

# FRAMLINGHAM CASTLE, SUFFOLK THE LANDSCAPE CONTEXT

## DESK-TOP ASSESSMENT

Magnus Alexander



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## FRAMLINGHAM CASTLE, SUFFOLK

### THE LANDSCAPE CONTEXT

Magnus Alexander

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## **SUMMARY**

Framlingham is identified as the caput of an Anglo-Saxon estate. A Norman precursor to Framlingham Castle was probably deliberately located where the castle is today, on the site of the Saxon caput, in order to reinforce the new Norman lord's claim to the older territory. The known parks were examined in the field. A section of park pale was found to survive along much of the eastern side of Framlingham Great Park and along the southern side of Bradhay. The origins of the town may go as far back as the early Norman period. The church might have been inserted into an existing framework around the time the curtain wall of the castle was built (c AD 1200) as this would have cut off access to the existing chapel, possibly the original parish church. The properties along Church Street around the marketplace may have been planned but it was not clear if this was one phase. It is suggested that the marketplace may once have been larger and that the block to the south of the church encroached onto it in the medieval period. Post medieval developments are summarised including the role of the area in the Second World War.

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## **ARCHIVE LOCATION**

The project archive will be deposited at The National Monuments Record Centre, Swindon

## **DATE OF RESEARCH**

July to September 2007

Cover Illustration: Framlingham from the south-west (TM2863/126 23 Apr 2004, English Heritage (NMR) collection 23433/10)

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## INTRODUCTION

Framlingham Castle is a Scheduled Ancient Monument (Suffolk 3) within the care of English Heritage (EH). Previous work on the castle has focussed on the castle itself and its immediate environs. There have been several excavations at the castle, most notably by G M Knocker in 1954 and J Coad between 1968 and 1970 (Knocker 1956, Coad 1972). A topographic survey of the mere and its surroundings was undertaken in 1997 (Brown & Pattison 1997) and a detailed topographic survey of the castle earthworks was undertaken in 2002 (Brown 2002). At this time geophysical surveys of the outer bailey and lower court areas were undertaken by EH Centre for Archaeology (Martin, 2002).

English Heritage's Properties Presentation department was planning to revise the interpretation of Framlingham Castle (EH 2006). As part of this work they were seeking to place the castle in its wider landscape context. The Archaeological Survey and Investigation Section were asked to contribute to this development programme in order to provide background information that will feed into one of the interpretation themes, that of 'Framlingham Castle in the Suffolk Landscape' (ibid).

The aim of this project derived from the aims of the Properties Presentation Department's Interpretation Plan, in particular, 'To explain the significance of the historic grouping of the castle, the village, the church and the landscape context of Framlingham Castle' (EH 2006, 22). The project objectives arose from this aim together with relevant interpretation themes (ibid, 25) and addressed a series of questions detailed in the Project Design (Alexander 2007).

Time constraints and the breadth of the project scope meant that the analysis and interpretation was of limited depth with background research restricted to readily available secondary sources and a few key primary records, and fieldwork to an extensive walk over survey.

## TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

Framlingham lies in the east of Suffolk about 20km from the North Sea and 20km north east of Ipswich (NGR TM 2870 6373, Fig 1). Suffolk has typically been divided into several landscape zones including 'High Suffolk'; a broad ridge of chalky till running north east to south west across the county, with sandy soils to the north west (Breckland) and south east (Sandlings) (see for example Dymond & Martin 1988, 14-5). Framlingham is on the south eastern side of High Suffolk in an area where the chalky till is overlain by slightly permeable calcareous clayey soils and mixed agriculture is practised (Soil Survey of England and Wales, 1983).



Figure 1 - Location

Framlingham sits in the valley of the River Ore at about 35m OD with Parham and Marlesford further downstream. The Ore is a tributary of the River Alde which runs to the north east of Framlingham with the settlements of Badingham, Bruisyard, Rendham, Sweffling, Stratford St Andrew and Farnham in its valley. The River Deben runs to the south of Framlingham with the settlements of Brandeston, Kettleburgh and Easton beside it. The ground between these valleys reaches a little over 50m, but drops towards the south east, and neither the watersheds, nor the valleys are pronounced. To the north is the main watershed in the area, running roughly east-west, which consists of more level terrain. From Dennington the land drains northwards towards the Blythe or the

Waveney and it is here that the highest land in the vicinity lies reaching just over 60m OD near the border between Saxtead, Earl Soham and Tannington.

Framlingham Castle, St Michael's church and the older part of the town are situated on a small spur above the confluence of several small rivers and streams at between 35 and 45m OD (see Fig 2). The spur runs roughly east-north-east to west-south-west and has a steep slope to the north with more moderate slopes to the west and south. To the east the land rises gently away from the castle and town for about 1km, reaching a maximum elevation of about 53m OD. The surrounding valley slopes are generally moderate and the spur upon which Framlingham is located is one of the best defined in the area. Both the castle and the church are situated on the northern side of the spur and the castle in particular takes advantage of the steeper northern slopes to enhance both its defence and appearance (particularly as viewed from the north).

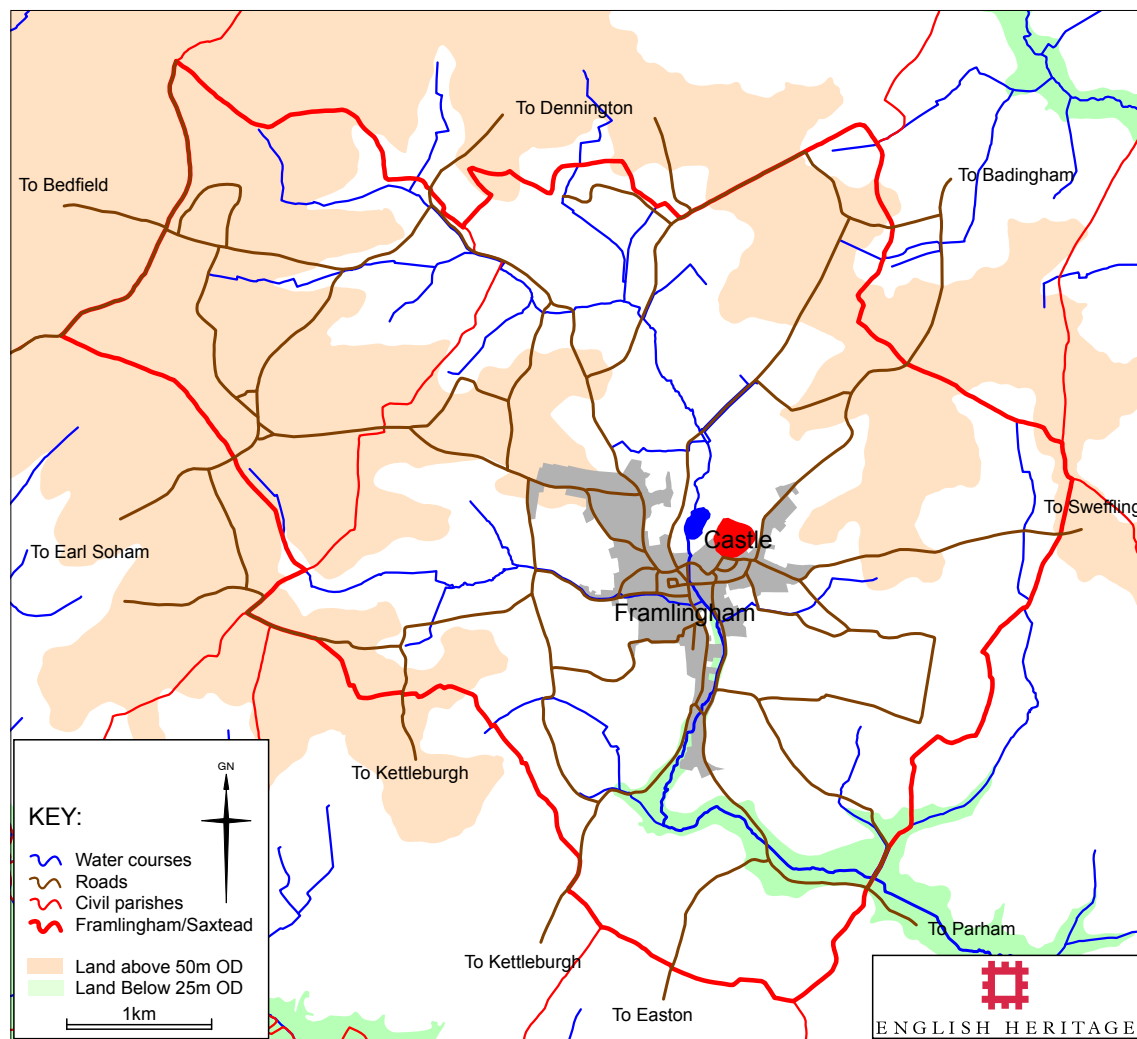


Figure 2 - Topography

## PREHISTORIC AND ROMANO-BRITISH FRAMLINGHAM

See Fig 13 on page 59.

It seems likely that High Suffolk was dominated by woodland until the Romano-British period and that prior to this settlement was on a small scale and dispersed in nature (see Dymond & Martin 1988, 25, 27, 29, 31). High Suffolk appears to have formed a boundary zone with discernible cultural differences between the northwest and southeast as far back as the Early Bronze Age (Martin E 1999, 91) and in the Late Iron Age it appears that the Iceni were divided into different groups by the clay ridge (ibid, 84). Key prehistoric communications routes appear to have by-passed the Framlingham area running through High Suffolk along the Gipping Valley to the south-west and along the coastal plain to the south and east, possibly through the area of Hacheston (ibid, 91).

There is evidence of an early Iron Age settlement less than 1.5km due south of Framlingham Castle on a small spur within a loop of the River Ore at TM 2840 6198 (Suffolk SMR, FML 008). During small-scale excavations here almost 500 sherds of pottery dating to the middle centuries of the first millennium BC were found. Most were recovered from what was thought to be an occupation layer and some were large and in good condition. Much of this site was probably destroyed when the nearby railway cutting was constructed in the 19th century (Flemming 1993).

In the Romano-British period Framlingham lay between two Roman roads. One ran to the north and still forms part of the parish boundary between Framlingham and Dennington (Suffolk HER, FML 013). The second is assumed though its exact course is uncertain: a Roman road is known to have run towards Hacheston (the site of an important settlement at this time, see below) from the west and almost certainly carried on to the east, its course indicated by the place-name Stratford St Andrew (Moore et al 1988, 39), the first part of which means 'street ford', usually an indicator of a Roman road still visible in the earlier Anglo-Saxon period (Gelling & Cole 2000, 71, 74, 93). The construction of these roads, particularly that to the north, probably opened up the landscape and a scatter of settlements are known across High Suffolk in this period (Dymond & Martin 1988, 34-5). Of these only about a third seem to have had Late Iron Age pre-cursors suggesting that though the landscape was exploited previously, the Romano-British period saw expansion and intensification of settlement and agriculture (Moore et al 1988, 59). Many of these settlements appear to have been deserted during the late third century (Warner 1996, 53).

There was a significant Romano-British settlement near Hacheston about 6km to the south east of Framlingham. The evidence suggests that it may have been an industrial centre with several kilns and possible furnaces (Moore et al 1988, 38, 40, 60, 65). These would all have required fuel, probably in form of coppiced wood, and being so close, the Framlingham area was very probably involved in its supply.

Though the evidence is circumstantial it seems possible that there was a settlement of some sort at Framlingham during the Romano-British period. Pottery sherds and two mortar fragments (which are generally fragile and do not survive well once disturbed)

have been recorded from the site of the medieval guildhall, immediately north of the market place (TM 284 634; Suffolk SMR, FML Misc/MSF3162) suggesting a building, possibly of some status given the presence of Samian, a high value pottery imported from France. During an archaeological evaluation unstratified Romano-British pottery was also recovered from only 200m away immediately north of the church (TM 28571 63551; *ibid*, FML039). A small Romano-British glass bottle has also been found 'in Framlingham' (*ibid*, MSF3163) but it is unclear if this refers to the town or the parish; if the town then this also suggests the presence of a high status building in the area. A Romano-British find in 1995 from the valley immediately north of the castle, possibly an iron stylus, (TM 287 638; *ibid*, FML001, MSF16349) and a later find of a 3rd century radiate from the same area (TM 288 639; *ibid*, MSF19189) might indicate a settlement site but could have been casual losses, particularly the coin as it was pierced for suspension, as could two coins and a brooch fragment from c. 1km east of the castle (TM 292 636; *ibid*, MSF19191). A redeposited Romano-British sherd from a site on New Road (TM 28138 63557; *ibid*, FML025, MSF19109) may have originated from manuring. Even if these finds don't represent settlement they seem to support the suggestion that Framlingham may have been a focus of activity during the Romano-British period as recorded finds from elsewhere in the parish are rare being restricted to two sites. A scatter of small fragments of worn Romano-British pottery recovered from the same site as the Iron Age settlement described above (Flemming 1993, FML008) that is suggestive of manuring and which might suggest settlement in the vicinity (it is interesting to note that both this site and Framlingham are on spurs above the river valley and it is probable that these were favoured settlement sites); and another possible settlement, also indicated by a pottery scatter together with a coin, found during metal detecting near the border between Framlingham and Kettleburgh parishes (TM 263 627; *ibid*, FML015). Inspection of aerial photography showed nothing in either area.

Roman Britain began to decline in the later 4th century and at the beginning of the 5th century official Roman support for the province was withdrawn though in some areas a Romano-British way of life persisted into the AD 420s (Moore et al 1988, 81). The details of the period are unclear but there seems to have been some insecurity indicated by the deposition of coin hoards, several of which are known to the south around Martlesham. It is unclear the extent to which the expansion of settlement seen in the Romano-British period was followed by contraction with the collapse of the administrative system and market economy, though some withdrawal from marginal land seems inevitable.

## ANGLO-SAXON FRAMLINGHAM

See Figure 13 on page 59.

The centrality of Framlingham within its parish is very striking as is the relative size of the parish when compared to its neighbours. Though circumstantial, this points to an early origin as an important centre and suggests a pre-parish estate. It is probable that Framlingham, Saxtead and parts of Dennington formed parts of a single large 'multiple' or 'composite' estate in the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Multiple estates consisted of a main centre or caput that was served by a series of outlying holdings. These minor holdings paid tribute into the caput, which had a redistributive role that allowed the lesser holdings a degree of specialisation (Faith 1997, 11-14, Aston 1985, 32-6). These subsidiary holdings could form a discrete area around the caput but could sometimes be at a distance, forming detached blocks, though in heterogeneous landscapes, such as the Framlingham area, this was less likely to be necessary (Hooke 2006, 41).

From its place-name it seems likely that Framlingham was an early Anglo-Saxon centre. Framlingham means 'homestead/village of the followers of Framela' from an Old English (OE) personal name, combined with OE *-ingas* and OE *ham* (Ekwall 1960, 186; Mills 2003, 196; Watts et al 2004, 239) and probably dates to the very early Anglo-Saxon period. According to Gelling 'It seems clear that ham was a habitative term characteristic of the earliest stages of English name-giving and that it referred to settlements of some importance' (Gelling & Cole 2000, 48). Three classes of name derive from *-ham*: *-ham* (village), *-ingaham* (village of someone's followers) and *-ingas* (someone's followers). It seems that this order is 'likely to be the chronological sequence in which such names arose' (Gelling 1997, 112). In the first group are Glemham, Rendham, and possibly Parham, in the second are Framlingham and Letheringham and in the final group is Sweffling. These names are all thought to indicate 'secondary colonisation, from centres more or less corresponding to the location of early [Saxon] burials' (ibid, 109) though the term 'colonisation' may not be strictly accurate, implying as it does new settlement of virgin land when there was certainly an existing population. All these settlements are on rivers and their distribution is certainly consistent with Anglo-Saxon dominance extending upstream along valleys from the south and east during the 6th century. Indeed, 5th century Anglo-Saxon settlement is known at Hacheston, close to the late Romano-British industrial centre (Dymond & Martin 1988, 36-7; Warner 1996, 64).

Saxtead was probably a secondary settlement that was originally a subsidiary part of Framlingham. Gelling suggests that place-names containing personal names in the form 'someone's settlement' originated when kings or lords granted estates to their thegns during the later Saxon period, replacing earlier names (Gelling 1997, 182-3). Saxtead ('Seaxa's place' [OE pers n, OE stede] (Ekwall, 1960, 406; Mills 2003, 408; Watts et al 2004, 529)) is clearly of this form and evidence from Domesday Book (below) onwards shows that Saxtead was a part of Framlingham into the post-medieval period. Dennington ('\*Denegifu's farm/settlement' [OE pers name, OE tun] (Ekwall 1960, 142; Mills 2003, 151; Watts et al 2004, 183)) is also of this form, despite apparent similarities with Framlingham, and Domesday Book again shows that substantial areas assessed with Dennington were considered at the time to be a part of Framlingham (see below); it

seems most likely that these were in the west and south of the parish. It is also worth noting that the north-eastern extension of Framlingham parish where it runs around the Great Park is very probably a late medieval change (see below).

