

both with the sign of the Cross—the people with the cross of baptism and the temple by erecting a large cross upon its summit, which latter sign, cross or image, was termed the *Mael*. This I give as a possible origin for the name Mildenhall, being the resultant shaping of *Mael-dun-hale*, i.e., Cross-hill-harbour. I am aware that the derivation is novel, and many other suggestions are possible; but when treating of a geographical harbour and a historical mound, one would be surprised not to find them incorporated in the name of the town to which they gave origin. Further, it has long been known that the Councils of Clovesho met somewhere not far from this locality, and the present object is to focus upon this spot sufficiently reasonable arguments in favour of its choice, which I think we find in the convenience of the Harbour, the long sustained sanctity of the cross-signed hill, and above all in the two heads of the harbour, cleft by the bar, giving us the title Cloven-hoos.

III. THE WITAN OF GODMUNDESLEY : AN EVIDENCE OF LOCATION.

BY FRANCIS SEYMOUR STEVENSON, B.A., D.L.

Haddan and Stubbs deal at some length (*Councils* iii., pp. 382-3 and 376) with the chronological difficulties relating to the Council of Clovesho stated to have been held in September, 747. That a Council was held at Clovesho about that time is incontrovertible, as we possess not only the abstract of the Acts given by William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Pontificum* (i., 5), but the Acts themselves (H. & S., pp. 362-376). The doubts as to the precise date arise from the fact that St. Boniface, in a letter to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, giving an account of a

Council held in Germany and recommending similar reforms to the English Church, refers to a letter, still extant and bearing the date May 1st, 748, addressed to him by Pope Zacharias. Haddan and Stubbs argue that "the date of the Council of Clovesho cannot be thrown later than 747 without breaking down its authority altogether, for not only is it given clearly and consistently in both accounts, but one of the Bishops present, Dunn of Rochester, must have died this very year as his successor, Eardulf, has a charter from King Eardulf of Kent before the close of it, and even before the change of Indiction (*Kemble, C.D. 96*)."

They conclude, therefore, that the mistake must be in the date assigned to the letter of Pope Zacharias. On the other hand, it might perhaps be contended that the error lay with the Rochester charter, as the scribe might inadvertently have repeated the name Eardulf when mentioning the Bishop immediately after the King of that name.* On the whole, however, it may be assumed that the Council was held, as William of Malmesbury puts it, "Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCC° XL° VII°, Indictione XV^a, anno autem regni Edelbaldi Regis Merciorum qui tunc aderat cum suis principibus ac ducibus, XXX^{mo} III°." The 33rd year of Ethelbald agrees, according to Haddan and Stubbs, with A.D. 747, 15th Indiction, on the supposition that Ethelbald's reign began before September, 715, although the continuators of Bede (*H.E. v. 24*) and the Saxon Chronicle give 716 as the date of Ceolred's death and Ethelbald's succession.

However this may be, we are now confronted with a chronological difficulty to which Haddan and Stubbs make no reference. On pp. 386-7 of their *Councils*

* Another Eardulf, Bishop of Dunwich, who was present at that Council of Clovesho, has been identified since Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils* were published, both by Stubbs (*Episcopal Succession*) and more definitely by Searle (*A. S. Bishops, etc.*) and his date would fit in either with 747 or with a subsequent year, and therefore proves nothing.

is printed the so-called "Privilege" of Ethelbald, dated A.D. 748, second Indiction, in the 33rd year of King Ethelbald, "in loco celebre cujus vocabulum est Godmundeslaech." If 747 was the 33rd year of Ethelbald, or even 748, it is impossible that A.D. 749, second Indiction, should correspond to that regnal year. Regnal years are more likely to be correct than A.D. years, which had only recently been brought into use (see Earle's *Charters*, Introduction pp. 31-36), or than Indictions, which began with the 1st of September, and must, therefore, have been perplexing; and it looks as if the A.D. year and the Indiction had sometimes been added as afterthoughts. As the regnal year, therefore, counts for most, the presumption is that the Clovesho Council and the Privilege of Ethelbald should be placed in the same year, that is in 747, or, less probably, in 748. It could not have been in 749. As Haddan and Stubbs point out by reference to the attestations, the Privilege was an act of the Witan of Mercia. It is reasonable to surmise that it was held at the same time as the Clovesho Council, when Ethelbald was present "cum suis principibus ac ducibus."

