CHANGING BELIEFS
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE EAST ANGLIAN CONVERSION

by

Richard Stuart Hoggett

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the historical and archaeological evidence for the coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon East Anglia. In particular, it examines the mechanisms by which the new religion may have spread and assesses the speed and scale of its adoption. Part I of the thesis provides a broad context for the questions being asked of the East Anglian material, presents a critique of archaeological approaches to the study of religion and pays particular attention to the ways in which the emergence of Christianity might be recognised in the archaeological record.

Part II presents the pertinent data from Anglo-Saxon East Anglia. First, a detailed examination is made of the historical evidence, primarily the material presented by Bede in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Secondly, an exploration is presented of the various ways we might combine documentary, architectural and archaeological sources to identify Anglo-Saxon churches founded as a part of the conversion process. Finally, the East Anglian burial record, comprising some 200 Early and Middle Saxon cemeteries, is presented and analysed.

Part III of the thesis synthesises these data and uses them to give an account of the East Anglian conversion. Attention is paid to the missionary stations established by the early churchmen, many of which were sited within disused Roman enclosures or in topographically distinct locations. Of the burial rites practised during the conversion period, the cessation of cremation and the changing use of grave-goods are both shown to be particularly strong indicators of conversion, while broader consideration of the conversion-period landscape demonstrates that the conversion caused a great upheaval in the sites chosen for Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

Part IV demonstrates that, far from being the preserve of the upper classes, the adoption of Christianity throughout the East Anglian kingdom was rapid, widespread and popular.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ASC   *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Whitelock *et al.* 1961)

GDB   Great Domesday Book (Alecto Editions 2002)

GIS   Geographical Information System

HE   Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Colgrave and Mynors 1969)

IE   *Inquisitio Eliensis*

LDB   Little Domesday Book (Alecto Editions 2002)

NHER   Norfolk Historic Environment Record

NRO   Norfolk Record Office

OED   *Oxford English Dictionary* (Online Edition)

OS   Ordnance Survey

PPG16   Planning Policy Guidance Note 16 (DoE 1990)

SSMR   Suffolk Sites and Monuments Record

SOME NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY

In accordance with the terminology employed by both the Norfolk HER and the Suffolk SMR the terms Early Saxon (*c*.411–650), Middle Saxon (*c*.651–850) and Late Saxon (*c*.851–1100) are used in this thesis. These periods are employed for chronological convenience and no cultural connotations are implied by their use.

All of the dates given in this thesis are cited without an AD prefix except where it is deemed necessary for the purposes of clarification.

When describing the orientation of burials the convention of giving the head-end first has been followed. Thus a west–east burial has its head to the west and its feet to the east.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

'There can be no doubt that the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity was the single most important development in their history'.

<div align="right">Richard Gameson (1999b, 1)</div>

The year 1997 marked the 1,400th anniversary of the arrival of Augustine's mission in Kent, an event taken to mark the beginning of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. English Heritage declared 1997 'Christian Heritage Year', marking the occasion by promoting the numerous ecclesiastical sites in its care, while the Post Office issued a series of stamps depicting Augustine and Columba, the Irish missionary who died on Iona in 597 (Figure 1.1). Augustine's anniversary, and the end of the second Christian millennium which closely followed it, precipitated a renewed interest in religious conversion and the spread of Christianity throughout western Europe in particular. Numerous books were published to coincide with these Christian milestones and several conferences were held, the proceedings of which have also appeared in print (e.g. Dales 1997; Fletcher 1997; Carver 2003).

Figure 1.1. The Post Office's *Missions of Faith* commemorative stamps, designed by Clare Melinsky (Author's collection).

When Augustine reached these shores he was not entering a unified England: in the late sixth century the political geography of England comprised a number of kingdoms of varying size and political allegiance, of which Kent was among the most powerful (Yorke 1990). In the first half of the seventh century Christianity began to spread, kingdom to kingdom, radiating out from the south-east and percolating down from the north as members of the Irish church also became engaged in the conversion process (Brown 2006). The coming of Christianity to the individual Anglo-Saxon kingdoms has been the subject of a

disproportionate degree of study: Kent's connections with Augustine and its status as the archiepiscopal see have attracted a great deal of academic attention (e.g. Wood 1994; 2000; Gameson 1999a). Similarly, the Northumbrian church has been well studied, primarily because of its central place in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (*HE*), but also because of the high number of architectural and archaeological survivals in the region (e.g. Blair 1990; Cramp 2005).

The conversion of the kingdom of East Anglia, by contrast, has not been studied in any great depth. Bede is traditionally the starting point for studies of early English Christianity, and East Anglian Christianity is no exception (e.g. Whitelock 1972; Gallyon 1973; Campbell 1996). Unfortunately, Bede does not devote much of the *HE* to East Anglia and what little he does say has become the subject of much debate. Consequently, much has been written about the location of the bishopric founded by Felix at *Dommoc* (e.g. Rigold 1961; 1974), Fursa's monastery at *Cnobheresburg* (e.g. Dahl 1913; Johnson 1983) and, above all, the role King Rædwald played in the conversion process (e.g. Chadwick 1940; Newton 2003). Bede identifies Rædwald as the first East Anglian king to have been baptised, although he also records, in the famous passage in which Rædwald's two-altared temple is described, that Rædwald did not worship the Christian God exclusively (*HE* II,15). Rædwald has become inextricably linked with the royal barrow cemetery at Sutton Hoo (Suffolk), first excavated in the 1930s and revisited throughout the twentieth century (Figure 1.2; Bruce-Mitford 1975; 1978; 1983; Carver 2005).

Sutton Hoo has attracted more archaeological, academic and popular attention than any other archaeological site in the region, Anglo-Saxon or otherwise (e.g. Hines 1984, 286–301; Campbell 1992; Parker Pearson *et al.* 1993; Williams 2001a). Although undeniably a site of particular relevance to our understanding of the East Anglian conversion (see Chapters Seven and Eight), Sutton Hoo is, by its very nature, exceptional: it is the burial-place of the East Anglian royal elite (Carver 1998b) and, therefore, the site tells us little about wider Anglo-Saxon society in East Anglia. It follows that studies which take Sutton Hoo as their starting point or of which it remains the sole focus will present an incomplete and unrepresentative picture of Anglo-Saxon East Anglia.

Figure 1.2. The burial mounds at Sutton Hoo.

The most relevant contribution to the debate over the East Anglian conversion to date is that made by Pestell, first as a doctoral thesis and subsequently in print (Pestell 1999; 2004). As part of a wider study, Pestell examined the Middle Saxon monastic landscape of East Anglia and engaged with many of the themes which are explored in later chapters of this thesis. However, Pestell was primarily concerned with the period after Christianity had been established, rather than the conversion itself, and the beginning of his period of interest effectively marks the end of that considered in this thesis (Pestell 2004, 18–64). Having himself attempted to summarise the evidence from early Christian Norfolk, Williamson stated that 'the development of ecclesiastical organisation in the county remains truly mysterious. The evidence of documents will probably contribute little to our understanding in the future: the challenge is one for archaeology to answer' (Williamson 1993, 161). It is that challenge which this thesis addresses. Fortunately, the archaeological record of Anglo-Saxon East Anglia is exceptionally good, making it particularly suitable for charting the spread of Christianity among the wider population. First, though, it is necessary to define what is meant by 'Anglo-Saxon East Anglia'.
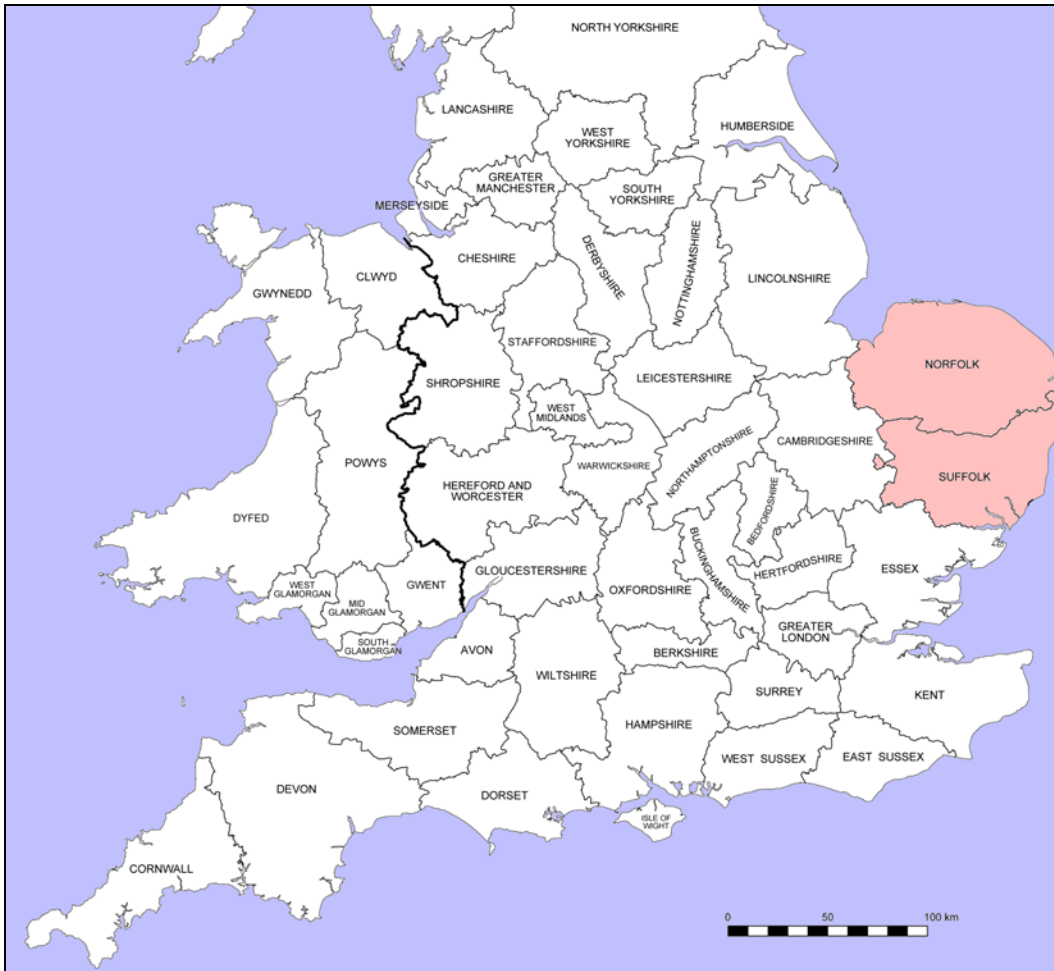
Figure 1.3. The location of Norfolk and Suffolk within southern England.
(Base map of 1995 county boundaries © Ordnance Survey.)

