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EXCAVATIONS AT GALLOPER WIND FARM: A LATER PREHISTORIC AND ROMANO-BRITISH LANDSCAPE

by TOM WELLS *and* ANDREW SOUTER

with contributions by Phil Harding, L. Higbee, Grace Perpetua Jones, Inés López-Dóriga, Jacqueline I. McKinley, Rachael Seager Smith *and* Amy Thorp

INTRODUCTION

INVESTIGATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH the onshore elements of the Galloper Wind Farm development were undertaken near the Suffolk coast, between Leiston and Sizewell, by Wessex Archaeology from 2011 to 2016 (Fig. 49). The works revealed a complex, multiphase system of conjoined enclosures, pits and a small group of cremation graves, representing the remains of an early–mid-Romano-British farmstead. Aside from a scatter of Early Iron Age pits — one of which contained an unusually large quantity of pottery and fired clay — there was little evidence of activity in other periods.

Preliminary investigations entailed the excavation of forty-two trial trenches and the monitoring of geotechnical test pits (Fig. 49).[1] These works were followed by excavation of 4.68 hectares within the footprint of the new substation, sited approximately 1km from the coast at NGR 646615 262725.[2] Finally, area excavation and monitoring of intrusive works were carried out within the cable route between the substation and the landfall site on Sizewell beach, located just south of Sizewell village at NGR 647640 262590.[3] The cable route extended some 900m west of the landfall site, parallel and to the south of Sizewell Gap — a minor road linking Leiston and Sizewell — passing through two arable fields ('east field' and 'west field') and traversing a narrow lane (Sandlings Walk). From its most westerly point in the west field (NGR 646770 262455), the cable route turned north–north-west, crossing Sizewell Gap and continued through the arable field ('north field') containing the greater part of the substation site. The land within the cable route rises from the Mean High Water (MHW) mark at the landfall site to an average height of around 5m–9m OD. As the cable route proceeds north across the north field, the land rises to approximately 10m–15m OD within the substation site.

The bedrock geology is Crag Group – Sand (Quaternary and Neogene). Superficial deposits along the coast consist of Marine Beach Deposits – Sand and Gravel (Quaternary – Holocene), whilst those recorded inland comprise Lowestoft Formation – Sand and Gravel and Lowestoft Formation – Diamicton (Quaternary – Anglian Stage).[4]

A more comprehensive descriptive and analytical account of the results of the work has been produced to accompany this report.[5] This is available via the Archaeology Data Service (ADS) and the Suffolk HER by reference to the site code LCS 161.

EXCAVATION RESULTS

All archaeologically significant features, deposits and finds, with the exception of a post-medieval halfpenny coin and two pieces of worked flint from the ploughsoil in the cable route, were confined to the substation site (Fig. 50). Consequently, the 'site' refers to this area unless otherwise stated.

FIG. 49 – Site location and plan of investigated areas.

Earlier prehistoric activity

The earliest evidence consists of a small quantity of cultural material found in clearly later or undated contexts. This includes thirty-two pieces of worked flint; the only distinctive elements of the assemblage are a broken, slightly rolled and patinated flake, which is likely to be Palaeolithic (ditch GP1866; Fig. 52), a utilised trimming flake from a blade core, probably of Early Neolithic origin, and three scrapers of indeterminate date. Abraded body sherds (23g) of flint-tempered pottery, probably Middle Neolithic Peterborough ware, were also recovered from a Romano-British enclosure ditch (GP1874; Fig. 50). Eight sherds of coarse Beaker

FIG. 50 – Plan of excavated features in the substation site.

pottery were also found together in Romano-British ditch GP1870 (Fig. 52).

No features could be correlated with a partial, concentric ring-ditch previously identified from aerial photographs (Fig. 50).[6] Whilst the putative ring-ditch may have been the result of geological variation or agricultural activity, the cropmarks could have represented the final vestiges of a highly truncated prehistoric monument, all traces of which had since been destroyed by ploughing.

Later prehistoric pits and other features

The next phase of activity, broadly dating to the Early Iron Age, was evidenced by a group of pits and other potentially associated features in the north-eastern part of the site (Fig. 51). The most significant of these was pit 1444, from which over 6kg of pottery and fired clay (including possible briquetage) was recovered. It was the largest of the pits, measuring 1.75m by 1.46m and 0.73m deep, and had almost vertical sides and a concave base. No finds came from the primary fill, although the overlying deposit, a mid-grey sand with occasional

FIG. 51 – Plan of Iron Age feature group.

charcoal inclusions, produced four sherds (11g) of pottery and forty-seven pieces of fired clay (1158g). Pottery (seven sherds, 91g) and fired clay (30g) were also retrieved from a thin lens of mixed, yellow-grey sand within this deposit. Most of the finds, however, were recovered from the overlying and uppermost layer of light grey-brown sand; this material seems consistent with deliberate dumping of waste in the top of the largely infilled pit. Bulk samples yielded a sparse assemblage of charred plant remains, including a few barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) grain fragments and seeds of oat/brome grass (*Avena/Bromus* sp.).[7]

The next largest assemblage of Iron Age material came from pit 1415, which was 0.96m by 0.80m across and 0.38m deep, with steeply sloping sides and a flattish base. Again, no finds came from the primary fill, although the uppermost, a very dark grey sand with flecks of charcoal, contained twenty-one sherds (323g) of Early Iron Age pottery and 49g of fired clay. Several smaller, shallower pits in this area also contained Early Iron Age pottery, albeit in much smaller quantities; two sherds (28g) were retrieved from pit 1445, whilst single small sherds came from pits 1475, 1478 and 1480. Twenty-one sherds (64g) of probable Early Iron Age pottery were also found in a very dark layer of grey sand with frequent charcoal inclusions that infilled a roughly 2m wide and 0.13m deep subcircular depression (1492). The origin of this feature is somewhat uncertain, although it was clearly cut by Romano-British enclosure ditch GP1874.

Another relatively large, vertically sided pit (1496; 1.80m x 1.05m, 0.53m deep) may have been of slightly later date than the others. No finds were recovered from its primary fill, but the overlying deposit, a very dark grey sand with sparse charcoal inclusions, contained six sherds (77g) of Iron Age pottery. Most of the material cannot be dated more precisely but a single large sherd (31g) is possibly of (earlier) Middle Iron Age date.

Numerous other typically small and shallow undated pits and/or post-holes could be contemporary with the Iron Age features in this part of the site. They include a group of four undated post-holes (GP1451) that possibly formed the remains of a rectangular post-built structure measuring 1.8m by 0.75m.

Many of the pits and post-holes were distributed around a roughly subrectangular area, approximately 30m to 35m across, that was devoid of any potentially Iron Age features. This may be coincidental, although the seemingly blank area could reflect some constraint imposed by obstacles or features that left no identifiable trace, or that the space was set aside for other forms of activity (see discussion).

Other indications of activity prior to the Romano-British period are sparse and equivocal. A sherd (7g) of Early Iron Age pottery came from a small, shallow pit (1197; Fig. 50) 150m west of the other late prehistoric pits and a few sherds of later prehistoric pottery were found residually in Romano-British ditches. The very dark, mixed fills of another possibly prehistoric pit (E3003; 1.3m in diameter and 0.36m deep) in the south-west corner of the site (Fig. 50) produced a little over 6kg of burnt flint, but no datable finds.

Several narrow and shallow (generally less than 1m wide and 0.2m deep) ditches (Fig. 50), mostly confined to the western part of the site, yielded no finds and do not obviously belong to the same phase of activity as the Romano-British enclosure system (see below). In the occasional instances where stratigraphic relationships could be determined, all were truncated by Romano-British ditches. It is tentatively suggested that the undated ditches are the fragmentary remains of an earlier field system of similar date (i.e. later Bronze Age to Iron Age) to others recorded nearby.[8] It is equally possible, however, that the ditches were of earlier Romano-British date.

The Roman farmstead

The enclosure system. The majority of the evidence from the investigations related to the system of Romano-British enclosures and a small number of associated features

(Figs 50 and 52). Although following a similar north–south alignment to the putative late prehistoric/early Romano-British field system ditches, the conjoined, rectilinear enclosures seem to have been superimposed over them arbitrarily, suggesting that they were established during a major change in the organisation and use of the land.

The complex consisted of at least nine ditched enclosures (Enclosures A–I, Fig. 50), which encompassed between 200m² (Enclosure A) and 4000m² (Enclosure F). The enclosure ditches were typically less than 1m wide and no more than 0.5m deep. Most contained

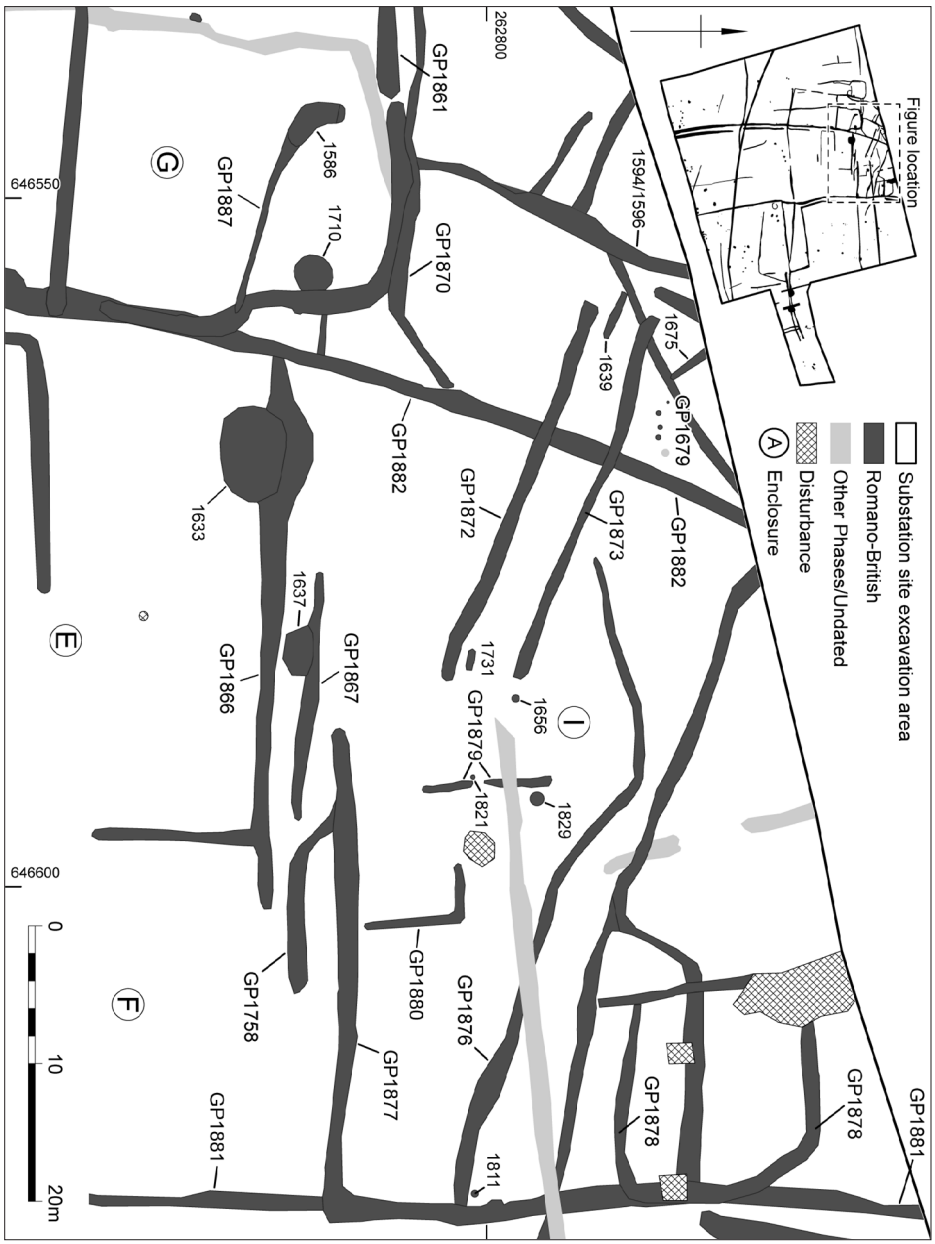

FIG. 52 – Plan of Enclosure I.

undifferentiated mid-grey-brown sandy fills, probably formed by natural processes. Indeed, continual and rapid erosion of the highly mobile sandy geology often seems to have necessitated recutting of the ditches. There was little evidence of deliberate infilling, but this may have been difficult to distinguish given the homogeneous composition of many of the ditch fills. Some of the later ditches in the northern part of the complex, however, contained probable localised dumps of waste material and mixed, darker deposits.

The finds (see below) indicate that the enclosure system was in use from the mid-/late first century through to the early/mid-third century AD, and possibly slightly beyond. There are no suggestions, however, that the site continued to be occupied or used intensively throughout the late Romano-British period.

The enclosure complex was clearly the product of several phases of maintenance, extension and alteration, as the ditches were often recut, sometimes on slightly different alignments, and/or superimposed over earlier ones. Unfortunately it is not possible to precisely resolve the sequence in which the individual enclosures were created, used, altered and eventually became redundant. This is partially because stratigraphic relationships were frequently difficult to distinguish due to the similarity of the ditch fills. Periodic alterations and recutting of the ditches also casts doubts on any proposed phasing. In addition, the pottery from the ditches (approximately 6kg in total), was not distributed evenly; much of the material came from just a few excavated sections in the north-western part of the complex, with only small quantities deriving from other areas of the enclosure system. The chronologically undiagnostic character of some of this material (e.g. featureless body sherds and long-lived fabrics), combined with the potential for residuality, intrusiveness and curation, present further obstacles to understanding the development of the enclosure complex.

Nevertheless, it can be surmised that certain elements of the enclosure system were established early in the sequence. Examples include ditches GP1881 and GP1882 (Fig. 50), which had been recut several times and evidently defined the principal axes of the complex, and influenced the layout or formed parts of Enclosures C–I and possibly B. Enclosures A and B, which were overlain by Enclosures G and C respectively, must also be relatively early components. However, many of the enclosures were probably in existence and maintained over a prolonged period. The ditches defining Enclosures C and F, for example, had been recut on multiple occasions, whilst the datable finds from pits and ditches associated with Enclosure I (Fig. 52 and see below) suggests that this part of the complex was comparatively long-lived. The relative abundance of finds from Enclosures G, H and, especially, I seems to indicate that they were used intensively during the second and third centuries AD. Enclosures C, E and F were probably also in use at this time.

The types and quantities of the finds from the ditches and other contemporary features are typical of those from rural sites of the period. Whilst providing no indication of any distinctive forms of activity on site (e.g. relating to zones used for crafts, industry or processing), the overall distribution of this material, much of it deriving from contexts within and around Enclosure I, is potentially significant (see below).

The sparse assemblages of charred plant remains from the Romano-British ditches and pits are reflective of general settlement waste and provide little evidence for any distinct forms of activities associated with the enclosure system. Cereal remains included occasional barley grain fragments and hulled wheat, emmer or spelt (*Triticum dicoccum/spelta*), grain and glume base fragments. Also present in small quantities were seeds of vetch/wild pea (*Vicia/Lathyrus* sp.), oat/brome grass, meadow grass/cat's-tails (*Poa/Phleum* sp.) and runch (*Raphanus raphanistrum*), weed species typical of those found in grassland, field margins and arable environments. A few seeds of dock (*Rumex* sp.), a sloe (*Prunus spinosa*) stone and hazelnut (*Corylus avellana*) shell fragments were also identified, possibly indicating some

exploitation of neighbouring hedgerow/scrub/woodland environments as a wild food resource. Further details relating to the palaeoenvironmental evidence can be found in the archive report.[9]

Whilst the enclosures presumably reflect the differentiation of spaces used for a variety of activities, it is difficult to ascribe a specific function to many of them. However, the form of several examples, such as Enclosures A, C, D, and H, suggests that they were used as animal pens and for stock control. Several sets of closely spaced parallel ditches associated with the enclosures can perhaps be characterised as droveways, drafting races or funnelled entrances used to segregate livestock and control the movement of animals between enclosures and the surrounding pasture lands (Fig. 50). Some of these were linked with gaps in the enclosure ditches, probably representing stock gates, as at the north-west corner of Enclosure C. Animal bone was, however, scarce and poorly preserved, with a total of just 1.57kg recovered, almost all of which came from two pits in Enclosure I (see below).

Other elements of the enclosure complex may have defined smaller storage or 'working' areas. These could include C-shaped ditch GP1878 (in Enclosure I) and a pair of open-ended 'subcompartments' (Enclosure E) in the north-west corner of Enclosure F. The latter of these contained a possible working hollow (1633; Fig. 52), some 7.5m by 5m across and 0.2m deep, from which ten sherds (104g) of Romano-British pottery were retrieved. A similar amorphous hollow (1637), around 2.5m wide and 0.2m deep, was found a few metres east of 1633. Its upper fill produced pottery (four sherds, 150g) attributable to the first to third centuries AD, including a large fragment (134g) of North Gaulish mortaria.

It seems reasonable to speculate that Enclosure I (Fig. 52) formed part of an inhabited area, or that it lay on the edge of a domestic site just beyond the northern limit of the excavation; the bulk of the finds came from this area, and the only real concentration of Romano-British pits was found in and around the enclosure (see below). Although inconclusive, possible traces of structures were also identified in this part of the site. The enclosure had undergone extensive alterations and elaboration throughout its period of use. Its southern side was defined by a series of parallel ditches (GP1758, GP1866, GP1867 and GP1877), which seem to have formed a complex entrance. Their fills contained pottery (twenty-four sherds, 450g) attributable to the first to third centuries AD, along with fired clay (95g) and a piece of CBM (455g). Ditches GP1887 and 1594/1596, which produced just two sherds (20g) of pottery, possibly formed an extension or a separate small, subrectangular enclosure appended to the western side of Enclosure I. This does not seem to have been in use at the same time as Enclosure G, although the stratigraphic sequence could not be determined.

Several other ditches crossed the interior of Enclosure I (Fig. 52). Some appear to have formed subdivisions, although others are of uncertain function. Of note are ditches GP1872 and GP1873, which extended for 30m, cutting across the ditch forming the western side of Enclosure I (GP1882). Although their function is not immediately apparent, they are probably amongst the latest elements of the enclosure system. Relatively large and mixed assemblages of cultural material, consistent with dumping of waste or inadvertent accumulation of occupation debris, were recovered from the very dark fills of these ditches. Forty-three sherds (265g) of pottery (predominantly of second- to early/mid-third-century AD date), a piece of CBM (94g) and three fragments of quern stone (2041g) came from the eastern terminal of GP1873, whilst the terminals of GP1872 produced 100 sherds (1167g) of second- to early/mid-third-century pottery, fired clay (423g), animal bone (68g), a fragmentary oyster shell (8g), eleven pieces of stone from at least two querns or millstones, and five iron objects; a nail, a curved shank, two strip fragments and a plate with two rivets.

Large collections of cultural material — presumably representing localised dumps of waste — also came from two other slots excavated through the enclosure ditches. The dark fills of

GP1861, which defined the northern side of Enclosure G (Fig. 50), yielded 133 sherds (1016g) of pottery, dating from the second to early/mid-third centuries AD, including sherds from a round-bellied jar/bowl, a triangular-rimmed bowl/dish, a bead rim bowl/dish and a Nene Valley colour-coated ware indented beaker. Wear patterns, particularly on the underside of bases, indicate that the vessels had been well used before deposition. Animal bone (7g), fired clay (30g), a small fragment of blue-green window glass (2g), two pieces of quern stone, three iron nails and parts of a hinge and joiner's dog also came from this ditch. A smaller quantity of pottery (seventy-six sherds, 609g), including material of potentially second- to fourth-century date, and eleven pieces of CBM (520g) were retrieved from a section excavated close to the terminal of ditch GP1860, at the south-eastern edge of Enclosure H (Fig. 50). Little artefactual material was found in other parts of the enclosure system.

Pits. Six pits within and around Enclosure I (Fig. 52) produced Romano-British cultural material. These were generally less than 1m in diameter, between 0.15m and 0.5m deep, and often contained mixed, dark deposits suggesting that they had been deliberately infilled or used to dump waste. The largest single group of Romano-British pottery (seventy-nine sherds, 2029g) came from pit 1829. The large, well-preserved sherds (average 25.7g) include pieces from three jars (Fig. 55.13 and 15), a bowl with a frilled flange rim (Fig. 55.14) and two long-necked, round-bodied beakers, all in greyware fabrics and of late first- or early second-century AD date. This pit also contained fired clay (528g), CBM fragments (91g) and animal bone (7g). Pit 1731 produced the greatest quantity of animal bone from the site (943g; mainly from sheep/goat and cattle), along with a small amount of fired clay (23g) and sixty-four sherds (938g) of pottery, predominantly of second- to mid-third-century AD date. Five sherds (49g) of pottery were found in a pit 1811, a small feature with a charcoal-rich fill, whilst pit 1656 produced just a single sherd (6g), but also yielded the second largest assemblage of animal bone; 513g, again, mostly from sheep/goat and cattle. Fired clay (99g) and pottery (seventy-six sherds, 763g), of second- to mid-third-century AD date, were recovered from a possible elongated pit or ditch segment, 1639, a little west of Enclosure I. A few sherds (57g) of second-century or later pottery were also retrieved from a small shallow pit (1664; not illustrated) cut into the eastern terminal of ditch GP1861, on the northern side of Enclosure G (Fig. 52).

Two other small pits in the south-eastern part of the site, away from the core of the enclosure complex (Fig. 50), contained pottery of first-century date. Pit 1175 produced sherds from a single, well-used jar/bowl belonging to the middle decades of the century (Fig. 54.8), whilst the charcoal-rich fills of pit 1272, a little further to the north and within Enclosure B, yielded eighty-one sherds (397g), including rims from three greyware jars and an oxidised butt beaker, as well as tiny pieces of calcined animal bone (6g; buff-white/grey in colour with signs of erosion).

Numerous pits, often small and shallow with undistinctive grey-brown sandy fills, were scattered across other parts of the excavation area, particularly along its southern edge (Fig. 50). Virtually no finds were recovered from them and, consequently, it is unclear whether they were contemporary with the enclosure system. A few other, mostly relatively large and deep pits were scattered within and around the north-western parts of the enclosure system (e.g., 1573 and 1710, both of which were cut by the ditches of Enclosure G, as well as 1301, 1520 and 1586; Figs 50 and 52); none contained finds, although they may have been of similar date to the enclosures.

Possible structural features. Enclosure I contained an L-shaped gully GP1880 (Fig. 52), which was around 0.5m wide and up to 0.15m deep. It measured 7m (north–south) by 4m (east–

west). Five sherds (78g) of first–third-century pottery and a large piece of CBM (442g) came from its single fill. It was possibly associated with two short sections of gully (GP1879), a few metres to the west, that were of roughly the same proportions and followed a similar orientation. These were infilled with a much darker and slightly mixed deposit, from which pottery (twenty-four sherds, 259g) and tiny fragments of animal bone and fired clay were retrieved. A single sherd (9g) of pottery also came from a solitary, 0.11m deep post-hole (1821) between the two sections of GP1879. Although possibly relating to a small sub-enclosure, the features could represent the truncated remains of one or more rectangular structures constructed using sill-beams.

Just to the west of Enclosure I were four closely spaced post-holes (GP1679; Fig. 52), each approximately 0.4m in diameter and up to 0.3m deep. Two produced pottery (five sherds, 46g), probably dating from the second century AD. They were arranged in a slightly irregular line and may have formed the remains of a structure such as a fence, rack/frame or windbreak.

The only other potentially structural feature was a small, undated penannular ditch/gully (GP1885) within, and possibly contemporary with, Enclosure B (Fig. 50). This was up to 0.85m wide, just 0.1m deep, and enclosed a slightly irregular flattened/ovoid area measuring some 5.2m by 4m. It may have been a structural component of a circular building rather than, for example, a drainage gully or part of a prehistoric monument. If so, the structure would have been of modest proportions, perhaps indicating that it fulfilled an ancillary rather than domestic function. Alternatively, the ditch/gully could have formed a small enclosure.

Mortuary activity. Three cremation graves (T604, 1004 and 1401) containing the remains of urned burials were found, apparently on the margin of the enclosure complex, in the extreme eastern part of the site (Fig. 50). Cremated human bone was also recovered from a fourth feature (1411) in this area and, whilst some or all of this material may have been redeposited, it probably represents the remains of an unurned burial. The graves (0.20–0.40m in diameter) formed two pairs (each 2.0m–3.75m apart), set within about 10m of each other. All exhibited signs of bioturbation and had suffered horizontal truncation, with surviving depths of between 0.03m (grave T604) and 0.15m (grave 1004).

The greyware jars used for burial were placed upright in the graves. All were fragmented and the upper parts of those from T604 and 1401 had been lost to truncation. The cordoned jar with an everted rim from grave 1004 is of late first- to mid-second-century AD date. Sherds from a greyware lid (Fig. 54.7) were also found in this grave; both vessels are of the same diameter and may have been used as a pair. An iron nail and 'rod' — perhaps grave/pyre goods — were recovered from grave 1401 and five sherds (48g) of pottery, including two Romano-British jar rims, were found, probably residually, with the unurned burial remains in grave 1411. A sample of the cremated human bone from the unurned burial returned a calibrated radiocarbon date of AD 90–250 (SUERC-90839, 1830±24 BP).[10] Given their proximity, all four burials are assumed to be broadly contemporaneous. The principal results of the analysis of the cremated bone are presented below. Further details are provided in the archive report.[11]

Post-Roman evidence

There is virtually no evidence for activity on the site following the abandonment of the enclosure system. Post-Roman finds were limited to single sherds of Late Saxon Thetford-type ware (31g) and post-medieval redware (13g), as well as a post-medieval halfpenny coin with the letters J or T and P scratched into the obverse face, all recovered from the ploughsoil. The only definitively post-Roman features, except a few localised areas of modern disturbance, were associated with two recently removed field boundaries, which can be correlated with land divisions shown on the first edition Ordnance Survey map.

The works uncovered no remains associated with the extensive networks of anti-invasion defences erected along the coast during the Second World War. This was largely due to the application of trenchless methods to install the cabling from the beach to the east field, which avoided exposure or disturbance to any surviving remains. Other forms of contemporary activity relating to documented military training and anti-aircraft sites surrounding the substation site either did not lie within the excavated areas, or had left no physical trace.

THE FINDS

Pottery (Amy Thorp and Rachael Seager Smith)
Detailed fabric and form analysis were undertaken in accordance with national guidelines.[12] Fabric quantifications are presented in Tables 1 and 3, with full descriptions of the prehistoric wares given in Appendix 1.

Fabric code	**No. of sherds**	**Weight (g)**	**% sherds**	**MSW (g)**
Early prehistoric				
Flint-tempered - F1	2	23	0.8	11.5
Grog-tempered - G1	8	133	3.4	16.6
Iron Age				
Quartz sand and flint				
QF1	101	1671	43	16.5
QF2	33	920	14	27.9
QF3	16	127	6.8	7.9
QF4	10	105	4.3	10.5
Quartz sand and organics				
QV1	22	243	9.4	11
QV2	31	604	13.2	19.5
Quartz sand				
Q2	3	51	1.3	17
Prehistoric				
Quartz sand and flint - QF99	3	19	1.3	6.3
Quartz sand - Q1	4	8	1.7	2
Grog - G2	2	8	0.8	4
Total	**235**	**3912**	**100**	**16.8**

TABLE 1 – Quantification of prehistoric pottery fabric types.

Prehistoric. The prehistoric pottery came from fifteen features, but only pit 1444 contained more than twenty-five sherds. It is moderately well-preserved with a relatively high mean sherd weight (16.8g) and low levels of abrasion. It is almost entirely of Iron Age date with just ten residual early prehistoric sherds.

Iron Age. With the exception of a piece from a globular bowl (pit 1496), diagnostic sherds occurred only in the two largest groups, pits 1415 (twenty-one sherds, 373g) and 1444 (161 sherds, 3159g); all other features contained fewer than ten body sherds.

Three ware groups, encompassing seven individual fabrics, were identified (Table 1 and Appendix 1). Sand and flint-tempered (QF1–QF4, 72 per cent by count) and sand and organic-tempered (QV1–QV2, 23 per cent by count) wares form the principal categories, with the third group, comprising a single sandy fabric (Q2), represented by just three body sherds (pit 1415). Differences between fabrics in the principal groups are minor, concentrating on marginal variations in the size and frequency of inclusions, and most of the sand and flint-tempered fabrics also contain small amounts of organic material. This comprised coarse grass or straw, probably incorporated as animal dung, evidenced by the consistent length (*c.*5mm) of the surviving voids. Both natural variability in the clay resources and the 'small batch' nature of the household production typical of the period would account for this continuum in fabric composition.

Nine rims were separated into six forms: a jar (R1), three bowls (R2–4) and two unidentifiable forms (R5 and R6), represented by pieces broken just below the rim (Table 2). The globular bowl (Fig. 53.6) remains unparalleled, but appears to be of Middle Iron Age date. The other forms bear strong similarities with flint-tempered vessels from West Harling.[13] One of the shouldered jars (Fig. 53.3) has the characteristic 'cabled' rim and the irregularly formed cabled rims (R6; not illustrated) may also be from broadly comparable, perhaps poorly manufactured, forms. Bowls with rounded (Fig. 53.4) and angular/carinated (Figs 53.2 and 53.5) shoulders are also common at West Harling.[14]

Vessel form		**QF1**	**QF2**	**QF3**	**QF4**	**QV1**	**Total**
R1	Shouldered jar, short neck and flattened rim top (sometimes cabled)	2					**2**
R2	Round shouldered bowl, upright expanded rim			1			**1**
R3	Shouldered bowl, slightly concave neck and rounded to flattened rim				1	1	**2**
R4	Globular bowl, short out-turned rim					1	**1**
R5	Flattened, externally expanded rim	1					**1**
R6	Irregularly formed cabled rim	1	1				**2**
Total		**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**9**

TABLE 2 – Iron Age vessel forms by fabric type (number of rim sherds).

Decoration is limited to the fingertip or nail impressions used to create the cabled rims, but a wider range of surface treatments (wiping using coarse vegetable matter, carelessly executed finger-smearing and burnishing) are apparent. Wiping is seen on all fabric groups but occurs in combination with finger-smearing only on the sand and organic-tempered wares (including several externally pinched bases). Burnishing, on both surfaces of the shouldered bowls (R2 and R3), as well as a plain base and body sherds potentially from bowls, was undertaken with reasonable care. The finer finish of these open forms is again consistent with the West Harling groups, and one vessel (Fig. 53.2) may have the fine slip mentioned.[15]

In addition to the poorly formed cabled rims (R6), other features of this assemblage attest to very rough workmanship. Fabrics are frequently laminated, while coil joints and joints

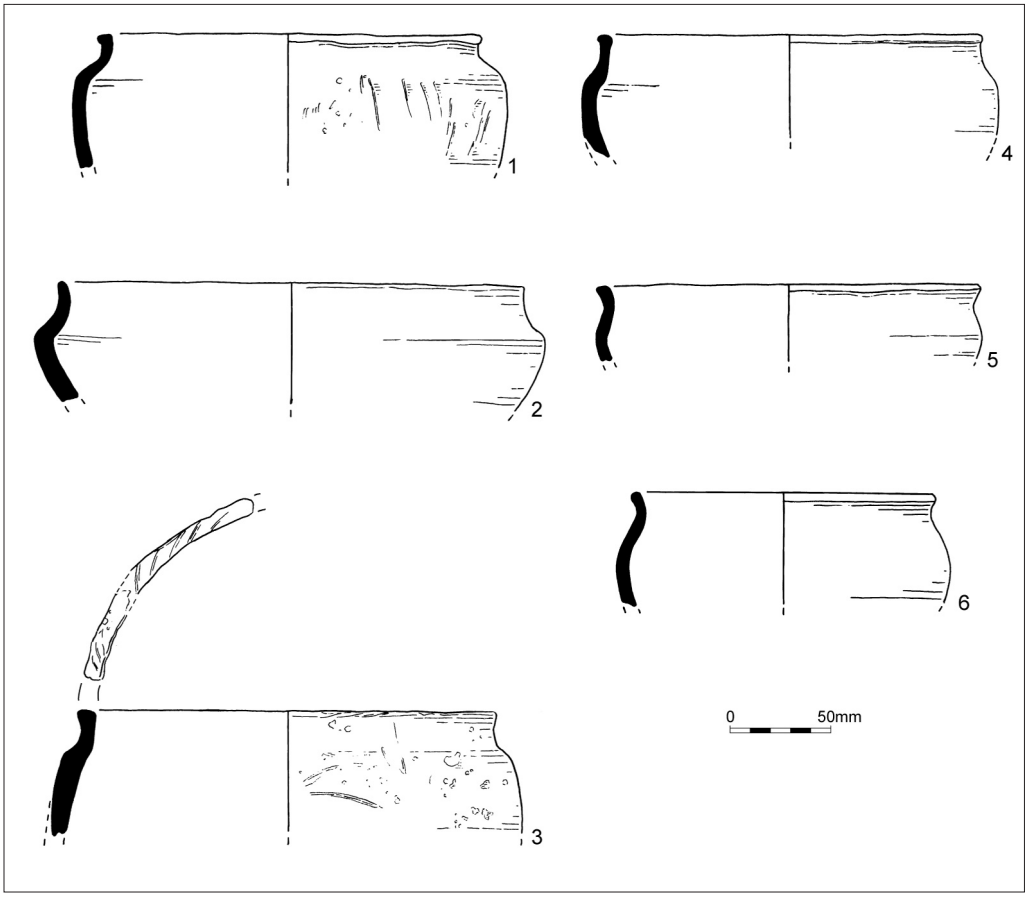

FIG. 53 – Pottery nos 1–6.

between elements of the vessel (e.g. base to lower walls, especially on the externally pinched bases) are poorly fixed, resulting in cracking and separation. A high proportion of sherds in both principal wares (e.g. fabrics QV2 and QF2: 77 per cent and 87 per cent by count, 98 per cent and 91 per cent by weight respectively) are hard fired and fully oxidised.

Many sherds, especially those from pit 1444, are also discoloured. One shouldered jar has a concentrated band of pink/white/lilac on the interior, while others (fabrics QF1, QF2, QF4 and QV2) have white coatings on the exterior and occasional pink/lilac patches on surfaces and breaks. These colours are typical of vessels used in salt production, although the use of estuarine clays or brackish water during manufacturing might produce similar effects.[16] While the vessel forms are not those typically associated with briquetage, their coincidence with fired clay oven furniture in pit 1444 and the coastal location of the site may suggest that at least some of them were utilised as such. In coastal areas, a crossover between pottery and briquetage fabrics is not uncommon and both types were probably made by the same individuals.[17] It should be noted, however, that no *in situ* evidence for salt production (e.g. hearths or channels) was encountered during these excavations.

Overall, the assemblage is consistent with the Earliest Iron Age to Early Iron Age ceramic traditions of the region. The use of flint as the predominant temper is typical of this period in

Suffolk, with the shift to sandy wares occurring during the Middle Iron Age.[18] The vessel forms share similarities with West Harling's Earliest Iron Age groups, dating between 800–600/500 BC, although a radiocarbon date (550–380 BC) suggests this decorated ware tradition continued well into the Early Iron Age.[19]

Romano-British. Seventy features contained Romano-British pottery. A breakdown of the wares is shown in Table 3. Sherds survive in variable condition, with some (e.g. from graves T604 and 1004) showing significant surface abrasion. Sherds from pits (mean sherd weight 15g) are larger than those from ditches (8.5g), although several semi-complete vessels from pit 1829 are largely responsible for this disparity.

Ware	**No. of sherds**	**Weight (g)**	**% sherds**	**MSW (g)**
Imported wares				
Samian	2	14	0.2	7
North Gaulish mortarium	1	134	0.1	134
Sub-total	*3*	*148*	*0.3*	*49.3*
British finewares				
Nene valley colour-coated ware	12	33	1.1	2.7
Pakenham colour-coated ware	3	9	0.3	3
Sub-total	*15*	*42*	*1.4*	*2.8*
British coarsewares				
Micaceous sandy greywares	807	8017	69.7	9.9
Black-surfaced reduced ware	149	1941	12.8	13
Gritty greyware	127	1720	11	13.5
Grog-tempered ware	3	273	0.2	91
Sand and organic-tempered ware	4	25	0.3	6.25
Colchester Black-burnished ware 2	2	47	0.2	23.5
East Anglian reduced ware	1	64	0.1	64
Oxidised ware	46	214	4.0	4.6
Sub-total	*1139*	*12,301*	*98.3*	*10.8*
Total	**1157**	**12,491**	**100**	**10.8**

TABLE 3 – Romano-British ware types by number and weight.

Continental imports comprise two sherds of Samian (ditch GP1878 and pit 1829) and a base from a North Gaulish mortarium (hollow 1637), all of first- to second-century AD date. The condition of the Samian is poor; one sherd is a tiny, probably South Gaulish, scrap, while the other is a heavily burnt Central Gaulish dish rim.

Eleven of the Nene Valley sherds derive from a long-necked, indented beaker with barbotine scale decoration, of late second- to early third-century AD date (Enclosure G, ditch GP1861).[20] The Pakenham colour-coated wares are represented by small body sherds from an indented beaker (ditch GP1873 and pit 1731); production may have started at the end of the second century AD, but a later, third- to fourth-century AD date, is generally offered for these wares.[21]

Reduced coarsewares represent 94 per cent of the sherds. Production is well documented in

the region, particularly during the mid-first to second centuries AD.[22] Muscovite mica is common in Suffolk pottery and a feature of the Hacheston and Leiston material.[23] Although the black-surfaced and gritty greywares form part of this overall micaceous greyware group, their distinctive appearance has permitted their separation (Table 3); both remain unsourced but occur in other local assemblages.[24]

The vessel forms span a wide date range. Jars and bowls predominate, with smaller numbers of straight-sided dishes, lids and beakers; more specialist types include a well-preserved cheese press (Fig. 54.11) and a mortarium base (ditch 1639). Early (mid-first- to early second-century AD) types include upright necked jars with everted, sometimes slightly undercut, bead rims (e.g. Fig. 55.13), made at both Hacheston and Stowmarket.[25] These are particularly common

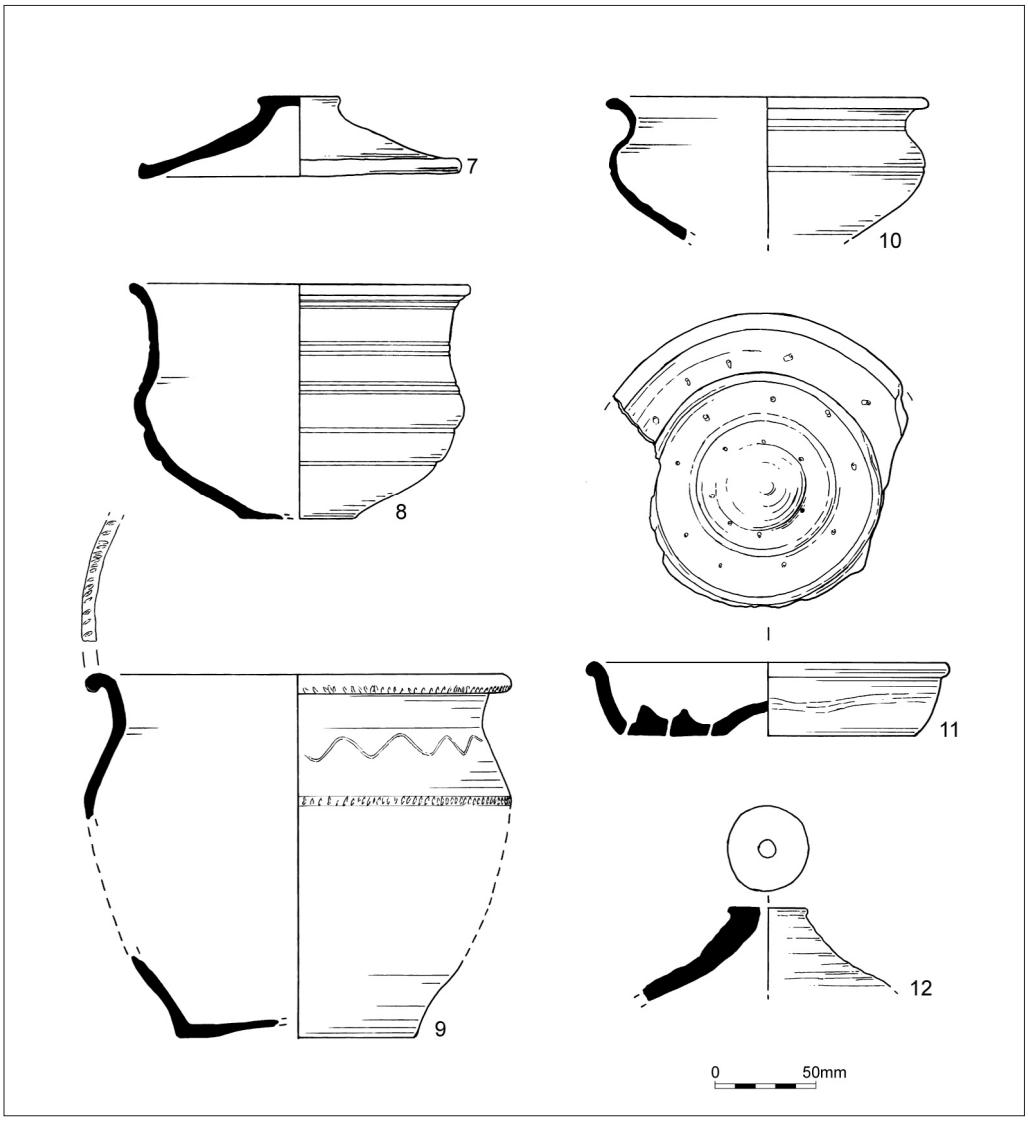

FIG. 54 – Pottery nos 7–12.

among the gritty greywares. A deep carinated jar/bowl (Fig. 54.8) paralleled at Hacheston fits within the smaller size range for this form and belongs within the middle decades of the first century.[26] Less common jar forms include necked vessels, a lid-seated variant and large storage types, while a carinated bowl (Fig. 54.9),[27] a Gallo-Belgic style platter (ditch GP1877) and two long-necked, round-bodied beakers (pit 1829) may also belong within this period.

Pit 1731 and ditches GP1860, GP1861 and GP1873 contained round-bellied jars/bowls with a girth groove (e.g. Fig. 54.10), a long-lived type dating from the second to fourth centuries AD.[28] Rounded/bead rim bowls or dishes and straight-sided dishes are also relatively common, preferentially occurring in the black-surfaced fabric. Reminiscent of Dorset black-burnished wares, these are most common during the second and early third centuries AD, whilst the dishes continue into the fourth century AD.[29]

The minority wares (Table 3) include oxidised sherds, probably of local manufacture; diagnostic pieces are limited to an early Roman butt beaker rim (pit 1272) and a cordoned jar shoulder decorated with diagonal slashes (gully GP1867). The grog-tempered wares include two storage jar rims of first- to third-century AD date, while the sand and organic-tempered sherds (ditch GP1860) are probably from a single, local vessel.[30] Regional wares are limited to a well-worn base from an East Anglian mortarium (ditch 1639) of third- or, more probably, fourth-century AD date, and two sherds of Colchester black-burnished ware (ditches GP1872 and GP1873).[31]

Overall, the composition of the assemblage is consistent with small-scale domestic occupation, with associated funerary activity on the outskirts of the settlement. It is dominated by local, utilitarian, kitchen-type wares mostly from the Hacheston kilns, although limited access to continental and regionally imported vessels is evident.[32] Diagnostic material indicates a date range extending from the mid-/late first century to the early/mid-third century AD, with a handful of later pieces, such as the East Anglian mortarium.

Illustrated vessels

Prehistoric pottery (Fig. 53)

1. Shouldered jar with short neck and flattened rim top (R1); fabric QF1; pit 1415, context 1417, PRN 6.
2. Shouldered bowl with slightly concave neck and rounded to flattened rim (R3); fabric QF4; pit 1444, context 1442, PRN 36.
3. Shouldered jar with short neck and flattened cabled rim top (R1); fabric QF1; pit 1444, context 1442, PRN 38.
4. Round-shouldered bowl with upright expanded rim (R2); fabric QF3; pit 1444, context 1442, PRN 46.
5. Shouldered bowl with slightly concave neck and rounded to flattened rim (R3); fabric QV1; pit 1444, context 1442, PRN 49.
6. Globular bowl with short out-turned rim (R4); fabric QV1; pit 1496, context 1500, PRN 29.

Romano-British pottery (Figs. 54 and 55)

7. Lid; greyware; urned burial 1004, context 1006.
8. Deep cordoned and carinated jar or bowl; greyware; pit 1175, context 1177.
9. Carinated bowl with deep concave neck; black-surfaced reduced ware; ditch GP1872, cut 1619, context 1620.
10. Round-bellied jar or bowl with girth groove; greyware; ditch GP1873, cut 1654, context 1655.
11. Cheese press; greyware; ditch 1675, context 1676.

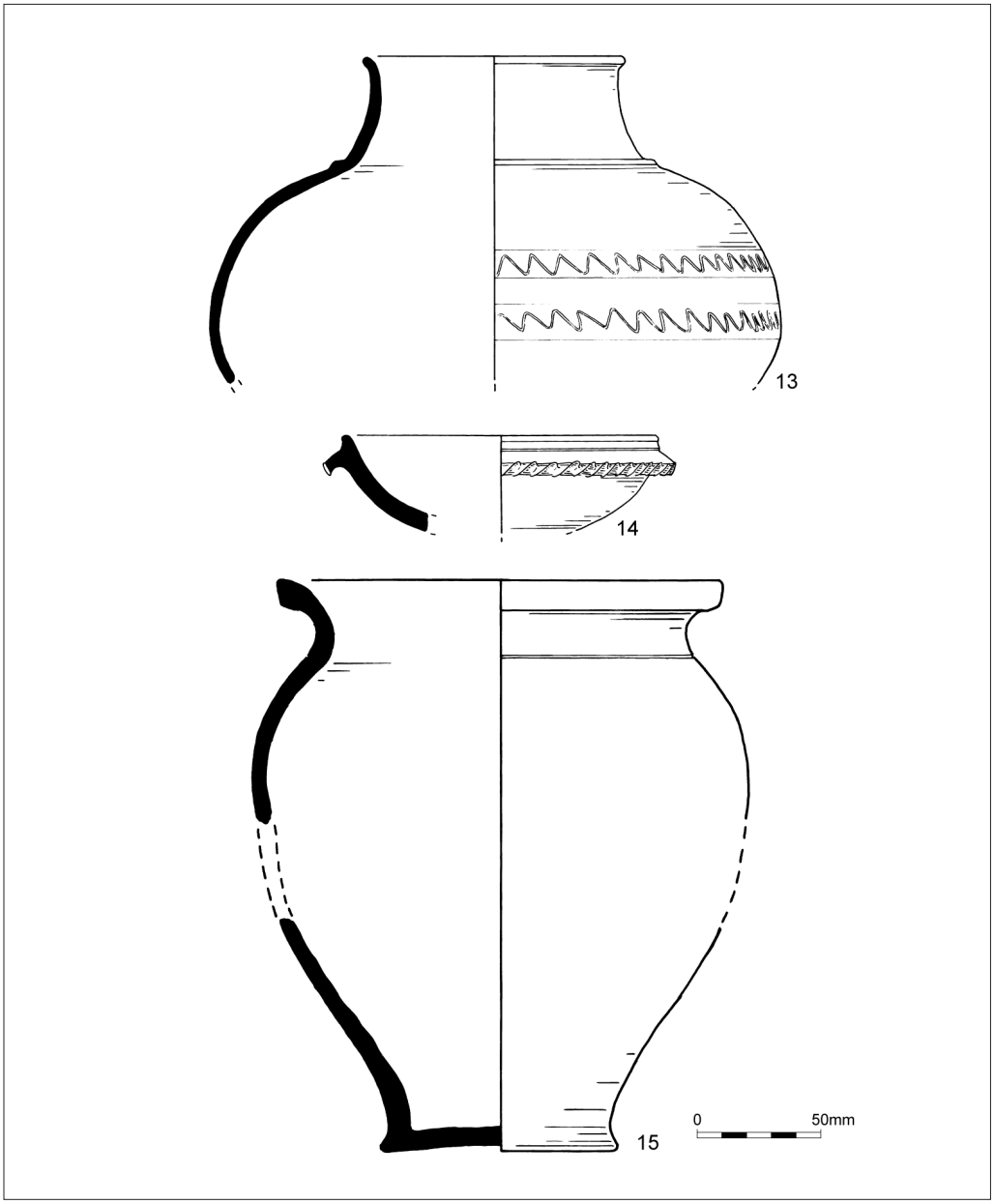

FIG. 55 – Pottery nos 13–15.

12. Lid with post-firing perforation; greyware; ditch GP1877, cut 1803, context 1804.
13. Narrow neck jar with slightly beaded rim; greyware; pit 1829, context 1831.
14. Shallow bowl with frilled flange rim; greyware; pit 1829, context 1831.
15. Necked jar with everted beaded rim; greyware; pit 1829, context 1831.

Fired clay (Amy Thorp, Grace Perpetua Jones and Rachael Seager Smith)
Small quantities (generally less than 100g) were recovered from twenty-four features and deposits. Most are abraded, featureless pieces, probably derived from structures or oven/hearth linings. Fabric descriptions are provided in Appendix 2.