This hypothesis becomes almost a certainty in the light of a passage in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, which gives an abstract of the Privilege of Ethelbald, and states that it was passed by the very Council, convened by Archbishop Cuthbert and King Ethelbald, at which the reforms suggested by St. Boniface were decreed (*Gesta Regum*, ed. Stubbs, i., 83). This was clearly the Council of Clovesho, as is shown not only by the context in the *Gesta Regum* but also by the summary of the proceedings in the *Gesta Pontificum*. It follows that a meeting of the Witan was held at Godmundesley, not only at the same time as the Council of Clovesho, but at or near the same spot. William of Malmesbury could hardly

have made a mistake on a point like this, and no copyist would have been likely to change the better-known name, Clovesho, into the less-known name Godmundesley. Clovesho, therefore, wherever it may have been, must have been near a place where we may look for the name Godmundesley, probably in a corrupted form.

Where, then, was Godmundesley? The only place in Domesday which resembles "Godmundeslaech" or "Godmundes leas," as it is called in a charter granted at a later meeting of the Witan (H. and S., iii., p. 435), is Godmundelai in Leicestershire, supposed to be Gumley, near Market Harborough; but why should this spot be described as "celebre," as adjective usually associated with Clovesho? * The root of the word is found in various combinations and with various modifications in other parts of England, so that our search need not be confined to Leicestershire. If Clovesho is to be identified with the Clovenho in Mildenhall, the question may be asked, whether there is, within the vast extent of Mildenhall, any spot which might at one time have been Godmundesley.

Gedge's map, facing p. 356, vol. iv., Suffolk Institute of Archæology, shows in Mildenhall a place called Mondes, past the mound named Fremil or Thremil, and also a Mondes Way. Copinger (Suffolk Records, Mildenhall, vol., iv., p. 163) mentions a deed relating to Mundesfeld: Gedge speaks of the plantations at Mondes as popularly supposed to be haunted, and having a "Ghost's Walk." The prefix may have dropped out, much in the same way as Waermundesham in Sussex became Mundham; and Gedge gives

* The attendance of the Bishop of Leicester has no bearing on the subject, as he was usually present at a Mercian Witan, even if held, as often happened, outside the boundaries of Mercia; and a Witan, which met at Godmundesley in the seventies of that century, appears to have been attended also by the Bishops of Lichfield, Worcester, Rochester, London, and Lindsey.

instances, in Mildenhall itself, of the loss or change of the suffix "Ley." More remarkable still is the occurrence, in the neighbouring parish of Herringswell, of a place named Godmundeshow in a 14th century Charter (East Anglian, new series, x., p. 123). Further research might perhaps discover an even nearer approach to the original name, but the instances given are sufficient to show that the word, in some form, occurs both in and near Mildenhall. It is also noteworthy that Mondes is on the "Old Way," as shown in the above map; and this coincides with the words "a veteri via" and "in veteri chimino" used in the Holkham charters relating to Cloveshoe in Mildenhall (East Anglian, new series, ii., pp. 112-4). The distance from there to the "via de Clovenhoe," the "campus de Clovenhowe," and perhaps the "hoas" themselves, would be inconsiderable, and quite compatible with a withdrawal of a certain number of members from the ecclesiastical council to the meeting of the Witan, as appears to have been most usual, or vice versa, as happened at the Nidd in 705. By the time of the Clovesho Council of 803 the problem appears to have been resolved by dealing with various classes of questions on the same spot on different days. There may, however, be some significance in the fact that, while the Councils held at Clovesho in 716, 742, 794, 798, 803, 824, and 825 are described as "*in loco qui vocatur Clovesho*," or in similar terms, the Council of 747, which coincides with the Godmundesley gemot, is stated to have been "*prope locum qui vocatur Clovesho*," and "*prope loca quae vocatur Clobeshoas*." Perhaps this means that the gathering of 747 was held, not on one of the "hoes," but in the "campus de Clovenhoe," or possibly at Mondes itself.