Anglo-Saxon East Anglia

The Anglo-Saxon kingdom of East Anglia, which comprised the majority of modern-day Norfolk and Suffolk (Figure 1.3), and perhaps the eastern part of the fen basin, appears to have emerged as a political entity in the second half of the sixth century. The processes by which such polities emerged have been hotly debated; the most popular model is currently Bassett's 'FA Cup' analogy, in which numerous smaller tribal units gradually knocked each other out of contention until the larger kingdoms were achieved (Bassett 1989a; 1989b, especially 26–7; Yorke 1990, 1–24). The emergence of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms need not concern us here, however, for by the time of the conversion the Wuffing kings of south-east Suffolk had risen to prominence and the kingdom of the East Angles had been established. Subdivisions almost certainly still existed within the kingdom, as the derivation of the later county names from 'North Folk' and 'South Folk' might

suggest, but, as will be seen, these do not appear to have affected the progress of the conversion to any great extent (Carver 1989; Scull 1992, 1–7; Plunkett 2005, 55–96).
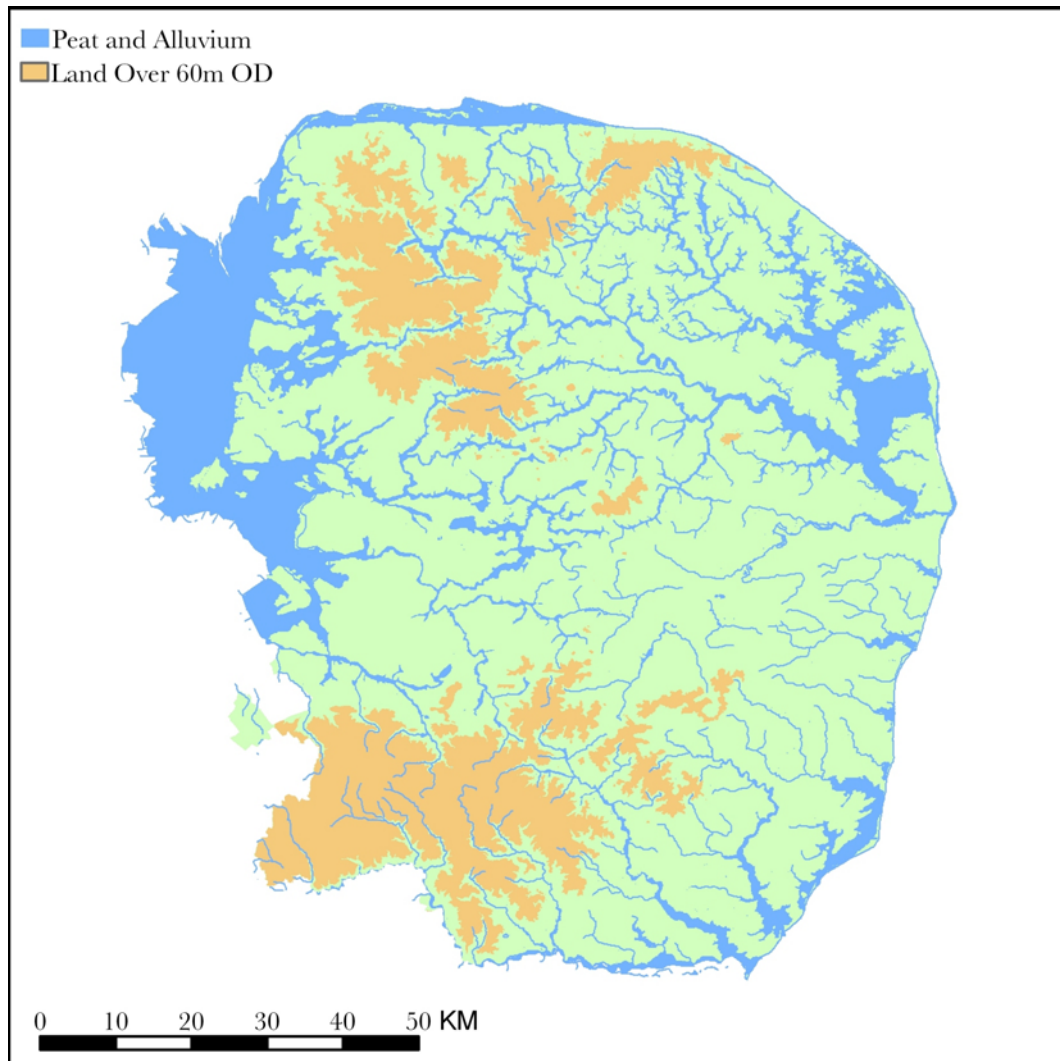
Figure 1.4. Modern Norfolk and Suffolk showing land over 60m OD and areas of peat and alluvial deposits. The latter broadly encompass the land which was submerged during the Anglo-Saxon period.

Some of the boundaries of the East Anglian kingdom are relatively easy to identify, others less so (Figure 1.4). To the north-west, north and east the kingdom was bordered by the North Sea, at once both a natural boundary and a maritime link to Scandinavia and the northern reaches of Germany (Hines 1984, 286–91; Carver 1990). To the south, the border with the neighbouring kingdom of the East Saxons is assumed to have followed the line of the River Stour, which rises to the south of the fens and flows eastwards to the sea, forming the modern boundary

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between Suffolk and Essex. It has been suggested that the Anglo-Saxon boundary lay further north and followed the line of the Rivers Lark and Gipping, although there is little evidence to support this (Parker Pearson *et al.* 1993, 28–41; Martin 1999a; Newman 2005, 478).

To the west of East Anglia lay the natural barrier of the fens, although it is not clear exactly where the Anglo-Saxon political boundary lay. The Tribal Hidage, which records the relative sizes of the tribal territories of seventh-century England, lists several small territories within the area of the fens, including the North and South Gyrwe, the Winxa and the Willa (Hill 1981, 76–7; Yorke 1990, 9–15). This would suggest that when the Tribal Hidage was composed the boundary of East Anglia lay to the east of the fens. In the eighth century Bede described Ely as lying within the East Anglian kingdom, suggesting that the smaller territories recorded in the Tribal Hidage had been subsumed by this date (*HE* IV, 19). A fluctuating western boundary to the kingdom is also suggested by the series of north-west–south-east linear earthworks of Anglo-Saxon date which crowd the land to the south of the fens, the most famous of which is the Devil's Dyke (Malim *et al.* 1997; Pestell 2004, 11–12).

Topography

During the Anglo-Saxon period sea levels were higher than they are today (at approximately the present-day five-metre contour line). The Wash was, therefore, much larger than it is now and a large estuary existed in the vicinity of what is now Great Yarmouth (Figure 1.4; Green 1961; Murphy 2005). The retreat of the sea in the intervening years has left large areas of alluvial deposits bordering the Wash, the north Norfolk and the south-east Suffolk coasts (Chatwin 1961, 95–8; Martin 1999b; Williamson 2005a). At the same time, the east coast of Norfolk and Suffolk has suffered from erosion, most famously around Dunwich (Williamson 2005b, 128–32). Such coastal changes aside, the topography of the region remains today essentially as it was in the Anglo-Saxon period. Along the western edge of the region lie the 'East Anglian Heights', a chalk escarpment which runs south from north-west Norfolk and eventually becomes the Chiltern Hills. To the west, the escarpment is bounded by belts of older Greensands and as one moves eastwards across the region the chalk bedrock is overlain by progressively deeper

deposits known as the Crags, a collection of clays, gravels and sands (Chatwin 1961; Larwood and Funnell 1961; Williamson 2006, 12–13). Across much of the region this solid geology is buried beneath layers of glacial drift, the most significant of which is the large belt of boulder clay which runs through central Norfolk and covers much of Suffolk. This belt is bounded to the west by the sandy heaths of the Breckland and to the south-east by the similar soils of the Suffolk Sandlings (Chatwin 1961; Wymer 1999; Martin 1999b; Williamson 2005a; 2005b; 2006, 13).

Archaeological Potential

While its historical record is particularly poor (Whitelock 1972; Campbell 1996), the archaeological evidence for Anglo-Saxon East Anglia is exceptional in both its quality and its quantity. The strong material culture of the Anglo-Saxon period combined with East Anglia's post-medieval history of largely arable agriculture mean that fieldwalking surveys are particularly suitable, and large-scale campaigns, such as the Fenland Project in the west of the region and the East Anglian Kingdom Survey in south-east Suffolk, have produced important results (Silvester 1991; Newman 1992; 2005). Such surveys are invaluable and are employed here in Chapters Five and Eight. Allied to fieldwalking is metal-detecting, a pastime which has become immensely popular since its inception in the 1970s (Gurney 1997; Chester-Kadwell 2004; 2005). Vast areas of Norfolk and Suffolk have been metal-detected during the last thirty years and, thanks to positive relationships between detectorists and the archaeological authorities in East Anglia, this information has greatly enhanced our understanding of many archaeological periods, the Anglo-Saxon period being foremost amongst them (e.g. Newman 1995; 2003; Rogerson 2003).

The archaeological record of Early Saxon East Anglia is characterised by artefacts from funerary contexts: cremations urns, grave-goods and the bodies of East Anglians themselves. As is explored in Chapter Six, such material has been recorded since the sixteenth century and now forms a sizeable corpus (e.g. Myres 1977; West 1998). Many Early Saxon cemeteries have been excavated throughout the region, such as those at Spong Hill in Norfolk and Snape in Suffolk (Hills 1977; Hills and Penn 1981; Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984; 1987; 1994; Filmer-

Sankey and Pestell 2001). Suffolk is also home to West Stow, one of the best-excavated Early Saxon settlements in the country (West 1985; 2001), and has recently seen another large-scale settlement excavation at Carlton Colville (Dickens, Mortimer and Tipper 2006).
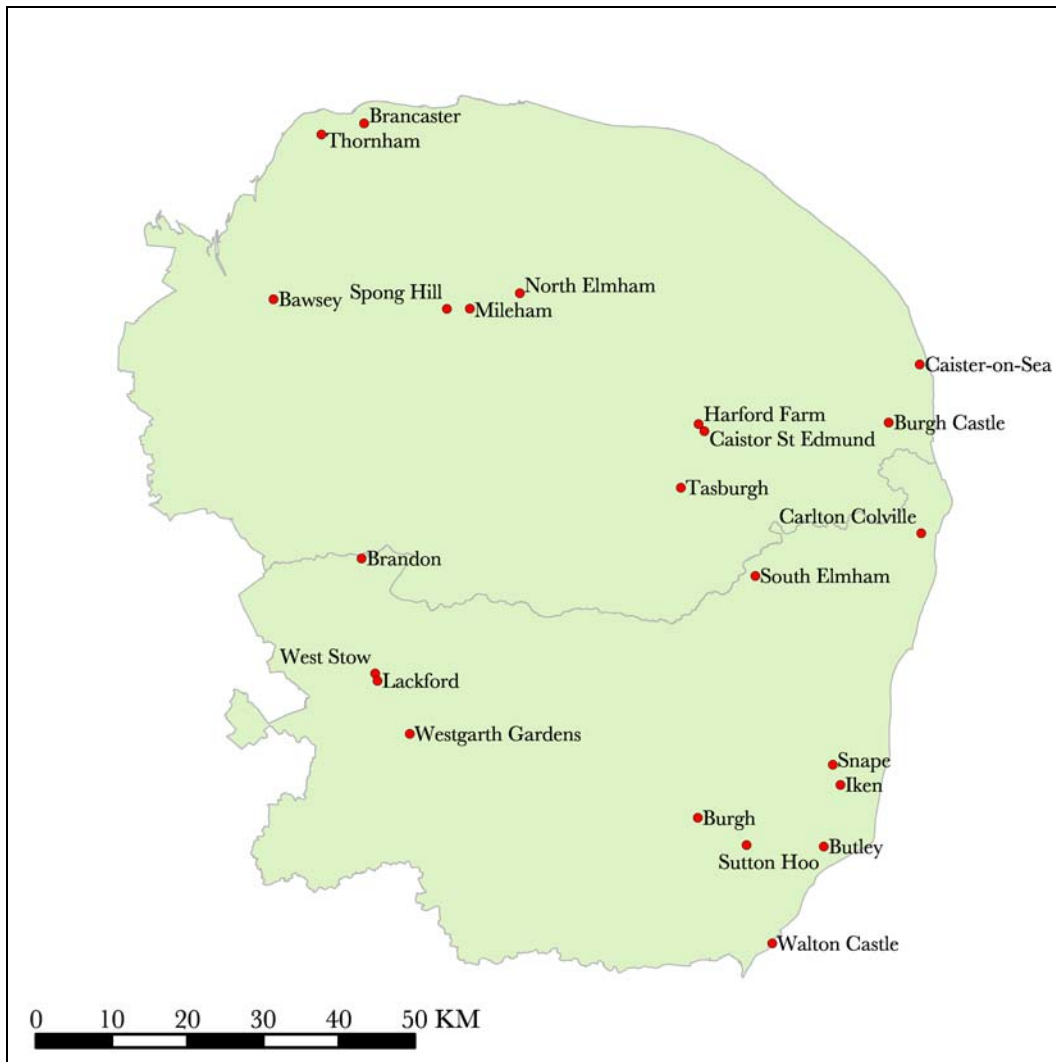
Figure 1.5. Principal archaeological sites referred to in this thesis.