It therefore seems likely that Framlingham was the caput of a multiple estate that covered the whole of the upper Ore Valley, roughly defined on three sides by watersheds. This is shown on Figure 13 below. The hints of a higher status Romano-British settlement, the relatively early place name, the emergence of Framlingham as the caput of a 'multiple' estate and the probable existence of Saxon deposits in the outer castle bailey (below) suggest that there may have been some continuity from the Romano-British period through into the Saxon period.

There is evidence for the existence of an estate to the south west with its caput at Hoo with a border running roughly where the boundary between Framlingham and the parishes of Kettleburgh and Easton run today, along the watershed between the River Deben and the River Ore, which seems to fix the south west boundary of any estate based on Framlingham. The place-name Easton clearly indicates the geographical relationship between this tun and another place. Such place names are generally thought to have originated within multiple estates, which suggests that the caput of the estate lay to the west and it seems likely that this was Hoo; Gelling points out that a 'feature of the topographical settlement-names which deserves notice is that in some areas they are regularly used for the main settlement in large conglomerate [or multiple] estates within which there may be a number of less important settlements with habitative names' (Gelling 1997, 123). Topographic names are rare in this area, Hoo, meaning 'spur of land', being the only certain example. This suggests that Hoo and Easton formed parts of a larger whole in the early-middle Saxon period. Parish boundaries and topography suggest that Brandeston and Kettleburgh should be included in this unit and this is supported by their place names which have the same form as Saxtead above; Brandeston is 'Brant's farm/settlement' [OE personal name OE tun] (Ekwall 1960, 60; Mills 2003, 72; Watts et al 2004, 80) and Kettleburgh may be 'Kettil's burgh' [?OA cetel, ?ON personal name., OA berg] (Ekwall 1960, 274; Mills 2003, 270; Parsons et al, 3:35; Watts et al 2004, 342). This estate may also have included Charsfield, Letheringham and Monewden though this possibility has not been examined.

It has been suggested that Framlingham may have been the site of a minster (Dymond & Martin 1999, 52-3), though the evidence given for this is circumstantial, based mainly on the church's substantial holdings in Domesday Book (60 acres or half a carucate). There are other strands of evidence supporting this theory however. The site, though not as well defined or as enclosed as some, is distinct and bounded to a certain extent (Blair 2005, 194). The guild house, which was adjacent to the church during the later medieval period, suggests that the church was used as a guild headquarters in earlier times. The majority of places associated with guilds seem to have been minsters and where evidence survives they appear to have operated within the earlier framework of minster parochiae (ibid, 454). Set against this is Framlingham's place name, which suggests an origin as a territory owing allegiance to an individual, and the indications of a civil estate surrounding it. Perhaps however, Framlingham was a late minster, one of the 'smaller ministers' that appear in the late 10th and 11th centuries (ibid, 368-9). In the absence of any other

indicators though, such as dependent daughter churches, it is probably best to leave the question open. By the time of Domesday, Framlingham clearly has the appearance of a manorial rather than a religious centre.

During the Anglo-Saxon period any settlement on the spur at Framlingham would not have been urban in any sense. If it were a civil centre it would have taken the form of a manorial complex with a hall and ancillary buildings, probably enclosed in some way, and, in the later period, probably with a small single cell chapel or church peripheral to the rest of the complex (Blair 2005, 388, Fig 45). If it were a religious centre, the settlement may have been more extensive with several churches in a central position with accommodation for priests and a range of ancillary buildings around them, probably also enclosed (ibid, Fig 25), though a later and smaller minster may well have only had a single church and fewer associated structures.

Legend suggests that there was a Saxon stronghold at Framlingham in the 9th century where St Edmund was besieged by the Danes shortly before his martyrdom (Phipson 1863, 386) but, despite occasional continuing mentions in sources, this appears to have no basis in fact (Baillie Reynolds, 1951, 151).

It therefore seems that Framlingham was an important centre through the Anglo-Saxon period and after the Norman Conquest. The later Anglo-Saxon period is thought to have seen a rise in the number of thegns, a 'middle' class of landholders. They were granted small holdings that were separated from the earlier, larger multiple estates (see Saxtead above) and eventually the remains of the multiple estates became barely distinguishable from the new holdings. Framlingham is unusual as it retained much of its identity and held together where other caputs of lower status did not, though the evidence of Domesday Book (below) shows that it lost some of its dependent holdings to Dennington.

It is important to note here that the date of the recorded 'middle Saxon' cemetery within the outer bailey of Framlingham Castle (Suffolk SMR, FML002; Knocker 1956) is highly questionable. The attribution to the middle Saxon period is based upon a 7th century open-work disc, a middle Saxon (Ipswich Ware) cooking pot, and a curved iron rod thought to be middle Saxon (though the basis for this is uncertain as it does not appear to have any diagnostic features). Only the rod was closely associated with a burial, the disc in particular was recovered about two feet from the nearest grave, and it is more likely that they were disturbed by the interments and redeposited or simply recovered from surrounding earlier deposits (the actual date of the cemetery is discussed in more detail below). However, though not indicating the date of the cemetery, these finds do suggest middle Saxon activity in the area.

## **The Early Arable Core**

The early arable core surrounding Framlingham would have been long established by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period and may have seen continuity from the Romano-British period or even earlier (above). The common perception of the typical late Saxon or medieval landscape in many places is of a nucleated village surrounded by two or

three large open fields that were farmed in strips which was common across much of central England and has been termed the 'Midland System' (Gray 1915). This was not the pattern seen in the Framlingham area. The common fields that there were, were probably not the large regular fields of the midlands. Evidence from elsewhere in Suffolk suggests that fields were much more numerous, smaller and did not show any signs of ridge and furrow cultivation. Perhaps more significantly, the strips belonging to individual holdings were not distributed evenly across the fields but were concentrated in particular areas, probably close to the settlements from which they were farmed. Though a three course rotation appears to have been followed it does not seem to have been dependent upon a three field system. There is widespread evidence for the folding of animals and the 'field' seems to have been irrelevant to crop rotation, the holding being the unit of husbandry. It is also uncertain the extent to which any agricultural activities were communal and the pieces of land mentioned in later medieval documents could as easily have been closes as strips in an open field. 'The distinction between this type of quasi-common field with compact holdings and land farmed in severalty in tenements is very blurred. It could even be argued for places [...] where there was partible inheritance, that this would have produced subdivided ownership even if there had once been holdings in severalty' (Martin & Satchell forthcoming, chapter 3, section 3.ii). Thus, it is possible that divided strips could result from the break-up of separate holdings as well as the break-down of communal fields.

From readily available sources and the limited fieldwork undertaken for this project it is not possible to closely define a boundary between the communal fields of the early arable core and the surrounding secondary land. Detailed documentary research, including the examination of primary sources, and examination of field boundaries might throw some light on this. However, by excluding those areas dominated by greens and moats (see below) the core area can be indicated approximately. (The late Saxon period probably began to see the development of green-side settlements beyond the early arable core as population expanded. These are discussed more fully below but are shown on Figure 13.) From this it seems likely that the core ran from the area around Saxtead Church and Saxtead Bottom, and Framlingham Hall (below), southwards along the river valley past Framlingham itself and on towards Parham. This is broadly the area defined by the 45m contour, though as the topography dips to the south it seems to be slightly higher to the north of Framlingham and lower to the south.

Settlements were typically dispersed and situated in river valleys close to road/river crossings; there were often a series of farms strung out along the valley bottoms at about 800m intervals, situated above the valley floor with property boundaries running away from a main river or road axis. Some of the farms in use today may have very early origins or be on the sites of much earlier settlements but desertion of these prime sites is rare and so they are not available for archaeological investigation and significant deposits may have been damaged by continuing activity (Warner 1987, 15). It is possible therefore that any farm in the core area might have a very long history extending back into the Saxon period or even earlier.

Some 'hall-farms' may have originated in the Anglo-Saxon period. Whilst the term 'hall' has remained in use and been used to describe everything from a substantial

stately home to what are really cottages, a group of 'hall-farms' appear to have early origins (Warner 1987, 29-32). 'It seems more than likely that such hall-farm estates are an ancient feature of the Suffolk landscape. Their curving estate boundaries may well have been formed in the middle to late Saxon period or possibly earlier' (ibid, 32). The majority of hall place-names however, seem to be associated with later features such as parks, and moats. These are unlikely to be hall-farms as meant by Warner and are very probably later uses of the name (though some could still be early, the later feature being secondary). There are a few hall names that lie within the early arable core and could be small Saxon estates. Framlingham Hall is the only possible example near Framlingham, though more detailed documentary research may identify others. This is situated on the far side of the Roman road from Framlingham which immediately to the east forms the boundary between Framlingham and Dennington. Here the boundary is generally curvilinear and it is tempting to see this slightly separate part of the parish as the holding of a distinct tenurial unit, though modified over time (see Fig 13 below).

There are no Anglo-Saxon charters for Framlingham or any other estates in the vicinity (Sawyer 1968).

## DOMESDAY BOOK

Places mentioned in the text are shown on Figure 13, page 59.

At the time of Domesday Book (DB), c. 1086, Framlingham was held by the Earl of Chester as part of his honor, with Roger Bigod as a sub-tenant. It is unlikely (though not impossible) that he would have been able to build his castle whilst Framlingham belonged to Chester and how and why it passed out of Chester's control is unclear (Edward Martin, pers comm).

Framlingham is mentioned in seven entries in DB, three of which contain several sub-entries giving a total of 18 distinct units, 12 of which have a separate valuation, despite many being held by the same person (4,42. 6,264;266;289. 19,11. 43,6. (4,12); all references in this form are to Rumble 1986). The main entry for Framlingham is the first sub-entry within the holding of Earl Hugh (4,42a (letters have been appended here to refer to individual sub-entries and have not been used by Rumble)). This uses the simple form 'Aelmer, a thane, held Framlingham. Now R(oger) Bigot holds' and consisted of 9 carucates (1 carucate equalled 120 acres, though acres in DB did not directly equate to the area of land as used later) valued at £36 (£16 in 1066). This was, by some margin, the largest and most valuable part of the various holdings associated with Framlingham and the largest and most valuable single sub-holding in the area at the time of Domesday (and also in 1066). The other sub holdings push the total size up to about 14 carucates and the value to about £44. Saxtead was also held by Earl Hugh and was clearly a part of Framlingham. Its single entry reads 'Burghard held Saxtead before 1066, as an outlier in Framlingham [...] This is in the assessment of Framlingham' (4,12).

In DB Framlingham and Dennington seem to have been linked, though as the former was in the honor of Chester and the latter in the honor of Eye this relationship is unclear. Of the 15 entries mentioning Framlingham noted above, four are clearly recorded as being in Dennington's assessment with a fifth being probable (6,264a, 6,264b, , 6,266 6,289a and 6,264c was probably in Dennington as it follows on from 6,264b and has no separate valuation). These holdings total 104 acres, almost a full carucate, clearly a significant area. Of these, an 80 acre holding is described as an outlier, presumably of Framlingham (6,264a), an area larger than Saxtead's entry. The most likely context for the origin of a detached portion of an estate of this size would be as part of an earlier multiple' estate, retained by the caput as it provided some important resource when other parts of the estate were granted out to individual thegns (Hooke 2006, 41). Since the detachment does not survive it is likely that it was subsumed by Dennington and the impression is that parts of Dennington were separated from Framlingham.

At the time of Domesday Book, Framlingham was in Loes Hundred whilst Dennington and Saxtead were in the Bishop's Hundred. The name of this hundred suggests that it was created for the administrative convenience of the Bishop of Thetford. Such a situation is known elsewhere, for example in Somerset where a hundred was created for the holdings of the Bishop of Wells. As noted above Saxtead and Framlingham were closely linked tenurially and Dennington had numerous links with Framlingham and many other estates to the south which all crossed the hundred boundary. There were also

tenurial links between Badingham/Colston and Cransford (including 6,55. 67,8) that again crossed the hundred boundary, this time between Bishop's Hundred and Plomsgate Hundred. Kettleburgh had numerous small parcels of land in its assessment scattered across the country to the south (these include 3,21-31;34-45;51-53) and Earl Soham had several holdings in manors to the south (Including 3,20;32-33;47-48) as well. No holdings in the area appear to have had connections with any estates to the north and it seems likely that much of the southern part of the Bishop's Hundred was originally in Loes Hundred. Interestingly, if Earl Soham and Monk Soham were originally a single unit as the names suggest then Kenton would not be a detached portion of the Hundred and the boundary would run roughly along the watershed between the Rivers Deben and Alne to the south and the Blythe and tributaries of the Waveney to the north which has a sense of topographical coherence.

Several of the sub-entries appear to be distinct and probably had some geographical unity. Apart from Framlingham itself (4,42a) these include a place named as Ethereg within it (4,42c), Saxtead which was described as 'an outlier in Framlingham' (4,12), and 80 acres held 'as an outlier' of Framlingham but assessed in Dennington. Ethereg was probably a distinct settlement as the entry where it is mentioned was held by '1 freeman under patronage; 40 acres. 1 villager who dwells in Ethereg; 3 smallholders'. The impression given is of a 40 acre holding, possibly a part of Ethereg, that included a villager who lived there, and that this settlement was probably somewhat larger than this. There is no other mention of this place and it is now lost. The 60 acres of Saxtead are considerably smaller than the historic parish but this is discussed below. The 80 acre outlier of Framlingham assessed in Dennington is substantial but there is nothing in the details given to suggest that it was unusual and it was probably a distinct small settlement that was later absorbed into Dennington and now lies within the modern parish. Other entries range in size from 1 carucate 40 acres down to two acres but do not give any indication that they were physically separate and it should be assumed that they were parts of the larger whole, though possibly discrete.

The 18 separately identifiable units recorded in Domesday Book can be divided into two main groups; those held by Earl Hugh and those held by Robert Malet. Robert Malet's holdings are mostly assessed within Dennington which he also held and contain little detailed information suggesting that individual figures for population, ploughs, woodland, meadow and livestock as well as value had been subsumed within that entry. Therefore the totals given for Framlingham might well be low and the figures given for Dennington probably include some that should appear in Framlingham's entries.

The total size of the whole of Framlingham was 14 carucates, 74 acres. It should be remembered that this figure represents an assessment for tax (geld) and though it would have had some basis in geographical reality it cannot be directly equated to a certain area of land as understood today.

The total population recorded within Framlingham's entries was approximately 52 villagers (villeins), 61 smallholders (bordars), 1 slave, 11 free men and 4 half free men. This totals 119 people but as it is generally accepted to refer to heads of household this figure is usually multiplied by five to give a total population of Framlingham, with Saxtead,

of 595, though this is likely to be low as some of those detailed within Dennington were probably actually from Framlingham. This figure may have been even higher if tenants sub-let as they are known to have done in later periods. There was a marked rise in the population of the main holding between Conquest and Domesday and it may have been that Framlingham was already a 'small town rather than a village' (Ridgard 1985, 2).

Villeins rented small homes usually with land which they occupied in return for working on the lord's demesne and other dues occasionally including money rents. They were tied to the land and were not allowed to move without the lord's permission and in some respects were little better off than slaves. Bordars were of lower status than villains and often held no land of their own working full time for the lord in return for a portion of the harvest. The high numbers of villeins and bordars indicates that substantial areas were closely controlled by the lord and probably formed the ancient core of the estate. In contrast, the frequent references to free men and half free men both at the time of Domesday and at the Conquest suggests that there were other areas with looser manorial control, a scattered community and many small manors within the vill (Warner 1987, 25). The context for this was most likely to have been colonisation of marginal land creating secondary settlements from the established arable core areas (ibid, 13, see below)

There were a total of 46½ ploughs. Of these, 19 were on Roger Bigod's holding (the main Framlingham entry), 4½ on William Malet's, two held by the church and nine in Saxtead. The remaining 12 ploughs were held by free men or on estates that had formerly been held by free men. There are few figures for the Conquest but generally they are the same as at Domesday, the only holding recording any change was Roger Bigod's which saw a steep decline from 25 to 19. In general there was one plough for every 30 to 40 acres of geld and it is probable that this indicates a 'normal' holding where there was a typical dominance of arable, probably with small areas of meadow, pasture and so on. The only holding above this value was Roger Bigod's which had one plough for every 56 acres which implies that the holding contained significant areas of non-arable land. However, since the size of the holding (9 carucates) was actually a unit of taxation rather than area, it is possible that this figure indicates a holding that was taxed more heavily than most. If the number of ploughs at the conquest is used instead then the figure is one plough for every 43 acres which is much closer to the norm so perhaps this is not the case and the answer in fact lies in the reason for the drop in the number of ploughs, which suggests changes in the way the land was used, possibly indicating a shift away from arable. Two holdings have fewer than 30 acres per plough. That held by three free men was rated at 56a but had three ploughs at one plough for every 18 acres. The correlation between the three freemen and the three ploughs suggests that possibly they each held a plough despite there being less than the optimum amount of land for it, which in turn suggests that they were farming separately and holding land in severalty. Saxtead is harder to explain as it was clearly a single unit with 9 ploughs on 60 acres at one plough for every 6 2/3 acres, clearly an excessive number of ploughs. The only simple explanation would appear to be that the arable area must have been much larger and that this holding was being very lightly assessed for the geld, though the reason for this is unclear. It may lie in the close link between this holding and Framlingham itself within which it was valued, perhaps Saxtead supplied ploughs to Framlingham or some of

Framlingham's ploughs were recorded in Saxtead for some reason, maybe a medieval tax dodge.

