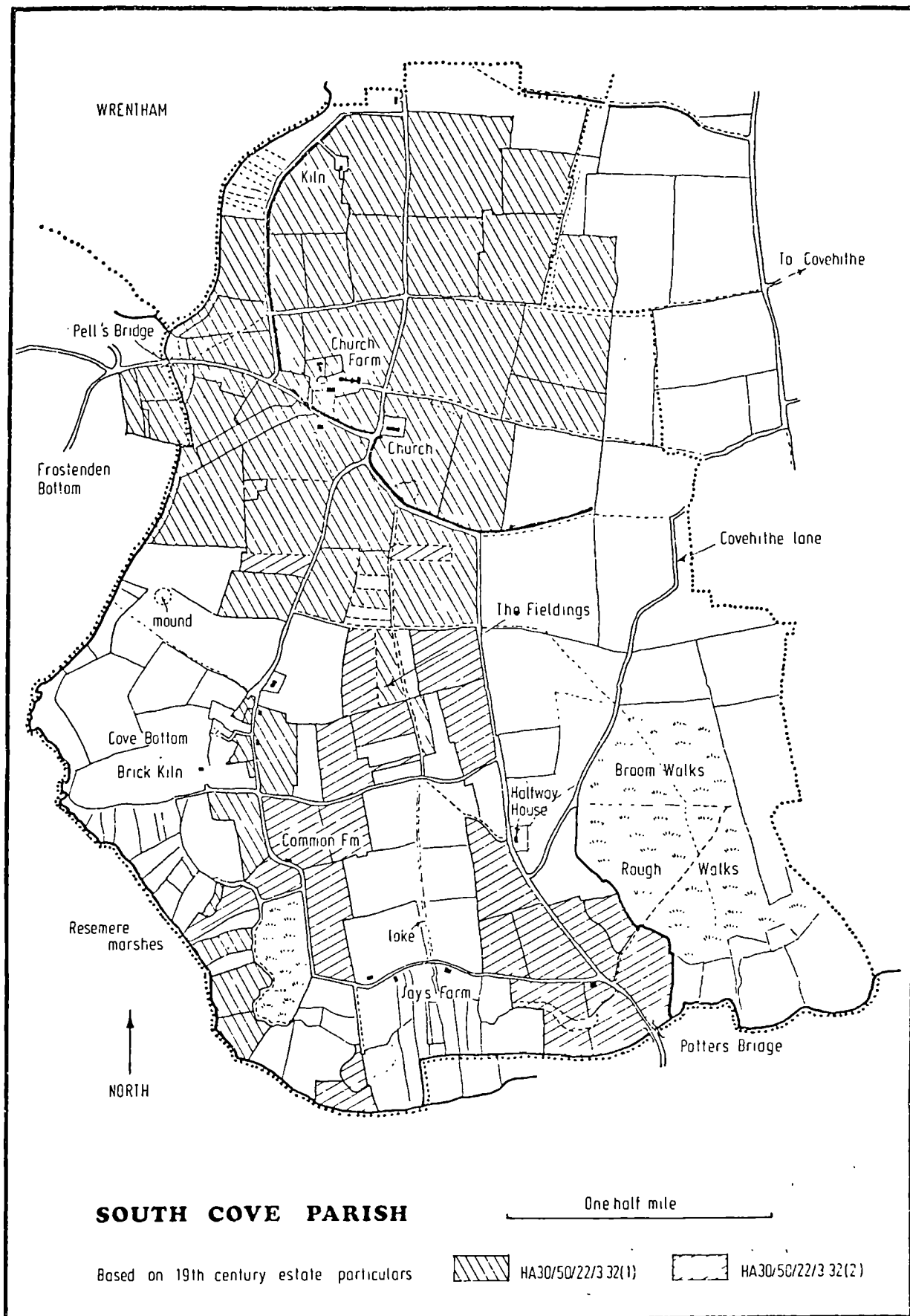


Figure 54.

around Blything Hundred, where they can be traced, appear to be at least as old as the pattern of secondary green-side settlement. The long 'wents' at Benacre and Kessingland are clearly related to both heathland-edge and green-side settlements which were probably in existence in the late Saxon period. Some strip fields on the Sandling soils undoubtedly came into being as the result of a regularised 'breckland' type of agriculture. The land may once have been subject to common grazing, but when periodically cultivated the crop may have been shared between lord and tenant commoners, as in the example of seventeenth century Walberswick.³¹ By inference from surviving 'breck' field names, a similar process of periodic cultivation may have developed into a permanent strip field system on the more clayey soils.³² In the late medieval period the majority of strips, with the exception of glebe land, were consolidated and merged by piece-meal enclosure in the time honoured way, first recorded by Fitzherbert.³³ This process of piece-meal enclosure has unfortunately obscured much of the medieval open field systems in the primary areas, it is therefore not possible to say whether this process of breck field formation was confined to areas of secondary colonisation, or whether it also had a part to play in the formation of fields in primary areas. The question of continuity of use from Roman and prehistoric times in the primary areas must always remain open.

31. Chapter II Sec. 3 note 21 and note 16 above.

32. Chapter II Sec. 3 note 17 & 18.

33. Baker & Butlin op.cit. p.288.

7. Desertion

The anatomy of settlement in Blything Hundred cannot be complete without a discussion of late medieval desertion. It would be quite wrong to suggest that this was a landscape of deserted medieval villages. It was not, but that in no way detracts from the scale of desertion which is evident in a landscape of dispersed settlement.¹ In many ways the long term effect of desertion in such a landscape was to accentuate its dispersed settlement pattern. Isolated hamlets became single isolated farms; where a church may have had two or three houses nearby, now it has none. Desertion is just another phenomenon of settlement; sites can be found dating from prehistoric times to the present day, but if there is one thing the pottery evidence can truly confirm for us, it is that no parish in Blything Hundred remained unaltered by the decline in rural population which took place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

No landscape habitat in Blything Hundred was immune from the combined effects of famine and plague in the first half of the fourteenth century. Desertion cut across the board in primary as well as secondary areas of settlement, but the Sandling and the clay commons seem to have suffered particularly badly at that time, probably because they were on more marginal soils, which felt the effects of the slight climatic changes taking place at the same time.² There is evidence for a less dramatic phase of desertion in the early medieval period on some clayland areas.³ Desertion of settlements on the Sandling, particularly in the Dunwich area, continued into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Coastal erosion, which swept away Northales and Minsmere, was at the same time causing the demise of Dunwich's suburbs. Hamlets, such as Breggestreet and Hethern, which were partly dependent on trade moving to and from the stricken town, had many tofts described as 'quandam edificata' in the fifteenth century extents of Westleton.⁴ Coastal villages such as Walberswick and Covehithe, resplendent in the fifteenth century, suffered from the decline of the herring fishing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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1. K.J.Allison 'The Lost Villages of Norfolk' Norf.Arch. XXXI, 1955 pp.116-162. Most of the sites listed in this article are isolated churches and small areas of desertion, much of it in green-side situations, very few compare with the great deserted sites of Leicestershire.
 2. M.Beresford & J.G.Hurst (Eds) Deserted Medieval Villages: Studies 1971 pp.20-1; C.Platt Medieval England 1978 pp.93-6. See also Chapter II Sec.2 note 13.
 3. See Chapter VIII Sec.2 note 8.
 4. See Chapter VI Sec. 1 note 9.

Nearly all the greens in Blything Hundred were badly affected by desertion in the late medieval period, sometimes only one or two farms survived on a green which might have had ten or more sites in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Like Westhall Green (Fig.45), it is the larger manorial complexes and the smallest cottage sites which seem to have been worst affected. Those green-side farm-steads which have survived in Suffolk are characterised by small moats and typical 'J'-plan timber framed houses built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵ It is not always possible to be certain about continuity of occupation on sites where there are still upstanding buildings (some farmsteads may have been re-occupied after a period of desertion), but in some cases medieval pottery from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has been found with earlier material.⁶ Also, two greenside tenements at Linstead Parva and Cratfield have raised-aisled halls of high quality, dateable to the late fourteenth century.⁷ These have survived by being converted into 'J'-plan houses, with the medieval timber structure encased in a later building.⁸ Such well-to-do late medieval green-side farm houses are the result of engrossed land holdings amalgamated after population decline and desertion in the early and middle fourteenth century.

So numerous and repetitive are the deserted green-side sites that space in this thesis does not allow for a complete description.⁹ Areas of green-side desertion have already been illustrated in Figure 52, around 'Blunt's Green'; in Figure 49, on the Thorington - Blythburgh boundary; in Figure 46, at Walpole and on the Thorington - Bramfield boundary; in Figure 45 at Westhall 'Great Green'; and in Figures 4 & 5 at Sotherton Moor. Other deserted green-side sites have already been mentioned in this chapter at Kessingland Green, Fordley, in Middleton and South Cove.¹⁰ In addition some notable areas of

5. P.Eden 'Smaller Post-Medieval Houses in Eastern England' in East Anglian Studies L.M.Munby (Ed) 1968 pp.71-93; A.Welford 'Restoration of a XVI Century Farm House in Suffolk' P.S.I.A. XXIV(i) 1946 pp.1-19; E.Sandon Suffolk Houses 1978.

6. TM.285757 Common Farm Fressingfield.
TM.427788 Sotherton Hall Farm.
TM.358770 Chediston Grange.

7. Bridge Farm, Blacksmith's Green, Linstead Parva;
Willow Farm, Chediston Green, Chediston.

8. S.Colman & S.E.West 'Edgar's Farm, Stowmarke: a reappraisal' East Anglian Archaeology No.1 (Suffolk) 1975 pp.39-45.

9. See Site and Find Appendix. Also I.R.O., T.4222 Chapters II & VI.

10. Figure 53, Sec.4 note 12, & Fig.54.

green-side desertion have been recorded around Rumburgh Common and Wissett Green where abandoned medieval farms alternate with surviving farm houses beside which medieval pottery can also be found.¹¹ This pattern is a sure indication that tenements have been merged and engrossed in the late medieval period. Deserted sites along the Hundred boundary at 'Bloom's Hall', between Rumburgh and Elmham, almost certainly fronted on greens at one time,¹² as did those between Linstead and Metfield.¹³ Well preserved earthworks of green-side sites can be seen at Linstead Parva beside Collipy's Green, in the Stradbroke Town Farm area of Westhall and beside Knodishall Green near to the ruins of Buxlow church.¹⁴ Deserted sites are also known to exist around 'Barley Bread Green', now Barnaby Green in Wangford, and 'Cake Row' in Upper Holton, names which suggest a degree of impoverishment in green-side situations.¹⁵ Deserted sites at 'Dixey' in the Bloom's Hall area of Rumburgh and 'Pixey Green' in Stradbroke may, like the deserted site at 'Helle Groves' beside Kelsale East Green, indicate superstitious beliefs held about the remains of earthworks.¹⁶

As well as many minor deserted tenement sites there are a number of large deserted manorial sites, indeed, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the landscape of East Suffolk was littered with the wreckage of medieval manorialisation. Two or three large moated manor sites are to be found in most parishes; some are still occupied by large farm houses, but many are deserted, their earthworks levelled under modern arable fields or shrouded in secondary woodland.¹⁷ The frequency of manors is essentially a

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11. TM.35258020 Rumburgh Place Farm (Wissett site 5 & 6).
 TM.35258015 Rumburgh Place Farm (Wissett site 8).
 TM.35158040 Earthworks north of Rumburgh Place Farm (Wissett site 12).
 12. See Fig.30. & I.R.O., X6/5 Plans 5 & 6; HB24(1175/2) Plan 5; HB24(289/5).
 TM.35308165 (Rumburgh site 2); AP., SAU.GR.9.
 TM.334802 Site of St James' Town Farm, South Elmham.
 TM.328800 Earthworks and ponds, St James' Lane, South Elmham.
 TM.338808 Enclosure and ponds north of Blooms Hall.
 13. TM.312783 (Linstead site 4).
 TM.321786 (Linstead Parva site 2); AP. SAU.BF.24.
 14. TM.324784 (Linstead Parva site 1).
 TM.41708015 (Westhall site 5).
 TM.412632 (Knodishall site 5).
 15. I.R.O., FDA.271/A1/1. TM.47457955 & TM.47357975 (Wangford sites 2 & 3);
 See also 'Barley Green' in Stradbroke and 'Cake Street' in Laxfield.
 16. I.R.O., FDA.157/A1/1 Nos.287,288 289 & 351.
 17. Chapter II Sec.7 Fig.6 & note 8.

pre-Conquest East Anglian trait, persisting into the later medieval period, largely unaffected by Norman consolidation.¹⁸ Some merging of manors and estates took place in the immediate post-Conquest period; Bigot manors and freemen were merged in Yoxford and Middleton to the extinction of two eleventh century vills, Hopton and Stickingland.¹⁹ Manors in Sibton and Peasenhall, which formed part of the endowment of Sibton Abbey in the 1150's, may likewise have been merged.²⁰ In the early thirteenth century there is evidence for some shortlived engrossing of estates in Westhall and Sotherton to form large demesne farms under the justicia, Hubert de Burgh.²¹ By the mid- to late thirteenth century these great manors were being split up into a number of smaller sub-manors, such as the manors of Stonhams and Brookhall formed on the edge of the Bramfield estate.²² Westhall split into the two manors of Bacons and Empoles before 1300.²³

The multiplication of small manors through subinfeudation caused difficulties in the early fourteenth century. At Westleton, where there had only been two manors in the eleventh century, there was a dispute between Peter de Donwiche and ten other persons who hindered him from holding manorial courts. The defendants claimed that Roger de Huntingfield, William de Bovell, John de Rysing, Augustine del Clif and the heirs of Thomas de Lymworth (Lembald), were all lords with rights in Westleton.²⁴ At least eight manors are known to have existed in Westleton at various times; the 1463 extent of the parish reveals that there were no less than fifteen different lordships holding land in the parish.²⁵ But by 1463 a number of manor houses were lying waste. Some were so far gone as to be hardly worth mentioning, such as the manor of Valens, described as 'one close formerly built on with the manor of Valens containing by estimation 2 acres'. Its site can be identified, and

18. Chapter VI Sec.2.

19. Chapter IV Sec.7 note 2.

20. Chapter VI Sec.2 note 24.

21. Copinger Manors of Suffolk Vol.II pp.153-4, 186-93.

22. Chapter VI p.168.

23. I.R.O., T.4222 Chapter V. Copinger Manors of Suffolk Vol.II p.190.

24. Copinger Manors of Suffolk Vol.II p.195 (Abbr.of Pleas, 30 & 31, Edw.I, Mich.83); I.P.M. 31 Edw.I.156(p.98). Roger de Huntingfield held a manor in Westleton with Joice his wife by the gift and feoffment of Simon de Ellesworth of Richard Leneband (Lembald), by service of $\frac{1}{4}$ knight's fee of Peter de Dunwiche, in chief, who held of the King as of the Honour of Eye.

25. I.R.O., HA30:372/2 These were: Austines (Darsham), Battesford Fee (Vicarage of 'Batysford'), Cleves, Cleydons, Fylording, Fordley, Gernomes (Darsham), Lembaldes, Rising, Sibton Abbey, Skotts (Minsmere), Thetford Priory, Temple Fee (Dunwiche), Westleton Hall, Valens (Valence).

the pottery suggests that like many others it was deserted by the middle of the fourteenth century.²⁶ The manor of Cleves or Cliffs, in origin a two carucate manor in the vill of Hethern, the possession of Ely in the eleventh century, held only one piece of land called 'Redelond' lying near Dyngle in 1463.²⁷

The most graphic description of a late fourteenth century deserted manor site in Blything Hundred comes in the first few pages of the Yoxford Dragge.²⁸ This, the largest and most detailed of the numerous extents in the Blois family collection, was drawn up in 1471. From accounts of the same date we know that a similar extent of the parish of Westleton, which was surveyed during the summer of 1478 by John Grickis and his assistant, took five weeks to prepare.²⁹ Yoxford Manor had been standing in ruins for many years so that by 1471 there were hardly any buildings left standing. The site of the manor had once been the centre of a five carucate estate in the eleventh century, becoming the principal manor in the twelfth century among the Bigot holdings in that area.³⁰ In order to gather his material the author of the 'Dragge' talked to some of the older tenants who could remember the door posts still standing, and he undoubtedly walked over the site himself for he says; 'The site was moated round about and in ancient times walled about with walls and a moat. The site then built on was formerly called the site of the manor. To the north is a certain pond, now dry in summer and covered with trees. Adjacent thereto was the garden of the inner court as traces still show. On the west side close to the entrance stood a dove-cote now broken down, but traces may be seen.'³¹ (Fig.55a). He describes the outer court with its 'stalls for cows and mules', the site of the granaries, the 'Laund', the 'beanyard', 'hempyard' and 'barnyard', all were then arable land;

26. Ibid. fol.111; TM.437679 (Westleton Site 17).

27. Chapter II Sec.2 note 16; I.R.O., HA30:372/2 fol.64.

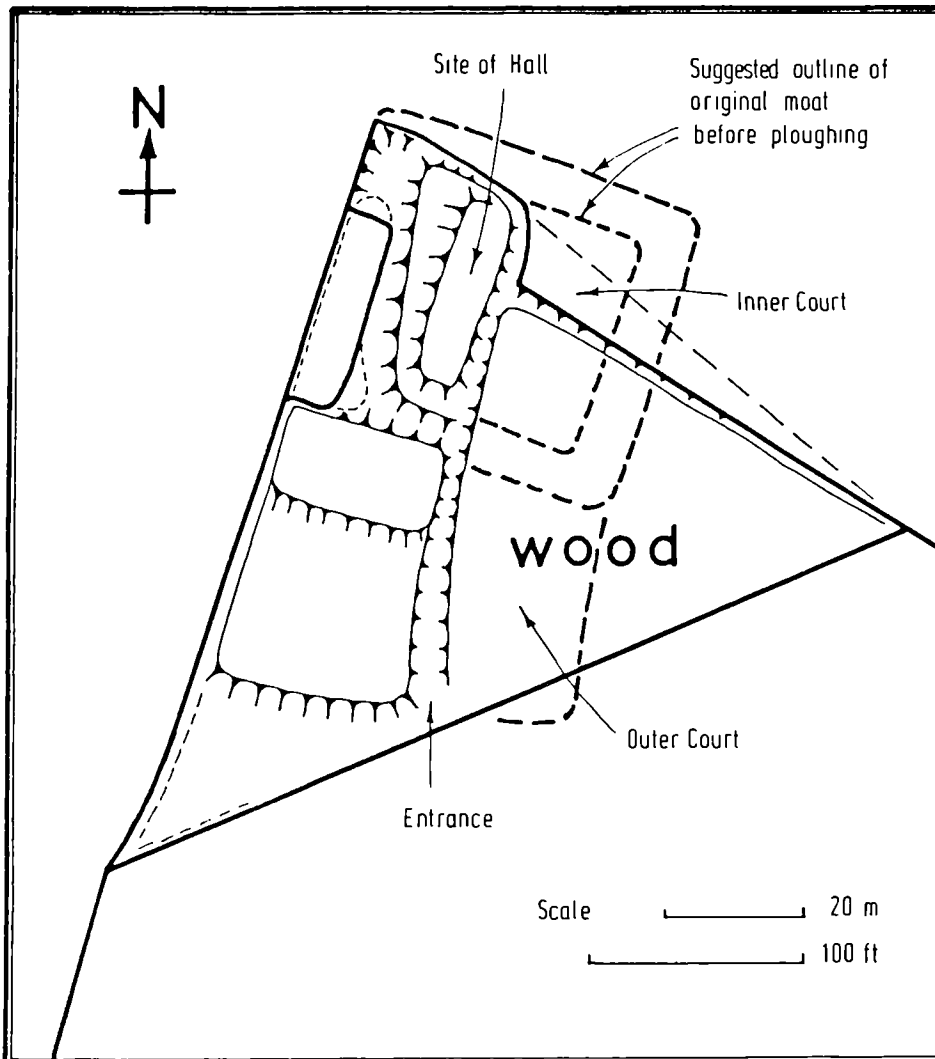
28. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/13.15 fol.1-5.

29. C.Richmond John Hopton 1981 p.60; I.R.O., 50/22/27.7(1) dated 1478-9. Grickis spent five weeks during the summer of 1477 drawing up the survey which is based on a collection of earlier extents bound into one volume (HA30:372/2) some of which date back to the 1390's. His servant Robert Payn and the bailiff Robert Vincent worked together in the fields for three weeks checking boundaries of land and tenements. Paper and ink cost £1. John Grickis received £1.13s.8d salary. The Westleton extent is called a 'Terrier or Draggma' and the handwriting is almost identical to the Yoxford 'Dragge' of 1471, John Grickis was probably author of both documents.

30. Chapter IV. Sec.7 note 1.

31. R.T.L.Parr Yoxford Yesterday Vol.I. pp.183 - 6.

Site of Yoxford Manor



Heavy lines scaled from 1:2,500 O.S. (1927)

Figure 55 a.

Westleton Extent

HA30:572/2 Written in one hand, representing the lands inherited by John Hopton cl463.

Westleton parcel of the 'Old Extent' or the 'First Drage' ? (Lembaldes Manor, extent made Temp.Ed.III.)

1 Fol.1-28b. 'Veter Drage'

2 Fol.30-38.

3 Fol.V-XX (section & verse) Fol.38-39b.

4 Fol.42-103b. Three foliations

5 Fol.109-110b

6 Fol.111-115

'The Land of Peter Coden of Downich drawn up by him' (before 1410) Based on the extent of Lord Robert de Swillington, 'renewed' 1379/80. (Manor of Cleves, spelled 'Cleffs')

(Manor of Cleves 'Cleffs' as above.) Westleton Extent 'renewed' 1463 parts 'in the other Extent' ? (1444) (Manor of Cleves, spelled 'Cleves')

Westleton Heath.

Rental and list of tenants.

Double foliated up to 112

Fragment, believed to be from this extent foliated 201.

Yoxford Drage

HA30:50/22/13.15 Lands inherited by John Hopton cl471 one with the rental of the same year. written in one hand

Extent or DRAGE

The Extents (below) arranged into 16 Geographical Precincts, covering the whole of the Parish of Yoxford and part of Kiddleton.

Extent of Yoxford, Brendfen, Stickingland & Murells. 1471/2

Extent of Cockfield up-dated with 1471 tenants

binding contemporary late 15th cent.

Manorial dues.

Rental and list of tenants

based on Copinger with some correction and additions.

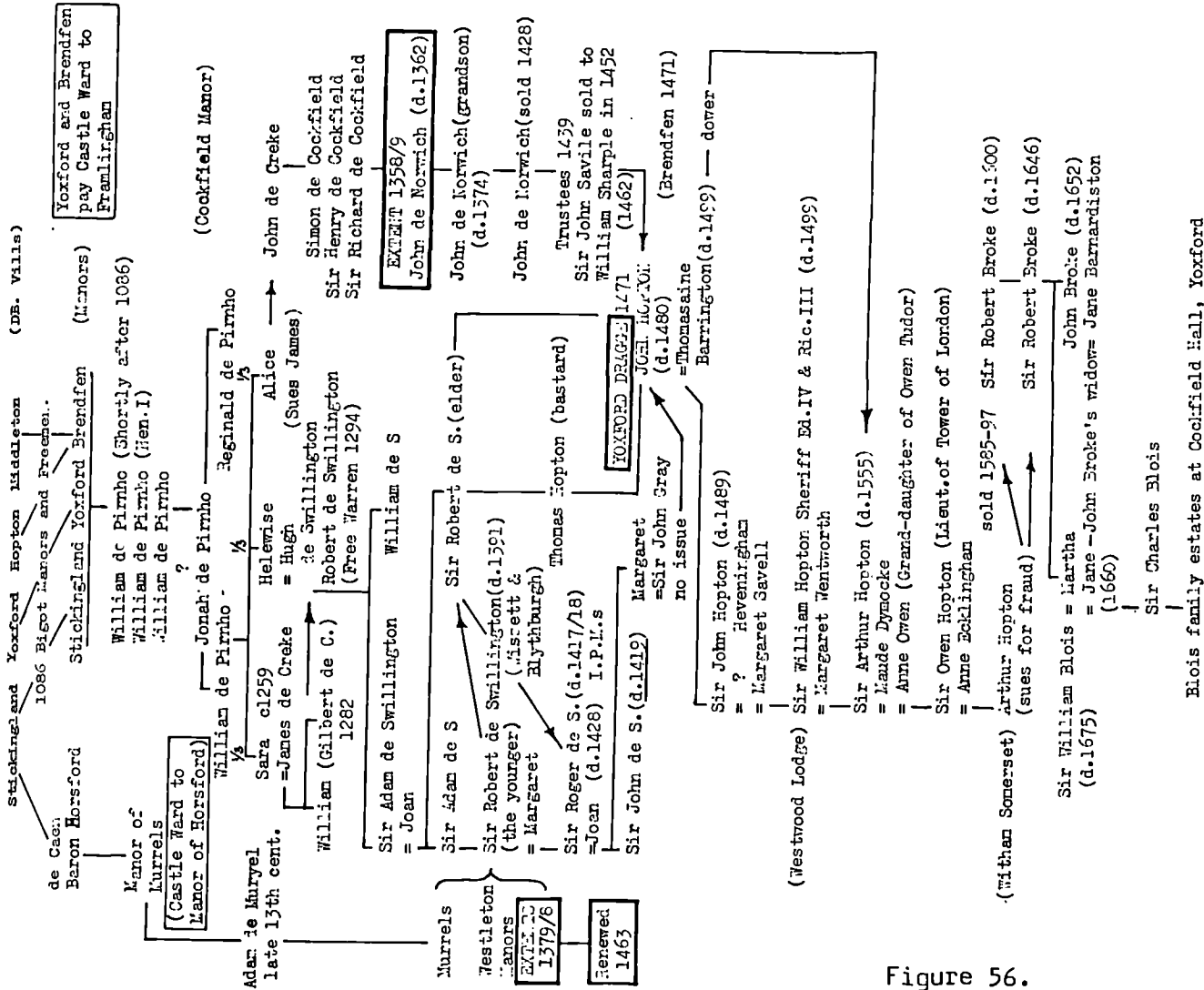


Figure 56.

also the remains of the butts for archery and the 'conynger' where 'signs of the clappers are still there visible'.³² Such scenes of desolation must have been common place in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century.

The fifteenth century extents of the Blois family archives, of which the Yoxford 'Dragge' is but one of many, record the large scale engrossing of manors by such persons as Sir Robert de Swillington and John de Norwich, who acquired these estates by inheritance, purchase and prudent marriages in the 1360's and 70's (Fig.56 & b). Sir Robert de Swillington, councillor and chamberlain to John of Gaunt, and retainer of Edward III from 1350, was a key figure in the amalgamation of estates which formed the inheritance of John Hopton.³³ On paper the manors never ceased to exist, though their land was enclosed and re-tenanted or leased.³⁴ The enclosed fields could only be recognised tenurially by the sum total of their constituent parts; numerous strips of land each held of different manors by copyhold tenure. Because these were no longer visible in the landscape, they were recorded in minute detail in the extents and copied out again as the lands were re-tenanted. The names of the last copyhold tenants recorded on copies of the Swillington extents in the late fourteenth century were still being repeated as holders of

32. Ibid. p.186 note 1. He describes the 'Clappers' as 'artificial burrows for rabbits, with an arrangement by which they could be closed, so that the rabbits could be caught.' See also J.Sheail 'Rabbits and Agriculture in Post Medieval England' Journal of Historical Geography 4(iv) 1978 p. 346.
33. Richmond op.cit. p.3. See also Fig.56.
34. Richmond op.cit. p.56 note 74 The manor Cleves 'kept its identity in the rentals but not in the accounts of the fifteenth century'. See also note 79, a complex system of rents paid from one manor to another was maintained in recognition of the fact that many of the closes contained old strips belonging to different manors, even if the manors were now all held by one lord. This rather baffled Colin Richmond in his study of the fifteenth century accounts. 'These out-going rents are bewildering in their complexity, involving as they do payments between manors: Westleton paid 16s 4d to Lembaldes, Lembaldes paid something over 5s to Westleton, for example. Risings, out of a total income from rents and farms of £5 16s 8d, had outgoing rents of £3 9s 8½d, including £2 5s 0d to Lembaldes and nearly £1 to Westleton. Some of the rents paid outside the estate went to the heirs of various people, demonstrating (as in the case of the manor of Cleves) how the estate had been put together through the purchase of small properties.'