The archaeological record of the Middle Saxon period represents a complete reversal of the Early Saxon picture. Middle Saxon cemeteries are rare discoveries in East Anglia, the handful of excavated examples including Harford Farm and Burgh Castle, both in Norfolk (Penn 2000; Johnson 1983). The Middle Saxon settlements of East Anglia, in contrast, can easily be recognised archaeologically because of the prevalence of Ipswich Ware, a well-fired and

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robust domestic pottery produced at the eponymous *wic* between the seventh and ninth centuries.

Ipswich Ware

The Middle Saxon period saw the re-emergence in East Anglia of industrial-scale production of wheel-made, kiln-fired domestic pottery in the form of Ipswich Ware (Hurst 1976b, 290–303). This pottery type was initially identified after the excavation of kiln sites in Ipswich in the 1920s and 30s, and there are today nearly 1,000 Ipswich Ware findspots in Norfolk and Suffolk, although Ipswich remains the sole known centre of production (Hurst and West 1957; Smedley and Owles 1963; West 1963; Blinkhorn 2004). Ipswich Ware is a hard, sandy greyware of which there are two main fabric types: a smooth, sandy, dark grey fabric; and a rough, pimply, dark grey fabric. Both were made on a turntable revolved by hand (a 'slow wheel'), a technique which produced thick-sided vessels, often with irregular rilling on their surfaces. The most common vessel forms are shown in Figure 1.6. Saggy-based pots topped with simple rims, and large pitchers with strap handles were particularly common (Figure 1.6 1, 2, 7 and 8), while various types and sizes of bowl, cooking-pot and even bottles were also manufactured (Figure 1.6 3, 4, 5 and 6). Ipswich Ware vessels were fired at high temperatures in efficient, single-flued kilns, which resulted in its uniform grey colour. The resultant fabric survives well in all soil types and is relatively resistant to plough-damage and weathering, making it a particularly useful archaeological indicator of Middle Saxon activity (Hurst 1976b, 299–300, 343–6; Blinkhorn 2003; 2004).

Ipswich Ware has proved notoriously difficult to date. Initially its production was thought to span *c*.650–850 on the basis of associations with artefacts of the seventh to ninth centuries at a number of regional sites (Hurst and West 1957). Hurst subsequently refined the estimated start-date to *c*.625–650 (Hurst 1959; 1976b). A strong case for a start-date at some point in the seventh century can be argued from the discovery of several hundred Ipswich Ware sherds in the final phases of occupation at West Stow (West 1985, 137–8; 2001, 28–32). These phases can be demonstrated to have been in use during the seventh century by association with other artefacts, leading West to state emphatically that the

Ipswich Ware from West Stow must therefore be of seventh-century date (West 1998, 317; 2001, 28).
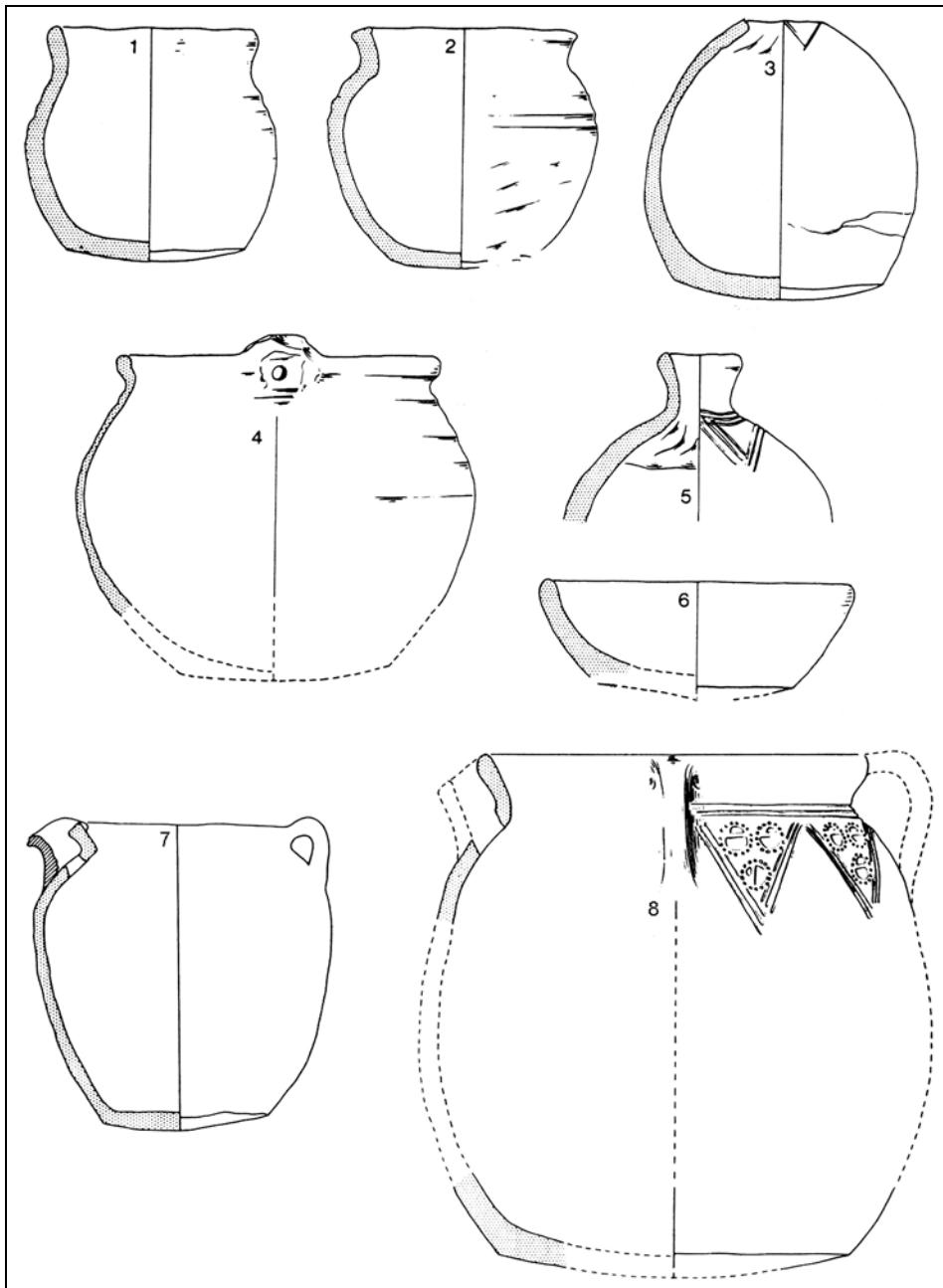
Figure 1.6. Ipswich Ware vessel-forms. Scale 1:4.
(After Hurst 1976b, figs 7.7 and 7.8.)

Blinkhorn agrees that production ceased *c*.850, but disagrees with the view that the start-date should be placed in the seventh century, citing the lack of any scientific or numismatic dates for Ipswich Ware from before *c*.700 and questioning the validity of the seventh-century associations cited by Hurst and Wade

(Blinkhorn 1999, 8–10). Instead he argues that Ipswich Ware production did not begin in Ipswich until *c*.700–720 and that Ipswich Ware did not begin to be traded outside East Anglia until *c*.725–740. Blinkhorn's eighth-century start-date relies heavily on the fact that Ipswich Ware is not found in furnished burials, even those within Ipswich itself, and he argues that it surely would have been included if it were available (Geake 1997, 90; Blinkhorn 1999; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004). Yet this argument is somewhat undermined by the fact that domestic pottery of any kind is rarely found in burials, particularly those of the seventh century, so the absence of Ipswich Ware cannot necessarily be taken as proof that it did not begin to be produced until after the practice of furnishing burials ceased *c*.700 (Hurst 1976b, 318–9; Geake 1997, 89–90).

Fifty years after Ipswich Ware was first identified, the debate surrounding its dating remains open. On balance it would appear that the production of Ipswich Ware began in the second half of the seventh century, perhaps as little as a generation after the initial stages of the conversion began in the 630s and 40s. The presence of Ipswich Ware provides strong evidence for Middle Saxon occupation, meaning that the archaeological record of Anglo-Saxon East Anglia is exceptionally well suited to answering research questions such as those posed here, unlike the archaeological records of regions which remained essentially aceramic during the Middle Saxon period (e.g. Brown and Foard 1998). Consequently, Ipswich Ware is constantly referred to throughout the rest of this thesis, but is of particular relevance to the discussions of the Middle Saxon landscape in Chapters Five and Eight.

The Structure of this Thesis

This thesis explores the historical and archaeological evidence for the coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon East Anglia. Of these two classes of evidence, the former is the better-known but not necessarily the best-understood, while the latter, comprising material from funerary, domestic and ecclesiastical contexts, remains largely unknown and unstudied. In particular, this thesis examines the mechanisms by which the new religion may have spread and assesses the speed and scale of its adoption throughout Anglo-Saxon East Anglia. The prevailing view would have us believe that the choice to convert to Christianity was a purely

political decision, made by an Anglo-Saxon king, and of little consequence to the vast majority of the population (e.g. Higham 1997; Urbanczyk 2003). Such 'top-down' interpretations are clearly derived from surviving historical sources, yet the archaeological evidence indicates that, far from being the preserve of royalty, the adoption of Christianity at a popular level was rapid and widespread. The exploration of this apparent contradiction is a major theme of this work.

Part I of this thesis provides a broad context for the questions being asked of the East Anglian material. Chapter Two begins by defining some problematic terminology, before moving on to critique both traditional and contemporary archaeological approaches to the recognition and study of the material traces of religion. A series of archaeological indicators of religious practice are presented and examined within both general and specifically Anglo-Saxon frames of reference. Chapter Three develops this discussion with regard to the study of religious conversion and the spread of Christianity throughout western Europe. Particular attention is paid to the various ways in which the emergence of Christianity might be recognised in the archaeological record and studied accordingly. Finally, historical context for the conversion of East Anglia is provided via an examination of the methods and motivation of the Gregorian mission to the English, which arrived in Kent in 597.

Part II presents the pertinent Anglo-Saxon data from East Anglia. Chapter Four examines the historical evidence with a view to establishing a framework within which the archaeological record can be studied. Bede's accounts of the conversion of the East Anglian royal dynasty and other missionary activities are analysed and placed within their wider context. The handful of additional historical sources available to us is also drawn upon and the results establish a broad chronology for the conversion, emphasise the inadequacy of the East Anglian historical record and prepare the ground for an examination of the region's archaeological record.

Chapter Five explores the ways in which we might attempt to identify and study the Anglo-Saxon churches of East Anglia. Continuing the documentary theme, the chapter begins with an analysis of the churches recorded in Little Domesday Book, before moving on to examine the possibilities presented by studying church dedications to Anglo-Saxon saints. Turning from the

documentary to the material evidence, the extant instances of Anglo-Saxon architecture in the region's churches are examined, before the evidence for earlier phases revealed by excavations within active churches and on the sites of deserted churches is considered. Finally, attempts are made to overcome the difficulty of exploring what lies beneath a currently active church (where excavation is not possible) by the use of surface finds made in graveyards and the data from the many fieldwalking surveys which have taken place in the vicinity of churches.

Chapter Six, continuing the archaeological theme, examines the East Anglian burial record. This comprises over 200 Early and Middle Saxon cemeteries and represents several thousand individual burials. In addition to presenting the evidence from these sites, particular attention is paid to the circumstances in which this evidence was discovered, an important factor in the composition of the data set. The excavated evidence is contrasted with that produced during the last thirty years by metal-detecting, which has revolutionised our understanding of cemeteries in Anglo-Saxon East Anglia.