Kemble (*Saxons in England*, ii., ch. 6), Stubbs (*Constitutional History*, i., ch. 6) and Liebermann (*The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period*, Halle,

1913), differ on a good many points from each other ; but, judged by tests common to all three, the recorded Councils of Clovesho combined ecclesiastical synods with gemots of the Witan, and it is not always possible to separate the work or constitution of the two. A good instance is supplied by a Charter of Beornwulf given at Clovesho in 825 :—"tha waes sionothlic gemot on thaere meran stowe the mon hateth Clofeshoas and thaer se siolfa cyning biornwulf and his biscopas ond his aldormenn and alle tha wioton" (Earle, *Charters*, p. 286) ; but the fact can be proved by reference to all those years. The recorded Councils of Clovesho, however, in all probability only relate to a small proportion of the gatherings held there during the days of Mercian supremacy. The Council of Hertford (A.D. 673) decided that a "synod" was to be held twice a year ; but, on account of practical difficulties, it resolved further that it should be held once a year, on the 1st of August, at Clovesho. Waldhere, in a letter to Brightwald in 705, refers to "the synod of the previous year," presumably at Clovesho (H. & S., iii., p. 267) ; and the Legatine Council of 786 or 787 (H. & S., iii., p. 449), by insisting that councils should be held henceforth twice a year, implies that they had previously been held once a year. The two gemots, therefore, held at Godmundesley between 770 and 780 may also have coincided with ecclesiastical gatherings. We do not hear anything more about gemots at Godmundesley after the change of procedure of which there is evidence in the Clovesho Council of 803, perhaps introduced some years earlier ; the move, it may be surmised, to and from a spot near at hand was not needed.

Liebermann gives a list of more than 200 gemots and of 116 places (including Clovesho) where they were held, and states, (1) that "almost half of all the known places were in some way demonstrably

connected with royalty, either belonging to the Crown Dominion, or to a convent of royal foundation, or being royal residences, or provincial government centres." He also points out "(2) that many of the spots chosen seem to have been hallowed for popular meetings in pagan times, and that they lay, inter alia, (3) on hills, (4) in meadows, (5), on rivers, or (6) at a political frontier." It is noteworthy that Mildenhall fulfils all six qualifications. (1) Not only was Mildenhall granted by Edward the Confessor, together with $8\frac{1}{2}$ of the Suffolk Hundreds, to the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury, but Archdeacon Herman (Arnold, Memorials of St. Edmundsbury, i., p. 48) calls it a *regia mansio*. (2) The choice of Clovesho as early as 673, the epithets "celebris," "celeberrimus," "præclarus" applied to it, and the selection of the 1st of August (Lammas Day), all help to suggest that pre-Christian assemblies had been held there. The remains found at Mildenhall show a continuity of life reaching back from Saxon to Roman, British and pre-historic times. Although Clovesho was probably understood by contemporaries of the Councils held between 673 and 825 to mean either the cloven hill-spurs or the hill-spurs of Cloba, a name also found in Clobesden Gut in Romsey Marsh, it does not follow that this is the ultimate etymology; and McClure (British Place-Names, p. 231) may be justified in his suggestion that the first syllable has a mythological origin. Similarly Godmundesley certainly meant to them merely Godmund's lea, just as Skeat explains Godmanchester (formerly Godmandcestre) as Godmund's camp; but there may, nevertheless, be earlier grounds for the coincidence, pointed out in Taylor's Words and Places, that Godmundingam (Goodmundham) and several other place-names with the same prefix represented pagan sites consecrated to Christian worship. *Godes mund* means God's protection, a sacred place. (3) Of "hoes" and (4) of "leas,"

Mildenhall has plenty to show, and (5) the site not far west of Mondes would be near the river Lark, thus facilitating communications by river and the Fen Sea, as well as by then existing roads, with Mercia and other parts. From the point of view of food supply this must have been of importance. At the Council of 803 there are no fewer than 91 clerical names in connection with an Act dated October 12th, without counting the laymen who, together with the leading ecclesiastics, had attested an Act of the Witan on October 6th. If to these, about 100 in all, are added minor ecclesiastics, clerks, officials, retainues, attendants, guards, tent-bearers (at the synod of Acle in 782 a letter was written by a Provost Aldred in the tent of Bishop Elfsige; see H. and S., iii., p. 439), horses, etc., the numbers must have been considerable. The original choice of the 1st of August may have been made in order that the Lammas Day Feast might facilitate arrangements; but, when meetings of the Witan were combined with the ecclesiastical gatherings, and the dates altered to July, September, or October, it may be assumed that the members no longer brought their own food or depended upon local gifts, but enjoyed (if the customs of the 10th and 11th centuries were already in existence in the Mercia of the 8th and early 9th) the King's hospitality. (6) Though in Suffolk and forming part of East Anglia, Mildenhall was divided only by the Fen Sea from Mercia, with which it was connected even more closely than the rest of East Anglia during the period of Mercian supremacy.