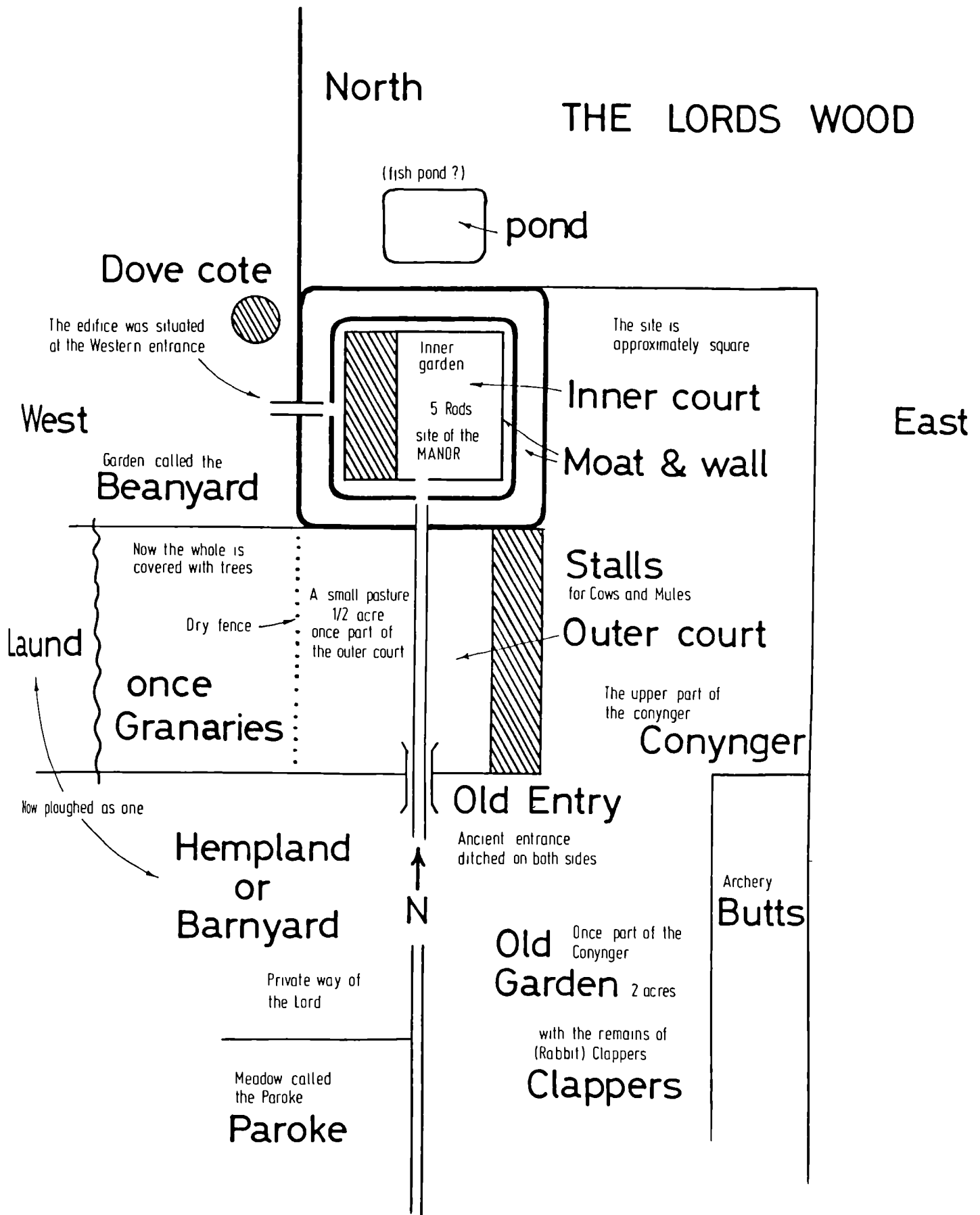


Figure 55 b.

lands two hundred years later in extents of the 1570's.³⁵ These extents were nevertheless vital as evidence of title, hence the great cost and technical expertise which went into their compilation.³⁶ To the local historian they are of considerable interest in that they record an otherwise lost landscape of strip fields, tenements and small manors submerged beneath the closes of the fifteenth century tenant farms.

Not all manors fell into decay in the second half of the fourteenth century. At Halesworth demesne farming continued in so far as the expenses of 352 work-days for harvesters are recorded in 1375-6. The Barn was rethatched and minor alterations made to the farm buildings, but there were no outgoings from the garden that year 'because none was produced'.³⁷ Recovery at Halesworth may have been rapid after the Black Death; several new rents appear in 1376 for stalls in the market.³⁸ Halesworth had been a modest vill

35. Compare for example HA30:372/2(1463) fol.46 'Isabell Fen, holds 1 cottage with 2 acres & 1 rod...lying near Blackfen in Westleton between the land of the said Isabell...(and) the kings way leading from Reknewade to Donwic.' With I.R.O., HA30:50/22/20.6, Extent of Middleton Rectory (1583) fol.2 'Isabella Fenn holds one cottage with 2 acres and 1 rod...lying near Blackfen...' etc.

36. See note 29 above.

37. Halesworth W.E.A. Medieval Halesworth 1976 p.2.

38. Ibid. p.1. Like a number of vills in Blything Hundred, Halesworth had received a market charter in the early thirteenth century: N.Scarfe The Suffolk Landscape 1972 p.156-7 fig.13. Many of these markets were probably no more than confirmations of pre-existing markets for the purposes of exacting tolls, others may have been Sunday markets changed to a week-day after 1201, see R.H.Britnell 'King John's Early Grants of Markets and Fairs' Eng.Hist.Rev. XCIV, 1979 p.90. Dunwich and Blythburgh had pre-Conquest markets (DB.II 281b), Southwold market was revived when the town was incorporated in the fifteenth century, a weekly Thursday market granted originally in 1220 was supplemented by another, held on Monday: A.F.Bottomley A Short History of the Borough of Southwold 1974 p.4. At Halesworth the survival of the market granted in 1227 (the only one in Blything Hundred to do so), may be due to the fact that the De Argentine family who founded it pursued a deliberate policy of market development as they did at Newmarket, which was founded in the same year. P.May Newmarket; Medieval and Tudor 1982 pp.2-6, 13.

to judge by the 1327 lay subsidy returns, where it is indistinguishable from other parishes in Blything Hundred.³⁹ Halesworth's rise as a small market town appears to date from the late fourteenth century. By the fifteenth century it was a town of some significance with large, elaborately carved and jettied, timber buildings in the centre.⁴⁰ It had a splendid church with a tower, probably built by the master-mason Richard Russell of Dunwich, who built Kessingland and Walberswick towers.⁴¹ There were three church guilds, whereas only one is found in most parishes.⁴² By the seventeenth century Halesworth had become a local centre for dairying and the complex buying and selling involved with the hempen cloth industry.⁴³ But by then its manor and park had been split up and let out to copyholders and the 'goodly house' had been left 'ruinated'.⁴⁴

39. Suffolk in 1327 Suffolk Record Society No.IX, Vol.II, 1906 p.62.
40. Dr T.Fisher 'Carvings at Halesworth' East Anglian Magazine 1937-8 pp.255-6. The Halesworth 'Social Club' and Nos.8 & 9 Market Place are also large jettied buildings of the mid to late fifteenth century.
41. Rev.C.Chitty 'Kessingland and Walberswick Church Towers' P.S.I.A. XXV(ii) 1950 pp.164-170. The Walberswick contract mentions that the west door of the tower should be 'well & trevely & competently a dore good as the dore in the stepel of Halesworth'. In the words of Chitty it is 'almost a replica of the Halesworth one. Both are of soft oolite limestone.'
42. F.C.Lambert Records of Halesworth 1913. & Suckling Vol.II p.341. These guilds were dedicated to St Luke and St John the Baptist, St Giles, and St Anthony and St Loye. For the function of church guilds in Suffolk and Norfolk see, C.B.Frith 'Village Guilds in Norfolk in the Fifteenth Century' Norf.Arch. XVIII p.161; F.E.Warren 'The Guild of St Peter, Bardwell' P.S.I.A. XI, 1901 pp.81-133; and 'A Pre-Reformation Village Guild' Ibid. pp.135-147.
43. Arthur Young Report to the Board of Agriculture for the County of Suffolk 1797 pp.48-53.
44. Chorography p.44 'In this towne was a park & in it a goodly house the one now ruinated & the other disparked, the parke was let out by Copppe by Old S'r Giles Allington knt. when he left Suffolk to dwell at Horsheath Hall in Cambridgeshire. (He died in 1586).

8. Conclusion

The anatomy of settlement has much to tell us about the sequence of events giving rise to parishes and estates in Blything Hundred. As in an archaeological excavation, we can first view the whole area in its broad geographical context, and then remove all the modern intrusions until we are left with a clear body of evidence for detailed study. Then we identify, remove and record each layer, the later layers first, phase by phase, remembering that each phase in its turn may have partly destroyed as well as preserved the layer underneath. At last we are left with only bed-rock and the very earliest evidence of human activity, but these may be so pitted and scarred by later developments that only the most vague generalisations can be made about the evidence. The landscape historian, however, has one great advantage over the archaeologist: he does not destroy his evidence by excavation, but merely separates it out visually, phase by phase, in cartographic form; his is a never-ending excavation. But the problems of integrating historical information with evidence in the field are much the same as in an excavation. The later phases of landscape changes, such as the nineteenth century enclosure awards present no problem, but the earlier phases, very often consisting of linear features such as trackways and curving hedgerows, can only be placed very cautiously within a very broad chronology. At times such vagueness and caution renders interpretation almost meaningless; we are left with the words of W.G.Hoskins ringing in our ears, that 'everything in the landscape is older than you think.' In many cases the landscape historian can only establish what archaeologists would call a 'relative chronology', which can be floating in time with just a few fixed dates to anchor it down at either end.

In our enthusiasm to establish phases of settlement we must not overlook the continuum of *agricultural life around and within which landscape changes take place*. The farm and its land, the manor and its tenants, these are the building blocks of settlement in the landscape. To understand them and establish their relative chronology, they must be dismantled and their constituent parts studied for chronological clues that will help us to place them in a meaningful sequence. We must now look at the tenement, the most important tenurial unit in the East Anglian landscape and by taking it to pieces and studying it in detail arrive at an understanding of the origin and development of the characteristic dispersed settlement pattern of 'High' Suffolk.

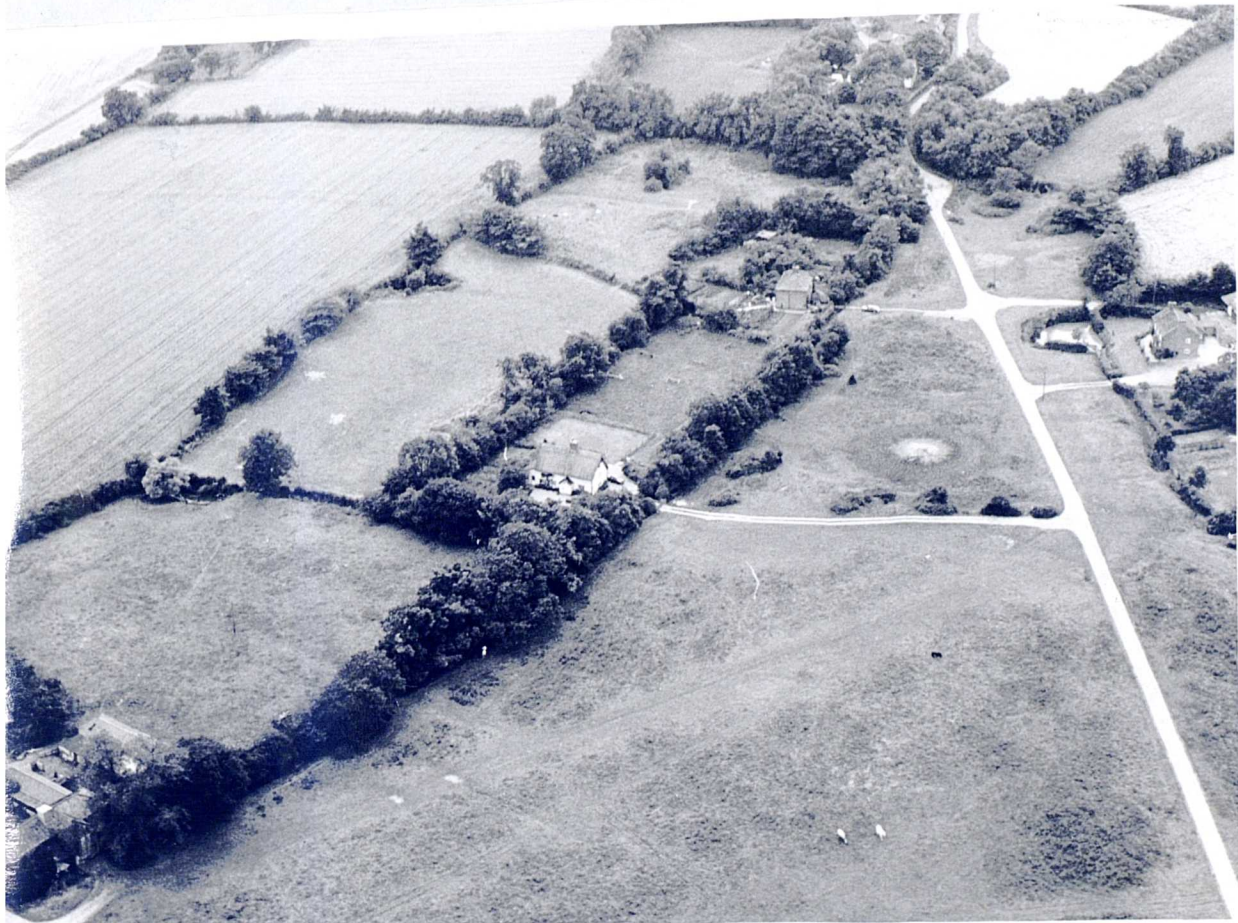


Plate 26

Typical surviving green-side tenements at Chippenhall Green, Fressingfield. The thick hedgerow running diagonally across the picture from the bottom left up to the funnel-shaped entrance at the top right, marks the line of a broad green boundary ditch. Farms and cottages stand in their house crofts behind the ditch, between the cottages lie the earthwork remains of deserted tenement sites. Rookery Farm can just be seen in the trees at the top of the picture.



Plate 27

The remains of the medieval green-side hamlet of Blunt's Green, Benacre.
The funnel-shaped entrance to the green can be easily recognised.



Plate 28

Bleach Farm, Wissett, standing in the middle of the moated site of Blenches Manor, one of the large manors owned by the Swillingtons in the late fourteenth century. The farmhouse is a sixteenth century building.



Plate 29

The ploughed out remains of the moated manor of Darsham Abbot's. The large square moat shows up clearly in laid wheat. It once faced onto Cheyney Green, the houses either side of the road were built in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on the enclosed green.



Plate 30

The Grove Farm north of the deserted 'Grove' moats at Chediston. Like many such Suffolk farms, it has recently been stripped of all its trees and hedgerows. It now stands in bleak isolation, the traditional timber-framed, thatched, 'J' Plan house looks out of place beside the modern asbestos and concrete farm buildings. To the right of the house the valley gravels slope down to Linstead Parva, to the right and behind the farm the clay plateau stretches as far as the eye can see.

Chapter VIII

The Structure of Tenements

1. Introduction.
2. Dependent Tenements.
3. The Development of Dependent Tenements.
4. The structure of Tenements.
5. The function of Tenements.
6. Conclusion.

Figures

57. Wenhaston Blackheath Farm & Hor's Farm Wissett.
58. Darsham Highstreet.
59. Friston Moor Farm.
60. Rookery Farm Chippenhall.
61. Cobbes Tenement.

Tables

- VIIIa. Manorial affiliation, south side of Middleton Moor.

Chapter VIII

THE STRUCTURE OF TENEMENTS

1. Introduction

The development of primary and secondary vills is but a reflection of the development of land ownership and the formation of estates and tenements. As might be expected, there are certain fundamental differences between farms established in primary positions on the ancient valley gravels and those in the secondary, more marginal clayland or Sandling situations.

There are certain obvious but rather superficial distinctions: for instance the vast majority of secondary green-side tenements have the remains of a moat, however small, enclosing the curtilage, while few, if any, primary sites on the valley gravels have moats, unless they lie on the valley floor. But this is only a rough guide dependent on a clear-cut difference in soil type, moats being part of the clayland vernacular. Similarly, the secondary clayland tenements which survived in green-side situations are characterised by the typical 'J' plan or 'lobby' farmhouse built in the early modern period in the traditional style with oak frame and brick chimney stack, the roof thatched with straw.¹ The valley farms, on the other hand, tend to have more complex plans, often including a 'J' plan house with bays and wings added. They indulge in superficial classical ornamentation, such as brick-faced decorative gable ends, genteel porches and other quality features.² These differences are without doubt rooted in the late medieval period; indeed, a number of farms still contain the remains of substantial late medieval buildings.³ They tell us that we are dealing with a particular style of farm, but they are not in themselves definitive characteristics.

Much more revealing is the nature of land ownership and the consolidation of the land holding formed out of earlier field systems. With few exceptions the fields can be regarded as the basic resources which support and maintain

1. Chapter VII sec.7 note 5.
2. E.Sandon Suffolk Houses 1978; Basil Oliver Old Houses and Village Buildings in East Anglia 1912, both illustrate many fine examples. In Blything Hundred some good examples can be seen at Grange Farm, Wenhaston; Bucks Farm, Cookley; Gothic Farm, Heveningham.
3. Chapter VII sec.7 notes 7 & 8.

a farmstead. The size and quality of the house, the moat and the general layout of the 'spread' are a direct reflection of the form of the field system and the number of acres held. Yet classification on the basis of field system and landholding incorporates two underlying uncertainties. Firstly, it is difficult to acquire the necessary information; rarely is it possible to reconstruct the complete plan of a medieval field system in Suffolk. It is even more difficult to locate all the land of one particular medieval tenement so that it can be reconstructed on a modern map. In contrast, however, this information becomes extremely abundant in the post-medieval period, but by this time the majority of small tenements had been engrossed into larger farms. Secondly, it might be thought that over a long period of time the distribution of land ownership might have been subject to so many changes that any relation to the medieval pattern would have been lost, or have become so confused as to be unrecognisable. This is certainly true where large emparked estates have reorganised the landscape, but in the dispersed, free-farming areas of Suffolk the basic nature of landholding shows remarkably little sign of change. If a fundamental change has taken place in a farm's land resources it will inevitably be reflected in changes to the siting and construction of the buildings which it supports. In Suffolk the time-honoured process of piecemeal enclosure left many farms locked in a tangled web of ownership, from which they could only be disentangled by an equally long and tedious process of piecemeal exchange.⁴

Where scattered lands have been consolidated or old lands exchanged for new, accretions to the estate are usually obvious, the more so if the farm is bounded by topographical features such as rivers, roads, and parish boundaries. New lands enclosed on more marginal soils can be easily distinguished by straight young hedgerows and characteristic field names, while the ancient piecemeal enclosures, made out of once 'open' fields, have sinuous old hedgerows and curious shapes, marked by the irregularities of a fragmented strip field system. The few well-documented medieval tenements, which can be reconstructed from early extents, serve to confirm the picture presented to us by the bulk of later documents and maps. Most important of all, they give

4. The complexity of landownership and manorial allegiance within some fifteenth century consolidated tenant farms is well illustrated in the extents and accounts of John Hopton's lands in Westleton, see Chapter VII Sec. 7 note 34.

us some idea of the nature of land-holding at the lower end of the medieval social scale.⁵ Only the extents give us a description of the smaller tenements which once existed in countless numbers in the medieval period, and only very few of those can be reconstructed in detail on the ground. These smaller tenements have all disappeared through desertion and engrossing. The various examples of tenements selected here for illustration and description have been chosen for the way they conform to easily recognisable types, for the certainty with which their boundaries and fields can be depicted, and for the presence of supporting documentary and archaeological evidence.

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5. D.C.Douglas The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia 1927 p.15, '...the intimate connection of primitive social arrangements with land-holding indicates that an examination of the tenemental organisation of the district might serve to lay bare the foundation beneath its social structure.'

2. Dependent Tenements

The three examples of 'hall farm estates', described in the previous chapter, contain on their boundaries the remains of dependent tenements, some freehold, some copyhold.¹ The copyhold lands on the edge of Hinton Hall estate (Fig.49) have been created partly out of the estate itself, and partly out of the adjoining wastes. Those in the area of Hinton Street occupy what is, to all intents and purposes, a green-side situation. They are almost certainly the lands of the 'men of Hinton' whose work services are recorded in the Blythburgh Priory Cartulary, and were probably added to the estate in about the middle of the eleventh century.² As well as tenements standing on its boundary, holding land within the estate, Hinton Hall possessed more distant tenements in Darsham and Westleton well outside the demesne boundary, which had been acquired in the twelfth and thirteenth century.³ At Kessingland can be seen a similar 'hall farm estate' (Fig.53), with a number of tenements lying outside it, but sharing land in an area of open fieldings immediately north of the hall farm boundary. A similar pattern may also be observed at South Cove (Fig.54).

This pattern of scattered dependent tenements attached to manors and hall farm estates is highly characteristic of the dispersed East Anglian settlement pattern. However, it is not always possible to ascribe a tenement to any one manor; it is clear from the Westleton extents that some tenements might hold land of several different manors.⁴ It is by no means clear from later evidence that all tenements had holdings in the open-fields. Rarely, in later documents, can evidence of intermixed strip fields be found within the boundaries of hall farm estates; they may have been the first to consolidate their holdings, but evidence from the Westleton extents and the sixteenth century map of the manor of Benacre (Fig.52) makes it clear that strip fields were once widespread on demesne as well as tenant land. The only apparent exceptions to this are the early enclosed fields of the Cistercian Abbey of Sibton and possibly the grange of Hinton Hall itself, but even these may have been

1. Chapter VII Sec.5.

2. Chapter VII Sec.5. notes 5, 12, 13.

3. Chapter VII Sec.5. note 5.

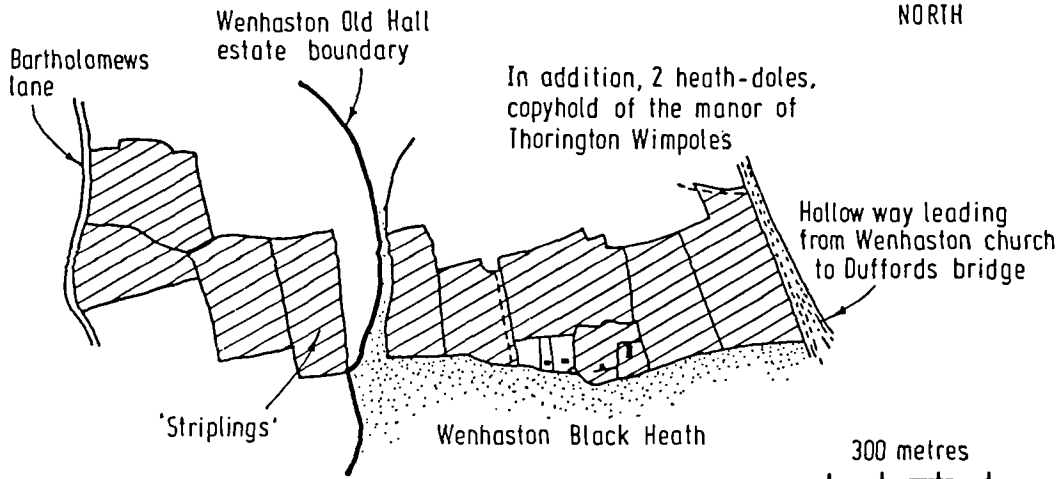
4. For example, p.241 below.

consolidated from open strips.^{5.}

Some tenements, the house croft of which lay outside the boundary of the estate, also held land within the old estate boundary intermixed with demesne. A particularly fine mid eighteenth century map of Wenhaston Black Heath Farm,^{6.} illustrated in Figure 57, shows the farmstead lying within a curving croft bank beside Black Heath Common in a typical green-side situation. Four fields on the west side lie within the ancient boundary of the estate of Wenhaston Old Hall. By comparing Figure 57 with Figure 51 it will be seen that these fields represent a share of the land lying within the hall farm estate. They give every impression of having been consolidated from a strip-field system operating within the hall farm boundary, a curving reversed 'S'-shaped hedge-row forms part of the northern boundary of the field called 'Striplings'. The fields adjoining Bartholomews Lane have an irregularity about them (particularly the projection on the northern boundary), which suggests an antique origin. The fields outside the estate boundary adjoining the house croft have a similar irregular northern boundary. These are on very poor heathland soil. The small curving croft boundary about the farm house may once have stood in isolation on the heath surrounded by rough pasture in various stages of recovery from intermittent cultivation. In the eighteenth century these fields were called the 'Sheeps Court' and the 'Lambs Court'. In origin the tenement probably performed work services on the hall farm estate in return for the strips held intermixed with the demesne. In addition to beast goings on Wenhaston Common, the farm held two 'heath-doles', which were copyhold of the manor of Thorington Wimpoles, an ancient manor, which had held land in Thorington and

5. S.A.E. p.41 The extent of 1325 mentions a piece of land called 'le Went' containing fifteen acres, which may have been an enclosure from part of a strip-field system (See Fig.53), another field called 'le Went' contained twenty two acres. Other fields such as 'le Newcroft' by the gate of the north grange in Sibton, which contained 30 acres, may never have been sub-divided into strips. There is no indication that Hinton ever had strip fields, a surviving area of stetchwork at TM.435725 obliterates one of the field boundaries marked on the 1594 map and is therefore later than it.
6. I.R.O., HB26:412/2101.