Having examined the available historical and archaeological evidence, Part III of the thesis presents a synthetic account of the East Anglian conversion. Chapter Seven analyses the individual burial rites performed during the conversion period, specifically inhumation and cremation, with a view to recognising material traces of the new religion. Particular attention is paid to the cessation of cremation, the changing use of pyre- and grave-goods and the alignment of inhumations, all of which can be, at least in part, indicators of the spread of Christianity. Chapter Eight takes a broader view of the archaeological landscape during the conversion period and considers the means by which the region's early ecclesiastical sites were established. It begins with the reuse of Roman enclosures as missionary stations and broadens the focus to include other foundations and the so-called 'productive sites'. Christianity brought with it a change in the relationship between the living and the dead and so the changing landscape contexts of Early and Middle Saxon settlements and cemeteries are employed to demonstrate the degree to which the conversion affected the population of Anglo-Saxon East Anglia.

Part IV comprises one chapter, Chapter Nine, which presents the conclusions of this work and describes the development of Christianity in East

Anglia as it can be reconstructed from the archaeological and historical sources. Finally, a series of Appendices present the numerous data sets compiled and drawn upon throughout the text.

Part I: Context

CHAPTER TWO: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF RELIGION

'Are archaeologists afraid of gods?'

Timothy Insoll (2004a)

Timothy Insoll has recently described the relationship between archaeology and religion as 'predominantly one of neglect' (Insoll 2004a, 1). Since the 1950s archaeologists have generally considered religion to lie beyond the limits of archaeological knowledge and have made little effort actively to study it. Although the processualist movement went some way towards challenging this assumption, in the end its efforts had very little effect, while the post-processualist movement has similarly done little to address the matter of religion. More hope has been offered by cognitive archaeology, an amalgamation of the more successful aspects of both schools, although this has yet to achieve its full potential and is not without its own flaws.

The archaeological neglect of religion is not reflected in the related disciplines of history and anthropology. Many world religions revolve around the written word and are consequently well suited to historical study (Bowie 2006, 22–5). The ability to read about the beliefs of religious protagonists, expressed in their own words, is a particular luxury afforded to historians and the benefits of this approach are explored more fully in Chapter Four. The nature of both world and traditional/primal religions has also been extensively studied by anthropologists. Traditional religions are most usually communicated orally, meaning that in effect they can only be studied via anthropological methods or via their material remains (Bowie 2006, 22–5). Good overviews of the anthropological study of religion are provided by Morris (1987; 2006) and Bowie (2006). For reasons which are expounded more fully throughout the next chapter, this examination of the East Anglian conversion avoids the use of historical or anthropological analogy, focusing instead on the material culture of Anglo-Saxon East Anglia. Whilst this approach makes the questions to be addressed here more difficult to answer, the answers arrived at are more compelling as a result.

There is perhaps more to the lack of archaeological interest in religion than simply the difficulty of the subject matter. Insoll argues that it is in part a result of the secularity of modern society having rendered archaeologists unable to

comprehend what it is to live in a society with religion at its core (Insoll 2004b, 1–4, 22–3). However, rather than simply casting stones, Insoll has been extremely pro-active in attempting to establish new theoretical and practical approaches to the archaeological study of religion (Insoll 1999a, 1999b, 2001, 2004a, 2004b). His work, in particular the assertion that religion can lie at the heart of society rather than at its periphery, is of great significance to the arguments developed in the later chapters of this thesis.

The archaeological study of Anglo-Saxon religion has suffered neglect of the kind described here, although to a lesser degree than that of some other periods (see Wilson 1976; Hines 1997a). Of course, the term 'Anglo-Saxon religion' encompasses both the pagan religions of the essentially pre-historic Early Saxon period and the Christianity of the proto-historic Middle Saxon period which succeeded it. The material evidence and meagre historical sources for Anglo-Saxon paganism have been presented a number of times (e.g. Branston 1957; Owen 1981; Wilson 1992; Hutton 1993). Christianity and the early Church have received more attention, no doubt because of the ample historical sources and better survival of the evidence (e.g. Taylor and Taylor 1965; Morris 1983; Butler and Morris 1986; Pestell 2004; Blair 2005; Foot 2006). Studies which address the conversion from paganism to Christianity are few, although their frequency is increasing (e.g. Mayr-Harting 1991; Fletcher 1997; Cusack 1998; Carver 2003). Conversion is considered at length in Chapter Three; this chapter is concerned with Anglo-Saxon religions in a more general sense, but it is first necessary to define some terms.

Terminology: Ritual and Religion

The terminology employed by archaeologists when dealing with religious subjects varies greatly and appropriate terms are not always used. Archaeologists' use of the term 'ritual' is famously problematic: in *The Bluffer's Guide to Archaeology* Bahn defines 'ritual' as 'an all-purpose explanation used where nothing else comes to mind' (Bahn 1999, 63). Like all observational humour, his joke is only funny because it contains a grain of truth and 'ritual' has been described elsewhere as 'an archaeological dustbin' into which problematic discoveries are thrown (Whitehouse 1996; Wilkins 1996). More seriously, Hodder has described 'ritual' as

a formal and repetitive performance governed by rules and he is of the opinion that the material traces of ritual can often be identified by their being non-functional and because they cannot always be easily interpreted (Hodder 1982, 159–72). Similar definitions of 'ritual' are widely applied in archaeological literature (Whitehouse 1996; Brück 1999; Bradley 2005).

'Cult' is used instead of 'ritual' by some archaeologists and the two terms are broadly synonymous (e.g. Bertemes and Biehl 2001). Carver, one of the few archaeologists who routinely attempts to define his terms, describes 'cult' as 'something strange that other people do' (Carver 1993, v). Again the focus is on behaviour, the doing of something which might leave a trace in the material record, although 'cult' also carries more pejorative connotations than 'ritual'. This focus on behaviour is arguably the distinguishing characteristic between 'ritual' and 'religion': religion provides 'prescribed ways of understanding, while cult and ritual offer prescribed ways of behaving' (Bertemes and Biehl 2001, 15). Both 'ritual' and 'cult' are often used instead of 'religion' in archaeological writing, but this usage is wrong. 'Ritual' may be performed for religious reasons and informed by religious understanding, but it is only one facet of religion and the terms 'ritual' and 'religion' cannot be used interchangeably.

The more abstract concept of 'religion' makes it much harder to define than 'cult' and 'ritual' (Insoll 2005, 45). Perhaps the most suitable definition for the purposes of this thesis it that offered by Flannery and Marcus, two archaeologists who have studied archaeological approaches to religion in great depth (Flannery and Marcus 1998). As a part of a wider examination of how we might study the more abstract aspects of society archaeologically, Flannery and Marcus identified four main subjects on which archaeological material could be brought to bear: 'cosmology', 'religion', 'ideology' and 'iconography'. These four categories are all subtly different, but are broadly related and are best defined with reference to each other. Under Flannery and Marcus' scheme, 'cosmology' pertains to thoughts and theories which might be held in any given society about the origin and nature of the universe (Flannery and Marcus 1998, 37–8). 'Religion', they argue, comprises a specific set of beliefs in a divine power or powers which are to be obeyed and worshipped. This belief is usually coupled with a philosophy or code of ethics explaining how a good life is to be lived

(Flannery and Marcus 1998, 39–40). In this scheme, 'ideology' refers to the doctrines and symbolism of the cultural, social and political aspects of society. To Flannery and Marcus ideology is decidedly not a religious term (Flannery and Marcus 1998, 40–3). Finally, 'iconography' refers to the way in which cosmological, religious or ideological ideas were represented in art and material culture and is often the means by which these abstract concepts are made manifest in the archaeological record (Flannery and Marcus 1998, 43–5).

So, having arrived at a satisfactory definition of 'religion' in a general sense, we can now examine the ways in which the different religions of the world are categorised by those who study them. Religions are often divided into two main categories, each with characteristic features: 'world' religions and 'traditional' or 'primal' religions. The first category, world religions, primarily concerns Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism (Insoll 1999b; 2001). The generally recognised characteristics of world religions are that they are universal, that they are based upon the written word and that they have a notion of salvation. Their pursuit often forms a separate sphere of social activity and they can supplant other religions (Bowie 2006, 22–5). The second category, traditional/primal religions, encompasses religions such as those practised by the tribes of Papua New Guinea or by the Australian aborigines. Such religions are characterised by being highly regionalised, they are orally communicated and usually rooted in the surrounding environment. Their pursuit is often fully integrated into other aspects of social activity and they form the basis from which world religions develop (Bowie 2006, 22–5). Such crude categorisations are not without their own difficulties, of course, being constructs developed for the purpose of analyses, but in the very real absence of any better alternative categories the notions of 'world' and 'traditional' religions are sufficient (Insoll 2004a, 1–2). This thesis concerns the manner in which the world religion of Christianity supplanted the traditional religion of the pagan Early Saxons in seventh-century East Anglia.

Terminology: Pagans and Heathens

Despite a long history of research into the Anglo-Saxon period, there is as yet no entirely satisfactory term with which to refer to the many and varied beliefs and

practices which were usurped by Christianity. Traditionally the holders of these beliefs have been described as 'pagan' and their beliefs collectively referred to as 'paganism', but the use of both terms is problematic and the search for an alternative term has been the subject of some debate (e.g Wood 1995a, 273–8).

'Pagan' is ultimately derived from the classical Latin *pāgānus* meaning 'of the countryside' or 'rustic', a term used by Christian writers from the fourth century onwards to describe those who did not subscribe to the Christian faith (*OED* Online 2005). There are a number of suggested etymologies, all equally plausible: it may be that the term was used because Christianity thrived in the towns of the Roman Empire rather than the countryside; it may have been used in a more general, symbolic sense suggestive of being an outsider; or it may have been related to the more common military usage of *pāgānus* to refer to those who were not enrolled in the army (Jones and Pennick 1995, 1; Dowden 2000, 3; *OED* Online 2005). Similarly, variants of the term 'heathen' are used in the vernacular of all the Germanic languages to convey the same meaning as 'pagan'. 'Heathen' is derived from 'dweller on the heath' and thus also preserves the notion of rurality inherent in *pāgānus* (*OED* Online 1989; Dowden 2000, 3–4).

'Paganism', and therefore also 'heathenism', were both conceptualised by early Christians and both are negative definitions in the sense that they encompass everything which is not considered to be Christian by Christians themselves. This is the root of the difficulty, for many consider the terms to be so Christocentric that their very use hinders the objective study of such matters. Historians such as Wood (1995a, 277) argue that in using the terms they are following the definitions offered by the writers of the sources from which they work and as such are simply remaining faithful to history, but those who use non-historical sources to study the period, particularly archaeologists, are less happy to use the terms pagan and heathen (e.g. Wood 1995a, 253, 273–8; Hines 1997, 375 n.1; Abrams 2000, 135 n.1; Jesch 2004, 55 n.1).

In addition to these difficulties, a greater problem stems from the fact that 'paganism' is often presented in a manner which suggests its having been a religion is its own right. Wilson's *Anglo-Saxon Paganism* (1992) is a good case in point, even the title suggesting a single, unified set of beliefs. Other examples of such suggestive usage can be found in Owen (1981), Meaney (1985), Page (1995)

and Dowden (2000), amongst others. As is explored below, this picture is misleading, for the archaeological evidence suggests that, rather than a single, unified religion, Anglo-Saxon paganism comprised myriad smaller, distinct and highly regionalised sets of beliefs.

A third problem with the term 'pagan', although one which is now less prevalent, is the tendency of some commentators to consistently refer to the period *c*.400–*c*.650 as the 'Pagan' period and to the period which followed it as the 'Christian' period (e.g. Mayr-Harting 1991; some of the older entries in the Norfolk HER also record 'Pagan Saxon' finds and features). Such labels are problematic, because they link chronological and religious considerations which should, ideally, be kept separate. They also suggest that there was a certain point at which one period and religion ceased and another began, which we know from extensive archaeological investigations of the kind outlined in later chapters was simply not the case.

The difficulties of using 'paganism' are therefore easy to identify, but a solution is harder to come by. Of course, it is possible simply to talk of 'Anglo-Saxon religion', as this chapter does, but this by definition encompasses Christianity and a greater degree of specificity is generally desirable. Some authors use the term 'non-Christian' (e.g. Lucy 2000, 1), although this too is a negative definition and closely echoes the original sentiment of 'pagan'. Another suggested alternative is 'pre-Christian', which Jesch describes as being 'non-judgemental', although it is a decidedly teleological term (Jesch 2004, 55 n.1).