On the above grounds I would suggest, tentatively and as a working hypothesis, that Godmundesley, as well as Clovesho, should be sought in West Row; that Mondes, not far from Thremil, is almost certainly the site of the former; and that, if there is any doubt as to which of the "hoes" overlooking the River Lark

is the site of Clovesho, the one which is found to be nearest to or most accessible from Mondes is the most likely. The important investigations of Mr. Claude Morley and of Mr. H. A. Harris have now apparently determined the exact site of Clovesho; but, for reasons previously stated, we need not assume that the Council met on every occasion on the "hoe" or "hoes" of that name. The "Plain of Clovesho," or Thremil, or Mondes itself, may sometimes have been the place of meeting.

June 30th, 1923.

- ADDITIONAL NOTES.

I.

Although the date is too uncertain, and the words are too obscure to justify a definite inference, I have little doubt that the letter written by King Ælfweald of the East Angles to St. Boniface belongs to the period immediately *before* the 747 Council of Clovesho, and that the post-script relates to business to be transacted at that Council. The reign is assigned by Haddan and Stubbs (Councils, iii., p. 387) to 747-9, but this was due to an erroneous statement in the Chronicle of Mailros as to the date of Ælfweald's accession. He reigned, as a matter of fact, from 713 to 749, and it was to him that Felix, the biographer of St. Guthlac, had dedicated his work "domino meo præ ceteris regalium primatum gradibus dilectissimo Aelfuuald regi Orientalium Anglorum rite regimina regenti" (Birch's St. Guthlac, p. 1). St. Boniface had doubtless asked Ælfweald, as he had asked others (H. & S., iii., pp. 357-60), to influence Æthelbeald in a certain sense. The letter itself deals with other topics, but the post-script shows that Ælfweald thought it safer to exchange views with St. Boniface by word of mouth, through a trusted messenger, rather than by a letter which might fall

into other hands. Incidentally this reticence throws light on the extent to which East Anglia was in reluctant subservience to Mercia at that time.

II.

The name of Jude's Bridge, formerly Jude's Ferry, may have some bearing on the identification of the site of Clovesho. There appears to be no trace in the Mildenhall lists of 1327 and other years of any person from whom the name can have been derived; and there is nothing to show that a church dedicated to St. Jude the Apostle ever existed on the spot, in any case a most unusual dedication in early centuries. Two possible explanations may, I think, be suggested.

(a) In 801 Alcuin sent his servant with a horse and saddle, to meet Æthelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the cell of St. Judoc near Etaples, in order to enable him to visit the Emperor Charlemagne and to journey to Rome where, in January, 802, Pope Leo the Third agreed to restore the rights of the see of Canterbury, as against Lichfield (Haddan and Stubbs, i., pp. 532-4, 536-9). This decision was confirmed in October, 803, by the Council of Clovesho, and it is possible that the visit to St. Judoc's cell, of so much interest in connection with the business then transacted, may have been commemorated locally, especially as the assemblage included not only the Archbishop who had received hospitality there, but also Lull, the friend and correspondent of Alcuin, on whom, as Abbot of Ferrieres, St. Judoc's cell had been conferred by the Emperor. The word Judoc might easily have been corrupted into Jude.

(b) An alternative explanation may be found in the words of King Æthelric (H. & S., i., p. 548) in 804: "Ego . . . invitatus ad synodum et in *judicio* stare in