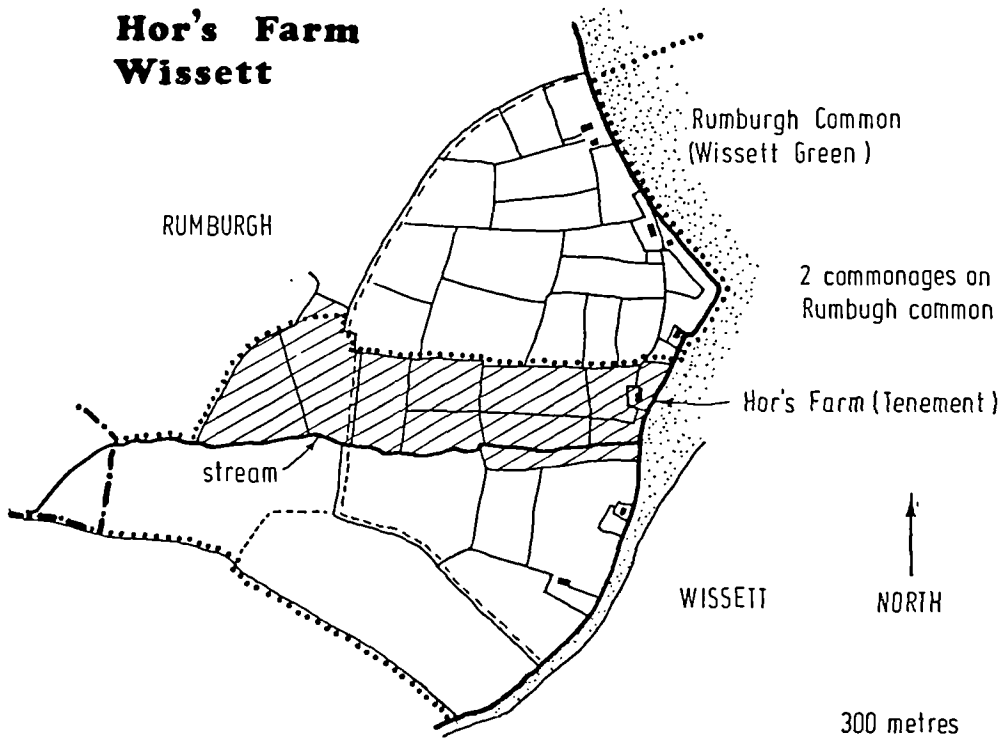
Black Heath Farm Wenhaston



Based on map of 1766 and 6 inch OS. map

a.

Hor's Farm Wissett



Based on map of 1816 and 6 inch OS. map

b.

Figure 57 a & b.

Wenhaston in the eleventh century.^{7.} Such a relationship between several different manors is commonplace among tenements of this type.^{8.}

As well as tenements with farmsteads situated on, or near to, the boundary of an ancient estate, having a share both in the old lands within the estate boundary as well as the wastes outside it, there were tenements the land and farmsteads of which lay entirely outside the boundary of earlier estates. These were formed out of wastes and fringe lands close to the parish boundary. An example of such a tenement on the edge of Wissett Green, situated between the common land and the Hundred boundary, is illustrated in Figure 57b. We see here 'Hor's Farm' as it was depicted in a book of plans dated 1816.^{9.} In common with other green-side tenements it bears a name which was current in the parish of Wissett in the early fourteenth century.^{10.} Hor's tenement is but one of many spaced out more or less equally along both sides of the common. The general pattern of land holding in the area of Rumburgh Common, and the position of Hor's tenement in the waste land between the Hundred of

Blything and the Ferding of Elmham has already been illustrated in Figure 30. Settlement was probably just beginning in this area when Rumburgh Priory was established in a similar position in about 1064.^{11.} Pottery from deserted sites on Wissett Green and the area of Blooms Hall tends to confirm an eleventh to twelfth century starting date.^{12.} The fields lie in a straight line back from the green behind the tenement, a plan which is typical of the most numerous and more easily recognised group of green-side farms found in Suffolk.^{13.} When Wissett Green was enclosed in 1851 the area of common immediately in front of the farm was added in lieu of two commonages held by the tenement.^{14.}

7. DB.II 292b.; C.B.P., p.15. 'Thorington Wimples' is marked on Hodskinson's map of 1783 at TM.422743, the farmhouse now stands in ruins.

8. See note 4 above. For Doles see Chapter VII Sec.6 note 6.

9. I.R.O., X6/5 Plan 5.

10. Roger Hore or le Hore is mentioned in the 1327 Lay Subsidy Returns for Wissett (Suffolk in 1327 p.73) and was a witness to the 1341 Inquisitiones Nonarum for Suffolk.

11. Chapter IV Sec.5 note 14.

12. Chapter VII Sec. 7 note 11.

13. Such farms are not confined to Suffolk, see J.A.Yelling Common Field and Enclosure in England 1977 fig.7.3 'The Great Ground' is clearly part of an enclosed common with the 'Home Close' and farmstead in a green-side situation. (Poden, south-east Worcestershire.)

14. I.R.O., X6/5 Plan 5 'N.B., two commonages on Rumburgh Common'. See also HA193/E1/3,4 Enclosure map by J.Stagoll 1850-51. & HA193/E1/1.

Hor's farm, Wissett, is typical of a medieval tenement carved out of the intractable clays along the hundred boundary. The block of tenements on the northern side of the common is bisected by the boundary between Wissett and its daughter parish of Rumburgh.¹⁵ This boundary, which probably came into being in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, contorts into a 'Z' so that two tenements lie in Rumburgh, while two adjoining tenements, including Hor's farm, lie in Wissett. This division of tenements between the two villis may be in recognition of the fact that they were established originally on common land, Wissett Green and Rumburgh Common remained undivided until enclosure in 1851.¹⁶ Blocks of tenements of this type can be seen in a number of parishes in Blything Hundred. At Chediston, on the north side of Chediston Green, a particularly fine row of tenements runs back to the parish boundary with Wissett. Rosecroft Farm, Willow Farm and Ash Farm are surviving members of this group.¹⁷ At Sibton, on the north side of Sibton Green, a similar pattern of tenements once ran back to the Bramfield and Walpole boundary (Fig.36). On the east side of Kelsale East Green, tenements ran back to the hundred boundary at Theberton and Fordley.

At Darsham a similar group of tenements in the 'Highstreet' area lies between the parish boundaries with Bramfield and Yoxford and an area of moorland, which lay on the western side of the parish between the main area of settlement near the church and a great block of woodland in Hinton and Thorington, called King's Haugh.¹⁸ The evidence for moorland in this area can be found only in field names, but the long row of tofts and tenements along the north-west side of the 'High Street' can be reconstructed from a sketch map included in a sixteenth century copy of an extent of the manor of Darsham Abbot's (Fig.58).¹⁹ Thetford Priory also held land here and had established a grange (now Priory Farm) on the edge of Darsham Moor, probably in the twelfth century.²⁰

15. Chapter V. Sec.4 p.123, Fig.30a,b.

16. See note 14 above.

17. Chapter VII Sec. 7 note 7.

18. Chapter VI Sec. 5 note 51.

19. I.R.O., HA26:371/135 (sketch maps on front and rear pages). See also HA11/C9/74.(9) 'Moor Fields' and HA11/C9/2 map of the Tho. Bedingfield estate surveyed by John Pulham (17th cent.) copied by Edward Nelson in 1730.

20. Copinger Manors of Suffolk Vol.II p.57 The main manor was held by Thetford Priory before 1119. The Abbot of Leiston also held a 4th part of one knight's fee in Darsham of the fee of Robert fitz Roger, but this is not directly mentioned in the Leiston cartulary, see C.L.A. p.12.

In Figure 58, we can see the remains of a decayed strip-field system. Two of the tenements, Aylmers and Hares, have basically the same layout as tenements in the area of Hor's farm, Wissett, and elsewhere, but the pattern is slightly more regular, which might suggest a degree of planning, perhaps on the part of one of the monastic houses owning land in the parish. But as well as the Manor of Darsham Abbot's a number of other manors held lands in the Darsham 'Hyefields', including the manor of Hinton.²¹ This would suggest that Darsham 'Hyefield' was once an area of intercommoning, shared between several manors, and that the tenements established in the 'Highstreet' represent the apportionment of wasteland among the manors which held common rights over the Highfield area. The land between the area of Darsham Moor and the Bramfield boundary is extremely flat and the strip-fields behind Aylmers and Hares tenements occupy stiff clayey soil. An early map of 'Great Darsham Field' shows that the north-east end of this same field was called 'Sommerland' in the seventeenth century.²² Perhaps this was an area of seasonal summer pasture; a number of 'breck' field names are listed for this area in the seventeenth century. The Sommerland was reached by means of 'Breach Lane', suggesting some form of clearance.²³ Just one later field name hints at the presence of a fold course.²⁴ It is important to remember that this was in origin an upland area of wood and open moor, the 'Whinny Close', which was probably very similar to the wooded field of the same name marked on Saxton's map of Hinton²⁵, lay beside the field called 'Sommerland'. Two and a half acres in Darsham called 'Whinniland' were rented out to Sirich the Falconer in the

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21. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/12.6 (Saxton's survey of the manor of Hinton 1594) Among the lands outside Hinton 'not Suruayed', '...one piece of land called Longlands in Darsham Lying in the highfeile, betwixt the landes of ...the prior of Blythburgh...and the landes of the prior of Thetford... and the landes of the Abot of Laiston,..and contayneth fyue acres.' HA30:369/4 fol.18 (unfoliated) '....one piece of land of the demesne of the manor of Cockfielde now in three inclosures lieing in diverse 'arrunis' in the 'campo' called Darsham hyefeilde'. It is clear from this extent and the Yoxford Dragge (I.R.O., HA30:50/22/13.15 fol.23) that Darsham Highfield extended across the parish boundary into Yoxford and Bramfield. The area of 'Great Darsham Field' (See Fig.58 and note 19 above) was probably commonland in origin.
22. See note 19 above (survey by John Pulham) and Fig.58.
23. The modern 'Beach Lane Farm' is a corruption of this early field name. Some related field names can be found in the extent of Darsham Abbot's I.R.O., HA26:371/135. fol.40-48 'le Breche', 'Brècheways' & 'Breches' fol.29 'Brechemere' fol.32 & 46. 'Brakyland'. Also fol.6 'Lyttlemoor' & fol.17 'Moorlane'.
24. I.R.O., HD78:2671 Sales particulars of Brakes Lane Farm, has a 'Corner Course Field', see Fig.58.
25. See Chapter VII Sec.5 note 9. 'Whin' and 'Whinny' in this area is usually applied to coppice wood with standards.

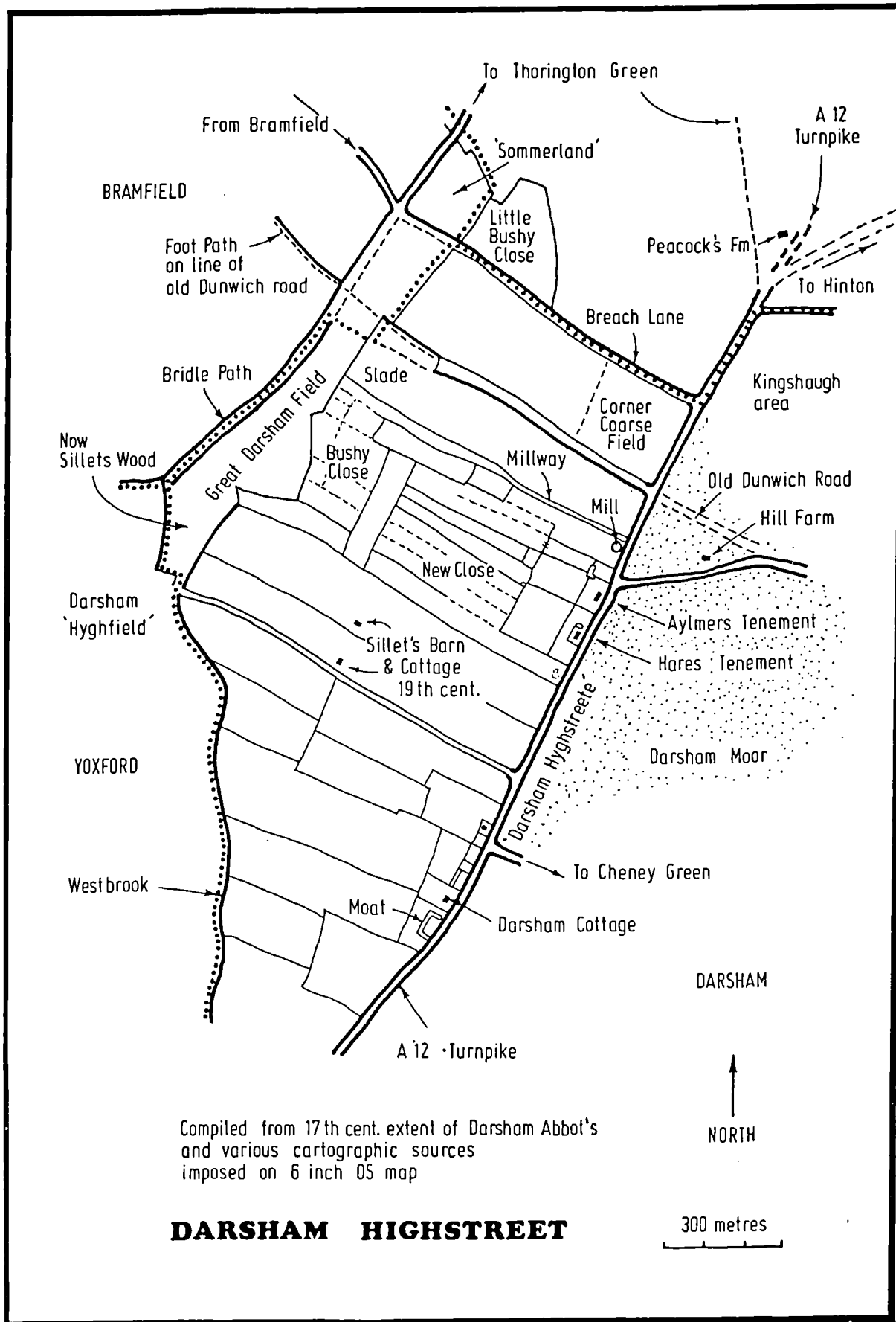


Figure 58.

late twelfth century. It was probably still partly wooded at that time.²⁶ A multiplicity of manorial ownership among green-side sites can also be seen in the fifteenth century extents on the south side of Middleton Moor and also at Westleton, where it is now no longer possible to recognise a regular division of tenement plots. These green-side tenements may, like the Darsham Highstreet, have their origins in a distant enclosure agreement made between several different manors in lieu of common grazing rights held over moorland and heath (Table VIIIa).

At least three classes of green-side tenement can be distinguished in Blything Hundred, all of which probably once held lands within some form of strip-field system. Firstly, there are those where the farmstead was established on the inside edge of an earlier estate boundary and with lands held both within the boundary of the ancient estate and outside it on the wastes and commons around about. We have seen examples of such tenements on the edge of the Hinton Hall estate, and deserted examples on the northern edges of the Spexhall Hall estate and Wenhaston Old Hall Farm (Figs.49-51). These may well represent the earliest form of green-side settlement, and may have been established on the boundary of the estate, holding lands within it in return for work services performed on the estate, where strip fields were held intermixed with the demesne. Like nearly all other tenements, commonages or beast-goings were held on the wastes outside the estate boundary and these could be partly commuted into temporary or permanent enclosures.

The second class of tenement, which may be slightly later than the first, stood outside the boundary of the primary estate, but nonetheless held lands intermixed with lands of the old estate in much the same fashion as the Class I tenements. The farmstead might have been established in isolation on the wastes beyond the older estate boundary, acquiring its own fields about the farm at an early date. Alternatively these detached fields may have been first sown by the primary estate as 'brecks' in the common waste, the tenants later becoming established on them in lieu of a portion of the common rights. Even in this area of weak manorialisation, we may conclude that 'lords not peasants controlled the occupation of waste.'²⁷ The example of Black Heath Farm, Wenhaston, which held land within the boundary of the old Hall Farm estate, very much akin to the Class I tenement, is distinguished by the house-croft standing some distance outside the primary estate boundary; it can therefore be regarded as a Class II tenement. Other examples at Kessingland

26. C.B.P. 235.

27. R.A.Dodgshon 'The Landholding Foundations of the Open Field System' Past and Present 67, 1975 p.11. See Chapter II Sec.3 note 21, and Chapter VII Sec.6 note 16.

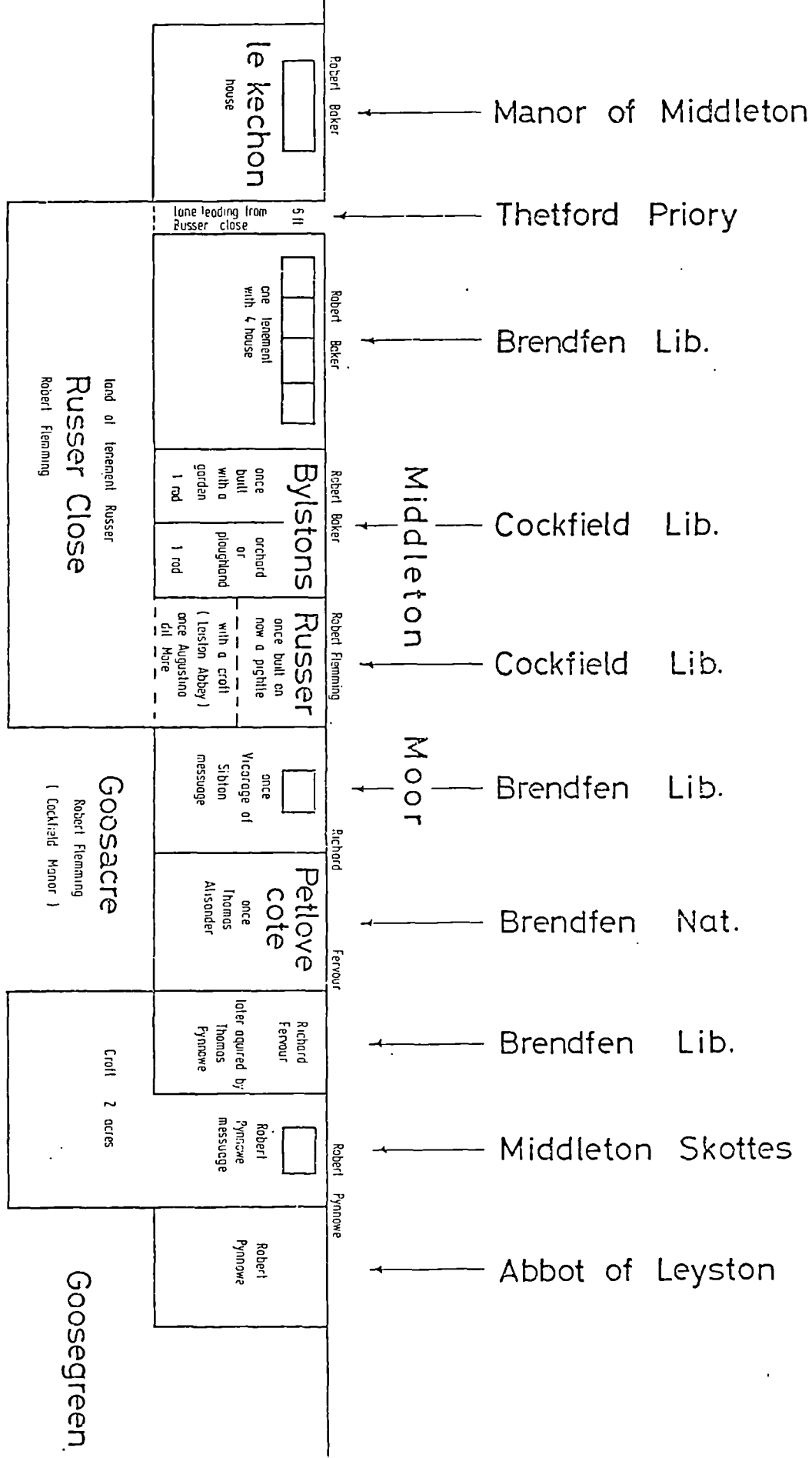


Table VIIIa.

Manorial affiliation on the south side of Middleton Moor, 1471.

and South Cove also stood outside the estate boundary; they probably never held lands within the old estate, but nonetheless they held lands which were intermixed with demesne, just outside the estate boundary.

The third class of tenement lay entirely outside the boundary of any earlier primary estate, and was probably the latest type of green-side settlement to appear. It was carved out of the wastes on the periphery of the parish well beyond the boundary of any earlier estate. Because it was formed entirely out of common land it is usual to find groups of tenements together belonging to different manors, with their land held in strips intermixed in a form of localised open-field agriculture. In some cases settlement may have been preceded by a 'breckland' type of cultivation. This was probably the only way of cultivating these heavy clay moorland soils in the first instance. Later, following settlement, a more regular form of cultivation may have developed, possibly in conjunction with a fold course used to manure the tenant lands. Examples of this third class of green-side tenement have been illustrated at Darsham Highfield (Fig.58) and at Hor's Farm on the north-west side of Wissett Green (Fig.57). Others, which show a more irregular plan, can be seen on the west side of Westhall Great Green (Fig.45). In all these cases it has been suggested that settlement was beginning in the eleventh and early twelfth century. Although Rumburgh and Westhall are not mentioned in the Domesday survey for Blything Hundred by name, we can be certain that settlement had begun in those areas.²⁸

A further distinguishing feature of the Class III type of green-side tenement was that it necessarily involved groups of tenants held by several different manors. It is in the Class III tenement therefore that we have a parallel to the groups of freemen who are known to have been settling in secondary clayland vills before the Conquest, precisely in those areas where greens and green-side tenements abounded in the early medieval period. As these groups of tenements, founded on some of the most marginal clayland soils, were probably the latest class of green-side tenement to become established, we must conclude that the Class I and II tenements, that is to say those tenements established either just inside, or just outside, the boundaries of early estates, with some of their tenent land intermixed with the demesne, must be significantly earlier, although the pottery from some of the deserted sites suggests that there was little chronological difference between them. We must now look more closely at these Class I and II tenements.

28. Chapter IV Sec.5 notes 14, 15; Chapter VI Sec.1 Fig.33.

3. The Development of Dependent Tenements

The Class I tenements, described in the previous section, where the farmstead was sited on the inside edge of an estate boundary with its lands lying partly within the boundary of the old estate and partly outside it, were also probably the oldest. They usually survive as the more substantial moated green-side farms, having been amalgamated from several minor tenements, the greens and commons which they once overlooked having long since been enclosed without written record. However, examples can still be seen where the greens and commons remain intact, and early maps can be used to obtain some idea of the way the land lying behind the farm has been consolidated from an earlier strip-field system within the boundary of an earlier estate. In just one or two examples it is possible to see how intakes from the waste and commons, lying well outside the estate boundary, have been added to the tenement in lieu of common rights. New tenements were then established on the new intakes to form a second order of green-side settlement. This leap-frog process of enclosure naturally gives rise to a very dispersed settlement pattern.

Figure 59 illustrates Friston Moor Farm as it appears on a survey by Kirby, dated 1781.¹ The fields lying south of the farmstead have been consolidated from an open field system, part of an area of arable land centred on Friston Church. The strip fields are clearly indicated not only in the shape of the enclosures themselves but also in the submerged boundaries shown on the plan of the farm, which reveals that one furlong, divided between two enclosures, was copyhold of the manor of Snape (Fig.59). That this farm was consolidated from several different green-side tenements, all holding land side-by-side on the edge of Friston Moor, is evident from the deserted moat, the curious deviation of the Leiston parish boundary on the east of the farm, and the strange shape of 'Barrow Pightle', the 'retting pit' of which was probably made out of the remains of another deserted moat on the west side of the farm.²

1. I.R.O., HA15/B11/1.

2. The moat and indentation of the Leiston parish boundary is not marked on Kirby's map of 1781, only the hedgerow which forms the boundary. The moat is clearly visible on the 1958 revision of the six inch O.S. map. A double-dweller cottage stood in the middle of the site until recently.

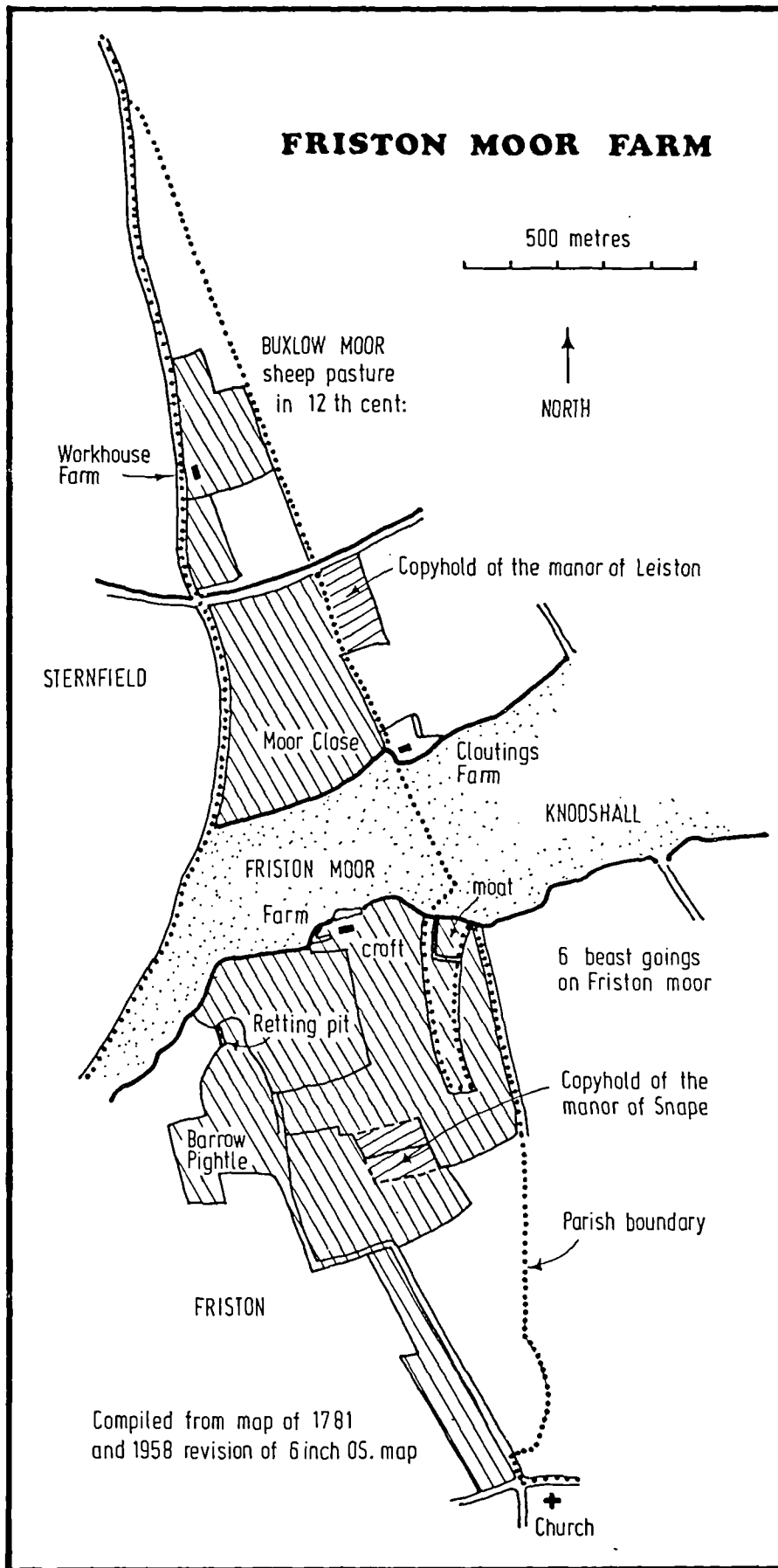


Figure 59.