It would be possible to argue about the semantics of 'paganism' and its alternatives at great length, but ultimately a decision needs to be made. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis the term 'pagan' will be employed where it is thought to be appropriate and used to describe the full gamut of non-Christian religious practices performed by the Anglo-Saxons throughout the period under study. Its usage does not imply that there was a single 'paganism' which was replaced by a single 'Christianity', for, as will become apparent, matters were not that clear cut. Nor does its usage suggest that there was a definite and recognisable division between that which was 'pagan' and that which was 'Christian'; again, matters were not that simple. *Contra* some commentators, 'pagan' will emphatically not be used as a chronological label in this thesis; the term Early Saxon will be

used to describe the period from *c*.411–*c*.650. So, armed with these definitions and classifications, we now turn to a consideration of the ways in which we might go about recognising religion in the archaeological record.

The Limits of Knowledge

The archaeological study of religion cuts right to the heart of what archaeology is all about: it requires the archaeologist to attempt to use material culture to get as close as possible to the workings of the 'ancient mind' (Renfrew and Zubrow 1994; Edwards 2005). In a sense the title of this chapter is a misnomer, for religion is an abstract concept, existing only in the minds of those who subscribe to it, and therefore cannot itself be preserved in the archaeological record (Renfrew 1985, 12; 1994, 48). As archaeologists we must understand and accept that religion primarily concerns individual religious experience, faith and spirituality, none of which can be accessed materially (Renfrew 1994b, 48; Insoll 2004b, 19–20). This aspect of religion has come to be referred to as 'the numinous' (Otto 1928, 5–11), more recently defined by Insoll as 'the irreducible essence of holiness which can be discussed but not defined' (Insoll 2004b, 19). However, while it might sound as if this thesis is about to argue itself out of existence, it should be emphasised that the numinous is only one aspect of religion and that there are other aspects, such as the cult/ritual activities discussed above, which can and do leave material traces.

It has be argued that we cannot *know* what someone else is thinking even in the present, let alone the past, and that we can merely observe their behaviour and draw our own conclusions (Johnson 1999, 88). As Binford explained, although we cannot excavate an ideology, we can excavate 'the material items which functioned with these more behavioural elements' (Binford 1962, 218–9). Archaeologists study the material traces of religious acts: the artefacts created for and used in them, the places in which they were enacted and the deposits which resulted from them (Bertemes and Biehl 2001, 15). From such evidence we may attempt to reconstruct something of the religiously-motivated practices which produced them, although this is by no means an easy task to accomplish. Some of the inherent difficulties were exemplified by Barker who questioned what we would make of the material remains of Christianity without the benefit of explanatory historical sources and our modern understanding of its practices:

Recurring fragments, both sculptured and painted of a crucified man, of a gentle mother and her child, of other figures, male and female, some of them being tortured and killed, others surrounded by singing winged figures; flagons and dishes included with selected male burials; temples varying in size from tiny to gigantic, many of them cruciform, perhaps significantly, perhaps not; palatial buildings set round courtyards, often in remote and beautiful settings.

What reconstruction of this religion would we attempt from such remains? A cult of human sacrifice connected with the worship of a mother goddess? Should we equate the child with the crucified man? Could we make the connection between the oratory of Gallerus [Figure 2.1] and the ruins of Rievaulx? It is a sobering reflection that we can never excavate the upper room in which the Last Supper was held, and would not recognise it if we could, and that the site of the Crucifixion would be merely three large post-holes. (Barker 1993, 237)

Figure 2.1. The Gallerus Oratory, Dingle.

Barker's words are sobering indeed and serve to emphasise how fortunate we are that Christianity is a literate religion and that we can call upon numerous written sources produced by its adherents to bring understanding and meaning to its

material remains. However, those who study pre- and proto-historic periods are not so fortunate, for they do not have the benefit of such explanatory sources and must rely entirely upon the material record if they wish to understand the nature of past religious practices. Such remains can be difficult to interpret and a great deal of the archaeological work on religion has been conducted out of necessity by those working on prehistoric periods (e.g. Mithen 2001; Price 2001; Whitley and Keyser 2003). That said, the sum total of work done on the archaeology of religion is not vast, nor has it been particularly comprehensive (Insoll 2004b, 33–64). This paucity is somewhat surprising given the nature of the archaeological record, and the reasons behind it require further exploration.

Archaeologists specialising in other periods, not just prehistorians, have always excavated contexts rich in the traces of many forms of religious activity: structured burial deposits are a more obvious example of the type, although there are many others to choose from. However, despite their ubiquity, such remains have often been interpreted within entirely materialistic, social and economic frameworks (Wilkins 1996, 2). Acknowledging that archaeologists regularly deal with material culture which possesses 'symbolic, cultic, religious' elements, Bertemes and Biehl explain that many of them are reluctant to theorise too much about the material they encounter and are wary of incorporating what are seen as overly-speculative musings into their analyses (Bertemes and Biehl 2001, 11). In order fully to understand this reticence about religion amongst archaeologists it is necessary briefly to examine some of the archaeological approaches to religion which have characterised the last five decades.

Theoretical Perspectives

Fifty years ago, Hawkes famously (or perhaps infamously) presented his 'Ladder of Inference' in which he ranked a series of human activities according to the ease with which they could be inferred from the archaeological record. He summarised his hierarchy thus: 'material techniques are easy to infer to, subsistence-economies fairly easy, communal organization harder, and spiritual life hardest of all' (Hawkes 1954, 162). Hawkes' ladder has subsequently become the starting point for any consideration of the archaeology of religion, for his assertions on the subject influenced archaeological thinking throughout the following decades (e.g.

Renfrew 1985, 1; Wilkins 1996, 2; Johnson 1999, 86; Bertemes and Biehl 2001, 12–3; Insoll 2004b, 43–4). In placing religion on the top rung of his ladder Hawkes was not saying that attempts to study past religion archaeologically were futile, simply that they were harder than attempts to understand other aspects of society, although many archaeologists appear to have misunderstood his message. Grahame Clark broadly echoed Hawkes' sentiments, stressing that although it was difficult to understand religion archaeologically, it was not impossible to do so, as religious practices often left at least some material trace which could be studied (Clark 1960, 232). The problem, then, did not stem from any lack of material evidence, rather it stemmed from the lack of a body of theory with which such remains could be interpreted.

The processualist New Archaeology of the 1960s and 70s went some way to addressing this theoretical need. The emphasis its practitioners placed on unpicking the formation processes behind the archaeological record showed great potential for increasing the understanding of the religious acts responsible for some of the material remains (Trigger 1989, 294–300). Foremost amongst the New Archaeologists was Lewis Binford, who Insoll credits as being among the first explicitly to recognise that religion was a significant factor in the creation and structuring of archaeological deposits (Insoll 2004b, 47). Within the model of cultural and social systems which he propounded, Binford identified three functional sub-classes of material culture, one of which he dubbed 'ideo-technic', as it comprised those artefacts which were primarily used in ideological practices (Binford 1962, 219–20). Binford refuted Hawkes' notion that any particular aspect of society might be harder to infer from the material record than another (Trigger 1989, 298–9). In the case of ideology, which he took to include religious beliefs, Binford argued that once such artefacts were fully contextualised it would be possible to use them to reconstruct something of the ideology behind their production and use (Binford 1962, 219–20). Unfortunately, despite his acknowledgement that such analyses were possible, religion (or ideology, as he referred to it) was conspicuously absent from much of the rest of Binford's work, which focused instead on the more functional aspects of society (for a detailed critique of Binford's work, see Insoll 2004b, 46–9).

Similar ideas formed a part of David Clarke's *Analytical Archaeology*, which

defined culture as 'a system with subsystems' (Clarke 1968, 101), of which one was the 'religious subsystem' (Figure 2.2). Like Binford, Clarke argued that when the material culture generated by this religious subsystem was placed within its wider context it could be used to reconstruct something of the religions of the past, but he also acknowledged that such interpretations were made considerably more difficult without the aid of complementary historical sources (Clarke 1968, 110–3). Building on his theoretical models, Clarke later called on archaeologists to develop a body of 'pre-depositional and depositional theory' with which to formalise their intuitive interpretations and address the relationships between human action and the material deposited in the archaeological record in a more systematic way (Clarke 1973, 16–7). The development of such a body of theory would have proved invaluable to furthering the archaeological study of religion, but Clarke's call fell largely on deaf ears and his early death prevented the further development of his work.
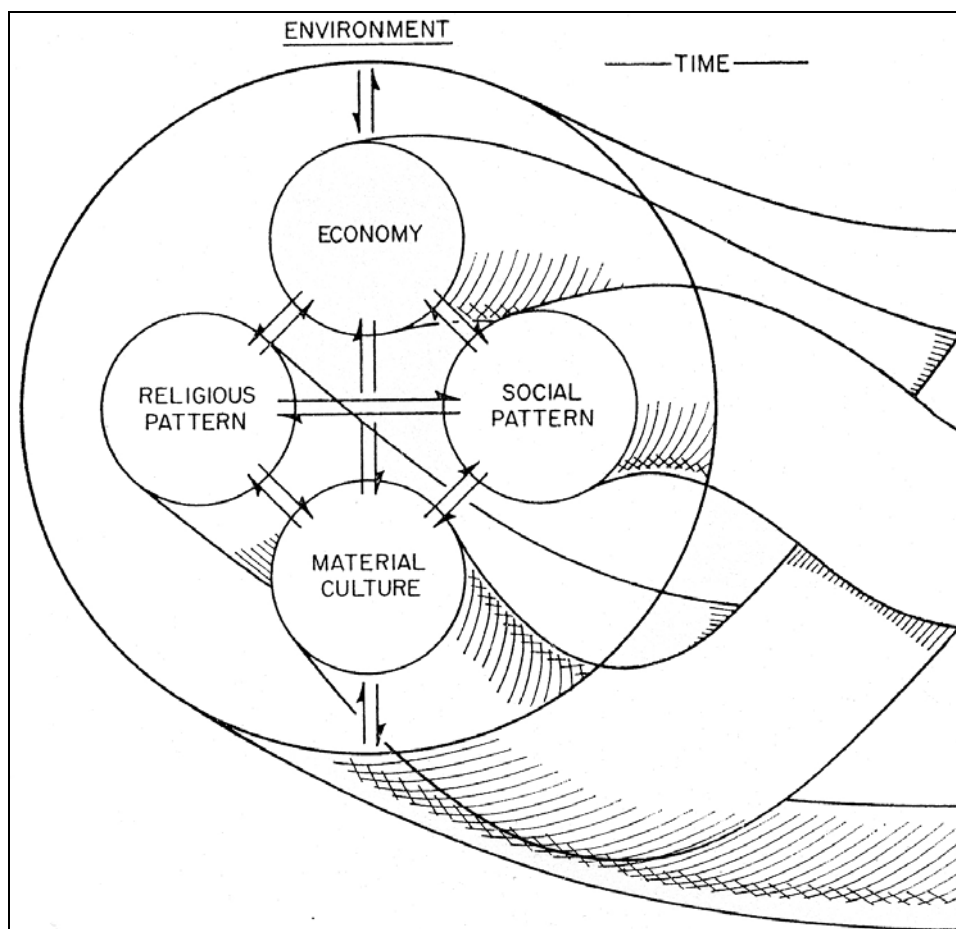
Figure 2.2. David Clarke's diagrammatic representation of integrated social subsystems and their changing relationship over time (Clarke 1968, fig 14).

The works of Binford and Clarke are held up here as examples of the attempts made by the processualist movement to interpret past societies in terms of a series of interrelated cultural subsystems, of which religion, in theory at least, was often thought to be one. Regardless of the shortcomings of their ideological stance regarding the structure and study of society (Trigger 1989, 312–9), it has often been said of the New Archaeologists that they ultimately remained more interested in what people *did*, rather than what they *thought* (e.g. Renfrew 1994a, 3; Parker Pearson 1999, 32). Although they considered the archaeological study of religion to be theoretically possible, in effect they gave it little consideration and remained firmly on the lower, more functional rungs of Hawkes' ladder of inference.