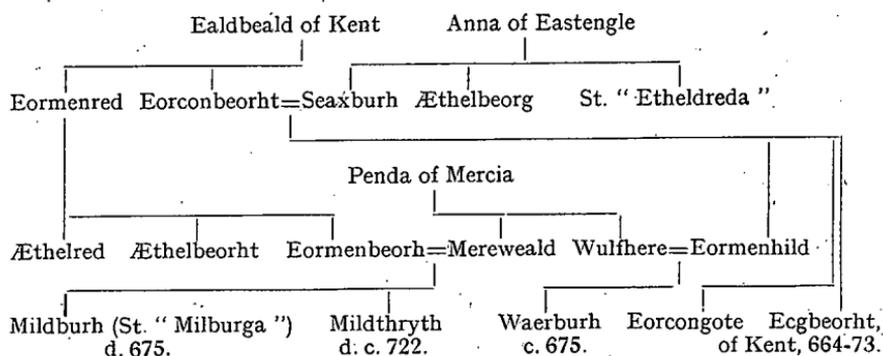
loco qui dicitur Clofeshoh," etc. Other instances might be given of the application of the term "judicium" to a "concilium" in its judicial capacity. One may imagine litigants—perhaps ecclesiastics from a distance, imperfectly acquainted with the vernacular—asking their way to the "judicium," and a puzzled inhabitant saying to his neighbour "They're asking for Jude's." Either explanation would support the claims of Mildenhall.

F.S.S.

NOTE.

May I be permitted to here draw attention to the extreme probability of the name Mildenhall's origin having derived indirectly from the Clovesho Councils? The "Mildanhald" of 804 refers to some place in Hants, just possibly the Milford of to-day (Birch, No. 324); and I am aware of no earlier recorded spelling of the Suffolk place than that of the Bury charter of 1043 (Corolla, p. 608) where we find "Mildenhale," though Kemble's Latin form (iv., p. 252) has Myldenhale. This is a patent charter, pretty surely coeval with the close one (Corolla, p. 611) which is exactly dated by the names of its bishop, earl and sheriff. Here Skeat says Mildenhale represents Mildan-, the genitive of Milda which itself is the pet-form of a longer name, such as the masculine Mildred. But Malmesbury expatiates upon the sanctity of Mildburh, the foundress of Minster monastery in Kent and daughter of Mereweald, who was the brother of King Wulfhere of Mercia. Though no direct association with Eastangle is apparent, it is very far from improbable that so pious a lady would be only too glad to afford a site within her lordship for our Councils,

and her demise just two years after the selection of Clovesho, for this purpose synchronises to a remarkable degree: Her close relationship to the royal houses of both Eastengle and Mercia is best expressed in tabular form.—CLAUDE MORLEY.



EXPLANATION OF PLAN.

The Plan is a Tracing of the Ordnance Map, upon which I have constructed a View of Clovesho by allocating determinate positions to the fixed and floating features of the Landscape as found in old Deeds and Maps.

A. is a Celtic Landing-place (Calla) which later became the A.S. Stapen ho or Mooring place for Vessels, around which the Market was held, and was the high ground where the present Judes Ferry landed its Passengers. From time immemorial doubtless it was an important Landing point on the Inland Sea.

It formed one of the Hoes of Cloveshoes, viz., Stapen ho. West of A. (i.e., Stapenho, on the River Lark) is a Reach now called Chair Reach and as this is so evidently a corruption of the Celtic Caer a Fortress, I have placed a Fort here to protect the Landing place.

B. marks the supposed Site of the Councils, which were held on the Slope of the Tumulus still standing here, situated on a Ho and separated from Stapen Ho by the Harbour mouth or Bar.

This Bar throws light on the seeming confusion of early writers in spelling the name of the Councils sometimes in the singular as Clovesho and sometimes in the plural as Cloveshoes.

By this Bar the one Ho was cloven into two Hoes and the resultant Hoes, or the singly Ho, are equally correct.

An old road or track called Charnock Way, once skirted the Harbour, following the high ground of the eastern cloven Ho, making a lengthy divergence and at the same time proving to us, that there was deep water at the Bar.

The Harbour of Clovesho being presumably a Roman naval base, this Charnock Way, leading to it, might aptly be a corruption of Kearn ac Way or Soldier's Way.

C. is the Harbour, as enlarged by the Romans and developed, out of a natural haven.

Summary. A. and B. are the two Hoes at the entrance to the Harbour. C, lying one on one side and the other on the other side of the inlet entrance, thus cleaving them and giving the name to the place, as the Cloven hoes.