Domesday Book records woodland for a total 416 pigs. This should probably be seen as indicating 'woodland, the pannage from which yields so many swine' (Warner 1987, 20). Some of this woodland may have been at some distance from Framlingham which only actually records 64 pigs in total. However, the pannage could have been rendered by others who had their pigs in the woods belonging to the vill. The largest amount of woodland was in Saxtead (200 pigs) which seems as disproportionate as the number of ploughs. Given its low status as an outlier of Framlingham this woodland was probably within the geographical area of Saxtead itself; if it was at a distance it would probably have been attached to the main holding. The four parks recorded in the parish at a later date support this interpretation. Most of the remaining woodland was in Roger Bigod's and William Malet's holdings (100 acres each) and it is notable that several of the larger subentries record very small or no areas of woodland, suggesting that they were more centrally placed within the vill, and/or that they were more focussed on arable holdings.

There were 36 acres of meadow recorded with most on the two largest holdings (16 and 6 acres respectively). This would have been valley bottom land which suggests that these two holdings were based in the valley of the Ore. However this is not necessarily the case as the record is of rights to these resources and they could be at some distance to the other lands of the holding as they were important resources worth travelling to.

A park is mentioned in DB at Dennington, thought to have been in the north of the parish, though its nature is uncertain. Old Frith was probably also in existence in some form as it has a Saxon name, though its omission from DB requires explanation. A possible explanation for the drop in the number of ploughs in the main Framlingham entry might be that arable land had gone over to none arable uses. This could indicate an early origin for the Great Park in Framlingham.

The total value of the Framlingham holdings was £41 17s. To this must be added the holdings assessed within Dennington, amounting to 100 acres that can be estimated to have been worth around £2. This would push the value of the whole Framlingham estate up to something in the region of £43-£44, a considerable sum.

Overall the impression given by Domesday Book is of a large valuable vill with complex tenurial arrangements. Framlingham may already have been a proto-urban centre. In addition there was at least one named settlement within the vill apart from Framlingham itself and there were two distinct outliers, one at Saxtead and one probably now incorporated into Dennington. There was very probably an established core area on the lower ground, tightly controlled by the lords, and dominated by arable production with some meadow. In addition to this core area there were areas of less tight control where freemen dominated. These were probably peripheral to the core area and given the topography likely to be situated in higher areas where woodland had been dominant and expansion through assarting possible. However, it also seems likely that the area was still generally well wooded. Saxtead appears to have been unusual in several ways,

particularly its low assessment for the geld and the high proportion of ploughs and woodland.

It seems possible that the period between the Conquest and Domesday Book saw the settlement on the spur at Framlingham develop from a manorial complex of some status to a proto-urban centre, perhaps with a trading centre of some sort. As noted above Framlingham was a valuable estate at the time of Domesday Book, totalling 14 carucates and valued at about £44. For the main holding the value at the time of the Conquest is also given. This shows that it rose from £16 to £36, more than doubling. The cause of this large increase in value is not clear.

It seems unlikely that this increase was due to the acquisition of territory as it is hard to see where the large amount of land could have come from. Most holdings do not give values at the time of Edward's death but these are typically the small holdings or sub-entries valued in shillings or pence. Other holdings valued within this assessment such as Saxtead seem to have remained fairly stable in value, where any changes are detailed. Of the surrounding holdings that give an earlier value, typically the main entries, most in the vicinity either stayed the same or gained value and those that did lose value generally only lost a few shillings. To the south, Brandeston, Monewden, and Hoo together lost a little over £4 value but this was offset by a similar gain in value for Creetingham and could be due to local changes. To the north east Badingham lost £5 in value and whilst this is a significant amount, and not easily explained, there is no other sign that the holding lost territory and it can hardly account for the £20 gain in the value of Framlingham.

It therefore seems that at least the majority of the increase in Framlingham's value must have come from internal changes. The main holding shows some changes over the period but not really enough to explain the large increase. Whilst the population increased by about a half, the number of cobs and cattle increased, and the number of sheep doubled, the number of ploughs declined by more than a fifth and the number of pigs by three quarters. The increase in the number of sheep and the decrease in the number of ploughs (an indication of the arable area) might suggest a shift towards pasture but this has usually been associated with a decline in population, not seen here. It may therefore be that the expansion of sheep was at the expense of pigs and a result of the conversion of woodland to wood-pasture. The decline in the number of ploughs might then have been the result of consolidation of holdings and their more efficient use, and that arable area did not in fact decline. It might suggest the conversion of land from arable, possibly to parkland. The implied extent of these changes, however, cannot really explain such a large increase in value.

As noted above, the population of Framlingham was probably in the order of 600 people in 1085-6 and if, as was the case in the 14th century, they leased parts of their tenements to sub-tenants then this figure is likely to be low. This population had seen a 50% increase since the Conquest. Simply looking at the rise in population for an explanation also appears to be unhelpful; on surrounding holdings population change and value do not appear to be closely connected. Despite losing £5 in value Badingham gained 17 villagers, Tannington and Dennington remained the same value but both gained population and Worlingworth and Monk Soham had a static or slightly decreased

population despite gaining value,. It therefore seems that value was, in at least some instances, affected by factors not detailed in DB. Given the decline in the number of ploughs and the indications of relatively moderate changes in land-use the additional population must have been economically productive in some fashion not recorded within DB. Given that DB was notoriously bad at recording urban centres and markets it seems possible that the town and market were established in this period. As Ridgard puts it: 'The steep rise in the value of the principal manor [...] is bound to excite unease in the historian's mind that the market was in existence considerably earlier than can be proved by strict documentary method' (Ridgard 1985, 2).

A church in Framlingham is mentioned in Domesday Book its entry reading 'I church, 60 acres. I villager; 4 smallholders. 2 ploughs. Value 15s.'. The mean size of holdings associated with churches in Suffolk was 24.5 acres and it has been tentatively suggested that as the holding of this church was considerably larger than this, it was a minster (Dymond & Martin 1988, 52-3). There is, however, no other evidence to support this and it seems more likely that this holding had been acquired from donations by landholders with an eye to the hereafter. As such the size of the church's holding probably indirectly reflects the status of the manor from which it originated rather than suggesting an earlier origin outside the manorial system, further evidence for Framlingham's high status from an early date.

## MEDIEVAL FRAMLINGHAM

See Figure 14 on page 61.

### The Castle

#### Earlier Works

It is certain that there was a castle in Framlingham before the present one as the demolition of a castle, as a punishment for rebellion, was recorded in the pipe rolls for 1174-5 and 1175-6. This demolition, by Alnoth, the King's engineer, apparently included the destruction of defensive works and the filling in of a moat (Ridgard 1985, 3). It appears that an earthwork castle existed in the northern half of the current bailey. Excavations by Coad in the late 1960s and early 1970s produced an intermittent section across the whole bailey from the poor house in the west to the area of the first hall in the east (Coad 1972, 155-8 and Fig 44). In the west the section reached a depth of over 6m without finding natural deposits. Instead a series of irregular tips sloping down from the east were revealed that were also seen in two more trenches to the east. At the base of the westernmost section a peaty layer and flint and chalk revetment were seen that were thought to possibly represent an earlier moat (Coad 1972, 156). This would probably have related to a motte, ringwork or platform in the area of the northern half of the current bailey. In this case the tip layers would represent the destruction of this feature and the dating evidence from these layers indicates that it took place in the second half of the 12th century, which would fit with the known demolition in the 1170s (ibid 159).

The date for the construction of the early castle and the form that it took are uncertain and it has been suggested that there may have been two phases of construction preceding the current castle (Coad 1972, 160-1). The first castle could have been built in the late 11th century as Roger Bigot (Bigod) held the vill at the time of Domesday Book. As Ridgard points out: 'Although the view is commonly held that this first castle was constructed immediately after the grant by Henry I to Roger Bigod in c. 1100 of lands in Framlingham, the evidence of the Domesday survey allows a rather earlier start to the building work' (Ridgard 1985, 2). However, at Domesday Roger Bigod was a sub-tenant of the Earl of Chester so a rather later date seems more likely. During the 12th century the Bigod estates were unusual as they did not follow the usual Norman pattern seen elsewhere. For example early castles were constructed at the honorial caputs of Eye, erected by William Mallet and recorded in DB, Clare where Richard Fitzgibbon's castle was recorded in 1090 and at Haughley where Hugh de Montfort's castle was in existence by about 1100 (Dymond & Martin 1999, 24). Of the two later Bigod caputs, Framlingham and Bungay, neither belonged in chief to Bigod in 1086 and neither seem to have been considered honors (despite a single reference to the 'Honor of Framlingham' in 1216). In fact, the foundation of Thetford Priory by Roger Bigod may suggest that it was Thetford that was seen as the caput at this time, and which had a castle thought to have been built soon after the Conquest, more in keeping with Eye and others (ibid). The first known reference to Framlingham Castle dates to 1148, a similar date to the first reference to another Bigod castle at Bungay (1140) and it seems possible that both were adulterine castles of the Stephen period civil war (1136-53) (Edward Martin, pers comm).

Hugh Bigod's promotion to an earldom about 1140 might also have been a factor (ibid). If this is correct then Castle Acre in Norfolk provides a good parallel. This was not honorial and made the transition from a stone house within a ringwork to a more strongly fortified castle during the 1140s (ibid).

It was common for Norman castles to be built on the site of a previous Saxon manorial complex. Liddiard gives several examples of this across East Anglia (Liddiard 2006, 247) and goes on to make the more general point that there was a very close relationship between castle construction and existing settlements (ibid, 248). This was probably also the case in Framlingham though the possibility that the first castle was not constructed until nearly 80 years after the Conquest makes it somewhat less certain (see 'Earlier Works' below). Nonetheless, if the parallel with Castle Acre (below) is correct then a manor house within a ringwork might have been the first Norman phase here and this could equally well have been sited for similar reasons.

There seems therefore to be a strong possibility that the first castle at Framlingham had a relatively short life span being constructed about 1140 and demolished in the 1170s. This was followed by a period of two or three decades without any castle on the site and it is to this period that the first stone hall and chapel, evidence for which survives in the east wall of the castle, probably belonged. Evidence from Coad's excavations shows that 'neither of these buildings [the stone hall and chapel] can have been in existence when the raised platform or motte was complete' (Coad, 159) and the simplest explanation would be that the two buildings were constructed after the demolition of the earlier castle but before the construction of the current castle, during the time Earl Roger was out of favour with the crown (ibid 160). Coad also suggests the alternative possibility that the first castle was levelled by Earl Hugh in the 1160s, and that the hall and chapel formed part of a new building complex, perhaps with a stone keep built on the earlier mound or platform, as at Bungay which he also held. In this case, it would have been this intermediate (and possibly unfinished) castle that was demolished by Alnoth (ibid, 160-1). However this suggestion is less favoured by Coad and partly based on the assumption that the first castle dated to about 1101 and must therefore have been out of date, which was not necessarily the case.

This discussion does however leave open the question of what was on the site prior to the first castle; it seems that there must have been a caput of some form at Framlingham both at the Conquest and at Domesday as the overall impression from Domesday Book is of a large, complex civil manor. If the parallel with Castle Acre is accepted then it is possible that by Domesday there was a high status stone house within a ringwork here but if Framlingham was not an honorial caput then why would there have been a high status Norman house here and how did it gain its later significance? The answer might lie in the parks (Edward Martin, pers comm). Framlingham lay at the centre of an area with an unusually high number of parks, some of which were certainly early (Oldfrith is a Saxon name and Dennington was mentioned in DB) and it may well have been this that drew the Bigod's attention to the area and familiarity from, and the attractions of, hunting may have led to its later choice as the caput of their estates.

### ***The Cemetery in the Outer Bailey***

A cemetery was excavated within the outer bailey of Framlingham Castle in 1954 (Knocker 1956). The report for that excavation notes on a plan the earlier discovery of burials under the bowling green 60-70m to the west though the source of this information is not given. A further two burials were discovered in the early 1970s to the east of the entrance causeway, close to the bailey moat (PSIA, v32, 284, note that the grid reference given in the note places the burials in the Castle Arms pub which seems unlikely).

The frequency of burial decreases towards the south and appears to decrease towards the east though here only a few test pits were excavated. This suggests that the focus of the cemetery lay close to the area where the bridge to the main entrance begins, or to the west or north of this, and that the cemetery clearly does not relate to the current parish church (shown as '12th century burials' on Fig 15 below). The cemetery contained men, women and children and all the burials in the cemetery were oriented west-east and appeared to respect one another without significant inter-cutting, which suggests that the cemetery was in use for a relatively discrete period of time (though their apparent uniformity is probably at least in part a result of their conventional depiction on the site plan). As noted above, however, it was almost certainly not Anglo-Saxon in date as none of the Saxon finds were closely associated with the burials. Instead, it is suggested that the burials may have disturbed an earlier layer or that the finds were simply recovered from earlier deposits and mistakenly associated with the burials.

An accurate assessment of the date of the cemetery is made difficult by the poor quality of the recording. Few finds were recovered, the grave cuts were not recorded and the few cut features that were recorded did not have their relationships accurately determined (a grave cut appears to have been recorded in section though not specifically noted as such (Knocker 1956, Fig 6 (iv) burial H29A) and a grave cut seems to be visible in Plate XXIX around burial H33 but this is not recorded or mentioned in the text (ibid)). The dating of the pottery must also be treated with caution. It is likely that they have been ascribed to the correct broad period but it is possible that the pottery is slightly earlier than the excavator assumed (Sarah Jennings, pers comm).

Of the recorded burials 14-18 were recovered from within what was referred to as the 'burial layer' (Knocker 1956, 66-7) and as such must post date this layer. This layer was discontinuous as it was cut by a large pit or ditch of Tudor date. To the north of the large Tudor feature the only find recovered, from high up in the 'burial layer', was a bronze strip thought to be Norman in date which if not intrusive provides a terminus post quem (TPQ) for its deposition. In this area the 'burial layer' directly overlay what was thought to be undisturbed subsoil. This 'natural' is, however, shown as containing four burials and a sherd of 13th or 14th century pot. If this really was natural ground then the grave cuts must have been missed and the sherd recovered from close to burial H12C must have come from the grave fill of that burial (and hence provide a TPQ for it), or from another unrecognised feature. To the south of the Tudor feature, two pottery sherds of 13th century date were shown as being recovered from this layer, though both were recovered from above burials (H25 and H29) and probably therefore came from their grave fills. Further to the south a pit is shown cutting the burial layer that

contained a sherd of 13th or 14th century pot. In this area this 'burial layer' overlay a layer of sandy, clayey loam with little gravel that contained 13 or more burials. At least one of the burials within the 'burial layer' (H29A) appears to be shown cutting into this lower layer. Finds shown as coming from this lower deposit included two sherds of 13th century pottery that were, however, again closely associated with burials H25 and H29 and also probably came from their grave fills. Another find from this layer was a curved iron bar assumed to be of middle Saxon date though, given its lack of diagnostic features, probably only on the basis of a wishful association. In summary the 'burial layer' probably post dates the Conquest and predates the 13th century when at least two of the graves were apparently cut into it.

The initial terminus ante quem (TAQ) for the cemetery, provided by the Tudor feature cutting through it, can be pushed back further than this as it is extremely unlikely that the burials would have been placed across the main route between the town and the castle when it was in regular use. The existing route has probably been used since the gate was constructed so the burials are likely to predate the current route from the castle entrance to the town. This entrance to the castle appears to be an original feature dating to the construction of the main curtain wall, probably c.1200. The earliest fabric in the church also dates to about this period (Pevsner 1974, 216) and it seems likely that the route was in use from this time. This however creates a problem in that the suggested TAQ is earlier than the TPQ! However, as noted above it is possible that the pottery dates are slightly late, and the castle was probably not finished until the early 13th century. The most likely period of use for the cemetery is therefore the period between the Conquest and the construction of the current castle, probably even more narrowly, in the later 12th century. The castle chapel pre-dated the current curtain wall so the cemetery may have been associated with that building, possibly being the outer edge of a cemetery that had been in use much longer.

In any case it seems clear that the construction of the present castle replaced a distinctly different pattern of settlement on this, level part of the spur.