On the edge of the moor the bulging croft boundary around the farmstead was probably an encroachment onto the moor, perhaps made to take in a pond situated in front of the tenement. Over the moor itself, the plan tells us that the tenement held six beast-goings. Most green-side tenements (like the one already illustrated at Hor's Farm Wissett)³ possessed only two beast-goings; the six here may represent two belonging to the original tenement plus four acquired with the two engrossed tenements either side of the farm. On the opposite side of the Moor the farm held some detached closes, which were in origin intakes from the moorland. These were but a segment of a much larger area of the moor, which, to judge from the curving boundaries in this area, had probably been made from the direction of Sternfield parish. This segment is included in a long pointed projection in the north of Friston parish, and probably represents Friston's share of this large moorland area. A single close belonging to Moor Farm lay on the other side of the Friston-Leiston parish boundary and was copyhold of the manor of Leiston. There is no evidence of settlement on the edge of the 'Moor Close', but in the post medieval period a farmstead, called 'Clouting's Farm'(Fig.59), stood on the adjoining share of the moorland enclosure.

The 'Moor Close' was probably created out of a large area of moorland, which once extended into Knodishall, Buxlow and Leiston. In 1307, a dispute arose concerning the grazing rights for sheep over Buxlow Moor, between Henry Betring and the Abbot of Leiston, who may have been pressing for possession at that time.⁴ A very similar intake from the waste can be seen in the middle of Sotherton Moor where a series of curving boundaries on the east, or Henham side, appears to be centred on the deserted hamlet of 'Middleton'.⁵ Some large intakes on the north side of Valley Farm in Henham, between Sotherton Moor and Henham Common, had the name of 'Great and Little Breachers' in the nineteenth century, suggesting that they were in origin temporary clearances.⁶ The

3. Fig.57b.

4. Copinger S.MSS. sub. Buxlow. (Bodleian Suffolk Charters. 1170 4. Edw.II) Grant by Richard de Elmedene...to Henry Bettrynge for five years of a pasture called 'le mor' in Buxlow. & Commission on complaint of Henry Bytringg that John, Abbot of Leiston, and others drove away 80 sheep from the common pasture at Buxlow and assaulted him.

5. See Figure 4. TM.43807760. (Henham site 3); I.R.O., HAll/C9/26 'Middleton Woods'; Suckling Vol.II p.356.

6. 'Breaker Hill', a 'breck' field name, which may be part of this intake, can be found on six inch O.S. maps on the edge of Henham Park. (See Fig.7). See also I.R.O., HAll/C9/26 survey of Henham Estate by William Peak (early 19th cent.) & HAll/C9/74.(31-32) plans of Valley Farm, which show 'Stetch Walk' in the area of what is now called Dunwich Wood.

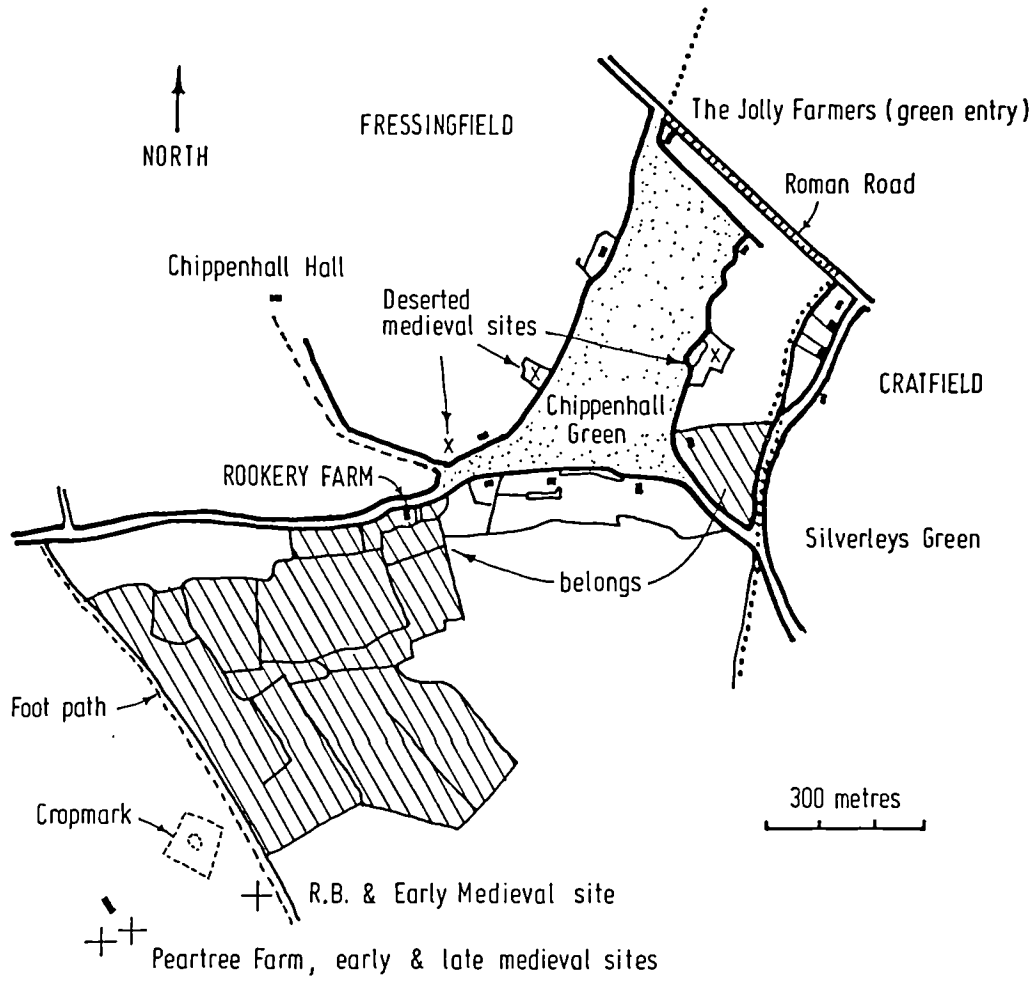
'Moor Close' to the north of Friston Moor Farm may likewise have its origin in an area of periodic breckland type agriculture.⁷ The presence of Friston church at the apex of Friston Moor Farm's consolidated landholding suggests that these one-time strip-fields formed part of a much larger land unit, with farms like Moor Farm established as dependent tenements on its periphery. Possibly there was once a manor site nearer the church pre-dating Friston Hall, in which case it is now covered by modern developments.

That such large green-side farms were once dependent tenements formed on the edge of ancient estates is well illustrated in the example of Rookery Farm, Chippenhall (Fig.60). This farm survives as part of a green entry complex consolidated around the western gate of Chippenhall Green. Like Friston Moor Farm it, too, was formed out of several deserted green-side tenements engrossed in the late medieval period. Today the farm holds eight beast-goings plus one for the maintenance of the gate. Small deserted medieval sites, some of which may have been abandoned at an early date, have been found on three sides of Chippenhall Green.⁸ The farm as it stands today is very typical of the larger, part-moated, green-side tenements which abound on the Suffolk claylands. Also, like Friston Moor Farm, the bulk of its fields lie behind the farm running back from the green. Although there is no evidence in this case that they were consolidated from a strip-field system, it seems likely that the landholding of Rookery Farm formed part of a much larger land unit of the 'hall farm estate' type just as the deserted tenements and surviving farms on the west side of Chippenhall Green held land within the ancient boundary of the Chippenhall Hall estate (Fig.60).⁹ But in the case of Rookery Farm the hall farm or nucleus of the old estate, which lay just outside the southern corner of the farm, (Fig.60) became deserted in the early medieval period.

A small detached part of the farmland together with a small cottage lay on the opposite side of Chippenhall Green, being part of an intake from the

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7. The eighteenth century plan of 'Moor Farm' Sotherton (now called Sotherton Hall) is similar to Friston Moor Farm, having detached pieces of land one of which probably lay in the area of the Middleton 'breckland' intake. See I.R.O., Hall/C9/36.
 8. TM.28607580 (Fressingfield site 14). (N.B. sites 14 & 15 produced only TM.28407570 (Fressingfield site 15). very small quantities of early TM.285757 (Fressingfield site 19). medieval pottery).
TM.28957585 (Fressingfield site 4).
 9. See Chapter VI Sec.5 note 5.

ROOKERY FARM CHIPPENHALL



HB26/412/1586

Figure 60.

green running back to the parish boundary. Like the examples already illustrated in the previous section at Darsham Highstreet and Hor's Farm Wissett, this is a typical Class III green-side tenement, established as a second order of green-side settlement dependent on a pre-existing tenement's common rights, where waste has been apportioned between tenements, no doubt under manorial supervision.¹⁰ This process of first and second order green-side settlement, what might be called a 'leap-frog' settlement pattern, goes a long way to explain the very dispersed settlement so characteristic of the Suffolk clayland landscape.¹¹ There can be no doubt that much of it was carried out in a piecemeal fashion, as the form of this intake on the east side of Chippenhall Green would suggest. But because all the commoners and interested parties must have had their share of the intake, some degree of organisation must have been required. In cases like Darsham High Street, where a number of different manors were involved, more careful planning would be required in the laying out of regular tenement plots, which can be clearly seen in the surviving field pattern.

The deserted site at the southern apex of Rookery Farm bears all the hallmarks of being the centre of an early hall farm estate; Rookery Farm being but one of many dependent tenements situated on its boundary. As in the hall farm estates already described at Hinton, Spexhall and Wenhaston, a trackway or footpath runs through the middle of the estate passing very close to, if not over, the deserted site. This site is of great archaeological interest if only for the questions which it poses. The site produced a quantity of early medieval pottery together with Romano-British pottery of the first and second century AD.¹² Because no late Roman or identifiable Saxon pottery was found (even though more than seventy early Roman and forty early medieval sherds were found out of a total of 170 picked up on the site) we must assume for the time being that the site was re-occupied in the early medieval period after being abandoned for more than five hundred years. However, the fact that the site occupies what is otherwise a featureless plain of clay

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10. J.A.Raftis Tenure and Mobility; Studies in the Social History of the Medieval Village Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. Studies and Texts 8, 1964 p.29 At Upwood and Raveley in Huntingdonshire where 'Customary tenure had provided the village with certain rights to village wasteland', 80 acres were enclosed in 1448-9 and 'the land was strictly apportioned according to the size of the tenements in the village. Virgaters received two perches, cottagers one, and so on according to the size of the customary holding.' See Fig.57 & 58; Sec.2 note 21 above.
11. The phenomenon is by no means confined to this area nor to this particular type of settlement pattern. M.M.Postan 'Legal Status and Economic Conditions in Medieval Villages' in Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy 1973 p.286 'in many cases in which we find newly assarted holdings held as free land they were frequently no more than appendages to customary tenancies held by villein title by villeins.'
12. TM.28157485 (Fressingfield site 10.)

upland, with the pottery of both periods lying mixed together in precisely the same spot, stretches the bounds of credibility, and it would not be surprising if archaeological excavation revealed that there was some evidence of continuity on this, and one or two other 're-occupied' upland sites.¹³ Three late Iron-Age or early Roman sherds were also found and nearby is the crop-mark of a large rectangular enclosure with a central feature, which has been recorded in an aerial photograph.¹⁴ To the west of this deserted site stands Pear Tree Farm, beside which both early and late medieval pottery have been found.¹⁵ These sites may, like Rookery Farm, have been established in a green-side situation, but on the opposite side of the estate.¹⁶ Some of the medieval pottery from Pear Tree Farm is identical to that found on the re-occupied Roman site at the nucleus of the estate, suggesting that both sites were functioning at the same time, as indeed might be expected if Pear Tree Farm was in origin a dependent tenement.¹⁷

We have therefore a typical hall farm estate, very similar to its neighbour at Chippenhall Hall, which appears to have been established in the early medieval period, probably before the Norman Conquest, on the site of a long deserted early Roman farmstead, which may have had late Iron-Age beginnings. At the time when this hall farm estate was functioning in the twelfth century, the landscape in and around the estate, like that at Chippenhall, probably 'abounded in woods', which had grown up during the time when the Roman site was abandoned.¹⁸ Not long after the hall farm was established, a number of small dependent tenements were established on the boundary of the estate in green-side situations. At some time before the fourteenth century, on the basis of the pottery evidence, the hall farm was abandoned and the old demesne land was split up among the dependent tenements, which probably already had a share of the old estate in the form of strip-fields. By a process of amalgamation and engrossing, many of the clusters of small tenements were reduced to three or four large farms, of which Rookery Farm was one. From the descriptions given in late fourteenth century extents from other parts of the Hundred, and from the pottery evidence found universally on the smaller green-side sites, this process of amalgamation and engrossing was well under

13. See Chapter VII Sec. 2 notes 23-26.

14. S.A.U., DF.13.

15. TM.27857470 (Fressingfield site 17) & TM.27927471 (site 16.)

16. The area of ground between Peartree Farm and Ufford's Hall is probably a relict green, both farms have early medieval sites beside them. For woodland in this area see Chapter VI Sec. 5 note 5.

17. For a case of a messuage becoming redundant as a result of the establishment of a holding on new land, see B.K.Roberts 'Medieval Colonisation in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire' Ag. Hist. Rev. 16(ii) 1968 p.107.

18. See Chapter VI Sec.5 note 5.

way by the end of the fourteenth century. At some time in the medieval period, probably at a time when more land was needed, almost certainly before the break-up of tenements in the fourteenth century, a new enclosure was made on the opposite side of the green backing onto the hundred boundary, out of which the Rookery Farm tenement was allocated a share in lieu of common rights held by tenements on the green. In due course a new second order Class III tenement was established on the new enclosed land.

4. The Structure of Tenements

The large farms which have been described in the previous section were the result of an amalgamation or engrossing of tenements and parts of tenements, exchanged and gathered together in a lengthy process of piecemeal enclosure. It is to the tenements themselves which we must now turn for an understanding of the underlying structure of early medieval settlement.

An extent of Westleton made in 1463 records at least 164 tenements holding land in the parish. Not all of these had personal names attached to them and many of them were probably tenements in name only by that date; those listed among the holdings of the manor of Lembaldes appear to have had no land, or at least the position of their strips in the fields had been lost.¹ Although many waste cottages and messuages are listed, some with tenement names, not all tenements had a house attached to them, but this may be because many tenements outside the parish also held land in Westleton with the result that some are incompletely recorded. The late fourteenth century extents record the tenemental structure in a state of total disorder and confusion, the result of many years of unrecorded sub-division, engrossing and desertion. Sometimes the abuttals are incomplete or have been added by a later hand suggesting that the documents were defective.² Nevertheless, the extents record the names of past tenement holders in painstaking detail, because some of the larger tenements owed dues, performed services and were by rotation 'elected' to offices, such as hayward and collector, which were a source of income both to the lord of the manor and the tenement holders.³

One fact upon which scholars are agreed is that the tenement and not its occupiers was the essential legal unit owing rents and dues to the manor and

1. HA30:372/2 fol.13(i), 15(i), 17(i), 19(i).
2. Ibid., fol.13(i) No.5 '...tenement formerly Thom. Koc...' Three of the abuttals have been added in a much later hand.
3. See Sec.5 below.

performing offices in the community.⁴ The naming of tenements was therefore crucial to the record of land title, services and offices attached to small pieces of land submerged and invisible beneath a landscape of engrossed farms and piecemeal enclosures. It seems likely that the basic formation of legal tenements was something imposed on the existing system of land tenure in the post-Conquest period. Hudson, working on the thirteenth century extent of Martham, Norfolk, suggested that the basic formation of tenements only dated from 1101, after the manor had been granted to Norwich Cathedral Priory by the Bishop of Norwich.⁵ But in Blything Hundred, the application of personal names to tenements took place later and was probably drawn out over a period of several centuries. No more than one or two personal tenement names coincide with the 27 named freemen in the Domesday survey for the five parishes (Yoxford Westleton, Middleton, Sibton and Darsham) which are covered in great detail by the fifteenth century extents in the Blois family collection, where 400 or more tenement names are recorded.⁶ A few tenement names such as Grimell, Hunteman, Burdon and Scales were current as personal names in the charters of Leiston Abbey in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century,⁷ while twenty-two of the forty-nine persons listed in the 1327 Lay Subsidy Returns for Westleton have the name repeated in the fifteenth century extents of the same parish. We see here a gradual increase in the use of personal tenement names up to the early fourteenth century.

In fact it is usually only in later medieval documents that the tenement, as distinct from the tenant, owed rents and work services.⁸ As tenements varied in size and status so they varied in the nature of their tenure. The vast majority of tenements in the fifteenth century extents of Westleton and Yoxford were of villein tenure, a few were free and just one or two were described as 'bond'.⁹ The evidence from early medieval charters reveals that

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4. B.Dodwell 'Holdings and Inheritance in Medieval East Anglia' Econ.Hist. Rev. 2nd Ser. 20, 1967 pp.53-66; A.H.Denney The Sibton Abbey Estates 1960 p.14; C.M.Hoare The History of an East Anglian Soke 1918 p.132. See also D.C.Douglas The Social Structure of East Anglia 1927 pp.17-67.
 5. Rev.W.Hudson 'The Status of Villani and other tenants in Danish East Anglia in Pre-Conquest Times' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 4th Ser.Vol.4 1921, pp.23-48. This has more recently been confirmed by B.Campbell 'Population Change on a Norfolk Manor' Econ.Hist.Rev.XXXII(ii) 1980 pp.174-92.
 6. Chapter VI Sec.4 note 28.
 7. C.L.A. 27, 40, 60, 70.
 8. For example see I.R.O., Jackson Collection Catalogue No.316 '...the said tenement shall perform the under written customary works. 1 plough 2 days in winter... ' etc.
 9. HA30:372/2 fol.87.3, & 4, '...land of the tenement Forthes, bond...in the tenure of Thomas Reve...' & fol.14(ii).

at one time the villein tenement was as one possession with the family which occupied it, they could be granted as one. The process is well illustrated by the Blythburgh Priory cartulary, where, in the late twelfth century we find William son of Walter de Sadenefeld granting his serf, John le Brum of Darsham, with all his possessions and his tenement and a yearly service valued at 17d, to the Priory.¹⁰ A similar charter by the same benefactor granted Thomas le Brun, also a serf, possibly a brother and co-parcener.¹¹ In this condition, the status of the serf and tenement are indivisible, and no part of the tenement may be alienated by its servile holder. The serf might hold other land which was not bond; the Leiston Abbey cartulary has at least one example of a serf granting land of his own.¹² John le Brun was able to purchase his freedom for homage, service and 100s from Prior William, who granted him back the land which he held under William, son of Walter, at an increased rent of 19d.¹³ His brother, Thomas le Brun, likewise acquired his freedom, no doubt at a similar price. In the margin beside the original grant of John le Brun is the entry 'Johannes Brun nativus xviid. Nota tenementum Broun.' John le Brun and his brother Thomas, described by the priory as 'nativium nostrum', continued to hold their lands, but now there was a difference between their personal tenurial status and that of their tenement, which was still charged with the old servile manorial dues. A distinction had been made between tenement and occupant; now it was the land of the 'tenement Broun' which owed services and not John le Brun or his successors.

From now on the land of the tenement Broun could be sold or divided up between heirs, but the tenement name stuck as a label to identify those pieces of land which all together owed dues and services to the lord.¹⁴ By the fourteenth century many named tenements had been sub-divided into many small pieces even though the main messuage was still held by a person who bore

10. C.B.P. 227.

11. Ibid. No.228. See also p.14 Charters No.227, 228, 229 & 231 are grants of serfs in almost identical terms, probably all made at the same date. From Saxton's survey of the Manor of Hinton it seems likely that some of these tenements held land in Darsham Highfield (note 14 below).

12. C.L.A. p.28.

13. C.B.P. 242. See Chapter VI Sec.4 note 6.

14. HA30:50/22/12.6. (1594) The tenement 'brownes' was still identifiable as a piece of land containing four acres lying in Darsham on Saxton's survey of the manor of Hinton, once part of the land of Blythburgh Priory. For the early break-up of tenements in East Anglia see Douglas op.cit. p.64.

the old family tenement name.¹⁵ From the work of Barbara Dodwell we know that tenements were subject to sub-division through partible inheritance, a process common during a period of expanding population from the late twelfth to the late thirteenth century.¹⁶ In the fourteenth century the process was reversed with the now fragmented tenements being further confused as they were engrossed into larger farms. But still the tenement names were preserved as a vital part of the newly engrossed farm's evidence of title, and all the various manorial dues owing from its numerous constituent parts.

Large parts of the sixteenth century extents of Westleton and Yoxford are, in fact, direct copies of extents made in the mid fifteenth century, these in turn are copies of extents made in the late fourteenth century, even down to the constant repetition of the same tenants' names. Thus we find Isabel Fen apparently holding land of the manor of Westleton in 1463, and again holding the same land described with the same abuttals in an extent for the Manor of Middleton Rectory dated 1583.¹⁷ In fact the land of Isabel Fen had probably reverted to the hand of the lord of manor some time before the 1463 extent was gathered together; perhaps before the original extent was compiled by Robert de Swillington in the late fourteenth century.¹⁸ The husband of Isabel Fen appears to have consolidated his land around the bulk of the tenement 'Hullocke' with fragments of the tenement 'Aspland' and the tenement which once belonged to William Seman. He had acquired these lands, probably by purchase, through the hands of seven or more different persons.¹⁹ This

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15. C.L.A. p.29. '...by the fourteenth century they have been partly sub-divided into many extremely small pieces. Thus the 'Ode' tenement is shared between nine people, with John Ode holding the messuage and an enclosure of eight acres, and the others holding between one rod and three acres each. The whole tenement adds up to twenty acres. The 'Lotewyne' tenement is shared between eight, of which the lion's share belongs to John Lotewene with the messuage and thirteen out of the twenty one acres. The rest is minutely sub-divided with, for instance, Robert Oky holding 2 acres 2 rods and 13 perches and Henry Colein and Alice his sister holding a cottage and curtilage'.
16. Dodwell, op.cit.
17. Chapter VII Sec.7 note 35.
18. The fourth gathering of the 1463 Westleton extent is undated (See Fig.56) but is described as 'renewed' in 1463-4 (HA30:372/2 fol.42). Two of the preceding gatherings are based on Swillington extents, Lembaldes, made 'Temp.Ed.III' and one 'renewed in 1379-80'. (See Fig.56).
19. Ibid. fol. 46.

process of consolidation may therefore have started several generations before William Fen. The process of piecemeal enclosure was by no means complete by the time the extent was compiled; nor indeed was it to be completed on some parts of the Sandling coast for several hundred years.^{20.} Much of the heathland was open and on the west the 'Moorland' and the 'Foulsloough' were covered by open strip-fields, but large enclosed fields were also commonplace.^{21.}

Because of the confused state of the tenemental structure described in the extents it is rarely possible to reconstruct a whole tenement and be certain that all its parts have been included, but in one or two instances the smaller tenements may be reconstructed with reasonable certainty, either as a list of parts or in cartographic form. These minor tenements are particularly important because in the process of reconstructing them we can gain some insight into the way they were originally formed.

'Combis' is typical of many small tenements in Westleton, its tiny acreage being scattered in nine separate pieces over more than half the parish.^{22.} At one time its land lay in at least three different manors, but these had been merged by the Swillingtons before the extent was gathered together in 1463; a note attached to 'Combis' says that by the knowledge of Thomas Brundish the tenant, 8d was paid for 2 acres as land of the manor of Cleves, 16d and 2d was paid every half year for land of the lord of Lembaldes and 2d went to the manor of Rysing.^{23.} Some of these lands of the tenement Combis had been held by different tenants.^{24.} No mention is made of the original house site, which a tenement of this size must have had, but it probably stood close to Westleton Green on the south side of the Darsham to Westleton road, where 2 acres of the tenement Combis are mentioned. Another half acre lay beside 'le fossatum', the ditch surrounding the Sibton Abbey Grange in

20. Chapter VII Sec. 6 p.203.

21. I.R.O., HA30:372/2, fol.109; (Chapter II Sec.3 note 27). The fifth gathering of the extent (Fig.56) gives the heathland enclosures on Westleton heath. (See note 27 below).

22. Ibid. fol.102.

23. Ibid. fol.102.

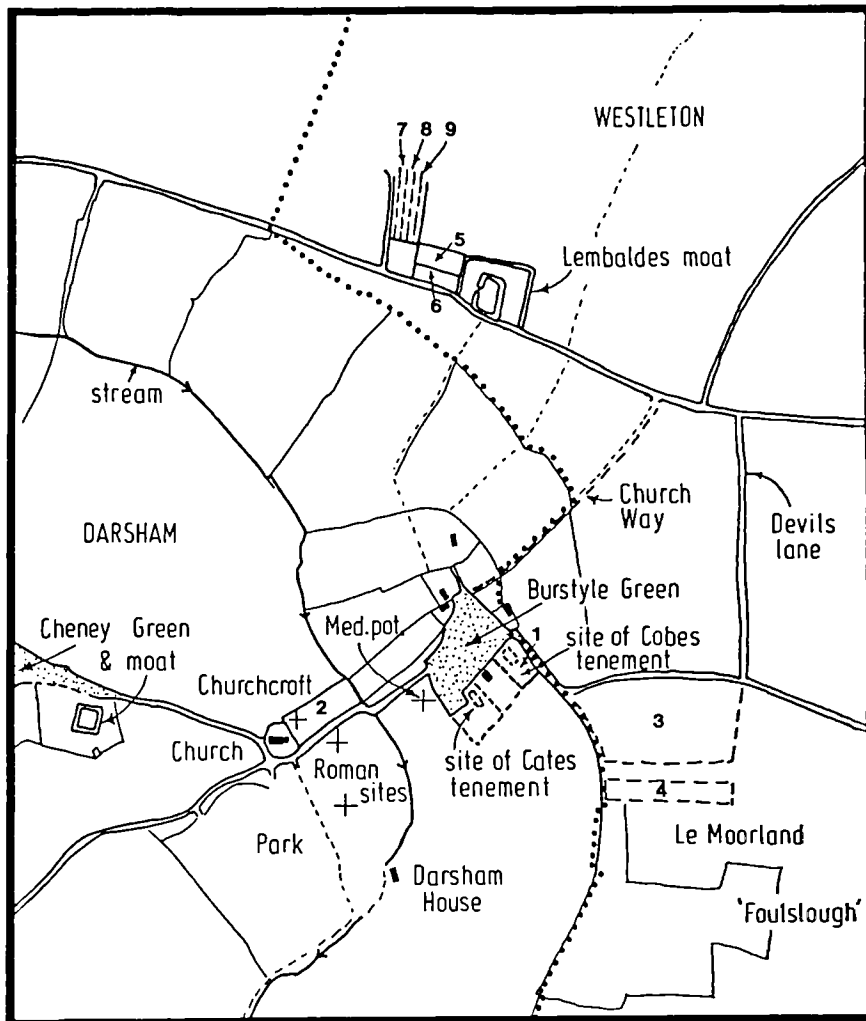
24. See notes 1 & 2 above.