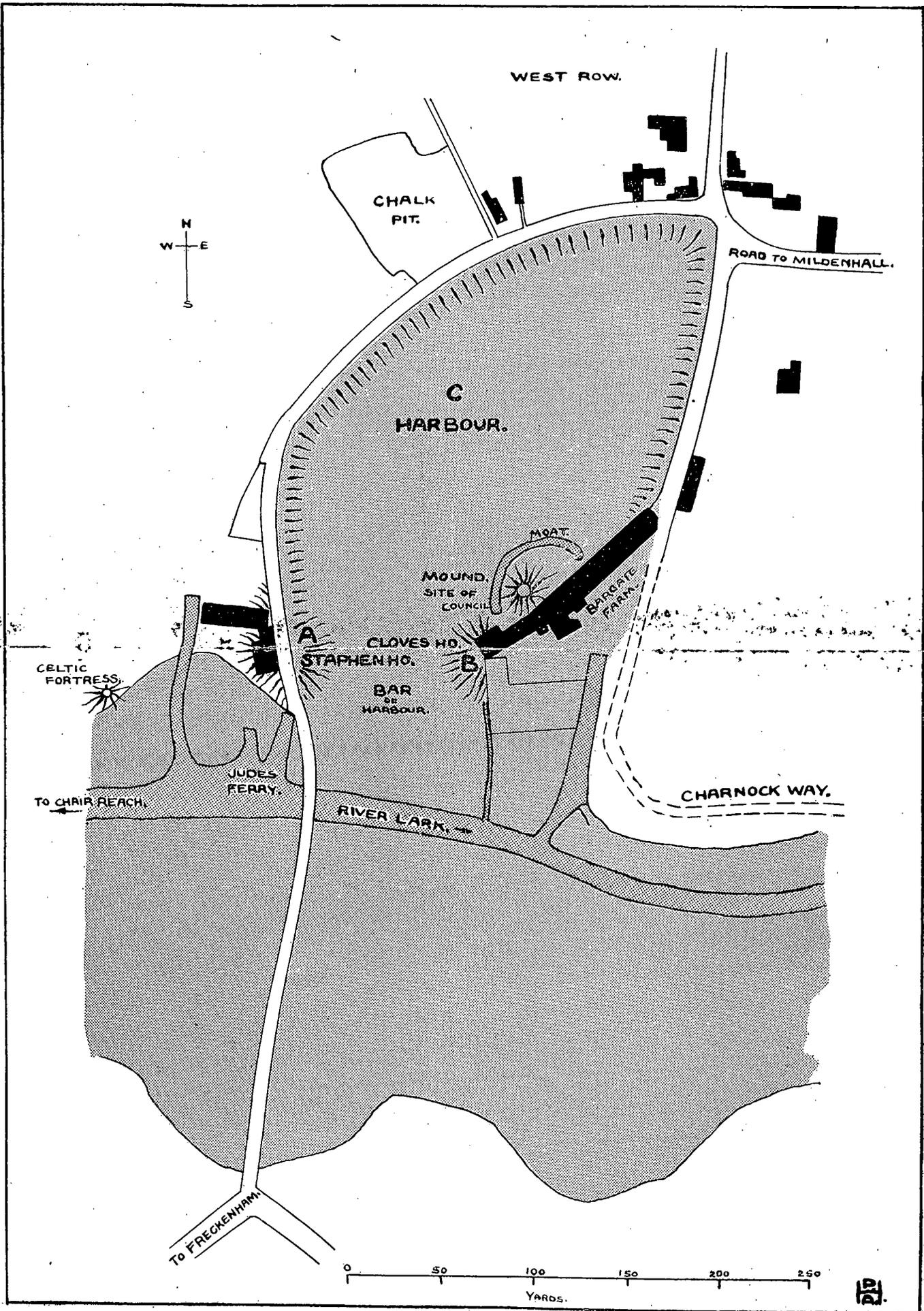
In addition to the above we must substitute for the River Lark, an Inland Sea stretching further than the eye can see and some twenty miles across and with a water level, a man's height higher than at present.

Buildings now standing are printed in black.

Water is marked by the shaded parts of the plan, present water being dark, and the water level, as at the date of the Councils, being lighter toned.

I am indebted to my son, Percy A. Harris, for drawing this plan.

H.A.H.



WEST ROW.

CHALK
PIT.



ROAD TO MILDENHALL.

C
HARBOUR.

MOAT.
MOUND.
SITE OF
COUNCIL.

BARGATE

CELTIC
FORTRESS.

CLOVES HO.
STAPHEN HO.

BAR
OF
HARBOUR.

TO CHAIR REACH.

JUDES
FERRY.

RIVER LARK.

CHARNOCK WAY.

TO FRECKENHAM.