Early Iron Age pit 1444 contained 220 pieces (4949g), including oven furniture, as well as abraded pieces probably of structural origin. Most are in a sandy, oxidised fabric with organic and flint inclusions (Fabric A), with a small proportion in a paler fabric with carbonate rock fragments (Fabric B). Some 'salt' discolouration, like that evident on pottery from this feature, is apparent, especially among the Fabric A material. Many fragments with surviving surfaces derive from roughly smoothed, handmade pedestals, bars or other types of oven supports with triangular, subrectangular or circular cross-sections. Although none of these pieces display the extensive bleaching seen on pedestals from definite salt production sites, it is possible that they were used to support vessels or troughs during the evaporation process.[33]

Corner fragments from perforated triangular objects came from Romano-British ditches GP1844 and GP1877 (Fabrics C and D respectively). These items are common in Iron Age contexts, remaining current well into the second century AD.[34] Traditionally interpreted as loom weights used in textile weaving, it is now considered more probable that they represent hearth/oven furniture.[35]

Other finds (Phil Harding, Amy Thorp, Grace Perpetua Jones and Rachael Seager Smith)
The thirty-two prehistoric worked flints were mostly made from local, rounded flint pebbles. Apart from the possible Palaeolithic flake (ditch GP1866), all are unpatinated and in mint condition. Diagnostic pieces include an early Neolithic trimming flake from a blade core and an early prehistoric scraper (ploughsoil, west field), a Beaker period thumbnail scraper (ditch GP1861), and a larger, end scraper (topsoil, substation excavation area). The remainder are flakes of later Neolithic or Bronze Age date. Burnt flint (pit E3003 [6181g] and ditches GP1854 [10g] and GP1852 [23g]) is intrinsically undatable, but generally interpreted as indicative of prehistoric activity.

Romano-British ceramic building material (twenty-nine pieces, 3403g) includes two pieces from *tegulae* roof-tiles (ditch 1876) and plain, flat fragments (32–43mm thick) from smaller, thinner bricks (*bessales*, *pedalis* or *lydion*), predominantly used in hypocausts or lacing/bonding courses in walls.[36] Iron fixings and fittings comprise eight nails (Manning's type 1B;[37] grave 1401, pit 1639 and ditches GP1857, GP1861 and GP1882), parts of a possible hinge and a joiner's dog (ditch GP1861), a holdfast, a riveted sheet metal plate fragment, two strips, and a nail shank (ditch GP1872). None are closely datable, but all came from Romano-British contexts.

Millstone Grit querns were imported from Derbyshire or south Yorkshire during this period, although it is feasible they arrived as fragments, perhaps as building or sharpening stones.[38] Eleven pieces (7194g) from ditch GP1872 probably derive from two stones (ten are 40–45mm thick, but one is thicker at 50mm), both around 800mm in diameter and, therefore, probably mechanically operated millstones. Two fragments (1214g) of a similar thickness came from ditch GP1873, while those from ditch GP1861 (1014g) are thicker (72mm). Scored lines creating a T-shape on the upper surface of one of the latter stones may indicate its reuse for sharpening once broken. Other items of Romano-British date include a scrap of blue/green window glass (ditch GP1861), and the left valve of an oyster shell (ditch GP1872).

Cremated human bone and aspects of the mortuary rite (Jacqueline I. McKinley)
Cremated human bone was recovered from four Romano-British contexts including the *in situ* remains of three urned burials and a probable unurned burial. The graves were all found on

the eastern margin of the area of investigation where they formed two closely located pairs (each 2.0–3.75m apart) set within about 10m of each other. Analysis of the cremated bone follows the writer's standard procedure.[39] Age and sex were assessed using standard methodologies.[40] A summary of the results is presented in Table 4.

Context	Cut	Deposit type	Bone weight	Age/sex	Pathology
606	604	urned burial	236.8g	adult 18–45 yr	
1006*	1004	urned burial	289.1g	adult 20–35 yr	
1404	1401	urned burial	486.4g	adult >40 yr ??female	osteophytes – axis, T/S; degenerative disc disease – 1st sacral
1412	1411	unurned burial/ ?redeposited	202.4g	adult 20–45 yr	periosteal new bone (lamellar) – humerus, radius, ulna; enthesophytes – femur

KEY: * undisturbed

TABLE 4 – Summary of cremated human bone deposits.

Most of the features had survived to <0.10 m in depth and bone was evident at surface level in three of the four deposits; the bone in grave 1004 had survived undisturbed in the lower *c*.0.10m depth of the vessel, effectively sealed below the collapsed-in upper body sherds. It is probable that some bone will have been lost from all except grave 1004 due to bioturbation and horizontal truncation, though the quantities are likely to have been small. The bone from the two northerly graves is slightly worn/eroded and 'chalky' in appearance, whilst that from the two southerly graves is in good visual condition and inclusive of both trabecular and the more robust compact bone. It is unclear what mechanisms might have influenced these differences; grave depth, level of disturbance and burial type are not consistently involved.

The remains of four adults are represented, including a minimum of one over forty years of age, possibly a female. Such small burial groups (of either cremation or inhumation graves) are a familiar feature in the rural Romano-British landscape, where pairs of burials or singletons were commonly located close to field boundaries and probably related to nearby farmsteads. Such mortuary deposits, particularly those associated with the cremation rite, are less conspicuous and more readily missed in the archaeological record than the 'elite' barrow cremation graves such as those at Rougham, Suffolk, or Mersea Island in Essex, and the larger cremation cemeteries associated with towns.[41] Whilst their modest form and small assemblage size might suggest they are worthy of little note, the majority of the rural population would have been afforded burial in these liminal but locally significant locations.

Pathological lesions indicative of age-related 'wear and tear'/physical stress were observed in the spine of the older adult from grave 1401.[42] Patches of healed periosteal new bone observed on elements of the upper limb from grave 1411 were probably related to a soft tissue injury/infection affecting the underlying bone rather than a systemic condition. Whatever the cause, the individual is likely to have been in pain and debilitated for some weeks, or possibly

months before the infection cleared.

The majority of the bone is white in colour, indicating a high level of oxidation.[43] The very slight variations in colour (grey or blue/grey), reflecting incomplete oxidation, observed in a few bone fragments from all the deposits do not indicate any specific shortfalls or technical problems with the cremation process.[44] Such minor variations are commensurate with those commonly seen in small rural assemblages, which tend to feature a greater proportion of well oxidised remains than burials from urban locations.[45]

The weights of bone recovered (Table 4) are generally small, falling in the lower range of those commonly observed from cemeteries of this date,[46] and represent approximately 13 per cent (grave 1411) and 30 per cent (grave 1401) of the expected average weight of bone from an adult cremation.[47] It currently remains unclear why there should be such variation in the amount of bone taken from the pyre site for burial, but it serves to emphasise the importance of the primary part of the mortuary rite, i.e. the cremation, and the fact that formal 'burial' of remains might have comprised only one of a number of secondary acts.[48]

The majority of the bone in the urned burials was recovered from the 10mm sieve fraction (50–64 per cent of the total weight), with similar proportions (47 per cent) in the 5mm and 10mm fractions in the unurned deposit. The maximum fragment sizes are relatively small at between 32mm (burial 1412) and 54mm, such a range generally being recorded for disturbed deposits elsewhere.[49] Although in general the bone from the site is more fragmentary than is commonly observed, it does not necessarily reflect deliberate intent;[50] taphonomic factors (see above) and potential variations in collection and storage methods (e.g. less careful handling or greater incidental trampling of the pyre site) might, however, have affected the condition of some of the remains.

The proportion of the bone identifiable to skeletal element (46–53 per cent by weight) fell in the median to upper range (generally 30–50 per cent [personal observation]). A variety of elements from all skeletal areas were recovered, with the commonly observed disproportionate amount of skull elements at the expense of the often fragile axial skeleton. In the case of the unurned deposit, an unusually small proportion of skull elements (7 per cent of the identifiable elements by weight) is represented, with a markedly disproportionate amount of lower limb elements (69 per cent by weight). This disparity could reflect preferential loss of the skull elements from the truncated grave (implying the skull elements were closest to the upper levels of the fill), or some degree of selection (or exclusion; cremated bone being eminently transportable and suitable for curation in variously sized packages) regarding the bone collected for burial.[51]

Unsupported tooth roots and small hand/foot bones were only recovered from grave 1401 (fourteen such elements). This suggests that collection from the pyre site was affected by individual hand recovery of fragments in most cases, thereby creating a bias against recovery of the smaller skeletal elements.[52] There might have been some variation in the case of burial 1404, which also contained twice as much bone as the other deposits, with collection involving raking off and winnowing of material from the pyre facilitating easier (and more rapid) recovery of the smaller skeletal elements.

Animal bone (L. Higbee)

Preservation varies from fair to poor (eroded cortical surfaces and abraded edges), but is generally consistent within individual contexts, although only the more durable and robust elements are recognisable. The fragmentation rate is also high, such that only twenty-five of the 273 fragments (1571g) are identifiable to species and element.

Bones from cattle and sheep/goat predominate. They include a pair of mandibles and fragments of cattle skull from pit 1656, and a similar range of skeletal elements, as well as a

pair of scapulae, from pit 1731; part of a cattle-sized long bone shaft (ditch GP1860), and cattle tooth enamel (ditches GP1872 and GP1883) were also recovered.

DISCUSSION

Earlier prehistoric activity

The limited evidence for earlier prehistoric activity on the site is generally consistent with that from other investigations in the immediate vicinity; aside from several Early Neolithic pits on the eastern side of Leiston, no obviously Neolithic or earlier Bronze Age features seem to have been recorded during nearby excavations.[53] By contrast, recent developer-funded archaeological work has revealed substantial evidence for activity during these periods in other parts of east Suffolk, as at Reydon, Wangford Quarry, Saxmundham and, particularly, Flixton Park Quarry and Woodbridge.[54] The local scarcity of Neolithic and earlier Bronze Age remains is perhaps surprising given the extent of intrusive investigation nearby and the numerous ring-ditches identified by remote sensing techniques.[55] Few of the ring-ditches have been tested by intrusive means and, whilst some may represent the sites of round barrows or similar types of monument, others might relate to later types of feature or be of non-archaeological origin. Indeed, the only ring-ditch excavated nearby is thought to be of somewhat later Bronze Age date, its creation perhaps linked with the laying out of field systems.[56] Whether the paucity of remains from early periods is a genuine reflection of low levels of activity is uncertain; it is equally possible that the land was used in ways that were unlikely to leave any archaeologically recognisable signature.

Later prehistoric occupation

The cluster of pits and other features in the north-eastern part of the site, along with the types and quantities of finds retrieved from some of them, seem to be indicative of Early Iron Age occupation. Although structural remains were mostly lacking, this may have been due to truncation caused by intensive modern agriculture. It is tempting to speculate that the 'blank' space surrounded by the pits signals the location of the inhabited area; certainly, this was large enough to accommodate one or more roundhouses. Another possibility is that the settlement associated with these features was located a little beyond the excavation limits. Unfortunately, it is impossible to confirm whether several undated ditches on the site are the fragmentary remains of a late prehistoric field system, as suggested here, or if they are earlier Romano-British land divisions.

The large quantity of pottery and fired clay from pit 1444, some potentially having been used in salt production, is of particular interest. Its presence can be explained as the result of deposition of waste; whether this was an entirely prosaic activity is unclear given the well-documented phenomenon of seemingly deliberate, and sometimes structured deposition during late prehistory; in any case, the distinction between the 'ritual' and the 'mundane' in such contexts is potentially a largely arbitrary one imposed by modern sensibilities.[57] Salt production was clearly not undertaken here as a major specialised activity, given the absence of characteristic features such as settling tanks, evaporation hearths, water channels and sluices, or substantial layers of briquetage and burnt waste. Nevertheless, the material might derive from a nearby saltern or very small-scale production on site. Alternatively, it could represent the remains of one or more containers in which salt was brought to the site from further afield. Late prehistoric salterns are well known in Essex, Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire, but they are uncommon in Suffolk, possibly because these sites have been lost to more intensive coastal erosion. In any case, salt was clearly transported over considerable distances during this period.[58] As salt was a necessary, but valuable commodity

during late prehistory, the distribution of briquetage — the principal form of evidence for its exchange and consumption — has been the subject of some debate. This has tended to focus on sites afforded some elevated or special status (e.g., hillforts and ring-works) and the extent to which they played a role in the control and redistribution of salt.[59] However, briquetage is not commonly found in abundance on small, late prehistoric domestic sites. Indeed, none seems to have been reported from other excavated sites in the local area, including a small later Bronze Age/earlier Iron Age settlement on the eastern edge of Leiston, or other late prehistoric domestic sites at Eye, Carlton Colville and Flixton Park Quarry.[60]

In conclusion, the site at Sizewell Gap can probably be added to the distribution of late prehistoric domestic sites excavated in recent years. Such discoveries, together with later prehistoric enclosures and trackways recorded by excavations in the local area, as well as other possible examples identified more widely by remote sensing surveys, are gradually revealing a detailed picture of the settled, agricultural late prehistoric landscape across the eastern part of the county.[61] This suggests, perhaps contrary to expectations, that the dry sandy soils and low-lying marshes of the Suffolk coastline did not substantially discourage settlement and agriculture during early periods.

The Roman farmstead

As with part of a Romano-British field system recently excavated on the eastern side of Leiston, there is no obvious indication that the enclosure complex at Sizewell Gap had been influenced by earlier phases of land division.[62] The lack of evidence for activity on the site between the earlier Iron Age and the establishment of the enclosure system, probably during the first century AD, is broadly consistent with patterns seen throughout parts of eastern England. A comparatively high proportion of settlements in this region appear to have been newly founded during the Late Iron Age as part of a general expansion of settlement, which continued into the second century AD, and many of these sites were also occupied following the conquest. The dramatic shifts in the location and intensity of occupation give the impression that this was a time of considerable social and political upheaval.[63]

In the absence of definitive structural remains, pits and ditches seemingly infilled with occupation debris have been taken as a proxy indication that Enclosure I was closely linked with domestic activity. However, Enclosure I did contain the truncated remains of possible structures, of sill-beam construction, perhaps analogous to 'Roman Building III' at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville and others at Wenhaston.[64] Whichever the case at Sizewell Gap, intensive ploughing, in particular, and the unavoidable consequences of machine stripping when conducting large-scale investigations, probably account for the paucity of structural remains at Romano-British sites in the region, even where other indications of occupation are recorded.[65]

Although the enclosure system appears to have been part of a small farmstead, there is little detailed evidence for its economic basis. This is due to the poor survival of animal bone and palaeoenvironmental materials, and the absence of evidence for facilities such as crop dryers or kilns, or artefactual remains that could be closely linked with subsistence-based or economically productive activities. Nevertheless, the form of the enclosures and trackways strongly suggest that the agricultural regime was largely based on animal husbandry. An environmentally/geologically deterministic argument — that the sandy soils were not conducive to arable farming — might be made in support of this. Although the raising of livestock could have enabled small-scale manuring of fields or garden plots, the dry, sandy soils would presumably have still presented difficulties. In any case, the community may have exploited localised areas of more productive land away from the enclosure complex, both for grazing and cultivation.

The location and manner of burial employed by the inhabitants of the farmstead during the

latter stages of its occupation are unknown, but the community seems to have followed the custom of burying the cremated remains of their dead on the periphery of the main activity areas during the first–early second centuries AD. Although earlier Romano-British cremation-related deposits have been recorded at Gallows Hill near Hacheston, Easton, Carlton Colville and, possibly, Levington, examples are generally scarce in the east of the county.[66] Consequently, the small group of burials from the site provides a modest, but significant addition to the regional corpus of evidence for mortuary activity at this time.

As would be expected, and with the principal exception of the substantial and long-lived roadside settlement at Hacheston, most of the rural settlements excavated in east Suffolk seem to represent farmsteads.[67] Examples include sites at Easton, Carlton Colville, Hollesley Bay, Wenhaston with Mells and Thorington.[68] Some of these may have been open, but many were also associated with trackways and enclosures. The site at Sizewell Gap can probably be placed in the category of the 'complex farmstead', as defined by Smith *et al.*, based on its morphology, which seems to reflect the differentiation of spaces used for different activities — particularly livestock management — as well as its chronology and history of sequential alteration.[69] Of the twenty-two sites classified as such in the eastern region, none lie within the Suffolk Coast and Heaths 'landscape zone'.[70] Consisting of several conjoined enclosures, as at Caister-on-Sea and Kilverstone in Norfolk, the Sizewell Gap enclosure system deviates from the more common regional form of the 'complex farmstead', that of a single subdivided enclosure.[71] The morphological diversity of farmsteads evidently reflects their varied developmental histories. It might be supposed, for example, that farmsteads focused on a single subdivided enclosure were often planned and laid out in a single decisive act, albeit frequently altered thereafter. In contrast, those formed of multiple conjoined enclosures give the impression of more organic development. As the sequence at Sizewell Gap could not be established with greater precision, it is with some frustration that the site yields scant insight in this regard. Apparently located some distance from any major population centres — the closest known example being at Hacheston — the impression is that the community at Sizewell Gap was rather isolated.[72] Despite this, remote sensing surveys have revealed numerous other possible settlements with attendant field systems, trackways and enclosures along the coast.[73] Moreover, given that only disparate elements of the enclosure system at Sizewell Gap were previously known from cropmarks, the scale of activity could be considerably greater than that indicated by remote sensing techniques.[74] Together with the pottery kiln and hints of settlement found in Leiston, a field system and possible enclosure at the edges of the town and other traces of occupation and land divisions nearby, the farmstead at Sizewell Gap provides valuable information relating to the density, character and distribution of settlement and agriculture in the local area and the wider coastal zone.[75] Undoubtedly, future archaeological work, such as in association with the development of the Sizewell C power station, will further illuminate these areas of study.

Around the mid–late third century AD, the focus of activity moved away from the site, whilst the discovery of Early Saxon remains on the north-eastern fringe of Leiston points to the emergence of new centres of settlement in the following centuries.[76] Unfortunately, as is so frequently the case, the archaeological record presently offers few clues as to the nature and location of occupation in the local area during the intervening period. It is also unclear why the farmstead at Sizewell Gap declined, although a considerable proportion of settlements in the region seem to have been abandoned at a similar time.[77] Wider shifts in later Romano-British society may have been responsible for changes in settlement and land use in the region, although the factors governing the fates of individual settlements were probably complex and varied according to local circumstance.

Post-Roman land use

The dry sandy soils of the Suffolk coastal region were generally not conducive to arable farming until the arrival of agricultural improvement techniques in the mid-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Consequently, much of the landscape was composed of unenclosed sandy heaths and commons throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods, although the marshlands were used for grazing and some degree of reclamation was undertaken to improve pasture and open up land for cultivation.[78]

To an extent, this may explain the paucity of post-Roman remains within the investigated areas. Nonetheless, it is difficult to account for the lack of medieval finds, features or deposits within parts of the cable route given the results from other excavations on the lower-lying land immediately north of Sizewell Gap.[79] These have revealed extensive, well-preserved and complex remains derived from occupation, along with related manufacturing, trades and industry, spanning the eleventh–fourteenth centuries. Interpreted as evidence for the westward expansion of Sizewell — once a prosperous town that came to rival medieval Leiston in size — the remains were found as little as 20m from the cable route.

The seemingly blank area within the cable route cannot be satisfactorily explained as a result of differential levels of truncation, variations in methodological approaches or lack of recognition (e.g. due to burial by undifferentiated sands redeposited through wind action or inundation). Perhaps then, the route of Sizewell Gap correlates with a distinct boundary between the medieval settlement and the commons and heaths to the south. The road may have been established sometime later than the medieval suburb, perhaps following a pre-existing land division. Indeed, it has been suggested that this was a minor thoroughfare, a cul-de-sac or driftway, until the early nineteenth century, when it replaced the more northerly medieval route between Leiston and Sizewell.[80] However, in the nineteenth century, the route continued along what is now Grimsey's Lane to join the southern side of Leiston, thus providing a comparatively direct route between the towns. Consequently, this might correspond with another medieval road that fell into decline, possibly in tandem with Sizewell, which shrank dramatically between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.[81]

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Archive location

The archive is held at the offices of Wessex Archaeology Ltd in Salisbury and Maidstone under the project codes 77610, 77611, 104810, 104811 and 104812. In due course, it will be deposited with the Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service under the site code LCS 161.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Prehistoric pottery fabric descriptions

NB. All linear voids are likely to result from burnt out organic inclusions

Sand and flint-tempered:

QF1: Hard, coarse; abundant (40%) well sorted rounded to subrounded quartz sand (predominantly 0.5mm), sparse (7%) poorly sorted angular calcined flint (generally <2mm, but up to 10mm) and sparse (3%) linear voids.

QF2: Moderately hard, coarse; very fine sandy matrix; common (20%) poorly sorted rounded to subrounded quartz sand (up to 1.5mm) and sparse (7%) moderately sorted angular calcined flint (0.5–1mm); visible firing cracks.

QF3: Moderately soft; very fine sandy matrix; common (20%) moderately sorted rounded quartz sand (0.25–1mm), sparse (7%) poorly sorted angular flint (generally <0.3mm, but up to 3mm) and moderate (10%) linear voids.

QF4: Moderately soft; common (25%) moderately sorted subrounded quartz sand (0.1–0.75mm), sparse (7%) moderately sorted angular calcined flint (generally 0.5–1mm, occasionally up to 5mm) and moderate (10%) linear voids. Some possible firing cracks.

Sand and organic-tempered:

QV1: Moderately soft; very fine sandy matrix; moderate (15%) poorly sorted rounded to subrounded quartz sand (0.25–1mm) and moderate (10%) linear voids.

QV2: Hard, coarse; very common (30%) moderately sorted subrounded quartz sand (0.1–0.75mm) and moderate (10%) linear voids. Some firing cracks.

Sandy wares:

Q1: Soft fabric; common (20%) moderately sorted subrounded quartz sand (0.1–0.5mm), and rare (1%) calcined flint (up to 1.5mm).

Q2: Moderately hard; common (20%) moderately sorted rounded to subrounded quartz sand (0.1–1mm) and sparse (7%) well sorted subangular grog (up to 2mm). Some laminar firing cracks (or possibly from burnt out organic inclusions).

Grog-tempered:

G1: Moderately soft; common (20%) poorly sorted subrounded sandy grog (0.5–4mm), moderate (10%) well sorted subrounded to subangular quartz sand (0.25–1mm), sparse (3%) poorly sorted angular calcined flint (1.5–3mm) and sparse (5%) linear voids. Some possible firing cracks.

G2: Soft; moderate (15%) moderately sorted subangular grog (1–3mm), and moderate (10%) poorly sorted subrounded quartz sand (0.2–0.5mm).

Flint-tempered:

F1: Soft, coarse, laminated; common (20%) poorly sorted angular calcined flint (1–3mm).

Appendix 2: Fired clay fabric descriptions

Fabric A: Pale orange or grey (some patchy 'salt' discolouration), silty textured; common (20%) subrounded to rounded medium to coarse-grained quartz, sparse (5–7%) moderately sorted linear voids and rare flint.

Fabric B: Buff to pale orange, fine to medium-grained sandy matrix; moderate (10–15%) subrounded to subangular and poorly sorted carbonate rock inclusions (< 8mm).

Fabric C: Variably fired (orange to reddish-brown), silty textured; common (20%) subrounded to rounded moderately sorted fine to medium-grained quartz and sparse (5%) linear voids.

Fabric D: Silty-textured, buff or pale orange exterior and margins, unoxidised dark grey core; common (25%) subrounded to rounded well-sorted medium to coarse-grained quartz, occasional subrounded sandstone inclusions (< 3mm) across, sparse (5%) linear voids and rare angular detrital flint (< 20mm).

Fabric E: Irregularly fired buff or pale orange; common (20%) subrounded to subangular fine to medium-grained quartz, with occasional larger grains, sparse (3%) linear voids and occasional rounded pebbles. Impressions from grass or other organic matter on exterior.

NOTES

1 Wessex Archaeology 2011; 2013; 2014.
2 Wessex Archaeology 2019.
3 Wessex Archaeology 2017.
4 British Geological Survey online viewer.
5 Wessex Archaeology 2020.
6 Richmond 1994 Suffolk HER ref. LCS 068.
7 Wessex Archaeology 2020.
8 E.g. Archaeology South-East 2017a; Cotswold Archaeology 2018; 2019; PCA 2016.
9 Wessex Archaeology 2020.
10 Wessex Archaeology 2020.
11 Wessex Archaeology 2020.
12 Barclay *et al.* 2016.
13 E.g. Clark and Fell 1953, 25 and 26, classes III and VI.
14 Clark and Fell 1953, 26.
15 Clark and Fell 1953, 26.
16 Morris 2001, 41.
17 Morris 2001, 393–4; Morris 2001, 62.
18 Martin 1999, 74–80.
19 Clark and Fell 1953; Brudenell 2011, 17; Brudenell 2011, 19.
20 Perrin 1999, 94–5, Fig. 61, no. 166.
21 Smedley and Owles 1961, 222.

22 Plouviez 1989; Arthur and Plouviez 2004; Damant 2004; Peachey pers. comm.
23 Hacheston: Arthur and Plouviez 2004, 161–2; Leiston: Damant 2004.
24 E.g. Peachey 2019.
25 Hacheston: Arthur and Plouviez 2004, 167, type 29; Stowmarket: Plouviez 1989, 6, form 1.
26 Arthur and Plouviez 2004, 167–8, type 22A; Martin 1988, 41.
27 *Cf.* Symonds and Wade 1999, 477, CAM type 227.
28 Arthur and Plouviez 2004, 167, type 30.
29 Arthur and Plouviez 2004, 169, types 38 and 40.
30 Symonds and Wade 1999, 479, Cam 270B and 273.
31 Tomber and Dore 1998, 130–1.
32 Arthur and Plouviez 2004.
33 Morris 2009; Cleal and Bacon 2001.
34 Wild 2002, 10.
35 Lowther 1935; Poole 1995; Poole 2015.
36 Brodribb 1987.
37 Manning 1985.
38 Shaffrey 2015, 147.
39 McKinley 1994a, 5–6; 2004a.
40 Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Gejvall 1981; Scheuer and Black 2000.
41 Rougham: Babington 1872; Mersea Island: McKinley 2013a.
42 Rodgers and Waldron 1995, 25–6.
43 Holden *et al.* 1995a–b.
44 See McKinley 1994a, 76–8; 2004b, 293–95; 2008.
McKinley 2008, 173–4.
46 E.g. McKinley 2004b, table 6.6.
47 McKinley 1993.
48 McKinley 2013b.
49 E.g. McKinley 2004b, table 6.70.
50 See McKinley 1994b; 2004b.
51 See McKinley 2013b.
52 McKinley 2004b, 303.
53 Archaeology South-East 2017a.
54 Cooper 2018; Garrow 2012, table 15.1, 221; Last *et al.* undated; Reydon: Harding 2017; Wangford Quarry: Meredith 2009; Saxmundham: Newton 2013; Oxford Archaeology 2016; Flixton Park Quarry: Boulter and Walton Rogers 2012; Woodbridge: Last *et al.* undated.
55 Archaeology South-East 2017a–b; Atfield *et al.* 2009; Breen *et al.* 2014; Cotswold Archaeology 2016; 2018; 2019; Gill *et al.* 2013; Pre-Construct Archaeology 2016; Good and Plouviez 2007; Hegarty and Newsome 2005; Horlock and Tremlett 2016.
56 Archaeology South-East 2017a.
57 Bradley 2005.
58 Kinory 2011; 2012.
59 Kinory 2012; Morris 1994.
60 Leiston: Pre-Construct Archaeology 2016; Eye: Caruth 2012; Carlton Colville: Heard 2013; Flixton Park Quarry: Boulter 2015.
61 Archaeology South-East 2017a; Cotswold Archaeology 2018; 2019; Pre-Construct Archaeology 2016; Good and Plouviez 2007; Hegarty and Newsome 2005; Horlock and Tremlett 2016.
62 Archaeology South-East 2017a.
63 Smith. *et al.* 2016, 214–5; Hill 2007.
64 Carlton Colville: Lucy *et al.* 2009, fig 2.4, 26–8; Wenhaston: Stirk and Benfield 2009.
65 Evans undated, 21.
66 Hacheston: Plouviez 1987; Easton: Pre-Construct Archaeology 2017; Carlton Colville: Lucy *et al.* 2009; Levington: Sommers 2006.
67 Blagg *et al.* 2004.
68 Easton: Pre-Construct Archaeology 2017; Carlton Colville: Lucy *et al.* 2009; Hollesley Bay: Mowatt 1975; Wenhaston with Mells: Stirk 2009; Thorington: Newman 1992.
69 Smith *et al.* 2016, 28–33.
70 Smith *et al.* 2016, table 6.2, 212.
71 Caister-on-Sea: Albone 2006; Kilverstone: Garrow *et al.* 2006; Smith *et al.* 2016, 219.

72 Blagg *et al.* 2004.
73 Good and Plouviez 2007; Hegarty and Newsome 2005; Horlock and Tremlett 2016; Taylor 2007.
74 Suffolk HER ref. LCS 059.
75 Leiston: Damant 2004; Archaeology South-East 2017a–b; Cotswold Archaeology 2019.
76 Cotswold Archaeology 2018.
77 Smith *et al.* 2016, 215.
78 Martin 2012, 225–7; Good and Plouviez 2007, 14.
79 Atfield *et al.* 2009; Breen *et al.* 2014; Cotswold Archaeology 2016; Gill *et al.* 2013.
80 Breen *et al.* 2014, 7–9.
81 Breen 2013.

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FIRST INROADS: EARLIER BRONZE AGE ACTIVITY ON THE SUFFOLK CLAYLANDS

by MATT BRUDENELL *and* MALGORZATA KWIATKOWSKA

SUMMARY

RECENT LARGE-SCALE EXCAVATIONS on the Eye Airfield Industrial Estate, Yaxley, Suffolk (centred TM 1255 7461; Fig. 56) have revealed important evidence for the occupation and clearance of Suffolk's clayland interior during the Early and Middle Bronze Age. The investigations revealed traces of a burnt mound and pond, a waterhole, and a scatter of small pits and post-holes. Supported by a series of radiocarbon dates, the results are significant in demonstrating the early utilisation of the county's heavier soils, with the environmental evidence indicating that tracts of landscape were already cleared of woodland during the early second millennium BC. Challenging conventional assumptions about Suffolk's clayland interfluves, the results give cause to think anew about the nature of prehistoric activity beyond the lighter soils of the region's river valleys.

SITE SETTING AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Eye Airfield Industrial Estate straddles the parishes of Yaxley, Eye and Brome in northern Suffolk, *c.*4km south of the river Waveney. Covering most of the former Second World War airfield, the estate lies across a broadly flat clayland plateau at *c.*46m to 48m OD, above a small river valley *c.*1km to the south of Castleton Way, in which there is an east-flowing tributary of the river Dove. The heavy soils of the area derive from glacial tills of chalky boulder clay (Diamicton) which overlay sands, silts and clays of the Crag Group.

Until recently, this clayland area of Suffolk had not been subject to extensive archaeological investigation. Though the potential ancient origins of the landscape had been widely discussed in the literature, prehistoric finds were largely confined to the lighter well-drained soils of the river valley to the south of the airfield, notably around Hartismere High School, *c.*1km to the south-east (EYE 083).[1] On the clay itself, only the odd stray find of worked flint attests to a prehistoric presence, reinforcing the received wisdom that the heavier soils were avoided prior to the later Iron Age.[2]

These ideas were put to the test between 2014 and 2018 when Oxford Archaeology East conducted a series of extensive archaeological investigations on the southern half of the former airfield and surroundings in advance of industrial development.[3] Following several campaigns of field evaluation by a combination of geophysical survey and trial-trenching (in which over 76ha of the landscape was examined), investigations culminated in two open-area excavation projects covering a total of 4.9ha. Whilst to a large extent the results of these excavations conformed to expectations, exposing evidence of Romano-British settlement and medieval activity (the former to be published separately), deposits and finds dating to the Bronze Age were uncovered at both sites (YAX 040 and YAX 041). A summary of these earlier remains forms the focus of this paper, though reports describing all the archaeology in the excavations, including detailed studies of the artefacts and environmental evidence, is freely available to download from the OA Library.[4]

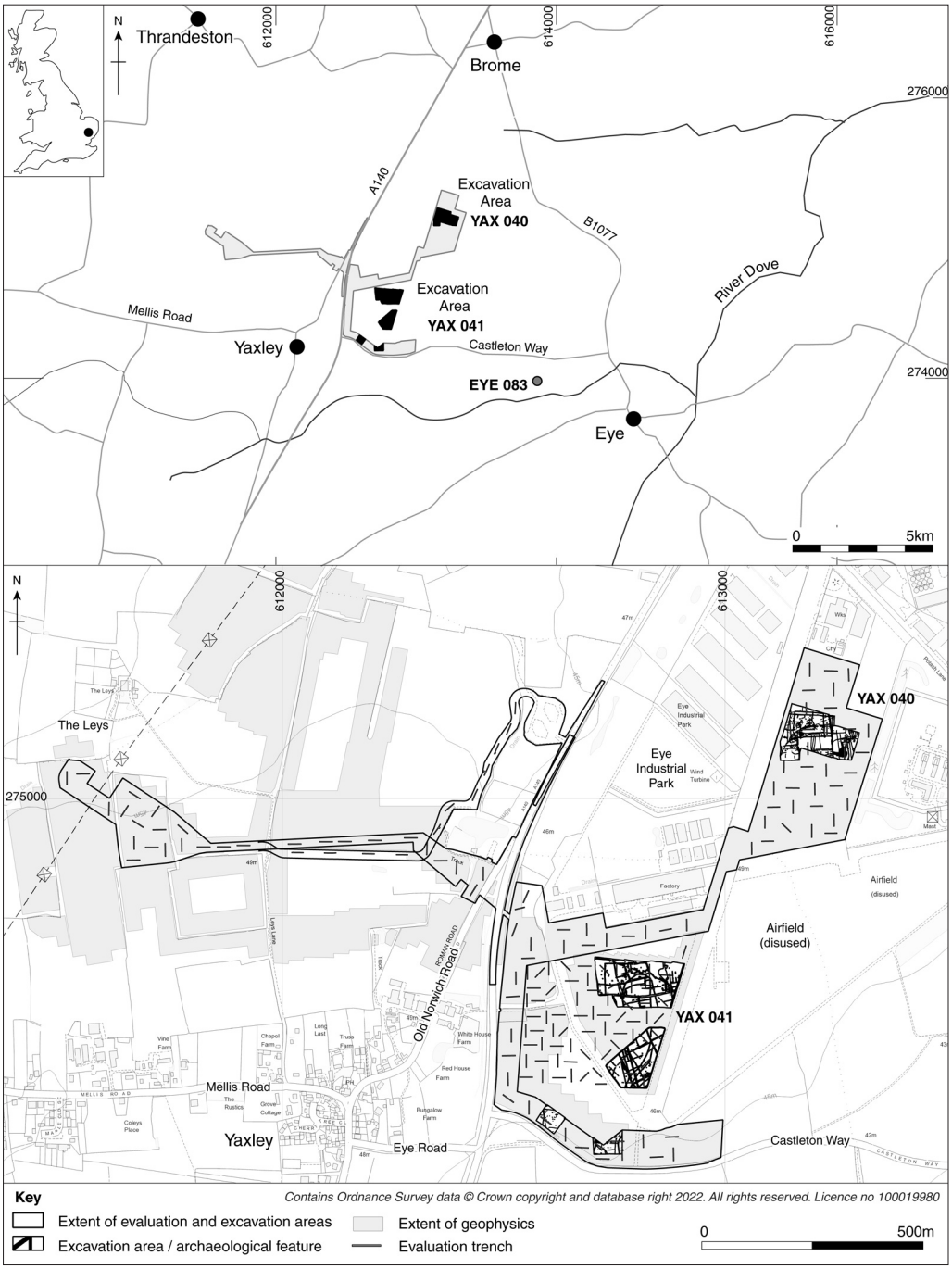

FIG. 56 – Site location.

THE PROGRESS POWER SITE: EXCAVATIONS AT YAX 040

Bronze Age activity was revealed on the eastern side of the YAX 040 excavations and was centred on pond 585 (Fig. 57). This was a large, natural, water-filled hollow (24m long, 20m wide and over 2.7m deep), likely to have been of periglacial origin, utilised and modified initially over the course of the late third and second millennium BC, with much later use and infilling also evident (Fig. 57, Section 311). It was associated with the formation of a burnt flint mound (an accumulation of heat-affected flint, fractured through contact with water) immediately to the north-east.

Remains of the burnt mound were first revealed during trial-trenching, when a localised surface scatter of burnt flint was recorded in the ploughsoil. Excavation proved this to be poorly preserved, with no *in situ* deposits of calcined flint surviving truncation by later activity and ploughing. All that remained were high densities of residual burnt flint in the fills of Roman features, some accumulations up to 0.3m thick, and a darkened charcoal staining of the underlying geology. Analysis of the flint distributions suggests that the mound/spread originally covered at least 114m^2, with concentrations of residual material adjacent to the pond. Tiny flecks of burnt flint were also found in the pond fills, with the lowest exposed deposit associated with an Early Bronze Age radiocarbon determination of 2201–2033 cal. BC (SUERC-81625; 95.4 per cent probability; 3722±28 BP). The date is consistent with the known currency of burnt mounds, and a complementary radiocarbon determination of 2134–1939 cal. BC (SUERC-86051; 95.4 per cent probability; 3648 ±28 BP) was delivered from charcoal in a burnt flint filled pit (1933) located on the western edge of the pond.

On the steeper eastern side of the pond, two large pits (604 and 598) cut into the lower silts provide evidence for the active modification and maintenance of this natural feature. These pits functioned as waterholes and were dug to penetrate the water table. The fact that this was necessary implies that the pond did not retain standing water all year round, and in its natural state was probably a damp-ground hollow during summer months. The lower deposits of pit 598 have an associated radiocarbon date of 1371–1124 cal. BC (SUERC-86049; 95.4 per cent probability; 2992 ± 28 BP), placing the infilling of this feature towards the end of the Middle Bronze Age or the very beginning of the Late Bronze Age. This date, together with that from pit 1933 and the basal fills of the pond, are likely to bracket the currency of burnt mound formation and use at the site, placing the whole 'complex' in the Early–Middle Bronze Age.

Other than burnt flint, finds from the mound and pond were limited to a single worked flint and the odd fragment of animal bone (cattle and sheep), making it difficult to determine the nature of activities from the artefacts alone. Significantly, however, pollen survived in the lower fills of the pond, and provides important information on the local environment during the earlier Bronze Age. Instead of demonstrating evidence for dense local woodland, analysis of the samples indicates a largely open, grassy landscape, colonised by plants associated with damp meadow and/or with rough ground. These signatures are characteristic of predominately pastoral landscapes sustained by livestock grazing. Moreover, the record includes fungal spores of Sordaria which are commonly found in the faeces/dung of herbivores, and might be expected in a context where livestock were utilising a pond/waterhole. Unsurprisingly, indicators of freshwater aquatic and semi-aquatic species were also identified, with proxies of trampled soils in the vicinity. Again, this would be expected around a waterhole and lends weight to the suggestion that the complex functioned as a water source for livestock, presumably cattle (which have the greatest need for a reliable water source).

The pollen record also reveals evidence of trees and shrubs in the wider landscape, with signs that pockets of mixed deciduous woodland existed, as well as woodland on damp soils. Furthermore, there are hints of arable cultivation, with cereal-type pollen possibly related to

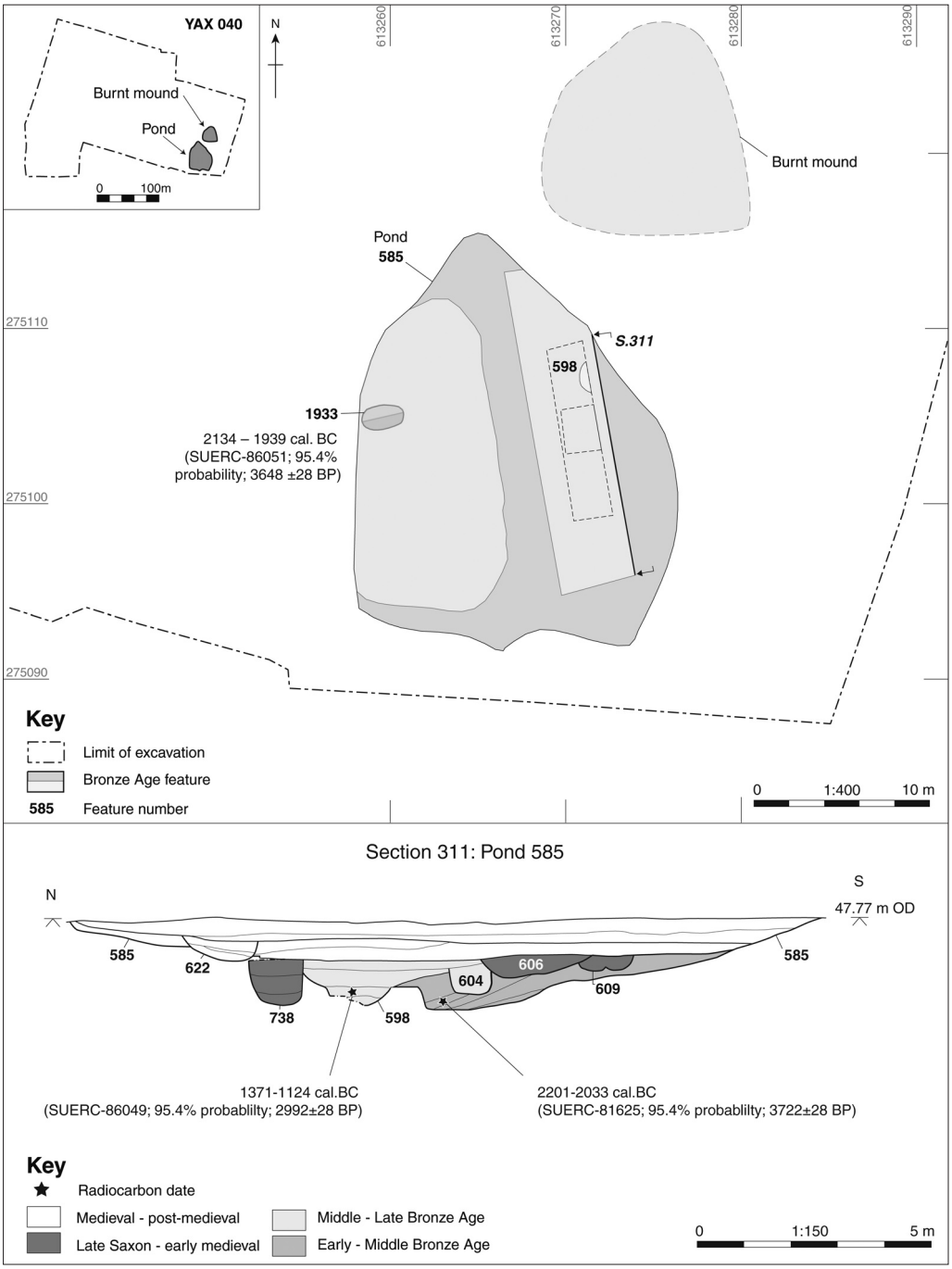

FIG. 57 – Plan and section of the Bronze Age pond at the Progress Power Plant site (YAX 040).

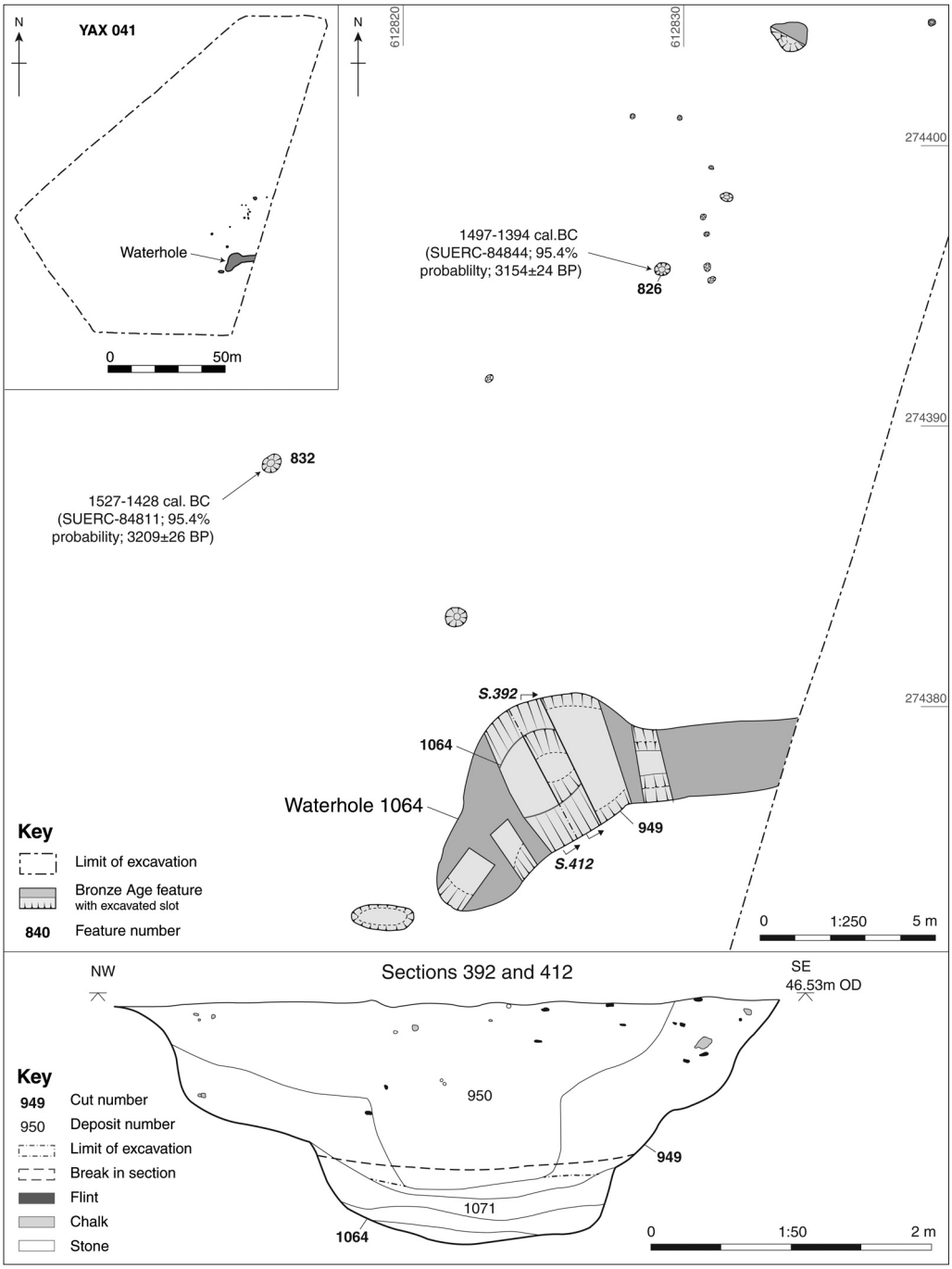

FIG. 58 – Middle Bronze Age features at the Cranswick site (YAX 041).

the growing of barley and wheat/oats. These suggest that the wider landscape was more of a mosaic in the earlier Bronze Age, though the immediate setting was principally open and grassy, and not wooded as conventionally thought on the heavy clay soils of the area.

THE CRANSWICK SITE: EXCAVATIONS AT YAX 041

The Bronze Age remains revealed in the YAX 041 excavations were more extensive, but had many characteristics in common. Whilst finds of residual burnt and worked flint from medieval features in the north of the excavation area suggest a wide swathe of activity, with some localised concentrations, cut features of the period were largely confined to the south of the excavations and were centred upon a waterhole (1064), of more modest proportions than the larger pond at YAX 040 (5.2m in diameter and 1.6m deep; Fig. 58).

Elongated in plan, with steep sides, the lower fills of the waterhole comprised bands of grey silty clays covered by slumps of yellow silts and sands from the weathered edges of the feature. These were capped by further deposits of grey silt that had gradually accumulated in the abandoned waterhole (Fig. 58, Section 392/412). Finds were relatively plentiful, and included forty-eight sherds (426g) of Middle Bronze Age Deverel–Rimbury pottery (dated *c*.1600–1150 BC; Fig. 59), together with thirty-seven worked flints, a piece of saddle quern, scraps of

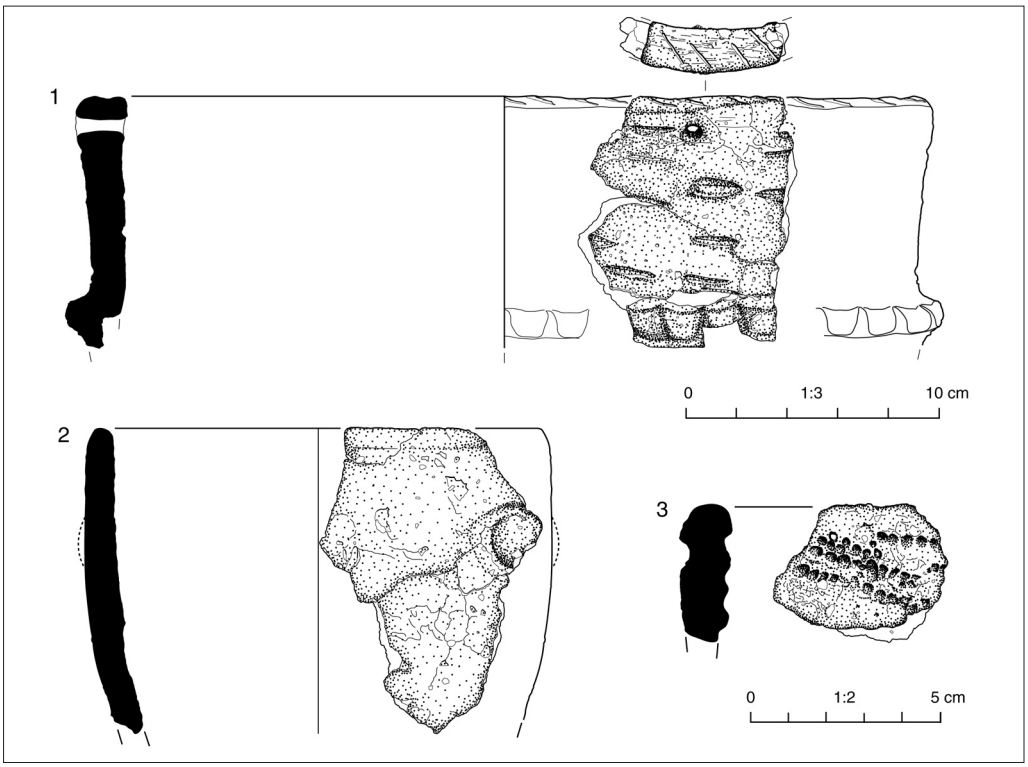

FIG. 59 –Middle Bronze Age pottery from Waterhole 1064 at the Cranswick site (YAX 041): 1. Large decorated urn/vessel with diagonal linear tool impressions on rim-top, horizontal linear tool impressions/stab marks on the neck and a cordon adorned with fingertip impressions; grog and flint fabric, context 950; 2. Comb-impressed sherd; grog and flint fabric, context 950; 3. Small stunted urn/vessel with bosses below the rim; grog and flint fabric, context 1071.

animal bone (cattle, sheep and pig) and over 7kg of burnt flint and stone. Forming a loose swathe in the vicinity of the waterhole was a group of fifteen pits and post-holes, all but one being located to the north. Covering an area measuring *c*.30m by 30m and with some variation in dimensions (diameter range, 0.2–0.71m; depth range, 0.1–0.36m), there was no clear patterning in their layout. The features had similar fills to the capping of the waterhole and yielded a combined total of six worked flints and over 10kg of burnt flint and stone. Radiocarbon dates were obtained from two of the features in this group (826 and 832), delivering Middle Bronze Age determinations of 1527–1428 cal. BC (SUERC-84811; 95.4 per cent probability; 3209±26 BP) and 1497–1394 cal. BC (SUERC-84844; 95.4 per cent probability; 3154±24 BP).