Westleton. Another two acres lay on the north side of the parish between 'Dunwich Lane' and the way leading from the Grange towards 'Lembaldesmellemont' which stood at the back of Lembaldes moat. Two small pieces of arable land, one of three rods and another of only one rod, which must have been part of a strip-field system, lay somewhere in the area west of Westleton Green. Five rods lay in the field called 'Wilwes', which can be identified with 'Willows' field, marked on the tithe map as part of the tithe free land of Westleton Grange.²⁵ Five acres of 'land and heath', probably heathland periodically cultivated, lay on 'Stockhill', on the high ground east of Rackford Bridge.²⁶ Two acres called the 'Moorland' lay in the field upon 'Foulslough', the heavy clay soil on the Darsham-Westleton boundary. Another one and a half rods, again part of a strip-field system, lay in the same place.²⁷ The very scattered nature of these lands, most of which were clearly pieces of heathland and clay moorland which were probably only cultivated periodically, suggests that the bulk of them were held as a share of enclosures made on marginal soils in lieu of common rights attached to the tenement. As in other Sandling parishes, a fold course was used to assist the cultivation of these more marginal lands and no doubt the tenent of Combis had some of his own 'cullet' sheep in the lord's flock.²⁸

The most interesting of the small tenements, which can be tentatively reconstructed from the 1463 extent (Fig.61) has one of the rare tenement names which happens to coincide with one of the named eleventh century freemen in the same parish. Under the land of Thomas Clampe we find '...19 acres of copyhold land called Cobbestenement....lying in Darsham /and Westleton⁷ where the first piece is an enclosure once built on...butting onto Burstyle green...'²⁹. The site is marked No.1 on Figure 61, where it can be located by its abuttals beside the main message of Thomas Clampe's engrossed farm. This farm survives as 'Brussel's Green Farm' and the shape

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25. I.R.O., FDA.280/A1/1b (1840) No.754 'Willows Field' (TM.431689).
 26. *Ibid.* Nos.463 & 455 'Mill Stockle' and 'Stockle Marsh' (TM.442678).
 27. 'Foulslough' probably lay in the area of TM.430698 (See Fig.61) That this was an area of strip-fields is born out by other entries in the same extent, for example, fol.100(ii) '...the 45h part of Sayntmarelond (guild of St Mary at All Saint's Dunwich) lying in ten parts...'
 28. C.Richmond John Hopton 1981 pp.35-37 & 98.
 29. I.R.O., HA30:372/2 fol.8.

Cobbes tenement



19 acres in 9 pieces

300 metres

Figure 61.

of 'Burstyle Green' can be reconstructed from the tithe map of 1844.³⁰ Here we have a typical small deserted green-side tenement, which, like Combis, had its nine pieces of land scattered over a wide area on either side of the Westleton-Darsham parish boundary. Two acres called 'le churchcroft' (No.2 Fig.61) lay on the north-west side of the church on the site of a large Roman settlement in the centre of Darsham.³¹ A cluster of five pieces, including two strips of 3 rods each, lay immediately west of Lembaldes moat (the manor site had been deserted long before 1463). These are marked Nos. 5-7 on Figure 61. A larger piece of land containing seven acres and one rod lay to the north of the 'Moorland' in Westleton, with its western end close to Burstyle Green. This is marked as No.3 (Fig.61), but its shape and precise position is uncertain. The last piece called 'Heyclose' lay beside this last seven acres, probably a similar enclosure of clay moorland adjoining 'Foulslough'. It is marked as No.4 (Fig.61), but again it cannot be precisely located from its abuttals. Like Combis, most of the constituent parts of Cobbes tenement lay scattered in areas of very poor marginal soils. Indeed, it shared land with Combis in the form of intermixed strip-fields in the area of moorland called 'Foulslough'. The strips in the area of Lembaldes moat were probably lands held intermixed with the demesne of Lembaldes, a late manor lying in the western corner of Westleton parish, and probably formed out of a large area of woodland at the junction of Hinton, Thorington, Darsham and Westleton.³² Cobbestenement probably held lands in those areas in lieu of the common rights which it may once have held over the moors and woods along the parish boundary.

The small group of tenements on the south side of Burstyle Green were probably themselves formed out of wasteland on the edge of Darsham parish. Possibly the green was once much larger, extending into the area of 'Devil's Lane', which looks suspiciously like an eighteenth century enclosure lane.³³ Burstyle Green appears as an indentation in the long curving parish boundary

30. I.R.O., FDA.80/A1/lb.

31. TM.421700 (Darsham site 1). The Roman site extends across the road to TM.42256993 (site 7) & TM.42256980 (site 8).

32. See Chapter VI. Sec.5 notes 51-3.

33. I.R.O., FDA.280/A1/lb. No.385 'Devel's Field'. See 'Devil's Lane' as marked on pre-1930 revision of 6 in. O.S.map.

between Westleton and Darsham. Through this indentation runs the 'Church Way',³⁴ the main through road, which crosses the stream below Darsham church and heads north-east towards Hinton Street and so on to Blythburgh. The parish boundary, which can be seen curving in an arc across Fig.61 following the curve of the stream, may have Darsham church and the Roman site (which the 'Church Croft' partly obscures) as its ancient core, after the fashion of a large 'hall farm estate'. The 'Church Croft' may well be Cobbes share in this ancient estate, granted at the time when dependent tenements were being established close to the estate boundary.

A small scatter of medieval pottery on the west side of Burstyle Green serves to confirm that settlement started here by the twelfth century at the latest and was abandoned by the end of the fourteenth. But it is possible that settlement had started rather earlier, by the middle of the eleventh century, because one of a group of four freemen mentioned by name in the Domesday survey for Darsham was Leuric Cobb. His family name may well have been applied to this tenement at a time when, like Combis, parts of the tenement had been alienated. Cobbes is a Class I green-side tenement, being situated on the inside edge of an estate boundary, its land intermixed with demesne both inside and outside the estate boundary. At sometime before the end of the fourteenth century it was engrossed with three of its neighbours to form one large late medieval green-side farm of the type still commonly found in Suffolk and already described at Friston Moor and Chippenhall Green.

Tenements such as Cobbes and Combis form the fundamental unit that underlies the development of medieval settlement in the more marginal areas of the Suffolk landscape. They are the bricks from which the house is built. The rents, services and offices attached to tenements were like the mortar binding the bricks of the tenemental structure; they held the crumbling edifice together long after the roof of the tenemental house had fallen in and it was in more senses than one 'quando edificat.'³⁵. Tenements were still important to those who paid and collected the rents, and as we shall see, the status of the tenement still played an important part in the social life of the community. We must now look at the social and economic functions of the tenement, for they can tell us yet more about the nature of landholding society in early medieval Suffolk.

34. I.R.O., HA30:372/2 fol. 8(ii) No.12.

35. This is the abbreviation normally used by the extents to indicate a deserted tenement site.

5. The Function of Tenements

The tenement was the essential agrarian economic unit in the early medieval vill. The term 'virgate' is rarely, if ever, used in Suffolk, and because the word 'tenement' is used to describe all sizes of dependent landholding from the twelfth to the fifteenth century it would be misleading to equate these terms.¹ As Dodwell concluded, 'irregularity became a general feature of East Anglian tenure.' Nowhere is this more evident than in the fifteenth century extents of Blything Hundred.² However there is some evidence for regularity among some early tenements. Denny, in his work on the Sibton Abbey estates, describes a document in which holdings were classified as twelve or six acre tenements even though they contained more or less than the exact number of acres.³ Larger units of twenty-four acres called 'acringges' may have set the standard for work services, with lesser tenements being categorised as fractions of the twenty-four acre unit, which acted as a rough guide for administrative convenience.⁴ As well as twelve and six acre tenements at Sibton, there were others of fifteen and eight acres, classified as such regardless of the precise acreage held.⁵ This gradation of tenements was also reflected in their office bearing status, the most important offices being chosen from among a group of the largest tenements.⁶ There was some correlation between this tenemental structure and the virgate. Dodwell quotes the example of Glemsford (Manor of Ely) where there were two kinds of tenemental unit, the land of free tenants being measured by a thirty-acre virgate.⁷

All the indications suggest that at one time there may have been a degree of regularity between some tenements, but that as time went by tenements were either added to, or lost some of their land, so that while regularity was

1. S.A.E. p.13; Douglas op.cit. pp.24-5; D.B.&B. p.458. Chapter VI Sec.3 note 1. For the one Domesday virgate in Blything Hundred: DB.II 334b.
2. Dodwell op.cit. p.57.
3. S.A.E. p.14.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. See note 10 below.
7. Dodwell op.cit. p.57 The half virgate of Walter son of Radult is said to contain 15 acres and the virgate of the villeins 32 acres. See also Sec.3 note 10 above.

less evident in the landholding, it was still recognised in terms of legal status. Some degree of regularity must be expected, of course, where large areas of wasteland were enclosed on the parish boundary and divided up between manors in lieu of common rights. Such regularity can be clearly seen in Class III green-side tenements at Darsham 'Highstreet' (Fig.58) and on the hundred boundary at Wissett and Rumburgh (Fig.57). But the degree of regularity between tenements probably varied with the scale of intake from waste; at Darsham 'Highstreet' where a number of different manors had interests in an area of intercommoning⁸, some degree of planning may have been necessary, resulting in a higher degree of regularity, but where small piecemeal intakes were concerned, as on the east side of Chippenhall Green (Fig.60), regularity between tenements may not have been possible. Small groups of three or four green side tenements, such as those on the south side of 'Burstyle' green in Darsham (Fig.61), may once have had a similar size of land holding derived from equal common rights over the wastes along the parish boundary. But, as in the case of Cobbes tenement, where these common rights were converted into scattered strips of land outside the parish boundary, an irregularity in the number of acres held may have crept in, either because soil variability in marginal areas necessitated an *unequal* division in terms of acreage, or because exchange and purchase of small pieces of land preceding piecemeal enclosure took place as a result of common rights being converted into scattered strips.⁹

8. Sec.2 note 21, above.

9. It is known that a sizeable peasant land market existed in East Anglia in the thirteenth century. Possibly this land market rose, in part at least, as a result of piecemeal enclosure and colonisation, as it did for example in parishes bordering the Forest of Arden, where there was a similar freeholding dispersed settlement pattern to the claylands of Suffolk, although the Warwickshire parishes would seem to be settled at a rather later date. See B.K.Roberts 'A Study in the Medieval Colonisation in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire.' Ag.Hist.Rev. 16(ii) 1968 pp.101-13; J.B.Harley 'Population Trends and Agricultural Development from the Warwickshire Hundred Rolls of 1279' Econ.Hist. Rev. 2nd Ser. II, 1958 pp.8-18; P.Hyams 'Origins of the Peasant Land Market in England' Econ. Hist.Rev. 2nd Ser. 23, 1970 pp.18-31; E.Miller & J.Hatcher 'Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086 - 1348 1978 pp.142-3.

The division of tenements into fiscal categories according to their theoretical acreages had far reaching social and economical implications. In East Anglia, it was not uncommon for officers of the vill, such as hayward, messor and collector to be 'elected' according to a fixed rotation of the more high-ranking tenements. John Ridgard noticed this phenomenon at Flixton.¹⁰ He could see in it what appeared to be a very ancient arrangement but because many of the tenements had early fourteenth century names, he suggested that it was the re-introduction of an earlier system. He could not detect a fixed rota, because several persons were frequently re-elected. However, he was able to recognise that the twelve-acre tenements produced the Reeve, while the eight-acre tenements produced the Collector, and the six-acre tenements produced the Messor.¹¹ Nesta Evans working on sixteenth century South Elmham documents, found that the offices of hayward and collector were filled not by election, although the officers are usually described as 'elected', but by the rotation of the seventeen principal tenements, with the smaller ones working as assistants to the chosen officers.¹² However, like Ridgard, she noticed that in actual practice the largest land-holding message nearly always filled the office.

In Norfolk, Christobel Hoare, working on Gimingham Soke, found that the election of the office of wickner, identical in function to that of collector, was similarly determined by tenements.¹³ The chosen officer was allowed to keep the rents and fines he collected until the end of the year when they had to be handed over to the reeve. In the 1480's, twenty-two tenements were charged with small sums to provide a stipend for the office of wickner,¹⁴ a commutation perhaps, of the sort of assistance that the minor

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10. J.M.Ridgard 'The Social and Economic History of Flixton in South Elmham 1300-1600' unpublished MA. thesis, University of Leicester 1970.
 11. At Yoxford the Rev.Parr (Yoxford Yesterday p.93) noticed that the office of Collector was 'elected' by tenements which took it in turn as a common duty. The Collector gathered the regular acknowledgements for the leet court, but not the dues levied by penalty, which were dealt with directly by the bailiff. Parr also quotes an instance where someone, perhaps an absentee copyholder, paid a fine to be quit of the office of collector for life.
 12. N.R.Evans 'The Community of South Elmham, Suffolk 1550-1640' unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of East Anglia 1978 p.106; I.R.O., HA12/C2/87/1, list of office bearing tenements in South Elmham.
 13. C.M.Hoare The History of an East Anglian Soke 1918 pp.130-3.
 14. Ibid. The Wickner or Wigner, was an officer elected by each vill, township or 'wick' within the soke of Gimingham. He collected the amerce-ments and other dues imposed upon the inhabitants at the manor courts.

tenements in South Elmham were expected to give. To the astute, who might make use of the rents and dues as capital during the year before the money had to be handed over to the reeve, the office of collector must have been highly desirable. At Gimmingham, the tenement was liable to fill the office of wickner once every seventeen years, a similar cycle to that found at South Elmham.

At Reydon, in Blything Hundred, two remarkable seventeenth century rent cycles or dials compute the office of collector or cullier for seventeen tenements in rotation for the one hundred year period from 1648 to 1749.¹⁵ One of these dials is illustrated here in Plate 31. The outer ring in each segment of the dial records the tenurial history of each office-bearing tenement; space was left for the names of new incoming tenement holders, and in a few cases names have been added in a later hand. With the engrossing of tenements in the late and post-medieval period, some landholders came to occupy more than one office-bearing tenement and were therefore 'elected' more than once during the seventeen year cycle. Where the 'elections' are recorded on the court rolls, as at South Elmham and Flixton, the repeated election of the principal landholders obscures the fact that the system worked by the rotation of tenements. At Reydon, we find John Even Gent. of Reydon Hall, landholder of seven of the seventeen principal tenements on the cullier rent dial. Even came to hold no less than thirteen tenements in all, the others being minor non-office bearing tenements.¹⁶ The Reydon cullier rent dial, may be a late presentation of an earlier system, for many of the tenements have no names and are called simply 'a free tenement'. Only one of the tenement names coincides with a name of the 1327 Lay Subsidy returns.¹⁷ Nonetheless, great care was taken to record the complex tenurial history of these tenements, in the same way as the tenurial history of the tenement was preserved in the late medieval extents of Yoxford and Westleton.¹⁸ There can be no doubt that the system itself is a very ancient one, and that the grades of office-bearing tenements, with the lesser tenements working as their assistants, reflects the complexity of early medieval peasant society where the size of the family landholding determined the status of an individual and his ability to hold office and serve in the community. In the late medieval period copyholders were able to absolve themselves from holding office

15. I.R.O., HB26/412/919-20. & HA11/C2/7.

16. I.R.O., HB26/412/915 Account of the copyhold tenants in Reydon c.1790.

17. S.R.S. Suffolk in 1327 p.74 'Henrico le Wodeward'.

18. See note 16 above; this document gives the tenemental composition of each farm and its tenurial history in the form of a family tree. See also the Cullier rent returns for the years 1740-1746. (I.R.O.,HA11/C2/7).

in their own lifetime.^{19.} At Gimtingham, while a tenant might be liable to fill the office of wickner once every seventeen years he could ask to be excused and propose a deputy to stand in his stead. Occasionally the office fell on a woman landholder, in which case a male substitute was found.^{20.}

Where the tenement was held by several tenants an agreement was presumably reached. At Forncett in Norfolk, one larger or several minor bond tenements might be chosen. The person who acted as officer was sometimes one of the tenants of the elected tenement and sometimes not. He was usually, but not invariably a serf.^{21.} In 1497 the Sidestrand jury, in Norfolk, 'elect the house of Calke /domu Calke in the same place to perform the office of wigener /Wickner this year, where John Murdes, with his parcener holds the same house, and so the same John Murdes is sworn to undertake the same office.'^{22.} The social and economic parallel between the East Anglian tenement and the Ariege 'domus', so graphically illustrated by Professor Ladurie at Montailou, is one which needs to be slightly qualified, if only because similar documentary evidence is never likely to be available for the East Anglian tenement.^{23.} There can be no doubt that the tenement was an enduring entity, more powerful in social and economic terms than the tenants who occupied its lands. The peasant who could acquire a number of important tenements in a small village community would undoubtedly hold the same sort of sway as a Clergue or any of the other important domus holders in Montailou. There the parallel must end. Irregularity became the hallmark of East Anglian tenements in the later medieval period. There is no evidence to suggest that, in an area where partible inheritance was common, there was ever a real concern to pass on a tenement intact to the heirs of the landholder, or to preserve it as a working family unit.^{24.} The social significance of the tenement should not be overstressed.

19. See note 11 above.

20. Hoare op.cit. pp.130-3.

21. F.G.Davenport The Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor 1086-1565 1906 pp50-51.

22. Hoare op.cit. pp.132-3.

23. Prof.E.le Roy Ladurie Montailou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village 1294 - 1324. 1978 Ch.III. References to 'Domus' can be found in twelfth century East Anglia, in the encroachments of Roger Bigot on the land of St Benet's Holme. See F.M.Stenton 'St Benet of Holme and the Norman Conquest' Eng.Hist.Rev. XXXVII, 1922 pp.225-35; G.C.Homans 'The Frisians in East Anglia' Econ.Hist.Rev. 2nd Ser. 10, 1957 pp.189-206; K.A.S. p.52.

24. Dodwell op.cit. & G.C.Homans 'Partible Inheritance of Village Holdings' Econ.Hist.Rev. VII,1937 pp.48-56.; See Sec.4 note 15 above.

Office-bearing was by no means the only function of tenements, they also had to discharge their yearly rents and services, each tenement according to its custom and the collective custom of the vill. The apportionment of work-services may well go back to the time of the foundation of the tenement or the group of tenements of which it was part. Unfortunately, the details of work services were constantly subject to revision and commutation to money rents. In 1254, the men of Hinton who were subject to labour services, came to an agreement with the Prior whereby they redefined their old rents and services.²⁵ By the late medieval period we see only the occasional survival of work services.²⁶ There are, however, examples of complete tenemental services from other areas, which have been published.²⁷ Following a brief extent of the manor it is usual to find the free tenants, the customary full and half virgaters and the cottagers listed with one tenant chosen from each class as an example of the rents and services due from that particular group. It would be dangerous to suggest that the ranking of tenement services and rents, their notional acreages and the different offices which each group performed were in some way indicative of a finely stratified peasant society in the early medieval period. It should not be forgotten that these groups of tenements were created at different periods when there may have been significant differences in land values.²⁸ The very rapid break up of the tenemental structure in the twelfth and thirteenth century would soon have dislocated any artificial social stratification related to the formation of tenemental units.²⁹

In contrast, the rotation of office-bearing tenements, working on a cycle of seventeen years or more, must have had far-reaching social and economic implications in a small rural community. While the newly 'elected' officers were usually entered each year on the court rolls, there must also have been a need to record the cycle as a whole, after the fashion of the Reydon Cullier dial.

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25. C.B.P. 285, 'they should not henceforth carry the hurdles and sheep to the sheepfolk on the eve of Pentecost as they had been accustomed to do, but instead each of them should make a money payment for his sheep and those in his charge at the rate of one penny for four sheep.'
26. See for example the Jackson Collection Catalogue no.316.
27. See for example W.Ault Open Field Farming in Medieval England 1972 pp.166-71.
28. J.Hatcher 'English Serfdom and Villeinage: Towards a Reassessment' Past and Present 90, 1981 pp.3-39.
29. See Sec.4 above.

Where the whole pattern of tenement ownership, in so far as it affected the 'election' of offices of the vill, could be calculated over a period of one hundred years, not only would there be the simple practicality of indicating when a tenement was likely to come into office, but also we can imagine a keen interest being taken in the state of landholding within the parish, in the way that the acquisition of tenements might affect the 'election' of new officers. The value of a tenement must also have been affected if it was due to come into office in a year or two. It would also have been possible for a tenant to acquire land within a tenement and hold it for a number of years without ever serving in office. The need to record the tenement cycle in durable form in a place where it could be seen and discussed by all, without constant reference to the court rolls, must have been an important consideration.

At Blythburgh, a large scratch dial, illustrated in Plate 32, may be seen on a south facing buttress of the church. Its pattern is very similar to the paper dial already illustrated from Reydon (Plate 31), including the provision of an outer ring where symbols or numerals can just be recognised in the weathered stone. Because there are twenty-four segments it is usually interpreted as a 24 hour sun-dial. even though no shadow could ever be cast on the upper semi-circle of the dial, and the lower half does not conform to the normal irregular subdivisions of a sun-dial. Furthermore it is unlikely that the dial ever served as a sun-dial in its present position, because the stone lies at an angle of nearly 45° from the vertical. In view of its similarity to the Reydon Cullier rent dial, a more likely interpretation of its function as a medieval rent cycle may be suggested. Possibly it was built into the church when the chancel was erected in 1473, at a period when, as has already been described, other rent cycles were operative in East Anglia. Possibly this was a dial for the office of 'gatherer', which came to an end in the seventeenth century when it was leased out by the lord of the manor, the notorious Sir Robert Brooke.³⁰ It was then thought to be worth £9 per annum, and included tolls, customs and duties collected from tradesmen passing through the town as well as market and harbour dues.³¹ The use of a stone dial in a public place such as a church yard would fulfil all the needs of a community wanting to know the current state of an office-bearing tenement cycle, and at the same time make it unnecessary to record on the court rolls the full state of the tenement cycle with each change of officer.

30. I.R.O., HA30:50/22/3.35

31. Ibid. Tolls customs and duties were gathered from peddlars passing through the town to buy fish. Bushel Silver was gathered from the measuring of salt and grain. Pitch and Hewe penny was gathered from the three annual fairs.

An added dimension, which tends to emphasise the antiquity of the tenemental structure, is given by P.Dover's work on the 'culyer' rent in Algarkirk, Lincolnshire.³² There he managed to link the custom of 'culyer' to socage tenements holding the older arable lands, established before fenland reclamation in the early medieval period changed the pattern of landholding. He suggested that the custom was older than any of the documentary sources and that the socage tenements appeared to relate to ancient private sokes in existence before the Norman Conquest.³³ This link between cullier or culyer rents and pre-Conquest sokes may be no more than coincidental. However, there are several examples in Suffolk and Norfolk. Reydon itself was a pre-Conquest soke,³⁴ and if the rotation of officebearing tenements is the essence of the custom of cullier and can be equated with the offices of wickner and collector where they also were 'elected' by rotation, the examples of South Elmham, (including Flixton) and Gimtingham Soke can also be included.³⁵ In the sixteenth century the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds received 'cullier rents' payable to Thedwestre Hundred, part of the ancient liberty.³⁶ Leiston Abbey, the holder of the ancient soke of Leiston, was in receipt of cullier rent from Bruisyard at the time of the Dissolution, but no evidence survives for cullier from within the soke itself.³⁷

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32. P.Dover "'Culier" Rent in Algarkirk' Lincolnshire Historian II (iv) 1957 pp.24-35.
33. Ibid. His primary source was an eighteenth century document, the 'Acre Books of Algarkirk-cum-Fosdike, 1734'. Page 25, the origin of the word 'Culyer' is uncertain, P.Dover suggested that it was a corruption of the French 'cueilleur', a collector.
34. Chapter V Sec.6 note 20.
35. See notes 10 & 13 above.
36. 'Calendar of Exchequer Depositions Relating to the County of Suffolk' P.S.I.A. XIV(i) 1910 p.16. No.32.
37. V.E. Vol.III sub. Leiston 'Bruisyerd per tennent Cullyer' See also C.L.A. p.25.

6. Conclusion

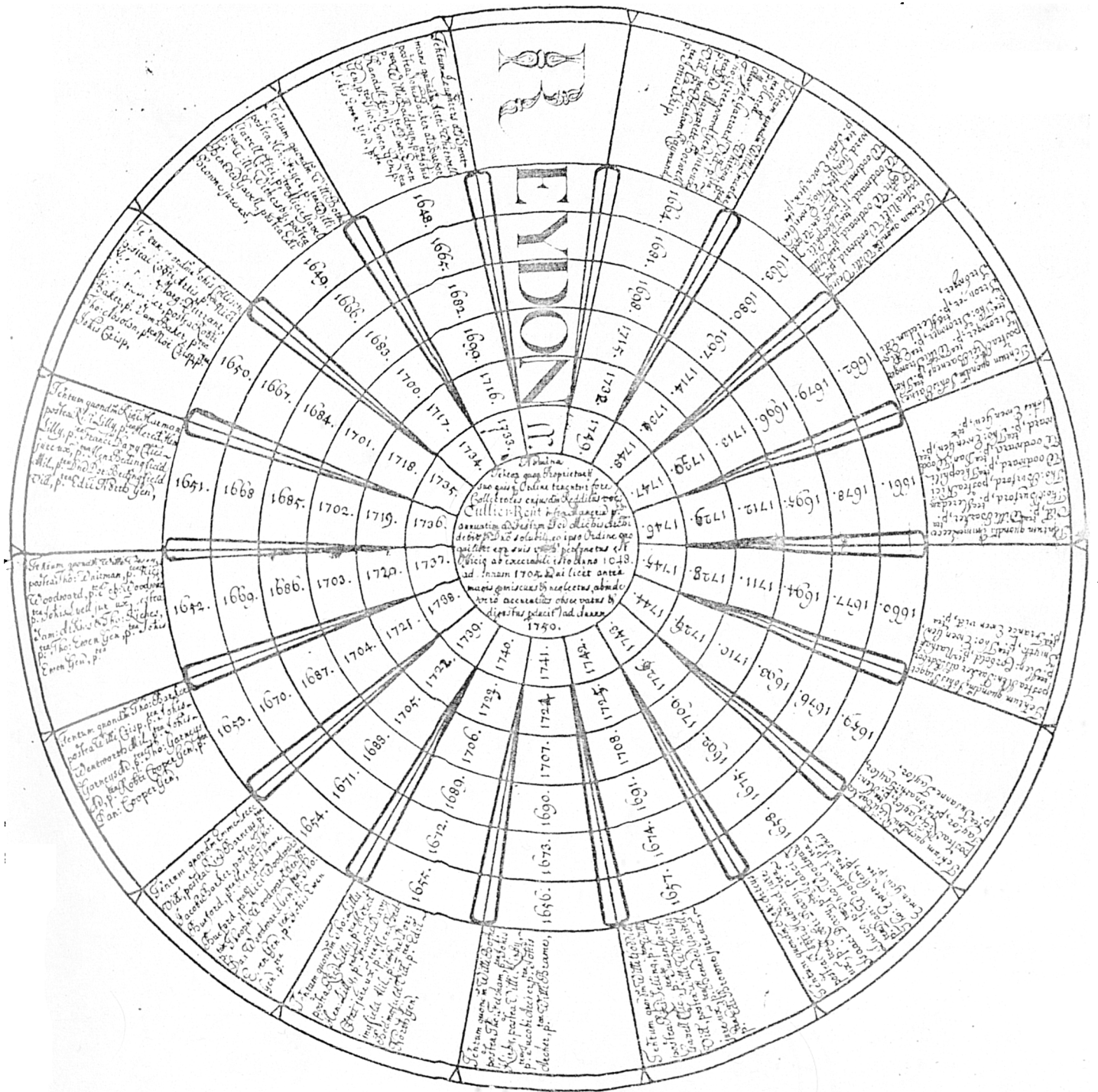
In the preceding sections a number of different types of tenement have been scrutinised and their constituent parts examined for their relationship to the development of settlement in the landscape around the tenement site. We can see that the earliest tenements were formed partly out of a share in demesne land and partly out of enclosures from waste. Initially, perhaps, pieces of demesne were held in return for work services, principally plough-works, on the main estate or manor. Such works would be undertaken by the tenants using their own ploughs and their own and their neighbours' plough-beasts. The essence of the tenement was its beast-goings and common rights on the wastes beyond the demesne. Here the plough-beasts might graze as a necessary part of the concession of demesne land in return for work services. This no doubt was the principal reason for the establishment of tenements on the edge of the estate rather than beside the hall in a central position. On the edge of the estate the tenants could keep a watchful eye on their animals; the tenemental beast goings were the key to the tenements success, they gave it access to land, albeit waste and clay moor, and the ability to expand by the gradual conversion of temporary 'breckland' enclosures into more frequently cultivated arable. The stimulus may have come initially from the manor.