In the 1980s, growing criticism of the processualist approach to archaeology gave rise to a diverse range of post-processualist archaeological theories, all broadly unified by their dissatisfaction with processualism (Hodder 2005, 207–9). Rejecting most of the main tenets of processualism, post-processual archaeologists adopt a more relativistic stance and are particularly interested in studying the deliberate human actions, 'agency', behind the creation and use of material culture (Whitley 1998, 5–7; Barrett 2001, 141–62). Post-processualists consider material culture to have been 'meaningfully constituted'; that is, they believe that artefacts were more than simply functional items and were actively used by their creators to convey messages (Johnson 1999, 101–8). These messages and their meanings were embedded within and entirely dependent upon their particular historical and social context and cannot be understood without its being taken into account (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 156–205). With such an outlook, one would expect post-processual archaeology to be particularly well suited to the archaeological study of religion, yet opinion is divided over whether or not this has proved to be the case.

Some, such as Wilkins (1996, 2–3) and Bertemes and Biehl (2001, 13), have credited post-processualists with advancing archaeological approaches to religion by emphasising the meaningfully-constructed nature of the archaeological record and developing means of interpreting it. However, Insoll is firmly of the opinion that, despite the many benefits that their work has brought to archaeological interpretation, post-processualists have largely neglected religion,

describing the near-total absence of religion from post-processualist analyses as 'a glaring omission within a theoretical approach otherwise concerned with recovering the maximum amount of information on all aspects of the past' (Insoll 2004b, 77–78). Insoll's position seems to be at odds with the comments of other archaeologists and the oft-levelled criticism that post-processualism focuses too much on the 'symbolic' and not enough on the 'practical' (Brück 1999, 325), yet his opinion is not without foundation.

It seems that there is an inherent contradiction at the heart of post-processualism: while this approach fully acknowledges that complex meaning might be expressed in the archaeological record and that, with the correct theoretical approaches, this meaning might be revealed, there is a widespread reluctance to engage with the subject of religion (Insoll 2004b, 76–80). However, among post-processualists, particularly those concerned with prehistory, there is less reluctance to engage with ritual than among archaeologists working on other periods (e.g. Hodder 1982, 159–72; Barrett 1991; Brück 1999, 324–5; Whitley and Keyser 2003). As we have seen, ritual is usually enacted as part of wider religious belief, yet commentators usually limit their interpretations to the ritual itself and rarely engage with their wider religious contexts. Insoll suggests that this preference for studying ritual over religion is a reflection of the fact that ritual often involves material culture and is therefore more likely to leave an archaeological trace, while the more numinous aspects of religion do not (Insoll 2004a, 3–5). This might be seen as a tacit acceptance of the limits of archaeological knowledge and reflect a conscious decision not to waste time in the archaeological pursuit of religion, but it does seem incongruous when viewed alongside other aspects of the post-processual approach.

A second, perhaps more telling factor behind the neglect of religion (one which sits very neatly within the post-processualist doctrine) relates to the religious persuasions of the post-processualists themselves. As post-processualists often stress, the role of the interpreter is not a neutral one. We all 'read' the past in different ways, bringing to bear any number of preconceptions and assumptions which are the natural result of our own experience (Hodder 1982, 196–209; 1999, 32–65). Consequently, the lack of importance which the majority of archaeologists place on religion in their own lives can be argued to have had a direct effect upon

the importance that they have ascribed to it in the past (Insoll 2004a, 4; 2004b, 80–1). The situation is reversed in the case of Insoll, who considers religion to be of fundamental importance to society, a view which he readily admits has been shaped by his coming from a deeply religious background (Insoll 2004a, 5).

Both the processualist and post-processualist schools were and are theoretically equipped to make inroads into the archaeological study of religion, but neither can be said to have achieved this. In the case of the processualist school this occurred because interests remained focused on what people in the past *did* rather than what they *thought*, while in the case of the post-processualists this shortfall can be attributed to an acceptance of the limits of the material and the modern-day secularity of its practitioners. However, there is a third school of archaeological thought which grew out of the processualist tradition, but which incorporates some of the theoretical doctrine of the post-processualists, and which has been actively addressing the archaeology of religion for the last twenty years.

Archaeology of the Mind

In the 1980s a number of archaeologists began to investigate ways in which the cognitive and ideological aspects of society could be addressed properly within the processualist mould (Johnson 1999, 89–90). In his 1982 lecture *Towards an Archaeology of the Mind*, Colin Renfrew outlined the tenets of what he dubbed 'cognitive archaeology' (Renfrew 1982, 2), an approach which he defined elsewhere as 'the study of past ways of thought as inferred from material remains' (Renfrew 1994a, 3). In Zubrow's words, cognitive archaeology focuses on the study of 'perception, attention, learning, memory and reasoning' in the past and lists among its objectives the identification and interpretation of religious behaviour in the archaeological record, a task which Renfrew acknowledged was difficult, though he argued it was not impossible (Zubrow 1994, 187; Renfrew 1982, 19–21).

Initially, Renfrew stopped short of presenting a methodology for recognising religion archaeologically (Renfrew 1982, 21), but he subsequently began to build one as a precursor to his work on the sanctuary at Phylakopi and has continued to develop it over the last two decades (Renfrew 1985, 14–21; 1994a; 1994b; 2005; Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 414–20). Renfrew has argued that

there are two main approaches to the material record which may be taken in order to recognise the archaeological remains of religion. First, searching for the residue of ritual or cult practices and, second, using iconography to try to understand past societies' underlying religious beliefs (Renfrew 1994b, 51). Of these two different approaches, the majority of the archaeological work conducted to date has concentrated on the former – attempting to recognise the material traces of ritual behaviour (e.g. Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 414–20). Renfrew has identified five aspects of ritual behaviour for which material evidence might be found, each of which is examined in turn in the rest of this chapter. These aspects are the focusing of attention; the boundary zone between this world and the next; the presence of the deity; participation and offering; and funerary practices (Renfrew 1985, 18–20; 1994, 51–2; Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 414–20).

Focusing Attention

In communal worship in particular, a range of devices might be employed to focus the attention of the worshippers. The ritual might be conducted in a spot with a particular natural feature, such as a cave or a spring, acting as a focal point, or in a specific building, such as a temple or a church. Within such places one might expect to find additional attention-focusing features, such as an altar or directional seating, and see the repeated use of religious symbols. Movable objects, such as ritual vessels or special clothing, might also have been used, but these might not remain in the sacred area (Renfrew 1985, 18–9; Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 416–17). These themes are most applicable to the study of Anglo-Saxon churches, but also to the search for Early Saxon shrines. Churches are considered at length in Chapters Five and Eight and that discussion need not be rehearsed here, but the evidence for Early Saxon shrines is discussed here.

Place-name evidence has often been employed in the hunt for Early Saxon shrines and sanctuaries (see Wilson 1985; 1992, 5–21). Place-names which include the name of a particular pagan deity have often been noted, especially Woden, Thunor and Tiw, while those that include the Old English *hearg* – 'heathen temple', 'sacred grove' or 'idol' – and *wēoh* or *wih* – 'idol', 'holy place' or 'shrine' – have also received attention (e.g. Stenton 1941; Gelling 1961; Wilson 1985; Meaney 1995). Deity place-names are argued to denote the location of a shrine to

the eponymous god, although they often refer to monumental earthworks such as barrows and ditches or other landscape features (Wilson 1992, 11–17; Meaney 1995, 32–40). The *hearg* place-name is often associated with high ground; it is therefore widely believed to have been used to refer to hill-top sanctuaries (Wilson 1985, 179–181; 1992, 6–8; Meaney 1995, 30–2). *Wēoh* place-names are often found in low-lying areas and are argued to refer to a shrine or a sacred precinct (Wilson 1985, 181–2; 1992, 8–11; Meaney 1995, 32). However, the maps of *hearg* and *wēoh* place-names and deity place-names published by Wilson illustrate their total absence from Norfolk and Suffolk, although a number of examples are found in Essex, and place-names are therefore not a line of enquiry that can be fruitfully developed in this thesis (Wilson 1985, fig. 1; 1992, fig. 2).
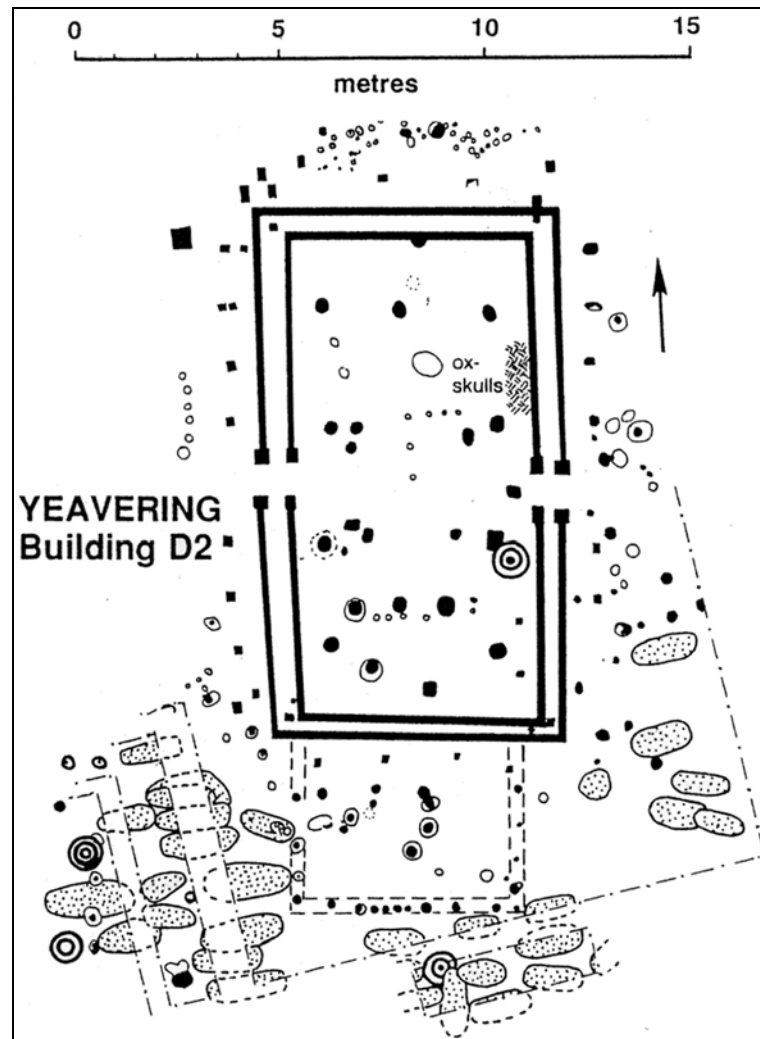
Figure 2.3. The excavated plan of Building D2, Yeavering (Blair 1995a, fig. 11).

No Early Saxon shrines or temple sites have survived and excavated examples are extremely rare: the much-discussed Building D2 from Yeavering, where an original building associated with deposits of ox skulls was subsequently encased in a larger shell and became a focus for burial, is unique (Figure 2.3; Hope-Taylor 1977, 97–102, 158–61; Meaney 1985; Wilson 1992, 45–7; Blair 1995a). Nor do we have any contemporary descriptions or illustrations of such sites, the earliest English accounts being those contained within Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Meaney 1995, 31–4). Bede refers to pagan temples in three passages of the *HE*. First, he repeats Pope Gregory's letter of 601 to Bishop Mellitus advising that 'if those temples are well-built, they need to be converted from the cult of demons to the service of the true God' (*HE* I,30). Secondly, he refers to a temple in the famous passage which recounts the story of the Deiran high-priest Coifi, who renounced his old religion, profaned his office by riding a stallion and bearing arms (both apparently forbidden acts for a priest), and then ordered the temple at Goodmanham destroyed (*HE* II,13). Thirdly, he describes the temple of East Anglian King Rædwald, said to have contained both an altar for the Christian mass and an altar for sacrificing to devils (*HE* II,15). This last passage is the most relevant to this thesis.