The radiocarbon results complement the typochronological phasing of the pottery from the waterhole. Moreover, they overlap with the inferred currency of activity at the burnt mound and pond at YAX 040, suggesting a broad level of contemporaneity (albeit with the YAX 040 sequence starting earlier and potentially finishing a little later). This is important because the environmental indicators from the waterhole at YAX 041 are remarkably similar to those from the pond at YAX 040, implying a consistency and continuity in both ecology and stewardship at a landscape scale. Pollen from the basal fills of the waterhole at YAX 041 was poorly preserved, but the signature was again one of a cleared landscape of open, grassy spaces suitable for grazing. Cereal-type pollen was also recognised within the samples and could suggest nearby crop cultivation or crop processing — an interpretation supported by the occasional presence of charred wheat and barley grains from the Bronze Age pits, together with the recovery of a saddle quern. As at YAX 040, woodland is not entirely absent, but is in the background of the record, reversing assumptions about the character of the clayland in this period.

DISCUSSION

An enduring concept in the interpretation of Suffolk's prehistory is that the clayland interior of the county was heavily wooded in the earlier Bronze Age and was not subject to widespread clearance or occupation until the later Iron Age.[5] Despite growing evidence for Bronze Age activity on the clay in Essex and Cambridgeshire, the story of Suffolk's early prehistory has been one of life played out along the river valleys and the cleared, more easily cultivated lighter soils of the county.[6] The results of the excavations at Eye Airfield go some way to challenging this conventional picture. They have not only revealed traces of earlier Bronze Age activity, but have provided environmental evidence that this stretch of clayland was substantially cleared and largely given over to pasture during the first half of the second millennium BC. The active and sustained stewardship of this landscape can therefore be backdated by around a thousand years, with the chronology supported by a series of radiocarbon dates and artefact associations.

To some extent the results from Eye Airfield serve to realign the environmental sequence from the clayland with that emerging from Suffolk's river valleys. A series of detailed studies here have shown that woodland clearance was already at an advanced stage in the Early Bronze Age.[7] At a local level, the results also resonate with the pollen sequence from the Oakley palaeochannel at Scole in the Waveney Valley, just 4km to the north, which suggests that woodland was cleared wholesale from the valley floor by the Middle Bronze Age.[8]

Yet questions remain as to how widespread clayland woodland clearance might have been in this period in Suffolk. Are the results from Eye simply an anomaly? This is difficult to assess at present. Unfortunately, 'off site' pollen sequences from the claylands are rare, and those that would prove extremely useful, such as that from Diss Mere, have no radiocarbon dates.[9] The

chronology is therefore uncertain and hinges upon a set of inferred correlations which may be unfounded. In addition, extensive investigations across other clayland areas of Suffolk have failed to yield comparable results. Those published from Cedars Park, Stowmarket, for example, show no pre-Iron Age activity, with the occupation sequence here conforming to the conventional model.[10] Consequently, whilst results from Eye Airfield leave little doubt that this part of the clayland was cleared at an early date, it would be unwise to suggest that woodland clearance was necessarily uniform and universal across Suffolk's interfluves in the Bronze Age. This geology is by no means a monolithic entity and variation in sequence and trajectory should be anticipated.

In terms of the archaeological imprint of activity on Eye Airfield, what can be said is that the material residues are remarkably thin. Aside from the burnt mound, pond and waterhole, there was only a scatter of post-holes and small pits of Bronze Age attribution. Interestingly, no ditch-defined field boundaries were found prior to the mid-first century AD, which casts (further) doubt on arguments for the prehistoric origin of the Yaxley-Eye field system.[11] Concentrations of residual worked and burnt flint also hint at other localised areas of activity at YAX 040 and 041, but in neither case do the combined residues amount to Bronze Age settlement *per se*. Rather, these remains are likely to reflect the traces of short-term stays or task-specific activities within the pasture which leave a 'light' archaeological signature (one that will scarcely register outside of large-scale excavation). Such ephemeral activities were probably carried out during repeat visits to the waterhole or burnt mound complex on each site, as these features were more permanent fixtures in the landscape. Visits or stays at these water sources were likely to have been dictated by seasonal cycles, linked to the movement of livestock between blocks of summer and winter pasture; from valley side to clayland plateau during the agricultural round.

This form of earlier Bronze Age occupancy/utilisation stands in stark contrast to that on the lighter soils of the region's river valleys. This is brought into sharp relief when the results from Eye Airfield are compared to those from Hartismere High School on the river valley gravels *c*.1.2km to the south-east, or to Flixton Quarry, further afield along the Waveney Valley.[12] Here there is a far greater density of Bronze Age features, with pits, structures, burials, ring-ditches and evidence for settlement-related activity, together with an array of finds common to 'domestic' sites. More readily identifiable and comprehensible, such remains represent sustained forms of residency and investment.

Inevitably, these types of remains have tended to capture the spotlight of archaeological investigation, framing much of our understanding of the period. At a landscape level, however, the picture remains incomplete when the aperture of focus falls only on certain locales. The results from Eye Airfield begin to address this imbalance and demonstrate the potential that the clayland holds. Only when both are understood does a more rounded sense of how the Bronze Age landscape was occupied and utilised start to emerge. Much work remains to be done to clarify and extend this picture, but the first inroads of enquiry have now been made.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

1 Martin 1999a; Williamson 1987; 1998; 1999; 2016; Hartismere High School: Caruth and Goffin 2012.
2 Several findspots of worked flint have been recorded around the airfield in the Suffolk HER, e.g. YAX 007 and EYE 128; Clarke 1960, 24–5; Davies 2009, 87; Lawson 1984, 155; Martin 1999a, 92; 1999b; 1999c.
3 Clarke 2014; Collie 2018; 2019; Collie *et al*. 2020; Gilmour 2017; Kwiatkowska 2018; 2019.
4 https://library.thehumanjourney.net/.
5 Clarke 1960, 24–5; Davies 2009, 87; Martin 1999a, 92; 1999b; 1999c; Williamson 2006, 37.
6 Essex: e.g. Cooke *et al*. 2008; Timby *et al*. 2007; Cambridgeshire: e.g. Phillips and Blackbourn 2019; Phillips and Morgan 2015.
7 Geary *et al*. 2016.
8 Ashwin and Tester 2014, 213.
9 Diss Mere: Peglar *et al*. 1989; see Wiltshire and Murphy 1999 for review.
10 Nicholson and Woolhouse 2016.
11 See Martin and Satchell 2008, 214–16 for an overview of arguments surrounding the date and origin of the field systems on Suffolk's clayland.
12 Hartismere High School: Caruth and Goffin 2012; Flixton Quarry: Boulter and Walton Rogers 2012; Boulter, forthcoming.

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LATE IRON AGE, ROMAN AND SAXON COMMUNITIES AT HANCHETT END, HAVERHILL

by EMMA WEST, ALEX SMITH AND GENEVIEVE SHAW

INTRODUCTION

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS BY Headland Archaeology (UK) Ltd in 2012 in advance of commercial and residential development at Hanchett End, Haverhill, revealed elements of a multiperiod landscape, with activity dating from the Late Iron Age onwards. The 4.5ha site was situated on a ridge of higher ground to the north-west of Haverhill, overlooking a valley of a tributary of the river Stour (Figs 60 and 62). The underlying geology is chalk (Lewes Nodular Chalk/Seaford Chalk Formation), overlain by superficial deposits (chalky till, silts and clays) of the Lowestoft Formation (NERC 2022).

The excavation revealed evidence for multiple phases of activity spanning the Late Iron Age to post-medieval periods (Table 1). The primary phases comprised an Iron Age droveway and series of enclosures, succeeded by an Early to Late Roman farmstead (Fig. 61). Evidence for Anglo-Saxon occupation comprised a timber building and a burial assemblage. A post alignment at the eastern edge of the site could also be Anglo-Saxon in date. Later agricultural activity comprised a medieval quarry pit and post-medieval field boundaries, which can be identified on the 1840 tithe map. Truncation caused by this later agricultural activity had affected the majority of the archaeological remains, which were typically poorly preserved. The paucity of features indicating domestic structures might be a consequence of this truncation. Overall, the dating evidence revealed by pottery and other artefacts is mixed, prohibiting a more nuanced view of the development of the site. As such the phasing predominately relies upon stratigraphic relationships and the spatial distribution of features. This report provides a summary of the excavations at Hanchett End, with a full archive report available on the Archaeology Data Service (OASIS headland4-131583).

LATE IRON AGE – LATE ROMAN FARMSTEAD

The principal excavated features comprised elements of an extensive farmstead, with activity from the Late Iron Age to Late Roman period, including systems of enclosures, field boundaries, droveways, at least five buildings, and three burials (Fig. 61). This settlement lies within a well-populated landscape, with plentiful find spots of Roman date in the area and four broadly contemporary sites investigated fairly recently in the vicinity, at Burton End School (HVH 070), Helions Park and Haverhill Business Park (HVH 056) to the south-east; and land north of Ann Suckling Road (HVH 083) on the other side of the valley to the east (Fig. 62).[1] The evidence from the latter site probably represents the agricultural periphery of a settlement. As such, there appears to have been farming communities sited at least every 2.5km along the upper boulder clay slopes and plateaus of the valley, although there are chronological variances which suggest significant changes to this landscape over time.

There is evidence for at least four major phases of reorganisation of the farmstead (Table 1). The earliest phase of activity, dating to the Late Iron Age, comprised a droveway positioned across the southern slope of the site, at least 90m long and 30m wide, and associated with a series of small rectilinear enclosures. Parallel to the droveway was a shallow

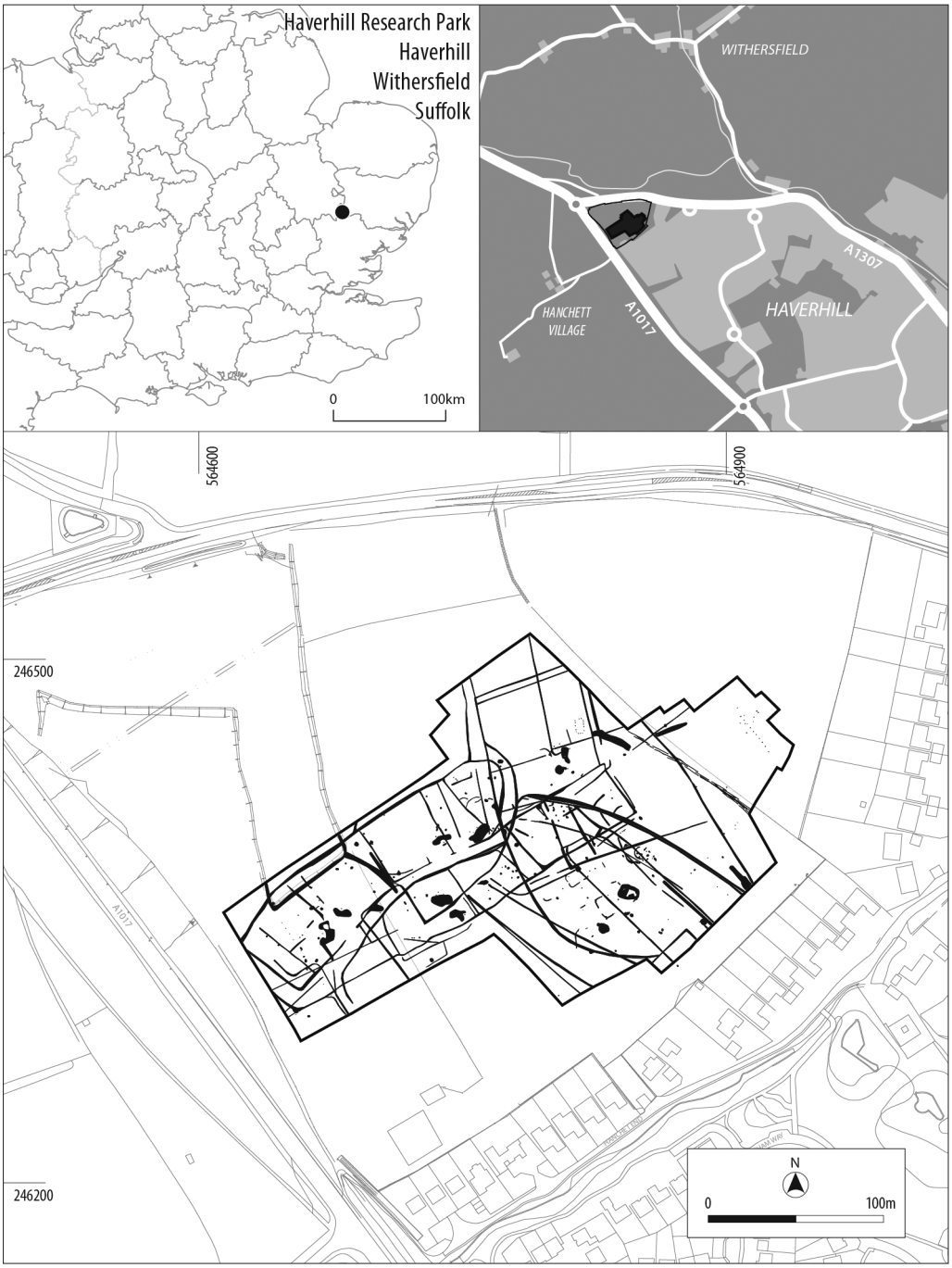

FIG. 60 – Site location.

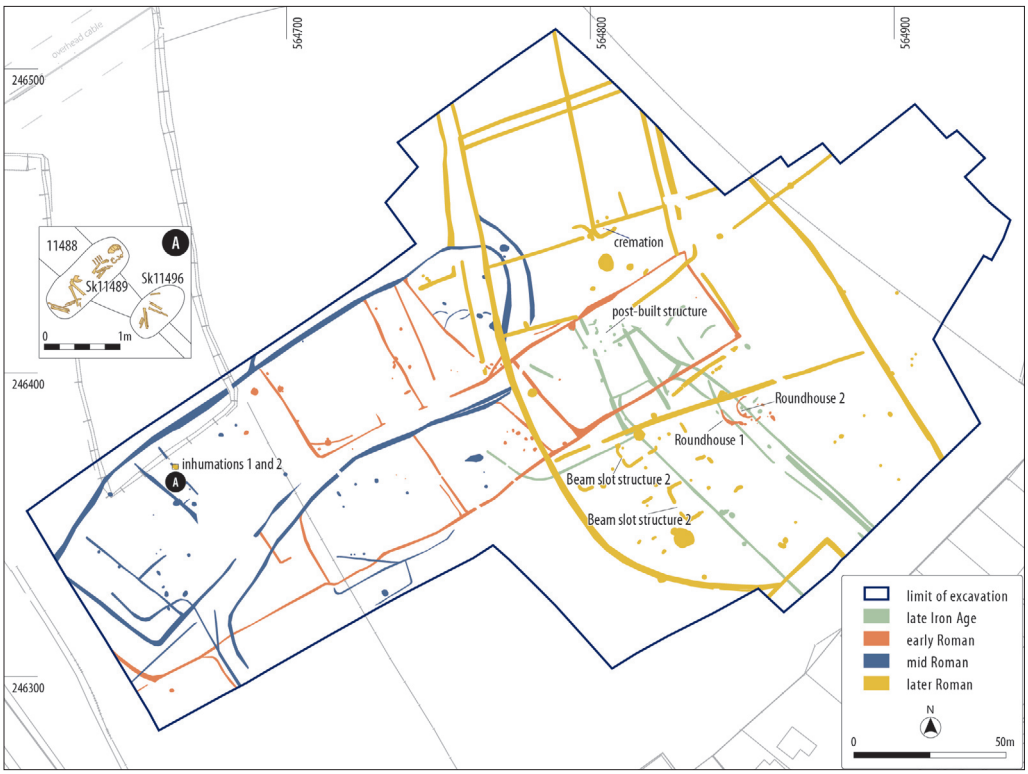

FIG. 61 – Phased plan of the Late Iron Age to Roman settlement.

ditch defining the edge of a field or area of pasture (Fig. 61). A rectilinear post-built structure (7.5m by 5m) was positioned within one of the enclosures, partially blocking its western entrance. Although relatively uncommon, similar post-built rectangular structures of Iron Age date have been observed across the country, with varied interpretations as temporary animal byres and for domestic occupation in a society based upon transhumance.[2] The arrangement of the droveway, structure and enclosures could represent the remains of a 'race' designed to move animals from one paddock to another.[3] The relatively low density of finds suggests that the site may not have been host to domestic activity during this period, but given the high levels of truncation recorded across the site, the possibility of settlement cannot be ruled out. The overall nature of the site at this time is similar to the Late Iron Age droveway and enclosure system at Helions Park, *c.*5km to the south-east (Fig. 62);[4] both droveways apparently led towards the lower valley and possible areas of common pasture. This suggests an emphasis on livestock management in the valley at this time, although whether this was an exclusive focus or part of wider mixed regime is unclear.

The site underwent a major redevelopment during the Early Roman Period, dated by the presence of Hod Hill brooches and south Gaulish Samian. The Late Iron Age droveway was replaced by a series of north-east to south-west aligned rectilinear enclosures and field systems, positioned across the top of the ridge. These covered an area of over 1.6ha, continuing beyond the western limit of excavation (Fig. 61). These Early Roman enclosures may have fulfilled a similar role as the Late Iron Age enclosures and boundaries, functioning as pens and enclosures for livestock. Whether any elements (e.g. hedgerows) of the earlier

Period		Activity
Late Iron Age	150/100 BC – AD 43	Construction of droveway, enclosures, and associated field system on southern slope.
Early Roman	*c.*43 to mid-2nd century AD	Construction of new enclosures and associated field system positioned along the top of the ridge of higher ground. Other features include two possible roundhouses and a cremation burial.
Mid-Roman	Mid-2nd to mid-3rd centuries	Construction of a larger enclosure and boundary ditches extending the existing field system to the west. Associated droveway.
Mid- to late Roman	3rd to 4th century AD	Construction of new enclosure system aligned broadly north to south and laid out to the east of the earlier core of activity. Two inhumation burials.
Early to mid-Anglo-Saxon	5th to 9th century AD	Single structure, possible grave assemblage (unstratified), possible post alignment.

TABLE 1 – Major phases of activity at Hanchett End, Haverhill.

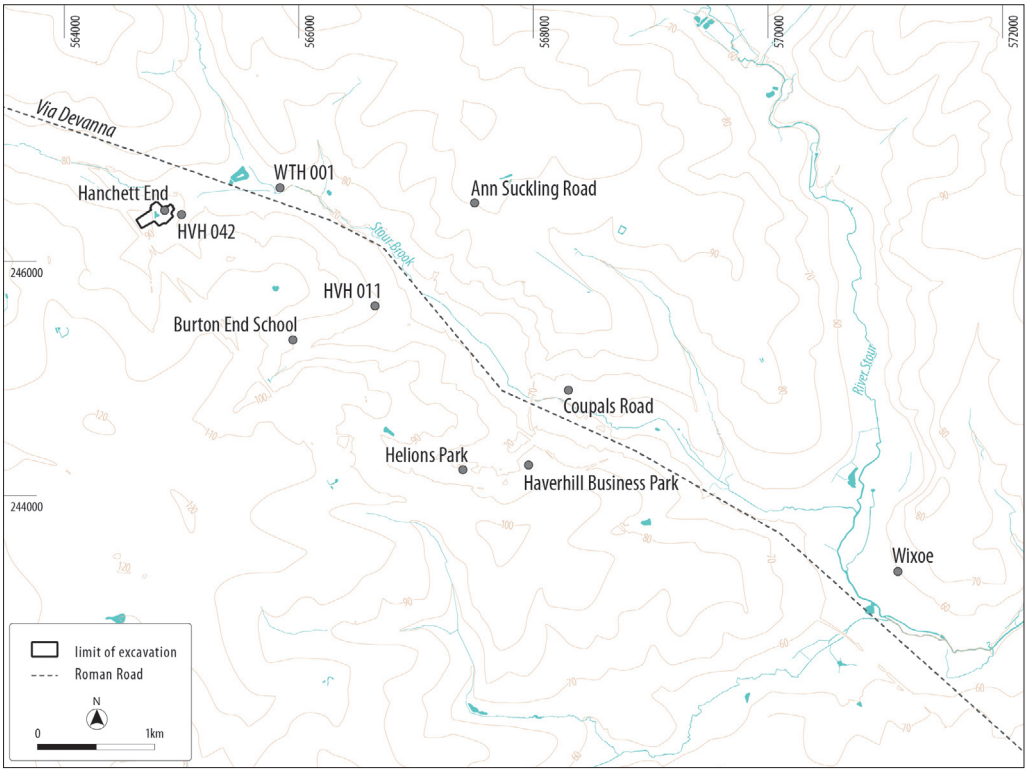

FIG. 62 – The site in relation to selected Roman sites in the region.

droveway persisted is unknown, although the partial remains of two possible roundhouses of this date were observed truncating the droveway ditches (Fig. 61). Within the interior of Roundhouse 2 were two pits which contained fragments of charcoal, cereal grain, daub, hammerscale, and sherds of Roman pottery. The continued use of roundhouses in the Early Roman period is not unusual, though it contrasts with the nearby Haverhill Business Park site,

where the existing Late Iron Age roundhouses appeared to go out of use. Nevertheless, the settlement at Haverhill Business Park did undergo a similar significant change at this time, with a rectangular enclosure system developing around a pond.[5] The evidence overall suggests changes in the nature and scale of farming practices in this area occurring relatively soon after the Roman conquest, as has been observed in other parts of eastern and southern Britain.[6]

The Early Roman period seems to have been the time of maximum expansion in terms of numbers of settlements in the Haverhill area, with some farmsteads such as at Haverhill Business Park subsequently going out of use by the mid-second century, or at least shifting location after this time. This reflects the general Early Roman emphasis in settlements across the wider region.[7] At the Hanchett End site, however, the farmstead continued in use and underwent another major phase of reorganisation in the mid-second century, with the construction of a larger enclosure and boundary ditches in the western part of the site, cutting across the earlier enclosures and creating larger plots of land. These new enclosures were associated with a trackway which ran across the southern edge of the enclosure before turning towards the north (Fig. 61). There were no obvious traces of buildings associated with this phase, but this is not unusual on Roman rural sites, possibly reflecting differing building traditions and, certainly in this case, the damage caused by plough truncation.[8]

The Early to Mid-Roman phases of activity can be linked to a wider reorganisation of the landscape from the Flavian period. This includes the establishment of the *via Devana* (Margary 24), located *c.*0.3km to the north of the site and the emergence of new nucleated centres including Wixoe (WIX 003), 7.7km to the south-east (Fig. 62). The settlement at Wixoe was founded during the Late Flavian period, although its initial development appears to have been relatively slow until the early to mid-second century AD.[9] A number of farmsteads have been found in the area around Wixoe, with the present site falling within the suggested main 10km economic and social hinterland of the 'small town'.[10]

The final phase of Roman activity, in the third to fourth centuries AD, comprised the construction of a new north–south aligned enclosure system to the east of the earlier core of activity, covering an area of over 2.2ha (Fig. 61). The southernmost of the Late Roman enclosures contained four poorly preserved beam-slot structures, aligned broadly north-east to south-west, and measuring 11–12.5m long by *c.*7.5m wide. No internal features, such as floor surfaces, hearths, or post-holes, were recorded. There is a scarcity of evidence for such timber beam-slot buildings in Suffolk, possibly due to issues of preservation, though other examples include those from the nucleated settlements at Hacheston (HCH 001), Wenhaston (WMH 003) and Wixoe.[11]

On present evidence it is unclear if this Late Roman activity was continuous with the earlier phase of settlement, or if there was any intervening period of abandonment or decline in activity. The nucleated settlement at Wixoe experienced a period of decline during the third century AD, while several of the farmsteads in its hinterland also appear to have been abandoned in the Mid-Roman period.[12] This accords with a general decline in the number of sites in use from around the third century AD in many parts of the east of England.[13] Conversely, the apparent expansion of settlement at Hanchett End during this period may represent part of a wider consolidation of landholdings into smaller numbers of larger agricultural estates. This is not to say that this settlement became the centre of an estate — the relative paucity and quality of material culture does not suggest particularly high-status inhabitants — but it possibly formed a subsidiary farmstead within a wider, villa[*?*], estate.

There is a range of material and environmental evidence relating to the lifestyles and economic practices of the inhabitants of the excavated settlement. The pottery assemblage, comprising 5614 sherds (64.7kg), was highly mixed, with sherds dating broadly to the first to fourth century AD. It was dominated by locally produced wares, but also included Late

Fabric	NoSh	%site	Wgt (g)
Total reduced	4244	76	41226
Total oxidised	812	14	15784
Flint	156	3	1654
Grog	227	4	3440
Shell	82	1	990
Amphora	5		452
BB1	1		8
SGS	19		128
CGS	8		93
LNVCC	39	1	263
LNVCW	3		402
OXCC	3		108
OXWH	10		172
Organic	5		22
Totals	**5614**		**64742**

TABLE 2 – Quantification of Roman pottery fabrics.

Roman regional imports from the Lower Nene Valley, the Oxfordshire kilns, and the Wareham/Poole Harbour area. There were also Samian sherds from Gaul (one with a two-letter *graffito*, presumably an owner's mark) and amphora sherds from southern Spain (Table 2). Some of the jars had holes pierced post-firing through their bases or necks, suggesting they functioned as strainers or in cheese-making.[14] Overall, the assemblage was fairly basic and utilitarian, typical of a rural farmstead in this area, although there was enough imported and fine wares to suggest some relationship with higher status occupants in the vicinity. This was also suggested by a small quantity of vessel glass, a stone colonette fragment and a limited assemblage of ceramic building material, including box-flue tiles and pilae from hypocausts; together these hint at connections with a nearby higher status settlement, probably a villa as alluded to above. Metal detector finds of six Late Roman coins and a copper-alloy key handle fragment, *c.*200m to the east of the site (HVH 042), also suggest possible higher status activity in the vicinity. A possible Roman villa was identified at Coupals Road (HVH 008), 3.7km to the south-east, through finds of roof- and floor-tiles, tesserae and painted wall plaster (Fig. 62).

Other finds were relatively scarce but did include a Hod Hill brooch, a type that came in with the Roman army during the mid-first century AD, a mirror fragment of Early Roman date, and hobnails indicating 'Roman' style footwear. These suggest that at least some inhabitants had particular cultural aspirations when it came to appearance. Craftworking activities relating to textiles were evidenced by a spindle whorl, while limited metalworking was indicated by an iron chisel or punch and slag relating to blacksmithing. There was also some evidence for the use of antler for object manufacture, found within a later Roman pit. These are all fairly typical low-level craft activities expected on rural sites, though nevertheless tend to be more frequently recovered on larger, complex farmsteads such as this.[15]

There is no doubt that agriculture, both arable and pastoral, was the economic mainstay of the settlement, although the relative lack of preserved cereal remains and layout of the enclosures may suggest there was more of a focus on the pastoral side. In eighty-three bulk samples, only occasional cereal grains were recovered, these were dominated by wheat, most probably spelt. Far more abundant and well-preserved cereal remains from the nearby Haverhill Business Park site attest to the domination of spelt cultivation locally, as indeed was

the case across most of southern and eastern Britain. Two bun-shaped puddingstone querns dating to the Early Roman period do attest to grain processing being undertaken at the Hanchett End settlement, likely at a household level. It has been suggested that centralised milling of cereal grain in nucleated settlements (e.g. Wixoe) and/or villa estate centres became more common during the later Roman period, which may partly account for the lack of later querns at this settlement.[16]

The limited animal bone assemblage (750 identifiable specimens) was recovered from a number of contexts, but due to the mixed nature of the site detailed phasing of the assemblage was not possible. The animal bone assemblage consisted predominantly of cattle, as with most other sites in the area and wider region, and these were mainly slaughtered as mature beasts, possibly following their use for traction or milking.[17] Butchery marks were only noted on 1 per cent of bones (probably due to high fragmentation), however, a collection of waste material from the primary butchery of cattle was recovered from a Late Roman pit. The remains of sheep, goats, and pigs were also recovered, indicative of a mixed husbandry regime. Other faunal remains included eel (probably caught locally in weirs or traps) and red deer (used as an occasional food source), while a quantity of oyster was also recovered, a resource which had to be transported *c.*60km from the coast.

The population of the Roman settlement was glimpsed at through the discovery and excavation of a cremation burial and two crouched inhumation burials (Fig. 61). The cremation burial has been assigned to the Early Roman period, was placed in a Roman wheel-made urn of late first- to second-century AD date, and was located just to the north of the enclosures. The crouched burials were radiocarbon-dated to the Late Roman period (cal. AD 243–394; 95 per cent prob; SUERC-49234) (cal. AD 246–395; 95 per cent prob; SUERC-49235). They were in the western part of the site, *c.*100m from the settlement, both in shallow cuts, one aligned north-east to south-west and in a flexed position, and the other heavily disturbed by later ploughing. As elsewhere, these burials probably represent a minority funerary rite, with the majority of dead being disposed of in ways that are archaeologically invisible.[18] In this respect, the disarticulated human bone found in the lower fill of an undated ditch could possibly represent the remains of an individual who had undergone the rite of excarnation. Further examples of Roman burials have been recorded in the area, including a single second-century AD cremation burial 2km to the south-east (HVH 011), and a cremation cemetery near Meldham Bridge, 1km to the east, revealed during gravel quarrying in 1759 (WTH 001) (Fig. 62).

THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD

The Anglo-Saxon period is represented by a single post-built structure G150 (A), and a collection of artefacts, presumed to be part of a burial assemblage (Fig. 63). These were recovered by metal-detecting of spoil to the north-east of the excavation area, close to a possible post alignment G151 (B), located towards the eastern edge of the site, and which could date to this period as well. There is no evidence for direct continuity from the later Roman farmstead into the Anglo-Saxon period, with no definitive evidence for fifth-century activity. This ties in with a wider pattern where most Roman sites within the region (and wider) do not have any direct evidence for fifth-century activity,[19] although possible evidence for continued occupation into this century was noted at Wixoe.[20] Nevertheless, the position of the structure G150, parallel to and within the latest Roman field ditches (Fig. 61), suggests that these ditches may still have been visible features in the landscape when this building was constructed. Similarly, the post alignment was positioned parallel to the eastern-most latest Roman boundary ditch. This all suggests, at the very least, some continuity of land orientation

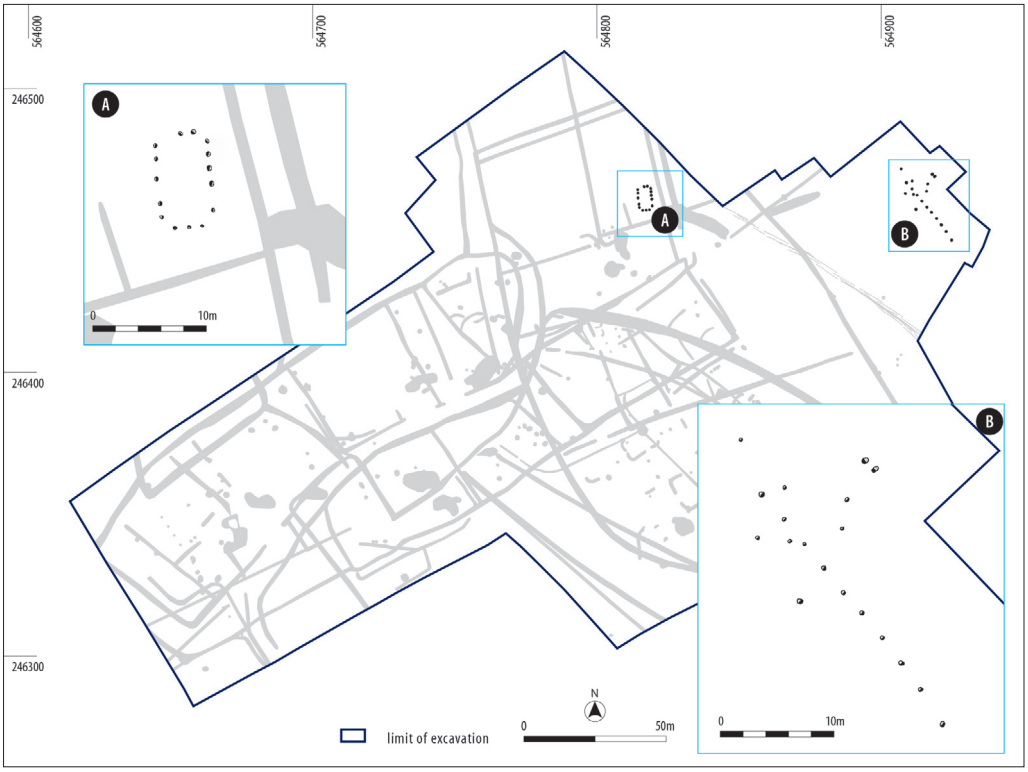

FIG. 63 – Plan of Saxon building G150 (A) and post alignment G151 (B).

between the Roman and Saxon periods, a situation which has become increasingly recognised.[21]

Structure G150 was located in the northern part of the site (Fig. 63.A) and measured 8.2m by 4.5m; it has been interpretated as an Anglo-Saxon hall.[22] The long walls were constructed of a single line of evenly spaced posts with no definite corner posts. A possible entrance is indicated by a pair of post-holes in in the eastern wall, which oppose a single post on the western side. No internal features were recorded. The overall form of the building, including the absence of definite corner posts, finds ready parallels in other known Anglo-Saxon structures, including examples at Brandon and West Stow.[23] The general absence of finds, including pottery, makes dating the structure and establishing its relationship to the other probable Anglo-Saxon features difficult. Based on comparison with other known buildings, including those at Brandon, a provisional middle Anglo-Saxon date (AD 650–800) is suggested. The duration of the occupation is unclear, but could have extended into the Late Saxon period. 'Hanchett' was recorded in the 1086 Domesday Book, demonstrating that there was settlement in this general area by the Late Saxon period. Furthermore, place-names in and around the site (e.g. Hanchett End Green in the southern corner of the site, and Chapel Field within the site), suggest that Saxon settlement may have been in the vicinity of this site, with the building perhaps belonging to the periphery of such a settlement.

An alignment of twelve post-holes on a north-west to south-east alignment, plus four post-holes to the east, was recorded at the easternmost edge of the site (G151; Fig. 63.B). Given the linear arrangement of these, they probably represent the remains of a fence-line. A reddish-

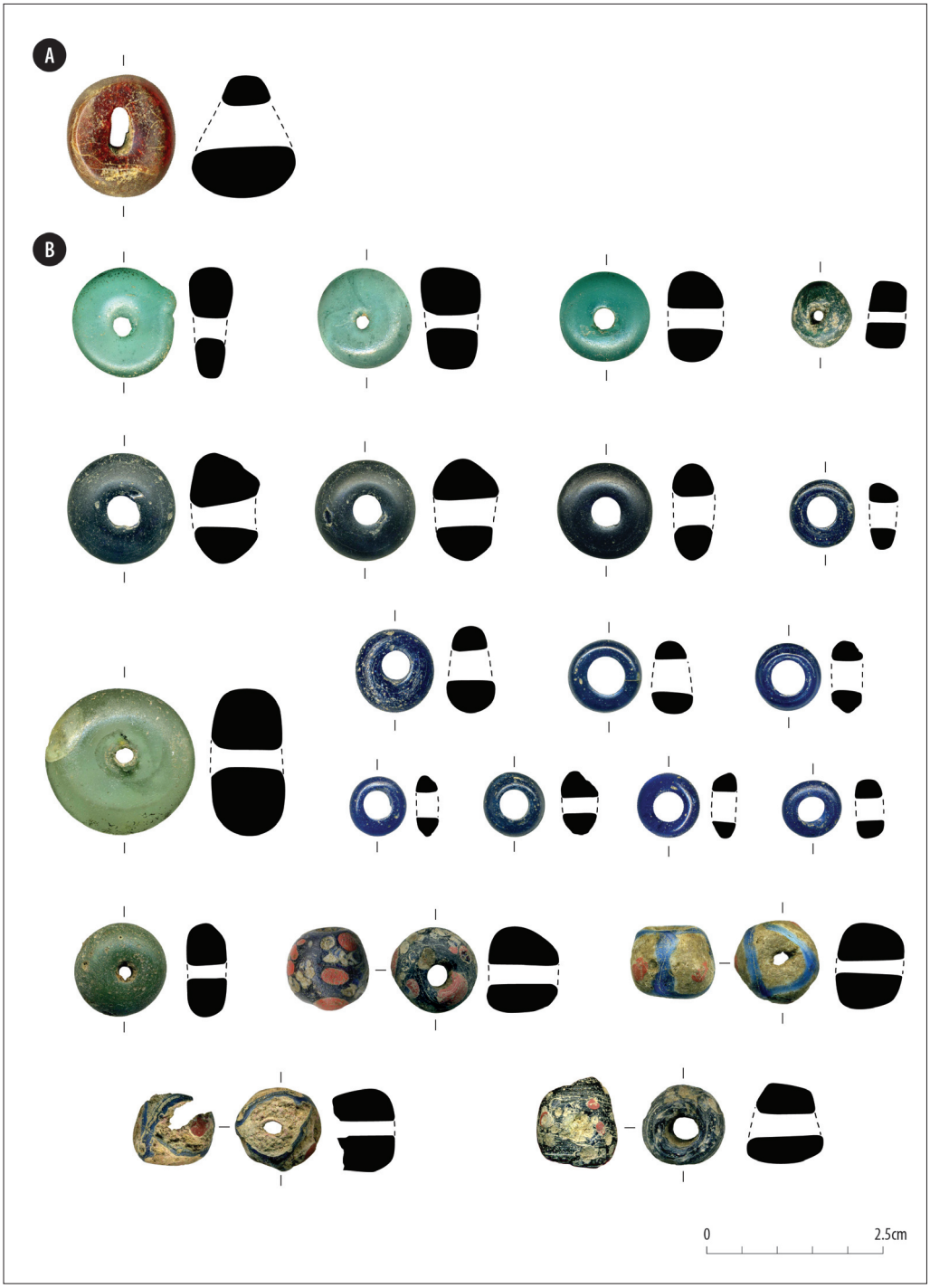

FIG. 64 – Anglo-Saxon glass beads recovered from the post alignment (A) and from spoil to the north-east of the excavation area (B).

amber coloured bead was recovered from the fill of one of the post-holes (Fig. 64.A). This type of bead may date from the fifth century, but does not achieve true popularity until the sixth century, and continues in use through the seventh and into the eighth century.[24] In the absence of further finds, the precise date of the fence-line is uncertain, and its assignment to the Anglo-Saxon period is tentative; a date in the Late Roman period cannot be ruled out.

In addition to the structural evidence, a significant quantity of finds was recovered in an associated group by metal-detecting of spoil to the north-east of the excavation area close to the post alignment G151. The assemblage included a pair of Martin group 2.1.2 type cruciform brooches, a copper-alloy ring, an iron girdle hanger or key, a blade, a bone spindle whorl, and twenty-two glass and jet beads of various sizes and colours (four polychrome) (Fig. 64.B). The artefacts are typical of a burial assemblage, and likely that of a woman.[25] This may have been disturbed in antiquity as there were no obvious traces of bone in the surrounding soil, and several of the finds show old breaks (possibly from ploughing). Dating, primarily based on the cruciform brooches, is early fifth–mid-sixth century.[26] The glass bead recovered from the post alignment is of similar form and colour to those found in the 'burial' assemblage, suggesting they may have formed part of the same group, and that the structures and burial assemblage may have derived from the same community. Saxon burial assemblages are relatively rare in south-west Suffolk so this assemblage, even when disturbed, represents an important contribution to the history of the local area. There are, however, a large cluster of Saxon cemetery sites in the wider area, particularly in Cambridgeshire and Great Chesterford (Essex). Furthermore, a number of sites in the region have produced similar surface finds or small cemeteries/single burials. For example, a single grave was recorded at Great Thurlow in Suffolk, one grave was found at Horseheath in Cambridgeshire, and three were found at West Wickham in Cambridgeshire.[27]

CONCLUSION

Excavations at Hanchett End have shown the existence of a multiperiod landscape. The earliest activity at the site comprises a farmstead which was probably occupied throughout the Late Iron Age and Roman periods, and which was reorganised at various stages. It is one of a series of known Late Iron Age to Roman settlements lying on the fringes of the valley, which may well have had integrated economies, with common cattle grazing in the lower valley and areas of arable cultivation on the valley slopes, possibly targeting the clay/glaciofluvial interface. These may have been connected by droveways and trackways, while a significant Roman road passed through the valley, probably linking settlements with larger nucleated centres such as at Wixoe to the south-east. Significant changes to the layout of some settlements, and the apparent abandonment of others, probably reflect developments in agricultural practices and possibly changes in land tenure. By the Mid- to Late Roman period the Hanchett End farmstead may have been part of a wider villa estate.

The 'end' of occupation of the Roman farmstead remains uncertain, but glimpses of an Early to Middle Saxon settlement and burial presence in the same area, aligned upon the existing boundaries, is of great interest in furthering our understanding of this still ill-understood period of history.

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NOTES

1 Burton End School: Sommers 2009; Helions Park: Gill 2002; Haverhill Business Park: Gardner 2004; Ann Suckling Road: Stocks-Morgan 2015.
2 Smith *et al.* 2016, 50.
3 Pryor 2006.
4 Gill 2002.
5 Gardner 2004.
6 Allen *et al.* 2017, 142.
7 Smith *et al.* 2016, 214.
8 Perring 2002, 98–105; Smith *et al.* 2016, 52–4.
9 Atkins and Clarke 2018, 181.
10 Atkins and Clarke 2018, 193–7, table 5.3 and fig. 5.7.
11 Hacheston: Blagg *et al.* 2004; Wenhaston: Stirk 2009; Wixoe: Atkins and Clarke 2018.
12 Atkins and Clarke 2018, 181, 194.
13 Smith *et al.* 2016, 214.
14 Biddulph 2015.
15 Smith *et al.* 2018, 178.
16 Allen *et al.* 2017, 72.
17 Allen *et al.* 2017, 89.
18 *cf.* Smith *et al.* 2018, 275.
19 Smith *et al.* 2016, 215.
20 Atkins and Clarke 2018, 183.
21 Rippon *et al.* 2015; Rippon 2018.
22 Marshall and Marshall 1993.
23 Brandon: Tester *et al.* 2014; West Stow: West 1985.
24 Guido 1999, 60.
25 Bayliss *et al.* 2013.
26 Martin 2015.
27 Meany 1964; Penn and Brugmann 2007.

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THE WALL PAINTINGS OF LITTLE WENHAM CHURCH, SUFFOLK

by PAUL BINSKI

INTRODUCTION

THE WALL PAINTINGS in the chancel of Little Wenham church (Fig. 65), near Ipswich, formerly dedicated to All Saints and now in the care of the Churches Conservation Trust, are amongst the finest of their type and date of any English parish church.[1] Few publications convey any sense of their beauty and artistic flair. The church dates from the second half of the thirteenth century, the simple Y-shaped lateral, and geometric east windows being consistent with a date before *c.*1290. The east wall of the chancel (Fig. 66), our main concern, is decorated with a Virgin and Child and censing angels beneath an elaborate canopy to the

FIG. 65 – Little Wenham, Suffolk, parish church from south east (*photo: Paul Binski*).

FIG. 66 – Little Wenham, parish church interior looking east (*photo: Julian Sale*).

FIG. 67 – Little Wenham, parish church, St Christopher, nave north wall (*photo: Paul Binski*).

north of the high altar: to its south are three virgin saints, St Margaret of Antioch, St Catherine of Alexandria and St Mary Magdalen, posed within a no less elaborate, but rather different structure. The figures are all painted with great verve and rhythm. The north nave wall opposite the south porch retains the torso of a large image of St Christopher with the Christ Child (Fig. 67), and the north and west walls show traces of two consecration crosses. The decoration may originally have been more elaborate and it was certainly technically coherent. The St Christopher was executed by the same team as the chancel paintings. The chancel space is separated from the nave by an original stone screen, formerly with open trefoil-cusped arcading above: the retable-like rectangular moulded panels on the west faces of the screen which mark the position of nave altars retain, on the south, traces of the distinctive turquoise blue pigment also found on the chancel wall. This, at least, raises the possibility that the church was decorated in one go, by one team, not long after its completion.

The church is usually and rightly considered together with Little Wenham Hall to its south (Fig. 68), an important domestic structure raised at some point between the 1270s and 1290s, in the same period as the church itself.[2] This paper will also argue for the decisive role of the tenants of the hall in the church's decoration.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss more fully the imagery and style of the paintings in order to advance some theories as to when they were done, for whom, and by whom. Questions of this type are usually too demanding for medieval parish church wall paintings, but the evidence at Little Wenham is such as to justify a little more ambition. Here, it will be proposed that the paintings were executed after 1294–95, that they were made for the Holbroke residents of the hall, and that the artists were professionally associated with the court in Westminster. First, we begin with the content of the paintings.

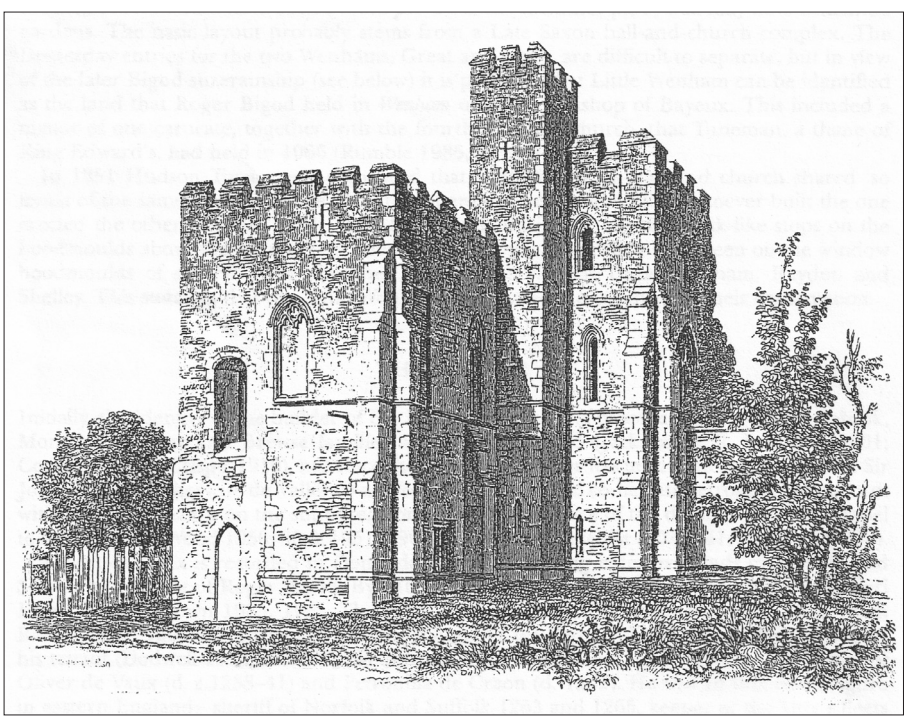

FIG. 68 – Little Wenham Hall, after Turner 1851.

THE CHANCEL IMAGERY

The chancel measures 6.3m wide at the chancel steps, and 9.5m high to the crown of the roof. The images on the east wall are located above the east wall string course. The Virgin and Child and canopy (Fig. 69) measures 1.7m wide and 2.6m high, the virgin saints (Fig. 75) are 1.8m wide rising to a total height of about 3.5m. To the south of the high altar were stone sedilia, now lost, and nothing is known about the glass in the windows. The technique of the murals is a standard secco technique on a lime plaster ground, using a striking synthetic copper turquoise blue with light tan browns. According to Helen Howard, this blue may not be the original colour so much as a result of later degradation of a darker blue copper ammonia lime compound, originally closer to costly ultramarine in effect.[3] Similar colours are found in the stylistically related chancel wall paintings at Brent Eleigh in Suffolk.[4] This blue was clearly important at Little Wenham because, unusually, it is used not just for garments, but also for haloes, architectural features and crockets, where we might have expected gold. Much the most distinctive pigment alteration at Little Wenham was that of the flesh tones, originally using white lead which has blackened to form lead dioxide.[5] This now has the effect of picking out, and in some ways enhancing, the carefully posed head and hands, but this was clearly not the intention. Originally, as with Gothic painting and illumination since the mid-thirteenth century, the aim was to present flesh tones in a bright clear lead white, especially for female figures (Fig. 74). The white flesh tones would have been warmed by the richly convoluted light brown hair. Models for this type of hair in England lie in works made for the court at the end of the reign of Henry III (d.1272), such as the Westminster Retable and the Douce Apocalypse.[6] Thus, the construction of the curls on the censing angel to the Virgin's right is essentially similar to that of the Apostle holding the loaves in the Feeding of the Five Thousand medallion on the Westminster Retable. Analogies to the convolutions and light brown hue of the hair may also be found in north-eastern French or Netherlandish illumination of the last three decades of the century, such as the so-called prayer book of Madame Marie.[7]

Some diocesan regulations of the period stipulated the presence of an image of the Virgin Mary in every church.[8] As at Brent Eleigh, where she was represented by a now lost carved image censed by two painted angels, the Virgin is to the north, the altar's right (Fig. 69).[9] Nothing is known about the high altar retable at Little Wenham, but the likelihood is that it, or the middle bay of the three-light east window, contained a Crucifixion, as at Brent Eleigh. The Virgin Mary is seated on a throne holding a sprouting *virga* in her right hand, while sustaining the Christ Child with her left; he is chucking her chin and stroking her breast. As can be seen from an enhanced and digitally modified image, the Virgin's lips curve into a sweet smile (Figs 70 and 71), as do those of Mary Magdalen opposite.[10] They sit beneath the wider central bay of a gabled and cusped canopy with large vine-leaf crockets, used throughout this composition and an allusion to the wine of the Mass. To either side, beneath the outer side gables, stand two large censing angels (Fig. 72). Though the thuribles are not visible, the composition resembles that in the psalter now BL, MS Add. 28681 (fol. 190v) and probably originating in the London area around 1260 (Fig. 73).[11] In MS Add. 28681 the figures are also surmounted by a fine gilded cinquefoil arch with townscape above. Censing and candle-bearing angels occur in the most magnificently illuminated image of the Virgin and Child in this period, that on fol. 131v of the Psalter of Robert de Lisle (Fig. 74), which also shows the Virgin holding a *virga* in her right hand, seated beneath a gabled cinquefoiled and subcusped arch sustained by outer image-buttresses.[12] Like Little Wenham, its gable has large, in this case doubled, vine-leaf crockets with grapes, also with eucharistic reference: censing angels float down from the top while angelic acolytes fill the upper compartments of the buttresses while

FIG. 69 – Little Wenham, Virgin and Child with censing angels (*photo: Julian Sale*).