## **The Current Castle**

Construction of the current castle was apparently begun in the late 12th or early 13th century and was probably completed soon after. Earl Hugh died in 1177, soon after the demolition of his castle in 1174-6, and was succeeded by his son Roger. Henry II however, refused to confer the earldom on Roger, and it was Richard I, upon his accession to the throne in 1189, who restored both lands and title to him. It seems likely that it was soon after this return to favour, or possibly the early years of King John's reign (1199-1216), that he began construction of the present castle (Brown 2002, 5). It was very probably complete by 1213 when John was entertained here (Brown 2003, 27).

Despite changes in fortune, during the rest of the 13th century, through the 14th and 15th centuries, and into the 16th, the castle seems generally to have remained in use and been well maintained. In 1312, it was granted to King Edward II's half-brother Thomas de Brotherton though it seems likely that Framlingham was not his main residence as the castle was particularly sparsely furnished at this time, but households frequently carried

many of their chattels with them, or it is possible that the castle was being refurbished (Ridgard 1985, 4). In 1381, following a complicated line of succession, Framlingham Castle passed to Thomas de Mowbray (Coppinger 1909, 268-70) and it appears to have been the main seat of the Mowbray family for the next century (Ridgard 1985, 5). In 1480, following an uneventful succession, Framlingham Castle passed to Sir John Howard and William, Lord Berkeley, descendents of the first Thomas de Brotherton. Howard was proclaimed Duke of Norfolk in 1483, six days after Richard III was proclaimed King. In 1485, during the Battle of Bosworth Field, the Duke of was killed by a stray arrow. Following this, his son, Thomas Howard, was committed to the Tower for 3½ years and his estates were granted to John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, but these were returned to Howard in 1489 or 1490 (Coppinger 1909, 271-5) and following this he lived at Framlingham for some time. Following his death in 1524 an inventory of the castle was taken, in which 29 rooms are mentioned. Based upon the inventory and on comments by Zaccheus Leverland, a late 17th century local historian, Ridgard postulates that there may have been a central block of rooms dividing the Inner Ward into two, or alternatively a substantial tower (Ridgard 1985, 130). Whatever the accommodation arrangements, Leverland describes Framlingham Castle as 'at its most glorious but on the brink of a steep decline'; in 1524 the service books in the castle chapel outshone the collections of many of Suffolk's monasteries but by this date the principal Howard residence was at Stoke-by-Nayland (ibid).

The present main bridge across the inner ditch was built between 1524 and 1547, replacing an earlier drawbridge (Knocker 1956, 66). It was also probably during this time that the castle was modernised, with the addition of a number of highly decorative chimneys (most of which are false), new windows in the Great Hall and elsewhere, and the creation of a second bridge across the inner moat to the bailey. A pleasance (a purely aesthetic garden as distinct from a productive kitchen garden) is recorded as having been planted within the outer bailey at some time (Phipson 1863) and it seems most likely that this was part of a scheme with the second new Tudor bridge which allowed access to it directly from the inner bailey. The castle began to decline soon after this following the execution of the third Duke of Norfolk in 1547 (Ridgard 1985, 129).

### ***Seignorial Economy***

During its hey-day in the medieval period the castle household was a major consumer. In 1385-6 over £1000 was spent on commodities for Framlingham including 28,567 gallons of ale, 4,377 gallons of wine, 70,321 loaves of bread, 149¼ carcasses of sheep, 40 barrels of red herring, 1866 stockfish, 656 rabbits, 1159 hens, 90 venison (Ridgard 1985, 86). On a single day (30th August 1428) the castle household consumed 176 loaves of bread, 84 gallons of ale, 133¼ gallons of wine, 4 pounds of candle tallow, 20 rounds of oxen, 4 rounds of sheep, 5 capons, 20 hens, and a quarter of butter. It has been suggested that this indicates that 84 people were in the castle on that day (Smedley 2005, 53). This would have had a huge impact on the surrounding landscape, much of which would have been managed either directly or indirectly to provide the resources required or the money to pay for them.

The castle relied on a wide range of holdings for its support, the core of which were the demesne lands, those held and farmed directly by the lord of the manor. In 1270,

the Manor farm consisted of 414 acres of arable with over 5000 work days available to it annually from its customary tenants (Ridgard 1985, 19). In 1286-7, the manor farm consisted almost entirely of arable with no sheep and only a small number of pigs. This was in stark contrast with the extensive parklands. Oats were grown; it is recorded that some were retained for feeding swans (ibid, 21). In 1324-5, the sale of cereals was the most important part of the estate income, wheat making up 13% of total) and the manor did not specialise in any form of animal husbandry, apparently drawing from the parks and associated manors (ibid, 51). Other sources of income included the church (the advowson of St Michael's Church belonged to the lord of Framlingham Manor and was worth 80 marks in 1270 (ibid, 19) the market and fairs, and the borough itself. In the 13th century an attempt was made to establish a vineyard at Framlingham Castle, there are clear references to grapes and a 'vindonator' or vine dresser in 1286-7 (ibid, 21). These were possibly in the castle gardens and may have been leased out (ibid, 15).

In addition to the demesne the remaining land of the manor would have been occupied by those who owed the lord of the manor various dues, most frequently labour (the source of 5000 work days available) but also renders of various kinds.

Mills were an important part of the seignorial economy and maintaining control of this monopoly was clearly important. Elsewhere, watermills were the main form of mill but none are mentioned in Domesday Book (the only mill on the Ore at this time was at Marlesford) or known from later sources until c. 1340 when a mill is mentioned north of the bridge in Bridge Street (Goult 1990). It has been suggested that this was because the river was used as a navigation, in particular for the import of building stone for the castle, (Ridgard 1985, 12). What evidence there is suggests that road transport was generally preferred. The topography is not steep and it may simply be that the labour involved in constructing the required earthworks was not considered worthwhile. Prior to the 12th century hand mills and animal mills were probably used. In 1386-7 the castle had its own bakery and horse mill, and burgesses continued to break the manorial monopoly by grinding their own corn with these devices until well into the medieval period (ibid). Three windmills were recorded in the extent of 1270, which were presumably the 4-sailed and the rare 6-sailed mills recorded in account rolls for 1286-7 and 1324-5 together with the windmill recorded at Hacheston in the Inquisitions Post Mortem (IPM) of 1306 (ibid). The first windmill at Saxtead was constructed in 1286-7 for £9 13s 10½d plus 140 customary labour days (ibid, 21).

The castle also drew on a ring of surrounding manors for income and resources. The account roll for 1275-6 records the receipt of over £434 from sources outside Framlingham (Ridgard 1985, 4). In 1324-5 Framlingham received £40 from the manors of Staverton, Hollesley, Dunningworth, Kelsale, Cratfield, Hoo and Hacheston. Also at this time a total of 198 geese were collected; of these 120 came from Staverton and a further 24 from Hollesley (ibid, 51). The windmill at Hacheston was included within Framlingham in the IPM of 1306 which suggests that this was also one of these manors (ibid, 12). Partridges, pheasants and rabbits were also imported from outside Framlingham.

The castle was also involved in a more extensive trading network purchasing goods at fairs, markets and ports from across the south east of England. In 1385-6, the venison

eaten was recorded as coming from a dozen different parks, most in East Anglia but also including Yardley Chase, Northamptonshire (Ridgard 1985, 11). In the same year over £137 (15% of the total) was spent on wine, mainly from France, which was probably bought in London or the port of Orwell and shipped to the Bigod wharf in Ipswich, from where 'Molemen' from Earl Soham were required to cart it to the castle with breakages at their own expense. Almost as much was spent on wax and spices (ibid, 14). In 1386-7 spices and other commodities, including saffron, nutmeg, ginger and Spanish almonds, came through the London merchant Richard Neville (ibid, 15). The 1385-6 accounts are unusual in that they do not record any salt. In the following year the castle consumed 1¼ tons, mostly coarse and probably produced by the many salterns along the east coast, but also some fine salt imported from France. This was purchased from John de Wynterton at the Stourbridge fair near Cambridge, one of the largest fairs in Western Europe. Malt was also purchased from the same merchant and was shipped to Snape Bridge and brought to Framlingham by road. Goods also came through coastal routes like Lynn and Clay in Norfolk (ibid, 16).

### *The Castle within the Landscape*

Castles were not only defensive structures and residences they were status symbols. In part, the level, and nature, of consumption described above were part of this display of status, but the design of the castle itself and the way that the surrounding landscape was designed and used were more fundamental, and permanent, symbols of power, wealth and prestige.



*Figure 3 - The Castle and Mere. The foreground would have been open water in the medieval period. From TM 2833 6384 looking west.*

Rather than being designed on a strictly defensive basis Framlingham Castle appears to have been built to maximise both its impressive appearance as viewed from outside and the quality of views from within. Defensively it has some odd features. It is not sited on the highest part of the ridge, (though this in part can be explained by antecedent structures) and consequently its inner bailey is lower than the outer bailey (Brown 2002, fig. 24). The outer bailey also does not completely protect the castle; it only runs around the southern and eastern sides, leaving the north open. Also, the bailey wall itself is only pierced by arrow slits on the south side to the east of the entrance (Renn 1976, 60). In contrast, the west side, already the best protected by the natural topography, is very well defended. The castle itself was built out beyond the natural level, the lower court was also built up above the natural level and was originally surrounded by a wall and the outwork known as the prison tower, which could have acted as a caponier (Plowman 2005, 43). The creation, or re-creation/enlargement, of the Mere apparently adds protection to this side of the castle (Brown & Pattison 1997, 12).

Plowman argues that the castle had a designed, orchestrated approach and that some features within the castle need to be reinterpreted. He suggests that the 'Prison Tower' was in fact a barbican that gave access to the castle from the Lower Court via the 'Postern Gate' and that the Lower Court, which was walled, in turn had an entrance in the north corner that gave onto the Great Park (Plowman 2005, 44). The intended approach, thought to be from the Bigod manor at Earl Soham via Saxtead, was thus along what are now Saxtead Road and Pembroke Road to the highest point on the park boundary to the west giving a view of the longest axis of the castle that emphasised its size. The visitors would then have entered the park heading northwards to Little Lodge which would give continuous views across the Mere. The entrance route would then have turned south and followed the edge of the higher ground above the eastern side of the Mere and entered the Lower Court at its northern corner via a bridge. It has been suggested that the Lower Court may have contained a garden from the time of its construction (Brown 2002, 30) and approaching from this side would have shown it off in all its glory, together with the fishponds immediately outside (Brown & Pattison 1997, 10) which could have been easily viewed from the bridge. The Lower Court was then crossed with the castle looming up on the left before it was entered via the barbican (Plowman 2005, 46 and fig. 19). As Plowman points out this approach is almost identical to that described in medieval Arthurian romances (ibid). There are, however, problems with this interpretation as the route may have come directly from Earl Soham along Earl Soham Lane, now a trackway, or from any other direction. Also, the final part of the route described, up into the bailey, is rather steep and cramped. It seems more likely therefore that this was the route taken out into the Great Park for the hunt, a no less important ritual in reinforcing the status of the castle's lord and much of the above would still hold true.

Much of the immediate landscape around the castle appears to have been designed to be viewed from within, the castle acting almost as a viewing platform. It seems that the high status accommodation was all on the western side of the castle and that the only direct, permanent access to the wall walk was from this side as well, either from within or immediately outside the great hall (Plowman 2005, 46). Views from this side of the

castle would have looked down into the Lower Court, across the Mere and out into the Great Park beyond, providing clear views of the activities within.

The Lower Court appears to have been a later addition to the castle (Brown 2002, 30) which somewhat weakens this argument. Yet the outwork attached to the 'Postern Gate' is thought to be contemporary with the rest of the curtain wall, so there was probably always an entrance to the castle from this side. There is no clear relationship between the Mere and the Lower Court and it is possible that they were contemporary. It may be that the construction of the Lower Court and the enlargement of the Mere were part of a single scheme to enhance this entrance and to give the castle its watery aspect. Other 'water castles' include Kenilworth, where King John created a huge mere at the beginning of the 13th century, Leeds, where the lake was created in 1278-90 (Brown & Pattison 1997, 13) and Bodiam, built 1385 (Everson 1996), and it seems highly likely that the landscape developments at Framlingham fit into this broad period. The first certain mention of the Mere is of 'the great lake beneath the castle' in an extent of 1386-7 (Ridgard 1985, 11) though the Lower Court was probably the 'Netheryard' mentioned in 1344 (ibid, 19). The earliest likely date for the creation of the Mere was probably 1307 (see below) and so the overall scheme, if it was planned as one, probably dates to the first half of the 14th century.

## The Parks

In the Anglo-Saxon period hunting was described as the 'sport of kings' and there are references to enclosures for retaining deer, possibly only temporarily. There was an upsurge in hunting with the Norman Conquest, and numerous Forests and Chases were established, and emparkment increased (Hoppitt 1999, 7-8). Several parks are mentioned in Domesday Book; five in Suffolk including one at Dennington (Rumble 1986, 6,303) and several more were recorded soon after (Hoppitt 1999, 7).

In the medieval period, the term 'park' appears to have referred primarily to the enclosed nature of the area and not to have given any indication of its landscape or land-use (Hoppitt 1999, 9). In essence the park was enclosed, private space in contrast to the open, public land of the vill and it seems likely that this was its defining characteristic rather than what went on within. This is emphasised by the treatment of park breaking and trespass, which were entered into Patent Rolls rather than being dealt with at the manorial level, suggesting that they were seen as serious violations of property (ibid, 10).

Parks were used for a wide range of activities but the proportion of references to game in contemporary documents is surprisingly low. They frequently contained woodland with trees and coppices and provided timber, wood, fodder and fuel. Apart from deer, cattle, horses, sheep and pigs were all grazed in parks and letting out this grazing could be a significant source of income. Pannage was the right, or money received for the turning out of swine into woodland and herbage the equivalent for grazing livestock other than swine. Though frequently wooded, 'launds' (lawns, open areas) are occasionally mentioned and in some cases parks even contained arable land (Hoppitt 1999, 9).

## ***The Great Park***

The Great Park at Framlingham is the most commonly mentioned park in the documents and has received most attention. It is thought to have probably been created in the early 12th century (Ridgard 1985, 9), presumably because this was when the first castle was thought to have been established, though it is first mentioned somewhat later in the IPM of 1270. However, as noted above, the earliest castle could have been constructed in the late eleventh century and the park could also date from this period (Hoppitt 1999, 61, Ridgard 1985, 9).

It is uncertain what landscape the park replaced. Given its topographic situation, the southern part at least must have been located within the early arable core and probably displaced a considerable amount of arable land. The substantial drop in the number of ploughs on Roger Bigod's holding from 25 at the Conquest to 19 in the face of rising population and values could be explained by emparkment but a reference to the park could be expected. Little Lodge is situated on a slight spur immediately above the valley floor; and, as noted above, such sites appear to have been favoured for settlement in both the Romano-British and Saxon periods. It therefore seems possible that Little Lodge is on the site of one of the early farms that worked this area of the early core.

It is unlikely that the park reached its final form in a single stage. It seems possible that there were two early phases. The first might have been contemporary with the development of the original castle and seen it developed purely as a deer park for hunting under its Norman lords. Later, after the current castle was built it was possibly



*Figure 4 - The park pale west of Brabling Green The area to the left was within the park, the line of the pale could be seen to continue faintly to the right but was being ploughed out. From TM 2898 6466 looking north-east.*

further developed as one element, together with the Mere and Lower Court, in a landscape designed to display the status of its owner.

The Great Park supplied venison for the household and hunting for the lord which also seems to have been one element of the hospitality offered to visitors. 'From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, the list of those who came to Framlingham to take venison included several men and women of high social rank and distinction' (Ridgard 1985, 10). Venison eaten at Framlingham in 1387-7 came from a dozen different parks including Yardley Chase in Northamptonshire and in 1516 venison from Framlingham was given to some of the most powerful people in the country (ibid, 11). Hunting as hospitality and the giving of gifts of deer and venison appears to have had an important social role amongst the elite.

Deer were not the only game in the park. Hare coursing was also popular and there are records of coursing on the park lawns (Ridgard 1985, 11). Partridges and to a lesser extent pheasants seem to have been favoured for falconry and it is possible that they were reared intensively as the account of 1324-5 records 47 partridges being fed within the castle (ibid, 10). Falconry may not have been compatible with the raising of doves and pigeons; a dovecot in the Mere is first recorded in 1386-7 and in that year all the partridges, pheasants and rabbits were imported from outside Framlingham.

As noted above, the park was not solely preserved for hunting. In the 1324-5 Account Roll herbage and pannage in the great park are mentioned (Ridgard 1985, 53). In the same document the collection of dead wood and faggots is recorded (ibid, 55) and in



*Figure 5 - The park pale at Great Lodge. The area to the left was within the park. Note the broad internal ditch. From TM 2978 6583 looking north.*

1386-7 old flour sacks were used for transporting charcoal produced in the Great Park (ibid, 86).