Wishing to make the most of the few scraps Bede offers, many authors have suggested that Bede would have had full knowledge of the nature of Early Saxon paganism and would not have reported anything that was substantially untrue (e.g. Meaney 1985; Wilson 1992, 28–36; Blair 1995a; Page 1995). Without pre-empting the examination of Bede's work and motivation presented in Chapter Four, it must be stated here that Bede, a devout Christian writing in the eighth century, was emphatically *not* a reliable source for fifth- and sixth-century paganism. The Coifi episode in particular has often been accepted as a faithful historical account, yet on closer examination Bede's telling of the event can be shown to bear remarkable similarities to other conversion narratives and an increasing number of scholars are of the opinion that the passage is actually the result of Bede's rhetorical method; an invented scene to drive his narrative along (Fry 1979; Ray 1976; 1997; Markus 2001; Church, in preparation).

The evidence (or lack of it) would seem to suggest that the notion of Early Saxon temples having been recognisable buildings with their own distinctive

architecture is false, their existence expected as a result of Biblical imagery of idolatrous pagans but not actually grounded in reality. This conclusion is explored more fully in Chapters Three, Four and Eight. Some scholars (e.g. Wilson 1992) take solace in Tacitus' descriptions in the *Germania* of first-century Germanic religions which, he records, did not confine their gods within walls, but instead consecrated forests and groves for their worship (Mattingly and Handford 1970, 108–9). This notion of a sacred space as opposed to a sacred building leads neatly into Renfrew's second category, the idea that ritual areas mark a boundary between spiritual worlds.

The Boundary Between Worlds

Rituals often involve a degree of communication between this world and the supernatural 'Other World', meaning that the area in which such rituals were enacted was regarded as a liminal zone and treated differently from other social spaces. Consequently, such areas might feature overt displays of conspicuous consumption or they might be hidden and subject to exclusive access. They might also have required special preparation before entry was allowed – washing, for example – and surviving features such as basins or pools might represent this (Renfrew 1985, 18–9; Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 416–17). The lack of evidence for Early Saxon temples or shrines makes it difficult to evaluate the degree to which these observed patterns applied to the Anglo-Saxon pagans, but the evidence from Early Saxon cemeteries suggests that this, too, is a valid avenue of investigation.

As is explored more fully in Chapter Eight, during the Early Saxon period cemeteries and settlements were distinctly separate entities and consequently located in different parts of the landscape. Instances of cemeteries situated within Early Saxon settlements are extremely rare, and where they do exist are indicative of a seventh-century change in attitude towards the dead. In some instances settlements and cemeteries lay close to each other while retaining distinct identities, but many cemeteries were located at some considerable distance from the nearest settlement, leading to the conclusion that certain cemeteries served large areas with scattered populations (Hills 1979; 1980). In addition to their role as repositories of the dead, there is an argument to be made for cemeteries having also acted as seasonal meeting places for those who lived within the territories

which they served (Williams 2002b; 2004b).

Early Saxon cemeteries were also places which saw a considerable degree of conspicuous consumption. The cremation rite required a great many resources to be gathered together and burned before the remains were collected and deposited in cemeteries (see Chapter Seven). Inhumation, too, was a medium for conspicuous consumption either in the form of grave-goods deposited with a corpse or via the construction of monumental earthworks, such as barrows, over graves (see Chapters Seven and Eight). Notions of special access or the control of burial practices are suggested by the orderly fashion in which the burials in many cemeteries are laid out; usually burials are orientated in a common direction and do not intercut, and many cemeteries appear to have expanded outwards from their initial core as more burials were made. This has led to the suggestion that the use of cemeteries might have been in the control of an individual or small group which oversaw the funerary process in the manner of Early Saxon undertakers (Geake 2003, 262–66). In particular, discussion has focused on the role of the so-called 'cunning women', represented by female burials equipped with a variety of peculiar artefacts of no obviously practical function, who some have identified as the ritual specialists behind Early Saxon burial practices (Meaney 1981, 249–62; Dickinson 1993). Issues pertaining to the organisation of burial rites are raised in Chapters Seven and Eight.

During the Middle Saxon period the separation of the living and the dead which characterised the Early Saxon period was superseded by the practice of burying individuals within settlements (see Chapters Six and Eight). Burials continued to be made within tightly defined areas, perhaps marking a continuation of the idea that the dead should still be segregated from the living to some degree at least. Quite how tightly defined some of these areas were is evidenced by the sheer density of burials and the high incidence of intercutting which is often found on such sites; for example, at Sedgeford (Norfolk; Cabot, Davies and Hoggett 2004). Ideas of the differential use of social space were embodied in the Christian notion of consecrated ground for both churchyards and, later, churches (Effros 1997; Gittos 2002). In many early missionary churches and minsters physical features were actively used to demarcate the boundary of the sacred precinct (Blair 1992). Such a boundary might reuse the circuit wall of a

ruinous Roman fort, within which a church might be established, or fresh earthworks might be constructed to enclose the site. Such enclosures were in no way defensive, serving only as a symbolic boundary between different social spaces (see Chapter Eight).

The Presence of the Deity

Another aspect of this communication with the supernatural is the symbolic presence of the deity or deities in question. Archaeologically this might result in two- or three-dimensional representations of the deity in either a symbolic form, such as the use of the Christian Chi-Rho, or in a realistic form, such as a statue. One might also expect the repeated religious symbols referred to previously to reflect the iconography of the deity, although some of these connections might not be easily understood without the benefit of explanatory texts (Renfrew 1985, 18–9; Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 416–17).
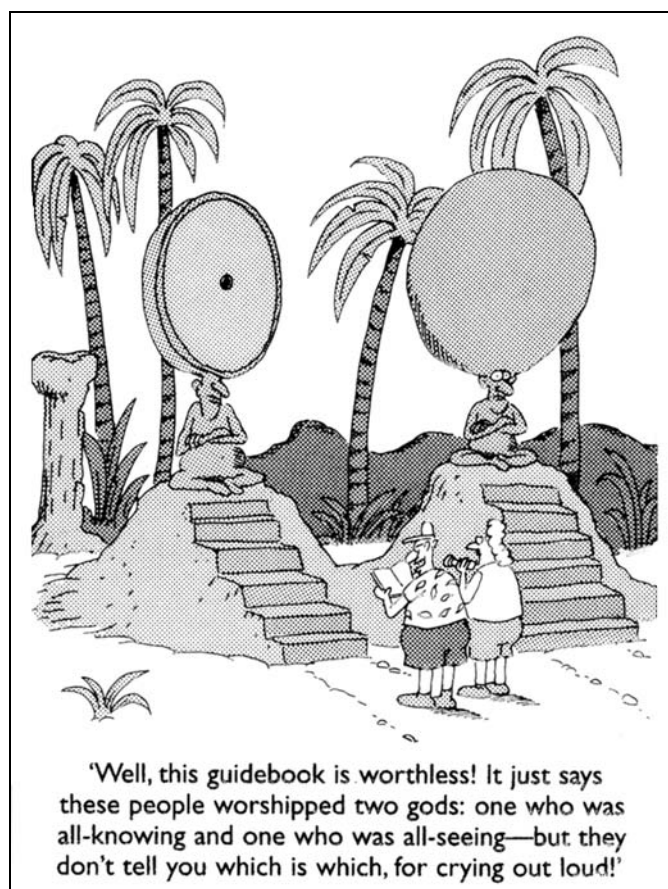
Figure 2.4. The difficulties of interpreting religious iconography, as explained in Gary Larson's *Far Side* (Larson 1995, 133).

The pagan Anglo-Saxon deities Woden, Thunor and Tiw have already been referred to in the context of place-names, but they did, of course, also give their names to the days of the week. The Anglo-Saxons took the Roman week and substituted the names of those deities who most closely resembled the gods concerned: Sunday (the Sun) and Monday (the Moon) were kept, as was Saturday, the Anglo-Saxons apparently having no equivalent of Saturn, god of the countryside and old age. The Roman days of Mars, Mercury, Jove and Venus were renamed Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday respectively, after the gods Tiw (god of war), Woden (chief of the gods), Thunor (god of the sky and thunder) and Frigg (goddess of love and festivity) (Hutton 1993, 266–8; Hines 1997a, 384). Other gods are also known from later literature: in *De temporum ratione* of 725 Bede states that the Anglo-Saxon names for March and April were taken from the goddesses Hreda and Eostre, the latter providing the name for Easter (Wallis 2004, 53–4); we are also told of Frey, equated with Christ in the poem *The Dream of the Rood* and in a seventh-century hymn by Cædmon (Hutton 1993, 267).

In the absence of explanatory texts, one way in which the identity and role of any given deity might be recognised is via the imagery presented in religious iconography (Figure 2.4; Renfrew 1985, 13–6; 1994b, 53–4). By way of illustration Renfrew explained how steps could be taken towards understanding Christian iconography from its material remains alone, in an analogy similar to that subsequently used by Barker:

A study of Christian iconography by someone entirely ignorant of any elements of the relevant doctrine would rapidly reveal that the most commonly occurring symbol, the cross, is frequently used in conjunction with a crucified adult male. It would not be difficult to suggest (although very difficult to confirm) that the cross in such a context is everywhere a symbol for crucifixion. The attendant iconographic circumstances (i.e. the two thieves) might indicate that this crucifixion was a specific historical event. Details of the lady dressed in blue at the foot of the cross might identify her with the lady frequently seen in other depictions with a male infant. His identification with the crucified male would be supported by further

associations, including the small cross which the baby sometimes holds
in his hand. (Renfrew 1985, 14)

Iconographic traces of the veneration of both pagan and Christian gods have been identified in the archaeological record, although these traces might have gone unrecognised were it not for the existence of at least some documentary evidence. Thunor's symbols appear to have been the hammer and the swastika; miniature hammers are common finds, while swastikas regularly adorn cremation urns (Figure 7.5). Tiw is symbolised by the initial ↑-rune which, like the swastika, is found stamped, incised or embossed on numerous cremation urns (Figure 7.7) and occasionally incised on weapons, befitting of Tiw's status as a war-god. Similarly, Christian imagery can be detected in the Anglo-Saxon archaeological record from the seventh century onwards, most often in the form of decorative crosses on artefacts such as brooches and pendants (Figures 7.19–22). The religious symbolism employed in the decoration of cremation urns and other artefacts is considered more fully in Chapter Seven.

Participation, Offering and Funerary Practices

Renfrew's fourth category, participation and offering, pertains mainly to the activities performed by the worshippers, which may or may not leave material traces. Worship may involve specific gestures or activities, such as prayer or dance, which might be reflected in the iconography employed in the sacred area. Sacrifices of animals or humans might be practised. Food and drink might be offered to the deity, as might other classes of material or artefact, either whole or broken (Renfrew 1985, 18–9; Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 416–17). Within the context of Anglo-Saxon religion, many of the activities designated as 'participation and offering' spill over in to the realm of funerary practices. Renfrew highlights the potential for funerary activities to be particularly indicative of religious beliefs, as the very act of burial is in itself highly symbolic, regardless of the additional symbolism and iconography employed in its execution, and the connection between religion and the explanation of death is often very strong (Renfrew 1994b, 52).

Burial evidence has often been employed in discussions of Anglo-Saxon

religion, although there is a distinct bias towards the better-surviving and more visible Early Saxon material (e.g. Owen 1981, 67–125; Wilson 1992, 67–172; Arnold 1997, 149–75; Taylor 2001, 139–43; Williams 2001b). Sites such as Snape (Suffolk) have demonstrated the immense variation that was possible within the broader categories of inhumation and cremation rites and this variety is argued to be a reflection of the polytheistic and socio-political fragmentation of the Early Saxon period in which, as Lucy puts it, 'each community actively created its own burial rite while drawing on common practice' (Lucy 1998, 49; Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 262–3). We know that inhumation was practised alongside cremation during the Early Saxon period, but that it had become the sole burial rite by the mid-seventh century. In addition, the nature of the inhumation rite changed over time, most particularly with regard to the decreasing deposition of grave-goods (see Chapter Seven). But how best might we account for these changes?