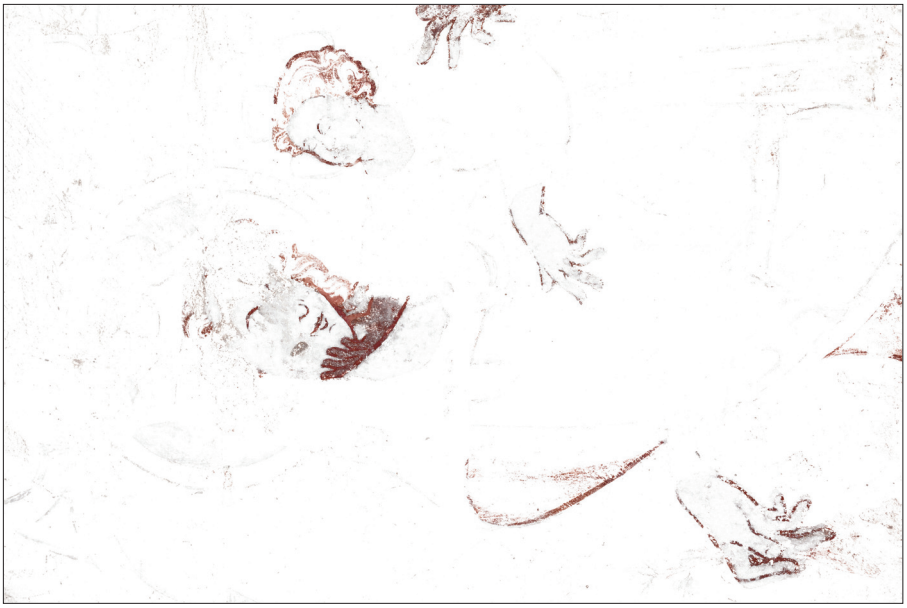

FIG. 71 – Detail of Fig. 69 modified using red/brown index in Adobe Photoshop (*image: Julian Sale*).

FIG. 70 – Detail of Fig. 69 (*photo: Julian Sale*).

St Catherine and St Margaret occupy the lower ones to either side. As in MS Add. 28681 fol. 190v, in allusion to Psalm 91, Mary tramples symbols of evil, in this case both a dragon and a lion. This motif does not appear at Little Wenham. The De Lisle Psalter, executed *c.*1300 or a little later, was made in full knowledge of the latest styles at Westminster, but belongs to the same very general body of London work as MS 28681 and the fine canopied drawings of *c.*1246–64 in the Black Book of the Exchequer, for example fol. 10.[13]

The Virgin and Child at Little Wenham are accompanied to the south of the high altar by an even grander architectural composition with three canopies containing saints, specifically

FIG. 72 – Detail of Fig. 69, censing angel (*photo: Julian Sale*).

FIG. 73 – Psalter, BL, Add. MS 28681, Virgin and Child, fol. 190v
reproduced by kind permission of the British Library © *British Library Board*).

Margaret crowned with her dragon, Catherine crowned with her wheel and Mary Magdalen with her vessel of fragrant oil, all standard attributes (Fig. 75). This feminine emphasis is very notable. We will return to this trio presently. As in the Virgin and Child composition, the figures are disposed in graceful if somewhat mannered attitudes, the relatively large hands lending energy to the composition (Fig. 76). The entire east wall can legitimately be read as a single composition showing the Virgin and Child with, before her beyond the altar, a saintly chorus or court of virgin saints. The fundamental idea of showing Mary with a chorus of virgin saints is very ancient, for we encounter it on fol. 1v of the tenth-century Benedictional of St Aethelwold.[14] The term 'court' is not unfitting, but to understand why, we need next to consider in much greater detail the very informative architecture above the Virgin Mary and her 'chorus'.

FIG. 74 – Psalter of Robert de Lisle, BL, Arundel MS 83 (II), Virgin and Child, fol. 131v (reproduced by kind permission of the British Library © *British Library Board*).

THE TABERNACLES: ARCHITECTURE AS IMAGE

The furnishing of the chancel's east wall with closely observed, but variegated painted tabernacles is an instance of the emergence in Gothic art in this period of painted or sculpted architecture, often consisting of so-called 'microarchitecture', to frame images of all types. One example emerging in exactly this period is the canopied altar reredos, typically found at this date in larger churches.[15] Grandiose painted displays of architecture to frame and dignify standing images were of course known earlier in this region, as in the (repainted) twelfth-century apse decorations of the church at Copford, near Colchester in Essex.[16] English Gothic art laid great stress on architectural variety and at Little Wenham the variations we see act as a subtle signalling system referring to the sometimes hazy boundary between the sacred and the secular. In this period English Gothic architecture was evolving in remarkable, but also

FIG. 75 – Little Wenham, parish church, SS Margaret, Catherine and Mary Magdalen (*photo: Julian Sale*).

FIG. 76 – Detail of Fig. 75.

datable, steps. By examining closely this painted architecture, we are able not only to understand the murals' message, but also to date them with some accuracy.

We turn first to the canopy work over the Virgin and Child and angels (Figs 69 and 77). The structure is in two tiers. The lowest is of three arched and gabled bays sustained by slim shafts with outer square-section buttresses, and prominent vine-leaf crockets. The central bay over the enthroned Virgin is broader with elaborate open cusping, and the outer bays are surmounted by short, crenellated towers. This triple canopy is of a type derived ultimately from mid-thirteenth-century French Gothic portal compositions, such as those on the transepts of Notre-Dame in Paris, via English intermediaries of the 1290s such as the tomb of Edmund, earl of Lancaster (d.1296), in Westminster Abbey.[17] The related, but slightly earlier tomb of Archbishop John Pecham (d.1292) in Canterbury Cathedral has a single canopy, but is flanked by two inhabited buttresses with crenellated tops in the fashion of the outer bays at Little Wenham.[18] Similar inhabited buttress towers, with detailing very close to the Crouchback tomb at Westminster, flank the Virgin and Child in the De Lisle Psalter noted earlier (Fig. 74).[19] That the artist at Little Wenham was familiar with court or 'Kentish' designs of the last decade or two of the century is shown by the pierced trefoil cusping of the central canopy which is of a type associated with works such as the tomb of Bishop John Bradfield (d.1283) in Rochester Cathedral.[20]

There is a super-canopy above, now faint. Close examination of the upper part of the composition is assisted by an observable series of parallel incision marks in its plaster ground, setting out five cusps beneath a broad single gable, also with vine-leaf crockets. Cinquefoil cusping of this type appears in BL, MS 28681 and well into the fourteenth century, as in the Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and the De Lisle Hours.[21] However, the presence of small rings (probably pendant corbels) at the tip of the lowest cusps shows that this super-canopy

was to be envisaged as if it were a forward-canted structure of two lateral half-arches sustaining a projecting trefoil arch, of the sort developed early in the thirteenth century on the west facade of Wells Cathedral. In the light of the south-eastern English and courtly dimension of this detailing, it is striking that a version of such a forward-canted trefoil canopy with gable and foliage pendants is found over the prior's throne in the chapter house of Canterbury Cathedral, certainly complete by 1304 and possibly underway a decade or more earlier (Fig. 78).[22] The only elements missing from this bold and ornate double canopy are ogee arches, known in actual architecture in the 1290s, but common in depicted architecture only from 1300–10. This absence is of some interest and is true of all the paintings.

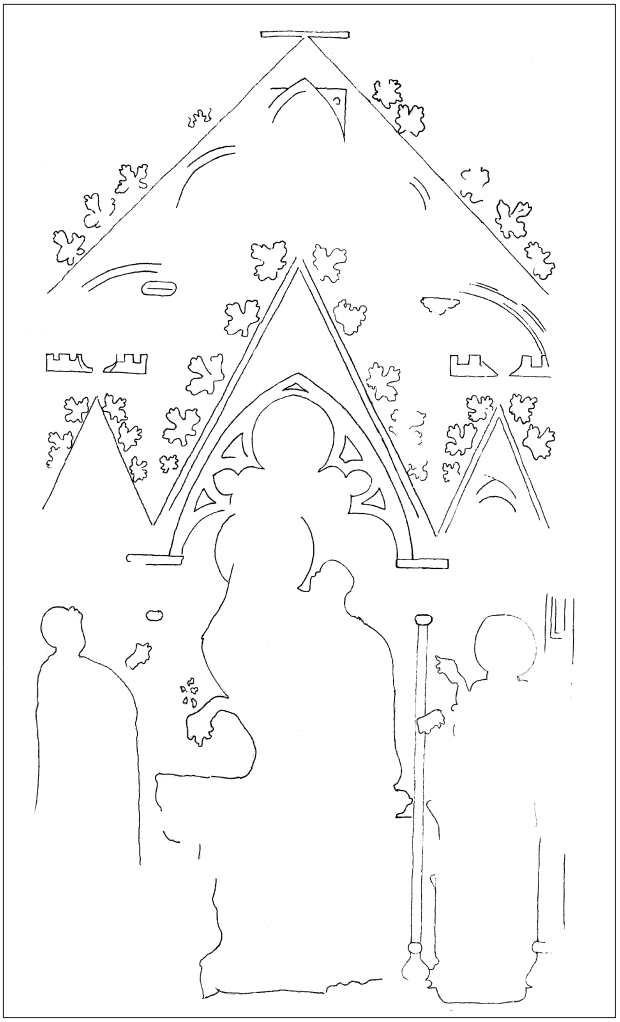

FIG. 77 – Schematic drawing of Virgin and Child (*drawing: Paul Binski*).

The analogies to the Virgin's canopy date to the late thirteenth century and come from the south-east of England. The second canopy, over the three virgin saints, is richer still (Figs 75, 79 and 80). Both are triple-gabled compositions, and both have elaborate but dissimilar superstructures, with different design sources. This second canopy is better preserved. It consists of a trio of arched, gabled and buttressed niches with a show of pinnacles, the gables being lavishly crocketed with sprays of foliage in their tympana. These niches front and overlap a two-storied basilican superstructure consisting of a lower roofed aisle with lancet windows, and an upper vessel, viewed transversely. The upper stage has a series of five, originally probably six, two-light gabled and crocketed dormer windows with hood moulds, and is topped with metal cresting. Rising through the centre of this structure above the middle canopy is a narrow crenellated tower supporting a tall slim crocketed spire with two lateral pinnacles with spirelets and ball finials. The ultimate sources are the same as those for the Virgin and Child canopy, namely French Gothic portal compositions such as the transepts of Notre-Dame or the recorded west front of Saint-Nicaise in Reims, in which arched and gabled portal structures jab upwards and slide in front of the horizontal articulations of loftier rear structures. By 1260–70 these compositions were informing illuminated page layouts, such as

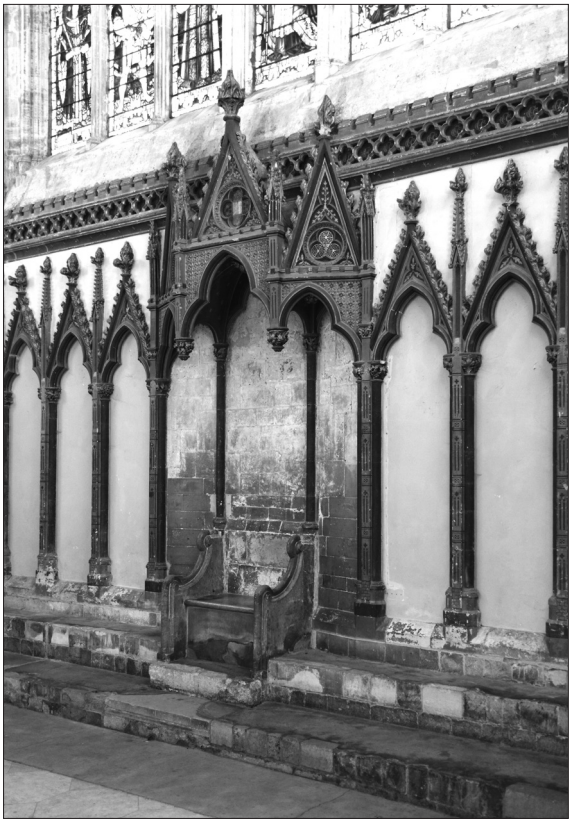

FIG. 78 – Canterbury Cathedral Chapter House, Prior's throne and arcading (*photo: Paul Binski*).

those in the St Louis Psalter, and also metalwork microarchitecture, such as the Sainte-Chapelle reliquary of three saints.[23] In churches of the period 1260–1300, including Saint-Urbain in Troyes, Amiens Cathedral, Cologne Cathedral, and York Minster, gables are used over clearstory or aisle windows in accordance with this taste. The format is one recognizable on many of the finest later thirteenth- and fourteenth-century tombs in France and England. Bearing in mind that Little Wenham was within a diocese whose cathedral, Norwich, possessed a spire of some form at this date, and near a neighbouring diocese, London, whose cathedral had a spectacular spire, the choice of a spire is not surprising. It resembles the drawing of St Paul's spire in the *Annales Paulini* for the year 1314, with the same zigzag finish and lateral pinnacles.[24]

However, it is by no means clear that the referents of this very elaborate structure were solely sacred. The dormers of the top stage are not those of a conventional Gothic great church clerestory, but are more appropriate to a secular building. Gabled windows occurred on thirteenth-century English great halls, such as those at Canterbury and Winchester.[25] The late thirteenth-century hall at Stokesay Castle has gabled windows and French domestic instances with crocketed gables existed at Beauvais.[26] The hood moulds are of a similar type to those of Little Wenham Hall itself (Fig. 68). The form of this building, obviously in part a product of the painters' inventive imagination, is not one known literally in England at this date, but its generic likeness to the civic and mercantile halls burgeoning in this period in the Low Countries, such as Floris V's *aula* in The Hague by 1295, and the Ypres Cloth Hall of the period 1260–1304, is notable.[27] This *aula* type was adopted by the mendicant orders in the Low Countries. Whether or not it was a type also found in London or other commercial towns in England at this date is unknown, but the fact that such structures were often brick built may be of relevance, given Little Wenham Hall's main claim to fame as one of the earliest brick domestic structures in England. It has been suggested that this arose because of the Suffolk coast's proximity to the Low Countries, the Ipswich trading community developing links which Roger de Holbroke, a candidate for the construction of the hall, may well have cultivated.[28] The 'imaginary' of this building, with its cresting and excrescences, is thus complex because as a generalized image it connotes simultaneously not only a non-English building type, but also an *aula*, *mansio* or *palatium* — terms whose semantic range covered both the secular and the sacred — rather than a sacral *tabernaculum* of the sort over the Virgin and Child of a type only appropriate to a church.[29] A contemporary

FIG. 79 – Detail of FIG. 75 showing canopies (*photo: Julian Sale*).

English vernacular term for these housings would be *wones* [abodes]. Exactly the same use of forms, both sacred and secular, is made in the great St Louis Psalter itself, in which the stories of the Old Testament are acted out over many folios beneath a standardized hybrid structure, part church, part hall.[30] The Little Wenham building is arguably a palace or court appropriate to the chorus of saints accompanying the Virgin Mary as Queen of Heaven. The portal-like trio of gables might further justify a reading of this structure as an entire city, following the New Jerusalem with three gates on each side in Revelation 21. This would be the spiritual sense of this structure; the many mansions (*mansiones multae*) of God's house (*domus*) (John 14:2).

THE TABERNACLES: ARCHITECTURE AS EVIDENCE OF DATE

The canopy over SS Margaret, Catherine and Mary Magdalen is the most complex and richly referential of any of its date in English wall painting, matching in elegance if not similarity of detail the tall, probably stained-glass derived canopy over the kneeling figure of Richard Dod in the former chapel of St Thomas at the north-east end of the parish church at Faversham in Kent.[31] Its triple niche format is, as we have noticed, common on tombs and other portal-derived structures, though it is not of the lean-to type with a central niche and two smaller outer ones of the sort found in the murals formerly in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, Prior Crauden's chapel (*c.*1325) and the Octagon base at Ely (1322–8), and the façade of Butley Priory.[32] Instead, its origin lies, much more specifically, in a group of works implicated in the emergence of the canopied reredos format: the Eleanor Crosses of the 1290s, notably those executed under John of Battle (Hardingstone, Stony Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable and St Albans) of which only one, at Hardingstone (i.e. Northampton), remains.[33]

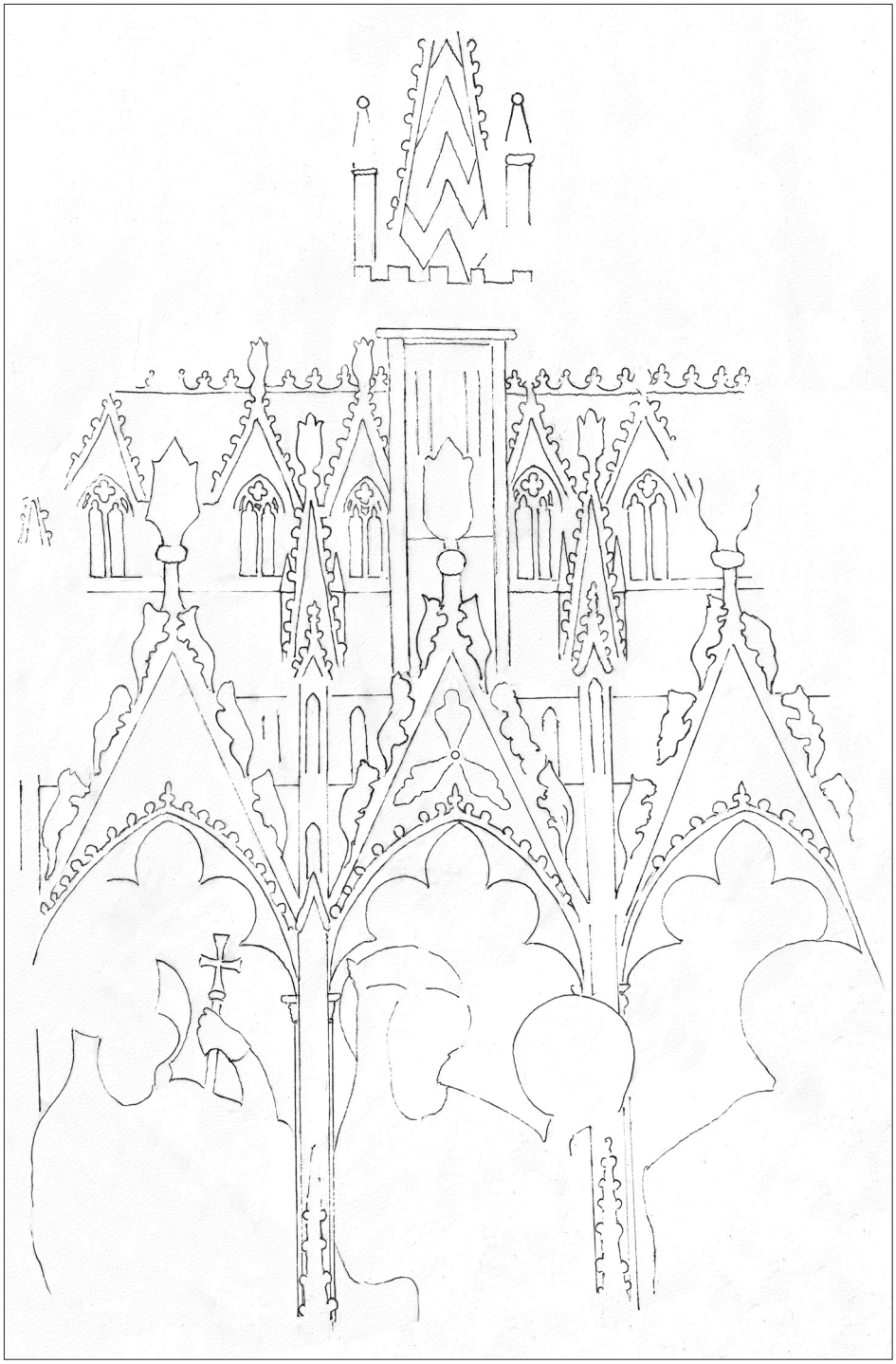

FIG. 80 – Schematic drawing of top part of FIG. 75 (*drawing: Paul Binski*).

FIG. 81 – Hardingstone Eleanor Cross, top stages (*photo: Paul Binski*).

The Little Wenham canopy is in fact a compositional and motivic derivation of the Hardingstone Cross and the French sources which informed it. Like the other crosses, Hardingstone has a polygonal base and an eye-catching middle tier of ornate canopies inhabited by statues of Queen Eleanor of Castile (d.November 1290), with a polygonal cross-shaft rising from it via a third stage with traceried and gabled surfaces (Fig. 81). The key elements for comparison are the top two tiers which, despite restoration, retain sufficient original detailing to offer a yardstick of comparison. The niches of the second tier are arranged on a cross plan in order to house four figures of Eleanor, three of which may be seen at any one time, the central one from the front, the side ones laterally. The housings consist of cinquefoil-cusped and gabled arches, the arches as well as the gables having crockets in keeping with the wall arcading of the Lady Chapel of Saint Germain des Près and the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.[34] Following the example of the buttressing at the Sainte-Chapelle and its relatives, we note that the Hardingstone buttresses do not taper in stages, but instead have regularly placed weatherings.[35] The Little Wenham buttresses, though divided by single set-offs and crocketed gablets, also do not taper. Their three inhabited niches are essentially an unfolded version of the cruciform plan of the middle tier and third tier of the Hardingstone Cross. Accordingly, just as each image of the queen is posed deliberately with reference to its constraints, so too are the Little Wenham figures. The painting picks up one absolutely distinctive motif at Hardingstone, namely the radiating triple blades of foliage in the central gable. Also, the finials over the three gables and on the intervening buttress pinnacles are not unfurled, but are bunched up to create the same enclosed profile as those on the gables and rear spires of Hardingstone's ornate second stage. Little Wenham omits Hardingstone's thick-set crocketed spires above and behind the niche gables, but the gable finials pass up in front of the window zone of the upper stage in the same way that at Hardingstone the spires overlap the blind traceried third zone. Cresting appears at the base and over the top of this third tier of the cross. Finally, the two minor lateral pinnacles with finials to either side of the spire base at Little Wenham correspond to the minor pinnacles capping the outer buttresses of the third stage of the cross.

These specific coincidences suggest strongly that whoever designed the paintings was familiar directly or indirectly with the Hardingstone Cross or a structure very like it, and that they recognized in the Eleanor Crosses a series of practical stimuli for the innovative and stylish presentation of quasi-statuary in painted form. The indications are that this artist was familiar with the latest south-eastern English and Kentish fashions, not least at Westminster where ultimately Parisian motifs continued to be displayed in the latest commissions, as in the king's chamber of Edward I in the Palace of Westminster, decorated between 1292 and 1297 with a similar repertory of Rayonnant microarchitectural detailing.[36]

The connection to the Hardingstone Cross has firm date implications. The Hardingstone Cross seems to have acted as a node midway between the eight crosses commissioned to the south and east towards and in London, and the four crosses to the north leading to Lincoln. Organizationally, it allowed signals to pass to it from London and thence to Lincoln, and vice versa, acting as a communication exchange. The cross was erected between Michaelmas 1291 and Lent 1294.[37] Any derivative of it would thus reasonably be placed after 1294. This therefore yields a *terminus post quem* of 1294–95 for the start of the chancel murals given that the absolute chronology of the building of the church is unknown. Together, the two canopies in the chancel report very fairly on microarchitecture in and around the court in the mid-1290s, and given that their figure style is not inconsistent with a date around 1300 and that the structures lack conspicuous ogees — only discreet ones are apparent on the Hardingstone Cross — there is no *prima facie* need to date them much later.

In sum, the significance of the chancel wall images is, first, that they use very finely executed

architecture to create an early version of the canopied reredos, the purpose of which in this case was to enliven the idea of the Virgin and Child as an iconic sacral and regal presence accompanied by a fashionable 'court' of saints, a chorus of virgins housed in a quasi-palatial building perhaps understandable as the Heavenly Jerusalem. The underlying idea was very old: that its expression should by 1300 have become architectural is a measure of the importance of architecture to signal sacrality, secularity and status. This architecture, secondly, helps us to identify the underlying experiences of the artist(s) involved, and sets a firm date for their work throughout the church of not earlier than 1295 or so. Does this tally with the circumstances of patronage at Little Wenham at this time?

AGENCY: PATRONS AND PAINTERS

Though no sculpture was involved in the commission, as at Brent Eleigh, fashionable excellence was clearly a factor in the art of the privileged space of Little Wenham's chancel. This points to the nearest likely origin of their patronage, the residents of the recently constructed Little Wenham Hall. Lay involvement in the provision of such 'ornaments' would be consistent with the intention of much diocesan legislation concerning church patronage at this time.[38]

According to Edward Martin, Little Wenham Hall was more probably built by one of its resident tenants rather than the non-resident overlords. In the relevant period, the final three decades of so of the thirteenth century, the most likely of these was Roger de Holbroke, who acquired Wenham in 1270–71, and who is frequently styled 'Magister', suggesting a degree holder, churchman or higher civil servant.[39] He may have been the brother of Sir Richard de Holbroke, king's steward in several eastern counties before 1292. In 1294–95, according to Martin, Roger de Holbroke settled Wenham on a relative, Sir John de Holbroke, whose wife was called Petronilla; at the same time John also obtained the advowson of the church.[40] This may in fact have been a resettlement by John and Petronilla on themselves via the trustees Robert de Reymes and Matthew de Holbroke.[41] John and Petronilla in turn alienated Wenham to Robert de Reymes in 1307–8, and John appears to have died in 1309.[42]

The period of Holbroke ascendancy at Little Wenham, 1270–71 to about 1309, comfortably embraces the likely construction periods both of the hall and the church with its decorations.[43] The possibility that more than one owner of the hall, or their family, had royal connections is clearly relevant to our enquiry, especially so given that the settlement or resettlement period of John de Holbroke, starting in 1294–95, coincides with the 1294–95 *terminus post quem* for the chancel murals established earlier.

This raises the possibility that the murals were commissioned by John and Petronilla de Holbroke after 1294–95, but before about 1309, the year of John's death. These patrons may well have found a newly built consecrated, but undecorated, church and addressed this by having the building painted throughout by a single team of artists. The choice of entirely female saints for the chancel murals — setting aside the issue of the content of the east window's glazing — might indicate the devotional preferences of a female patron such as Petronilla, herself named after an Early Christian virgin martyr.[44] Though she was still lady of the manor of Little Wenham in 1316, and may have been dead only by the early 1320s, the likelihood practically and stylistically is that the paintings were done earlier in her tenure, with John before his death in 1309.[45] The painting would fall into a more widely observable pattern in which court innovations, especially at Westminster in the 1290s, were circulating rapidly amongst the provincial aristocracy within no more than a decade.

This is nevertheless an assumption, but it can be justified by one other neglected datum which supports the idea of Holbroke patronage at Little Wenham church, the selection of SS

FIG. 82 – Psalter, BL, Egerton MS 1066, fol. 10v (reproduced by kind permission of the British Library © *British Library Board*).

Margaret, Catherine and Mary Magdalen opposite the Virgin Mary. While this trio is occasionally found in English art of the period, as in the east window of Exeter Cathedral, it is also found in BL, Egerton MS 1066, an illuminated psalter dated by Nigel Morgan to 1270–90 for use in the diocese of Norwich. At the start of the psalter, Egerton MS 1066 has an image at fol. 10v of SS Catherine, Mary Magdalen and Margaret lined up under trefoil canopies with townscapes, together with the stoning of St Stephen below (Fig. 82). This is of interest in the light of the psalter's calendar which contains fourteenth-century obits for John de Holbroke, 1309 (13 Feb., fol. 3v), John, son of John de Holbroke senior (fol. 5), and Petronilla de Holbroke (7 July, fol. 6).[46] Opposite the saints on fol. 10v is the opening of Psalm 1 with King David and the Annunciation (following Luke 1:32). Strikingly, an offset image on the present fol. 9v of Egerton MS 1066 shows that the original intervening folio prior to fol. 10, now lost, depicted on its recto an enthroned Virgin and Child beneath a trefoil canopy, with a kneeling female donor.[47] This lost image of the Virgin and Child with donor therefore prefaced the depiction of SS Catherine, Mary Magdalen and Margaret, so standing in the same relationship as the images on the chancel wall of Little Wenham. It may follow that the Holbrokes in question were indeed the John and Petronilla of Little Wenham. At the very least, the use of this book by the Holbrokes certainly points to a devotional interest on the part of this family in this sequence of saints. Were the Holbrokes shown as donors in the chancel's east window? This proposal provides some context, finally, for considering who might have done the murals, if executed in the period 1294–95 to *c.*1309. Normally, such questions are unanswerable in regard to parish church wall painting. As we have seen, however, the data provided by the chancel murals points to an artist of exceptional ability, closely familiar with a range of models of London or court origin. Such an artist might have been recruited directly from this sector via Holbroke court contacts. It is also worth noting that documentation of painting in the Palace of Westminster in exactly these years suggests another alternative, namely that there were suitably talented painters, associated both with this region and the court, who might have been involved.

The 1292–96 exchequer accounts for work on the murals in the king's chamber and other rooms in the Palace of Westminster offer one possibility.[48] The accounts, which document a

protracted campaign of work in the years 1292–97 on what was to become known as the Painted Chamber as well as other palace rooms, name over sixty painters from many regions of England, specifying their wages. This campaign ended abruptly in 1297 with the onset of war, and probably led to a diaspora of the artists involved from Westminster. One painter in the accounts is of interest to us. A rotulet for April 1295 records that Ricardo de Remdon' was paid 3s 4d for five days' work: this artist is probably the same as the Ricardo de Reyndon' noted in an account for January 1296 as being paid 15s 6d for twenty-six days' work, about 6d per day, or half the 1s a day rate for the master painter, Walter of Durham.[49] The names Remdon and Reyndon designate three likely alternatives: Reydon or Raydon in Suffolk, or Roydon further to the west in Essex near Harlow [all Latin: *Reinduna*]. There are also two Roydons in Norfolk, near Diss and King's Lynn. But the options are narrowed significantly by the occurrence in the rolls of a painter called Ricardo de Essex also working in the period 1294–95, whose wage rates correspond closely with those of Ricardo de Remdon/Reyndon, with the proviso that on weeks where he certainly worked for the whole week (*per septimanam*) he was paid 7s, or 1s a day, the same rate as the master.[50] He was thus one of the highest-paid painters at work in the palace. To have one painter in the same period called Richard with toponymics that point to the same region, consistently paid high rates, and not occurring side by side with his nominal alternatives, suggests that this was in fact one man, and that he was connected not with Norfolk but with the Essex-Suffolk region, perhaps either Roydon in Essex, or the Raydon immediately to the west of Little Wenham itself not far from the Essex border.

From this we can be reasonably certain that in the period in question there were painters of the necessary training and quality connected with this region, and perhaps known to the local aristocracy. It may also be worth noting that earlier, in 1292, this workshop had included a Roger de Ybernia [*Hibernia*: Ireland] who may have been related to the sculptor William of Ireland noted in the accounts for the Lincoln and Hardingstone Eleanor Crosses between 1292 and 1294.[51] Though Roger's period of service at Westminster seems not to have overlapped with Richard of Essex, workshop associations are the sort of thing that could account for the connections we have noted between the chancel paintings and the Hardingstone Cross in particular. This is not to say that the Little Wenham murals were provably executed by Richard of Essex; the issue is assessing what type of painter might have brought such fine art to such a modest church, and with whom he in turn might have been linked.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper has in part been to highlight the extraordinary quality and thoughtfulness of the murals in Little Wenham church as well as their connectedness to the wider culture of English medieval art. In pursuing in detail questions of meaning, detailing and agency, I have attempted to introduce a rather finer granularity into discussion of parish church wall painting than is normally possible, while questioning the idea that parish church art is necessarily of a second-order creative status. The main points of this paper have been, firstly, that the chancel paintings indicate a high level of discrimination about the meaning and handling of architecture as an artistic signalling system capable of enriching the spiritual significance of the *wone* or habitation; secondly, that the artist(s) involved had an equally high level of communication with south-eastern English and courtly artistic activity during the last two decades of the reign of Edward I, and specifically with the project of Eleanor Crosses, the murals being possibly the first provincial reception of the Hardingstone Cross in particular; and, thirdly, that if so, this indicates a date after 1294–95 for the murals, under the tutelage

at Little Wenham of John and Petronilla de Holbroke, and the possible involvement of painters actually employed by the court. Together, the hall and parish church set out structurally the same relation of sacred zone and court as that apparent in the murals to either side of the church's east window.

Visitors to Little Wenham church may recall that many years ago a small information sheet in the church cited the opinion of Francis Wormald, a major expert on English medieval art, to the effect that the murals were products of the English court school.[52] Whatever we make of the term 'court school', Wormald, I suggest, was basically right.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful to Dr Julian Sale for his photographs of the murals, to Dr Lucy Wrapson and the Hamilton Kerr Institute for assisting us with equipment, and to the Churches Conservation Trust for their assistance in gaining access to the church.

NOTES

1 The paintings were found shortly before 1878, Lermit 1878, 183–4, also noting that fragments of the sedilia in the south wall still survived. For further references, see Keyser 1883, 268; Tristram 1955, 262; Alexander and Binski 1987, 128 and fig. 97 (by David Park); Park 1996, 399; Binski 2014, 157–9, of which the present paper is an expansion.
2 Martin 1998; Goodall 2011, 232, pl. 173, suggests building dates of *c*.1279–1294/5.
3 Howard 2003, 53–6, figs 73–5.
4 Howard 2003, 56, 168.
5 Howard 2003, 184.
6 Westminster Retable: see Binski and Massing 2009; Klein 1983; Douce Apocalypse: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 180.
7 Stones 1997; Prayer book of Madame Marie: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 16251.
8 The earliest instance is the Exeter statutes of 1287, discussed Binski 2004, 157.
9 Binski 1995b, 54 and pl. 44.
10 Fig. 71 was taken by Julian Sale with a Canon 5dsr and 24mm f1.4L at f10, 1/8th sec, ISO 200. Raw conversion to JPG was performed using DXO Photolab 4. The JPG was transferred to Adobe Photoshop and the outline of the Virgin and Child isolated using the 'Select color range' eyedropper with 'Fuzziness' set to 85, indexing on the red/brown of the Virgin's hair to the right side of the face.
11 Morgan 1988, no. 114 and fig. 86.
12 Sandler 1983; Psalter of Robert de Lisle: BL, MS Arundel 83 (ii).
13 Morgan 1982, no. 83 and fig. 278; Black Book of the Exchequer: TNA, MS (E36) 266.
14 Wormald 1959, pl. 1; Benedictional of St Aethelwold: BL, MS Add. 49598.
15 The best introduction is Wilson 1980.
16 Demus 1978, 508.
17 Binski 1995, 115–19, fig. 157.
18 Wilson 1995, 459–64, pl. 92.
19 Binski 1995, 173–4, figs 226, 229.
20 Bony 1979, pl. 152. The bulbous flask-shaped bases of the colonettes are perhaps variants of the bell base which entered England from France in the thirteenth century.
21 Sandler 1974, figs 17, 18; Sandler 196, no. 77, fig. 194.
22 Woodman 1981, 142–5.
23 Park and Howard 1996, 399; for the St Louis Psalter, Stahl 2008; for the Sainte-Chapelle reliquary of saints, Taburet-Delahaye 1989 no. 25; also Binski 2014, 155–7.
24 For the Norwich spire dated by Woodman to 1291–97, see Woodman 1996, 192; the St Paul's chronicle is discussed in Keene, Burns and Saint 2004, 135–6, 154, fig. 84.
25 Tatton-Brown 1982, fig. 2; Colvin 1963, vol. 2, 859 and fig. 66.

26 Goodall 2011, 233, pl. 174; for Beauvais, Wood 1981, pl. 1A opposite 192.
27 Coopmans 2007, 187–8, 189, figs 2, 3.
28 Martin 1998, 159, 160.
29 These terms are discussed more fully in Binski 2014, 155–9.
30 Stahl 2008, 83–9.
31 Willement 1858, 150, 152.
32 Whittingham 1980, 286.
33 Colvin 1963, vol. 1, 479–85.
34 Branner 1965, figs 69, 73.
35 Branner 1965, fig. 64.
36 Binski 1986 and 2021.
37 The relevant accounts are published in Turner 1841, between 100 (1291) and 138 (1294).
38 Binski 2004, 174–7.
39 Martin 1998, 159; Rye 1900, 72.
40 Kirk 1928, 51 for John de Holbroke and 'Parnell' his wife in 1285–86; Rye 1900, 99 for 1294–95.
41 Here I follow with gratitude a suggestion by an anonymous reader of this paper following TNA, CP 25/1/216/49.
42 Rye 1900, 114, and see note 46 below.
43 Martin 1998, 160.
44 Martin 1998, 154.
45 Maskelyne 1908, 37; Sharp 1910, 275 no. 461 (1324).
46 Morgan 1988, no. 182: fol. 3v *Obitus domini Johannis de Holebrok militis Anno domini Millesimo trecentesimo nono* (not 1400 as stated by Morgan); *Obitus Johannis filii Johannis de Holebrok senioris* (fol. 5); *Obitus dominae Petronillae de Holbrock* (fol. 6). The obit of Sir John de Holbroke was added in red in a formal early fourteenth-century bookhand, those of John junior and Petronilla in a different but only slightly later fourteenth-century bookhand. The Psalter's calendar originally includes some saints of East Anglian type (e.g. Felix, 8 March with 9 lections); Winwaloe (3 March) (for Wereham Priory), Withburga (16 March) and the dedication of Norwich Cathedral (24 September) were all added subsequently.
47 Noted by Morgan; the offset on 9v resulted from the lost Virgin and Child on the next folio, only the stub of which remains with the inscription 'cut out when bought F.M.' presumably written by Frank Madden. The verso of this missing folio was probably blank, preceding the blank recto of fol. 10 on the verso of which are the saints. They were therefore probably preceded by a blank opening.
48 The accounts are now published fully with commentary in Binski 2021.
49 Binski 2021, 60–1, rots 142 and 162.
50 Binski 2021, 30 and 51–60, rots 90–3, 106–7, 110–15, 117–18, 141. The 1s per day rate is noted at rots 110, 113–14.
51 For Roger of Ireland, see Binski 2021, 40–2, rots 25, 27, 28, 29; for William at Hardingstone, see Turner 1841, 114, 120,124, 129, 131, 137; Colvin 1963, vol. 1, 484.
52 For his work on Westminster, see Wormald 1949.

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library
TNA	The National Archives

SHORTER CONTRIBUTION

AUSTIN CREMBELL: A MEDIEVAL SUFFOLK COMMUTER

by MARK BAILEY

MANORIAL COURT ROLLS of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can provide a good deal of information about the migratory habits of serfs, who comprised around two-fifths of the English population in 1300, and one tenth in the early fifteenth century. The common law of villeinage determined that serfs were the hereditary chattels of the lord of the manor, hence they were routinely described as 'the serf of the lord by blood' (*nativus/nativa domini de sanguine*). In theory, they were not able to leave the manor without the lord's permission, although in practice they routinely did so, whether temporarily or permanently. Seigniorial sensitivity to the illegal departure of serfs increased when tenants and labourers became relatively scarce after the Black Death of 1348–9, and consequently many manor courts suddenly maintained a closer written record of the names and destinations of flown serfs.[1] Licenced absences [*payments of chevage*] and unlicenced [*presentments for absence*] became more frequent, often including the whereabouts of the migrant serf. However, historians have been sceptical about the general accuracy of this type of information, and so have been reluctant to deploy it to reconstruct patterns of migration.[2]

This short contribution follows the documented career of Austin Crembell, a serf of the earl of Oxford's manor of Aldham during the first half of the fifteenth century, thereby revealing the high potential for reconstructing the movement of serfs from information recorded in manorial court rolls. His case is remarkable for two reasons. First, the information about Austin in the court rolls of Aldham can be cross-checked against the fortuitous survival of a good series of court rolls for his destination manor of Bredfield, nearly twenty miles away. Such a coincidence is very rare, and it provides an exceptional opportunity to test the accuracy of the information about flown serfs in their court of origin and, indeed, their status in their new place of residence. Second, the information from two sets of court rolls reveals that for a few years Austin maintained active interests in both communities simultaneously and so he was commuting regularly between them. The prospect of the late medieval peasantry pursuing economic activities simultaneously in more than one location some distance apart has not really been considered before, but their ability to do so provides insights into the nature of the late medieval economy, and the reasons for the collapse of serfdom in England.

In 1392 the manorial court of Aldham recorded that one Augustus [*Austin*] Crembell, serf of the manor, had died three miles away in Hadleigh.[3] It is likely that this Austin had spent most of his life in Hadleigh, because in the 1350s an Austin Crembell held land there and was amerced for brewing in the town.[4] In July 1399 the Aldham court presented Nicholas Crembell, junior, and another Austin, presumably the aforementioned Austin's son, for defaulting from their role as tithingmen, implying that they were not living on the manor.[5] The next year both appeared before the court and each paid two capons as chevage to licence formally their absence from the manor until Christmas 1401.[6] In 1404 both paid the same again until Christmas 1405, when the court recorded explicitly that they were living in Hadleigh.[7] They remained in Hadleigh for the next few years, and probably until 1416.[8]

Having resided in Hadleigh for at least fifteen years at the beginning of the fifteenth century, in 1417 Austin and Nicholas both returned to Aldham. The trigger was probably the death of their uncle, Nicholas Crembell, senior, the previous year. Nicholas junior served as a capital pledge in 1417 and again in 1418 when he lost a longstanding family claim to an acre of meadow in Hadleigh.[9] Nicholas then largely disappears from the record, presumably having inherited some land in Aldham from Nicholas senior and living quietly close by. In contrast, Austin became very active within the Aldham court, serving as a capital pledge in 1418, 1419 and 1420, swearing fealty to the new lady of the manor in 1418, and in 1420 suing Thomas Gooche for trespass.[10] Then, in September 1422, it was reported that Austin had moved to Woodbridge — nineteen miles to the east — with his son William. Yet he was back in Aldham in 1424 and 1425, serving as a capital pledge in both years, although William chose to remain in Woodbridge and in 1424 paid chevage for the first time to licence his absence.[11] From 1426 Austin became inactive in the Aldham court, and between 1426 and 1432 he and William were presented for being absent from Aldham and described as living 'without [*paying*] chevage' in Bredfield near Woodbridge.[12]

The continued absence of the two Crembells eventually prompted some direct action from the manorial administrators of Aldham. In 1429 a marginal entry in the Aldham court roll noted that the steward of the estate had decided to seek the lord's counsel on what to do about the Crembells, and the response is reflected in a subtle change in policy in the next court held in September 1430: both were still presented for their absence in Bredfield, but both were amerced 12d for their failure to perform the view of frankpledge, and Austin was also amerced 6d for default of suit of the court baron. In other words, instead of just noting their absence, the court officials were now levying fines on the Crembells in their absence at a combined rate of 30d *per annum*, presumably to place pressure on them to answer for an annual chevage payment. This new tactic was part of a wider crackdown on the management of serfs on this estate, because the court of June 1433 contained summaries of written proofs of the servile status of a number of Aldham serf families and the session was attended by Richard de Vere, the earl of Oxford's brother, in person.[13]

The Crembells responded promptly to this administrative crackdown by making their first chevage payments since 1424 (William) and 1416 (Austin).[14] Between 1434 and 1439 they continued to pay chevage annually, and the court noted both to be resident in Dallinghoo.[15] In 1435 they were amerced additionally for default of suit of the court baron, and in 1440 were amerced 3d each for default of the leet court.[16] They paid unusually large sums for chevage in 1441 (40d each) and 1442 (10s each), and were described as resident in Bredfield again, before settling into lower annual payments (6d) until 1445.[17] Thereafter, Austin ceased paying chevage, but was still recorded as absent and living in Bredfield, and after 1451 he ceased to be recorded in the Aldham court.[18] He was now well into his sixties.

This tale of servile migration, with its shifts from unlicenced to licenced absences, is not unusual, although the intermittent amercements of Austin for default as court suitor and as tithingman during his absences are unusual. These entries imply that he was still holding land in Aldham. What makes his case noteworthy is the survival of a very good series of court rolls from Bredfield from 1422, which therefore presents an exceptional opportunity to construct a fuller picture of Austin's activities (Fig. 83).[19] His son, William, is not mentioned in the Bredfield court rolls at all, so either the information reported to the Aldham court is incorrect, or he lived in the village, but did not have any contact with the main manor of Bredfield. The latter would have been possible if he resided on another manor within the vill. The most likely explanation is that he lived in neighbouring Dallinghoo after leaving Aldham in 1422, but the Aldham court failed to make this distinction consistently. In contrast, its information about Austin was reasonably accurate.

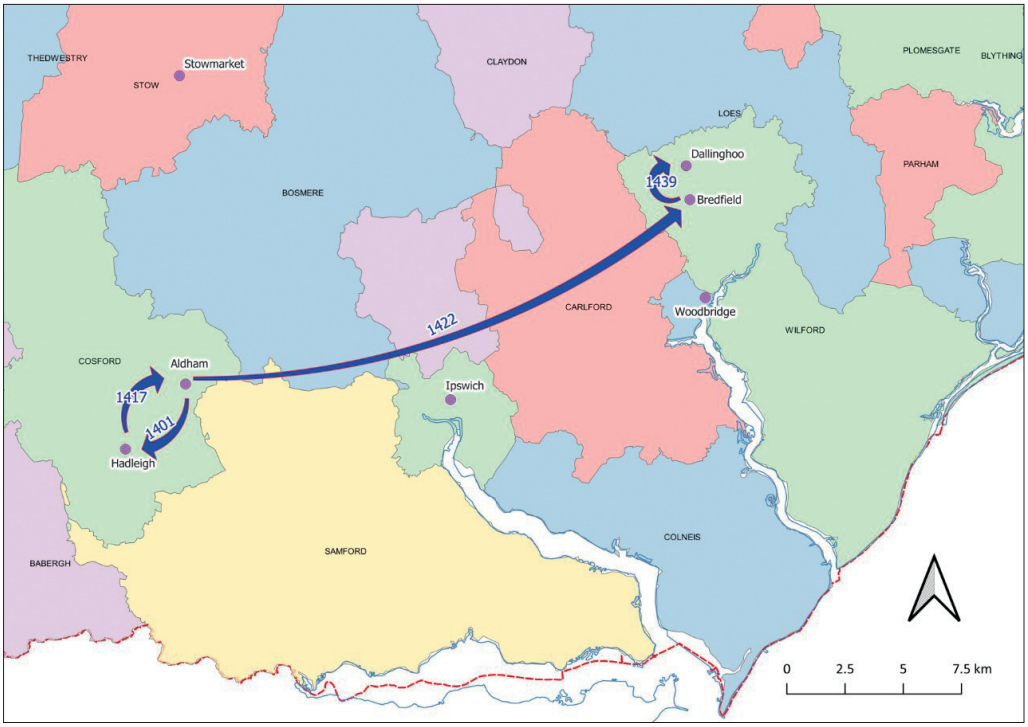

FIG. 83 – The main migratory movements of Austin Crembill, *c.*1400 to 1450 (*map: David Addy*).

Thus the evidence from the Aldham court rolls indicates that in 1420 Austin was resident in Aldham, in 1422 he had moved to Woodbridge, and from 1426 he was in Bredfield. The first extant Bredfield court of the fifteenth century, held in November 1422, confirms that he was already well established there, because he was amerced for breaking the assizes of bread and ale, and he and his wife, Agnes, were involved in a commercial dispute with one John Cook of Woodbridge.[20] In 1423 he served on the presentment jury at Bredfield, and he was amerced for failing to ring his pigs.[21] In 1424 and 1425 Austin also served as a capital pledge in the leet court of Bredfield.[22] This information would be unremarkable if viewed in isolation, but the combination of details from Aldham and Bredfield cast it in a very different and surprising light. By 1422 Austin already had married a resident of Bredfield and established strong commercial interests there, despite still being resident in Aldham, and in 1424 and 1425 he served as a capital pledge at the leets of both vills simultaneously. The conclusion is clear: Austin was commuting regularly between the two villages, nearly twenty miles apart, during the first half of the 1420s.

In 1426, the year the Aldham court reported him to be absent once again, Austin was baking, brewing and serving as an affeeror in Bredfield.[23] For the next ten years he was highly active in Bredfield, described as a tenant of unfree land (*native tenant*) in 1427 and again in 1429; baking and selling white bread against the assize frequently; brewing and selling ale most years; and usually serving as a capital pledge, affeeror and occasionally as an aletaster.[24] He is never described as a serf in the Bredfield court rolls. In 1430 he had twenty quarters of malt in his possession which, together with the frequency and scale of his amercements for baking white bread, indicate that he ran a hostelry.[25] Then in 1437 his wife, Agnes, died. The court records that she had married Austin as a widow, and that she was survived by an adult

son from that first marriage.[26] Austin remained active until 1439, then disappears from the Bredfield courts.[27] He may well have resided with William in the 1440s, and probably died in 1451. His main movements are summarised in Fig. 83.