From the above it seems clear that the park had a varied landscape. Areas must have been wooded to provide cover for the deer, but other areas could have been more open wood-pasture that provided pannage and herbage. These woods would have been managed to provide coppice as well as timber. There must also have been completely open areas as there are mentions of lawns and it is likely that the park contained a mosaic of dense thickets, and more open wood pasture with clearings and rides running through them.

The parks were managed by parkers, seven of which were recorded in 1324-5. Their main duties included maintaining the pale and protecting the game and other livestock in the park (Ridgard 1985, 10). A park breaking events were recorded in 1282 and 1301 (Hoppitt 1999, 61) and poachers were regularly recorded in the parks, and dogs kept by the local people were also a problem. In late 16th century rewards were given for killing buzzards and destroying their eggs, and killing hedgehogs (who would take the eggs of ground-nesting birds) (Ridgard 1985, 11).

Today the area of the park contains two lodges; Great Lodge (Farm) and Little Lodge (NGR TM29516597 and TM28346446 respectively), as well as Countess Wells Farm between them. This arrangement goes back at least to the 18th century when the park was mapped by Isaac Johnson (Brown 2002, 9). In 1324-5, however, there is a reference to a carpenter working on *the* lodge (Ridgard 1985, 10) implying that at this time there was only a single lodge. There is some evidence that Great Lodge was a later development; a survey of 1589 recorded that it was 'built upon a parcel of 120 acres formerly of Okenhall Hall', Badingham (Ridgard 1985, 2) unfortunately it does not date this land deal. Ridgard writes that the Great Lodge was 'rebuilt' in the first half of the 16th century, he quotes a survey of 1547 which records that 'in the seyd park is a fine lodge newly buyld with a garden and diverse houses of offices hereunto adjoyning' (Ridgard 1985, 9). From the evidence presented it is unclear why he uses the term rebuilding when the source describes the lodge as newly built. Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of Norfolk, lived at Framlingham Castle from about 1490 until his death in 1524 and he may have extended the park during this time. After this period the seat of the Howards appears to have been at Stoke-by-Nayland and the castle began to decline (apart from the short period when Mary was in occupation, but this was certainly after Great Lodge was built, or rebuilt – see below).

Fieldwork for this project examined the line of the park boundary and found much of the pale survives along the eastern side of the park from TM 2905 6473 to TM 2962 6645. This had the form of a bank over 1.5m high where best preserved (for example at TM 2977 6580), though 0.5m to 1m was more typical. There was an external ditch in most places and in some areas the remains of a broad internal ditch were visible. There were several large breaks where the pale had been deliberately removed and ploughed out and in some places the bank was much eroded. Most of the internal area of the parks was under the plough and no features appeared to survive.

## ***The Mere***

The mere originated as a natural feature dating back to at least the Bronze Age and almost certainly much earlier as a core of the lake sediments revealed (SCCAS 1998, 15-16). The medieval works consisted principally of the excavation of the Mere which was probably always wide and shallow. The original medieval shoreline is still visible as a scarp running around most of the Mere and enclosed an area of 9.38 hectares (Brown & Pattison 1997, 7).



*Figure 6 - A view of The Mere from the castle wall walk looking west-south-west. The rough brown areas adjacent to The Mere would all have been open water during the medieval period. The Lower Court is in the foreground.*

The date of the work to create the Mere is uncertain. It has generally been assumed to be in the earlier 13th century and though not mentioned in early documents its presence has been assumed. This seems unlikely for a feature of this size and economic potential and it seems more likely that the earliest reference to it would be soon after its creation. It was not mentioned in the 1270 IPM and the fishery worth 5s that is mentioned (Ridgard 1985) seems rather low in value for the Mere. An IPM of 1307 mentions 'the great park by the castle with three fishponds' the value of which was 40s (Martin 1999). These three ponds may have been those identified to the east of the Mere (Brown & Pattison 1997). Again there is no mention of the Mere itself which would not simply be described as one of three fishponds. The reference to 'the gate towards the fishery' in 1302 (Raby & Baille-Reynolds 1959, 24) probably also refers to these fishponds rather than the Mere. Court rolls dated October 1344, record that fishing in Netheryerd, very probably the Lower Court, was supposedly permitted by custom, though was strenuously denied by the lady of the manor (Ridgard 1985, 19). Again these ponds

can hardly be the Mere and, as they were within one of the wards, are probably not those mentioned in 1307 either. Though, as the document is the record of a specific dispute, the lack of reference to the Mere does not preclude its existence. The first clear mention of the Mere is when a dovecot was recorded 'within the great lake beneath the castle' in an extent of 1386-7 (Ridgard 1985, 11). It therefore seems likely that the Mere was excavated sometime between 1307 and 1386-7. The lower court was probably mentioned in 1344 (see above) and if the mere and the court were planned together as seems likely, then the mere was likely to have been created in the first half of the 14th century.

The exact extent of the work necessary to create the mere is also uncertain. Though it had natural origins it may well have been completely silted up by the medieval period. It certainly appears to have been prone to silting in the modern period. In 1945 aerial photographs the Mere was shown as being completely silted up and it appears as fields (106G/UK/929/3244-5), but in 1979 it appears larger than today (TM2863/1-5). In 1997 when a survey of the Mere was undertaken it was possible to walk right across it in ordinary Wellington boots (Pattison, pers comm.) but was dredged in 1998 (SCAAS 1998). This silting seems to have been a problem at least as far back as the 18th century as a document of 1730 by a Mr Campden records that 'The lake (now called the Mear) is reported to have been 'navigable of old' but later much lessened by earth and sand washed into it by great rains' (quoted in a newspaper article in *The Chronicle and Mercury*, 26/8/1960). However, this silting might in fact have been caused by the medieval works; the extent of the mere would have slowed down the flow increasing the amount of material being deposited. Prior to this there may have been a small lake, more in equilibrium with the natural flow water and silt load.

The Mere would have required regular dredging throughout the medieval period to keep it open. It seems likely that it was maintained until the early 16th century when the main seat of the Howards moved to Stoke-by-Nayland and the overall fortunes of the castle began to decline. By 1547 the Mere lay within a 'new meadow' within the park (Martin J, 1999). It seems therefore that the surrounding meadows are very late medieval or post medieval in origin.

As has already been noted the Mere had multiple roles. In part it was defensive preventing direct attack or close approach on the western side of the castle. It was probably always quite shallow and could be easily drained (Brown & Pattison 1997). It also had an economic role. It probably supplied large quantities of fish and the fishponds on its eastern side may have been for raising young fish to be released into the mere to mature. As well as this it was the site of the dovecote which it probably served to protect from vermin and which produced 431 doves for the hospice in 1386-7 (Ridgard 1985, 11). However, as discussed above, its primary role was probably as a status symbol that both enhanced the appearance of the castle and the views of the landscape from the castle.

### ***The Other Parks***

The Great Park was not the only one in the area, there were four others within Framlingham (all actually in Saxtead) belonging to the Earls of Norfolk in 1644 and

estimated at 576 acres total area; Oldfrith, Bradhay, Buchehay; and Newhaghe. The Bigods also had a park in Earl Soham to the west of Saxtead (Ridgard 1985, 9), and as already noted a park in Dennington is mentioned in Domesday Book. Scarfe says that 'it seems likely that the Domesday park at Dennington was later merged with the vast Bigod park at Framlingham' (Scarfe 1972, 197). The basis for this assumption is unclear and as the park here is known to have been in the northern part of the parish (Ridgard 1985, 9) this seems unlikely. The five parks in Framlingham and Saxtead appear to be a unique concentration but they form part of a tract of land, running roughly east west, across which the woods and lawns of medieval parks were a dominant feature (Hoppitt 1999 Vol I, 107).

The location of these parks has been inferred by Hoppitt: at Framlingham 'Stock was liable to a variety of modus payments which extended to cover all meadow and pasture in the parish except [...] the Park and Demesne which land was visited in the master and fellows of Pembroke College and Sir Robert Hitcham's Charity (this area matches the outline of the park as shown in the late 18th century). The same pattern existed in neighbouring Saxtead where there had been four parks identifiable with four woods. Here the only exempt land was Saxtead Green and Little Saxtead Green, both commons being exempted by 'prescription'. However, a modus arrangement similar to that at Framlingham was in operation, which covered all meadow and pasture 'except woodlands and Demesne' rested in the hands of the Master and fellows of Pembroke College and Sir Robert Hitcham's Charity. This amounted to 548 acres of which 150 acres were meadow and pasture; included in this were parts of the former parks of Butrehagh, Newhagh, Bradliagh, and Old Frith' (Hoppitt 1999 Vol I, 89). These lands were therefore tithe free as a result of 'modus payments made in the past in which the landholder agreed to make fixed annual payments in lieu of tithes which would otherwise have been available from the produce of the land occupied by the park' (ibid, 97). These tithe free areas have been mapped by Hoppitt (Hoppitt 1999 vol II, 93) and are shown on Figure 4.

Oldfrith may have been the oldest park in Framlingham judging from its name, which appears to be Saxon, but it was first mentioned in the IPM of 1270. It lay in the east of Saxtead parish, in the area of modern Wood Hall. Bradhay was also first mentioned in 1270 and is marked by the tithe free land recorded as Bradley Wood in the south of the parish, south of modern Bradley Hall. Buchehay (later Batenhall) was again first mentioned in 1270, though it was probably the 'Buttrehagh' mentioned in the Sibton Abbey Cartulary in about 1140 (Hoppitt 1999 Vol II, 71). It lay in the north of the Saxtead near World's End Farm and is described by Ridgard as possibly adjoining the earlier park in Dennington as it adjoined the eastern parish boundary and some 19th century field-names over the border are indicative of parkland (Ridgard 1985, 9). However, as the park is known to have been in the north of the parish it is equally likely that this park simply extended across the border. Several other parks are known to have been situated in more than one parish and the probable connection between Framlingham and Dennington has been noted above. Newhaghe (later Newhawe) was first mentioned in the 1286-7 account suggesting that the Bigods were still imparking post-1270 (Ridgard 1985, 9). It lay in the west of the parish in the area of tithe free land recorded as Newhall Wood (Ridgard 1985, 9, 20).

These parks appear to have been different in kind to the Great Park. They all have wood names (-frith or -hagh/hay) and in 1324-5 Neuhowe is called a boscus. Also at this time there are references to Bradelhawestubbing indicating clearance was taking place and there appear to be direct references to assarts (Edward Martin, pers comm.). In the IPM of 1270 Oldefreth, Bradhaye, and Buchehaye are all described as pasture (Ridgard 1985, 20) and in 1286-7 they are mentioned, with Newhaghe under the heading 'herbagium' (ibid, 23). It seems clear that at least portions of these parks were wood pasture. Thirteenth century account rolls include wood products from them (Hoppitt 1999, 61) and the collection of dead wood (mortuus boscus) coppiced under-wood (subboscus) and faggots (faggottis) from Oldefreth, Botenhawe and Neuhowe, is mentioned in the accounts for 1324-5 (ibid, 53-4). For coppices to grow they must have been kept free of livestock until the new growth was well established and therefore sections of the parks must have been protected by internal banks, hedges or fences, or possibly all three. There does not seem to be any direct evidence that these parks ever provided deer or any other game, or that they were used for the hunt (though this has been assumed and whilst it is possible that general references to parks in Framlingham include these parks it seems unlikely as they are usually recorded by name and itemised separately).

Nothing could be determined of the later history of these parks from the sources consulted.

The areas of all these parks were examined in detail as part of this project. Despite covering as much of their areas as could be accessed via public rights of way, and following all public footpaths across the parks, with one exception, no lengths of park pale or other internal features were found to survive. Given the lack of pale around much of the Great Park, which was known to have one, this is not surprising as the pales could well have been ploughed out, particularly if they were not intended to keep deer in and so were smaller. The exception was along the southern side of Bradhaye where it ran along Earl Soham Lane. Here the lane formed a hollow way about 1.5m deep but on the northern side was a substantial ditch about 5m wide and 1m deep, that ran from TM261756343 to TM25756335 where it turned and ran away from the lane for 50m. Mature trees grew along the bank formed between the lane and the ditch.

## The Wider Landscape

From the above it should be apparent that the landscape around the castle had both an economic and a social function. It was managed both to support the castle household and the local population, and to display the status of its owner. There was no clear distinction between economic land-uses and other land-uses; though the main roles of the great park and the mere were not economic they clearly made a significant contribution to the economy of the lords of the manor. The parks in Saxtead probably were principally economic in function but have been discussed above for convenience. The following examines the wider landscape which was largely worked by the peasantry for their own and their lord's economic gain.

The early arable core surrounding Framlingham originated in the Anglo-Saxon period and is discussed in detail in Section 5 above. Framlingham is in an area of 'Type 3 common

fields' as defined by Martin & Satchell (forthcoming). These had largely disappeared by the 16th century and so rarely feature in Parliamentary Acts; none are known for Framlingham. The communal fields usually formed well under 50% of the parish area. If this is correct for Framlingham then the core of communal fields must have had areas of land held in severalty surrounding them and this pattern appears to be borne out by the evidence of Domesday Book which also suggests that this pattern stretches back throughout the medieval period and very probably into the Anglo-Saxon.

A 'camping close' is known to have existed next to Saxtead church. 'Camping' was a game somewhat like football that was very popular in the eastern counties from at least the 14th century and which was frequently played on Sundays. Though the close was not recorded until the 19th century its site next to the church suggest that it was in use before the mid 1400s when a change of sensibility demanded that they move away (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 154-5). The presence of the close here emphasises that it was the area around the church that was the original core of Saxtead. It is possible that this close also served Framlingham given the close ties between the two, but in general most parishes had their own closes.

Framlingham is surrounded by green-side settlements characterised by a medium to large area of common land, frequently with substantial boundary ditches and often situated at road junctions, around which are farmsteads and houses. There is a string of such greens on the clay plateau to the north and west including Brabbling Green (Framlingham), Saxtead Green, and Saxtead Little Green (Saxtead) and Maypole Green and Capon's Green (Dennington), in addition, Earl Soham is based around a green. They are generally on higher ground and marginal within the parish, typically at some distance from the main settlement and church, indicating that they are secondary features in the landscape (Martin & Satchell forthcoming, Chapter 3, section 1.x). Exceptions to this are Saxtead and Earl Soham which are parishes in their own right but in both cases the parishes themselves are secondary, the former originally being subsidiary to Framlingham and the latter probably subsidiary to Monk Soham. Some greens show evidence of planning (Warner 1987, 45), though further research would be required to identify any such around Framlingham.

There are, however, several 'green' settlements situated much lower down than those described above and within the suggested early arable core (above). Within Framlingham these are Apsey Green and Cole's Green and there are others in similar locations in Parham and Easton to the south. Apsey Green is situated in a small valley at c. 35mOD however the green itself consists of a small area of tithe-free land at a minor crossroads, though as it is situated on Earl Soham Lane, possibly the original direct route between Earl Soham and Framlingham, the junction may have been much more important in the past. It therefore seems that although it is somewhat smaller, lower and probably within the early arable core in other ways Apsey Green is similar to other greenside settlements. The reason for the differences in situation is uncertain. In contrast, Coles Green, which is situated on a poorly defined spur above the main river valley at about 40mOD (a similar site to other greens to the south), the location of any green here cannot be readily identified and there is no apparent road junction here. It therefore

seems possible that this was not a greenside settlement as above and that the place-name has another origin.

Place-name evidence suggests that 'greens' were rare before the 12th century and the archaeological evidence in Suffolk, mainly from fieldwalking, suggests that these settlements originated in the late 11th or 12th century (ibid). Warner, however, suggests the late Saxon period (1987, 13) and the number of free men recorded in Domesday Book does provide some support for this. He also suggests that the boundaries of the greens, rather than the settlement around their margins, could have a much earlier date marking a division between enclosed and non-enclosed land going back to the Romano-British period: 'there [...] seems to be a strong case for suggesting that the general pattern of curvilinear green boundaries on the claylands has a very early origin, a few at least of the green ditches being relics, the outer limits perhaps, of estate boundaries from an otherwise vanished early Roman landscape (Warner 1987, 11).

It has been suggested that 'greens' originated when woods were felled, or wood pasture over-grazed, as a result of population expansion in the centuries before the Black Death. In some places lords appear to have responded by emparking areas to preserve woodland which in turn increased the importance of the areas of common grazing remaining. Green-side settlement seems to have led to a shift from some settlements in core areas often leaving earlier churches and manors isolated. This appears to have been the case in Saxtead though here the earliest settlement was probably itself secondary, if of a middle Saxon date. Such shifts cannot be detected within Framlingham itself without further detailed work. Desertion in the late medieval period was extensive but it seems that it was individual farmsteads, generally the poorest, rather than whole settlements that were lost (Warner 1987, 38-9), suggesting the engrossment of larger farms, possibly as the result of a change from arable farming to pasture, and emphasising the dispersed nature of settlement.