Our earliest documentation, in the form of the late twelfth century charters of Blythburgh Priory, records the manumission of what was probably the third and latest class of green-side tenement; those that were formed entirely out of waste. The charters do not record the creation of the tenements themselves, but to judge from the rather unreliable evidence of pottery gathered from green-side sites, they had probably not been established with resident tenants for very long before the twelfth century. The examples for which we have documentary evidence suggest that the vast majority of tenements, which are described in the extents and later documents as copyhold, were in origin the holdings of serfs who were regarded as part and parcel of their tenements. With the manumission of these serfs the legal burden of work services and manorial dues fell on the tenement and not on those who held it, the tenement holders might continue to pay the dues in question with new increased rents. It is not uncommon to find 'copyhold' and 'free' tenements side by side in green-side situations where there could be no fundamental difference in their origin. Possibly the distinction made between Domesday freemen and villeins is one upon which too much stress is laid. At Darsham, the eleventh century freeman, Leuric Cobbe, was one of a group of seven named freemen, but the tenement Cobbe, recorded in its deserted and engrossed state in the late

fourteenth century was copyhold. Possibly Cobbe was himself a manumitted villein, but still holding his old villein tenement in the same way that Thomas^{le}_A Brun, the serf of Darsham, continued to hold his villein 'tenement Broun' after his manumission by Blythburgh Priory in the late twelfth century. 'Free' tenements may simply be those that were in some way included in the manumission agreement of the serfs who once held them. The evidence from Cobbes tenement, and the general lack of tenement names of any kind surviving from the eleventh century, suggest that the vast majority of manumissions took place after the Domesday survey. The naming of freemen with small acreages in 1086 itself may indicate that they were unusual at that time. Groups of unnamed Domesday freemen, who became 'attached' to manors, were probably in effect reduced to villein status with their tenements, in later years being granted their manumission, but the tenement remaining unfree.

As well as performing labour services and paying rents, the tenement supplied officers to serve the community and manorial courts. In many cases the officers were 'elected' by rotation of the different groups of tenements, each group being more or less of equal status, owing similar work services and rents, and holding notionally similar acreages. The ranking of tenements in this way may have started out as the result of the conversion of common grazing rights into enclosures on a unit basis, in some cases through the corporate agreement of a number of manors holding grazing rights on the waste land between estates. If there was any corresponding social ranking as a result of this process it soon disintegrated with the break up of the tenement in the early medieval period. Irregularity soon became the hallmark of tenement acreages in medieval East Anglia, but the cycles of office-bearing tenements persisted and these continued to play an important part in the community, even though the larger landholders managed to engross more and more tenements and so find themselves 'elected' to offices more frequently. The tenement was undoubtedly the most important social and economic unit in medieval East Anglia, but its importance as a legal entity changed with the fortunes of the land market until, by the end of the medieval period, it served as little more than shadowy evidence of title and as a distant reminder of personal names from a forgotten society.

REYDON



CULLIER.

Plate 31

The Reydon Cullier Rent Dial. The dial computes the year when each tenement will perform the office of Cullier or collector between the years 1648 (top left) and 1749 (centre top right) on a seventeen year cycle. John Ewen Gent. has acquired six of the tenements and would therefore be 'elected' to hold office more frequently than any other tenement holder.

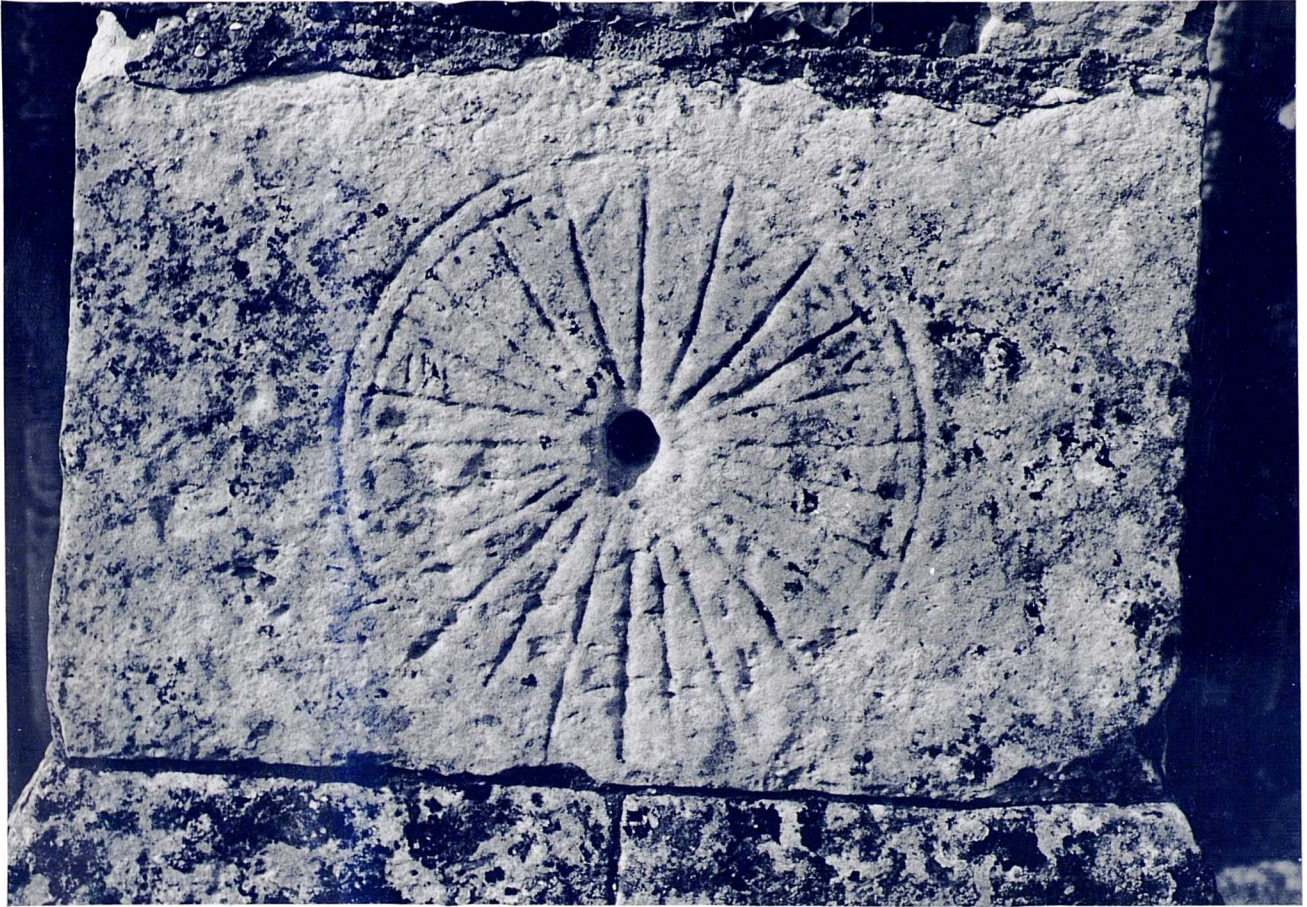


Plate 32

The scratch dial on the south side of the chancel at Blythburgh. This was probably a tenement dial similar to the one illustrated in Plate 31 for Roydon. Notice the figures in the upper part of the dial where no shadow could be cast.

Chapter IX
Conclusion

The geological and topographical themes which have been reiterated throughout this thesis, particularly the contrasting soil types from east to west and the variability of soils in the central heartlands of the Hundred, can be seen as the mould in which the development of settlement was cast.¹ There was a marked mobility of settlement in almost every period on the more marginal habitats of sand and clay, which contrasts with more stable settlement patterns and a general tenacity of landholding encountered on the more variable soils. In all periods the constraints of soil type and the topographical limitations have to be reckoned with, both in times of land-shortage as well as in times of plenty. The potential for land drainage and soil improvement on the claylands is something which is taken for granted by modern farmers,² just as the dangers of soil deterioration on the sandy heathlands are well known to environmental scientists;³ both considerations are important to an understanding of settlement history in the two most extreme marginal habitats of Blything Hundred.

It is perhaps surprising that the constraints of habitat did not lead to a specialisation of settlement development. There is no typical form of Sandling settlement, neither is green-side settlement entirely confined to the clayland areas, although it is generally recognised as characteristic of medieval colonisation on the clay.⁴ Examples such as the village green at Westleton can be seen on the edges of the Sandling heath, their tenurial history and settlement structure being essentially the same as the more commonly found green-side communities on the clay.⁵ Likewise, there are interesting comparisons to be made between some of the colonising meadow-land settlements, such as the regular tenements found on the lowlying wet moors at Blyford (Fig.40), and the regular pattern of tenements found on the clay moorland along the Darsham High-street (Fig.58). While the two communities occupy contrasting topographical situations, there can be no doubt that the same constraints of corporate manorial enclosure in areas of intercommoning were responsible for their semi-planned appearance.⁶ In the early medieval period, the same process of settlement development was at work on a variety of different marginal habitats. The deliberate enclosure of commonland resources, on a unit basis in lieu of recognised common rights held over different types of waste, meadow and moor, had limited possibilities on the acid heathland soils of the Suffolk coast, but on the clay the potential for settlement development and the improvement of the poorly drained clayland soils was almost limitless.

Behind the overlay of early medieval colonisation the distant origins of the primary settlement pattern can be dimly perceived. The scattered valley farmsteads appear to follow a similar settlement pattern to their more ancient Iron

Age and Roman counterparts, even if very few of them actually coincide on the same site.⁷ In some clayland areas there is also an occasional superimposition of medieval pottery on remote and isolated Roman farmsteads. On the basis of the pottery evidence the Roman sites seem to have been abandoned in the third century only to be reoccupied six or seven hundred years later in the late Saxon period.⁸ This is clearly a superficial judgement based on our inadequate knowledge of local pottery types, and it seems reasonable to presume that some form of continuity of landholding or tenure, if not of occupation, can be suggested from Roman to medieval times. Even if archaeologists manage to narrow the apparent continuity gap, they are unlikely to bridge it entirely; we must therefore look for continuity of land boundaries and ownership, rather than of continuous settlement occupation.

We must ask why there is no evidence for settlement continuity on the heartlands of the Hundred, particularly on the valley gravels near the ancient churches and river crossings. While there is no shortage of pottery from those areas, particularly early Roman and medieval, it is the almost total lack of identifiable Saxon pottery that has to be explained. It is just possible that the later more rural Saxon sites were largely aceramic; late Ipswich ware and Thetford ware can be found on the central sites at Blythburgh and Wenhaston, but not elsewhere.⁹ To what extent Roman grey wares continued into the post-Roman period is very hard to tell without any evidence from excavated kiln sites in the area. Another explanation could be that sites on the downward slope of the valley sides, lower than the early Roman sites, are obscured by accumulations of hill-washed silt. This is undoubtedly true for a number of later medieval sites discovered during the digging of irrigation pipe-lines on the Sandling edge. It could also be true for some of the farmstead sites along the junction of the meadowland and valley slope, such as those at Blyford, where earlier Saxon occupation levels underlying surviving medieval farms could well be obscured by depositions of hill-washed silt. There is undoubtedly an evidential bias in the archaeological material collected by field walking, whereby some sites, such as the early Roman farmsteads sited on convex hill side situations, subject to slow erosion by continuous ploughing, are much more likely to be discovered than sites in concave hill side situations at the base of the valley slopes where they may have become obscured by the deposition of hill washed silt.

The whole problem of Romano-Saxon continuity needs careful consideration before further research in the area can be embarked upon. The questions which crowd in are interrelated. What was the extent and density of late Romano-British settlement after 410 AD.? Where are the late Roman cemeteries? And where were the centres of late Roman rural administration? Also it must

be asked: why were there apparently no pagan Anglo-Saxon settlements or cemeteries in Blything Hundred? When did the incoming Anglo-Saxon aristocracy take over control of the hundredal area and to what extent was there continuity of administration? There are as yet no firm archaeological answers to these questions, but from the material gathered in the thesis, the negative archaeological evidence can be looked at anew and some tentative conclusions suggested.

From a study of the administrative boundaries it has already been proposed that within the Regio of Blything Hundred there was a degree of continuity, from the days when it was a sub-division of the Icenian tribal territory, through to the decline of Roman local administrative power.¹⁰ We must also conclude from the continued use of hundredal watershed boundaries and the occasional survival of Latin loan-words that there was a cultural overlap and the juxtaposition of an indigenous British populace with an incoming Anglo-Saxon power within the hundred.¹¹ In other words the pagan Anglo-Saxon did not walk into an entirely deserted and forgotten landscape, although it may have appeared somewhat under-populated compared with its early Roman predecessor. The hundredal watershed area was undoubtedly a recognisable administrative unit, ideally suited for takeover as a royal Anglo-Saxon estate. By comparison with other areas which produce rich Anglo-Saxon graves, but relatively few large early cemeteries indicative of a mass migrant Anglo-Saxon peasantry, such as the Bernician division of Northumbria, it would seem likely that East Suffolk was taken over by an Anglo-Saxon aristocratic power in the middle years of the sixth century. Up to that time large scale Saxon settlement was limited to the western half of the county.¹² In the eastern half, there may, as in Bernicia, have been the opportunity for the long term survival of British institutions and the relatively peaceful adoption of a Saxon material culture with a takeover by the Wuffingas royal house and the emergence of the East Anglian kingdom.¹³

If we are to suppose the survival of even a scanty British population into the middle years of the sixth century, where were they living, and why do we have no archaeological evidence for them? To suppose an aceramic post-Roman population, having suffered the collapse of its sophisticated pottery industry and with it the impoverishment of its material culture, during the fourth and fifth century, is in someways archaeologically more acceptable than an aceramic Anglo-Saxon peasantry. Pottery is commonly found in cemeteries and on Anglo-Saxon settlement sites in West Suffolk. Late Roman cemeteries could pass undetected for several good reasons: they might be small and dispersed as they were in early Roman times, or if the Christian burial rite had been adopted without the deposition of grave goods the skeletons when found might be undatable, particularly if there were later Christian 'developed' cemeteries.¹⁴

Setting aside the 'Adventus Saxonum' of Bede, there is no evidence for fighting between the Anglo-Saxons and the British of East Anglia. Saxon cemeteries outside the walls of Venta Icenorum and Burgh Castle speak of close cultural contact and integration rather than violent opposition, whatever the function of the forts of the Saxon Shore might originally have been.¹⁵ The documentary evidence for fighting in the sixth century between Saxons and British comes from Wessex, Mercia and Northumbria.¹⁶ By the end of the first quarter of the seventh century, East Anglia was probably the most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms, with the possible exception of Kent. Diplomatic contacts extended to all the major kingdoms of England as well as Merovingian Gaul. The rise of the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy, the general acceptance of their language and their authority, was probably complete a generation at least before the treasure at Sutton Hoo had been gathered together in 625 AD. The original function of the Roman shore fort at Cnobheresburg had been long forgotten, and was probably nothing more than an empty shell when it was given to Fursey and his followers in 633 AD. New Anglo-Saxon coastal trading emporia or 'wics' were already flourishing and serving their inland regioes before Felix was invited to set up the first East Anglian See at Dunwich in 630 AD.¹⁷ At Blythburgh the Wuffingas had almost certainly established their 'villa regalis' at the hundredal capital before King Anna was buried there in 654 AD.¹⁸

The evidence, such as it is, points towards an internal take-over of power by an established vigorous Anglo-Saxon aristocratic minority, in the middle to late sixth century. There was no need to make drastic alterations to the pre-existing administrative framework. The province of East Anglia and its hundredal watershed sub-divisions were no doubt an impoverished relic of its once sophisticated Romano-British past, but were taken over as a going concern, the whole capable of generating great wealth for its flamboyant barbarian rulers. This wealth was given ample expression in the cosmopolitan assemblage of regal associations deposited at Sutton Hoo.

What did the landscape of the Blyth valley look like at the time of this internal takeover of power? There had been a considerable arable regression in the late Roman period, particularly on the clay uplands. Woodland regeneration had probably obscured the remains of a number of early Roman farmstead sites long before the arrival of the Saxons.¹⁹ On the valley floors, the meadows, which had probably been cleared of alder-carr when the Romans first came were now reverting to swampy wastes.²⁰ But neither the secondary woodlands on the clay nor the decayed meadows of the valley floor were unexploited wastes: both were utilised as areas of intercommoning by the men of the hundred. Their grazing rights may well have had very distant, even pre-Roman, origins.²¹ They were perhaps, the one thread of continuity in areas of otherwise discontinuous habitation. On the marshes of Syremoor near Blythburgh and possibly also on the

Folkmarsh at Westleton, the folk dug for peat and grazed their beasts.^{22.} Pigs rooted for pannage in the great tracts of secondary woodland on the clay plateau north of Halesworth.^{23.} On the clay moorlands bordering the woods, and in the waste land between ancient ring-fence farms on the clay edge, the cattle and plough-beasts of the valley farmers were grazed during the summer months.^{24.}

Minsters at Dunwich and Blythburgh can be reasonably postulated from the 630's; these were essentially monastic establishments, one perhaps serving the place of pilgrimage at Anna's tomb in Blythburgh, and another possibly associated with a school at Dunwich.^{25.} Before long, other churches may have appeared attached to large princely estates which seem to bear some relation to administrative sub-divisions of the hundredal area. Before the period of Danish disruption there was probably a core of churches in the heartland of the hundred, some of them sited at river crossings in the middle reaches, where the tributaries of the river Blyth converge as they drain down from the clay plateau.^{26.} Some of these central churches, such as those at Wissett, Holton, Blyford, Wangford and Yoxford, may have served as baptistries and burial grounds, granted as sacramental concessions out of the royal minster at Blythburgh for sub-divisions of the Hundred. Later soke rights were also granted out of the hundred to a number of the larger estates and these rights were eventually transferred after the Norman Conquest, to new monastic foundations, which incorporated elements of early central mother churches.^{27.}

Ecclesiastical administration was seriously disrupted by Danish raiding in the ninth century, followed by the establishment of Guthrum's Kingdom. Dunwich was almost certainly sacked.^{28.} The hagiographers tell us that the monks in East Anglia fled to safer places, but not before exhuming the remains of their precious saints. We find that the shrine of King Anna at Blythburgh was still being venerated in the eleventh century; presumably therefore, continuity of worship was not entirely broken and many of the older churches in the centre of the hundred may also have survived as private possessions. They were after all important sources of income.^{29.} To these central churches there were added, in the post-Danish period, a number of round or square unbuttressed towers. Perhaps they were intended as a defensive measure against further seaborne attacks, or perhaps they were the private bell-towers of a new Scandinavian thegnly class, the descendants of whom had Danish personal names in the eleventh century.^{30.} Such bell-towers were a badge of thegnly rank, and perhaps they also served to summon the folk to church yard meeting places where matters relating to seignorial soke rights may have been settled.^{31.} In some cases, the origins of private sokes may well be pre-Danish; indeed the possibility that they relate to centres of late Roman administration cannot be ruled out.^{32.}

Domesday Book presents us with a well developed landscape by the mid to late eleventh century. Settlement names, churches and even very minor hamlets are listed together with their landholders. It is clear from the appearance of minor vills near the hundred boundary, such as Fordley and Stoven, with their numerous freemen and plough-teams, that re-colonisation of the Suffolk claylands had started in Blything Hundred several generations before 1086. In some clayland areas nearer to the Waveney valley, where churches and large manors are listed, colonisation may have started several hundred years earlier. It is also clear from the absence of other secondary clayland place-names, such as Westhall and Spexhall, that the process of settlement development on the clay was still under way, although the presence of freeman settlers in those places can be detected in the entries for neighbouring vills.³³ The numerous small manors and small groups of named freemen are a direct reflection of the dispersed green-side settlement pattern, a pattern which, in essence, remained unchanged until the enclosures of the nineteenth century. It is possible, by looking at post-medieval maps and correlating them with the documentary evidence for medieval tenements, to reconstruct the pattern of land-holding and tenement formation, even for some of the very smallest peasant holdings, such as the remarkable Cobbstenement in Darsham, or Combis tenement in Westleton.³⁴ In the anatomy of these tenements, and in others like them, we can see the way in which parcels of land were acquired through the conversion of scattered common grazing rights into small enclosures, or into strips in open fields.

A threefold pattern of tenement development can be detected.³⁵ Firstly, there were those tenements which probably started out as dependent tenant farms established on the inside edges of ring-fence boundaries. They probably had a share of the demesne lands within the ring-fence farm in return for plough works and other services. These which have been termed Class I tenements, also had grazing rights on the wastes beyond the farm boundary, which could be converted into temporary or permanent enclosures. Secondly, there were less dependent Class II tenements which had become established outside the boundaries of early estates, but which still held parcels of demesne in return for labour services as well as land around the tenement itself, formed out of wasteland in lieu of common rights. Thirdly there were the groups of tenements found well outside the older estate boundaries, in areas where extensive moorland wastes near the parish boundaries had been enclosed and shared on a unit basis between several different manors. Corporative agreement between manors is implied before land could be enclosed and shared in this way. These Class III tenements have in some cases a planned or organised appearance, with long narrow tenement plots of more or less equal width. Class III tenements are also found in areas where meadow land has been enclosed by corporate manorial action; regular tenement plots,

with tenements belonging to different manors, can be seen on the meadows at Yoxford and Blyford.³⁶ A similar pattern of many different manors holding adjoining tenements can be seen also in less regular green-side situations, suggesting that many green-side settlements have their origins in this process of corporate manorial enclosure.

It is possible that the groups of Class III tenements in the more marginal clayland areas can be equated with the groups of freemen listed in Domesday Book under some of the secondary settlement place-names. These freemen were probably no more than appendages to minor manors and older tenements holding lands in less marginal areas from which the Class III tenements had been established. Their freedom may have been nothing more than a freedom from labour services, granted for practical reasons because their holdings lay too far from the manor and because they had no share in the demesne farm. The formation of new tenements, many of them developed on the margins of commons and waste and held as appendages to older tenements, led to a style of leap-frog settlement pattern, one which may be characteristic of many clayland areas.³⁷

It is easy to be over-awed by the complexity and the detail of Little Domesday Book, but we must not forget the other half of the eleventh century landscape, the unrecorded pastures, commons and wastes, for it was to these that the freemen of 1086 had access. These lands could be made more productive and so bring in higher rents. It must not be forgotten that the relative advantages of peasant freedom would seem to be dependent on the level of rents being paid.³⁸ Access to land may, on occasion, have been more advantageous than an expensive freedom. However, the ability to sell land, a privilege usually denied to the unfree, may have been even more important in order to develop and consolidate the landholding. The distinctions between serfdom and villeinage should not be overstressed, they were no doubt subtle and subject to minor changes in local market conditions. The very high proportion of freemen to villeins in the Domesday survey of Suffolk is almost certainly linked to the colonisation of new land and the formation of new holdings by older tenements and manors. When this process can be seen, not through the rather inadequate vision of legal documents and tenures, but through the anatomy of reconstructed tenements and land boundaries, the subject takes on a new dimension where the individual constraints of topography and soil type, the practical problems of a scattered land holding and the relationship with neighbouring land units have to ^{be} taken into consideration. The extents and charters give us vital pieces of information, but in their day they were probably as remote from the enjoyment of property as the mortgage agreement is to the modern householder.

The later history of individual tenements is varied and complex. A few managed to survive as complete land-units down to the nineteenth century, but the vast majority were subject to a process of fragmentation almost from their inception.³⁹ A lively land market developed in the twelfth and thirteenth century, when many servile land holders were manumitted, enabling them to alienate tenement land for the first time.⁴⁰ After manumission, the burden of rents and services remained with the tenement itself, not with its one time servile occupant. In order to identify the tenement land, now subject to alienation and fragmentation, the name of the last servile tenant was applied to the land and became the tenement name. Thus we find the tenement Brun in Darsham following the manumission of John le Brun by the Prior of Blythburgh in the late twelfth century; increased rents usually followed this kind of manumission.⁴¹ Most tenement names appear to date from the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. Some could well be earlier, but only one example of a tenement bearing the same name as a Domesday freeman was found in Blything Hundred. Partible inheritance also played a part in the fragmentation of tenements, until by the fourteenth century any regularity in area or physical form that may once have existed between tenements had almost entirely disappeared. Irregularity became the hall-mark of later medieval East Anglian tenements.⁴²

Not only did the tenement perform labour services and pay rents, but some groups of tenements served to 'elect' officers of the vill by an annual rotation of tenements.⁴³ Cycles of seventeen years are not uncommon. This cyclical process of election survived the break-up of the tenement and the subsequent engrossing of landholdings. The late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ^{was} a time when the homesteads of many smaller tenements were abandoned, their lands being merged into larger farms and their scattered strips submerged beneath new enclosures. At the same time many of the larger demesnes were split up into rented or leasehold farms and the old moated manor houses abandoned.⁴⁴ The tenement names, and in some cases the tenement cycles, persisted as an important part of evidence of title. The new enclosures could only be recognised legally as the sum of their many constituent parts, that is to say, the many strips of invisible tenement land burdened with its ancient obligations. The early medieval landscape therefore lay hidden beneath the surface, recorded in the painstaking detail of the fifteenth century extents and land surveys.⁴⁵

Blything Hundred can be seen to have had its origins in the take-over of a late Roman administrative subdivision and its conversion into an early Anglo-Saxon royal estate. At its heart lay the early villa regalis at Blythburgh, but the hundredal capital was soon overshadowed by the Saxon borough of Dunwich, which had acquired the first seventh century East Anglian See. The main concentrations of Saxon settlement were probably confined to the central valley

gravels with their more variable soils, although, there is no archaeological confirmation for either late Roman or early Saxon activity in those areas. Although the process of clayland colonisation is undocumented before the eleventh century, it would seem from the abandonment of early Roman sites and the regeneration of secondary woodland in some clayland areas together with the general absence of early Saxon remains, that colonisation did not start on the clayland until the middle Saxon period. However, by the middle of the eleventh century colonisation was well under way, with many churches already established in a number of the more remote clayland vills. Colonisation continued into the twelfth and early thirteenth century, when the last of the clayland vills and their churches came into being. The development of a distinctive dispersed settlement pattern in this area can be seen to be dependent on numerous small manors and ring-fence farms, themselves of distant but uncertain origin, each of which established tenements either on their boundaries or on the waste land between estates. These tenements were subject to fragmentation in the early medieval period; many were deserted in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century and their lands consolidated into large farms. However the identity of the tenement survived these changes and some of its social and legal functions survived into the post-medieval period.