The significance of this case is threefold. First, it provides reassurance that some information recorded in the court rolls of a serf's home manor about their migratory patterns is reasonably accurate. The Aldham court recorded that Austin was variously in Woodbridge, Bredfield and Dallinghoo, which was broadly correct (for example, he was stated to be in Woodbridge in 1422 when in reality he was in the next parish of Bredfield). Second, it proves that serfs migrating from their home manor were not cast as 'serfs' on their immigrant manor, and so had obtained *de facto* freedom. Austin was not once referred to as a *nativus* in the Bredfield rolls, but, if anything, as the tenant of customary land. Third, Austin retained interests in two rural communities nearly twenty miles apart: he was an innkeeper in Bredfield, while also holding land in Aldham. This reveals that servile status was not a barrier to migration in England, although the estate administration's interest in his whereabouts and the payment of chevage underlines that it was characterised by demeaning obstacles and costs. It is pertinent to note, however, that Austin chose to pay chevage, presumably to preserve an interest in a landed inheritance.[28] Furthermore, his ability to obtain land and a livelihood in Bredfield emphasises the range of options and the wide framework of accessible economic opportunities available to serfs in rural areas in late medieval England, which encouraged their mobility and hence was a crucial factor in explaining why serfdom in general dissolved here after the Black Death.[29]

NOTES

1 Bailey 2014, 42–6.
2 A view captured in Postles 2000. For exceptions, see Raftis 1964; Field 1983; DeWindt 2012. For a general review, see Bailey, forthcoming.
3 C[ambridge] U[niversity] L[ibrary], Vanneck Ms Box 1, courts held September and December 1392.
4 See courts held October 1358, April 1359, April and October 1366, C[anterbury] C[athedral] A[rchives], DCc-CR19, U15/16–36 and U15/16–37. An Austin Crembil was also leasing a rood of land in the 1340s, CCA, DCc-Hadleigh 16 to 19. His wife might have been Margery Crembell: other Crembills are mentioned in the Hadleigh manorial documents from 1276. I am grateful to Margaret Woods for these references.
5 CUL, Vanneck Ms Box 1, courts held September and December 1392, court held July 1399. The court of September 1403 confirms that Austin was the brother of Nicholas Crembell, junior. Nicholas was usually known as junior until 1416 to distinguish him from Nicholas Crembell (probably his uncle), a regular figure in the Aldham court in the 1390s and 1400s until his death in the summer of 1416 ('*mort*' was inserted above his name in the list of capital pledges in the court of July 1416).
6 CUL, Vanneck Ms Box 1, court held December 1400.
7 CUL, Vanneck Ms Box 1, court held September 1404.
8 They paid chevage to reside in Hadleigh throughout 1406 and 1407, at which point there is a gap in the court series. When it resumes in 1416, they were still paying chevage for absence though their whereabouts was not stated; CUL, Vanneck Ms Box 1, courts held September 1406, September 1407 and July 1416.
9 CUL, Vanneck Ms Box 1, courts held June 1417, May and August 1418.
10 CUL, Vanneck Ms Box 1, see courts held June 1417, May 1418, October 1418, February 1420 and September 1420.
11 CUL, Vanneck Ms Box 1, courts held September 1424 and September 1425.
12 CUL, Vanneck Ms Box 1, courts held September 1426, June 1427, September 1427, June 1428, September 1429, September 1430 and July 1432.
13 This would have been the third son of Richard de Vere, the eleventh earl of Oxford, and brother of John de Vere, twelfth earl of Oxford, see Ross 2011, 18.
14 CUL, Vanneck Ms Box 1, court held June 1433.

15 CUL, Vanneck Ms Box 1, courts held July 1432, June 1433, December 1434, March 1436 and June 1439.
16 CUL, Vanneck Ms Box 1, courts held November 1435 and May 1440.
17 CUL, Vanneck Ms Box 1, courts held September 1441, September 1442, October 1443, April 1444 and August 1445.
18 S[uffolk] A[rchives]/I[pswich], HA85/484/315.
19 I am grateful to David Addy for producing the map.
20 SA/I, HA91/2, m. 1.
21 SA/I, HA91/2, mm. 1–2.
22 SA/I, HA91/2, mm. 2 (court held September 1424) and 5 (court held January 1425).
23 SA/I, HA91/2, m. 6, court held February 1426.
24 SA/I, HA91/2, mm. 8–22.
25 SA/I, HA91/2, m. 13, court held February 1430.
26 SA/I, HA91/2, m. 22, court held November 1437 records that 'Agnes the wife of Augustus Crembell, formerly the wife of John Agas' had died, leaving land to Thomas Agas.
27 SA/I, HA 91/2, m. 24 is his last record in the rolls, court held May 1439.
28 Bailey 2014, 141–5.
29 Bailey 2021, 308–13.

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SHORTER CONTRIBUTION

TWO EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FINDS OF TUDOR COIN HOARDS FROM SUFFOLK

by MURRAY EDWARDS

Summary

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries local newspapers frequently reported on archaeological discoveries, many of which have gone unnoticed by later generations of scholars and antiquaries. This note provides a descriptive account of two such 'forgotten finds' unearthed in eighteenth-century Suffolk: both are coin hoards of the Tudor period, and were previously unknown to modern scholarship.[1]

THE CROWN, LOWESTOFT, 1791
120 OR 121 GOLD COINS, *TERMINUS POST QUEM* 1485 OR 1509

ON 1 MAY 1791 a hoard of gold coins was found at Lowestoft. An initial account of the discovery, published in the *Norfolk Chronicle*, reads as follows:

> Last Monday morning, a boy passing a heap of rubbish, laid upon a piece of waste ground some way from this town, which was brought from a house belonging to Mr S. Capon on Saturday, found a bag containing 121 gold coins, equal in weight to 70 guineas; many of the reign of an Edward, and Henry, some French, others Portugal. They were contained in a very curious leather bag, are perfectly clean and fresh. The boy carried them home, and his mother, ignorant of their value, gave them to the younger children to play with; upon the husband's return home in the evening, he supposing they were valuable, delivered them to the care of A. Arnold, Esq. in whose hands they now are. It is impossible to form any idea of any circumstance leading to an explanation – the house was formerly a public-house, has within a few years been new fronted, and is now undergoing a thorough repair.[2]

A second account of the find, printed in the *Leeds Intelligencer*, reads as follows:

> Monday morning as three boys were playing near a heap of rubbish, at Lowestoft, one of them observed something amongst it which appeared like a piece or an old pair of leather breeches; he took it up, and finding it heavy, examined and found it was a bag, containing three others rather curiously made, in which were 120 pieces of gold coin, some of it foreign; likewise some Rose Noble of Edward the Third – The rubbish had been taken from an old house repairing in the neighbourhood.[3]

The present whereabouts of these coins is unclear. According to the *Norfolk Chronicle*, at least a portion were acquired by one 'A. Arnold, Esq.', presumably the Lowestoft surgeon Aldous Arnold (1738–1803). However, Arnold's will, proved at London on 27 January 1804, makes no reference to coins of any kind, and it is consequently unclear whether he sold them to another collector, passed them on to his heirs, or even had them melted down for their bullion value.[4] No specimens with corresponding provenances have yet been identified in public or private collections, and until such material is discovered the trail must necessarily go cold.

Despite the lack of surviving coins, a plausible reconstruction of the hoard can be developed on the basis of the newspaper reports. These indicate that the hoard consisted of 120 or 121 English, French, and Portuguese gold coins, with a combined weight equivalent to seventy eighteenth-century guineas (588g); the English component included coins issued for kings named Edward and Henry, one of which was identified in the *Leeds Intelligencer* as a 'Rose Noble of Edward the Third'. This last identification is flawed, but nonetheless significant: the term 'rose noble' was used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to describe the English ryal, a broad gold denomination introduced by Edward IV in 1465 and subsequently issued during the reigns of Henry VII (1485–1509), Henry VIII (1509–47), Mary I (1553–8) and Elizabeth I (1558–1603).[5] Comparative evidence from better-recorded coin hoards demonstrates that the only period in which Edwardian ryals are likely to have intermingled with gold coins of a king named Henry is during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, and indeed this is precisely the period in which French and Portuguese gold coins — principally the *écu*, *crusado*, and *português* — first acquired a formal role in the English currency system.[6] The newspaper descriptions, then, are entirely suggestive of a hoard of gold coins assembled in the early Tudor period, a conclusion in keeping with metrological evidence: 120 or 121 coins weighing 588g equates to an average of 4.86g or 4.9g per coin, which is at least broadly consistent with a hoard dominated by late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century fine gold denominations like the ryal (7.78g), angel (5.18g), george noble (4.61g), and angelet (2.59g).[7]

The newspaper reports indicate that the coins were found within a leather bag, apparently resembling 'an old pair of leather breeches'. This depositional configuration has numerous late medieval and early Tudor parallels: analogous finds include the hoard of sixty-one gold and silver coins of Henry VII from Queen's Head Yard, London, which had been concealed within a leather or textile container, and the hoard of early sixteenth-century gold and silver coins from Eglwys Brewis, Vale of Glamorgan, which had been hidden inside a hide bag or purse.[8] These latter finds were both found during the maintenance and repair of old buildings, which seems also to have been true at Lowestoft: according to the *Norfolk Chronicle*, the bag containing the coins was found amongst building rubble generated during the remodelling of an old public house. The owner of this public house, one 'S. Capon', can be identified as Scrivener Capon (1733–99), proprietor of the Crown Inn at 150 High Street during the 1790s (NGR TM 5511 9382).[9] Rebranded as the Crown Hotel during the tourism boom of the 1840s, the Crown was one of Lowestoft's most important inns during the post-medieval period, and survives today as a Grade II listed building within the medieval town core.[10] The hoard is therefore likely to represent a significant sum of money stashed away by a former resident or proprietor of the Crown Inn, although the exact scenario that occasioned its deposition is no longer known.

ST LAWRENCE'S CHURCHYARD, IPSWICH, 1787
UNCERTAIN NUMBER OF COINS, *TPQ* 1547

In June 1787 a hoard of coins was found at Ipswich. The sole account of the discovery, published in the *Norfolk Chronicle*, reads as follows:

> Several coins of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were found last week, in good preservation, in St. Lawrence's church yard at Ipswich, by some workmen who were making a vault.[11]

Despite its brevity, this note provides significant evidence for an otherwise unrecorded Tudor hoard. There is no *prima facie* reason to doubt the attributions of the coins to Henry VIII and Edward VI: both kings employed regnal ordinals and naturalistic portraiture on their

coinages, and are consequently unlikely to have been misidentified by an eighteenth-century observer.[12] As such, the accession of Edward VI in 1547 can be taken as a reliable *terminus post quem* for the hoard as a whole. Beyond this, however, the numismatic composition of the hoard is uncertain: no surviving coins have been traced in public or private collections, and in lieu of further information any reconstruction is necessarily speculative. With these caveats in mind, comparative evidence from better-recorded Tudor hoards suggests that the Ipswich find probably consisted of debased silver issues of the 'Great Debasement' (1544–51), potentially including shillings, groats, pence, or multiples or fractions thereof.[13] The use of the term 'several' is suggestive of a small to mid-sized deposit: possible parallels can be identified among other 'Great Debasement' hoards, including those found at Five Ashes, East Sussex (seven coins), Nynehead, Somerset (thirty-five coins), and the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire (thirty-seven coins).[14]

The observation that the hoard was found by workmen 'making a vault' in St Lawrence's churchyard is of considerable archaeological interest. Rebuilt in the mid-fifteenth century, St Lawrence's is one of Ipswich's twelve medieval town churches, and had a more or less continuous history of parochial service extending into the 1970s.[15] Pennington's 1778 map of Ipswich shows the eighteenth-century churchyard to have covered *c.*700m² of land around the church building (NGR TM 1639 4458), bounded on the north by houses on Tavern Street, on the east by the Fruit Market (now St Lawrence Street), on the south by houses on Butter Market, and the west by houses on Cook Row (now Dial Lane).[16] These churchyard boundaries are more or less coterminous with those shown on Speed's map of *c.*1610, and may well preserve boundaries formalised by the later Middle Ages.[17] It is highly likely, then, that the hoard was buried within the bounds of the mid-sixteenth-century churchyard, a phenomenon with several late medieval and Tudor parallels. Particularly close analogues include a hoard of 'Great Debasement' silver coins buried at the edge of the churchyard at St Martin's, New Romney, Kent, and a hoard of Elizabethan silver coins buried with a gold ring in the churchyard at St Laurence's, Combe Longa, Oxfordshire.[18] Like the Lowestoft find, the circumstances that led to the burial of the Ipswich hoard are tantalisingly enigmatic: it could plausibly represent a 'safekeeping' hoard buried on hallowed ground, a deliberate or accidental deposit interred with a corpse, or even an 'accidental loss' of a purse swept up in grave soil.

NOTES

1 *Cf.* Thompson 1956; Brown and Dolley 1971; Allen 2012; Andrews 2019.
2 *Norfolk Chronicle*, 7 May 1791, 2.
3 *Leeds Intelligencer*, 17 May 1791, 3.
4 The National Archives, PROB 11/1403/243 (Arnold).
5 Snelling 1763, 8; Woodhead 1996.
6 Evidenced by the Henstridge (Soms.), Asthall (Oxon.), and Park Street (Herts.) hoards, among others, see Andrews 2019. On continental gold in Tudor England, see Kelleher 2007, 215–8.
7 Stewartby 2009, 468.
8 Andrews 2019, 182–3; Boon 1986, 124; Andrews 2020, 220–2.
9 Chapman 1866, 14.
10 Butcher 2008, 151. The listing entry (NHL 1279942) describes the Crown Hotel as a seventeenth-century building with mid-nineteenth-century alterations, but the newspaper evidence potentially redates these structural phases to earlier periods: the hoard hints at earlier origins for the building as a whole, while the 'thorough repairs' that occasioned its discovery in 1791 may well explain the later remodelling.
11 *Norfolk Chronicle,* 16 June 1787, 2.
12 Stewartby 2009, 519–32.
13 Fourteen other hoards buried in the reign of Edward VI are known from England and Wales, all but two

of which consist entirely of debased silver coins, see Symons 1990; Cook 2001; Cook 2007; Abdy *et al.* 2012, 243, no. 154; Abdy *et al.* 2017, 270, no. 103.

14 Symons 1990.

15 Pevsner and Radcliffe 1974, 291–2.

16 British Library, Maps K.Top.39.21.1.

17 British Library, Maps C.7.e.5.

18 Lewis 1840; Diack 2006. For other late medieval and Tudor parallels, see Andrews 2019, 192–5.

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SHORTER CONTRIBUTION

SILLY SUFFOLK

by KEITH BRIGGS

THE EXPRESSION 'SILLY SUFFOLK' has been put into print numerous times in the last two hundred years. Recent examples are often accompanied by a supposed explanation that 'silly' does not have the modern meaning of 'foolish', but is a corruption of the Middle English word *seely* meaning 'holy', 'sacred', or 'blessed', and the phrase is then alleged to express imagined ancient characteristics of the county. Two such examples, both from respected historians, are these:

> The phrase 'silly Suffolk', companion of 'normal for Norfolk', is a variant of *seely*, referring to a general reputation for piety. Only in the nineteenth century did 'silly Suffolk' acquire a derogatory meaning, […].[1]

> I am sure that most people with any knowledge of or association with Suffolk have heard the term 'silly Suffolk', which is of course a corruption of the Middle English 'seely Suffolk' – 'seely' meaning holy, and usually taken as a reference to the proliferation of churches in the Suffolk countryside.[2]

A modern lexicology textbook, however, has a contradictory understanding of the phrase, again stated as if fact:

> The word *silly* had an older sense of 'happy' (compare German *selig*, 'blessed') but this sense has been ousted by the current meaning of 'foolish' or 'absurd'. A phrase sometimes applied to the county of Suffolk in eastern England, silly Suffolk, dates from the days when Suffolk was one of the wealthier counties, and therefore 'happy' or 'fortunate'. But if the saying is quoted at all these days, either it has to be explained, as we have just done here, or it is taken to be an allegation of foolishness or backwardness.[3]

To anyone following a scientific approach to language history, this is all very unsatisfactory. No evidence has been displayed to support the various assertions, always a fatal flaw in any philological enquiry. Was the expression 'silly Suffolk' really created in the medieval period, so that meanings from Middle or Old English are relevant? Furthermore, the use of the word 'corruption' arouses suspicion, as it is not a normal part of the terminology of historical linguistics. In fact, as we shall see below, the modern word 'silly' is a regular phonetic development of Middle English word *seely*, with only the shortened vowel being a slight irregularity (though parallels for this can be found). Possibly the change of meaning is considered to be the corruption, but in fact the Middle English word already had a very wide range of senses, and it is this very vagueness which has allowed the narrowed development of the sole modern meaning of 'foolish'.

It thus seems very necessary to re-examine the evidence for this expression, and to look at how its meaning has been understood in the past. I have found 'silly Suffolk' no earlier than 1819. It occurs in the following quotation, and the meaning of 'silly' here is clearly far from 'holy':

> There is however one species of insanity, denominated GAME-MANIA, which, most probably from its locality, has escaped the notice of all those writers who have directed their attention to this malady; it is chiefly confined to the Eastern part of Suffolk, proverbially called SILLY SUFFOLK,

> from the imbecility, cupidity, and folly evinced in many of the public acts, which have emanated from its notorious Aristocracy.[4]

This comes from a tract (perhaps rather a rant) against game-hunting. But, importantly, the anonymous writer states that the phrase 'silly Suffolk' is proverbial and refers to foolishness; it must have been already known and assumed (at least by this author) to have this sense in 1819. A similar example comes from a verse published in Halesworth in Suffolk in 1846; after starting with 'Come, silly Suffolk', the author continues a few lines later with the explanation 'Thy sole assumption of the blockhead's name'.[5]

Soon after about 1820, the expression starts to become common in newspapers (but not elsewhere), especially in letters to the editor on political themes, or topics related to agricultural reform. It is often not clear from the context how the letter-writers themselves understood the phrase, but in most cases there is certainly no implication of piety. In 1824, an article on the Suffolk Life-Boat Association did conclude with:

> Never, surely, was an attempt made to confine exertions in the cause of humanity, to those only who hold particular creed. O, 'silly Suffolk'. Christianity, thank Heaven, is altogether of a different spirit.[6]

But much more typical are instances from letter-writers suggesting, for example, that the wrong man had been elected to parliament: 'There's a disgrace to Suffolk — O silly Suffolk!'; that the 'voters of Silly Suffolk (Suffolk farmers) shall vote freely and not be intimidated' (with 'silly' here implying 'naive' or 'supine'); or that recent political actions have 'delivered the shire from the contemptible nickname of Silly Suffolk'.[7] Numerous further examples could be cited from newspapers of before 1900, and whenever a connotation for the phrase can be deduced, it is of a pejorative or even insulting sense. The popularity in newspapers peaks in the 1890s, before dropping off rapidly (see Table 1).[8] All modern usage of the phrase should be seen as a vestige of this former popularity.

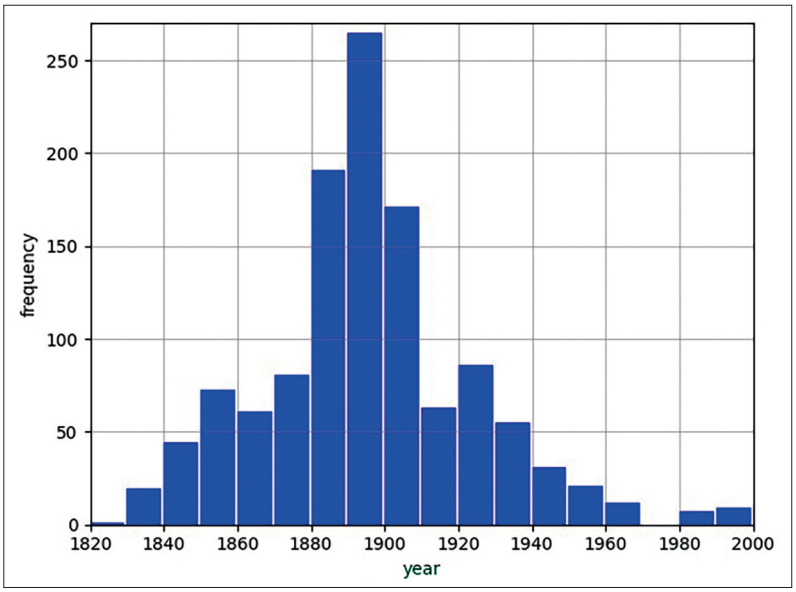

TABLE 1 – Frequency of 'silly Suffolk' in newspapers.
The bars represent the number of occurrences per decade.

Starting in 1871, we start to get antiquarian enquiries into the origin or meaning of the phrase. An anonymously authored book review even attempted to push back the phrase to the Anglo-Saxon period, as always, with the complete omission of any evidence:

> "Silly Suffolk," as it is commonly called, to the great but needless pain of worthy South-Folk, not conscious of exceptional unwisdom. […] it seems to us clear that the epithet is simply a localized instance of the curious revolution of meaning by which the Anglo-Saxon *selig*, holy, gradually acquired a contemptuous signification, as piety degenerated into superstition, and finally developed into 'silly' in its present acceptation. The fervent piety of the early East-Anglian monarchs, and the extraordinary devotion paid throughout the county to its hero-saint Edmund, amply account for its original application […].[9]

This may be the origin of the theory that 'silly Suffolk' is of medieval date. We could admit the possibility that some of this may be correct, but proof is still lacking. Enquiries of this sort apparently came only from gentleman amateurs (as may be assumed from their general character and from the frequent use of pseudonyms); no properly trained philologist seemed to have published any comment, and this deficiency has allowed mythology to reign until the present day. In 1877 'Habitans in alto' wrote:

> Thus 'silly,' written 'seely' in our earlier English, is, beyond a doubt, the German *selig*, which means 'blessed' […] It was, I think, in this particular sense of "lucky" or "happy" that the word "silly" had its primary application to our dear old Suffolk.[10]

Apart from the odd idea that a German word would be used in English (as opposed to being a cognate, which is in fact the case), this is not necessarily wrong. But clearly it is a only a hypothesis; Habitans has displayed no evidence to support his claim.

In 1877, however, the clergyman Cecil Deedes issued a very sensible plea for a more reasoned approach:

> There is absolutely no foundation for the statement, so persistently circulated of late, that this familiar localism was ever used in the sense of "holy" or "pure". Nor as far as we can learn can a single piece of evidence be adduced in favour of the assumption that Suffolk was at any time specially singled out for the designation "holy". The more correct meaning of the word "seli", is to be found in its mediæval use — artless, inoffensive, simple; but as there is no reason to think the expression "Silly Suffolk" can lay claim to anything like a remote ancestry, it is altogether improbable that this latter interpretation was understood in any such connection. It is unlikely that the phrase ever had any higher signification than that commonly accepted by us at the present day. It is much to be regretted that the misleading statement we have called into question should have gained currency by going the round of the public papers as if some interesting philological discovery had been made, which, after all, proves to be surmise and nothing more.[11]

This corrective was unfortunately not heeded. It was ignored in a series of letters to the London Evening Standard in 1898, which was triggered by a speech of Lord Kitchener when he said 'that he should have been a product of the silliest part of Suffolk if he had not been able to lead the magnificent troops confided to his direction to a successful issue in the campaign'. In response, a correspondent, evidently following the opinion of 'Habitans in alto', asserted that:

> the word "silly" applied to Suffolk is really a corruption of the German "selig" — happy or blessed — and is supposed to have been applied to the county on account of the numerous and beautiful churches for which Suffolk is renowned.[12]

A few days later, two correspondents wrote in support of this notion: firstly:

> There is abundant authority for the connection of "silly" and "selig", as any good dictionary will prove. The first meaning of the English word is 'happy', thence it has the sense of 'harmless';

and secondly:

> I open Johnson's Dictionary, and under "Silly" (adj.: German Selig), I find these meanings: — (1) Harmless; innocent.; inoffensive; plain ; artless, (2) Weak; helpless. (3) Foolish; witless. I leave it to anyone who knows Suffolk to say which applies best. Unquestionably the first.[13]

But there was a contrary view too:

> I doubt whether the meaning of "silly" [...] is to be found in the German *selig*, either in its sense of happy, blessed, &c, or in its sense of innocent, simple, helpless, &c. Some years ago, while engaged on a search in the Carew State papers, I came across the word "silly", used in the sense of 'rude' or 'uncultured', the sense in which it is much more likely to have been originally applied to Suffolk.[14]

These 1898 letters are, of course, no more than speculation, and except for the last are a backward step compared to the position advocated by Deedes. The writers can perhaps be excused in that the New English Dictionary fascicle containing a treatment of the word 'silly' did not appear until 1919. In that entry, last revised in 2013 in OED3, we find that forms such as *silie* (*syly*, *sylly,* etc.) are indeed variants with shortened vowel of *seely*, and are found from about 1450 in very many senses: worthy, good, pious, holy; auspicious, fortunate; helpless, defenceless, powerless; meagre, poor, trifling; weak, feeble, frail; weak, flimsy, trifling; sickly, ailing, in poor health; unfortunate, wretched; simple, rustic; lacking sophistication or refinement; ignorant, uneducated; lowly; plain, simple, uncomplicated; homely; foolish, thoughtless, empty-headed; characterized by or associated with foolishness.[15] These meanings are illustrated in the surname derived from the adjective, which takes modern forms such as Seeley, Selley, Silly, and many others. Hanks *et al.* give the interpretation 'happy, fortunate', or later 'pitiable' for the Middle English nickname from which the surname descends.[16] There are yet further extended senses in modern colloquialisms.

None of this, unfortunately, helps us determine the original intended meaning of 'silly Suffolk', nor its date of first usage. Unless examples prior to 1819 are found, both these issues must remain open. Many of the senses in the OED list are plausibly applicable to the county or its people, and the earliest examples are quite capable of bearing the negative or pejorative interpretations which have sometimes been given. A possible source might be a popular ballad or verse, perhaps of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, where vague meaning and alliteration would be useful attributes.[17] Meanwhile, assertions such as are found in the quotations at the head of this note would be better avoided. Literary critics need to be more aware of the very dubious history of the phrase.[18] Local newspapers could also stop propagating a myth as if it were established history.[19] There is no evidence at all for a medieval or earlier date for 'silly Suffolk', or that the original sense was 'holy', 'blessed' or 'pious'; these are quite likely no more than artificial reinterpretations of the late nineteenth century.

NOTES

1 Wareham 2005, 6.
2 Young 2019.
3 Halliday and Yallop 2007, 34.
4 Flagellus 1819, 5.
5 Hughman, 1846, 3.
6 *The Suffolk Chronicle*; or *Weekly General Advertiser & County Express*, 13 November 1824. In this and subsequent quotations from nineteenth-century newspapers, minor changes to punctuation have been made to conform more closely to modern usage.
7 *Bury and Norwich Post*, 21 January 1835, 2; *The Suffolk Chronicle*, or *Weekly General Advertiser & County Express*, 16 September 1837, 4; *The Suffolk Chronicle*, or *Weekly General Advertiser & County Express*, 18 August 1832, 4, respectively.
8 As found by searching the British Newspaper Archive, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/ (accessed 5 February 2022).
9 *The Spectator*, 25 March 1871.
10 *Ipswich Journal*, 6 March 1877.
11 *East Anglian Notes & Queries*, 1885–86, 230.
12 *London Evening Standard*, 18 November 1898, 6.
13 *London Evening Standard*, 23 November 1898, 2.
14 *London Evening Standard*, 28 November 1898, 3.
15 **silly, adj., n., and adv**. Oxford English Dictionary, https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/179761 (accessed 7 February 2022); compare also **sĕlī adj**. in the Middle English Dictionary, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED39301/ (accessed 9 February 2022).
16 Hanks *et al.* 2016, 2370.
17 A verse published in 1586 concerning a fire in Beccles in Suffolk did in fact refer to 'sillie poore Beckles', with *sillie* here apparently in the sense 'defenceless, powerless, unfortunate', see D. Sterrie, *A briefe sonet declaring the lamentation of Beckles* (Norwich: 1586), https://hdl.huntington.org/digital/collection/p15150coll3/id/5298/ (accessed 11 February 2022). I thank Laura Wright for pointing me to this example.
18 Kate Noske, 'Telling spaces: reading Randolph Stow's expatriation', *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature*, 19 (2019), 19–1, manages to write a whole essay speculating on the meaning of the phrase without being aware of any of its notorious history.
19 For example, 'A Suffolker, a fair-maid or 'Silly Suffolk': What are people from Suffolk called?', *East Anglian Daily Times*, 9 August 2020.

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ARCHAEOLOGY IN SUFFOLK 2021

compiled by ABBY ANTROBUS, HANNAH CUTLER, FAYE MINTER
and JAMES ROLFE *with object drawings by* DONNA WREATHALL

THIS IS A selection of the new discoveries reported in 2021. Information on these has been incorporated into the Suffolk Historic Environment Record (formerly the Sites and Monuments Record), which is maintained by the Archaeological Service of Suffolk County Council at Bury St Edmunds. Where available, the Record number is quoted at the beginning of each entry. The Suffolk Historic Environment Record is now partially accessible online via the Suffolk Heritage Explorer web pages (https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk). Many of the excavation/evaluation reports are also available online via the Archaeological Data Service (http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/greylit/).

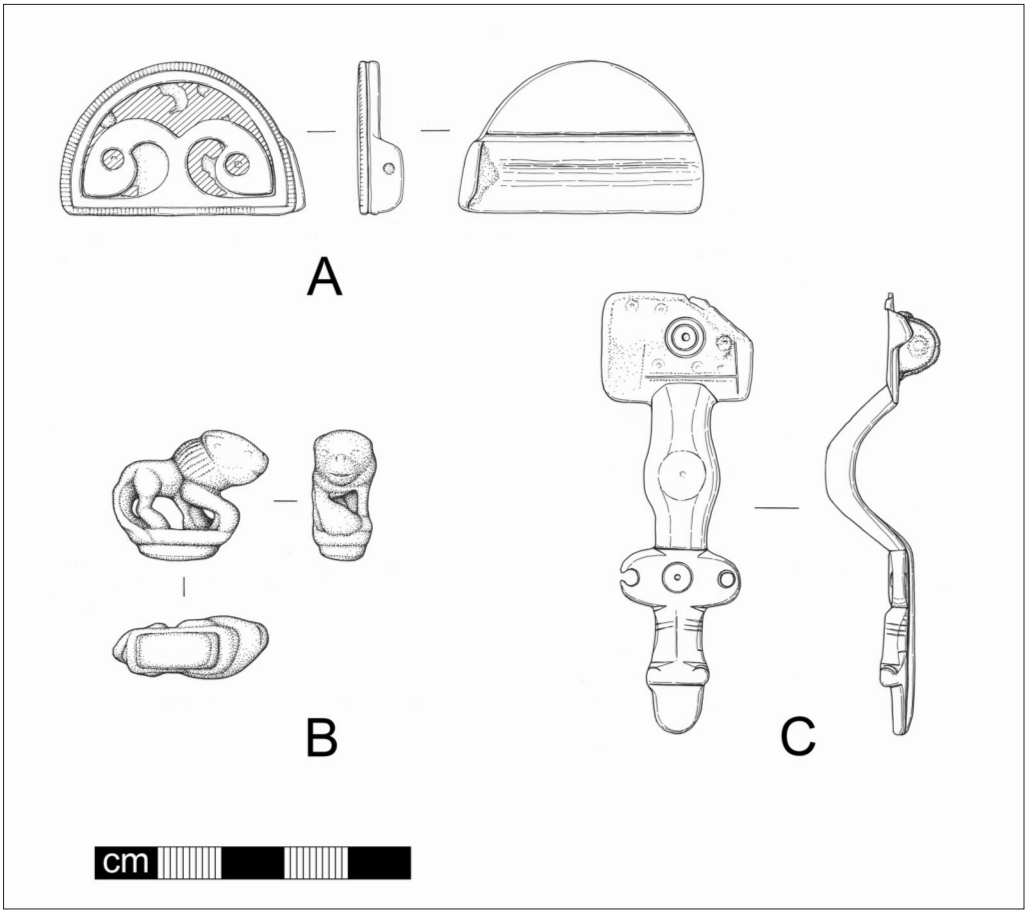
Most of the finds are recorded through the national Portable Antiquities Scheme, the Suffolk part of which is also based in the Archaeological Service of Suffolk County Council. Further details and images of many of the finds can be found on the Scheme's website (http://finds.org.uk/database) and for many of the finds listed here the PAS reference number is included in the text. During 2021 the PAS finds in Suffolk were recorded by Anna Booth and Phil Hughes. Following requests from metal detector users, we have removed all grid references from entries concerning finds reported by them.

We continue to be grateful to all those who contribute information for this annual list.

Abbreviations:

Mdf	Metal detector find
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme (see above). The Suffolk contact for this national scheme is Anna Booth (tel. 01284 741241; e-mail anna.booth@suffolk.gov.uk).
SCCAS	Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service, Bury Resource Centre, Hollow Road, Bury St Edmunds, IP32 7AY (tel. 01284 741230; e-mail archaeology@suffolk.gov.uk)
SHER	Suffolk Historic Environment Record (see above)

Pa	Palaeolithic	**Ro**	Roman
Me	Mesolithic	**Sx**	Saxon
Ne	Neolithic	**Md**	Medieval
BA	Bronze Age	**PM**	Post-Medieval
IA	Iron Age	**Un**	Period unknown
Pr	Prehistoric		



ABOVE:
FIG. 84 – Iron Age copper-alloy strap fitting from Bedfield (A); Roman copper-alloy miniature lion figurine from Bedfield (B); Saxon copper-alloy small-long brooch from Redgrave (C).

LEFT:
FIG. 85 – Medieval silver brooch from Bradfield St George.

OPPOSITE PAGE:
FIG. 86 – Saxon copper-alloy strap-end with silver rivets from Eye.

INDIVIDUAL FINDS AND DISCOVERIES

Ashfield cum Thorpe (AST 044). **IA**. **Ro**. Silver unit of the Iceni, VA 80 (SF-A6F9EC), 1st- and 4th-century Roman coinage. (Mdf).

Bacton (BAC 082). **IA**. Gold *stater* of Eastern region (Cunobelin), VA 1931, BMC 1794, pierced with 2 holes (SF-6A9C08). (Mdf).

Bardwell (BAR 149). **PM**. A complete gold bodkin with a maker's mark, the form of which is known in only 2 examples for 17th-century London and becomes much more common from 1700 onwards (SF-A3AE26). (Mdf).

Barham (BRH 027). **IA**. Known site. Gold Gallo-Belgic quarter *stater* of the Morini, VA 69-1 (SF-01F6F7), silver unit of unclear type, probably Iceni Bury or face/horse type, ABC no. 1495ff. (SF-01FD5F). (Mdf).

Bawdsey (BAW 289). **IA**. Copper-alloy *stater* of the East Anglian region/Iceni, VA 610-2 (SF-23901E). (Mdf).

Beck Row, Holywell Row and Kenny Hill (MNL 1165). **Ro**. **Sx**. 4th-century coinage. Copper-alloy 9th-century openwork cross disc brooch (SF-DAD780). (Mdf).

Bedfield (BED 057). **IA**. **Ro**. Copper-alloy and red glass inlaid strap fitting (SF-AC4B15) (Fig. 84 A), 1st-century copper-alloy Colchester and Colchester-derivative brooches. Roman greyware sherds, 4th-century coinage, copper-alloy miniature lion figurine (SF-AFB77C) (Fig. 84 B), copper-alloy spoon handle (SF-A0450E), copper-alloy miniature votive axe (SF-9FDD42), copper-alloy lion-headed mount (SF-9FC361), copper-alloy enamelled seal box lid (SF-AC1EDE), copper-alloy enamelled headstud brooch (SF-D01346), copper-alloy continental plate brooch with white metal coating, Mackreth Type 2.b.1, (SF-CF6FEE), copper-alloy enamelled trumpet brooch (SF-C01CE6), 2 copper-alloy enamelled domed boss

FIG. 87 – Bronze Age gold finger ring from Eye.

plate brooches (SF-AC1286 and SF-AC0639). (Mdf).

Bradfield St George (BSG 052). **Md.** Gilded silver annular brooch with snakeshead terminals (SF-46E2CB) (Fig. 85). (Mdf).

Corton (COR 156, COR 157). **Me. Ne. BA.** 176 worked flints including retouched flakes, blades and scrapers and cores.

Dalham (DAL 047). **Md.** Gold finger ring with inset jewel (IOW-9E9D9C). (Mdf).

Debenham (DBN 257). **Md.** Gold finger ring with a pale red cabochon gem setting (SF-B68BE3). (Mdf).

Denham (DEN 030). **Md.** Copper-alloy figurative mount of a reclining knight (IOW-1585C5). (Mdf).

Eye (EYE 082). **Sx.** Copper-alloy strap-end with silver rivets (SF-8516A4) (Fig. 86). (Mdf).

Eye (EYE 242). **BA.** Gold spiral finger ring (SF-6FD899) (Fig. 87). (Mdf).

Felsham (FHM 060). **IA. Ro. Sx.** Copper-alloy Nauheim-derivative brooch (SF-884768). Ceramic building material, greyware, Samian, and colour-coated sherds, 1st-, 2nd-, 3rd- and 4th-century silver and copper-alloy coinage, Colchester and Colchester-derivative and Hod Hill brooches, enamelled disc plate brooch (SF-18BF6A), bracelets (SF-1A3029 and SF-60D6D3), vulvate mount (SF-8B7357), finger rings, 1 with blue glass and 1 with enamel settings (SF-8B693A and SF-8876C2), copper-alloy small-long brooch (SF-196DF4). (Mdf).

Finningham (FNN 041). **IA. Ro.** Hoard of 83 IA coins and 37 Ro coins, dating between 169 BC and AD 54 (SF-BD9934). (Mdf)

Finningham (FNN 042) **Ro.** 3rd- and 4th-century coinage, greyware and Samian ware (SF-17FD4B and SF-013E2D), copper-alloy skirted terret (SF-EBE2D9), ring key (SF-D69415), plate brooch (SF-D932D6). (Mdf).

Helmingham (HLM 050). **IA. Ro.** Hoard of 4 gold *staters* and 10 silver *denarii* (SF-AEA396). (Mdf).

Helmingham (HLM 062). **Sx.** Silver coin of Offa of Mercia, North, vol. I, no.338 (SF-684647), copy of an early medieval Northumbrian *styca* probably derived from the coinage of Aethelred II (SF-FF2868), silver finger ring with Trewhiddle-style beasts (SF-FF2137). (Mdf).

Hemingstone (HMG 059). **Sx.** Copper-alloy hooked tag (SF-D5CF33), key (SF-D5C4BB), silver coin of Aethelred II, North vol. I, no.768 (SF-D59171). (Mdf).

Henley (HEN 035) **IA.** Gold *stater*, Talbot Type B, sub-Type A2, BMC 218-78 (SF-1DC380). (Mdf).

FIG. 88 – Mesolithic flint axehead from Heveningham.

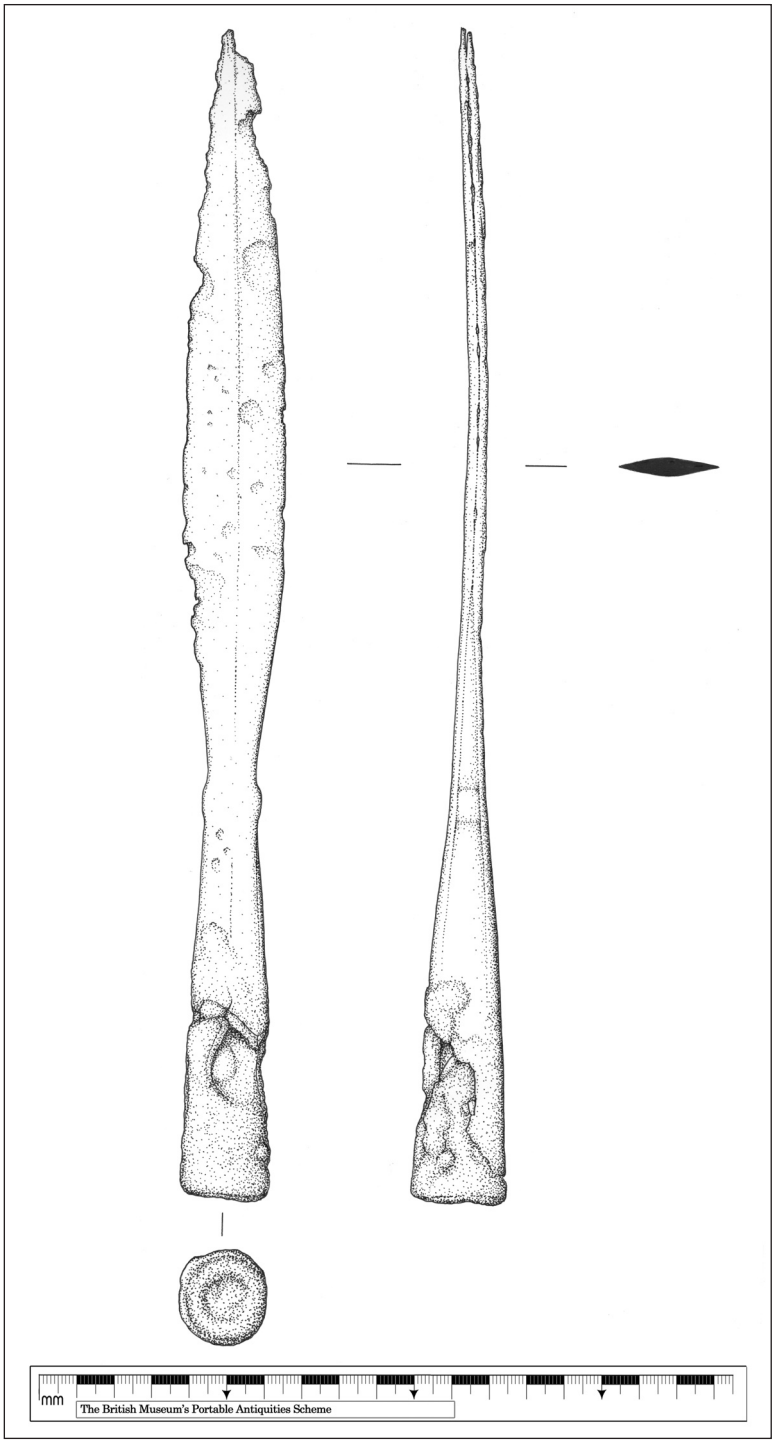


FIG. 89 – Saxon iron spearhead from Ixworth.

Heveningham (HEV 037). **Me.** Flint tranchet axehead (SF-619158) (Fig. 88). (Mdf).

Higham (HGM 037). **BA.** Hoard of 14 objects (SF-B34E3C). (Mdf).

Hinderclay (HNY 078). **BA.** Hoard of 21 objects and casting waste (SF-E55329). (Mdf).

Hitcham (HTC 139). **Sx.** Silver hooked tag (SF-E7C704). (Mdf).

Ixworth (IXW 196). **Sx.** Iron spearhead (SF-58DAE2) (Fig. 89). (Chance find).

Long Melford (LMD 363). **IA. Ro.** Iron Age silver unit of Cunobelin (NMS-2DE41B), cast copper-alloy potin South Thames, so-called Cantii type (NMS-2E0085), handmade Iron Age pottery sherds, 1st-, 2nd- and 3rd-century coinage, Roman greyware sherds, silver finger ring (NMS-CF7FEE), copper-alloy amphora-shaped strap-end fragment (NMS-FF443F), copper-alloy bracelets (NMS-268C20, NMS-C14D27, NMS-C0AFDD), copper-alloy votive axehead (NMS-F90CE9). (Mdf).

Monk Soham (MKS 038). **IA.** Silver East Anglian/Iceni unit, VA 740 (SF-ABF3C8). (Mdf).

Redgrave (RGV 094). **Sx.** Copper-alloy small-long brooch (SF-B04E3E) (Fig. 84 C). (Mdf).

Shimpling (SPL 041). **IA. Ro.** Copper-alloy tankard handle (SF-CF9446), cosmetic pestle (SF-F64126). Copper-alloy 1st- to 4th-century coinage.

Sudbury (SUY 216). **Mes. Ne. BA.** 123 worked flints and debitage, the majority of Neolithic to early Bronze Age date with a smaller amount of Mesolithic or early Neolithic material (SF-C5233B). (Fieldwalking).

Yaxley (YAX 068). **BA. Ro. Sx. Md.** 737 pottery sherds of later prehistoric, Roman, early medieval and medieval pottery (SF-06FF36). (Fieldwalking).

SURVEYS

Rendlesham, Land at Rendlesham (TM/3353; RLM 044). A fieldwalking survey was carried out by a team of volunteers, with training from Professor Tom Williamson, University of East Anglia, as part of the Rendlesham Revealed project led by SCCAS and funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund. Material was recovered from the prehistoric period through to the post-medieval period. Many struck flints were collected, mostly simple flakes and a well-made arrowhead. A thin scatter of abraded Roman pottery and medieval pottery was recovered, indicating that the fields were under cultivation during these periods. Small concentrations of unworn early medieval pottery sherds were also collected. Material from the 16th–19th centuries included pottery, clay pipe stems and bottle fragments, as well as large quantities of post-medieval brick and tile recovered, indicating intense manuring and cultivation by the farm lying to the N.

Professor Tom Williamson, University of East Anglia,
for the Rendlesham Revealed project.

Rendlesham, Land in the river valley flood plain (TM/3253; RLM 109). Geoarchaeological fieldwork was conducted by a team of volunteers led by Professor Charles French and Dr Sean Taylor, University of Cambridge. This work is part of the Rendlesham Revealed project, led by SCCAS and funded by the National Lottery Heritage fund. The fieldwork aimed to investigate and record the soil/sedimentary sequence across the Deben valley floodplain floor to the N of the early medieval settlement site at Rendlesham, and to prospect for wet/waterlogged archive deposits. This study aimed to provide stratigraphic, vegetational and chronological data on the past vegetational development of the valley and human impacts upon it during the last 10,000 years.

A series of 85 hand auger holes were made in 10 transects. This was accompanied by 4 targeted machine-drilled boreholes made into the former Deben palaeochannel deposits to

retrieve intact cores for palynological and stratigraphic studies. At least 3 palaeochannels were identified. The main one was *c*.2.5m to 3.6m deep, well preserved and waterlogged, dating from at least the late 5th millennium BC into the medieval period. The palaeochannel splits into 2 main channels. Radiocarbon-dating is underway to identify whether the channel was open in the early medieval period. 2 more shallow channels were seen: 1 is a former stream *c*.1–1.5m deep infilled with organic silt and peat; the other contained possible tidal beach sand and silt deposits.

Preliminary results from further pollen analysis showed that in the river valley, the vegetation was mainly wet grass/sedge fen habitat, which slowly became more acidic due to soil erosion from the higher ground as a result of intensifying agricultural impact. Following this, the floodplain developed into grassland meadows, probably caused by human exploitation of the wetland vegetation, opening up the landscape. Lime, ash and beech were growing close to the palaeochannel, with alder likely growing in small stands on the wetter fringes, and in the wider areas there was a mixed deciduous woodland with oak and hazel.

Further analysis is underway to understand in more detail the Roman-Saxon and early medieval agricultural development of this landscape, and to determine whether the river Deben was still navigable and within the tidal reach of the sea at these times.

Professor Charles French, University of Cambridge,
for the Rendlesham Revealed project.

Sutton, Land at Sutton (TM/3045; SUT 022). Volunteers from the Suffolk Archaeological Field Group (SAFG) undertook magnetometry survey of a large multiperiod site within the Deben valley as part of the Rendlesham Revealed project led by SCCAS and funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund. The site, which was known to be active from the Iron Age to the 5th century, was found to contain extensive features, including likely Roman and Iron Age structures, along with some industrial activity (Fig. 90).

John Rainer, Suffolk Archaeological Field Group,
for the Rendlesham Revealed project.

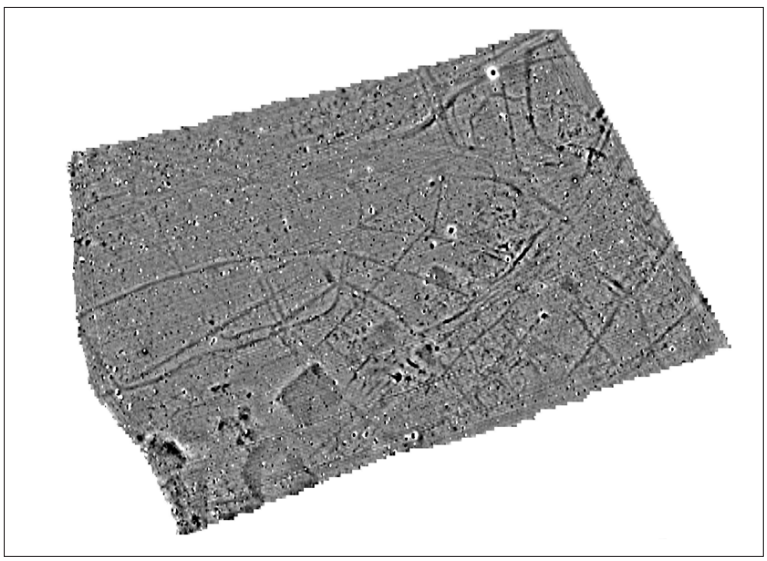


FIG. 90 – Geophysical survey results at Sutton (© *SAFG*).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

Bacton, Land S of Pretyman Avenue (TM/0566; BAC 050). Excavation confirmed the presence of an enclosed farmstead dating from the Early Romano-British period. Only the W part was revealed, with a settlement boundary ditch continuing beyond the E edge of excavation. Dating evidence suggests a peak in activity during the mid-1st century AD with the farmstead probably abandoned in the early 2nd century. Remains included 4 subcircular roundhouse dwellings with the vestiges of post settings and hearths, along with some pits. A pit within 1 of the roundhouses contained a complete Neolithic handaxe in good condition, an item which may have been deliberately curated. Truncation of at least 1 of the roundhouses by a later ditch and the presence of other intercutting linear and discrete features suggests that not all these dwellings were contemporary, with the domestic focus of the settlement likely shifting episodically. Evidence for possible ritual activity associated with such shifts was discovered; 1 of the roundhouse gullies was truncated by a pit that produced a group of pottery indicative of special deposition, including a complete vessel containing a copper-alloy brooch.