There are numerous moated sites in the area indicated by earthworks, both occupied and deserted, and minor place-names such as 'moat farm'. These have a similar distribution to the 'greens' but with a greater concentration to the north and east on the plateau, possibly because the more level topography and less permeable soils better suited their creation. The function of moats appears to have been to provide a slightly raised, and therefore better drained, platform upon which to build and as a refuge for livestock (Warner 1987, 7). The investment in their creation must have been significant and so it is likely that only the larger land holders could afford them and so they were probably also indicators of status. Numerous smaller examples are known and the larger examples sometimes bore the names of important medieval manors (ibid). Some were also related to fishponds, further indicators of status. Research into the origin of settlements has shown that most moated sites developed in the 12th and 13th centuries (MSRG website, 4/8/2007), which is somewhat later than the probable origins of green-side settlements and would fit with a model where as these settlements became more established some of the better off land holders were able to demonstrate their new found status by constructing moats around their farmsteads, or completely rebuilding, possibly on new sites.

It therefore seems clear that greens and moats indicate areas of secondary medieval settlement peripheral to the earlier core areas. They may have begun to develop in the late Saxon period, but were becoming well established in the late 11th and 12th centuries and probably reached their maximum in the century before the Black Death.

The decline of medieval arable is not well documented but in the earlier 14th century the landscape broadly consisted of an arable core surrounded by peripheral areas of pasture. The exact balance between these two is not known but was probably in the region of 50% each. When a detailed picture emerges in the 17th century only about 20% of the Framlingham area was under the plough (Section 8.2 below) and it seems clear that there was a significant decline in the area of arable. This has often been put down to the population collapse following the Black Death but in some areas the decline appears to have begun before the Plague arrived in England and the greater profitability of rearing sheep for wool was probably also a factor. The picture of Framlingham that emerges in the 17th century is of a dairying district and the nature of late medieval farming here is unclear.

## **Framlingham Town**

See Figure 15 on page 63.

It seems clear that the borough prospered during the later 13th and early 14th centuries and the evidence strongly suggest that it had been doing so for the two centuries before this. In the 1334 Lay Subsidy valued Framlingham at £55 which was close to the median for the county (Letters 2006).

The market was first recorded in 1270 as held by Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk (Ridgard 1985, 19). The first mention of the borough is in 1286-7 when it received both borough status and its first grant for a market on Tuesday, Friday and Saturday (ibid, 17, 21). This gives a clear indication of Framlingham's status by this time as Saturdays were considered the best day for a market and only Ipswich and Dunwich are thought to have had more frequent market days. In fact Framlingham was on a par with Bury St Edmunds (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 58-9). Framlingham's influence apparently extended over the immediate area as the two nearest markets at Kettleburgh and Earl Soham were held on Wednesdays and Thursdays respectively, when Framlingham market was closed (ibid).

It also received a charter for a six day fair in 1286 to be held at Michaelmas, the parish church's saint's day. This again shows Framlingham's status as six day fairs were unusual, three being more typical (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 60-1). The market was recorded again in 1307 and a second fair, held on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of Whit week was recorded in 1324-5 (Ridgard 1985, 17). Framlingham was clearly thriving as several 'foreign' burgesses buying access to the market were named (ibid, 51). Fairs were larger than markets and probably held outside the town, possibly in the Fairfield Road area.

The Framlingham guild was one of the strongest in the east of the county and, unusually in Suffolk, several parishes in the area supported it, providing yet more evidence of

Framlingham's very high status during the medieval period. This was not a craft or civil guild which appears to have been rare in Suffolk, but had a religious basis providing for its members in adversity and praying for them after death. Many guild activities originally took place in the church but opinion moved against this and separate guildhalls were built. Framlingham's guildhall was adjacent to the church, on the site of no. 34 Market Hill (TM26SE 40) and was almost certainly secondary to both the church and probably the marketplace. The guilds were dissolved under an Act of 1547 (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 74-5).

The Black Death almost certainly arrived in Framlingham in January 1349 marking an end to a generally sustained period of growth. The first manor court to be held after the plague in October 1350 recorded substantial numbers of empty tenements that could not be re-let and a court in June 1351 recorded a drop in capital pledges of 20% even after a period of recovery and it therefore seems likely that the overall population drop approached 40% (Ridgard 1985, 5).

The topography of the town in relation to the castle is complex and problematic. The town can be broken up into several developmental units or blocks which can be roughly phased to suggest a pattern of development for the town which can be related to the history of the castle. The blocks are not always easy to define and their boundaries could be drawn in a variety of ways. The phasing is also not always straightforward and several relationships cannot easily be resolved. It should be noted here that the known date of buildings within the town does not help to answer this question. The earliest known extant buildings, apart from church and the castle are from the 14th and 15th centuries, by which time most of the developments discussed below would have already taken place. The visible built fabric of the town only represents the final phase of development and there will probably have been earlier buildings on every plot in the central area of town. The dates given are based mainly on the listing descriptions and internal features can only be determined where they have been reported by the owners or an inspector has been able to gain access. Many of the buildings may have earlier cores. Much of the original layout of the town will have been obscured by the constant rebuilding and property boundaries will have changed as buildings are known to have been both divided and amalgamated.

The blocks that have been identified are: the castle; the Town Ditch (not strictly a block in the same sense but a vital element in understanding the development of the town); St. Michael's Church; Church Street itself; Double Street; south of Castle Street; north of Castle Street; north of Fore Street; the marketplace with several associated blocks around it, and several blocks east and south of Fore Street and west of the River Ore all of which are thought to be largely post-medieval.

## **The Castle**

As already noted the current castle was probably constructed c. AD 1200 and had a significant impact on the existing settlement. It is considerably larger than any previous structures and expanded outwards from the earlier site probably forcing a rearrangement of the settlement pattern around it.

## The Town Ditch

The Town Ditch is visible as a substantial rectilinear feature running to the immediate north and east of the castle before disappearing under the houses to the north of Castle Street (Brown 2002). It has been noted that the Town Ditch sits rather uncomfortably with the existing castle earthworks (Brown 2002, 33) so it seems unlikely to be associated with them and it is difficult to see a context for its excavation once the castle and its earthworks had been constructed, as it would have been easier to use the outer moat ditch. It therefore seems probable that the Town Ditch predates the castle, which suggests several possible roles. It could have enclosed an Anglo-Saxon manorial or minster complex that predated the first Norman castle; it could have enclosed the earthwork castle and/or the suggested proto-urban centre associated with it; or it could have enclosed the intermediate high status centre represented by the first stone hall and chapel.

The original form and extent of the town ditch is unknown but there appear to be two main possibilities. A late 18th century map (Isaac Johnson 1789-90, Pembroke College MS Ltheta) clearly shows a short section of ditch returning west at the south end of the eastern section of the ditch, roughly at the point where the dam for the ornamental canal lies, before being cut by the outer moat of the castle. This suggests that its original form was rectangular and that the majority lay to the north east of the castle with the suggested area of the first earthwork castle near the southwest corner. There is no sign of this return continuing within the outer bailey and a geophysical survey did not detect any likely anomalies, but this area may have been levelled and was probably intensively used during the castle's lifetime (Brown 2002). If this interpretation is correct then the site of the castle chapel would be peripheral to the enclosure but close to any possible manor house that the first castle replaced. This would conform exactly to the pattern described above (for example Blair 2005, Fig 45). It could also have been later however, dating to the 12th century after the demolition of the first castle and before the second was built, enclosing the high status settlement represented by the first stone hall and chapel.

Other maps show the town ditch continuing south curving around roughly parallel to the outer moat (Hawes 1798) and a map of 1834 shows it continuing between Double Street and Fore Street and running on to the south of the market place (Green 1834). Both maps are somewhat stylised and the later map gives the ditch a straight and regular course through the town that more accurate mapping almost certainly precludes. It is also difficult to see how it could line up as neatly as it suggests with the known stretch of the town ditch. The ditch shown very likely existed but it seems more likely that the ditch formed the rear boundary of properties to the east and south of Double Street and relates to that topographical block rather than the Town Ditch to the north. Continuing its curved alignment takes it around the north side of the market rather than to the south as the 1834 map suggests and any ditch south of the market was probably a separate feature. Note that a flint and mortar wall that was found running along the rear fence line of 59 Fore Street and apparently extending into adjacent properties, recorded in the Suffolk SMR was thought to be medieval (FML028) but the first edition OS 6' map clearly shows a building here. However, if this possible form is correct then the ditch would enclose a large area, possibly with a central church, a layout more in

keeping with a minster precinct (Blair 2005, Fig 23), though again it could be later and have bounded the possible proto-urban centre which may have begun to develop in the period between the conquest and Domesday (see above). These two options are not necessarily mutually exclusive and earlier enclosures could have been adapted, as at Winchcombe for example (Blair 2005, fig 34, 288).

### **St. Michael's Church**

A church in Framlingham is mentioned in Domesday Book but the site of this church need not have been the same as the site of the current parish church. Early churches typically had relatively large churchyards, frequently with curvilinear boundaries with noticeably raised ground levels. Framlingham church in contrast has a relatively small, rectangular churchyard with only a slightly raised level suggesting a later origin. It has already been suggested that the earliest castle in Framlingham was probably constructed in the area of the northern part of the current castle bailey, on the site of an existing Saxon manorial complex and it was common for such complexes to contain a chapel or church that served the local community, (Blair 2005, 385-96). This would suggest that the original Domesday church would also have been in this area. It is not unknown for churches to be moved in the medieval period, for example, at Shapwick, Somerset, the parish church was moved into the nucleated settlement in the 13th century from an isolated site a kilometre to the east (Turner 1998). Several examples of castles engulfing minsters, leading to re-establishment on new sites, have also been identified (Blair 2005, 635 n354).

It seems likely that the construction of the castle led to the insertion of the new church into an existing framework (see Double Street and Church Street below). It is possible that the stone chapel within the bailey, which pre-dated the construction of the curtain wall, was on or near the site of the original Saxon manorial church and may have acted as the parish church for the community. The construction of the curtain wall would have cut the chapel off from its parish necessitating the construction of a new church outside the castle. The earliest surviving fabric in the current parish church is the chancel arch, the capitals of which date from the late twelfth century and the piers probably marked a crossing (Pevsner 1974, 216). This mirrors the likely date of the start of construction of the current castle. The majority of the church however was built in the perpendicular style between 1350 and 1555 and the font dates from the fifteenth century.

Further, admittedly circumstantial, evidence that the church was fitted into an existing framework comes from its orientation. This is unusual as it deviates markedly from the generally assumed east-west alignment: its main axis lies 35-40 degrees south of east. The site slopes slightly but the topography is not enough to explain this degree of deviation and though the church was substantially rebuilt in the 15th century there is no reason to think that the orientation changed at this time. Such a large error can hardly be chance and it has been shown that many, if not most church orientations can be explained by relating them to sunrise/sunset on a range of significant dates (Ali & Cunich). It has been suggested that some churches were oriented on sunrise or sunset on their saint's day. St Michael's feast day, Michaelmas, is the 29th September but at Framlingham's latitude (c. 52.2 degrees N) sunrise on this date is only about 5 degrees

south of east (Ali & Cunich, fig 5) so this cannot be the alignment used. In fact, for a deviation this large the day of alignment must fall very close to or on the winter solstice an orientation not considered (ibid). However, it is noticeable that the church appears to align with the west end of Double Street (see Fig 7) and the possibility that the church orientation might have related to the existing urban framework rather than any other factors must be considered.



*Figure 7 - St Michael's Church and the western entrance to Double Street. From TM 2852 6349 looking south-east.*

### **Church Street**

It seems likely that Church Street was inserted into an existing street pattern as there is a change in orientation between the sections to the north and south of the junction with Double Street (see Fig 8). If Church Street were earlier than Double Street then it seems likely that it would have been straight. There is the suggestion of a block of planned tenements running along the east side of Church Street though it has been obscured by continuing evolution of the urban structure. If this is correct then these plots were probably laid out at the same time as the churchyard sometime in the early 13th century. Number 8-9 Castle Street is the oldest known domestic structure in Framlingham. It originally consisted of a hall range with a cross wing of 14th century date with later extensions and has since been unevenly divided into two. The combined width of the property here may represent the original property widths in this block. 2-4 Double Street appear to have been inserted into this block later as they are situated behind the Castle Street frontage but do not have the same property boundaries as seen further along Double Street.



Figure 8 - Church Street. The change in orientation where Double Street meets Church Street is clearly visible. St Michael's Church is on the right. From TM 2861 6355 looking SW.

### **Double Street**

The curved shape of Double Street is unusual as are its narrow entrances from Church Street and Castle Street, the former being more pronounced. The property boundaries along both sides of Double Street generally run away from it at right angles forming a fan shape and it is clearly a discrete tenorial block rather than a curving street cutting through an earlier pattern. It seems clear that the Double Street properties are earlier than the properties south of Castle Street and those to the north of Fore Street. It also seems likely that this block pre-dates Church Street and that this is therefore the earliest part of the town.

### **South of Castle Street**

In this block properties are irregular and do not run back from the road for any distance. The majority of the houses here are 17th century and many have been divided creating even smaller properties. The original pattern must have consisted of larger properties with their longest sides facing the road a pattern inconsistent with medieval burgage plots. The overall impression is suggestive of squatting; properties being squeezed into an existing framework, probably in the late medieval or early post-medieval period.

### **North of Castle Street**

The properties here run away from the street in a more typically medieval fashion. However, as they extent over the outer moat ditch, at least in the western part of the

block, they cannot have been laid out in this form before the castle began to decline in the 16th century or when it was completely abandoned in the 17th (see Fig 8 above). A few of the buildings here are 16th century in date (though originally quite humble dwellings) and it is possible that these were built in the small area between the road and the moat, again possibly squatting. Several property boundaries have significant dog-legs where they cross the projected line of the outer edge of the moat and it seems possible that some at least of the properties were laid out in two phases, perhaps encroaching on the moat at a later date. An archaeological evaluation at 8-12 Castle Street has revealed a ditch 4m wide and 2m deep containing post-medieval pottery suggesting the bailey ditch was still open well into the 16th century (Suffolk SMR FML043).



*Figure 9 - Properties to the north of Castle Street. The pond in the foreground lies within the outer bailey ditch. The properties can clearly be seen to have encroached on this and the building in the foreground has settled into the softer make-up deposits in the ditch. From TM 2862 6357 looking east.*

## **Fore Street**

The properties on the northern (town) side of Fore Street are irregular in size and the buildings predominantly date to the 18th and 19th centuries (see Fig 9 below). They appear to have developed piecemeal and consist of a few larger and more notable buildings with smaller lower status insertions between them. Some of the property boundaries appear to align with those running back from Double Street suggesting that they were inserted into that framework, possibly as owners sold off the 'bottom of the garden' for development. However, the dominant axis runs at right angles to this so it seems more likely that the development was following the road. This raises the question of the original date and form of Fore Street itself.



*Figure 10 - Fore Street. The properties to the west (left) are oriented along the road rather than away from it in a more typically medieval fashion and can be seen to be somewhat irregular with a mixture of dates and styles. From TM 2866 6337 looking east.*

## **The Marketplace**

The marketplace is an awkward shape situated on sloping ground. There appear to be regular blocks of property on the south and west sides of the market and it is possible that the settlement here was planned. These consist of narrow parcels of land running away from the market frontage. Those on the east side of the market are sited so as to allow the buildings facing onto the market to be placed on more level ground just before it falls away towards the river. It may have been established to accommodate displacement by construction of the castle, in the earlier part of the 13th century though the market is not recorded until the later part of this century and did not receive its charter until 1286-7 when the borough is also mentioned for the first time and so these blocks could have been laid out somewhat later.

Development to the north east of the market place is noticeably tight which could be explained by the topography but would also make sense if the buildings were shoehorned in between the marketplace and the church possibly within an earlier, larger marketplace. The location of the guildhall in this area (above and Fig 12) supports this possibility. If this were the case then the marketplace might have originally been much squarer.



Figure 11 - The marketplace. The two buildings in the centre of the image are late encroachments; the original frontages of the properties around the marketplace ran down the left side of the photograph and behind these encroachments. From TM 2858 6345 looking east-south-east.



Figure 12 - The site of Framlingham Guildhall with the church behind (the guildhall was apparently on the site of 34 Market Hill, the house with the white door right of centre, though it almost certainly occupied a larger plot). From TM 2843 6342 looking north.

## POST MEDIEVAL FRAMLINGHAM

### The Later 16th Century

#### The Castle

The end of the medieval period appears to coincide with the beginning of the castle's decline. In 1546, the 3rd Duke of Norfolk fell out of favour with the King and was executed, his lands returning to the Crown. At Henry's death a year later, Framlingham passed to Edward VI, who held his first court there. A survey of the estate (Pembroke College MS Lzeta) shows that at this time the castle was in disrepair, though it must have been habitable since Edward granted it to his sister Mary in 1553, not long before his death. Here she waited for the result of the contested accession with a large retinue camped nearby (Ridgard 1985, 6). In July 1553 she issued her first commands as Queen from Framlingham Castle and after her coronation later that year, the 4th Duke of Norfolk was released from the Tower of London and restored to his estates and title. Little is known of the castle until after 1572 when he was executed for high treason and his estates passed to Elizabeth I (Coppinger 1909, 276-8). A survey of 1589 again highlighted the poor state of the castle and grounds (Ridgard 1985, 7; Green 1895, 35). After this the castle was used as a prison for priests and recusants, and c. 1600 there were forty imprisoned here.