<u>Conclusion</u>	Notes.
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1. Chapter II Sec.5.
2. p.35.
3. p.19.
4. p.xii
5. p.228
6. p.230.
7. p.185.
8. pp.234-5.
9. Chapter IV Sec.3 note 15.
10. p.110.
11. p.112.
12. pp.62-3.
13. Chapter III Sec.7 notes 22, 24.
14. Chapter V.Sec.4 note 3.
15. Chapter III Sec.6 note 3.
16. Chapter III Sec.7 note 29.
17. Chapter IV Sec.2.
18. Chapter IV Sec.3.
19. Chapter III Sec.6 and Chapter VI Sec.5.
20. Chapter II Sec.4 notes 3, 8; Chapter VI Sec.6.
21. p.53.
22. Chapter II Sec.4.
23. Chapter VI Sec.5.
24. p.51.
25. Chapter IV Sec.3 note 9, Sec.4 notes 1.
26. Chapter IV Sec.4.
27. Chapter V Sec.5; Chapter Vii Sec.2 note 12.
28. pp.69-70.
29. Chapter IV Sec.4.
30. Chapter IV Sec.4.
31. Chapter IV Sec.4 notes 11, 12; Chapter V Sec.2 note 2.
32. p.95.
33. Figure 33.
34. Figure 61.
35. Chapter VIII Sec.2.
36. Figure 41.
37. Chapter VIII Sec.3 notes 10, 11, Figures 59, 60;
Introduction notes 15, 16, 17.
38. Chapter VIII Sec.5 note 28.
39. Chapter VIII Sec.4 notes 15, 16.
40. Chapter VIII Sec.4 notes 10, 11, 12, 13. Sec.5 note 9.
41. Chapter VIII Sec.4 notes 13, 14.
42. Chapter VIII Sec.5 note 2.
43. Chapter VIII Sec.5.
44. Chapter VII Sec.7.
45. Chapter VIII Sec.4 notes 17, 18, 19, Chapter VII Sec.7.

All grid references relate to area TM.

The writer is the source where no other source is declared.

The sites listed do not consistute a complete archaeological survey.

Additional abbreviations used in this appendix.

<u>Mes.</u>	Mesolithic.
<u>Neo.</u>	Neolithic.
<u>B.A.</u>	Bronze Age.
<u>I.A.</u>	Iron Age.
<u>R.B.</u>	Romano-British.
<u>A.S.</u>	Anglo-Saxon.
<u>E.Med.</u>	Early Medieval.
<u>Med.</u>	Medieval.
<u>Post Med.</u>	Post Medieval.
<u>I.M.</u>	Ipswich Museum.
<u>A.P.</u>	Aerial Photograph.
<u>Frag.</u>	Fragments.
<u>N.S.E.W.</u>	North, South, East West.

N.B. Early medieval pottery is here distinguished by having simple upright rims, a thin fabric and some trace of shell tempering. Such wares are known to be early but are essentially undated, many could well be of late Anglo-Saxon date.

Aldringham Thorpe

1. 44706083 Group of barrows on Aldringham Common. V.C.H. I, 1907 p.625.
2. 46066106 Large barrow beside golf course, Walks area, as marked on 6 in. O.S. revisions.
3. 45406043 Single barrow in 'Square Plantation' as marked on 6 in O.S.
4. 47195992 Site of Aldringham chapel (C.L.A. p.19, Nos.22, 31, 34, 36).
5. 473598 Rim sherd of medieval grey ware (I.M.).

For finds discovered by coastal erosion at Thorpe, see P.S.I.A. XIV(ii) 1911 pp.243-8; V.C.H. I, 1907 p. 625.

Benacre

1. 525840; 523836; 525841 Mes. & Neo. (L.A.L.H.S.) P.S.I.A. XXXI(ii) 1968 p.189; P.S.I.A. XXXII(ii) 1971 pp.206-7.
2. 51058453 R.B. Coin of Marcus Aurelius in field near Church Farm. P.S.I.A. XXX(i) 1964 p.117.
3. 521846 Scatter of medieval bricks and tiles, Hall Farm. L.A.L.H.S.
4. 519858 (I.M., listed under Benacre, but in Kessingland parish). 64 sherds of Med. grey ware. Site of 'Bray's' field-names.
5. 535836 Med. (?) Bronze handle of small candle stick, no date given. I.M.
6. 516848 Med. Neo. Church Farm area. I.M.
7. 498841 R.B. hoard of 920 silver coins, 'Germanicus-Aurelian' found in 1786. G.E. Fox 'Roman Suffolk' A.J. 2nd Ser. 7, 1900 p.135.
8. 532824 Med. (?) Bronze casting waste and 14th cent. pot sherds on beach. Very close to med. site in Covehithe (5).
9. 507828 Holly Grove area, 13th-14th cent. sherds, including green-glazed pottery, lava millstone frags. and lead loomweight. L.A.L.H.S.
10. 503843 Hollow-way and slight earthworks of old road junction. A.P., S.A.U., St. J. ARD.12.

Blythburgh (Including Hinton) See also Bulcamp.

1. 452754 Site of the Augustinian Priory and probable find spot of late Saxon whale bone writing tablet and other finds dispersed after excavations in 1850. P.S.I.A. VIII, 1897 p.425.
2. 460758 A.P. of ring-ditches near White House Farm, Bulcamp. (L.A.L.H.S.). P.S.I.A. XXXII(i) 1970 p.93. (Bulcamp site 2).
3. & 4. 451751; 453750 Human skeletons found P.S.I.A. XXXII(i) 1970 p.93.
5. 45207545; 45137558 and surrounding area. On the field between the Priory and the river numerous finds including late Ipswich ware and Thetford ware. P.S.I.A. XXX(i) 1964 p. 117; XXX(ii) 1965 p.189 (Miss E. Leedham-Green).
6. 43757490 Med. 100+ sherds, 3 green glazed from 'Milldam Field' on land belonging to Blythburgh Priory.
7. 45757470 R.B. 30 sherds of grey ware 1st-2nd cent. mixed with 20 sherds of E.Med. one of which was stamped with star pattern.
8. 452749 R.B. 20 sherds of grey ware with 2 E.Med. and 2 green glazed sherds and fragments of lava millstone. N. of Blind Lane.
9. 463739 L.Med. 12 sherds in large area of dark soil and building debris. Possible site of earlier hall at Westwood Lodge.
10. 43707180 Med. 12 sherds, 1 green glazed. Small green-side site on the S. side of 'Hordes Green', Hinton.
11. 436715 Neo. 5 flint flakes and 1 finely worked scraper.
12. 433713 R.B. 22 sherds of abraded grey and red wares, near Hinton Brook.
13. 43507295 Med. 6 sherds in area of small enclosure marked on Saxton's map of Hinton (1594). Small green-side site on the Thorington-Hinton boundary. (Thorington site 14).
15. 462735 B.A. (?) 2 low barrows close together S.W. of Westwood Lodge.
16. 45057355-47407352 B.A.(?) Linear earthwork 'le Wenerdyke'. Low bank with shallow ditch either side. 2-3 metres between ditch centres. Running from high ground near Lumphall Walks down to the marshes near S.E. corner of 'Old Covert'. The western section follows along the middle of a shallow valley.
17. 45057355 Pillow mounds beside the road near Lumphall Walks.
18. 44157175 E.Med. 2 sherds, with some Post Med. pottery. M. Meek.
19. 447749 E.Med. 5 body sherds of late Ipswich ware. J. Tacon. (No other sherds have been found on this site).
20. 444725 Crop-mark, ring-ditch and other features. Hinton Hall area. S.A.U., JA.18. No pottery or other artifacts found.

Bulcamp

1. 47437653 - 47167611 R.B. large quantity of tiles and burnt red clay exposed on foreshore of Bulcamp marshes. Variously interpreted as kiln site or more probably a salt-making site.
P.S.I.A. XXXIV(i) 1977 p.73. Crop-mark site immediately N.
2. 460758 Ring ditches, see Blythburgh site 2.
3. 44557580 Med. 12 sherds. Possible moated site, see tithe map for 'Moat' field-names.
4. 432766 Med. 20+ sherds. J. Tacon.
5. 43657645 Med. 3 sherds on S. side of Lyon's Farm. (See also sites 7 & 8).
6. 442769 I.A.(?) Large ring-ditch (approx. 15m. diam.) Visible both on the ground and from the air. S.A.V., GQ.18A. Two thumbnail flint scrapers from the ring-ditch area.
7. 437769 R.B. 10 grey ware sherds; E.Med. 20 sherds; Med. 50+ sherds. Confined area N. of Lyon's Farm, near several large ponds.
8. 435769 R.B. 3 grey ware sherds; E.Med. 15 very small and abraded sherds spread over a large area of slightly darker soil, N.W. of Lyon's Farm.

Blyford

1. 42237670 Med. Remains of moated side near Blyford Hall.
2. 42857690 R.B. 20+ sherds of grey ware and tile fragments scattered over hillside above Church Farm.
3. 42257710 R.B. 50+ sherds of grey ware and tile fragments, some abraded Samian ware. N. of Blyford Hall.
4. 41357770 R.B. 100+ sherds of grey ware, Samian and some colour-coated wares. 5 hand-made I.A. rim sherds. 1 sestertius of Commodus and two small brass coins, probably barbarate radiates.
5. 41157735 E.Med. 1 rim sherd with later Med. and Post Med. sherds found by Dr Guthrie while digging foundations for new house on old tenement site in Blyford Street.
6. 43207742 Med. sherds found close to remains of small moated site on S. side of Hern Wood. (Henham site 4).

Bramfield

1. 39307405 Site of Old Brook Hall, remains of moated gardens.
2. 411730 B.A. 'Round Meadow'. Possible site of late B.A. hoard of 12 objects including a small narrow palstave. P.S.I.A. XI(iii) 1903 p.327; I.M. 962-182: Castle Museum, Norwich 30.947.
3. 400736 Med. 'Bramfield Castle', ring-work and associated earthworks. S.A.E., St J. CQ.060.
5. & 6. 41057315 & 410730 Med. 20+ sherds in the area of demolished 'Potash Cottage'. (Sample not retained).
7. 392720 Earthworks and ponds, site of farm, near 'Stonhams' field-names, N.W. of Manor Farm.
8. 393729 Med. 10+ sherds near pond north of the road, W. of Hill House Farm.
9. 393733; 392732 R.B. 2 scatters of grey ware and tile fragments. 60+ sherds, 15 tile frags.
10. 399729 Med. 5 sherds; 2 green glazed Rumburgh type ware. Found under the foundations of Hill Farm.

Brampton

1. 41378305 Med. Small ring-moat, or moated dovecot site. 6 sherds with 12 tile frags.
2. & 3. 41558308 Moat and pond between Old Hall and the road; 41708315 Main moat enclosing Old Hall, quantities of Post Med. pottery visible in moat sections.
4. 41108325 Slight earthworks on meadows near railway station. 1 sherd of E.Med. and 2 green glazed sherds from mole casts. Possible watermill site.
5. 43158205 Med. 24 sherds; 4 green glazed; 4 Post Med. sherds; oyster shells, from moated site S. of Manor Farm, possible site of Hales Manor.
6. 425825 Med. '12th/13th century' pottery reported from the area of partly levelled moats S. of Holly Bush Farm. G. Moll. P.S.I.A. XXVIII(i) 1958 p.90.
7. 43608195 Slight earthworks in field S. of the Rectory. Possible relict green-side site.
8. 432821 Slight earthworks N. of Manor Farm. Possible relict green-side site.
9. 43288125 Med. pottery scatter (sample not taken).
10. 438816 Line of old road on the N.E. side of Brampton Hall park.
11. 442800 B.A.(?) Ring-ditches and field boundaries. S.A.U., GD.11, 13.

See S.A.U. file for possible unprovenanced 'Pagan Saxon brooch' from a 'Manor Farm', (?). Norfolk/Suffolk.

Buxlow, see Knodishall.

Chediston

1. 326795 R.B.; Med. Pottery, oyster shells, building stone and flints, scattered over a fairly wide area. J.M. Ridgard. P.S.I.A. XXXII(i) 1970 p.94.
2. 359778 R.B. Wall footings of building discovered in trial trench excavated by G. Burroughs. (I.M.).
3. 34607685 R.B. Pottery from ditch excavated by I.M., some early Flavian wares.
4. 33537820 Med. 'The Grove' earthworks including at least 2 moats, area N. of Chapel Farm. 50+ sherds collected by the owner Mr. Ingate. A.P., S.A.U., DF.7.
5. 358770 Med. '13th century' pottery from Chediston Grange. Also 2 R.B. querns from the same area, 351765; 353774. Various other isolated finds. G. Burroughs. P.S.I.A. XXIX(ii) 1962 pp.167-8.
6. 34357835 Med. (?) Slight earthworks S. of Mountpleasant Farm.
7. 8. & 9. 33157860; 33107855; 33057845. Med. three scatters of pottery in 'Little David's Field' 20+ sherds, some Ed.Med., one or two R.B., grey ware sherds, which may be residual. G. Burroughs.
10. 33207355 B.A. barbed and tanged 'Wessex' type arrowhead, from same field as sites 7, 8, 9.
11. 37557770 Large area of calcined flint S.E. of Chediston Hall.
12. 35357757 Layer of calcined flint and charcoal visible in bank of stream.
13. 375772 Med. 40+ sherds; 4 green glazed.

Cookley

1. 366765 The 'Rockstone' glacial erratic.
2. 347761 'Punchard's Grove', circular enclosure marked on early maps.
3. 370753 Mes. Microlithic blade. G. Burroughs.
4. 352763 Med. pottery scatter. I.M.
5. 35677630 Med. late 13th-14th cent. pottery scatter. G. Burroughs.

South Cove

1. 493803 Large mound, now ploughed over, at Frostenden Bottom. For comments see P.S.I.A. XVIII(i) 1924 p.167; E.A.M. 1907: 2,619. Basil Brown excavated the site in 1951, his notes indicate that Med. pottery was found near the surface, but nothing else. I.M.
2. 497810 Slight earthworks and hollow-way near Church Farm.
3. 501794 Med. 15th cent. grey ware; 10 sherds 12th - 13th cent. L.A.L.H.S.

Covehithe (Northales)

1. 52318185 Site of ruined church, said to have 12th. cent. coffin slabs from the earlier church of Northales incorporated in the floor. E.A.M. 1926: 7,288.
2. 522814 Crop-mark of double rectangular enclosure and field system. R.B.(?) A.P., S.A.U., CU.9.
3. 523805 Neo. Flint scrapers and a hammer stone; spear-head. L.A.L.H.S. P.S.I.A. XXX(ii) 1968 p.191; P.S.I.A. XXXIV(ii) 1978 p.148.
4. 522804 Crop-mark of pillow mounds in the area of the 'Warren'. A.P., S.A.U., St. J., ASJ.97.
5. 531823 Med. pottery and artifacts from site eroded out of cliff face. L.A.L.H.S.; P.S.I.A. XXXII(ii) 1971 p.207.
6. 527815 R.B. thin scatter of grey ware sherds near cliff path.
7. 5281 I.A. 3 Icenian coins. P.S.I.A. XXXIV(iii) 1979 p.214.
8. 507824 B.A.(?) Ring-ditch. S.A.U., GD.24.
9. 524810 B.A. Flat axe, found on Green Heath. R. Phillips. A similar axe was found in cliff-fall at 526810. G. Eickert. S.A.U.
10. 518811 R.B. pottery, flue tiles etc. L.A.L.H.S.
11. 519804 Med. pottery scatter; some glazed sherds; bronze brooch. L.A.L.H.S.

Cratfield

1. 30217653 L.Med. Bronze buckle. J. Tacon.
2. 307729 R.B. 1st - 2nd cent. grey ware sherds.
3. 306752 Crop-marks of rectangular enclosures. S.A.U., DE.6; DF.9. R.B. (?).
4. 313744 Med. Crop-mark of rectangular enclosure or moat near the church. S.A.U., DF.8; DE.5.
5. 297755 R.B. grey ware sherds found by N. Evans. S.E. end of Tong's Lane.
6. 29767402 R.B. 1st - 2nd cent. pottery scatter. Laxfield Museum.

Darsham

1. 421700 R.B. 1 intact vessel, pot sherds, roofing tiles, found during building operations N.E. of the church. P.S.I.A. XXXI(ii) 1968 p.191.
2. 41576950 Area of intense burning. One or two sherds of R.B., an isolated Samian sherd from the neighbouring field.
3. 416705 Neo. flakes and scrapers.
4. 418708 Med. Groat of Ed.III, found in strawberry field. (This site is recorded at I.M. as 078518).
5. 41856915 Med. 14 sherds; 1 red with green glaze; 2 R.B. grey ware sherds.
6. 42356935 Med. 45 sherds; 5 red with green glaze; 2 red with brown glaze; 2 stone ware; 2 or 3 possible R.B. sherds.
7. & 8. 42256993; 42256980 R.B. pottery and tiles 1st - 4th cent. spread over a wide area, probably linking up with site 1. J. Tacon and M. Meek.
9. 42357000 Med. 50+ sherds; 1 red with green glaze; 4 R.B. grey ware (sites 7 & 8 are in the neighbouring field). S.W. corner of Brussels Green.
10. 416400 Med. Crop mark of large moated site on the edge of Cheyney Green. 'Moat Meadow'.

Dunwich

There is a very large corpus of unprovenanced material washed up on the beach at Dunwich or eroded out of the cliffs, some of which is recorded in P.S.I.A. and some by Ipswich and Dunwich museums. An incalculable amount of material has been carried away by visitors to the site. See S.A.U. file.

1. 478703 Med. Excavation of town defences. P.S.I.A. XXXII(i) 1970 pp.25-33. S.E. West for M.P.B.W. 12th-13th cent. sherds with a number of imported Pingsdorf type and Andenne wares of the 12th and 13th cent. Only 3 sherds of R.B. pottery were found in the infilling of the ditch.
2. 47957055 Med. pottery from the cliff and beach. P.S.I.A. XXX(ii) 1965 p.190; XXX(i) 1967 p.76; (ii) 1968 pp.191-2; (iii) 1969 p.320; XXX(ii) 1965 p.190.
3. 479704 Hand Axe, bifaced ovate, Late Acheulian. P.S.I.A. XXVII(iii) 1957 p.180.
4. 47857018 Temple Hill. Site of excavations by H.E.P. Spencer in 1935. P.S.I.A. XXII(ii) 1935 pp.198-200. Probably a late medieval mill mound. (No R.B. pottery was found).
5. 47787036 Ruins of Grey Friars Monastery. Site of excavations by N.E.S. Norris. P.S.I.A. XXII(iii) 1936 pp.287-93. (No R.B. pottery is recorded from the site).
6. 47527045 Site of 'Leet Hill', partly quarried away.
8. 47507058 Med. Ruins of Leper chapel, St. James' Hospital.

- Easton Bavents (The greater part of the parish has been eroded away).
1. 509789 R.B.(?) Small copper oil flask, ploughed up.
P.S.I.A. XXIX(iii) 1963 p.349.
 2. 515786 B.A. Beaker pottery sherds and worked flints. I.M.
 3. 5178 Gold half Noble of ED.III (minted between 1363-9) found on beach. 1956. See H.D. Collings 'Prehistory of Easton Bavents' L.A.L.H.S. 1969/70 pp.57-9.
Roman wells exposed in the cliff, 1888 'about ten yards north of where the old farmhouses formerly stood': P.S.I.A. VII, 1891 p.304; E.A.M. 1921: 6,124; V.C.H. Suffolk I, 1907 p.304.
Brass from lost church. E.A.M. 1927: 7,394; E.A.M. 1911: 3,541.

Fordley, see Middleton.

Frostenden

1. 47708070; 47738085; 47608065. Med. 3 pottery scatters.
P.S.I.A. XXXI(i) 1967 p.77.
2. 467813 Med. pottery scatter near moated site I.M. 967-62.
3. 475802 Med. '15th cent pottery' Mr J. Holms, White House Farm
P.S.I.A. XXXI(iii) 1969 p.321.
4. 482810 Med. 13th-14th cent. pottery 'Potter's Field' area. J. Holms.
P.S.I.A. XXXI(iii) 1969 p.321.
5. 46988158; 46948143; 46898130. R.B. 3 concentrations of grey ware.
R.B. possible millstone used as step to shop door. C. Morley.
P.S.I.A. XXV(i) 1949 p.110.
6. 461829 Med. Large moated complex surviving in plantation on W. side of Frostenden Spring. Marked on tithe map. Coincides with deviation in parish boundary.
7. 47198110 Med. Large quantity of pottery from the garden of Frostenden Grove Farm. J. Tacon. Possible kiln site in association with clay pits on Frostenden Clay Common, area of Post. Med. brick and ornamental tile works.

Halesworth

1. 384766 Neo. Polished flint axe. K.J. Bryant. P.S.I.A. XXXI(i) 1967 p.77.
2. 38507735 Med. Site of Halesworth manor, in ruins in 16th cent.
Chorography p.44; E.A.M. 1945: 11,227; J. Ridgard & Halesworth W.E.A. Halesworth; Towards a Local History 1980 p.15.
See also E.A.M. 1946: 11,385 Lead pot found at Steeple End; I.E. Moore 'Bronze Age Axes from Halesworth and District' P.S.I.A. XXIV(i) 1946 pp.121-4.

Henham

1. 450795 Moat Yards. Extensive earthworks, probable site of Craven's manor. P.S.I.A. XXXVII(iii) 1957 p.181.
2. 45707885 Small moat in Tuttlles Wood.
3. 43807760 Earthworks and moats, site of deserted hamlet of Middleton. Suckling II p.353; I.R.O., HA11/C9/26.
4. 432774 Med. small scatter of pottery E. of Hern Wood. 50+ sherds. Remains of small moat in Wood. (See Blyford site 6).
5. 44857863 Med. sherds seen in ditch section.
6. 45187868 Med. sherds seen in ditch section.
7. 44957889 Med. sherds exposed during hedge clearing operations. Slight earthworks in field adjoining Henham Green, S.E. of Craven's Manor Farm.
8. 443784 Med. Pottery reported by Lord Stradbroke from site of cottages marked on 1794 enclosure map, beside Henham Green.
9. 450792 B.A. small fragment of calcined gritted ware.

Henstead

1. 49158690 R.B. base of cooking pot and ox skull found at a depth of 14 feet during road widening operations at Rushmere Bridge. P.S.I.A. XXIV(iii) 1962 p.170.
2. 484865 Neo. unpolished axe. Low Pasture Farm.
3. 5086 Neo. Flake from a polished axe of grey flint with small scatter of flakes. P.S.I.A. XXXIV(iii) 1979 p.215.
4. 474866 B.A. bronze palstave. Castle Museum, Norwich.

Heveningham

1. 348731 Med. site of 1975 excavations. S.A.U., St. J. ATT.69.
2. 34227294 Med. 13th-14th cent. sherds. Brick Kiln Farm. J. Tacon.
3. 34247268 Med. 13th-14th cent. sherds. J. Tacon.

Hinton, see Blythburgh.

Holton

1. 805774 R.B. pottery reported from area of gravel pit. I.M. 1949-117.c.
2. 80757910 Med. ponds and slight earthworks of deserted farmstead.

Huntingfield

1. 330767 R.B. pottery, W. of Newhall Hall. G. Burroughs.
2. 340743 Med. probable site of Old Huntingfield Hall.
3. 33257380 Med. pottery from area around moat. J. Tacon.
4. 325735 Med. moat complex, Huntingfield High House.
5. 34607380 R.B. Coin of Antoninus Pius found at junction of Heveningham and Huntingfield to Walpole roads.

Knodishall, including Buxlow

1. 422623 R.B. a quantity of grey ware, Samian ware, roof tiles, pudding stone quern, bronze enamelled stud-head brooch. P.S.I.A. XXXIII(i) 1973 p.101; XXXIII(iii) 1972 p.287.
2. 428615 Neo. flint axe with splayed cutting edge. I.M.
3. 431607 B.A. or A.S. (?) Group of barrows N. end of Coldfair Green, described as 'one large and eight small in two rows'. 1 small 'course' pot, possibly A.S., reported from the largest mound. I.M.
4. 41856085 'Grove Wood', moats and earthworks. Also called 'Old World Wood'. Marked 'Buxlow' on Hodkinson's map of 1783.
5. 412632 Earthworks beside ruins of Buxlow church.
6. 41356310 Ruins of round tower of Buxlow St. Peter's church.
7. 412616 Moat, coinciding with deviation of parish boundary on edge of Friston Moor.

Leiston

1. 44816281 Med. Short cross penny of John (1199-1216) P.S.I.A. XXXIX(i) 1961 p.98.
2. 446629 B.A. 2 cinerary urns, one over the other, from gas-main trench in Carr Road.
3. 47336605 Med. Ruins of the chapel of St. Mary de Insula, site of the first Premonstratensian Abbey of Leiston, founded in 1182. To the N. of the chapel, area of dark soil, building materials, tiles, pottery, oyster shells etc. 2 E. Med. sherds; 30+ med. sherds; 10 green-glazed; 3 bronze frags. including sword chape, circular belt buckle, small square rivetted plate.
4. 445642 Med. Ruins of the second Premonstratensian Abbey, moved to this site after 1362, but probably incorporating the remains of an earlier building.

Linstead Magna

1. 318763 Site of St. Peter's church and graveyard.
2. 31727641 E. Med. 20+ shell tempered sherds; 3 white Stamford ware sherds; 200+ Med. sherds; pig bones and teeth; oyster shells etc. (1 R.B. body sherd). Area immediately N. of ruined church.
3. 321761 Med. moat complex around Linstead Hall, S.E. of ruined church. S.A.U., St. J.PP.84; St.J.PP.87; St.J.AQK.51; St. J. PP.84.
4. 312783 Med. earthworks N.E. of Wood Farm, deserted relict green complex. S.A.U., St.J.AQK.54, 56.
5. 310759 R.B. 3 sherds, some Med. G. Dyke.
6. 31307610 Med. pottery scatter and patch of dark soil. G. Dyke.

Linstead Parva

1. 324784 Med. earthworks and green ditch either side of Poplar Farm, Collipy's Green.
2. 321786 Med. deserted farm site. S.A.U., BF.24.

Mells (See Wenhaston)Middleton and Fordley

1. 43006773 Med. Site of St. Mary's church Fordley on the edge of Middleton churchyard. E.A.M. 1944: 11,084.
2. 427678 Med. Site of moated manor of Brendfen, no longer visible.
3. 425674 B.A. (?) crop-mark of ring-ditch and field boundaries. A.P., 79(iii)33. (In the writer's possession).
4. 423685 A.S. (?) Sherd of grey-blue ware, reported as an Ipswich ware 'kiln waster' from stream bed. A spread of oyster shells and pot sherds were also said to have been seen 'about 200 yards away', no date suggested. This site could not be relocated by the writer. I.M.
5. 423662 Med. ponds and slight earthworks, probable relict green-side settlement.

Minsmere, see Westleton

Peasenhall

1. 355707 B.A. perforated stone axe hammer. P.S.I.A. XXXI(iii) 1969 p.325.
2. 36007095 Med. & Post Med. Site of farm marked on Hodskinson's map 1783. Possible green-side site.
3. 33887040 Med. & Post Med. Site of Bultude Lodge Farm, area of Peasenhall park.