Graeme Clarke, OA East, for RPS Consulting.

Barking, Gallows Hill, Gipping Valley (TM/1053; BRK 104). Excavation between 2011 and 2020 revealed multiperiod occupation related to prolonged utilisation of the riverine landscape of the site. Prehistoric remains included Mesolithic struck flint, which was mainly present as residual or unstratified material, a small group of Early Neolithic cut features, a small number of Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age features which may attest to seasonal or episodic occupation, and a single Iron Age feature. The site appears to have formed part of the undeveloped, possibly agricultural, hinterland of the Roman settlement of *Combretovium*. Extensive dispersed Anglo-Saxon activity was recorded with 8 sunken-featured buildings, complemented by a further 4 recorded during the previous excavation phases, several associated features and an unusual figure-of-eight ditch arrangement (Fig. 91). Several undated post-hole structures may be associated with this activity. Subsequently, there appeared to be a decline in activity at this location in the Saxo-Norman and medieval periods.

Andrew A.S. Newton, Wardell Armstrong LLP, for Lafarge Aggregates Ltd.

Barton Mills, Sunnica East Sites A and B (TL 6673 and TL 69 72; BTM 093-94). See below, *Freckenham, Worlington and Barton Mills*.

Beck Row, Land adjacent to 1 St. John's Street (TL/6977; MNL 1160). Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age struck flints were recovered from pits during evaluation, although some could be residual. 4 features (ditches and pits) were tentatively dated to the medieval period and included a copper-alloy composite strap-end, *c.*AD 1270–1400. Medieval and post-medieval pottery sherds were fragmentary, but of note was a sherd of a Saintonge polychrome jug, indicating an affluent household in the vicinity. The remaining wares were local Fenland and Bury-type coarsewares. Animal bones included domesticates as well as an accumulation of frog/toad bones, which were likely associated with old ponds.

Romy McIntosh and Mark Hinman, Pre-Construct Archaeology,
for RPS Consulting on behalf of Tilia Homes.

Bramford, Land adjacent to Clarice House (TM/1346; BRF 181). Evaluation identified a focus of 11th/12th-century activity close to the junction of Bramford Lane and Bramford

FIG. 91 – Anglo-Saxon features at Gallows Hill, Barking (© *Wardell Armstrong*).

Road, yielding 43 sherds of early medieval pottery, a small collection of fired clay, and shell fragments from ditches, a pit, and a quarry feature.

Martin Cuthbert, Cotswold Archaeology,
for Artisan Planning and Property Services on behalf of Helmingham Holdings Ltd.

Bramford, Land adjacent to Clarice House, Bramford Road (TM/1346; BRF 181). Following the evaluation noted above, 3 areas were excavated between service trenches. 1 revealed a ditch seen in evaluation, a pair of medieval pits, and a large irregular feature of probable natural origin, with the whole indicating a back-plot area for a small, low-status 11th/12th to 14th-century settlement at the junction of 2 historic routeways.

John Newman Archaeological Services,
for Artisan Planning and Property Services, on behalf of Helmingham Holdings Ltd.

Brantham, Land S of Slough Road (TM/1034; BNT 102). 22 trenches were excavated across 2.5ha. Acidic soils had impacted preservation limiting some classes of material such as animal bone. A small assemblage of Post-Deverel–Rimbury pottery, most likely dating to the Later Bronze Age, included a sherd from the shoulder of an angular-shouldered jar and a coarse base angle sherd with a rare crushed flint-dusted bottom. Evidence of enclosure ditches, pits and hearths with traces of *in situ* burning and abundant charcoal denote a settlement site.

Tom Revell and Christiane Meckseper, Pre-Construct Archaeology,
for Rainier Developments Ltd.

Bungay, Land off St John's Road (TM/3488; BUN 196). Evaluation and excavation established the presence of an Iron Age boundary ditch, along with smaller enclosure ditches and large and small pits. No specific zone of ironworking was clear, although the recovery of both slag and hammerscale suggest that ironworking happened nearby. Evidence of domestic occupation was also lacking, but various contexts yielded a small assemblage of largely Middle Iron Age pottery. The site appears to have been abandoned after the Iron Age, with

no further evidence of use until the post-medieval period when further ditches were created.

Fabian Danielsson and Simon Carlyle, Pre-Construct Archaeology, for Cripps Developments Ltd.

Burstall and Somersham, Land E of The Channel, Burstall and S of Church Farm, Somersham (TM/0846 and TM/0847; BUS 019 and SSH 041). 175 trenches were excavated across 7 targeted areas, revealing evidence for an extensive early to high medieval agricultural landscape with some limited indication of earlier (Bronze and Iron Age to Roman) and later activity. The Early and Middle Anglo-Saxon periods were poorly represented, with just a few sherds recovered, almost entirely residual material.

Evidence for the medieval occupation and utility of the landscape comprised field boundaries, enclosures and associated occupation features. Most activity appears to have its origins in the Late Anglo-Saxon period, with subsequent predominant evidence from throughout the high medieval period (11th–14th centuries) suggestive of the presence of a number of small to moderately sized farmsteads. There was evidence for crop processing and small-scale industrial activity/metalworking. Cattle, sheep/goat and pig faunal remains, marine shells, nutshells and berry seeds were encountered in moderate quantities, suggesting some dietary variation and the exploitation of a variety of food sources, both local and those presumably traded from the coast.

After the 14th century, activity appears to have been scaled back, coinciding with a wider trend during this period of settlement shrinkage and abandonment. Limited areas provided evidence suggestive of continuing habitation as opposed to ongoing agricultural management of the landscape, with the recovery of animal bone indicative of the initial stages of butchery and carcass processing recovered from features of post-medieval date that is also indicative of an ongoing pastoral element to landscape use.

Anna Wolf, Cotswold Archaeology, for Enso Energy Ltd.

Bury St Edmunds, 81 Guildhall Street, (TL/8564; BSE 703). Evaluation and monitoring encountered the town ditch with its associated bank, of which little remained in relation to the projected depth of the ditch and volume of upcast, suggesting that the bank material was removed from the site for use elsewhere as either building material, or for lime production. A full profile of the ditch could not be gleaned due to health and safety concerns, but it was observed to run on the alignment projected from earlier nearby investigations (BSE 179, BSE 295 and BSE 363). The earliest dumping/silting fill encountered produced abraded pottery dating to the 15th–16th centuries and evidence of animal butchery, possibly for horn production nearby. Later fills show the ditch going into disuse, with no maintenance and deliberate backfilling, suggestive of the expansion of the adjacent St Andrew's Street within the post-medieval period. This area of the town became wealthy at this time (particularly associated with the wool trade), with the extant house fronting onto Guildhall Street to the E originating in the 18th century, owned by the merchant and banker James Oakes. Buildings associated with yarn production within the site during the post-medieval period were demolished by James' son, Henry, to provide 81 Guildhall Street with a more pleasant view of the nearby park to the W of St Andrew's Street, and to make room for stabling. These yarn production structures or stables likely explain traces of a post-medieval structure.

A buried topsoil and subsoil predated the town ditch and bank, likely resulting from early medieval agricultural practices located on the periphery of the town. 2 smaller areas monitored directly N and S of 81 Guildhall Street suggested that the area had been heavily landscaped during its construction and expansion.

Daniel McConnell, Britannia Archaeology Ltd, for Mothersole Builders.

Bury St Edmunds, The Weymed Site (Area B), Honey Hill (TL/8563; BSE 376). Saxon and medieval deposits were uncovered during the 2011 evaluation of the S part of the proposed development site, and evaluation of this N part identified a main phase of medieval activity (11th–14th centuries) correlating with the most intense phase of activity identified previously.

A number of undated post-holes are likely to represent (an) ancillary structure(s) related to the buildings identified to the S.

Eva M. Gonzalez-Suarez, Britannia Archaeology Ltd, for Murfet Group.

Capel St Mary, Land adjacent to Longfield Road (TM/0938; CSM 047). Excavation of 3 adjacent areas in the S of the site (combined area of 0.44ha) followed geophysical survey and evaluation. Single sherds of pottery (possibly residual) found in a couple of small pits and residual flint flakes represented Middle Bronze Age and Late Iron Age activity. Various ditches, pits, and a large, partially ditched enclosure represented Roman occupation. Features within the enclosure suggested limited activity, with no evidence present for buildings or structures. Other ditches possibly defined part of a track or an irregular field system. A short-lived medieval farmstead/settlement was represented by a sequence of intercutting ditches and scatters of small pits and possible post-holes, dated by pottery as 12th–early 13th century. Field boundary ditches and a former track running along the S boundary of the site represented late medieval and post-medieval agricultural land use.

Kieron Heard, Archaeology South-East, for RPS Consultation Services.

Clare, Clare Castle Country Park (TL/7745; CLA 008). Following the hiatus caused by Covid, which delayed the 2020 season, the final stage of this 3-year community excavation took place in 2021 within the inner bailey. The results have been rewarding with some stunning highlights. The project expanded on trenches opened in 2019 and reopened a hand-dug trench located in the woods against the S bailey bank that was first examined in 2013 (Fig. 92). In addition, test pits were also excavated to answer specific questions; an ongoing aim has been to define the extent of the pre-Norman cemetery, and we can now see that it covers at least 3000m^2, with burials on its W edge cut away by the moat.

Digging in Trench 6 revealed the presence of large post-holes that seem to represent an aisled timber building probably, from its style, 12th/13th century in date, which would be consistent with the majority of pottery recovered in this area. Other finds included an iron arrowhead, a padlock key and a copper-alloy couching needle.

The reopened trench by the S bailey bank had been started in 2013 and it had been tentatively suggested that the bonded remains of flint and mortar footings might survive quite close to the surface. On further investigation, this material all appears to be significant dumps of redeposited masonry, possibly deliberately cleared up to the bank in the medieval (or early post-medieval) period in order to reuse the land, perhaps for gardens. Impressive here was the large amount of high-quality decorative building material recovered, included as painted window glass fragments and glazed tiles. The contrasting absence of worked building stone suggests a structure that was demolished quickly, with the readily useable elements salvaged and the trickier material dumped. Amongst the material were 2 fragments of an intricately carved, double-sided ivory comb of 11th/12th-century date, made from African elephant ivory (Fig, 93). 1 side panel depicts the hind legs of a beast that could be a griffin, set amidst foliage. The other side is decorated with a lion; one of a possible pair with the second now missing. The teeth and sides of the comb are absent. It appears that at some point the object may have suffered lamination, causing the teeth to fail, and rather than discarding such a fine object, the teeth were neatly sawn away leaving the decorative panels to be reused. Ivory combs of this form have been described as 'liturgical' combs, thought to be used by bishops and priests

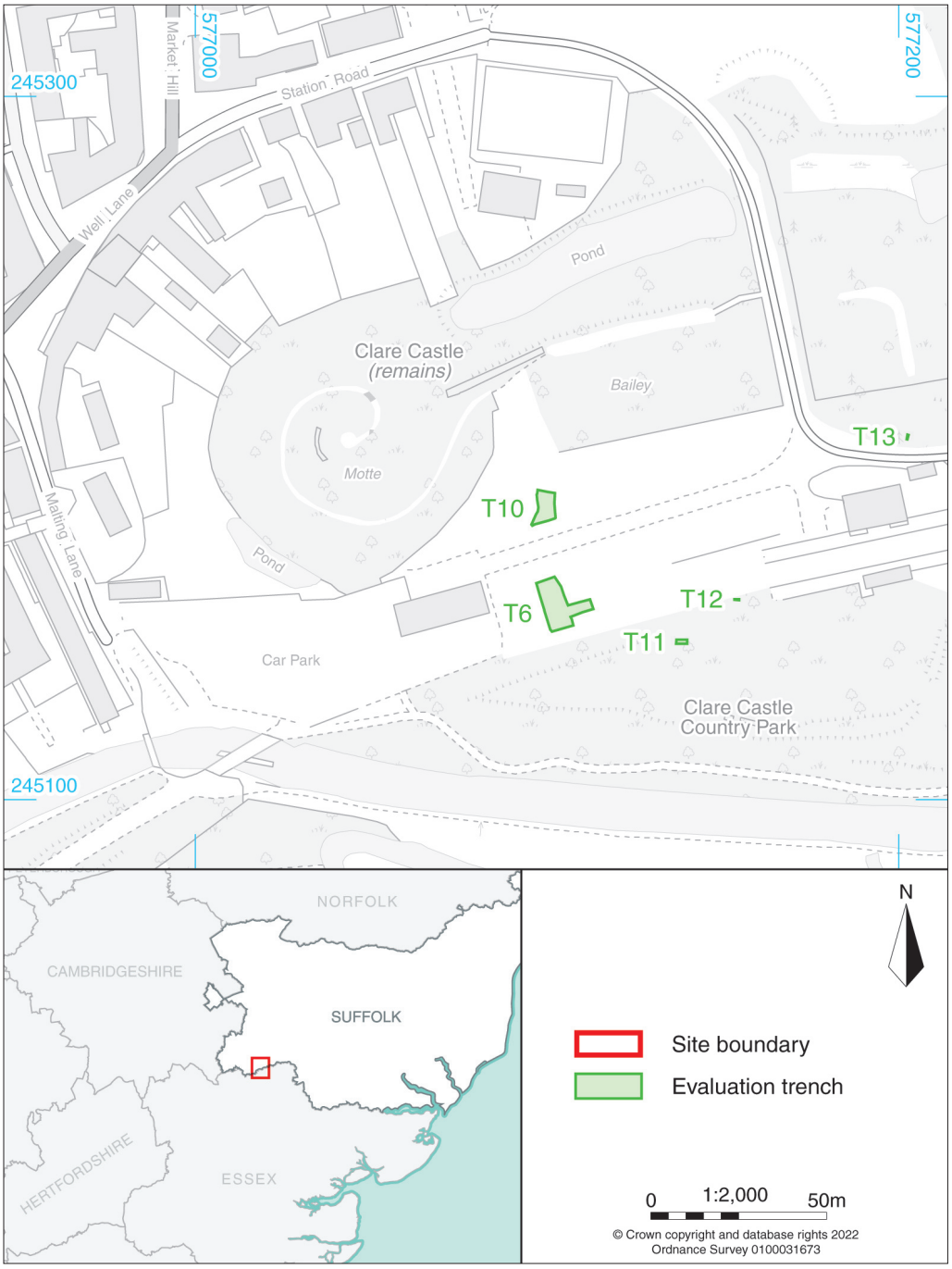


FIG. 92 – Plan of trenches at Clare Castle (© *Cotswold Archaeology*).

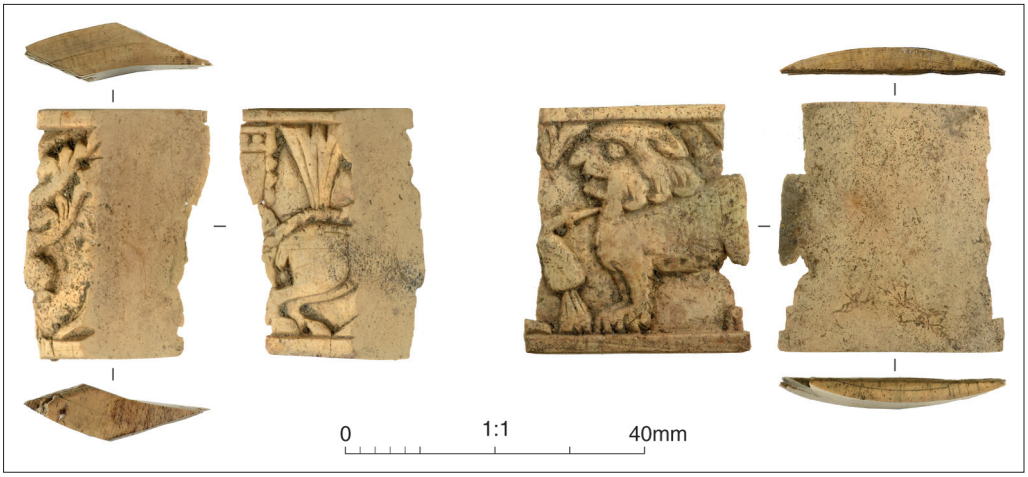


FIG. 93 – Double-sided ivory comb of 11th- to 12th-century date from Clare Castle (© *Cotswold Archaeology*).

before and during the mass. However, some scholars feel that they would have had a more secular use as luxury items, and are perhaps better identified as Byzantine combs, reflecting their point of origin in Egypt, Syria, or just possibly Constantinople. This appears to be the first example of an ivory Byzantine comb excavated this century and in Britain these combs are scarce. There are only 3 known examples, 1 each in the Victoria & Albert Museum and the British Museum, both of which are old finds without decent provenances, and a third fragment from a stratified context under York Minster.

Jo Caruth and Ruth Beveridge, Cotswold Archaeology (with information from Ian Riddler), for Clare Castle Country Park Trust.

Coddenham, Shrubland Quarry (TM/1253; CDD 136). A 0.86ha area was excavated in advance of the final phase of the main quarry identifying a small concentration of features in the SW, including a boundary ditch and a large pit (both Bronze Age), with several small undated features. 2 small, isolated pits to the E were also Bronze Age.

Becca Smart, Cotswold Archaeology, for Andrew Josephs Associates, on behalf of Brett Aggregates.

Combs, Land adjacent to 2 Oak Thatch, Park Road (TM/0356; COM 091). Evaluation for a development on the N edge of what is mapped on Hodskinson's 1783 map as 'Trickers Green' revealed one shallow post-medieval ditch and a small scatter of medieval pottery sherds. A large ditch on the road frontage is the likely edge of the green and this will be preserved in the development. An extensive scatter of small aluminium fragments also confirmed the area as the site of a WW2 aircraft crash in 1940, which destroyed a farm.

John Newman Archaeological Services, for Smith & Co. Properties Ltd.

Darsham, Land S of Darsham station (TM/4069; DAR 061). Evaluation revealed 25 ditches, 23 pits, 7 post-holes, 6 gullies, a charcoal-rich pit and a ditch or pit. Prehistoric remains were found, but the main period of activity was medieval (12th–14th centuries), relating to a small, low-status domestic settlement. Post-medieval and modern features were likely associated with agricultural activity.

E. Hicks (CAT), for M Scott Properties Ltd.

East Bergholt, Land S of Heath Road (TM/0835; EBG 060). Excavation recorded a heavily robbed, 3-flued brick kiln surviving only as footings, and fronted by a large rake-out pit. There were 2 brick types in the kiln structure; unfrogged early 19th-century types, and frogged examples of the mid-19th century. The kiln is absent on both the 1838 tithe map and the 1st-edition Ordnance Survey sheet of 1887. Evidence therefore suggests it was originally constructed *c.*1840, repaired in frogged brick *c.*1850–60, and abandoned and infilled before the 1876–84 survey for the OS map.

B. Holloway, H. Brooks and M. Loughton (CAT), for Hills Residential.

Elmswell, Land E of Ashfield Road (TL/9964; EWL 039). Excavations were undertaken on a medieval settlement site. A level of activity was indicated by a copper-alloy hooked tag probably dating to the 8th/9th centuries, but the earliest evidence for settlement and agricultural activity dates to the 10th–11th centuries AD, with Late Saxon pottery recovered from 2 boundary ditches. An extensive field system was developed in the late 11th century and occasionally altered over the next 100 years. A series of ditches formed small enclosures that were used to manage livestock, probably sheep.

Occupation intensified between the 13th and 14th centuries, with at least 3 buildings constructed in the central part of the site. These bordered a trackway that led towards the common land to the W at Button Haugh Green, and associated new ditches also seem to be related to livestock management. A large assemblage of pottery and small objects were recovered from features, confirming that the buildings were domestic in nature and occupied by a relatively wealthy, farming family. Occupation appears to have ceased in the late 15th or early 16th centuries, with the land reverting back to pasture/arable. Reoccupation of the site occurred in the late 18th/early 19th centuries, when a small cottage was built and the land was subdivided by 2 field boundary ditches, as shown on historic mapping.

Laura Desrosiers-Whalley and Simon Carlyle, Pre-Construct Archaeology,
for RPS Group on behalf of Matthew Homes Ltd.

Euston and Fakenham Magna, Land N of RAF Honington, Euston Estate Solar Farm (TL/8876; EUN 075-6, FKM 085). Evaluation was undertaken across 3 areas. Widely distributed pits, found both as apparently isolated features and in small clusters, were associated with Beaker pottery and flintwork, and a probable Early Bronze Age 'pit-pyre' cremation burial was identified. Ditches recorded were found to belong to an extensive complex of Middle Bronze Age enclosures and boundaries. At least 4 major ditched enclosures, bounded by substantial ditches, were revealed.

Evidence for later activity was limited, but included a probable Romano-British boundary ditch and 2 pits producing single sherds of Roman pottery. Post-medieval finds were concentrated adjacent to the known site of a 19th-century farmstead, and the base of a concrete structure representing part of the infrastructure of the WW2 airfield at RAF Honington was revealed.

Lawrence Billington, OA East, for Island Green Power.

Fakenham Magna, Land N of RAF Honington, Euston Estate Solar Farm (TL/8876; FKM 085). See above, *Euston and Fakenham Magna*.

Felixstowe, Walton High Street (TM/2936; FEX 299). A 3ha site was excavated. 2 large pits, more than 2m in diameter and 80cm deep, had beautifully layered fills containing carinated bowl and Mildenhall ware ceramics, dated to the earliest Neolithic. There were 3 groups of Beaker pits across the same area of the site, towards the N edge of a slight promontory with

the land falling away to the N and W into shallow valleys.

6 barrows, ranging from 5m to 30m in diameter, occupied the edges of the promontory, 1 of which contained a central cremation burial within an upturned Early Bronze Age urn. Middle Bronze Age field systems covered large parts of the site on 2 slightly different alignments looking NE and SW. There was evidence for settlement activity through the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, and a thousand years of cremation burial from the Early Bronze Age through to the Early Iron Age. At the latter end of this sequence was a cemetery group of 22 cremations and cremation-related deposits arranged in a semicircle some 6.5m in diameter (Fig. 94), though with additional pits at the W and S. None of the initial pits contained any intrinsically datable material, but while they held no urns some had been 'burnt out' prior to the deposition of the cremated material. The burning was sufficiently intense to fire the edges of the pit an inch or two into the surrounding natural, almost creating *in situ* pottery vessels.

At the centre of the group was a slightly larger, deeper pit containing an intact vessel thought to be earliest Iron Age. The pot was upturned with a smooth, domed (unworked) stone placed on the base (Fig. 95). The pit truncated 2 earlier features in the group. The vessel is approximately 35cm tall and wide with fingertip decoration around the shoulder and a piecrust rim. Visible fabric is dark grey/black with few obvious inclusions. The Radiography Department at the West Suffolk Hospital in Bury St Edmunds agreed to CT scan the vessel. The sequence within the pot appears relatively simple, with 3 bands of (presumably) pyre material tipped in from 1 side with the cremated bone, in large pieces, placed on top, around the level of the shoulder. The top of the pot has then been filled with regular-sized pieces of flint gravel, perhaps a hundred in all, rammed deep under the lip of the pot to a good depth and both enclosing and sealing the cremated bone.

Richard Mortimer and Linzi Everett, Cotswold Archaeology,
for Orion Heritage, on behalf of Bloor Homes.

FIG. 94 – Semi-circular pit group containing cremation deposits at Walton, Felixstowe (© *Cotswold Archaeology*).

FIG. 95 – Pit containing an inverted vessel with an unworked stone placed on its base at Walton, Felixstowe (© *Cotswold Archaeology*).

Flixton, Flixton Park Quarry, N of Flixton Road (TM/3187; FLN 112). Evaluation was undertaken ahead of 'Buck Land Extension' to Flixton Park Quarry. 100 trenches were excavated, with archaeological interest in 83. 360 features were recorded, of which 210 were ditches and 145 were discrete pits, including several possible post-holes that may represent structural remains. Also identified were 4 possible clay surfaces, which may be the remnants of floors, along with a similar sand deposit and a small group of flint cobbles, loosely bonded with lime mortar.

The frequency of ditches suggests the presence of a palimpsest of field systems and possible enclosures with artefactual evidence indicating that these date predominantly from the Roman and medieval periods, with discrete pits and possible post-holes associated with both periods. These were set against a background of characteristically dispersed prehistoric activity and overlain by post-medieval field boundaries.

Preservation of the archaeological level across the site was generally good, although some possible modern intrusion was identified towards the floodplain to the N where the water table was occasionally visible. A prominent ridge of slightly higher ground was visible running roughly centrally through the site from its W edge, and the identified archaeological deposits were more concentrated along this ridge and running off it towards the floodplain of the river Waveney bounding the site to the N. Remains were recorded across the site, although were less frequent along the S edge of the evaluated area.

Simon Picard, Cotswold Archaeology, for Breedon Group.

Fornham St Genevieve, Fornham Park (TL/5950; FSG 036). Excavations recorded multiperiod occupation with a significant prehistoric presence. 3 loose clusters of post-holes and pits, containing Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age pottery, appeared to represent 3 domestic settings, as part of a dispersed settlement. Landscaping at the park may have removed traces of the buildings themselves and the more superficial post-holes, leaving only the deeper post-holes and waste pits, however, evidence for later Bronze Age buildings is frequently ephemeral and the evidence from Fornham Park appears to confirm this characteristic.

Evidence for later periods was restricted to ditches and pits associated with the post-medieval parkland. The battle of Fornham is reputed to have been fought within the bounds of the park in AD 1173, however, there were no finds or features relating to this event unearthed during the current project. Similarly, the park was used as a military training camp during both WW1 and WW2, and although previous metal-detecting finds had indicated this use, no further traces of this were found during the current excavation.

Jonathan House and Peter Crawley, Pre-Construct Archaeology,
for Lifestyle Homes N. Ireland Ltd.

Freckenham, Worlington and Barton Mills, Sunnica East Sites A and B (TL 6673 and TL 69 72; FRK 195-211, WGN 086-95, BTM 093-94). Evaluation was undertaken on land proposed for the Sunnica East solar farm across Freckenham, Isleham (in Cambridgeshire), Barton Mills and Worlington. Remains dated from the Neolithic to the post-medieval period, including Bronze Age barrows and features containing Beaker pottery, areas of Iron Age and Romano-British settlement, marling ditches and the line of a former railway cutting.

Timothy Lewis, OA East, for Sunnica Ltd.

Freston, Potash Farm, scheduled monument 1005982 (TM/1637, FRT 063). Research excavation over 6 weeks within the SE quadrant of the interrupted ditch system (FRT 005) was funded by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council – Insight Development Grant (Canada) and a Prehistoric Society Research Grant (UK). The aim of the project is to date the scheduled monument, characterise its use and help update Historic England's management plan. The 2021 season reopened and slightly expanded E the trench stripped in 2019, with 12 anthropogenic features excavated, targeting the 2 outer ditch termini, plus a segment of the palisade that runs between the 2 ditch systems. The outer circuit again produced quantities of Mildenhall ware pottery (including 1 burnt foundation deposit), and diagnostic Early Neolithic stone tools, albeit in far smaller relative quantities to that recovered from the inner ditches. Early Bronze Age pottery and stone tools of the Beaker culture were retrieved from 1 uppermost ditch fill. The central spring was cored for environmental data, with organic samples sent for radiocarbon-dating.

Tristan Carter, McMaster University.

Hadleigh, Land off Ellen Aldous Avenue (TM/0342; HAD 208). Following evaluation by Archaeology South East, excavation identified occupation that started during the Iron Age, but with most material of 2nd-century AD date. A series of enclosures were recorded, with post-holes relating to structures between them. Midden-like deposits, possibly related to light industrial activity, were identified within the centre of the excavation area along with 2 kilns. This suggests that the excavated area was beyond the core of settlement, which may have been located further to the S. A single burial was excavated, with Early Roman pottery recovered from the grave backfill.

Malgorzata Kwiatkowska, OA East, for RPS Consulting.

Hawstead, (TL/8659; HWS 061). 4 test trenches of varying sizes were excavated by the local community and project archaeologists as part of a crowdfunded field school to teach participants how to excavate. All 4 trenches contained evidence of pits and post-holes, with ring ditches being associated with the post-holes in 3 of the trenches, and all produced flint lithics dating to the Bronze Age. 1 trench produced Bronze Age pottery.

Rupert Birtwistle and Hazel Taylor, Past to Present Archaeology.

Hoxne, Land E of Abbey Hill (TM/1876; HXN 127).
Evaluation identified a 12th–14th century, and an undated phase of activity. It is likely that during the 12th–14th centuries a reasonably substantial post-built structure was located running alongside Abbey Hill. The presence of cooking pot fragments and charred grain and oak branch fragments within the environmental sample suggest this could have been domestic. It is probable that this structure was severely truncated during either road expansion, or during the construction of a nearby water main running parallel to the road. An undated probable field boundary running EW appears to represent an earlier field subdivision pre-dating the 1842 tithe map. The small finds discovered within topsoil N of this boundary ditch

suggest differing uses for the fields N and S of it.

Daniel McConnell, Britannia Archaeology Ltd, for Danny Ward Builders.

Ipswich, Boss Hall Road (TM/1445; IPS 2120). Following evaluation in 2014, 0.63ha was excavated at the former dairy. A circular enclosure, probably of prehistoric date and possibly of henge or hengiform type, was located in the SE corner. It comprised a large ditch, with a causewayed entrance on the E side, that encircled an area approximately 20m in diameter containing a circle of substantial post settings. A circular gulley, approximately 4.3m in diameter, around a central post-hole or small pit was also present although these may be later. No datable artefacts were recovered, but scientific dating techniques are proposed to help phase the various components that make up this monument. It has tentatively been attributed to the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age by its form alone.

In the Early Anglo-Saxon period the area was used for human burials, primarily inhumations, although a small number of urned cremations were also recovered. The numbers and density of the burials suggest the area was used as a formal cemetery between the 6th and 8th centuries AD, undoubtedly a continuation of the previously identified Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Boss Hall, which was discovered and partly excavated in 1990 on land immediately to the W. A Bronze Age ring ditch lies *c*.150m to the SW of the site and it is possible that (with the possible henge) these monuments may have acted as a focus for burial.

Later features comprised post-medieval field boundaries and occasional pits that probably relate to 18th–19th century agriculture. During this period the area was acquired by the Co-Operative Society for use as a nursery and was later the site of a large factory-scale dairy, much of which was demolished in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, although occasional footings were evident. The broken remains of a WW2 air raid shelter recorded during the excavation would have been for employees of the dairy.

Mark Sommers, Cotswold Archaeology,
for David Clarke and Associates on behalf of East of England Co-Operative.

Ipswich, Europa Way (TM/1345; IPS 2121). 15 of 21 evaluation trenches revealed features comprising ditches, gullies, pits, ring gullies and a cremation. Most features were dated to the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age by Post-Deverel–Rimbury type pottery (PDR). Other dated features included a ditch containing Roman pottery, and a pit with a possible medieval sherd. The distribution of features suggests a potential Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age settlement across most of the land parcel. 1 of 2 potential ring gullies (which could represent drip gullies) produced substantial amounts of PDR pottery. These remains indicate occupation, possibly associated with cremations. Later Roman and medieval finds were scarce and likely to represent activity taking place in the vicinity as opposed to within the site itself.

Alice Crush, Cotswold Archaeology, for Suffolk County Council.

Ipswich, 85–87 Fore Street (TM/1644; IPS 585). Following evaluation in September 2007, excavation was carried out in 2008 by SCCAS, but post-excavation work was unfunded.[1] New work was required in 2021 to fulfil planning requirements. Previous excavations in 1990 had revealed Late Saxon occupation to the S end of the site, and further evidence for activity of this date was found in 2008, comprising the bases of sunken-featured (cellared) buildings. In the N part, the earliest major land use was as a cemetery, presumed to relate to the nearby church. The 13 individuals buried there included a high proportion of young adult males, 1 of whom had met death by violence. The exact date at which the graveyard boundary was moved to its current position to the N of St Clement's Church Lane is uncertain, but documentary evidence suggests that it must have occurred by the 16th century. The graves

FIG. 96 – Some of the more complete post-medieval vessels from cess pits at 85–87 Fore Street: a Dutch redware cauldron; a local redware jug; a small Frechen stoneware jug; and an unusual find for England, a Frechen stoneware chamber pot (*photo: Sue Anderson*).

were cut by pits and other features which have been broadly dated to the 15th to 17th centuries, a few with finds which suggest that they were not completely filled in until the 18th century. Several large, early post-medieval cess pits were identified, presumably relating to contemporary buildings in the S half of the site. Several near-complete pottery vessels of this date range were recovered, along with the contemporary vestigial remains of a chalk-walled oven (Fig. 96). An unusual structure was uncovered, also cutting 2 of the graves, which comprised a 0.5m deep subrectangular cut (3.5m+ x 1.5m) with 11 post-settings cut into the base, later infilled with building rubble which included carpenters' tools; this has been interpreted as a possible late medieval or early post-medieval sawpit. During the 19th century the site was redeveloped and a stable was constructed in the back yard of no. 85 (W half of the site); at least one circular brick-built sump was associated with this construction work, and another brick structure with a similar function was identified further to the S.

Sue Anderson, Spoilheap Archaeology, for Landex Ltd.

Ipswich, Henley Gate, Suffolk (TM/1647; IPS 881). Following geophysical survey and previous evaluation and excavations across a large development site for Ipswich Northern Fringe, 54 trial trenches were excavated. A low-density scatter of pits dated to the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. Early/Middle Iron Age features were sparsely distributed across the middle of the area, mostly comprising pits but also some ditches. A significant Iron Age boundary ditch was the continuation of a boundary encountered in a previous excavation of settlement to the W. Early Roman activity was indicated by pits and ditches, with some evidence for metalworking, likely outliers of a focus of Roman activity possibly located to the W, in the SW part of the site. A few features dated to the Middle Saxon period may suggest

occupation that extended E. A small number of post-medieval to modern ditches and pits relate to the agricultural use of the site. Many of the undated features can be linked to the prehistoric and Roman period occupation. Others show relationships with features discovered in previous excavations, many of which are posited to be of a medieval date.

15 more evaluation trenches were investigated for a subphase of development, 10 of which contained a low incidence of features. A single pit, possibly of Iron Age date, and 2 post-medieval field ditches were recorded, along with other undated ditches, pits and a gully.

Angus Forshaw, Archaeology South-East, for RPS Consulting Services Ltd.

Ipswich, Portman Road car park (TM/1544; IPS 2075). Geoarchaeological investigation revealed extensive deposits of organic rich sediments of varied palaeoenvironmental potential. An interrupted pollen sequence revealed a basal zone (a possible basal palaeosoil) of early Holocene/Mesolithic date, with upper dated pollen assemblages spanning later prehistoric periods through to the medieval period. The emerging picture is of a relatively stable riverine environment supporting an open wet fen environment on the surrounding floodplain. Channel activity from the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age was identified to the W of the historical position of a now culverted watercourse.

John Summers, Wardell Armstrong LLP, for Ipswich Borough Council.

Ixworth, Land E of Ixworth (TL/9470 to TL/9670; IXW 194). A watching brief was undertaken during the topsoil strip of the easement for the proposed Stanton Link Main. 2 post-medieval brick kilns were identified. 1 was fully excavated, whilst the other was preserved *in situ*. The kilns were Suffolk types, dating to the 19th century and making bricks, roof-tiles and clay drainpipes, probably for local farms.

Earlier evidence was restricted to mixed date finds from tree throws and later features, a single undated (but possibly prehistoric) pit with a charcoal/fire-cracked flint fill, an undated gully, and an Iron Age pit. 2 extensive areas of colluvium were not removed as part of the easement works, but trenches were excavated to determine the extent of surviving archaeology underneath and to sample it, which showed it to be masking features similar in character to those seen across the rest of the strip.

Nathan Griggs, Cotswold Archaeology, for Anglian Water.

Lakenheath, RAF Lakenheath, The Hooch (TL/7381; LKH 637). Excavation in advance of re-laying of a car park exposed an area of multiperiod activity adjacent to areas previously investigated under site codes LKH 207, LKH 225, LKH 365, and outside of a boundary with multiple cuts deemed to represent the formal boundary of the Roman settlement. The majority of features identified were intercutting ditches oriented NS and EW, dated to the Middle to Later Iron Age. 2 probable graves were recorded based on their shape and fill, but bone was too poorly preserved to confirm that they were burials. Closely spaced stake-holes in the bottom of 2 of the steeper-sided ditches showed these to be palisades with a wooden fence. Consistent with the location outside the core of Roman settlement, the intensity of activity appeared to lessen during the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods, with only small quantities of material datable to these periods recovered (including some Middle Saxon Ipswich ware and a 9th–11th-century copper hairpin). The most significant individual find was an Iron Age coin, a silver unit of Ecen, AD 10–45.

Michael Green, Cotswold Archaeology, for Defence Infrastructure Organisation.

Laxfield, Land S of Framlingham Road (TM/2972; LXD 135). Evaluation and excavation recorded a Bronze Age 'burnt mound' along the N edge of the development area, including a

well and troughs, along with a deposit of heat-altered flint mixed within the ploughsoil. The remnants of the heat-altered flint mixed within the ploughsoil suggested the burnt mound had likely been plough damaged and this was indeed the case. The well was only partially hand-excavated due to the wet ground conditions, and was machine augered to a depth of 3.5m.

A probable Bronze Age field system extended across the central higher part of the site, and features and artefacts dating to the Middle Iron Age were identified at the centre. 3 penannular gullies of this date were identified within 2 earlier enclosure ditches that had been completely or partially infilled by the time of their construction. The enclosure ditches were dated by finds that are in the process of being analysed and are presumed to be Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age. The larger of the 3 penannular gullies produced a large assemblage of finds suggesting it formed the remnant of a roundhouse. Other features included a small number of pits associated with the Middle Iron Age settlement, 3 smaller medieval ditches, and several undated ditches that were equally spaced apart, and most likely relate to medieval or post-medieval drainage.

Martin Cuthbert, Cotswold Archaeology, for RPS Ltd, on behalf of Denbury Homes.

Leiston, Land at the rear of St Margaret's Crescent (TM/4362; LCS 220). Evaluation followed geophysical survey. Early/Middle Iron Age activity was represented by ditches at right angles to each other that may form part of a small field system. Most other dated features appear to be of medieval date, including a circular oven with adjacent rake-out deposits. A large ditch in the centre of the site, in accordance with geophysical survey, seems to be a part of a circular enclosure of unknown function. Post-medieval features were also present. A large irregular quarry/pond, partially overlain by a patch of flint cobbles and truncated by a large pit, was associated with the medieval period due to the similarities of the fill and its contents with that of the oven.

Trevor Ennis, Archaeology South-East, for Lovell Partnerships.

Little Cornard, land E of the river Stour/St Edmund's Hill (TL/8936; COL111). Within 1 evaluation trench a cluster of fragments of Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age pottery were noted within a colluvium layer. A post-medieval field boundary and a probable 19th-century brick kiln were encountered, along with a small number of late post-medieval/modern disturbances. 1 particularly large example probably comprised the source of clay for the kiln.

Mark Sommers, Cotswold Archaeology, for National Grid.

Little Wratting, Boyton Meadows, Anne Suckling Lane (TL/6746; HVH 135). Excavation identified distinct phases of activity, including a single feature of Bronze Age to Iron Age date, a small number of Late Iron Age to Early Romano-British features, but mainly 2 phases of activity dating to the 11th–13th centuries AD which appeared to represent direct and continual chronological development of enclosures associated with, but on the periphery of, domestic habitation.

Andrew A.S. Newton, Wardell Armstrong LLP, for Freshwater Estates Ltd.

Mildenhall, Land at Rookery Drove, Beck Row (TL/6878; MNL 1157). 44 trenches targeted several geophysical anomalies and earthworks identified on LiDAR data. Most features identified during the evaluation corresponded poorly with the geophysical results, likely due to the nature of the geology. Gullies, ditches, pits and cremations were recorded. Most of the features are undated, but a broad early prehistoric phase is suggested by an Early Mesolithic robust blade and Neolithic axehead, with a larger assemblage of Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age date. A Mid to Late Bronze Age phase is suggested by the C14 dates from 2 cremations.

There were some fragments of Roman pottery and some post-medieval agricultural features. Trial-trenching confirmed the presence of an undisturbed ancient fluvial-lacustrine environment characterised by infilled basins low in the landscape and still visible as earthworks on the ground surface. These could represent collapsed pingos or collapsed and infilled dolines, with vegetation around the margins of the resulting depressions that may have been favourable for early activity.

Debora Moretti, Archaeological Services WYAS,
for Lanpro Services on behalf of Land Allocation Ltd.

Monks Eleigh, Former Rushbrooks Nursery, The Street (TL/9647; MKE 054). 2 trenches were excavated, with 1 subsequently extended. 6 similarly aligned ditches from which large assemblages of pottery were recovered probably represent elements of a field system or property boundaries associated with high medieval roadside occupation. The size and quantity of the assemblage, from 2 concentrations, may suggest continuous occupation from the early medieval period, but not extending beyond the 14th century. 3 pairs of post-holes formed a double row along a similar NE to SW alignment to the observed ditches, post-dating 2 backfilled ditches assigned a medieval date.

Linzi Everett, Cotswold Archaeology, for P. Jones and P. Riach.

Orford, Castle Green, Orford (TM/4249; ORF 261). Monitoring revealed a series of pits and linear features dating to between the 13th and 15th centuries. The medieval ditches appeared to be coaxial and likely formed part of a wider system of enclosures. The finds assemblage was small, but indicative of rubbish and cess pits outside of the castle ditch, which may reflect activity associated with the nearby Orford Castle. The notably varied faunal assemblage is in keeping with other animal bone assemblages associated with castles. Nevertheless, the Hollesley ware pottery recovered at this site probably dates to after the mid 13th century, when the castle passed from royal jurisdiction into private hands and began to decline. Following an apparent hiatus of activity on the site, a series of relatively large pits were excavated, and a red brick-lined pit was constructed on the site between the 19th and mid 20th centuries.

Pete Thompson, Wardell Armstrong LLP, for Mr and Mrs Pearce.

Rendlesham, Land at Rendlesham (TM/3325; RLM 036 and RLM 044). The first of 3 years of excavation was carried out in 2 fields at Rendlesham. The work is part of the Rendlesham Revealed: Anglo-Saxon Life in South-East Suffolk project led by SCCAS and funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund, following a pilot survey from 2008–17. The excavations were undertaken by local volunteers under the guidance of a small expert team co-ordinated by SCCAS and staff from the Suffolk office of Cotswold Archaeology, with academic direction from Professor Christopher Scull. Over the course of the 6 weeks of excavation over 200 individuals volunteered, including members of the general public, people from local societies, Suffolk Mind and Suffolk Family Carers, as well as young people from local primary schools.

This first season saw excavation of 5 trenches, between 5m x 10m and 15m x 30m in size, in 2 fields on opposite sides of a small dry valley, targeting potential features identified on previous magnetometry surveys. The remains of 9 sunken-featured buildings (SFB) and pits were found in the 4 largest trenches (Fig. 97). The results suggest occupation from the late 5th to the late 7th centuries across a large area, indicative of an extensive area of settlement, whose inhabitants were engaged in farming and craftworking. Evidence of this includes bones from butchered cattle, sheep and pigs; items associated with spinning and weaving, including spindle whorls and loom weights; melted metal fragments and slag, indicating smithing and

FIG. 97 – Excavation of a sunken-featured building at Rendlesham.

manufacture of copper-alloy objects; fragments of pottery vessels used for cooking and storage; items of dress including a copper-alloy brooch and buckle. Earlier prehistoric features were also excavated in 3 of the trenches, including an Iron Age ditched enclosure and prehistoric pits and a boundary ditch.

Surprisingly, a WW1 military practice trench was also revealed in 1 of the trenches, probably dug by a battalion of the Territorial Force in 1914 or early 1915; this was cutting an Anglo-Saxon sunken-featured building. In the fifth trench, a layer of buried soil 10–20cm deep was revealed overlying and preserving the archaeology; this was not excavated.

Jo Caruth and Linzi Everett, Cotswold Archaeology,
for the Rendlesham Revealed project.

Somersham, Land S of Church Farm (TM/0847; SSH 041). See above, *Burstall and Somersham*.

Sproughton, Wolsey Grange, Phase 1 Field 2 (TM/1243; SPT 053). Either side of Poplar Lane, 83 evaluation trenches determined the locations of 5 excavation areas totalling *c*.0.76ha and *c*.0.74ha in 2 fields. A small quantity of residual worked flint of broadly earlier prehistoric date (Mesolithic to Neolithic) from across the areas provides evidence of a limited and likely transitory presence in the landscape prior to the Bronze Age. A small assemblage of tentatively dated Neolithic pottery recovered from a small number of scattered pits may attest to a slightly more significant presence towards the end of this period. Nondescript pit and post-holes clusters, including several structured deposits, a series of quarry pits and a possible structure, represent a significant increase in land use in the Early Bronze Age to earliest Iron Age (2100–500BC) and are posited to constitute occupation activity peripheral to the

prehistoric settlement site recorded *c.*1km to the N (SPT 001).

Land use was most intense during the medieval period, with a concentrated area of remains. 2 large boundary ditches enclose the medieval activity which includes several iterations of NW–SE and NE–SW field-system ditches (interpreted as defining fields or enclosure plots), a large natural hollow utilised as a pond, 2 ovens and a low intensity of pits. No direct evidence for settlement (i.e. buildings) was recovered. However, these remains are considered to be part of a farmstead and to be representative of agricultural activity and food production/processing in the immediate vicinity of a settlement, presumably the former Felchurch hamlet.

Post-medieval remains comprised primarily field-boundary ditches that are recorded on historic mapping. 2 neonatal calf burials and a series of several possible quarry pits represent sporadic activity within these agricultural fields. The remains are collectively indicative of the continued agricultural management and use of the landscape.

Rob Cullum, Archaeology South-East, for RPS Consulting Services Ltd.

Stanton, Land at Shepherds Grove (TL/9873; SNT 090). 8 of 99 evaluation trenches revealed archaeological features. Finds recovered across the site were generally low density, with most features devoid of datable material. A probable burnt mound feature was identified in the NE corner, with 4 pits nearby. A post-medieval enclosure ditch was identified across the N of the site. 3 undated pits appeared to survive within small pockets of preservation across the previous airfield, but most of the site was severely impacted with very little of the archaeological horizon intact in the S, with the N area far less impacted by modern disturbance.

Becca Smart, Cotswold Archaeology, for RPS on behalf of Jaynic Suffolk Park Ltd.

Stowmarket, Cedars Park (TM/0658; SKT 140). Geophysical survey of the site suggested few features within the site, but features dating to the Iron Age, Romano-British and post-medieval periods were identified within 6 of 20 evaluation trenches, including a pit cluster dating to the Early/Middle Iron Age. A mitigation area of 15m^2 was centred on this which revealed its full extent and no further remains. The cluster is most likely associated with the Iron Age and Romano-British site found to the N of the site during the Cedars Park Phase 3 works. A single ditch was the only Romano-British feature. A likely post-medieval track, comprising wheel-rutting and a probable trackside ditch, and a large boundary ditch were identified in the geophysical survey and the historic mapping.

Peter Capps and Dudley Staniforth, Wessex Archaeology,
for RPS Consulting Services, on behalf of Bellway Homes Ltd.

Stowmarket, Mill Lane, land between the A1120 and the A14, Gateway 14 (Area C) (TM/0657; STK 141). An evaluation identified 3 features. An isolated pit, elliptical in plan, contained densely packed burnt flint pieces and 2 sherds of possible Bronze Age pottery. Similar to a pit found in a nearby evaluations to the NW (ASE 2014), it is reminiscent of features associated with burnt mounds. A medieval to post-medieval boundary ditch was located in the S part of the central portion of site, which seems to have been a long-lived boundary.

Alison Telfer, MOLA, for Jaynic on behalf of Gateway 14.

Stowupland, Gipping Road (TM/0760; SUP 050). Evaluation and excavation exposed part of an 11th- to 13th-century farmstead, which extended investigation of features discovered in previous works to the W (SUP 025). The farmstead included a series of enclosures and associated field systems, within which were the remnants of 3 rectangular structures. 2 distinct phases of enclosure existed, 1 on a NW to SE alignment in the 11th–12th centuries, overlain by an E–W-aligned system in the 13th century. A further set of ditches and a possible N–S

aligned trackway were constructed through the existing farmstead during the 14th century.

Nicholas Cox, OA East, for RPS Consulting.

Thorndon, Castle Hill Farm, (TM/1569; THD 074). Evaluation encountered 6 phases of activity within the mid and E areas of the site, all directly N of a large NW–SE-aligned paleochannel within the far S portion of the site. It is likely that domestic enclosures dating to the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age were established directly N of the paleochannel present within the dry valley. This activity seems to have spread slightly E during the Iron Age, and further N upslope during the early Romano-British period with possible ladder settlements becoming established, and further concreting of activity on into the Roman period. This spread of activity focussed from the paleochannel may represent a period of waterlogging of the S portion of the site, necessitating the move to the slightly higher ground to its N. The absence of Saxon and medieval finds and features may be indicative of the area becoming agricultural in nature, with later post-medieval activity evidenced by a 19th-century field boundary. Post-medieval/modern agricultural activity has truncated several features within the higher elevated N bounds of the site, with several coins spanning the Roman period being recovered (including one minted in Egypt during Julius Caesar's reign), and pottery fragments of a reasonably high status.

Dan McConnell, Britannia Archaeology Ltd, for CE Davidson Ltd.

Trimley St Martin, Land at Reeve Lodge (TM/2737; TYN 173). Evaluation provided evidence for a prehistoric trackway and field system, probably established during the Bronze Age, corresponding to cropmarks recorded within the surrounding fields. Numerous alterations and reworkings of this field system were revealed, with several discrete parts of the site identified as potential settlement areas. Occupation appeared to continue into the Iron Age, although there was possibly a hiatus in the later Iron Age and Roman periods. Low level activity, predominantly agricultural in nature, resumed during the medieval period, with a new system of fields respecting the alignment of High Road that links the villages of Trimley St Mary and Trimley St Martin.