#### The Countryside

Around this time the Mere seems to have stopped being maintained and as it silted up it was used as meadow. The first evidence for a possible late medieval or post medieval watermill is from the 1589 survey which records that a 'Myllebridge' was decayed (Ridgard 1985, 13). The 1998 survey recorded a leat running along the west side of the Mere, apparently associated with the ditches that defined the meadows within and so probably also post dating it (Brown & Pattison 1998). The leat also ran into the River Ore just upstream of the 'mill bridge' and was probably associated with any mill here. There is no evidence for any mill before the Tudor period which further suggests that the leat post-dates the medieval period. A ditch and bank feature running around the south end of the Mere was revealed during an evaluation (SCCAS 2000). It was assumed to be medieval and whilst they may have been associated with the medieval mere, on an 18th century map the bank was called the 'Mill Bank' and the ditch would appear to relate better to the water meadows than the Mere, so may also have been associated with the late or post-medieval mill or the meadows.

During this 1570s the Great Park was estimated to cover between 500 to 650 acres (200 to 260 hectares), with 400 deer. It was disparked in 1580 at which time it contained about 1600 deer (Ridgard 1985, 10) which seems a very steep rise, perhaps suggesting that none had been taken for the table for some time. It is unclear what happened to the park at this time as it was still identifiable and apparently had a complete pale over 200 years later in 1798 (below).

The district was largely enclosed by 1600 with farms and estates that were of a relatively modest size compared to other areas of East Anglia (Theobald 2002, 3)

## The Town

Before his execution in 1547 the 3rd Duke of Norfolk had pulled down the church's old chancel with its two aisles and had partly built a new one, but because of the fall of the Howards it was Edward VI who ordered the completion in 1553. The building is unusual because little church construction was being carried out at this time of great religious upheaval. It was only in cases of specific requirement, in this case to provide a mausoleum for the Howard tombs, that benefactors would invest in the face of the changing requirements of Catholic or Protestant doctrine. This means that contrary to many other churches this period of construction cannot be taken to indicate a particular period of affluence in Framlingham's history.

The town was still a busy market town c.1600 (Everitt 1967, 475). The late 16th century would appear to be the most likely period for the construction of the first buildings to the north of Castle Street. They sit over the moat and it is very unlikely that they would have been allowed to be built whilst the castle was in use. The earliest houses here are 16th century though some at least could have been constructed on small plots immediately outside the castle ditch only later expanding their grounds over its former area.

## The 17th and 18th Centuries

The civil war did not have a profound impact on Suffolk as it did many other counties, as it was not one of the main theatres of action, and most of the gentry appear to have remained neutral. What division there was appears to have been along religious grounds with most puritans supporting the Parliamentarians. Framlingham's gentry were largely Anglican and appear to have sided with the royalists but it is unclear what impact this had (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 95). It was probably minimal; the 1674 Hearth Tax returns shows Framlingham as one of the more populous parishes in the county without unusually high numbers of poor (ibid, 97).

In the post medieval period Framlingham was a minor centre for leather production (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 144-5). Documentary evidence suggests that one site at least was located to the north of the bridge on Bridge Street on the west bank of the Ore where a fellmonger (a dealer in skins that could not be tanned, known as kips) was located (Breen 2000).

Framlingham also had a small linen industry with less than 5 weavers probably operating individually and not all at the same time. This declined in the late 18th century but it is unclear when it originated, probably in the medieval period but there are few records before the 17th century (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 142-3). In the 19th century two fields named 'further wretting pit piece' and 'wretting piece' were recorded in the tithe apportionment (Suffolk CRO, 6/7/07 field nos. 776 and 777 respectively). As these lay in the Great Park they could not very well have been in use prior to its disparkment in 1580 and were no longer used for retting in 1842.

## Castle and Town

The castle was restored to the Howards in 1603 but was probably virtually derelict by this time. The Howards sold the castle to Sir Robert Hitcham in 1635 and upon his death in 1636 it was left to the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College, Cambridge with the condition that all the buildings not made of stone be pulled down and a poor house constructed (Brown 2002, 7). The poor house was probably originally in the great hall as the current building dates to 1729 (Baillie-Reynolds 1957, 153).

In the early 17th century the castle was disused and provided a source of building stone for the local area. There is a reference to a surveyor's account dated 1656 which details expenditure on a hammer 'to break down the Casell Walle', and to payments to two men for 'bringing up...loades of stones upon the casell hills' (Green 1834, 12). A local historian, Henry Sampson, writing in 1663, noted that the chapel had been removed by 1657 (Ridgard 1985, 7). Sir Robert Hitcham's Almshouses were built in the later 17th century using material from the demolition of the castle buildings (LB description UID 286390).

Between 1669 and 1674 three licenses for Congregational or Independent meeting were granted for Framlingham, an unusually high number. It is uncertain where these meetings were held, though they were probably in private houses as purpose built chapels are unlikely to have been constructed before the Toleration Act of 1689. The earliest chapel in Framlingham is that on Bridge Street which dates to the 18th century and the number of chapels probably grew steadily from this point though many meetings would have continued in private houses (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 114-5).

By the 18th century Framlingham had one of the largest endowed schools in the county offering over 40 free places to pupils (probably all boys) and having its own building (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 116-7). According to a survey of the castle in 1790 the canal in the western part of the bailey ditch was already in existence and seems to have been for the use of the 'master of the charity school' (SCRO: HD 11/475).

Framlingham was situated on a loop of turnpike roads that ran off the main turnpike from Ipswich to Lowestoft created by an Act of 1785. However it is unclear what the date of the Framlingham section was though side branches were often included in the main Act. The date of the act is not necessarily the date the road was actually 'turnpiked' and occasionally Acts lapsed and the work was never completed, though this does not appear to be the case here. The turnpike ran in a loop from Saxmundham west to Framlingham, roughly along the line of the modern B119 entering the town where Castle Street and Fore Street meet. From Framlingham the turnpike ran north to Dennington, roughly along the line of the B116, where the road returned east to rejoin the Ipswich/Lowestoft turnpike at Yoxford (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 126-7).

## The Countryside

Country house building passed Framlingham by (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 99) and at the 1705 election about 60 voters, those with freehold estates valued at over 40s a year, turned out from Framlingham, Dennington and Saxtead (ibid, 103). This suggests

countryside with numerous smaller estates owned by persons of some local standing rather than an area dominated by a few larger estates.

In 1798, despite being disparked over 200 years earlier, the Great Park was still recognised and estimated at 600 acres (240 hectares) with a 3 mile (4.8 kilometres) long boundary surrounded by park pale (Ridgard 1985, 9).

The landscape was well wooded into the 17th century. In 1664 John Evelyn in his 'Discourse of Forest Trees' praised Framlingham for its magnificent oaks and the 17th century warship 'Sovereign', the flagship of Charles II's navy, was built of Framlingham oak (Hinde 1997, 253). These trees must have been several hundred years old and probably came from one of the parks.

Up until about 1750 High Suffolk, within which Framlingham lies, was predominantly a pastoral dairying district with farmers typically having only 20% of their land under the plough in any one year (Theobald 2002, 9). Throughout this period dairy cows were the dominant livestock (ibid, 6). During most of 17th century farmers followed a three-course rotation on the little arable land there was; a fallow course, probably with a beans and peas on it, followed by wheat then barley or oats (ibid, 10).

In the late 17th century the field turnip began to be grown on the fallow course (Theobald 2002, 11) which allowed more cattle to be over wintered and there was a rise in the numbers of immature cattle which were bought in, often from Scottish drovers, to be fattened up and sold on (ibid, 6-7). These were confined rather than out on the pasture and numerous purpose built cow houses or 'neathouses' situated away from the farmhouse, usually in closes close to the arable, were built at this time (ibid, 17). The improved feed improved the quality of manure and as they were confined their manure could be collected more easily which led to an improvement in soil quality and corn yields began to improve at this time.

In the 1740s farmers began to include clover after the barley/oats course to create the famous four-course rotation system. For example, during the 1760s Brook Farm, Framlingham had 26% of its arable under clover, peas and beans, 29% under wheat, 25% barley/oats and 20% fallow (including 5% turnips). This system continued to be followed through to the mid 19th century with grain proportions remaining similar to those above. Clover improved soil quality markedly by fixing nitrogen and was also a nutritious fodder crop that may have played a part in the increasing numbers of horse and swine seen in the later 18th century. Pig numbers in particular quadrupled between 1747 and 1803 (Theobald 2002, 7). Turnips became less popular as they were difficult to harvest and tainted milk, and after 1760 cabbages began to be grown as cattle feed though they also proved popular with pigs, though on Pembroke College farms, 'bare fallows were largely preferred to turnips or their substitute, cabbages' (ibid, 11-2).

At about this time grassland began to be converted to arable so that by the early 1790s most parishes around Framlingham were about half arable and half pastoral. This was partly due to increasing grain prices at the time encouraging a change but confidence in the dairying industry was also adversely affected by cattle plague in the 1740s and the

loss of the naval cheese contract in the 1750s (Theobald 2002, 10). This loss led to a change from cheese making to butter which increased the amount of skimmed milk available on farms; ideal for fattening pigs and another factor leading to their increase (ibid, 16).

In the late 1760s farmers began to introduce under-drainage in the form of 'bush' drains. These involved the digging of channels that were then packed with bush material, typically blackthorn or alder, stubble, straw or stones before backfilling. It appears that the district around Framlingham lagged behind others and by 1800 drainage was still inadequate (Theobald 2002, 20-21).

All these changes in farming practices would have required significant increases in agricultural labour, which must have pushed up rural populations. This demand could be met however as the district had a substantial surplus of labour and relatively low wages (Theobald, 2002, 22).

As already noted there are no enclosure awards or maps for Framlingham which was probably largely enclosed by 1600.

## **The 19th century**

At the beginning of the 19th century the 1801 census records the population of Framlingham as 1,854 with 704 working in trade and manufacture (Raw 1820).

The first half of the 18th century saw a steady population growth in the area with Framlingham, Saxtead and Dennington all growing by 10-33%, a pattern seen right across the county (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 107). From 1851 to 1951 Framlingham saw a similar decline in population. This was however, a significantly lower decline than that seen for surrounding parishes (ibid, 108) and it is likely that the presence of the railway offset this general trend to a certain extent.

## **Castle and Town**

'In 1808 several thousand cartloads of stone and other materials were raised and removed from the interior [of the castle], but neither cellars, dungeons nor subterranean passages were found [...] all was one mass of material in the most chaotic confusion' (Green 1834, quoted in Coad 1972, 156).

For much of the 19th century the Poor House was used as a drill hall and numerous bullets from this period were found during excavations (Coad, 1972, 156).

Double Street was originally called Bow Street presumably on account of its plan form but was renamed in the regency period, possibly because it was the first street to be built up on both sides, though Castle Street may also have begun to be similarly built up by this date. At this time it was the main shopping street in Framlingham and many of the regency shop fronts have been preserved (Way nd, 14).

In 1851 four nonconformist meetings were recorded in Framlingham, a high number only surpassed by the main Suffolk towns and a few of the very large fenland parishes to the west (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 114-5).

In contrast there were numerous pubs and inns in Framlingham, many more than today. There was also a brewery and some maltings (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 153). In the mid 19th century Framlingham also had an assembly room and a 'fit-up' theatre (ibid, 156-7).

Before the railway the town was mainly of local significance having been bypassed by the transport revolutions of the previous century. When the railway arrived in 1859 it opened up easier connections to places such as Ipswich and London which led to the town becoming the centre for a much wider community in the Victorian period when people rarely travelled far. Much of the expansion of the town in the second half of the 19th century probably followed as a direct consequence of the railway which even brought some industry to the area; a brick works is shown immediately to the south of the station on first edition OS maps.

During the 19th century Framlingham had a parochial school offering elementary education, as did Saxtead and Dennington and most other parishes in the vicinity (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 118-9). Framlingham College was proposed as a memorial to the late Prince Consort and opened in 1865 to teach Suffolk boys agricultural science (Booth 1925, 10-11); part of its success was also likely to be due to the railway (ibid, 22).

## **The Countryside**

After the Napoleonic Wars there was a 'drastic move away from dairying' in the district around Framlingham (Theobald 2002, 7). By 1854 there were only 3.6 dairy cattle per 100 acres in High Suffolk, compared to 16.5 a century earlier. (ibid, 8) and 'leases for Great Lodge and Countess Wells Farms at Framlingham in 1806 prescribed that roughly eight cows per 100 acres were to be kept' (ibid, 6) suggesting that tenants were not keeping enough cattle, at least in the eyes of the landowners.

However, whilst the amount of pastoral land declined drastically the numbers of yarded animals were actually on the increase. This meant that the availability of quality manure continued and soil quality was maintained; the corn yields in the district between c.1800 and 1836 remained fairly constant (Theobald 2002, 9). It became increasingly common during the first half of the century for the older neathouses out in the fields to be replaced by open fronted cattle sheds much closer to the farmstead, though little thought seems to have been given to the layout of buildings (ibid, 18).

Agricultural machinery began to be adopted at the beginning of the century reducing the need for rural labourers. This was opposed by them and riots were common throughout the first half of the 19th century, though 1816, 1822, 1830-32 and 1835-36 were particularly violent periods (Muskett, 1984).

Between 1836 and 1850 wheat yields jumped from 23 bushels an acre to 32, and barley from 32 to 44 (Theobald 2002, 9). This was at least in part a result of the adoption of phosphates (ibid, 19). By the 1850s, probably as a result of the opening of the railway, it became viable to purchase and transport lime to counteract soil acidity (ibid, 20).

The major change in the latter part of the 19th century was the re-planning of many farms to create well ordered central yards to improve efficiency. This was achieved by rebuilding around existing buildings, such as the main barn, rather than the creation of completely new 'model' farms as seen in some other areas. Most of these works took place between the 1850s and 1880s and can be seen by contrasting tithe maps and the first edition of the OS 6 inch to one mile series. These changes lead to further improvements in the production of manure which lead to further increases in grain yields from the 1860s (Theobald 2002, 18-19).

During this period under-drainage was installed much more extensively. Though it had been steadily increasing since the 1760s it had remained restricted. The introduction of tenant rights, government loans and to a certain extent the new tile pipe, all encouraged more widespread adoption (Theobald 2002, 21).

Three post mills are known in the parish in 1840 with another in Saxtead and two in Dennington (Dymond & Martin (eds) 1999, 149).

## **The 20th Century**

### **Castle and Town**

In 1913 Pembroke College gave Framlingham Castle to the Commissioners of Works, later the Department of the Environment, who preserved the site until 1984 when management passed to English Heritage. The courtyard of the castle was levelled up to its present height between the wars (Coad 1972, 156). In 1954 the excavation of a drainage trench along the line of current approach to the castle from the town exposed several skeletons and Group Captain Knocker was instructed to investigate and date the burials by the Ministry of Works (Knocker 1956). A series of excavations across the inner bailey was undertaken between 1968 and 1970 by J G Coad and resulted in an almost complete east-west section (Coad 1972).

During the Second World War Framlingham was directly involved in the defence of Britain. It is listed as a category 'A' nodal point in a 1940 list of nodal points in the Eastern Command (DoB 23/9/2007). Nodal points were towns or villages converted into strong defence positions or anti tank islands. Those within 15 miles (24 kilometres) of the coast, on routes of reinforcing formations, or with 5 or more essential roads leading into them were defined as category A and were equipped with supplies for seven days, water for four days and an outer perimeter of anti-tank defences. The pill box visible just outside the Town Ditch in the field north of the castle would have formed a part of these defences and there were doubtless many others.

The railway closed to passengers in 1952 but the freight yards continued in use until 1965 (Brodribb 2004, 152).

## The Countryside

The agricultural landscape remained relatively unchanged until after the First World War. The massive loss of life resulted in a significant drop in the availability of agricultural labour and in the interwar period agriculture experienced something of a recession, compounded by the availability of cheap imports.

Framlingham Airfield lies about 5km south east of Framlingham in the parish of Great Glemham. It had three concrete runways and two hangers and was used by the United States Army Air Force during the Second World War. In May 1943 the 334th, 335th, 336th and 412th Bombardment Squadrons of the 95th Bombardment Group (Heavy) arrived from Alconbury, Cambridgeshire with B-17Fs and in June after completing a few missions moved to Horham. Shortly afterwards in July the 568th, 569th, 570th and 571st Bombardment Squadrons of the 390th Bomb Group (H) 'Wittan's Wallopers' arrived from the USA with B-17F and Gs. The 390th BG flew 300 missions losing 144 aircraft in action and another 32 in accidents. The presence of so many airmen must have had a significant effect on surrounding communities. Operations ceased in August 1945, and in the post-war period the airfield became a clearing centre for Polish nationals before final closure. The airfield was bought back by the original owner in 1964. The control tower still survives, has been refurbished and is currently (2002) in good condition (<http://www.controltowers.co.uk/F~/Framlingham.htm>).