Rapton, see Peasenhall

Reydon

1. 489790 Med.(?) Crop-mark of ring-ditch, possible mill mound. A.P. belonging to J. Holmes of White House Farm, Frostenden.
2. 489790 B.A. 20+ sherds of Anglian type beaker; yellow polished flint axe, resharpened at both ends. G. Scott, Reydon Grove Farm.
3. 500785(?) R.B. building material with small dark grey bowl found in plantation. P.S.I.A. XXXIV(ii) 1947 p.168. Southwold Museum.
4. 486800 Med. slashed handle 2 feet down. J. Holmes.
5. 49187901 Post Med. Stone-ware glass and brick. (Marginal note on 6in. O.S. map at I.M.).
6. 48497905 Med. sherd with face mask. G. Scott.
7. 489793 Post Med. Brick debris, some partly vitrified. I.M.
8. 47657691 B.A.(?) A.S.(?) Earthworks of surviving ring-ditches. S.A.U., JH.134. (Plate 13).
9. 502777 R.B. Coin of Philip I (AD.248) Castle Museum, Norwich.

Rumburgh

1. 346819 Med. abortive excavations on the site of the Priory. P.S.I.A. XXIX(ii) 1962 p.173.
2. 35308165 Med. 2 E.Med. sherds; 40+ Med.; 2 green-glazed. Possible relict green-side site. See sites 4, 5. A.P., S.A.U., GR.9.
3. 358817 I.A., R.B., Belgic and early Roman wares collected by J. Tacon.
4. 334802 Med. site of St. James Farm in South Elmham, part of 'Dixey', Bloom's Hall green-side complex. See sites 2, 5.
5. 338808 Med. enclosures and ponds, and other crop-marks N. of Bloom's Hall. I.R.O., HB24(289/5). See sites 2, 4.
6. 357833 R.B. pottery including mortarium frag. I.M. 1938-241.

For the 'Common Stone', buried on Rumburgh common at the time of enclosure, see E.A.M. 1907: 2,128.

The ploughed out remains of medieval sites can be seen either side of Rumburgh Street, at 357814; 359817; 360816.

Sibton

1. 36336964 Site of medieval hospital as marked on 1952 6in. O.S. revision.
2. 360701 Med. moat. Site of Sibton N. Grange.
3. 364705 Crop-mark of ponds and ditched enclosures. S.A.E., St. J. ARD.17.
4. 368683 Med.(?) earthworks N. and E. of S. Grange. Possible site of deserted settlement of Rapton. S.A.U., St.J. ARD.18,20.
5. 37647179 Crop-mark of ring-ditch, possible mill mound on the edge of Sibton Green. S.A.U., DD.9.
6. 381715 Med. ploughed out remains of two green-side sites on the N. side of Sibton Green.
7. 3715715 Med. earthworks on the S. side of Sibton Green.
8. 365698 Med. Ruins of the Cistercian Abbey of Sibton in Abbey Wood. Extensive earthworks and masonry remains. P.S.I.A. VIII, 1892 p.54.

Sizewell, see Leiston

Sotherton

1. 427788 Med. 2 sherds of Med. from area N. of Sotherton Hall. Green-side site facing on to Sotherton Moor.
2. $\frac{1}{2}$ 3017890 Med. remains of small green-side moat. 30+ sherds; 2 green glazed sherds.
3. 43157880 Med. Post Med. Scatter of brick, pottery and tile. Site of green-side cottage marked on enclosure map of Sotherton Moor.
4. 43957955 Med. slight earthworks W. of Sotherton church, possible site of deserted village of Sotherton.

Southwold

1. 5176 B.A., Neo. Perforated greenstone axe-hammer from cliff fall in 1926, with 2 broken polished flint axes and a square section stone axe of 'green bassalt'. I.M.
2. 767510(?) R.B. Coin of Constantius I (305-6 AD) pierced for suspension.
3. 509759 Area of earthworks described by Gardner p.188. The 'Ancient Fort', 'Fairy Rings' and 'Hollowway' etc.

Spexhall

1. 37858005 Med. 30+ sherds; 2 green glazed, area S. of church and Rectory.
2. 380819 Crop-mark of rectangular enclosure, no pottery found. S.A.U., DD.11; 12; 13.
3. 382815 Crop-mark of square enclosure, possible marching camp near Stone Street Roman Road. S.A.U., DD.11.
4. 37908135 E. Med. 5 sherds; Med. 10 sherds, animal bones, small whet stone pierced for suspension.
6. 373817 Crop-mark of rectangular enclosure with rounded corners. S.A.U., DF.5.
7. 374814 Earthworks in field west of Spexhall Grove Farm.
8. 38858005 R.B. scatter of pottery, tiles and building material. Dr. Apthorpe, Fairstead Farm.
9. 388801 Med. pottery and unglazed tiles. Mrs. Middleton-Stewart, St. Peter's House. (Very close to R.B. site 8).
10. 37807955; 37857952. Med. 30+ sherds; 2 green glazed red sherds. Possible relict green-side site.
11. 376793 Med. windmill site. Several large frags. of lava millstone; 13 sherds of pottery.

Stoven

1. 44758190 Med. Church Farm moat complex.
2. 440821 Med. (?) Earthworks on the edge of Great Wood, area of extra-parochial land, possible green-side or green-entry complex.
3. 444831 Med. Post Med. Site of recently demolished North Green Farm. Other green-side sites can be seen on the N. & S. sides of North Green.

Theberton

1. 43776546 Med. Bronze spout of late medieval aquamanile. I.M.
2. 435659 B.A. Cinerary urn from Rectory garden. P.S.I.A. XXX(ii) 1962 p.189.
3. 447647 Post Med.(?) Large steep-sided mound beside road, possibly a garden mound in the grounds of Theberton House. D. Sherlock.
4. 423647 Med., Post Med. slight earthworks in 'Park Grove', 'Kiln Grove' and 'Gavell's Grove' area.

Thorington

1. 43107295 I.A.(?) R.B. Slight earthworks and crop-mark of oval enclosure, small thin scatter of 5 R.B. sherds and flint flakes. S.A.U., GD.06.
2. 430728 R.B. one or two sherds of grey ware and a flint scraper. J. Tacon and M. Meek.
3. 428727 Med. Small moat, 20+ sherds. J. Tacon.
4. 41357295 R.B. (I.A.?) Scatter of R.B. sherds, tile etc. spreading across the parish boundary into Bramfield. Excavated Oct. 1978. P.S.I.A. XXXIV(iii) 1979 p.217.
5. 43507295 Med. 30+ sherds from area of small enclosure marked on Saxton's 1594 map of Hinton Hall Estate beside Common Wood.
6. 422743 Med. Ruined farmhouse on site of Wimples Manor. 1 sherd.
7. 428742 R.B. scatter of grey ware sherds reported by J. Tacon.
8. 428734 Med. earthworks on Thorington Green.
9. 429740 Med. Slight earthworks in 'Sparham' field.
10. 42157285 Med. Site of Old Thorington Hall. Remains of moat marked on tithe map.
11. 433728 Med. earthworks and moat in N.E. corner of Big Wood (Great Haugh). Adjoining Thorington Common Wood. Possible site of Sowter's Manor.
12. 428724 Med. earthworks and boundaries of tenement plots in 'Sixteen Acre Wood' (Tuck's Wood) adjoining 'Near Common Wood'.
13. 43007349 B.A.(?) Ring-ditch S.A.U., GD.07.
14. 429732 B.A.(?) Ring-ditch S.A.U., JA.21.

Ubbeston

1. 310726 R.B. grey wares, Samian ware, brick and tile fragments from 'Castle Hill Field' J. Tacon for Laxfield Museum.
2. 31227276; 312726 Med. pottery scatter near to site 1. As above.
3. 316725 R.B. 1st-2nd cent. pottery scatter in area of Allen's Farm. Laxfield Museum.
4. 317727 Med. sherds of 13th-14th cent. pottery in area of Allen's Farm. Laxfield Museum.
5. 318726 R.B. grey ware and 2nd cent. Samian sherds in area of Allen's Farm. Laxfield Museum.
6. 32307263 Med. Slight earthworks or moated enclosure N. side of church.
7. 31407245 R.B. 1st - 3rd cent. Samian ware, grey ware and 'Castor' type colour coated sherds. Valley Farm area. Laxfield Museum.
8. 323722 Med. 12th-13th cent. sherds. Clay Hill area. Laxfield Museum.
9. 331728 R.B. Samian sherds, grey ware, building material etc. J. Tacon for Laxfield Museum.
10. 32287136 Med. Post Med. sherds found near the river. Laxfield Museum.
11. 32157125 E. Med. 2 sherds. Laxfield Museum.
12. 324732 Med. Post Med. pottery and other items from field called 'Little Italy', said to have been occupied by Italian craftsmen working on Heveningham Hall in the late 18th cent.
13. 323721 Med. scatter of sherds on the edge of Ubbeston Green. Laxfield Museum.
14. 325722 Med. scatter of sherds N. of Ubbeston Green. Laxfield Museum.
15. 322711 Med. scatter of sherds in White House Farm area. Laxfield Museum.

Uggeshall

1. 45388135 Med.(?) Site of chapel built in middle of road, on the edge of Colds Green. See tithe map.
2. 46788086 Med. (?) Site of 'Prison', opposite Brick Kiln Farm beside Clay Common. See Rotuli Hundredorum II pp.197-8.
3. 453809 Med. Green-entry complex in 'Hog Corner' area, 'Grove Darsards' field.
4. 45698056 B.A.(?) Ring ditch. S.A.U., GD.22.

A number of crop-marks were noted in the area of gravelly soils overlooking the river S. of Church Farm and Wash Lane Cottages. Field walking produced only isolated sherds of grey ware and other R.B. sherds, no main concentrations could be located.

Walberswick

1. 50057438 E.Med. possible Kiln site. P.S.I.A. XXXI(i) 1967 p.82.
2. 499743 Med. sherds found on the beach in area close to site 1. P.S.I.A. XXXI(iii) 1969 p.329.
4. 503747 Med. fragments of a knight jug found with other sherds on the beach. P.S.I.A. XXIX(ii) 1962 p.173.
5. 496744 R.B. sherds on field surface as well as Med. pottery found on the foreshore. P.S.I.A. XXVIII(i) 1958 p.96.
6. 488741 E.Med. 6 sherds and part of a bronze buckle. A Nuremberg token was also found near this spot close to the site of Old Walberswick church. P.S.I.A. XXIX(i) 1961 p.101.
7. 478752 Neo. flint scraper and flake.
8. 473753 Med. 20+ sherds.
9. 477756 R.B. 20+ grey ware sherds; 1 Samian sherd; tile fragments.
10. 46957465; 47187484 B.A.(?) Barrow group of Tinker's Walks. The N. barrow, which is marked on O.S. maps, was excavated early this century. E.A.M. 1908: 2,627.
11. 49257415 Estimated position of Old Walberswick Church.

Sites 1, 2 & 4 may mark the site of the late medieval harbour constructed in the 14th cent.

Walpole

1. 378744 Med. area of earthworks, possible green-entry complex.
2. 37707433 Med. 5 sherds, close to site 1.
3. 36237451 R.B. 3 sherds of grey ware; 2 med. M. Meek & J. Tacon. At junction of parish boundaries.
4. 374729 Med. 13th - 14th cent. pottery. Poplar Farm. A. Russell-Smith. S.A.U.

Wangford

1. 466791 Med. Site of Wangford Priory. Cluny c.1160. Masonry remains in Rectory garden.
2. 47457955 Med. 12 sherds S. side of Barnaby alias 'Barley Bread' Green.
3. 47357975 Med. 10 sherds W. side of Barnaby Green.
4. 47487935 R.B. thin scatter of 10+ abraded grey ware sherds.
5. 47427950 I.A., R.B. 20+ sherds of grey ware, 1st cent. and some Belgic forms.
6. 46957942 Neo. flint scraper S. of mill mound.
7. 47057935 R.B., Med. thin scatter of abraded sherds, 10+ R.B., 10+ Med.
8. 47757940 Neo. Flint scraper and borer N.W. of Reydon Wood.
9. 46737823 B.A.(?) Ring-ditch. S.A.U., WNF.002.

Wenhaston

1. 428752 R.B. A large quantity of grey ware, Samian, flue tiles and building material, mostly 1st - 3rd cent. and a number of coins have been collected from the central part of this field by J. Tacon and others. 2 sherds of late Thetford ware and some E.Med.
2. 4307490 R.B. Late pottery forms and 4th cent. coins from the lower part of this field, where an irrigation trench was dug in 1980. J. Tacon, M. Meek.
3. 428756 R.B. 1st-2nd cent. greyware, Samian and building materials, probably an extension of site 1.
4. 430747 R.B. 2nd-3rd cent. pottery, slag, tile fragments showing signs of intense heat, possible industrial area. J. Tacon & M. Meek.
5. 41487600 Med. Site of St. Bartholomew's Chapel and Grange. 50+ sherds.
6. 412765 R.B. Thin scatter of grey ware sherds. J. Tacon.
7. 40647632 R.B. thin scatter of grey ware sherds; 1 B.A. calcined flint gritted sherd.
8. 43287558; 43387545 Med. Two small scatters of pottery N.E. of Blower's Farm.
9. 405767 Med. Site of St. Margaret's chapel, Mells. P.S.I.A. VIII(iii) 1894 p.334-79.

Westhall

1. 42258050 B.A., R.B. Two or three Deverel Rimbury type sherds and 3 late Roman sherds area W. of church.
2. 427808 Med. 10+ sherds W. side of Goose Green.
3. 42808095 Med. Post Med. 10+ sherds; 5 green glazed Rumburgh type wares. W. side of Goose Green.
4. 42858075 Med. sherds close to Burkett's Farm, E. of Goose Green.
5. 41708015 Med. Earthworks, ponds, moats etc. Relict green complex in area of Grove Farm (demolished) and Stradbroke Town Farm.
6. 41958010; 42058010 Med. 2 scatters of pottery S. of relict green-ditch.
7. 42018030 Med. Ploughed out earthworks, ponds, ditches etc. A large quantity of pottery comes from this site, including 20+ sherds of green glazed red wares, stone wares etc.
8. 42308105 Med. Ploughed out earthworks of the 'Grove' moat with associated pottery scatters on the S. side of Bacon's Green. Site of Bacon's Manor.
9. 42208135 Med. rectangular enclosure with ponds and associated pottery scatters on the N. side of Bacon's Green.
10. 41958125 E.Med., Med. Pottery scatters on the S. side of Bacon's Farm moat.
11. 41008155 Med. Westhall Moat Yards. Earthworks, inner and outer moat yards ploughed. Site extends over six acres. Pottery, tiles cobble stones.
12. 40808195 Med. Moats and earthworks at Rookery Farm. Pottery scatter extending W. of railway line.
13. 40648060; 40648053 Med. 2 pottery scatters, part of green-entry complex S.W. corner of Great Green.

13. 40648060; 40648053 Med. 2 pottery scatters, part of green-entry complex S.W. corner of Great Green.
14. 40708142; 40758141 Med. 2 pottery scatters, green-entry complex opposite site 13.
15. 40328100; 40408105; 40458108 Med. 3 pottery scatters, N. side of Nethergate Green.
16. 40528100 Med. Pottery found E. of Manor Farm. (This field was at one time a market garden and may have been polluted by introduced soil).
17. 40908095 R.B. 5 sherds of greyware, very scattered.
18. 39708068 R.B. Relocated site of Westhall Hoard.
19. 39758225 Med., Post Med. Pottery scatter on site of demolished farm. S. side of Cox Common.
20. 39758248 Med. ploughed out moat and ditches N. side of Cox Common.
21. 39628288 Med. 2 sherds close to moat at Ivy Grange Farm.
22. 39558250 Med. 40+ sherds at the head of the 'T Piece Field'.
23. 43207995 Med. Site of moated manor of Empoles. Marked on 1654 map. I.R.O., HB/1175/2.
24. 402814 Med. 15th cent. plague pit(?) found in 1965. I.M.

Westleton

1. 4667 R.B. coin hoard. 18-20 coins all unidentified small bronze. Found in a 'coarse' pot, reported by Davy, 1845.
2. 469670 Crop-mark of small rectangular enclosure with lines of pits or post holes. S.A.U., St. J. AST.99.
3. 45337262 B.A.(?) Barrow as marked on O.S. 6in. revisions. Possibly dug in 1825. Report by Davy, collared urn from 'Hinton Green'.
4. 47167081 B.A.(?) Ring ditches. S.A.U., GD.03.
5. 43906906 B.A. Bucket urn found in extension to church yard. Westleton Museum. Note by E. Martin for S.A.U.; P.S.I.A. XXXIV(i) 1977 p.76.
6. 431684 B.A. Flint discoidal scraper and single sherd of pottery similar fabric to site 5.
Med. 30+ sherds thinly scattered over a wide area.
7. 44256795 Med. 50+ sherds between 2 pits E. of Black Marsh.
Neo. 1 small thumb nail scraper.
8. 45287215; 45287212 B.A.(?) 2 barrows S.W. of the Dunwich road.
9. 455724 Med. extensive area of ridge and furrow on N.E. side of Dunwich road.
10. 464707 Med. Deserted hamlet of Breggestreet, under Forestry Commission plantation. thin pottery scatter at 470707 in area of dark soil outside the plantation.
12. 47207265 Med. levelled remains of earthwork castle or ring-work. 'Stonehill Mount' on 'Castle Heath' (1463) .Ring-work shown on 1st Ser. O.S. map.
13. 43986985 Med. 10 sherds E. of Old Hall ruins on side of dell. Oyster shells, green-glazed tiles. Some Post Med. sherds.

(Westleton continued)

14. 43956785 Med. 50+ sherds some 12th cent. types, W. side of Black Fen.
15. 438685 Med. 30+ sherds, some 12th cent. types; 3 R.B. grey ware sherds 'Spyne' field-name.
16. 426685 Med. 40+ sherds; 4 green glazed red wares.
17. 437679; 438679 Med. 50+ sherds either side of allotment and bungalow. Probable site of manor of Valens.
18. 443677 Med. 20+ sherds, windmill site. 'Mill Stockle' area.
19. 437706 E. Med. 20+ sherds thinly scattered over a wide area N. of Red House Farm.
20. 44056860 Med. 6 sherds; 1 green glazed red ware, partly obscured by road.
22. 425708 Med. moat, site of manor of Lembaldes.
23. 44557030 Med. The 'Lambpits', 6 sherds of pottery. The name is mentioned in the 1463 Westleton extent.

Wissett

1. 37607955 Med. sherds reported from the area of Bleach Farm moat, site of Blenche's Manor. I.M. 967-64.
2. 374786 I.A. 4 sherds; 1 Belgic type; 1 thumb nail scraper; 3 side scrapers.
3. 38057825 R.B. 20+ sherds of grey ware, roof tiles etc.
4. 37957798 Med. Post Med. 30+ sherds; 4 green glazed red wares; stone wares, brown glazed red wares etc. Site of cottage marked on tithe map.
5. 35258020 Med. Post Med. Large quantity of kiln wasters under driveway of Rumburgh Place Farm. Dark red-grey body with rich apple green glaze. Special features include frilly bases and tops to cups and jugs, stamp decoration, many large bung-hole jars. Mixed Dutch influence with Anglian red ware tradition. 15th cent. From a pit excavated in the garden; 14th. cent. pottery pilgrim badge, buckles and jettons. (Site 6). I. Armour-Cheleau.
7. 37557965 B.A.(?) Barbed and tanged arrowhead in pale honey coloured flint. Long tang, narrow barbs of a type sometimes described as late Mes.
8. 35258015 Neo. polished stone axehead from ploughed out cobbles on Med. site. Med. large quantity of pottery collected by A. Barefoot & I. Armour-Cheleau. Rumburgh Place Farm.
9. 367792 L. Med. pottery scatter collected by A. Talbott.
10. 37007945 L. Med. pottery scatter collected by A. Talbott.
11. 37157925 R.B. large mortarium fragment and other grey ware sherds. P. Willis. Thyme Cottage.
12. 35158040 Med. earthworks recently levelled beside Rumburgh Common. Probable green-side tenement site.

B.A. Palstaves from Wissett; P.S.I.A. XXIV(i) 1946 p.121; V.C.H. Suffolk I, 1907 p.277.

Wrentham

1. 490833 Post Med. 3 stone ware sherds; 1 iron spur; clay pipes, etc.
Site of Wrentham Hall.
2. 487831 R.B. 10 sherds of grey ware N.W. of church.
3. 486830 Med. 14 sherds; 1 green-glazed Post Med. 18th cent. slip wares; Delft and Black Bassalt ware.
4. 47628278 L.Med. ploughed out earthworks and ponds.
5. 504824 Crop-mark reported by P. Durbridge L.A.L.H.S.
6. 49358405 Small ring-ditch marked on 6 inch O.S. map
N.W. corner of Wrentham Wood.

Yoxford

1. 401689 I.A. antler weaving comb found 6 feet below ground surface in sewage trench near bank of river. P.S.I.A. XXX(ii) 1965 p.197.
2. 396689 R.B. coin of Hadrian report from school.
3. 39057010 R.B. 29 sherds of grey ware and large storage jar sherds.
4. 38857050 R.B. 15 sherds of grey and red wares, large storage jar sherds.
5. 389702 Med. Earthworks in 'Bush Corner', probable remains of Yoxford Manor.
6. & 7. 385693; 386693 Med., R.B. 2 concentrations of Med. sherds in 'Pale Ditch Meadow'. (Site 6); 50+ Med. sherds with 1-2 R.B. grey ware sherds; 5-6 Post Med. intrusions. (Site 7.); 60+ Med. sherds with some E. Med. forms; 3 green glazed sherds; 20+ R.B. sherds some late forms. Probable site of Stickingland Manor.
8. 387692 Med. 30 sherds; 2 green glazed; bone arrow polisher; 1 late R.B. base sherd.
9. 38756970 Med. 12 sherds; 2 R.B. sherds. Continuation of Little Street.
10. 38656895 E.Med., Med. 40+ sherds, some early medieval forms. Low bank beside stream, possible early water mill site. Some Post Med. intrusions.
11. 39957000 Area of calcined flints; 3 flint scrapers; 1 hammer stone.
1 R.B. sherd.
12. 39956985 Med. 15 sherds; 5 green glazed red sherds; 8 Post Med. sherds.

Fressingfield Hoxne Hundred

1. 255768 Med. bronze weight container and potsherds. I.M. 926-136. P.S.I.A. XXVII(iii) 1957 p.180.
2. 269770 Med. dagger and bullock shoe. Tithe Farm. P.S.I.A. XXVII(i) 1955 p.43.
3. 27957820 Med., Post Med. Moat complex, site of old Whittingham Hall.
4. 28957585 Med. Crop-mark of moat in field called 'Double Ditches' S.A.U., DF.12. Also rectangular enclosure DE.7.
5. 28027486 Crop-mark of rectangular enclosure with central feature, N.E. of Pear Tree Farm. S.A.U., DF.13. Possibly related to nearby R.B. site 10.
6. 267786 Crop-mark of oval enclosure, N.E. of Knight's Farm, S.A.U., DF.22, 23.
7. 27687740(?); 263781 Med. A Gold ring was found in 'Mill Mount Field' and handed over to the British Museum by Rev. J.J. Raven. Information from Raven's diary conveyed to the writer by N. Evans. Two 'Mill Mounts' are marked on the tithe map, as above. There is also a 'Little Mill Mount' at 27517765. See Chapter III Sec.4 note 2.
8. 27457790 I.A. single large sherd of very coarse large storage jar. (In same field as R.B. site 9).
9. 272778 R.B. 50+ sherds of grey ware; 2 Samian sherds; 6 tile frags.
10. 28157485 R.B. 70+ sherds grey and black burnished wares; 3 Samian sherds; 3 I.A. type sherds. E.Med. 40+ sherds. Med. from the same spot, 60+ sherds, 6 red, green glazed; pig bones.
11. 28657595 E.Med. 50+ small very abraded sherds beside Chippenhall Green. (2 R.B. grey ware sherds).
12. 25957801 Med. crop-mark of ploughed out moats, pottery, oyster shells, etc. Possible site of Vaunces manor. N. Evans.
13. 281758 Med. (?) Ploughed out hollow way and other earthworks S. of Chippenhall Hall. No pottery found. See S.A.U. file.
14. 28607580 Med. 6 sherds; 6 Post Med. sherds; (1 R.B. sherd?) Site of small cottage marked on early O.S. maps, beside Chippenhall Green.
15. 28407570 Med. 9 sherds; oyster shells. Area of Common Farm, beside Chippenhall Green.
16. 27927471 Med. 25 sherds; 14 buff, green glazed (Weybread ware); 10 Post Med. and some stone ware.
17. 27857470 Med. 50+ sherds; 4 buff, green glazed (Weybread ware).
18. 27454745 Med. 16 sherds; 3 green glazed. S.E. of Ufford Hall.
19. 285755 Earthworks E. of Rookery Farm bordering Chippenhall Green.
20. 29257782 B.A. spearhead. J. Shield. Laxfield Museum.

R.B. There are 2 matching colour coated flagons, imported probably from the Rhineland area, said to have been 'ploughed up' in Fressingfield in the late 19th cent. Bungay Museum. See Chapter III Sec. 4 note 2.

Shadingfield Wangford Hundred

1. 44408422 Mes. Thames pick, scraper and fabricator.
443842 R.B. scatter of sherds; Med. 13th cent. jug spout.
44358359 Med. scatter of pottery on moated farmstead site.
443841 Neo. axe of chipped flint.
443842 R.B. scatter of sherds and 14th cent. pottery, flints and
animal bones. P.S.I.A. XXVIII(ii) 1959 p.166; XXVII(ii)
1956 p.116.
2. 434841 Med. 13th-14th cent. pottery, sherds of jug with tubular
spout and thumb impressed base. P.S.I.A. XXXI(i) 1967
p.81.
3. 435838 Med. mortar of oolite limestone; Niedermendig millstone frag;
R.B. bronze coin of Claudius Gothicus. Norwich Museum.
Church Farm area.
4. 42028393 E. Med. 10+ sherds. In same field as 5, 6, 7.
5. 42158390 Med. 12th-13th cent. sherds, near site of Valley Farm.
6. 42108405 R.B. 3 sherds of grey ware, possibly part of larger scatter
covered by wood.
7. 42258386 Med. Post Med. Site of Valley Farm, recently demolished.
8. 426852 Med. earthworks and moats in the area of West End Farm.
Green-entry complex.

Kelsale Hoxne Hundred, detached

1. 401651 Neo. polished stone axe from plough-soil near Rogman Farm.
P.S.I.A., XXXI(iii) 1969 p.322.
2. 414649 R.B. scatter of sherds in plough-soil. P.S.I.A. XXX(ii)
1965 p.193.
3. 404652 Med. 13th cent. sherds and oyster shells, beside East Green.
P.S.I.A. XXX(ii) 1965 p.193.
4. 39256683 Med. 13th-14th cent. sherds from Town Farm. P.S.I.A. XXX(iii)
1966 p.281.
5. 3867 R.B.(?) pottery from Kelsale Lodge area. V.C.H. Suffolk. I.
1907 p.312.
7. 40706490 Med. concentration of pottery. Maple Farm. I.M., S.A.U.
8. 389652 Neo. Polished green-stone axe from near the church. I.M.,
S.A.U.
9. 40256590 Med. Footings of stone building found in area of 'Chapel Yards'
marked on Tithe Map. N. end of East Green, near 'Rubble Stone
Farm'.

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