Andrew Greef, OA East, for Pigeon Investment Management Ltd.

Trimley St Martin, Land S of High Road (TM/2737; TYN 183). Evaluation trenches targeted cropmarks. 19 of the 24 produced archaeological remains. Probable prehistoric use of the land was represented by a shifting boundary or trackway in the form of a complex of closely spaced, parallel ditches. A single worn Roman coin was recovered from topsoil. Medieval/early post-medieval and late post-medieval use of the land was suggested by elements of 2 possible ditched field systems. Most of the recorded features were undated. These comprise further ditches, a gully, pits and possible post-holes scattered across the site, some of which may be contemporary with the probable prehistoric boundary/trackway.

Trevor Ennis, Archaeology South-East, for RPS Consulting Services.

Wherstead, Land N of Junction 56 of A14 (TM/1541; WHR 134). Evaluation and excavation uncovered evidence of predominantly prehistoric activity across 2 areas. A small assemblage of Early Bronze Age Beaker pottery was recovered from a group of 4 pits. Part of a field system, possibly of Middle Bronze Age date, extended across the 2 excavation areas and included ditches and discrete features, and a possible trackway and ditched boundaries. 2 pits, which truncated the possible trackway, contained the remains of a pyre or possible cremation.

Malgorzata Kwiatkowska, OA East,
for RPS Consulting on behalf of Pigeon Wherstead Ltd.

Whitton, Land at Old Norwich Road (TM/1348; WHI 020). 4 excavated areas revealed multiperiod occupation. A Bronze Age barrow was located in the N part of the site with evidence for continued occupation from the Late Bronze Age through to the Iron Age. Remains associated with this phase include a large enclosure ditch, at least 1 roundhouse, and a number of pits containing substantial assemblages of pottery and worked flint. Agricultural use of the site continued into the Early Roman period, as evidenced by a field system of cultivation channels. A hiatus in activity was then followed by a post-medieval agricultural boundary.

Laura Desrosiers-Whalley and Simon Carlyle, Pre-Construct Archaeology,
for RPS Group on behalf of Bellway Homes (Essex) Ltd.

Wickham Market, Land off Chapel Lane (TM/3055; PTR 070). Evaluation and excavation revealed a Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age field system. Further sparse pottery sherds were recovered from the Early to Middle Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age, later Iron Age, and medieval and post-medieval periods. Struck flints likewise covered a range of periods and demonstrated that flintworking activities occurred at the site during the Mesolithic/Early Neolithic periods, as well as during the Middle Bronze Age to Iron Age, although concentrations were low. Despite the quantities, the assemblage provides evidence for long-lived prehistoric activity at the site, which may contribute to a wider appreciation of landscape use.

Lawrence Morgan-Shelbourne and Simon Carlyle, Pre-Construct Archaeology,
for RPS Group on behalf of Hopkins Homes.

Worlington, Sunnica East Sites A and B (TL/6673 and TL/6972; WGN 086-95). See above, *Freckenham, Worlington and Barton Mills.*

Wrentham, Land at Chapel Road (TM/4982; WRE 079). Evaluation was undertaken across 4.82ha. A series of ditches and pits yielded struck flint, pottery sherds, building materials and fired clay. Few animal bones were recovered, although this was likely due to the acidic soils. Early Neolithic to Late Bronze Age activity is signalled by a series of struck flints, including blades, flakes and spalls. The flints are accompanied by a series of prehistoric pottery sherds which largely date to the Early Neolithic, with further sherds dating to the Late Neolithic–Early Bronze Age. Evidence of Roman use of the site is present but scarce, with more intensive use evidence in the Early Anglo-Saxon period, where 4 pits contained sherds of domestic pottery along with a loom weight, suggesting the presence of a settlement nearby. Sparse pottery sherds, together with an account from the Domesday Book, provide evidence for a long-lived Saxon settlement in the area. Concentrations of pottery dating to the 11th–16th centuries reflect an intensive presence and provide evidence for the medieval settlement at Wrentham, about which little is currently known. Numerous ditches are associated with post-medieval agricultural activities, with some corresponding well with field boundaries noted on the 1883 Ordnance Survey map.

Antonio Pavez and Mark Hinman, Pre-Construct Archaeology,
for Cripps Developments Ltd.

BUILDING RECORDING

Lowestoft, Lowestoft Tidal Walls Flood Scheme (TM/5492; LWT 415). Recording at Lowestoft's Outer Harbour investigated the remains of the Lowestoft to Norwich railway line, the Inner North Pier and Inner South Pier, and the South Pier, demonstrating that the harbour was extensively altered and developed throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. The structures have played a significant role in the commerce of Lowestoft and the town's tourist industry. Construction of a link from the sea to Norwich, via Lake Lothing and a series of canals, began in 1821, and some 3 years later the Inner North Pier and Inner South Pier were completed. They were originally constructed using iron and timber piling and have since been significantly redeveloped. Remains of a timber-framed substructure are, however, retained at the W end of the Inner North Pier. The current iterations of the piers comprise a series of reinforced concrete cross-braced bents, supporting promenades that retain heavy mooring installations. The Inner North Pier, in association with the North Pier, formed the first trawler basin. Most of the railway lines that extended along the Inner North Pier, primarily used to transport fishing and freight wagons, have since been removed. Nonetheless, a small section of the Lowestoft to Lowestoft North railway line is preserved. Despite its utilisation as a promenade with the architectural paraphernalia of a pleasure pier, the South Pier is better described as a solid concrete harbour breakwater, although it has been a central tourist attraction in the town and has witnessed numerous phases of development and changes in function.

Liam Podbury, Wardell Armstrong LLP, for Balfour Beatty.

CHURCH RECORDING

Beccles, St Michael's church (TM/4290; BCC 013). The remains of a flint-bonded wall and the footings of a large tomb or memorial were found below the floor during work to reorder the nave. The wall probably represented the W end of an earlier church, and had been partly cut away when the foundations of the present building were laid during the second half of the 14th century. It was 1.5m thick and spanned the full width of the central nave between the 2 arcades, but did not extend into the area of the N aisle. Building materials that had been salvaged from the demolition of the earlier church, including fragments of dressed stone and Purbeck marble paviours, were recycled into the foundations of the present one.

The base for what would have been a large altar tomb or monument above ground had been truncated just a few centimetres below the current floor level. It comprised a large rectangular block of bonded flint, solidly formed with brick corner quoins, orientated E–W and built into the space between the second and third columns of the S arcade; it measured 2.45m x 1.02m (8ft ½in x 3ft 4in) and almost filled the interval between the piers, suggesting that the memorial had been grandiose. The brick size (10¼in x 4¾in x 2in) implies that the base was constructed around the 15th century, or just as the present church was being completed. It was positioned directly above the N wall of the brick-vaulted crypt beneath the S aisle and the similarity in the brick sizes between the crypt (which has since been converted into a WC) and the tomb base suggests the two funerary features could be related.

A second flint- and brick-built consolidated pad was partially uncovered close to the nave's W door, within a trench excavated for a new drain. The pad measured 2.82m (9ft 3in) across and its construction combined Purbeck paviours, recycled from a medieval floor, with later bricks and floor-tiles. It was thought to be a base for the organ (built in 1757), which is known to have stood at this end of the church until the mid-19th century. The positions of 5

(unmarked) brick-vaulted tombs, dating from the *c*.18th–19th centuries, plus 2 undated graves were also recorded.

David Gill, for St Michael's church, Beccles, PCC.

Chillesford, St Peter's church (TM/3852; CHF 009). Excavations to renew the storm drains and soakaways in the churchyard cut into the upper backfills of numerous unmarked graves, although across most of the site the depth was too shallow to disturb articulated human remains.

Intensive sand (and/or crag) extraction in antiquity (possibly commencing pre-1700) created 2 vast quarry pits bordering the N and S edges of the churchyard. That to the N lies within 10m of the church and the proximity of a working pit seems to have precipitated the demise of the NE part of the churchyard as a burial site; the nave's N door was bricked up during the 16th or 17th centuries and there are no grave markers on this side of the church. This apparent decline in use was reflected in the low density of graves recorded in the trench in this area and burials that did occur were shallow (individuals lying within 0.5m of the current surface) and uncoffined. This suggests that they were relatively early, but had avoided being disturbed by subsequent deep grave-digging more typical of the Victorian and later periods; the results seemed to suggest that this part of the graveyard had been used infrequently in the past, and not at all for quite some time. By contrast, the graveyard S of the church showed a greater occurrence of intercutting and deeper burials and is still in use today.

David Gill, for St Peter's church, Chillesford, PCC.

Monks Eleigh, St Peter's church (TL/9647; MKE 007). Evidence of an earlier church was found during the monitoring of groundworks. Bonded flint remains, truncated just below floor level, showed the positions of the nave's N and W walls before the church was remodelled and enlarged during the 15th century.

The floor level of the earlier church was lower than that of the present one, and had been built up with a thick layer (200–300mm) of lime mortar with flint as part of the foundations of the later church. There were no post-medieval burials inside the nave cutting through these formation layers (within the monitored areas), and evidence of how the steeply sloping site had been engineered for the present building was well preserved.

An alignment of 4 post-medieval 'crucible' pits were recorded beneath the Victorian tiled floor within the tower; the pits were temporary features used to melt down the lead strips from windows that were being dismantled for repair or replacement. The use of the pits was not closely dated, but 1 produced 3 sherds of an iron-glazed blackware tankard indicating that they were no earlier than the 16th century. The crucible pits were cut into the top of a sequence of alternating bands of clay and mortar rubble, these layers formed part of the 15th-century tower's foundations and infilled its entire floor area. The infill covered the vestigial remains of bonded medieval flintwork, which could possibly be interpreted as evidence of the church's former tower.

David Gill, for St Peter's church, Monks Eleigh, PCC.

NOTES

1 See 'Archaeology in Suffolk 2008' in *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, **42**, 75–6.

BOOK REVIEWS

People, Power and Identity in the Late Middle Ages: Essays in memory of W. Mark Ormrod. Edited by Gwilym Dodd, Helen Lacey and Anthony Musson. xv + 360 pp., figures, bibliographies, index. Abingdon: Routledge, 2021. ISBN 978 0 367 85997 8. Price £96 hb, £29.59 ebk.

The late Mark Ormrod, a professor at the University of York, was one of England's most admired and best loved late medieval historians. He wrote the very first review of my first book on late medieval Ipswich and his characteristically kind comments made me an instant fan. His eclectic academic interests are reflected in the wide range of essays contributed to this Festschrift by so many of his friends and colleagues, who include some of our country's most eminent historians. After the Introduction and the editors' fulsome Tribute, the volume is divided into six main sections — Resistance, Residence, Religion, Rule, Record and Reputations — an alliterative touch that Ormrod would have enjoyed.

David Crook kicks off the section on Resistance with a paper on the serfs of Barton upon Humber, who agreed among themselves that none of them would take less than 16s a year wages with their food, and that none of them would work in summer time unless they were allowed to sleep and take their supper. This is probably the earliest recorded instance of agricultural workers combining to better their economic circumstances through collective bargaining. Paul Dryburgh recounts the sad story of Richera, six-year-old daughter of William of Cadeby of Lincolnshire, who, together with her mother, petitioned for the return of her father's lands after he had been brutally murdered in the chaos of the civil war of 1321/22. Sylvia Federico focuses on the importance of roads and markets in the Peasants' Revolt, and explores how this influenced Geoffrey Chaucer in his writing of The Canterbury Tales.

Under the heading of Residence, Michael Bennett follows Richard II as the king travels through England showing an interest in sites relating to the nation's royal and religious past, including the shrine of St Edmund in Bury. Bart Lambert traces the successful career in Colchester of the Brabantine immigrant Edmund Hermanson, who became churchwarden of St Leonard's, prepared accounts that show his mastery of the English language, and, as a brewer, organised 'church beers' to raise funds for the church and perhaps turn a small profit for himself. Our members may recall that, during the early months of the pandemic, Maryanne Kowaleski of Fordham University in New York kindly gave us a Zoom lecture on late medieval immigrants. In this volume she examines Breton immigration. The Bretons were attracted, in particular, to Cornwall where many of the natives still spoke the same language as them, and where they could find well-paid work in tin mining.

Turning to Religion, Chris Given-Wilson tells the tale of a dispute over the chapel of ease at Hook in Hampshire between the residents of that small port town and the neighbouring abbey of Titchfield. The quarrel grew out of all proportion to involve, over a period of thirty plus years, the bishop of Winchester, several lords of the king's council, the archbishop of Canterbury, and even the pope. Alison McHardy sets out to understand why only a fraction of monks were routinely present at divine service, and why so many of them were frequently on the move. Among many reasons was the collection of taxes which, for instance, took the brethren of Butley Priory on tours of our county.

In the Rule section Richard Barber reminds us that the lives of medieval princesses were rarely fairy tales. Personal correspondence between King James II of Aragon and his daughter Isabella provides intimate details of the negotiation of, and preparation for, her marriage to Frederick of Austria, of her journey into exile, of her husband's unsuccessful bid to become

Holy Roman Emperor, and of Isabella's lonely death at age thirty. Jeffrey Hamilton returns us to England to follow the career of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, who faithfully served Edward I and, when the old king died, tried to tutor his successor Edward II in the practical lessons of kingship. Although Edward II proved to be a poor pupil, de Lacy remained a moderating influence on the growing opposition to his rule. Mark Arvanigian takes a fresh look at the Good Parliament of 1376, viewed by many as the medieval apogee of the parliamentary commons, and at its pursuit of the 'common profit of the realm' — a new phrase that marked the false dawn of a new constitutional settlement. Douglas Biggs introduces us to Edmund of Langley, duke of York and uncle to Richard II. In 1394/95, during Richard's absence in Ireland, Edmund had custodianship of England, exercising unprecedented powers and proving to be a competent and efficient administrator.

The section on Record examines two very different medieval sources. The first is a beautiful manuscript book, known as the *Vie des pères*, belonging to Edward III's granddaughter Philippa de Vere, countess of Oxford. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne explains how it engages with crusading and pilgrimage territories and 'opens out into large, if Eurocentric, vistas of the world and the advance of Christian empire in it'. The second is the voluminous series of Norman rolls of Henry V, studied by Anne Curry, which record English rule in Normandy during his reign.[1] These rolls address a remarkable range of issues, from the king's military campaigns to economic trends and interactions with the church.

Finally, in Reputations, Seymour Phillips examines the last days of Edward II and the continuing debate over whether he suffered a horrible death in Berkeley Castle, or survived to become a lonely wanderer through Europe. David Green tells us about Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent, who married the Black Prince and bore his son, the future king Richard II. Known to history as a 'woman more beautiful and amorous than any in the realm', Joan proved to be a steadying influence during the early years of her son's reign, helping to resolve conflicts between her brother-in-law John of Gaunt, the king, and the city of London. Craig Taylor investigates the fractious relationship between John Lord Talbot and Sir John Fastolf, our best known military captains of the fifteenth century. They fell out badly after the English defeat at the battle of Patay, in which Talbot was captured and from which Fastolf escaped. Their place in chivalric tradition in England and France is ambiguous, but Shakespeare had the last word by treating (perhaps unfairly) Talbot as a hero and Fastolf as a coward.

The volume closes with a bibliography of Mark Ormrod's major writings over thirty-six years, demonstrating his invaluable contribution to diverse fields of medieval study.

By its very nature, the Festschrift, compared to the monograph, has both strengths and weaknesses. On the one hand, relatively short papers rarely allow a topic to be analysed in its fullest detail or context and often leave the reader wanting to know more. On the other, the variety of subject matter and the erudition of the authors makes this volume a very enjoyable read which steers the reader away from his or her own specialised field of research and provides fresh insights into the late medieval world.

NICHOLAS R. AMOR

The Material Fall of Roman Britain, 300–525 CE. By Robin Fleming. 303pp., figures, maps, index. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021. ISBN 978 0 8122 5244 6. Price £36 hb.

As she says at the start of this book, Robin Fleming is an historian not an archaeologist, but for some years she has recognised the need to use the archaeological evidence, rather than just

the textual evidence, in studying the immediate post-Roman centuries in Britain. This is a study of the big changes in material culture between the final century of Roman Britain and the subsequent century in which the character of early medieval England began to emerge. The introduction highlights the gaps in approaches; the tendency to specialise in either Roman or post-Roman, and the limited use of archaeological evidence by historians.

The first chapter looks at the broad situation in late Roman Britain, stressing the importance of the tax system, much of it in kind, for creating substantial inequalities between the 85 per cent working in the countryside and the 15 per cent who worked for the state or in manufacture or trade. Subsequent chapters examine the key changes in the transition period in agriculture and market gardening, pottery and glass vessels, building materials, metalworking and burial practices. Most of these topics necessitate an emphasis on England east of the Pennines, the West Midlands and Devon; this southern and eastern region is identified as the key area in which Roman material culture was most common, and also the region where the agricultural emphasis by the fourth century was on intensive grain production. Fleming draws on a wide range of sources to examine the relative complexity of Roman systems — such as the large late Roman potting industries and the range of specialists needed to build or extend a fourth-century villa — and how these systems broke down more comprehensively in Britain than elsewhere. She then illustrates the fifth-century evidence for retention, reuse and scavenging of various types of 'Roman' material in different ways in different places, and stresses the point that the maker and user of, for example, a handmade pot could as easily be a member of the native population as an immigrant 'Anglo-Saxon'. Chapter 7 looks at Roman infant burials, treated separately from but not less particularly than adults, and the contrast with the subsequent apparent absence of infants in the burial record. In Chapter 8 the new scientific (isotopic and DNA) evidence for individual origins is contrasted with traditional views, particularly about female burials, based on artefact types such as brooches. The limited available evidence, mainly from isotope studies of inhumation burials, shows that women were certainly moving around, as indeed occurred in the Roman period, but that this included movement from western Britain as well as occasionally from the Continent to sites such as West Heslerton in Yorkshire, and that their individual grave goods often did not reflect their origins. The final chapter pulls together her arguments into a more historical framework, starting with the breakdown of the cross-Channel networks within the Roman empire (i.e. Britain to Northern Gaul and the Rhineland), as evidenced by the cessation of imported coins in the early fifth century and, with this, the failure of the taxation system that supplied grain to the army in the Rhineland and returned precious metal to the emperor. This was followed by the final collapse of settlements, such as villas and towns dependent on the imperial system, and all the associated economic and manufacturing systems that produced the numerous Roman objects, although in practice many of these settlements and systems were already showing signs of stress during the later fourth century. A new set of networks then linked eastern Britain across the North Sea to areas of northern Europe outside the Roman empire, and this is described as a 'fusion corridor'. For the historians, she points out how the role of the '*adventus Saxonum*', described by Bede and others as occurring in the middle of the fifth century, is diminished by the evidence of the objects — though without referring to the important conclusions in the final Spong Hill volume that these North Sea contacts start in the early part of the fifth century.[2] Fleming views the internal disruption to ways of life in post-Roman Britain as impacting throughout society and says that the new ways of doing things were largely a domestic process of adaptation by a mixture of immigrants and local populations, rather than the martial takeover implied by the later histories.

Most of the ideas in *Material Fall* are familiar to archaeologists specialising in the later

Roman and early medieval periods, and indeed some chapters relate to previous articles by Fleming herself.[3] Recent syntheses of the period by archaeological authors, such as Simon Esmonde-Cleary and James Gerrard, are thoroughly referenced in the copious notes (101 pages in total), along with many specific site and artefact studies (the bibliography is held online at the University of Pennsylvania, but the link would not open). For the general reader, the text discussion flows well without needing to follow the notes. The illustrations are minimal, just twenty-two monochrome figures of objects and maps.

From an East Anglian perspective, the local content is not large and there are some errors. For example, a reference to 'Icklingham in Essex' on p.127, which then describes the hoard of ironwork from Icklingham as evidence for collecting Roman iron for reuse, but fails to mention that it was buried in a large lead tank; Bloodmoor Hill near Lowestoft is consistently misspelt as 'Bloodmore' (pp.129 and 135); an index reference to 'Elmswell, Suffolk' is actually, as the text makes clear, Elmswell in East Yorkshire (p.124); and the description of an infant burial as 'in the Waveney Valley' (p.142) is strictly correct, but the site is generally known as Scole. All of these are minor slips, perhaps due to lack of familiarity with English geography. There are other inaccuracies in details; for example, in Chapter 3 'Why Pots Matter', Roman kilns are described as 'stone structures' rather than, as is the more usual, 'fired clay structures' (p.54), and on the same page she refers to mica-dusted pottery, which is an uncommon, mostly early, style of decoration, rather than part of the late Roman assemblages she is detailing. An attempt to relate pottery tempers such as organic inclusions directly to cooking methods does not correlate well with the actual range of post-Roman pot fabrics before 525, and there is a rather dismissive approach to the skills needed to produce handmade pots compared to the mass-produced late Roman wares.

In Chapter 8 'Who Was Buried in Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries', Fleming does concede that some areas, particularly East Anglia, did see substantial immigration in the fifth century. So East Anglia perhaps doesn't fit as well with her story compared to other areas of lowland Britain, but this is not explored further and individual aspects of sites are often cited in isolation. The early medieval (Fleming argues, as do others, for avoiding the term 'Anglo-Saxon') settlement at West Stow is mentioned in Chapter 6 as having numerous Roman metal objects and coins, perhaps retained as interesting pieces amongst metal scavenged for reuse, and in a footnote to Chapter 3 as a key example of fifth-century people similarly collecting Roman pot sherds from deserted Roman sites; then in Chapter 7, again in a footnote, as somewhere that the practice of infant burial in settlements seems to have continued into the early post-Roman phase.

In my view, study of this difficult period now needs comparisons between different regions on a finer scale than simply distinguishing the more Roman from the less Roman areas of Britain. This approach would tie in with the variability Fleming identifies in the ways people made use of surviving Roman objects, and her general thesis that between the late fourth century and the late fifth century, the population of Britain had to work out a range of ways to survive and to make the best of radical changes in their daily lives.

Material Fall is certainly an interesting read, and is a thoroughly researched counterbalance to any historical account that does still rely on reinterpreting the various written sources. It provides an introduction to the material evidence available for a key period of transition in English history, a period in which archaeological evidence from East Anglia still has a great deal to contribute.

JUDE PLOUVIEZ

The Crown Pleas of the Suffolk Eyre of 1240. (Suffolk Records Society vol. 64). Edited by Eric Gallagher, revised and with an introduction by Henry Summerson. lxx + 162pp., map, presentments under individual articles of the eyre, editorial method, glossary, bibliography, analysis of contents. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press for the Suffolk Records Society, 2021. ISBN 978 1 78327 600 4. Price £35 hb.

The publication of the crown pleas of the Suffolk Eyre of 1240 by the Suffolk Records Society as volume 64 brings to completion the edition of that eyre which began with the publication of the civil pleas in 2009 (vol. 52). Eyres were a form of itinerant justice that brought the power of the king's central courts into the shires periodically from the twelfth century until the early fourteenth century, when such periodic visitations were discontinued. Although they allowed local people who had little opportunity to access the courts held at Westminster to bring cases before royal justices, and to complain against royal officials, they gained a negative reputation as primarily being a means of raising money through fines and amercements for the use of the Crown. This edition, produced only in translation, but with references to digital images of the original roll provided on the website of the Anglo-American Legal Tradition project (AALT) permitting comparison with the original Latin text, provides a valuable addition to the growing body of eyre records that have been published for many of the English counties over the last sixty or so years, and is an edition of the earliest surviving eyre for the county. The edition of both the civil and crown pleas themselves is essentially the work of Eric Gallagher, who also wrote the informative and thorough introduction to the civil pleas. However, he was unable to write that for the crown pleas, and the responsibility for that, and the revision of the edited text, fell into the capable hands of Henry Summerson. Summerson has made a career out of work on aspects of medieval English law, and is ably equipped for the task having produced the introduction for the crown pleas of the Lancashire Eyre of 1292 published in 2011.

The edition picks up where the civil pleas left off, even numbering individual entries from where the civil pleas finished, so establishing an immediate continuity between the two volumes. However, anyone who is interested in the background to this particular eyre might find it useful to read Gallagher's introduction to the civil pleas, since Summerson has understandably devoted far less time to this. Whereas the civil pleas very much focused on suits between parties, often about rights to land, the crown pleas focused on presentments by juries in response to 'Articles of the Eyre' (*Capitula Itineris* — lists of matters to be considered by the juries). The most serious matters were felonies and other matters relevant to crime and law enforcement, but the crown pleas also concerned the protection of royal rights and revenues, and the conduct of officials, amongst other things. As Summerson himself acknowledges, the English translation is written in a rather freer form than might have once been the case, a form facilitated by the AALT images, and this makes the edition more accessible for all users. Whilst it might be regretted that the use of 'de' and 'of' in the context of the names of people produces an unnecessary and slightly annoying complexity to the rendering of names, this is far outweighed by the general excellence of the text. Textual notes and notes of reference and information helpfully follow relevant entries, rather than entered as footnotes and endnotes, and demonstrate the extensive research that Gallagher and Summerson undertook in the production of this volume. The edition also has invaluable additional tools, including a short, but vital glossary, an analysis of contents which provides a key to the crown pleas, and a detail of presentments under individual articles of the eyre, as well as a comprehensive index of people and places. A subject index is not included, which would have been a very useful aid, but now seems to be regularly dispensed with.

In the introduction, Summerson has produced not only a detailed and very readable analysis of the Suffolk crown pleas, but an invaluable discussion of the procedure of eyres in general.

He draws a detailed picture of the county with its undulating landscape of mixed agriculture (though pastoral farming was in decline), with the pressures of population and agriculture leading to diminishing woodland, and with settlement consisting of predominantly dispersed hamlets and isolated, often moated, residences. It was a county populated by people where success brought wealth to many, but many more clearly found it very hard to make ends meet, and where status as a freeman did not automatically mean that you were wealthy, since many of unfree status evidently had great wealth both in land and chattels. Indeed, the poverty of many inevitably exacerbated the levels of crime with many who absconded or who were outlawed having few if any goods and chattels to be seized. The many killings and robberies where the culprits were unidentified (quite often small gangs of men) must have been linked to those whose poverty left them with few alternatives. Summerson amply illustrates his discussion with examples from the edition, some of which produce very sad cases, such as the two men and a women kept in stocks on suspicion by William le Sauvage, the bailiff of the half hundred of Lothingland, which resulted in the death of one of the men, in the other losing one foot, and in the woman losing both of her feet. The justices fined Sauvage heavily, but the poor victims do not appear to have been ultimately prosecuted for any offence, or compensated for their terrible ordeal. He also picks out cases that might sound amusing to us, though they were very real to those involved, including a man who was able to clear himself of killing his wife by coming to court with his allegedly dead spouse, and to occasional clerical errors that recorded the death of a clerk amongst sheep (*bidentibus*) rather than among drinking men (*bibentibus*). Summerson's view of the clerk responsible for the majority of the crown pleas is that he did not do 'a very good job', though some of his observances, such as the issues in distinguishing between 'c's and 't's, and 'n's and 'u's seem a little odd, as such difficulties are common in most medieval hands from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.

The real strength of the introduction is the detailed discussion of the procedure of the crown pleas for the Suffolk eyre. Though much of the discussion has inevitably been addressed elsewhere in other publications for eyres in other counties, the discussion here with the context of cases found in the Suffolk material is a useful reminder for the researcher familiar with eyre records, also setting out peculiarities or differences from other eyres, and provides an invaluable discussion for those less familiar or totally unfamiliar with such records, so that the mysteries of presentments, appeals and plaints should no longer trouble us. Indeed, the introduction should be read by all those who have an interest in medieval legal procedure, as well as those interested in the glimpse of medieval Suffolk society afforded by this record.

SIMON J. HARRIS

Wingfield: Suffolk's Forgotten Castle. By Elaine Murphy. 396pp., plates, figures, maps, index. Lowestoft: Poppyland Publishing, 2021. ISBN 978 1 909796 88 1. Price £19.95 pb.

Wingfield Castle may not be exactly forgotten, but it is perhaps one of the county's less known medieval monuments. It can be glimpsed from Wingfield Green, but is not open for visiting by the public. With its imposing front, but decidedly domestic sides, it does rather resemble a Hollywood film set; it does have an attractive, but decidedly enigmatic air. In this book, Elaine Murphy, an independent life peer with an NHS background, but with a retirement PhD in social history, has set out to provide a detailed history of the castle and its inhabitants, from its building in the fourteenth century down to this century. The first half of the book covers the castle's glory days in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when it was a seat of the de la

Pole family, earls and later dukes of Suffolk. Murphy provides an informative account of the careers of the de la Poles, a family that rose from a mercantile background in Hull to being claimants to the throne of England. Their closeness to the royal family was, however, their undoing and Wingfield was lost to them in 1504 (but imagine how unforgettable Wingfield would have been if the Crown had come to them!).

The second half of the book covers the period from 1510, when Wingfield was granted to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, down to the present day. Howard seems to have been granted the property largely because his wife, Anne, was the sister-in-law of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk (as well as being a daughter King Edward IV). Although Anne died in 1511, Howard retained a life interest in the property, but from 1516 it was leased to Charles Brandon, the new duke of Suffolk, who had the expectation that he would own it after Howard's death. It is uncertain how much use Brandon made of Wingfield, but his wife, Queen Mary, dated letters from there in 1525 and 1528. In 1537–8 Brandon relinquished Wingfield when he moved to Lincolnshire, and in 1553 another Queen Mary granted Wingfield to Sir Henry Jerningham as a reward for his help in securing the crown for her. It is probable that Jerningham found the castle in poor condition, leading him to reorganise it, removing some of the side walls and building the existing house that borders the western arm of the moat. Although the Jerninghams retained Wingfield until 1624, their primary interest transferred very quickly, in 1555, to Costessey, near Norwich. Murphy very usefully gives, in full, an inventory of the castle in 1591, plus a shorter one of 'stuff' taken in 1595 from Wingfield to another Jerningham house at Herringfleet. Both are great aids to understanding the layout and furnishing of the castle at the end of the Tudor period. Subsequent owners — the Catelyns of Kirby Cane in Norfolk (1624–1704), the Lemans of Wenhaston (1704–79), the Wilsons (later Lords Berners) of Didlington in Norfolk (1779–1856), and the Adairs of Flixton Hall (1856 to the 1980s) — all had their main interests elsewhere so, sadly, for much of the post de la Pole period, Wingfield slipped from being a ducal castle to being little more than a farmhouse. It was, however, rescued from impending dereliction by the restoration efforts of Graham Baron Ash, who restored some glamour to the castle during his tenancy from 1943 till his death in 1980.

The book is at its strongest for the post-medieval period when the records are fuller, but in reading the medieval section this reviewer sometimes had an uneasy feeling that the narrative might be exceeding the documentation. There could also have been a bit more of an analysis of the meaning of castles like Wingfield, and their role as status indicators. And, as a previous writer on the landscape history of Wingfield, it is perhaps best for me to paraphrase the queen and say that interpretations on that subject may vary. The book is amply illustrated, but the pictures tend to be small and a bit on the grainy side. Overall, it is, however, a very useful compendium of information about one of Suffolk's more fascinating Grade I monuments.

EDWARD MARTIN

In Search of a Roof: Bury St Edmunds Buttermarket in the 1850s and the Building of a Covered Market Hall. By John Orbell. 28pp., plates, appendices, index. Ixworth: Taylor's End Press, 2021. ISBN 978 0 9566111 3 0. Price £3.99 pb.

This latest work by John Orbell, published in a booklet format, developed out of research undertaken for his recent, more comprehensive work on the history of the Corn Exchange buildings in Bury St Edmunds, '*A Handsome and Substantial Building …*'. *A History of Bury St Edmunds Corn Exchange*.

The nineteenth century had brought considerable prosperity to the markets of Bury St Edmunds, which then comprised the Cattle Market and the Corn Exchange, as well as the Buttermarket and the Shambles. The success of the Buttermarket, for example, was such that it had spread out across the town, so that the corporation of Bury St Edmunds considered accommodating it within a purpose-built market building. This followed a trend which had been established elsewhere, with almost four hundred halls built across Britain in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, the market building in Bury St Edmunds never ultimately materialised, and the booklet documents both the background to the various schemes for a proposed provision market, and the opposition to the project by Bury ratepayers who refused to pay for it (despite the fact that the project would have brought significant benefits to the wider community), and which ultimately led to the demise of the project.

The narrative makes use of evidence which has been gathered from the relevant minute books of the corporation of Bury St Edmunds, and from reports and letters published in the *Bury and Norwich Post*. The main theme and focus is, obviously, the possible construction of a covered market area within Bury St Edmunds, however, it would have been useful for the booklet to have included more comparison between this scheme and similar projects taking place elsewhere across the country, so that the proposed improvements could be seen within the national context of market hall development. The wider picture is touched upon on a number of occasions, but not really expanded.

Nevertheless, this is a minor issue as the booklet is likely to be enjoyed by a wide range of readers, most especially those with a particular interest in the history of Bury St Edmunds. It is very well written and illustrated with an excellent choice of contemporary photographs, maps, drawings (and even a painting) of the town, including the reproduction of a number of old postcards. The main text and images are also supplemented with a number of pertinent quotes, both from the *Bury and Norwich Post* and from individuals who lived in the town during the period, which help the author to paint a vibrant picture of marketing in Victorian Bury St Edmunds, whilst adding a scintillating whiff of political intrigue and bad-tempered public meetings!

JOANNE SEAR

NOTES

1 The National Archives, C 64/8–17.
2 Hills and Lucy 2013.
3 See, for example, Fleming 2012.

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EXCURSIONS 2021

Reports and notes on some findings.

24 April. Edward Martin, Nicola Currie and Professor John Parker.
Hitcham, a virtual excursion on Zoom (*Report by Edward Martin*). This was a three-part 'excursion'. The first part being a virtual tour of Hitcham church to 'launch' Edward Martin's new book — *Hitcham. A Landscape, Social and Ecclesiastical History of a Suffolk Clayland Parish*, a reduced version of the description of the church in this book is given below. The second part was an account of the 'Restoring Henslow's Bells' project for Hitcham church tower by Nicola Currie, Hon. Secretary of the Friends of All Saints' Church Hitcham. This raised £340,000 over three years, starting in late 2017, for a programme of work that included: moving the organ from the back of the church to the N aisle, and getting it restored by Bishop and Son, organ builders of Ipswich; taking down the church bells, which had been unsafe for 100 years, sending them for restoration at John Taylor and Co., bell foundry at Loughborough, building a new metal bell frame in the chamber below the original bell chamber (the timber bell frame of the 1520s already in there was left *in situ*), rehanging the bells with two additional bells; commissioning Cubitt Theobald Ltd to rebuild the ringing gallery in the lower part of the tower (this had been demolished in 1871); and, finally, installing a kitchenette and toilet in the base of the tower (Nicola and her husband Malcolm were awarded a Suffolk Heritage Champion Award for this work by the Suffolk Preservation Society in 2021). The third part was a talk by Professor John Parker, Director of Cambridge University's Botanic Garden 1996–2010, on the Henslow Correspondence Project. John Stevens Henslow (1796–1861) was both rector of Hitcham and professor of botany at Cambridge, where he tutored and inspired Charles Darwin. This digital project aims to locate, transcribe, and bring together letters to and from Henslow.

Hitcham church. The 15th-century church tower is massive, but restrained in its decoration, being plain except for strips of chequerboard pattern flushwork on its angle buttresses (a pattern repeated on the castellated top of the nave). As at nearby Cockfield, the tower buttresses descend into the church, perhaps indicating towers that were free-standing when built. In contrast, the S porch is a splendid piece of 15th-century work, ornamented with trefoil-headed flushwork panels and niches for statuary above the door and in the buttresses. It closely resembles porches at Bildeston, Preston and Felsham (where wills of 1470 and 1471 refer to glass for the porch), and they are probably all by same mason. Thomas Fyssher, rector of Hitcham from 1466 to 1500, perhaps significantly, requested burial in the porch in his will of 1505, asking his executors to 'bye a litell marbillstone to be sett in the wall at my sepulture and theryn to be sett a pece of laton and theryn written in lettirs my name and the day of my sepulture so as my goode frendes may have remembrance to pray for my soule and the lettirs theryn to be gilte'.[1] No such stone now exists, but there is a brass inscription recording that the porch was restored in 1882–3 in memory of the Revd J.S. Henslow.

Inside the church, 5-bay arcades of mid- to late 14th-century date separate the nave from the two outer aisles (Fig. 98). In the N clerestory above the piers is a rare survival of the original quatrefoil windows. The royal arms above the S door were installed in honour of King George VI's coronation in 1937. The wooden angel over the N door is relatively modern and is thought to have been carved by Mary March-Phillipps of Hitcham Hall in the 1890s.

The impressive roof of the nave is a complex amalgam of two distinct periods of work. As

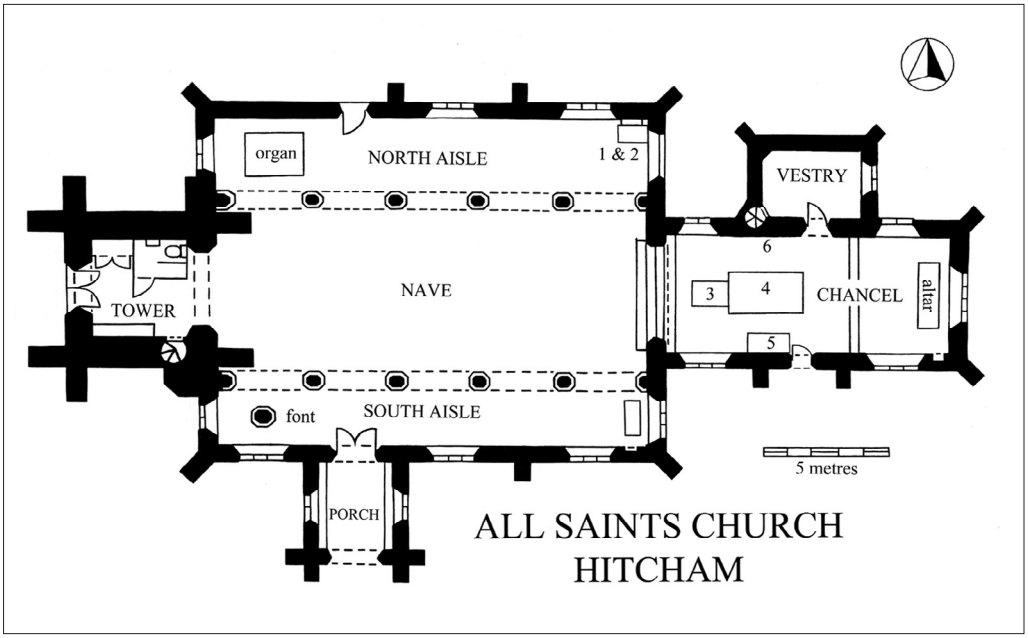


FIG. 98 – Plan of All Saints' church, based on one kindly made available by Philip Orchard of The Whitworth Co-Partnership.

KEY: 1. Wall monument to Sir George Waldegrave of Wetherden Hall (d.1637); 2. Floorstone with indents for a lost brass to George Waldegrave (d.1551) and his wife Mary Frances (d.1562); 3. Floorstone with indents for a lost brass to Sir John Spring (d.1547); 4. Floorstone with indents for a lost brass to Dr William Cooke, rector of of Hitcham (d.1522); 5. Floorstone with indents for a lost brass to a priest, possibly Thomas Remund, rector of Hitcham 1413–38; 6. Wall monument to the Revd Professor John Stevens Henslow (d.1861)

originally built, this was a mid-15th-century double hammerbeam roof similar to the one that still exists at St Mary-at-the-Quay, Ipswich, and could well be the product of craftsmen from Ipswich. The roof was, however, almost completely rebuilt in the early 17th century and put back together with a number of new components. The clearest survivals of the original roof are the wall-posts with the mutilated remains of figures, probably saints. The hammerbeams may also be original and the bare ends of the upper ones, marked with nail holes, may originally have been adorned with the figures of angels. The ends of the lower hammer-beams were adorned in the 17th century with a series of oval wooden plaques surmounted with crowns and bearing various royal emblems and, on one, the initials 'I.R.', for King James I.

The intermediate trusses between the double hammerbeam ones are 'false hammerbeams' with short hammerbeams arch-braced to the tie-beams and supported below by scrolled brackets. Carved on the hammerbeams are a series of grotesque masks of high craftsmanship. Both the masks and the brackets are 17th century, though the hammerbeams themselves may be 15th century in origin. Notable among the other 17th-century additions are the pendant knops on the centres of tie-beams, and a higher series of simpler pendants hanging from the junctions of the principal rafters at the apex of the roof (possibly replacing the original attachments for kingposts, as at St Mary-at-the-Quay). The carved strapwork panels in the spandrels behind the hammer posts are also 17th-century additions.

The nave roof was the responsibility of the parishioners of Hitcham and there are a number of will bequests in the 1450s and 1460s from them towards work in the church: 1451,

Richard Walkefar 'to the fabric of the same church 6s 8d'; 1455, Thomas Crowe 'to the repairing of the church 20d'; 1459, Margery Cabow 'to the emendation of the church 7s 8d'; 1460, Roger Charite 'to the reparation of Hitcham church 6s 8d'; 1461, Richard Wederton [*Witherton*] 'to the necessary emendation of the said church 13s 4d'; 1462, Peter Qwyntyn 'to the repair of the church 20d'; 1464, Cecily Crowe 'to the repair of the church 20d'.[2] These bequests may well have been towards the building of the original hammerbeam roof. This suggests that the building of the nave roof was very much a collective effort by the people of Hitcham. Possibly the prime mover in this group was Richard Witherton, esq., of Wetherden Hall. Witherton was a gentleman with a fairly high-status administrative and military past. In his will, dated 1 July 1461, he requested burial 'in the body of Hitcham parish church, before the image of the crucifix', i.e. in front of the rood screen and in a prime place below the new roof.[3] He requested that his tomb be made 'according to the fashion (*forma*) of the grave of William Cressenere, esquire, in the church of the friars in Sudbury'.[4] Unfortunately, neither tomb survives. Witherton's widow Joan was to provide a suitable chaplain to celebrate divine service in Hitcham church for his soul and the souls of his parents and benefactors for two years after his death. In her will of 1466 she requested burial beside Witherton in Hitcham church and left 'to the repair of the church 3s 4d'.[5] At least one of the rectors in this period also seems to have contributed to the work. Dr Thomas Bett(ys), rector from 1438 to 1452, left 40s in his will (dated 1452) to the fabric of Hitcham church.[6]

The aisle roofs, like the nave roof, also seems to be an amalgam of two periods of work. Most of the structure looks as if it is late 15th or early 16th century in date, the principal structural timbers being decorated with carved crenelations, as is common at that period. However, the horizontal boards that hide the junctions between the wall plate and the rafters bear carved vine scrolls that are more typical of the first quarter of the 17th century. The cresting that surmounts the boards also points to the same date. The bosses applied to the intersections of the rafters and purlins are late medieval in form, but some bear carvings of men's heads that would fit, stylistically, better with a date of around 1600 than 1500. At the E end of the S aisle, one of the short wall-posts supporting a rafter brace has a plaque attached to its base that bears a crown over the initials 'CR', for King Charles I, suggesting that the work may have been as late as the 1620s or 1630. Altogether, the evidence suggests that a late medieval roof was rebuilt in the early 17th century and some new elements were added. The style of carving is different to that of the nave, suggesting either a different date or different craftsmen.

Separating the nave and the chancel is the lower part of a fine mid-15th-century rood screen with painted panels depicting angels bearing the Instruments of the Passion. From N to S these are:

1. The Scourge – upraised in the left hand of the angel, its knotted thongs dangling by his arm;
2. The Pillars of Flagellation – with cords about it;
3. The Spear;
4. Apparently the Seamless Robe – held up in the angel's two hands;
5. Half blank, defaced;
6. Damaged, but probably the Cleft Reed for the sponge of hyssop;
7. The Nails and the Hammer;
8. Almost certainly the Crown of Thorns held in both of the angel's hands.

In 1461 Henry Qwarry left ten marks towards a newly built reredos (*tabulo*) and it may be that the screen was erected at same time.[7] In 1524 Thomas Scorell left a croft to pay for a repair of the 'boording [*on*] the bak syde of the Roode of the Candyll beame next the chancell'.[8]

The S wall of the chancel must have been unstable because in 1741 the antiquarian Tom Martin of Palgrave visited and noted that 'the chancel is supported on the S side by two new brick buttresses, on one of which is this inscription: July 1716 Nicholas Clagett DD Rector'.[9] The problem got worse, with the S wall 'very much out of the perpendicular', and the E wall in very bad repair, so in restoration works undertaken in 1878 by Robert Tooley of Bury St Edmunds, under the supervision of the architect George Edward Pritchett (1824–1912) of London, the S and E walls of the chancel were taken down and rebuilt (a photograph in the church shows the chancel roof precariously supported by worryingly thin wooden props). A contemporary account refers to the finding of a fragment of a 'wayside or churchyard cross' (claimed as '9th–10th century') in the SE buttress of the wall, also fragments of a cist, a Barnack stone cross, 'part of the old reredos', and a piece of the base of a font, but unfortunately, all of these pieces were subsequently lost.[10]

The lost brass in the large stone indent in front of the altar commemorated Dr William Cooke, rector of Hitcham from 1500 until his death in 1522. He requested burial here in his will and directed that 'I will have a gravestone of marble to be bought by myn executors of the price of six poundis threten shillinges and four pens and leide ther upon me'.[11] A second large indent held a brass commemorating Sir John Spring of Hitcham (d.1547).[12] Near the S door is an indent of a priest under a canopy, which possibly represents Thomas Remund, rector 1413–38. There is also an armorial floorstone to Dr William Battie, rector 1667–1706 (when Tom Martin visited in 1741, he recorded that 'A Hatchment hangs over the stone' — but no longer). A wall monument commemorates Hitcham's most famous rector, the Revd Professor John Stevens Henslow (d.1861).[13] The wooden bishop's stall or throne was installed by and for M.F. Maxwell-Gumbleton, suffragan bishop of Dunwich 1935–45, and rector of Hitcham 1935–48.

The chancel roof is an interesting development of the 'false hammerbeam' type of roof in which the ends of the hammerbeams are joined by moulded purlins — one on each side of the roof giving a strong horizontal line across the bottom third of the roof. Curved braces rise from the wall plate to the hammerbeams, and from the hammerbeams to the apex of the roof, but only the outer edges of these are now visible, as the gaps between the braces have been infilled with horizontal boards. This gives a bipartite ceiling made up of two concave sections separated by the longitudinal purlins. Further horizontal divisions are provided by smaller purlins in the upper curved sections and the central ridge piece. Vertical divisions are provided by the edges of the braces, which appear as narrow ribs. The overall effect is of a wooden ceiling divided into a series of rectangular panels, with carved bosses covering the intersections. The carved bosses are a mixture of purely decorative ones, with lozenges and arcs filled with floral and foliage forms, and more elaborate ones with human faces and angels. Notable are a fine male head, probably representing Christ, and a woman's head, probably indicating St Mary.

A similar roof covers the chancel of Rattlesden church (this, like Hitcham, was under the patronage of the bishops of Ely), and it is very likely that they are the work of the same craftsmen. Roofs of a similar construction also occur in Hengrave Hall (near Bury St Edmunds), where instead of wooden boards, plaster ceilings have been applied across the braces, following their curves, but totally hiding them. This treatment leaves only the moulded hammerbeam purlins visible, rather like cornices, leading to them being termed 'cornice-purlin' roofs. At Hengrave the roofs date from around 1530, and it is likely that the Hitcham and Rattlesden roofs are not far distant in date.

On the N side of the chancel there is a double-storeyed medieval vestry that was restored from a ruinous condition in 1987. This has a bricked-up fireplace and a spiral staircase in one corner that leads to an upper chamber. The chamber's floor had to be lowered in the

restoration, so it now covers the upper part of the lower window (heavily barred for past security purposes).

For a hundred years the bells of Hitcham church were silent because of the instability of its old wooden bell frame. But, with the aid of a grant from The National Lottery Heritage Fund for a project entitled 'Restoring Henslow's Bells', this has now been rectified. It started in 2019 with the bells being lowered for restoration, enabling the old bell frame to be examined more easily and providing an opportunity to take samples for dendrochronology (tree-ring dating), which gave a probable date of 1520–9.[14] The dendro date fits well with the available documentary evidence. In his will of 1522, Dr William Cooke, rector of Hitcham, gave 40s 'towards a litill bell to hang in the stepull of Hecham so the township will b[u]y it within the space of a yere after my departure'.[15] And, most significantly, in December 1524 John Bowell the elder of Hitcham made a bequest in his will of 13s 4d 'to the makinge of the bellframe'.[16] The township must have acted on these bequests because by 1553 Hitcham had managed to amass four 'Great Bells' in its tower.[17] Curiously, there must have been bells there before the 16th century because, in his will of 1491, John Lever of Hitcham left 3s 4d to the 'the reparacion of the bellys in Hecham cherche'.[18] Later, in 1741, the antiquarian Tom Martin noted six bells at Hitcham, and in 1826 another antiquarian, David Elisha Davy, recorded five. Hitcham's existing six bells are, however, considerably younger than their frame. The two oldest were cast by Henry Pleasant (d.1708) of Sudbury (one is dated 1697); two were cast by Thomas Gardiner (d.1762) also of Sudbury (one bell is dated 1744 and the other 1755); and two by Thomas Mears the younger of the Whitechapel Bell Foundry in London (both dated 1837).[19] By the 1920s the bell frame was unsafe and the bells were secured in a locked position in 1926. In the restoration project, the old ringing floor became the new belfry, with a new cast iron frame for the bells built and installed by John Taylor and Co. of Loughborough.[20] A musicians' gallery in the lower part of the tower, demolished in 1871 as unsafe, has been rebuilt as the new ringing floor. When the access doorway to the musicians' gallery was reopened, it was discovered that the plaster lining of the doorway was still intact, and pencilled on the door archway were twenty-one strings of numbers, starting with 123456. This was a 'ringing method' (the numbers setting out the order in which the bells were to be rung) that has been identified as an old tune called 'Double Court Bob Minor', first published by William Shipway in his *Campanologia* of 1816.