It was the need to be as self sufficient as possible during the war that brought British agriculture out of its recession. The post war years saw increasing mechanisation and this led to the grubbing out of many hedgerows to create larger fields. Historic Landscape Characterisation shows that about half of Framlingham Parish, including the Great Park, has been affected in this way (Ford 1999).

## SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

### *The Anglo-Saxon landscape*

- Can the early to middle Anglo-Saxon Framlingham estate be reconstructed more accurately?
- Was Framlingham Hall a later Saxon estate? Can any others be identified?
- What can be said about the later Anglo-Saxon landscape? Can the early arable core be identified more accurately? Were there any open fields? Where? How many? Where were they farmed from? When did green-side settlement originate? Did Oldfrith have Anglo-Saxon origins?
- How and when did Saxtead Church originate? Was it a daughter church of Framlingham or a manorial chapel? *This might provide further circumstantial evidence for or against a minster at Framlingham.*
- Can the pattern of medieval land holding in Dennington and Framlingham be reconstructed sufficiently to identify the developmental history of both?
- Can Domesday Book sub-entries be more directly related to settlements/manors on the ground?

### *The precursors of Framlingham Castle*

- What was on the site of the current castle at the end of the Saxon period? Was there a minster at Framlingham? Was there a manorial caput?
- Was there a Saxon precursor to the later stone chapel?
- What date is the Town Ditch? Can its course be traced further than is known at present? *A targeted excavation at the point where the town ditch now ends might be able to determine if the ditch returned west or carried on southwards, and provide dating evidence. This would narrow the range of possibilities discussed above. Is there any evidence in the area between the outer bailey ditch and the Town Ditch for its function? Geophysical survey has not been undertaken in this area and may be valuable, targeted small area excavation might also be beneficial.*
- What form did Saxon activity to the south of the castle take? How far did it extend?
- What date are the burials within the outer bailey? How far do the burials extend? Who was buried? *Detailed re-evaluation of the existing archive to include analysis of the available skeletal material including scientific dating would be beneficial. Excavation of test pits or evaluation trenches in the area of the original works might enable dating of the deposits described in the original report and identify the extent of burials.*

- What form did the first Norman occupation of the site take? When was the first castle constructed and what form did it take? Was there an intermediate castle before the current castle? What was demolished by Alnoth? What building scheme were the first stone hall and chapel a part of? *A re-examination of the Coad excavation archives might be a useful starting point for this work.*

### **Framlingham Castle**

- Where did the stone for the castle come from? How was it transported to the site? *Has any geological analysis been undertaken? If not it might be a useful starting point for this question.*
- What date was the lower court constructed? What date was the Mere developed? Were they contemporary? *Production of a compound earthwork map of the Castle and the Mere possibly combined with some infill survey work might help to answer this.*

### **Medieval landscapes**

- How did the early arable core develop in the medieval period? What was the balance between arable and pasture? What was the pattern of enclosure?
- Can the development of greenside settlements be determined in more detail? What was the origin and function of Apsey Green? Was there ever a green at Cole's Green? Is there a different history for these lowland greenside settlements? When did moated settlements originate and how did they develop? How does this relate to the development of greenside settlement? To what extent did the development of these peripheral settlements draw population away from earlier more central settlements? *These questions would need to be addressed by work within the individual settlements and largely lie outside the scope of this report.*
- Can the guild territory be determined? Can this be related back to an Anglo-Saxon minster parochiae?
- *It would be valuable to plot the remaining extent of the park pales identified (including sample sections) more accurately to allow the identification of any phasing and make better provision for their management.*

### **Framlingham town**

- When did the town itself originate? Is the area around Double Street the earliest part of the town? Does it predate the castle? Was the church inserted into an existing framework? Was there an earlier church on the site?
- Was there ever a substantial ditch running along the back of properties between Double Street and Fore street? If so what is its date? Does it relate to the Town Ditch in any way? Did it continue to the north east of the market place?

Alternatively, did the properties to the south of Double Street originally extend as far as Fore Street? *Targeted evaluation trenches.*

- Was the market place originally larger? What date are the planned blocks to the south and west of the market, to the southwest of the church, to the east of Church Street and around Crown and Anchor Lane? Could the marketplace, church and Church Street all have been laid out as a single scheme?
- How accurate is the current dating of buildings within the town? Could more buildings be dated and existing dates be made more accurate? *More detailed examination of buildings within the historic core of Framlingham to date their earliest elements:*
- *Many of the above questions could be addressed by a single integrated community project examining building structures and test pitting in gardens as well as encouraging reporting of casual finds. This need not be restricted to the medieval core as other parts of the town could provide a context as well as evidence for surrounding land-use and outlying settlement.*

#### Later developments

- How did the landscape develop from the late medieval period into the early modern?
- What was the impact of the railway?
- What was the impact of the Second World War in the area? *An oral history project might be of considerable value and would need to be undertaken as a matter of some urgency.*

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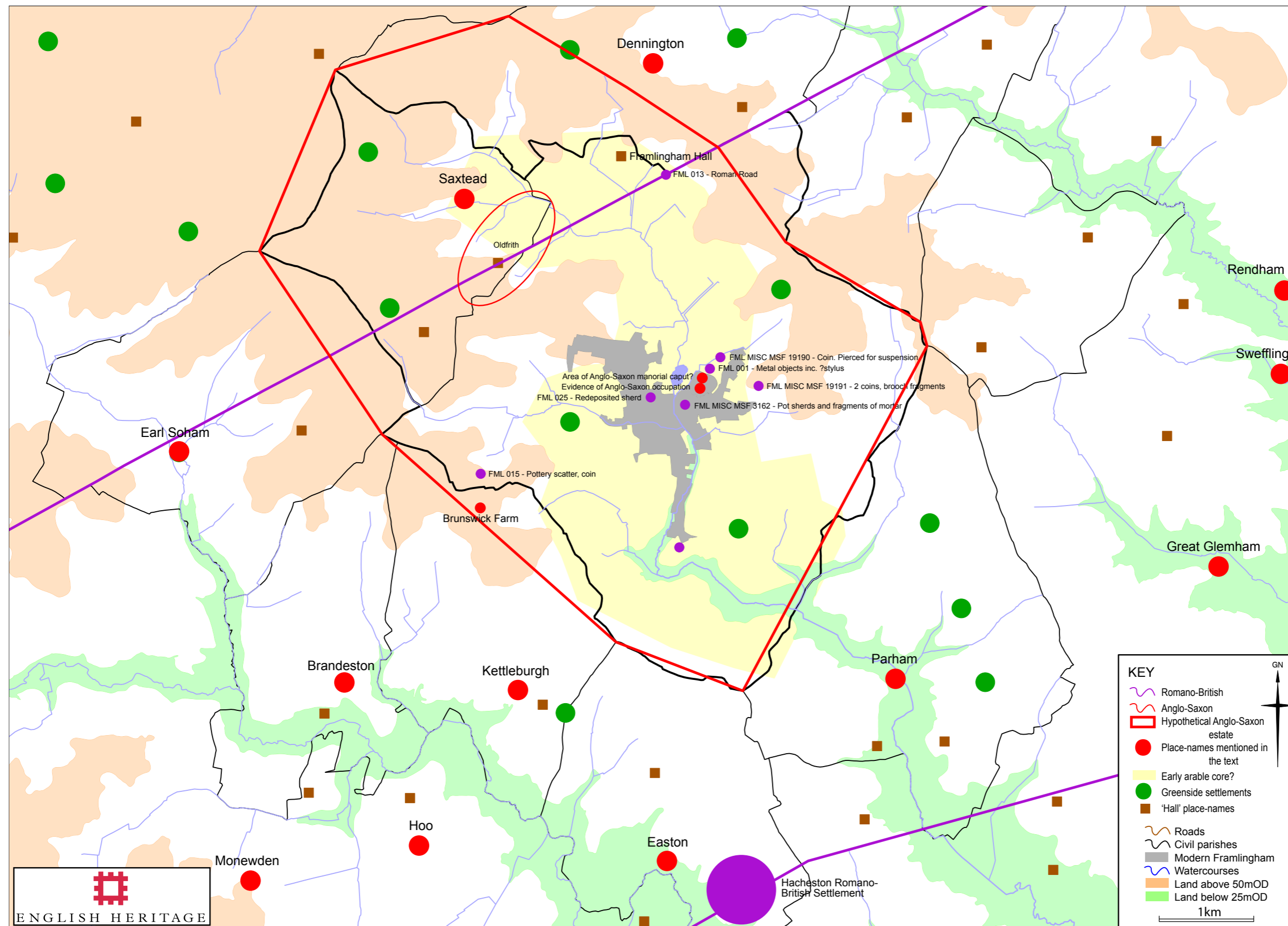


Figure 13 – Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Framlingham (this map is based upon Ordnance Survey material with the permission of Ordnance Survey on behalf of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes Crown Copyright and may lead to prosecution or criminal proceedings. English Heritage GD03085G 2008)



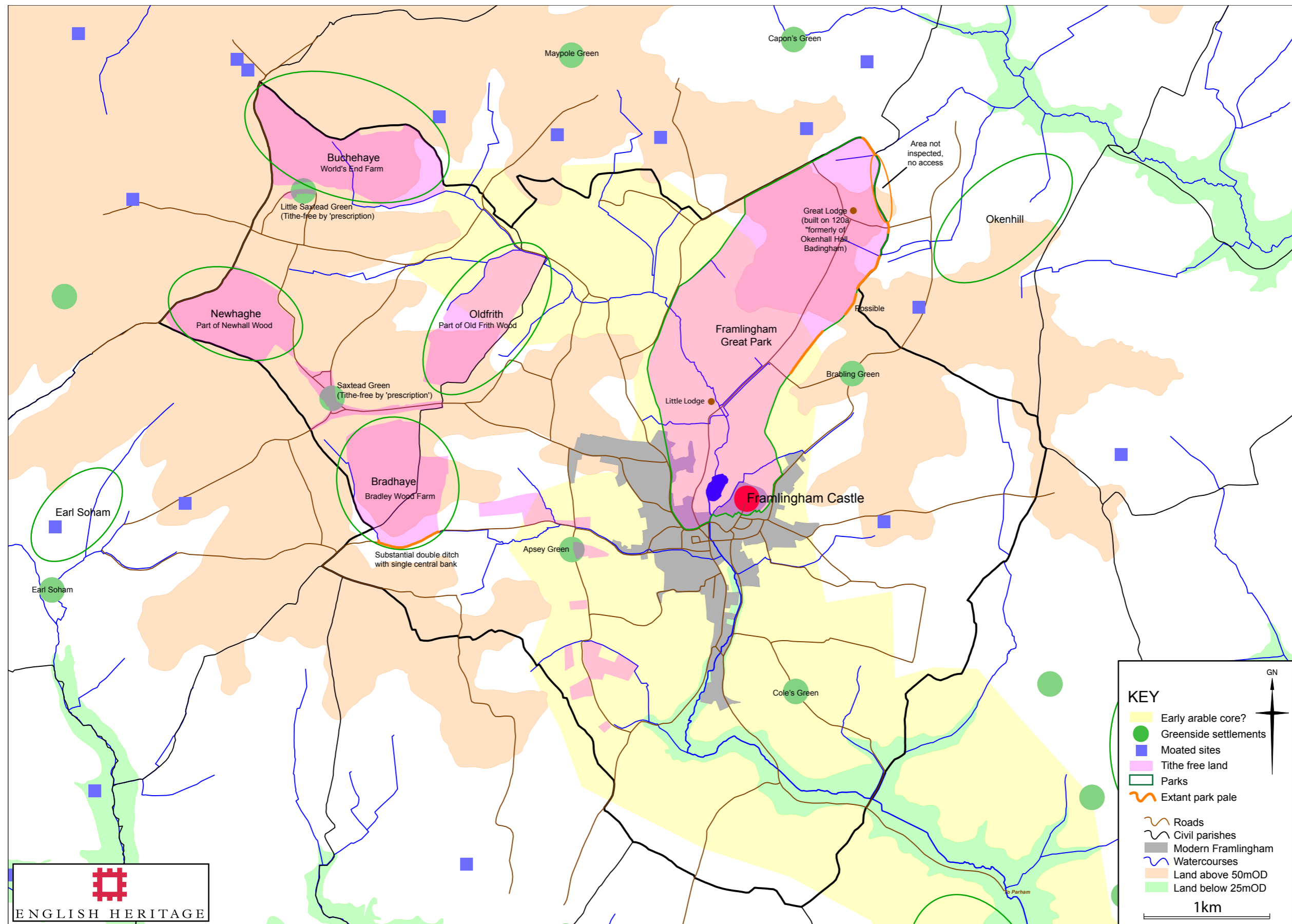


Figure 14 -  
Medieval Framlingham  
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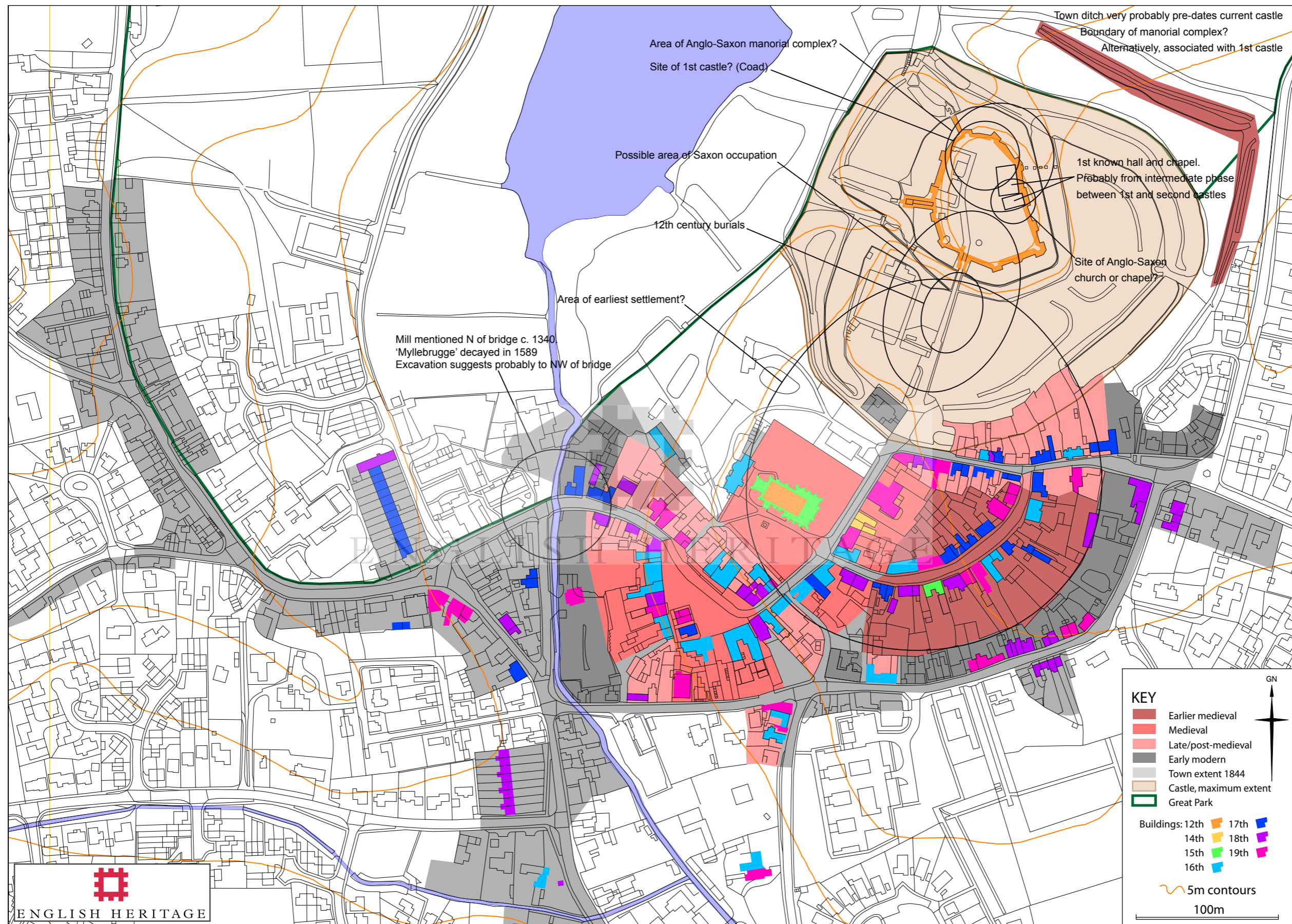


Figure 15 -  
Framlingham Town  
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