The Friends of All Saints' Church Hitcham raised £340,000 for the Tower Project in two years through The National Lottery Heritage Fund, Viridor Credits, other charities and some generous private donations.

12 June. Joanne Sear.

Late medieval Newmarket, a virtual excursion on Zoom (*Report by Joanne Sear*). Modern Newmarket contains very little to indicate that it had been a prosperous town, albeit a small one, in the late Middle Ages. However, whilst it definitely lacks evidence in terms of buildings, there are reminders, particularly in the street plan, but also in other features of the town. Members were taken on a virtual field trip focussed on late medieval Newmarket, linking it as far as possible with the modern town through photos and maps. Much of the evidence used for the 'field trip' had emerged out of work on a volume for the Suffolk Records Society on the records of the manor of Newmarket.[21]

The reason why so much is known about the infrastructure of the settlement at this time is that a number of manorial rolls have survived from the 15th century. These include both court and account rolls and are an interesting survival because the main focus of the manor was on trade rather than on agriculture, so the rolls reflect commercial rather than agrarian activities. The town is unusual for a number of other reasons, not the least is that it didn't become firmly

established until the 15th century, at a time which was particularly challenging for newer foundations such as Newmarket. Its origins are relatively obscure, particularly since it never received a formal market charter, but it seems likely that a small trading site appeared at the location in the early years of the 13th century, although the almost negligible evidence for this suggests that this was relatively unimportant. A planned marketplace was probably created in the late 14th century, but it was not until the 15th that Newmarket became significant.

The most important reason for Newmarket's development and continued success was its location. By the 15th century it was surrounded by a number of agrarian settlements which were not effectively served by other markets. Although it was not on a navigable river, it had quite exceptional road links into both Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, and beyond. Many of these routes are referred to in the rolls and include 'Exningwey', 'Fordhamwey', 'Borwellewey' and 'Cambridgewey'.[22] Newmarket was also on a major route in East Anglia running from Norwich through Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, before going on to London. This route had always been significant, but was growing in importance at this time because of the rising prominence of the port of London, so that goods were increasingly moved to and from the capital, rather than to and from smaller ports. Newmarket was located both near to a number of important cloth-producing areas, and between these areas and wool-producing areas, so that it served as a hub in the collection and distribution network associated with these interrelated activities. Newmarket therefore attracted two types of traders: people from smaller hinterland settlements who were predominantly engaged in agriculture and husbandry and who brought their produce to Newmarket to sell and, in return, bought foodstuffs and other essentials; and drapers, mercers and clothiers who traded cloth and wool within the town.

These two functions are reflected in the layout of the marketplace in the 15th century. It is likely that the earliest development of trade within the town was unplanned and took the form of an informal exchange site on the London to Norwich road, so that the earliest marketplace was on the main road through the settlement, probably at the location where present-day Wellington Street and Sun Lane form a crossroads with the High Street. Some formal planning seems to have occurred in the 14th century. Although a lack of sources from this period make it impossible to be precise about exactly what form this took, it probably consisted of the relocation of the marketplace to a dedicated site away from the main road, and the separation of this trading centre into a series of distinct commodity sectors. References in the court rolls confirm that by the early 15th century, most trade took place within this dedicated market site.

This 15th-century marketplace broadly lay within the rectangle of the modern Wellington Street to the west, Market Street to the east, High Street to the south and Fred Archer Way to the north. It was fairly large, a rough calculation suggests a market area of just over 1ha. The detail given in the 1472/73 account roll enables some reconstruction of the layout of the actual market area, although this is conjectural rather than definite (see Fig. 99). The market area included a range of features deliberately created to support marketing, including a tolbooth towards the centre of the market where various tolls and fines were paid, and the standard measures for the settlement would have been kept. There was also a market cross from which the rules and regulations of the market would have been proclaimed. This can be located with some certainty and was not in the main marketplace, but on the main road, which supports the idea that this was the site of the earlier market since it seems plausible that when the market moved, the cross stayed in its original position. In addition, there was a guildhall which was not constructed until towards the end of our period.

In common with many other markets of the time, many of the trading units were grouped together with other units selling similar commodities. The term 'row' is sometimes used in the rolls to describe these groupings, but whereas some of these did consist of units in a row, others were more akin to commodity sectors. At this time, the largest trading row was the

FIG. 99 – The market area of late medieval Newmarket (*map: David Addy*).

Butchery, or Butchers' Row, which had at least twenty-five shops or stalls, followed by the Drapery with at least twenty-three. Barkers' Row, the Mercery and Ropers' Row were also significant, with at least nine units each, whilst the other rows varied between six units and just one identifiable in Spicers' Row.[23] The layout of the market largely conforms with reconstructions that have been made of other medieval markets, for example, the market at Cambridge.[24] Broadly speaking, the commodity sectors devoted to the sale of foodstuffs were grouped together in the northern end of the market and comprised the Butchery and the Cheesemarket (which dealt with the sale of dairy products, eggs and peas and beans as well as just cheese) and, to a lesser extent, the Cornhill, although much of the grain sold here would have been wholesale. The southern end dealt with the sale of more expensive craft and manufactured goods, particularly in the Drapery and Mercery, but also in Spicers' Row and Ironmongers' Row. These 'higher end' goods were easier to access from the main road through the centre of Newmarket via the two lanes which ran to the east and west of the market area. Evidence suggests that some of the men who held shops or stalls in the Mercery or the Drapery also held more substantial houses along the main road, so that their trading units abutted onto their dwellings and may have even become incorporated into them.

The relative proximity of the Butchery to the Bullsyard is also worth noting. Animals, particularly cattle, to be sold as meat in the market were probably driven to the Bullsyard for slaughter and processing before the meat was taken to the Butchery for sale. It seems likely that the Bullsyard was accessed via a route running along the present day Exeter Road. The Bullsyard was also close to the water course, which ran to the north-west of the Bullsyard. Waste from meat processing could be disposed of in the water course, frequently referred to in the rolls as 'Dundich'. This didn't always happen as butchers were frequently amerced in the rolls for dumping intestines and guts elsewhere in the town.

The other occupation that required water was tanning. In the case of Newmarket, tanners and barkers appear to have operated together out of Barkers' Row. The location of this row is uncertain since it is not clear from the rolls, although it is possible to establish that the guildhall, Cordwainers' Row and Barkers' Row were all close to one another. The most notable historian of the town, Peter May, suggested that these were located in the present-day Sun Lane, previously called Guildhall Street.[25] However, for various reasons, it is more likely that they were located along Market Lane, particularly since this would have given easy access to a water source, which was essential to the tanning process, and proximity to those areas where animals were slaughtered and processed as a source of hides. Whilst the exact location of these rows is open to doubt, what is not is that they were situated next to each other, which ensured that hides tanned in the Barkers' Row were easily available to the shoemakers in Cordwainers' Row.

In addition to the main marketplace, both sides of the main road through the town (now the High Street) were lined with tenements and some of these were also trading units. To the north of the modern High Street, we can be quite certain about the location, size and layout of the tenement plots and the names of the holders. This is partly due to the fact that the manorial rolls predominantly relate to this area, but also to the fact that many of these plots have largely retained their size and shape. There has been some subdivision, particularly at the back of plots, and some infilling, but it is not difficult to observe the footprints of the original tenement plots; these have become fossilized into the modern street plan. The area to the south of the High Street is harder to establish, partly because much of this area was not within the manor and therefore not referred to in the rolls, but also because much of this area was heavily redeveloped in the 17th century at the instigation of the Stuart kings and the original street plan wiped away.

Hospitality was another important function of the town in the 15th century and many of the tenements along the main road through Newmarket were operated as inns. The account roll of 1472/73 refers to twelve inns or alehouses, with all but one of these located on the main road. These were not only for the provision of refreshment and accommodation since some landlords traded in other goods, and also acted as intermediaries between producers and either consumers, or other retailers (including London merchants). In particular, Newmarket has been identified as a breaking-point on the route between the coast and London, so that it served as a hub in the distribution network for preserved fish, a vital component of the medieval diet, with landlords actively engaged in this process.

The two Newmarket fairs have also left their mark on the landscape of the town although they were in decline during the fifteenth century. Although there is no record of a charter for the market, two fairs are confirmed by charters. In 1223 Henry III granted the then lord of the manor the right to hold a three-day autumn fair around the feast of Sts Simon and Jude, 28 October, and in 1293 Edward II granted a three-day summer fair around the feast of St Barnabus, 11 June. The fairs were almost certainly held in the area just to the north-east of St Mary's church in a location which later became known as St Mary's Square (Fig. 100).

To conclude, Newmarket's location was such that it was ideally placed to provide basic marketing facilities to its hinterland, as well as serving as a distribution hub, particularly to the wool and cloth industries. By the end of the 15th century it was a prosperous market settlement attracting traders and customers from both near and far. Although at first glance there appears to be little evidence of this, much of the layout of the town was clearly established during the Middle Ages and this footprint remains.

7 July. Bob and Jane Carr.

Bury St Edmunds, a walking tour within the abbey remains in celebration of the 1000 years since the abbey was refounded by Cnut in 1020 (*Report by Bob and Jane Carr*). This was the first 'live' outing for the Institute following the restrictions caused by the Covid-19 pandemic last

FIG. 100 – St Mary's Square, Newmarket, with St Mary's church in the background.

year. The aim of the visit was to consider the standing remains of the abbey and its setting within the town, looking at the 'ruins' from a landscape perspective. Jane Carr gave a brief outline of the abbey's history. King Sigeberht of the East Angles (d.654) may have founded a monastery here, at *Beadricesworth*, where a Middle Saxon settlement is thought to have been in existence.[26] This monastery received the body of martyred St Edmund in the early 10th century and Bury St Edmunds became a place of great pilgrimage. In 1020 the religious community was refounded by Cnut as a Benedictine abbey and its first stone church was consecrated in 1032. In the 1090s Abbot Baldwin built a much grander church here, which survived until the abbey was dissolved in 1539. Under Abbot Anselm, 1120–48, a stone precinct wall was erected, and the Norman Tower dates from this period.[27] The abbey was endowed with great estates during its 500 years and became one of the wealthiest abbeys in England.

Members met on the Cathedral Green, near the sculptures of St Edmund (by Elizabeth Frink) and the wolf sculpture, where Bob Carr described the context of the abbey. Its area incorporated the site of the likely Middle and Late Saxon settlement, the latter seems to have been focussed upon the line of what we now know as Southgate Street and Northgate Street; the actual link between the two roads has been engulfed by the abbey, but determines the line of the West Front of the abbey church. (Fig. 101). Cnut's abbey was built as part of a planned unit with the new 11th-century town of St Edmundsbury. This can be clearly demonstrated when looking at the alignment of the street plan with the West Front on the Cathedral Green today. Looking W through the Norman Tower to the top of Churchgate Street with its axial crossing roads, then turning 180 degrees looking E, the central arch, site of the original abbey entrance doors, could be seen within the West Front. From here too, it was apparent that the surface water drainage of the town was centred upon Churchgate Street, leading downhill towards the West Front. At an early stage the precinct was bounded by a drainage ditch

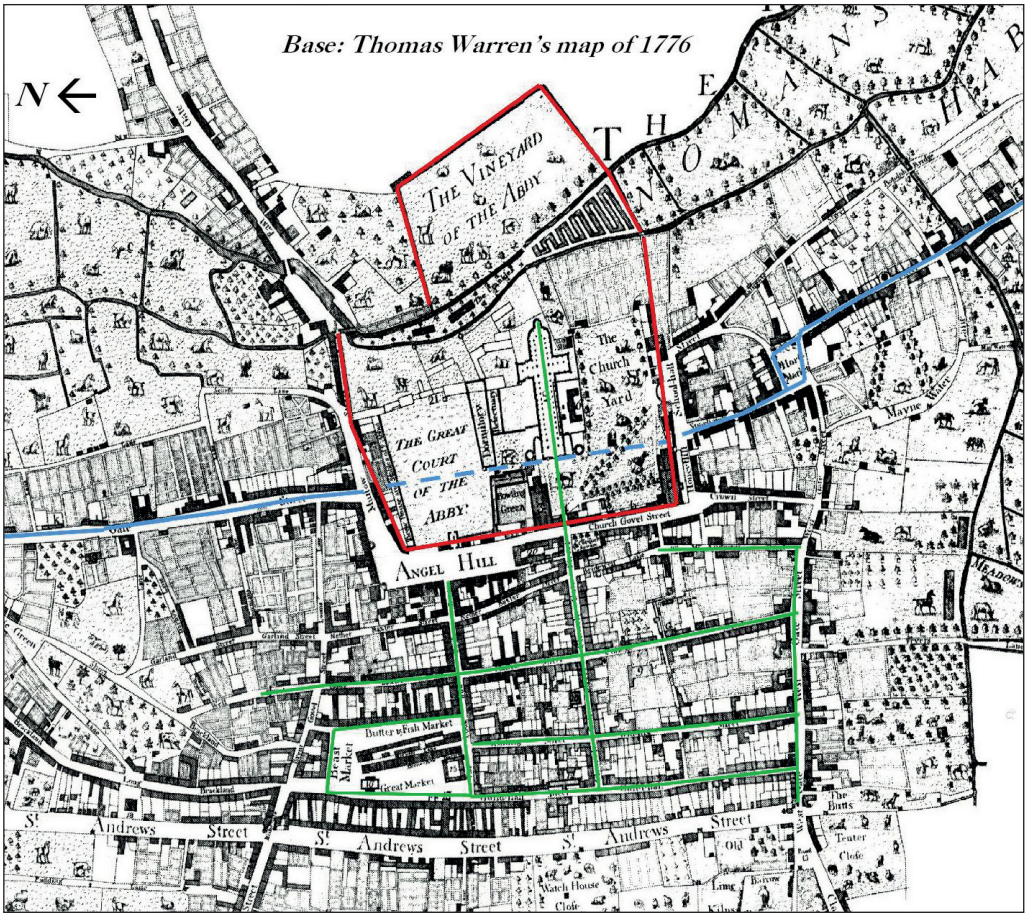


FIG. 101 – Features of Bury St Edmunds based on Thomas Warren's map of 1776.
The blue lines show the projected pre-1020 alignment of Southgate Street and Northgate Street.
The red indicates the boundary of the enclosure which formed the abbey precinct.
The green denotes the Norman street grid of the town, sharing the axis of the abbey church.

running along Crown Street, Angel Hill and Mustoe Street. This must have failed by the 16th century when ground around St James's church was artificially raised and the church rebuilt to avoid future flooding. This explains why the base of the Norman Tower is at least 1.5m below present ground level.

Observing the great West Front of the abbey church, its three central arches and extensions for the W transept can be seen amidst the remains of the medieval building and its recent domestic occupation. What is seen today is the core work of the structure, the facing ashlar, originally as elaborate as that on the Norman Tower, having been stripped away post-Reformation. Its reuse in lay buildings and walls has become a characteristic feature of domestic architecture in the town. The scale of the West Front, as seen today, is somewhat misleading. Its contemporary ground level was at least 1.5m lower, as with the Norman Tower, and its superstructure of towers are missing, It would have been far more massive and imposing. New information panels by English Heritage, due to be erected on site in 2022, will interpret this view for future visitors.

A good impression of the size of the precinct can be gained whilst looking to the S over the Great Churchyard. A fragment of the wall is still visible adjacent to St Mary's church, and is known to have run along the line of Honey Hill to the S. This expanse, together with the claustral area and Great Court to the N, and down to the river Lark, including the vineyard on the eastern slopes of the valley, combine to form one of the largest defined and undeveloped abbey precincts in the country.

The tour progressed into the Great Churchyard to reach the Chapel of the Charnel which was founded by Abbot John *et al.* in 1300.[28] Its original form with an open ground floor was served by three bays of arches and its presumed use was that of an open-air crypt, which acted as a repository for skeletal remains of interments disturbed by subsequent burials. Above the existing building, the window openings of a first floor chapel over can be imagined (Fig. 102). Again, ashlar has been removed, but some of the core work shows the incorporation of segments of reused stone coffins (Fig. 103).

Fronting the churchyard and backing onto the S side of the nave of the abbey, the Clopton Asylum, built 1735–44, now The Deanery, was noted in passing.[29] The tour continued across the West Front and noted a fragment of 12th-century ashlar with decorative interlace, reused within the core material.

Entering the Abbey Gardens, the group observed the dormitory areas of the cloisters with views S over the nave of the abbey church, gaining an impression of its great overall length, probably the longest in the country. Ground level changes here demonstrate the clearance of floor materials of the N transept and crossing areas by archaeologists of the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works (MPBW) in the mid-20th-century, whilst for the bulk of the nave the

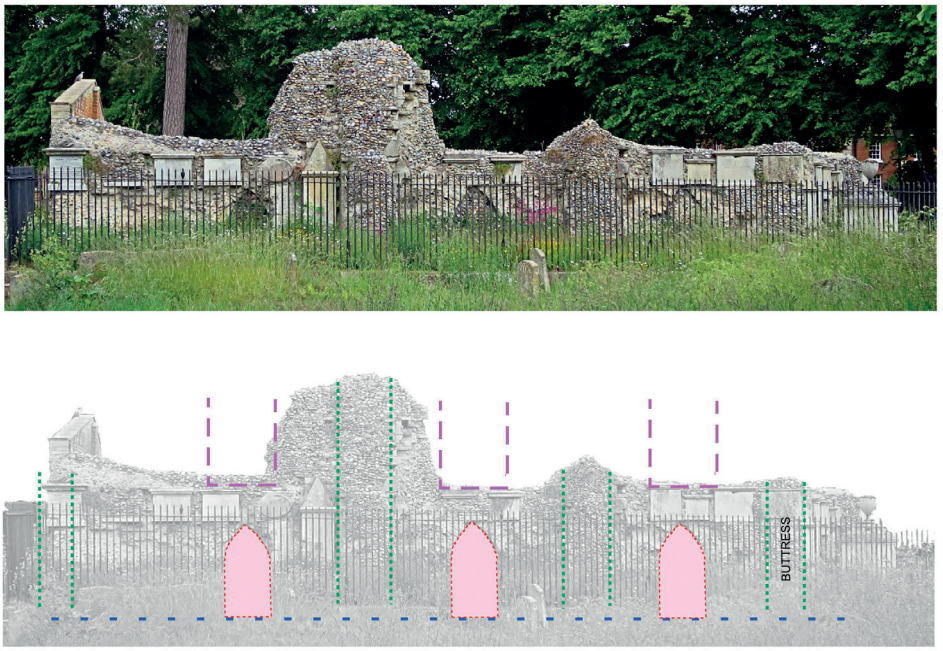


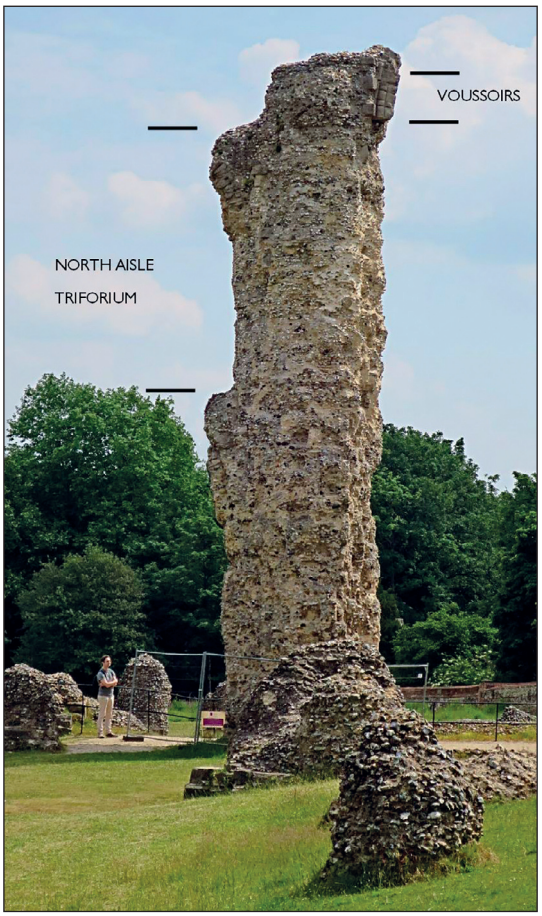
FIG. 102 – The Chapel of the Charnel viewed from the SE. The first image shows the surviving remains of the building, the second is a possible interpretation of these features.

deposited rubble of post-Reformation date is clearly visible (Fig. 104). At the crossing, the bases of the piers had obviously been protected by this demolition debris, until subsequent works have exposed them (Fig. 105). Close examination of the mortar bonding of the crossing piers shows the inclusion of fragmented Roman building tile, used as a pozzolan to enhance the speed and setting of the lime mortar. Its appearance seems to be exclusive to these four piers, fundamental to their stability in supporting the building.

Observation from the nave shows that on the N face of the NE crossing pier a group of four surviving voussoirs can be seen in the projecting rubble core stubs. This forms the springing for the chancel arch at both clerestory and triforium level (Fig. 106). Standing within the crossing, the level of the presbytery floor and site of St Edmund's shrine can be estimated from the level of the single step and height of the vaults in the crypt below. Looking at the walls of the crypt, the position of the vaults are apparent. The clearance of this area by the MPBW produced reused stonework in the form of baluster shafts from a pre-Conquest building, which may be best explained by the rotunda chapel of Cnut, reportedly seen beneath the Lady Chapel on the N side of the presbytery.[30]

From this high point of the abbey church floor level, the land over the precinct drops away eastwards to the river Lark, where signs of ground-raising reclamation are visible within the presumed original flood plain. The tour noted the site of the tennis courts, beyond the crypt/shrine, an area previously unexcavated, and of considerable potential and interest. Geophysical and further survey work may happen as a result of the research agenda of the Abbey of St Edmund Heritage Partnership, in which the Institute is involved. This partnership aims to combine the interests of all those using the Abbey Gardens, and not just of the management of the scheduled ancient monument.[31]

Whilst within the 'ruins', some discussion was had on the best ways of improving public understanding of the abbey, and the contrast between this archaeological area and the garden/leisure facilities which greet the visitor entering from the great medieval gate on Angel Hill, or the Eastgate entrance.



PREVIOUS PAGE TOP:
FIG. 103 – The Chapel of the Charnel: stone coffin fragments reused in the coins of the S central buttress.

PREVIOUS PAGE BOTTOM:
FIG. 104 – The abbey church: N transept looking at surviving rubble level in central nave.

TOP:
FIG. 105 – The abbey church: architectural detail of NE crossing pier.

RIGHT:
FIG. 106 – The abbey church: NE crossing pier viewed from W.

Having traversed the fragmentary rubble walls of the claustral range, and standing on higher ground near the Queen's Chamber, the full extent of the N portion of the walled precinct was visible, complementing views already noted of the southern extent from the Great Churchyard. Excavations at the Queen's Chamber, undertaken for the then Department of the Environment by Tony Fleming in the 1970s (unpublished) were of particular significance, as sherds of Middle Saxon Ipswich ware were uncovered, thus strongly suggesting the presence here of the pre-Conquest settlement mentioned above (see *Beadricesworth*), which preceded the abbey.

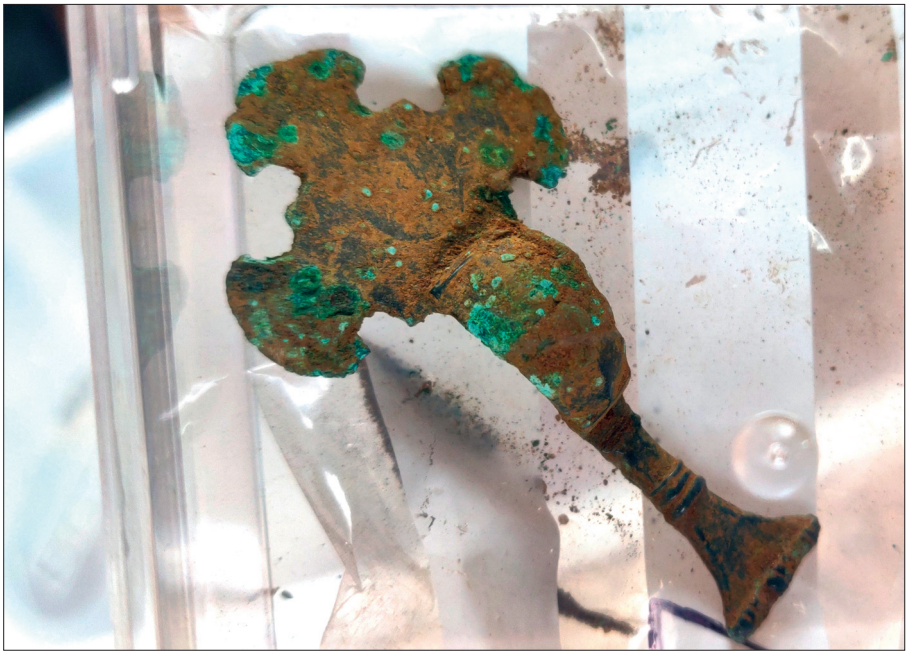
The tour finished at the W end, inside the great Abbey Gate, and delegates were directed to observe that the wall line on this N side of the site is in fact the courtyard face of buildings which lined the external precinct wall, some 5m further N. Scars can be seen indicating the position of doors, windows and cart doors, testament to those structures built against the wall, but no longer extant. Delegates were also encouraged to exit via Abbey Gate and observe its position off the alignment with Abbeygate Street. This was caused by troubles with the townsfolk in 1327 who burnt down the original gate, immediately N of the current gate, and which would have aligned with the street.[32] Also to be noted was the ornate tracery of the gate itself, which could be classed as one of the finest pieces of medieval building work N of the Alps.

7 September. Alice De Leo.

Rendlesham Revealed community excavation (*Report by Alice De Leo, Suffolk County Council*). Members were invited to visit the archaeological excavations at Rendlesham as part of the Rendlesham Revealed project funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund and led by Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. The excavations are part of an extensive three-year fieldwork programme throughout the Deben valley. Summer 2021 saw the first season of excavations at Rendlesham, which were carried out by volunteers under the guidance of a small expert team from the Suffolk office of Cotswold Archaeology and Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service, with academic advice and direction from Professor Christopher Scull. Special thanks go to the landowner and farmer for their kind permission and support.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, only a small group of twelve members joined the visit. The members were welcomed by Alice De Leo before being taken to the site where Professor Scull gave an introduction followed by a one-hour tour around the excavated trenches.

FIG. 107 – View of trench with pits and sunken-featured buildings at Rendlesham (©SCCAS).



TOP:
FIG. 108 – Anglo-Saxon brooch found by metal detecting over a trench during excavation (©SCCAS).

BOTTOM:
FIG. 109 – Excavated WWI practice trench cutting an Anglo-Saxon sunken-featured building (©SCCAS).

Previous investigations have identified Rendlesham as the largest and wealthiest settlement of its time so far discovered in England, covering over 50ha. It flourished for almost 300 years from the 5th to the 8th centuries. Five trenches were excavated in the wider area of earlier Anglo-Saxon settlement, targeting potential features identified on previous magnetometry surveys. The excavations in three of the trenches uncovered the remains of sunken-featured buildings, pits and post-holes of probable 5th–6th century date over a wide area, indicating an extensive settlement whose inhabitants were engaged in farming and craftworking (Fig. 107). Evidence of this includes bones from butchered cattle, sheep and pigs; items associated with spinning and weaving including spindle whorls and loom weights; melted metal fragments and slag indicating smithing and manufacture of copper-alloy objects; fragments of pottery vessels used for cooking and storage; items of dress including a copper-alloy brooch and buckle (Fig. 108).

Earlier prehistoric features were also excavated in three of the trenches, including an Iron Age double-ditched enclosure and prehistoric pits and a boundary ditch. Surprisingly, a WW1 military practice trench was also revealed in one of the trenches, probably dug by a battalion of the Territorial Force in 1914 or early 1915; this was cutting an Anglo-Saxon sunken-featured building (Fig. 109). In the fifth trench, a layer of buried soil 10–20cm deep was revealed overlying the archaeology; this was not excavated.

The next season of archaeological excavations is planned for summer 2022.

Made possible with Heritage Fund

NOTES

1 Latten, an alloy of copper and zinc; T[he] N[ational] A[rchives], PROB 11/14/548 (Fyssher).
2 Northeast 2001, 186, no. 487 (Walkefar), 384–5, no. 1116 (Crowe); S[uffolk] A[rchives]/B[ury St Edmunds], R2/9/246 (Cabow); Northeast and Falvey, 42–3, no. 75 (Charite), 101–2, no. 181 (Wederton), 23–4, no. 43 (Qwyntyn), 121, no. 211 (Crowe).
3 Northeast and Falvey 2010, 101–2, no. 181 (Wederton).
4 Blois also recorded a monument in the church to '*Wetherton et Johanna uxor eius*', see *Church Notes of William Blois*, *vol. iii,* 320, SA/I[pswich], GC17/755. William Cressener, esq., of Boxted was buried in the friars' church in Sudbury in 1454 (will dated 31 March 1454, proved 10 May 1454, TNA, PROB 11/1/256).
5 N[orfolk] R[ecord] O[ffice], N[orwich] C[onsistory] C[ourt], Betyns 124 (Fenys).
6 Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Stafford (Kemp), *f.* 276 (Bettys).
7 Northeast 2001, 505, no. 1459 (Qwarry).
8 NRO, NCC, Briggs 211 (Scorell).
9 *Tom Martin's Church Notes*, *Suffolk*, SA/B, E2/41/8b, vol. 11b.
10 *Suffolk Chronicle,* 11 May 1878.
11 TNA, PROB 11/20/342 (Cooke).
12 *The Breviary of Suffolk* (British Library, Harleian MS 3873, 55) records the lost inscription as '*Hoc tegitur saxo Johannis Spring miles qui quidem Johannes obijt 12 die mensis Februarij anno Christo nato millimo cccccxlvij cujus anime prospitietur Deus amen*'. It adds that 'This epitaph is in Hitcham church, under his statue all armed, in brasse, 2 escocheons, 1 Spring's single coat, the 2nd Spring empaled Waldegrave & Mounchancy, quarterly'. The 2nd shield was still in position in the seventeenth century when seen by the antiquarian William Blois. He also recorded a lost stone to 'Sir William Fenis [with an inserted note: 'qu. if not Sir Robt.'] miles et Dom. Elianor uxor ejus qui Gulielmo obit. 1509', but he noted its shields were 'reav'd', i.e. stolen, see *Church Notes of William Blois*, *vol. iii*, 320, SA/I, GC17/755. This stone actually commemorated Sir Robert Fynes of Wetherden Hall who, in his will of 1509, requested burial in the church.
13 This by the Hadleigh-born sculptor and poet, Thomas Woolner (1825–92), a founder member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood who corresponded with Charles Darwin.
14 Bridge 2019.
15 TNA, PROB 11/20/342 (Cooke).
16 SA/B, IC500/2/17/74 (Bowyll).
17 'Church Goods in Suffolk No. XLVII' [1553], *East Anglian Notes and Queries*, III, 1889–90, 286–7.
18 SA/B, IC500/2/13/101 (Lever).
19 Raven 1890, 202. For more details of the bellfounders, see P. Cattermole, *Church Bells and Bell-Ringing. A Norfolk Profile*, Woodbridge (1990), 192 and 199.
20 All Saints' Parish Church, Hitcham, Suffolk. http://taylorbells.co.uk/project/hitcham-suffolk/.
21 Davis and Sear, forthcoming.
22 SA/B, Acc. 1476/12, 13 and 359/3.
23 These numbers reflect those shops or stalls which can be identified from the available evidence (particularly the account roll for 1472/73) as being located within a particular row. Unfortunately, it is not possible to discern the location of all of the shops or stalls which are known to have existed within the marketplace.
24 See P. Bryan and N. Wise, 'A reconstruction of the medieval Cambridge market place', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society,* **91** (2002), 73–88.
25 May 1975, 262.
26 Plunkett 2005, 106–7.
27 Suffolk's Story 17 AD 654–1539 Bury St Edmunds Abbey (www.suffolkinstitute.org.uk/suffolk-s-story-17).
28 Gransden 2015, 221–4.
29 Bettley and Pevsner 2015, 49.
30 Gem and Keane 1981.
31 Abbey of St Edmund Heritage Partnership (www.abbeyofstedmund.org.uk/).
32 Lobel 1933, 215–31.

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LECTURES 2021

All lectures were held at the Blackbourne Hall, Elmswell

13 November 'Memento Mori — Remembering the Roman Dead and a New Perspective on Early Settlement at Great Whelnetham', by Andrew Peachey.

Lectures held online via Zoom

9 January	'Celebrating the Anniversaries of East Anglian Artists', by John Day.
20 January	'Medieval Peasantry and Husbandry in Suffolk', by Prof. Phillipp Schofield.
27 January	'The Upwardly Mobile Gentry of Fifteenth-Century East Anglia: Nicholas Parker of Dunwich and Honing', by Prof. Carole Rawcliffe.
10 February	'After the Black Death: Economy, Society and the Law in Fourteenth-Century England', by Prof. Mark Bailey.
17 February	'Photographs of the 1939 Sutton Hoo Dig', by Laura Howarth of the National Trust.
13 February	'Recent Excavations at Flixton Park Quarry, Suffolk', by Stuart Boulter and Simon Picard.
13 March	'Keeping the Peace in Medieval Suffolk', by Dr Nicholas Amor.
17 March	'Gentry-Led Violence in Long Melford 1766: Three Days of Disturbances Outlined, with Possible Explanations', by Dr Lyn Boothman.
31 March	'Saxon Suffolk, the Pottery Evidence', by Sue Anderson.
14 April	'Education in Nineteenth-Century Suffolk', by Rosalind Crone.
28 April	'Art, Architecture, Building Development and Bats', by James Halsall.
12 May	'Blaxhall's Farming Past', by Rodney West.
26 May	'Two Suffolk Coin Hoards', by David Wollweber.
6 October	'Suffolk and the Medieval Gough Map', by Prof. Mark Bailey.
30 October	'The Significant Timber-Framed Buildings of Debenham, by Timothy Easton.
1 December	'Archaeological Evidence for the Boudican Rebellion and the Responses of the British Peoples of East Anglia to the Roman Conquest', by Dr Natasha Harlow.
11 December	'Parson, Polymath and Correspondent: The Life and Letters of John Stevens Henslow', by Prof. John Parker.e.

MEMBERS ELECTED DURING 2021

During the year, 60 new members were elected, comprising 6 institutions, 38 single and 16 joint members. After taking into account resignations and lapsed members, the membership at the end of 2021 stood at 583. The total comprised 315 single members, 107 joint members, 16 life members, 2 honorary members, and 36 institutions and societies.

ACCOUNTS

SUFFOLK INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2021

The trustees present their report together with the financial statements of the charity for the year ended 31 December 2021.

The financial statements have been prepared in accordance with the accounting policies set out in notes to the accounts and comply with the charity's governing document, the Charities Act 2011 and Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice applicable to charities preparing their accounts in accordance with the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland published in October 2019.

Principal office Birch Lea
1 Bury Road
Stanningfield
Bury St Edmunds
IP29 4RS

Objects and activities

The objects of the Institute shall be for the advancement of the education of the public:

a) to collect and publish information on the archaeology and history of the county of Suffolk;

b) to oppose and prevent, as far as may be practicable, any injuries with which ancient monuments of every description within the county of Suffolk may from time to time be threatened and to collect accurate drawings, plans and descriptions thereof, and;

c) to promote interest in local archaeological and historical matters.

Public benefit reporting

The Council confirms that it has referred to the Charity Commission's guidance on public benefit when reviewing the charity's aims and objectives, in shaping objectives for the year and in planning future activities.

Achievements and performance

The charity substantially relies on income from membership, publications and to a lesser extent grants and investments, to cover its operating costs. In setting the level of fees, charges and concessions, the trustees give careful consideration to the accessibility of its activities for those on low incomes.

Prior to the first Covid-19 lockdown, the charity made use of Zoom online conferencing software to organise fortnightly discussion groups, many led by eminent academics, for members and other interested members of the public. The charity used the same technology to continue with its planned winter lecture series. Over two hundred people subscribed. One live lecture was held on 13 November 2021.

The charity also worked with the Abbey of St Edmund Heritage Partnership in organising the first of a series of lectures to mark the 1000th anniversary of the founding of Bury St

Edmunds Abbey in 1020 by King Cnut.

The charity organised virtual excursions to Hitcham and medieval Newmarket, and live excursions to Bury St Edmunds Abbey and Rendlesham.

The charity published and/or launched on Zoom Dr Nicholas Amor's volume on *Keeping the Peace in Medieval Suffolk* and Edward Martin's volumes on *Hitcham: A Landscape, Social and Ecclesiastical History of a Suffolk Clayland Parish and Great Bricett Manor and Priory: Lords, Saints and Canons in a Suffolk Landscape*.

The charity also published its annual *Proceedings* and two editions of its newsletter. It added the 2016–18 editions of the *Proceedings* to those published online.

Financial review

The Statement of Financial Activities shows the state of finances at the year end date, which the Council considers to be satisfactory, and has allowed for the development of the various activities during the year. Income for the year amounted to £21,097 (2020: £20,265). Expenditure fell to £22,378 (2020: £28,424) during the reporting period, primarily due to a saving in the cost of publication of the Proceedings, which resulted in net expenditure of £1,281 (2020: £8,159).

Reserves policy

The unrestricted reserves of the charity comprises of readily accessible funds held for immediate use in meeting the charity's recurring day to day activities and funds held in secure term deposit accounts available for future projects and activities. The charity retains the equivalent of two year's subscription income currently averaging £15,000 per annum in accounts which are immediately accessible.

Investment policy

Surplus funds not required to meet planned expenditure over the next twelve months are invested in interest bearing deposit accounts with established financial institutions which provide a reasonable return while fully protecting the capital invested.

Risk management

The major risks to the charity have been identified and reviewed. Systems have been established to mitigate these risks.

The charity follows good practice guidance from recognised independent voluntary sector standards organisations to ensure that its services are of the highest quality and to reduce risk.

Plans for future periods

During 2022, until it is safe to meet again in person, the charity plans to continue using Zoom online conferencing software to organise discussion groups and lectures.

The charity hopes to run a series of live excursions during the summer of 2022 and on 24 September 2022 to hold the sixth Wheeler Conference on 'Travelling Through Time: Suffolk on the Move'.

The charity hopes that its field group will recommence activity.

The charity will publish its annual Proceedings and two editions of its newsletter.

Structure, governance and management

The charity is an unincorporated organisation governed by the rules adopted on the 28 April 1984 as amended on the 7 April 2011, 12 April 2014 and 4 April 2020. The unincorporated charity number is 289512.

Key roles of Council members and trustees, whom are referred to as Council members throughout the financial statement, and who served during the year are shown on pages 338 and 339.

Council recruitment and training

Council recruitment follows best practice as outlined within the Governance Code. Council members are chosen to give the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History a range of skills and expertise to ensure the charity is managed effectively. The Council recruits experienced professional people in the relevant field of its aims and objectives.

Potential Council members attend an informal interview. Once appointed they are given an overview of the organisation, a copy of its policies and procedures, as well as an up to date set of accounts. Council members are also given a copy of the Charity Commission Governance Code advice leaflet CC3 'The essential trustee: what you need to know, what you need to do' and have access to online governance learning materials.

The Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service, Suffolk Archives, the Suffolk Records Society and the University of Suffolk are each entitled to appoint one Council member.

True and fair override

The financial statements have been prepared to give a 'true and fair' view and have departed from the Charities (Accounts and Reports) Regulations 2008 only to the extent required to provide a 'true and fair view'. This departure has involved following the Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice applicable to charities preparing their accounts in accordance with the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (FRS 102) issued on 16 July 2014 rather than the Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice effective from 1 April 2005 which has since been withdrawn.

Independent examiner reappointment

A resolution to appoint Mr L Thurston FCCA of Lovewell Blake LLP as independent examiner will be proposed at the next meeting.

The trustees' annual report was approved on 12 March 2022 and signed on behalf of the board of trustees by:-

Jo Caruth, MCIfA, FSA	P.N. Tatum, BSc, FCA
Chair	**Hon. Financial Secretary**

INDEPENDENT EXAMINER'S REPORT TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE SUFFOLK INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

I report to the charity trustees on my examination of the financial statements of the charity for the year ended 31 December 2021 which comprise the statement of financial activities, balance sheet and the related notes.

Responsibilities and basis of report

As the charity's trustees you are responsible for the preparation of the financial statements in accordance with the Charities Act 2011 (the Act).

I report in respect of my examination of the charity's financial statements carried out under section 145 of the Act and in carrying out my examination I have followed all the applicable Directions given by the Charity Commission under section 145(5)(b) of the Act.

Independent examiner's statement

I have completed my examination. I confirm that no material matters have come to my attention in connection with the examination giving me cause to believe that in any material respect:

1. accounting records were not kept in respect of the charity as required by section 130 of the Act; or
2. the financial statements do not accord with those records; or
3. the financial statements do not comply with the applicable requirements concerning the form and content of accounts set out in the Charities (Accounts and Reports) Regulations 2008 other than any requirement that the accounts give a 'true and fair' view which is not a matter considered as part of an independent examination.

I have no concerns and have come across no other matters in connection with the examination to which attention should be drawn in this report in order to enable a proper understanding of the accounts to be reached.

Your attention is drawn to the fact that the charity has prepared the accounts (financial statements) in accordance with Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice applicable to charities preparing their accounts in accordance with the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (FRS 102) in preference to the Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice issued on 1 April 2005 which is referred to in the extant regulations but has since been withdrawn.

I understand that this has been done in order for the accounts to provide a true and fair view in accordance with the Generally Accepted Accounting Practics effective for reporting periods beginning on or after 1 January 2015.

Mr L Thurston, FCCA, *Independent Examiner*
on behalf of Lovewell Blake LLP, Chartered Accountants,
First Floor Suite, 2 Hillside Business Park, Bury St Edmunds, IP32 7EA
25 March 2022

Statement of Financial Activities
Year ended 31 December 2021

	Note	2021 Unrestricted funds £	2021 Total funds £	2020 Total funds £
Income and endowments				
Donations and legacies	**4**	17,519	17,519	15,863
Charitable activities	**5**	2,708	2,708	4,243
Investment income		870	870	159
Total income		21,097	21,097	20,265
Expenditure				
Charitable activities	**6**	22,378	22,378	28,424
Total expenditure		22,378	22,378	28,424
Net expenditure and net movement in funds		(1,281)	(1,281)	(8,159)
Reconciliation of funds				
Total funds brought forward		300,696	300,696	308,855
Total funds carried forward		299,415	299,415	300,696

The statement of financial activities includes all gains and losses recognised in the year.
All income and expenditure derive from continuing activities.

Balance Sheet at 31 December 2021

	Note	2021 £	2021 £	2020 £	2020 £
Current assets					
Debtors	**9**	3,483		7,119	
Cash at bank and in hand		306,042		297,294	
		309,525		304,413	
Creditors: Amounts falling due within one year	**10**	(10,110)		(3,717)	
Net current assets			299,415		300,696
Total assets less current liabilities			299,415		300,696
Net assets			299,415		300,696
Funds of the charity					
Unrestricted funds			299,415		300,696
Total charity funds	**12**		299,415		300,696

These financial statements were approved by the board of trustees and authorised for issue on ....., and are signed on behalf of the board by:

N. R. Armor

Paul Tatum

J Caruth
Chair

P Tatum
Hon. Financial Secretary

Notes to the Financial Statements
Year ended 31 December 2021

1. General information

The charity is a public benefit entity and a registered charity in England and Wales and is unincorporated. The address of the principal office is Birch Lea, 1 Bury Road, Stanningfield, Bury St Edmunds, IP29 4RS.

2. Statement of compliance

The charity constitutes a public benefit entity as defined by FRS 102. The financial statements have been prepared in accordance with Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice applicable to charities preparing their accounts in accordance with the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland issued in October 2019, the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland (FRS 102), the Charities Act 2011 and UK Generally Accepted Accounting Practice.

The financial statements have been prepared to give a 'true and fair' view and have departed from the Charities (Accounts and Reports) Regulations 2008 only to the extent required to provide a 'true and fair view'. This departure has involved following the Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice applicable to charities preparing their accounts in accordance with the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland issued in October 2019 rather than the Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice effective from 1 April 2005 which has since been withdrawn.

3. Accounting policies

Basis of preparation

The financial statements have been prepared on the historical cost basis, as modified by the revaluation of certain financial assets and liabilities and investment properties measured at fair value through income or expenditure.

The financial statements are prepared in sterling, which is the functional currency of the entity.

Going concern

The accounts have been prepared on the going concern basis and the Council believe that no material uncertainties exist. The Council have considered the level of funds held and the expected income and expenditure for the next 12 months from authorising these financial statements. The budgeted income and expenditure is sufficient with the level of reserves for the charity to be able to continue as a going concern.

The Council have taken into account the impact of Covid-19 when assessing going concern.

Fund accounting

Unrestricted funds are available for use at the discretion of the Council to further any of the charity's purposes.

Designated funds, where relevant are unrestricted funds earmarked by the Council for particular future project or commitments.

Restricted funds, where relevant are subjected to restrictions on their expenditure declared by the donor or through the terms of an appeal, and fall into one of two sub-classes: restricted income funds or endowment funds.

3. Accounting policies *(continued)*

Income

All income is included in the statement of financial activities when entitlement has passed to the charity, it is probable that the economic benefits associated with the transaction will flow to the charity and the amount can be reliably measured. The following specific policies are applied to particular categories of income:

- income from donations or grants is recognised when there is evidence of entitlement to the gift, receipt is probable and its amount can be measured reliably.

- legacy income is recognised when receipt is probable and entitlement is established.

- income from donated goods is measured at the fair value of the goods unless this is impracticle to measure reliably, in which case the value is derived from the cost to the donor or the estimated resale value. Donated facilities and services are recognised in the accounts when received if the value can be reliably measured. No amounts are included for the contribution of general volunteers.

- income from contracts for the supply of services is recognised with the delivery of the contracted service. This is classified as unrestricted funds unless there is a contractual requirement for it to be spent on a particular purpose and returned if unspent, in which case it may be regarded as restricted.

Expenditure

Expenditure is recognised on an accruals basis as a liability is incurred. Expenditure includes any VAT which cannot be fully recovered, and is classified under headings of the statement of financial activities to which it relates:

- expenditure on raising funds includes the costs of all fundraising activities, events, non-charitable trading activities, and the sale of donated goods.

- expenditure on charitable activities includes all costs incurred by a charity in undertaking activities that further its charitable aims for the benefit of its beneficiaries, including those support costs and costs relating to the governance of the charity apportioned to charitable activities.

- other expenditure includes all expenditure that is neither related to raising funds for the charity nor part of its expenditure on charitable activities.

All costs are allocated to expenditure categories reflecting the use of the resource. Direct costs attributable to a single activity are allocated directly to that activity. Shared costs are apportioned between the activities they contribute to on a reasonable, justifiable and consistent basis.

Financial instruments

A financial asset or a financial liability is recognised only when the entity becomes a party to the contractual provisions of the instrument.

Basic financial instruments are initially recognised at the amount receivable or payable including any related transaction costs, unless the arrangement constitutes a financing transaction, where it is recognised at the present value of the future payments discounted at a market rate of interest for a similar debt instrument.

Current assets and current liabilities are subsequently measured at the cash or other consideration expected to be paid or received and not discounted.

Debt instruments are subsequently measured at amortised cost.

NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS *(continued)*
YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2021

4. Donations and legacies

	Unrestricted funds £	**Total funds 2021 £**	Unrestrricted Funds £	**Total funds 2020 £**
Donations				
Donations	672	672	717	717
Gift aid	2,582	2,582	1,350	1,350
Membership subscriptions	14,265	14,265	13,796	13,796
	17,519	17,519	15,863	15,863

5. Charitable activities

	Unrestricted Funds £	**Total Funds 2021 £**	Unrestricted Funds £	Total Funds 2020 £
Proceedings	492	492	2,370	2,370
Book sales	2,216	2,216	1,873	1,873
	2,708	2,708	4,243	4,243

6. Expenditure on charitable activities

	Unrestricted Funds £	**Total Funds 2021 £**	Unrestricted Funds £	Total Funds 2020 £
Insurance	410	410	503	503
Subscriptions	2,086	2,086	329	329
Administration costs	4,098	4,098	4,138	4,138
Lectures and excursions	748	748	672	672
Proceedings	6,350	6,350	12,060	12,060
Newsletters	2,005	2,005	1,974	1,974
Books and publications	2,631	2,631	4,312	4,312
Conference	–	–	116	116
Grants	2,800	2,800	3,100	3,100
Field group	200	200	200	200
Independent examination fees	1,050	1,050	1,020	1,020
	22,378	22,378	28,424	28,424

7. Staff costs

Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History have no employees, therefore the average head count of employees during the year was Nil (2020: Nil) and no amounts were paid to key management personnel (2020: Nil).

8. Trustee remuneration and expenses

The charity paid 2 (2020: 4) Trustees whom were members of the Council a total of £1,032 reimbursement of expenses incurred on behalf of the Charity (2020: £894). No member of the Council received any remuneration during the year.

NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS *(continued)*
YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2021

9. Debtors

	2021	2020
	£	£
Prepayments and accrued income	1,608	4,368
Other debtors	1,875	2,751
	3,483	7,119

10. Creditors: Amounts falling due within one year

	2021	2020
	£	£
Accruals and deferred income	2,550	2,670
Other creditors	7,560	1,047
	10,110	3,717

11. Deferred income

Included in accruals and deferred income are amounts relating to future membership subscription periods amounting to £1,500 (2020: £1,650).

12. Analysis of charitable funds

	At 1 January 2021	Income	Expenditure	Transfers	At 31 December 2021
	£	**£**	**£**	**£**	**£**
Unrestricted funds					
General fund	300,696	21,097	(22,378)	–	299,415

	At 1 January 2020	Income	Expenditure	Transfers	At 31 December 2020
	£	**£**	**£**	**£**	**£**
Unrestricted funds					
General fund	308,855	20,265	(28,424)	–	300,696

NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS *(continued)*
YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2021

13. Analysis of net assets between funds

Year ended 31 December 2021

	Net current assets £	**Total £**
Unrestricted funds	299,415	299,415

Year ended 31 December 2020

	Net current assets £	**Total £**
Unrestricted funds	300,696	300,696

14. Related parties

There have been no related party transactions in this or the previous reporting period.