Reliance on historical sources when studying the conversion has given rise to the belief that burial evidence has little to contribute to the debate. The historical evidence for conversion-period East Anglia is particularly sparse (see Chapter Four), but even on a national scale the historical record has little to say about the early Church's attitude to burial (Wilson 1992, 67–9; Hadley 2001, 92). Indeed, there is so little documentary evidence that Morris believes 'the written records of the 7th and 8th centuries suggest that pagan burial was not regarded as a danger by the Church, or that if it did present a threat it was low on the list of priorities for elimination' (Morris 1983, 50). This seems to contradict the commonly held belief that the church explicitly forbade pagan burial rites, in particular the burial of grave-goods, and imposed a Christian burial rite in their place (e.g. Hyslop 1963). However, one should not take an absence of historical evidence as evidence of absence. Although the historical record *is* quiet on the subject of burial, the archaeological record clearly shows that changes in burial practice occurred at the time of the conversion and these changes require explanation.

Christian burials excavated from medieval and post-medieval contexts have demonstrated that unfurnished, supine burial with a west–east orientation was, and continues to be, normal Christian burial practice (e.g. Rahtz 1978; Daniell 1997; Rodwell 2005; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005). Therefore, with regard

to recognising the conversion in the burial record, a simple model has developed in which Christianity arrived and burial rites were immediately transformed from those of the Early Saxon period, characterised by the use of cremation and the deposition of Germanic grave-goods, to the burial rites of the medieval period (reviewed in Geake 1997, 1–3; Taylor 2001). Particular attention has focused upon the change from furnished to unfurnished burial and the increasingly regular adoption of a west–east orientation, both criteria described by MacGregor as being amongst 'the earliest tangible signs of the new religion in the archaeological record' (MacGregor 2000, 221). Although such interpretations persist, they have been demonstrated to be over-simplistic and increasingly found not to fit the available evidence (e.g. Daniell 1997; Geake 1997; 1999b; Härke 1992; Kendall 1982; Rahtz 1978).

Yet, although this particular model needs refining (or even discarding), as Carver states, 'burial rites certainly do change at conversion' (Carver 1998a, 14). His comments are echoed by Taylor, who opines that 'religious change … is particularly likely to be marked by radical shifts in burial practice' (Taylor 2001, 15). Fortunately, new developments in our understanding of the conversion process (see Chapter Three) have caused us to revise our expectations of the material record and it is now possible to revisit the burial record and use it with greater success. The results of such a reassessment of the Early and Middle Saxon burial record of East Anglia are presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Substructure or Superstructure?

The various approaches to the archaeology of religion advocated by Renfrew over the last two decades are all very sound and represent significant progress towards recognising and interpreting the material traces of religion. However, Renfrew makes no claims for his categories and criteria being exhaustive, merely stating that they point the way and that archaeologists should be on the lookout for similarly patterned material in their own work (Renfrew 1994b, 52). Of course, Renfrew's work rests on the assumption that the remnants of ritual will be differentiated and segregated from the rest of society's material culture. Such assumptions are clearly valid for many societies, but there is the possibility that religious rituals may also have been embedded within everyday activity and

consequently be indistinguishable from the rest of the archaeological record. This is a problem which worries Renfrew (1994b, 47) and many others, for it implies that significant quantities of religious material may remain unrecognised, even in societies which exhibit a degree of religious segregation in their material culture. While the archaeological difficulties which such a conclusion presents are obvious, the effect that religion had on wider society needs to be considered.

In the past archaeological studies of religion have suffered from the tendency amongst scholars artificially to divide society into constituent parts and to study each element in isolation. Such compartmentalised approaches to religion were a particular feature of the processualist school, evidenced by Binford's 'ideo-technic' artefacts (Binford 1962, 219–20) and Clarke's 'religious subsystem' (Clarke 1968, 101), but, as has been seen, they were also a feature of the post-processualist and cognitive schools of thought. If it is included at all, the religious element of society is invariably placed on the periphery of discussions of social structure, despite the fact that, as Parker Pearson states, 'the urge to comprehend the human condition – the quest for soul food – may be just as great as the quest for food and reproductive success' (Parker Pearson 1999, 145).

Doubtless this compartmentalised approach stems in part from the use of the term 'religion', because it automatically suggests a dichotomy between that which is religious and that which is not, a dichotomy which arguably may not have existed in some past societies as it does not in some present societies (Insoll 2004a, 1). In fact, both the compartmentalised approach and the assumptions regarding the perceived lack of the social importance of religion directly contradict what it means to be a believer in any given faith, for in general a faith will provide a structured set of beliefs and practices which will be all-pervading and inform every aspect of an individual's or community's way of life (Insoll 1999a, 8). Consequently, argues Insoll (2004a, 5), we should see 'religion as a critical element in many areas of life above and beyond those usually considered – technology, diet, refuse patterning, housing – all can be influenced by religion, they are today, why not in the past?' This point is illustrated by the nature of Islamic society, within which Insoll has conducted a lot of his work. Islam is often said to be a way of life, rather than simply a religion, and material traces of the Muslim faith are to be found in the archaeological record of all aspects of Islamic society (Insoll 1999a,

2, 93–132). However, Islam is just one example and the same could be said of many of the major world religions as well as of more localised religious traditions.

In effect Insoll is arguing for a reversal of the traditional archaeological model, so that, rather than religion being seen as a discrete sub-category of society, it becomes an overarching social factor under which all other elements of society fit. Hints of such an interpretation were suggested by Renfrew when he stated that ''religion', conceived as a separate dimension or sub-system of the society, could thus prove to be something of a misconception' (Renfrew 1994, 47). His comment was made while discussing the possibility that some elements of ritual might be completely embedded within the rest of society and thus archaeologically indistinguishable. Similarly, Bertemes and Biehl acknowledged that 'cult and religion can be enmeshed with everyday functional activity, and thus difficult to distinguish archaeologically' (Bertemes and Biehl 2001, 15). Again, this could be argued to support Insoll's notion of an all-pervading religious framework.

An outlook which considers religion to be the superstructure of society has immensely significant implications for the archaeological study of religion. If religion is seen to inform every aspect of society, then by implication all aspects of the material culture produced by that society have the potential to reflect that religion. Such approaches are becoming increasingly common in prehistoric archaeology: Parker Pearson and Richards (1994) demonstrated the symbolic qualities of the entrances and interiors of the Neolithic houses at Skara Brae (Orkney); more recently, Bradley (2005) has argued against the artificial separation of ritual and domestic interpretations in all aspects of prehistoric material culture from houses and settlements to the disposal of domestic refuse and the agrarian economy. Such work sits very comfortably alongside Insoll's. Of course, the argument is not that all categories of evidence *will* reflect a society's religious beliefs, merely that they have the potential to do so to a greater or lesser extent.

Conclusions

Set against a general background of archaeological neglect, the material evidence of Anglo-Saxon religion has been relatively well studied. Yet, even within Anglo-Saxon studies, academic interest has been subject to the uneven survival and variable quality of the available sources: the material remains of Early Saxon

paganism, particularly burials, have regularly been presented, while, as is explored more fully in Chapter Four, the historical evidence for the early Church, particularly that provided by Bede, has tended to take precedence over the material evidence in studies of the Middle Saxon period.

Realistically, we cannot hope to be able to understand completely the nature of Anglo-Saxon religion, both pagan and Christian, from the archaeological record alone. Religion is an abstract concept and its numinous aspects do not leave a material trace. Unfortunately, this has caused archaeological theorists to take a very pessimistic view of attempts to infer religious beliefs from the archaeological record. Within Anglo-Saxon archaeology even the study of burials, arguably the most ritually rich of all archaeological deposits, has become obsessed with social and economic interpretations, while those who venture to offer religious interpretations are deemed unfashionable and branded naïve.

However, while we may not be able to see the material remains of religion directly, we can and do find traces of the religious acts – rituals – which were performed as a part of religious observance. These traces can tell us a great deal, particularly when used in conjunction with surviving explanatory texts. Renfrew has identified a number of material signatures by which ritual practices might be recognised archaeologically and the preceding discussion has emphasised how these criteria might be and have been applied to the study of Anglo-Saxon archaeology. Renfrew's arguments are developed by Insoll, whose assertion that religion is all-pervading in society and therefore reflected in all aspects of the archaeological record to a greater or lesser degree represents a new and optimistic approach to the archaeology of religion.

Within the context of Early Saxon archaeology, Insoll's argument is largely academic, for the only archaeological evidence of any great quantity is funerary in nature and we do not really have the option to explore the religious significance of other forms of Early Saxon material culture (see Chapters Six and Seven). The archaeological record of the Middle Saxon period, on the other hand, presents far more opportunities to explore these new ideas. Middle Saxon funerary remains are particularly poorly represented, yet there is a considerable and growing amount of archaeological data from artefacts, settlements, cemeteries and

churches which can fruitfully be employed (see Chapters Five and Eight). Yet this thesis is not simply concerned with the archaeological evidence for Anglo-Saxon religion, both pagan and Christian; it is concerned with the transition from one to the other which occurred in seventh-century East Anglia. To this end, before moving on to examine the nature of the available historical and archaeological evidence (Chapters Four, Five and Six), it is first necessary to consider the concept of religious conversion in more detail and question some of the ways that, it too, might be made manifest in the archaeological record.

CHAPTER THREE: RELIGIOUS CONVERSION

'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost'.

<div align="right">Matthew 28:19</div>

Mission – the act of bringing Christianity to non-Christians – has always played a significant part in the history of Christianity (Lane 2001, 153). The quotation from the gospel of Matthew given above records how, after his resurrection, Jesus met his eleven remaining disciples and issued them with the Great Commission – to spread the Christian faith (Matthew 28:19; *cf.* Mark 16:15). The disciples obeyed, and the Acts of the Apostles chronicle the subsequent missionary journeys of Paul and others throughout the Middle East and the Roman Empire, culminating in the establishment of the church in Rome (Frend 1984, 85–117; Rousseau 2002, 23–46). Christianity survived the persecutions of the third and early fourth centuries and under Constantine's rule became the official religion of the Roman Empire in 325 (Frend 1984, 439–517; Wood 2001, 6–7; Rousseau 2002, 153–86). Through the actions of missionaries such as Martin of Tours, Christianity had expanded from its origins as a Jewish sect to become a religion which encompassed the Roman Empire – East and West – by the end of the fourth century AD, and had affected nearly every section of society to a greater or lesser extent (Frend 1984, 521–650; Dales 1997, 13–26; Brown 2003, 37–141).

As Figure 3.1 illustrates, from the late fourth century AD missionary activity began in earnest within the confines of the Western Roman Empire as an increasing number of barbarian peoples entered the Empire from beyond its eastern borders (Wood 1981, 85–6; 2001, 7–8). Many of these new peoples subsequently became Christians, as was the case in 376 with the Visigoths and, later, the Franks, whose King Clovis was baptised *c.*500 as part of the wider conversion of his people (Wallace-Hadrill 1983, 17–36; James 1988, 121–61; Cusack 1998, 63–87). Throughout the fifth and sixth centuries the influence of Christianity began to spread to areas which lay beyond the edges of the Roman Empire (Wood 2001, 8–10). Pope Celestine sent Palladius to Ireland in 431 to build upon evangelisation which had occurred via contact with Britain and Gaul, and his work was subsequently augmented when Patrick arrived from Britain

(Mayr-Harting 1991, 78–93; Paor 1996, 8–45; Dales 1997, 27–37). Most famously, Pope Gregory sent Augustine to convert the English in 596, Christianity having largely been driven into western Britain by the arrival of the pagan Anglo-Saxons in the east in the early fifth century (*HE* I,23–II,4; Mayr-Harting 1991, 51–77). Augustine's mission is the subject of the latter part of this chapter and the starting point for the next, as it is of fundamental importance to the questions being addressed in this thesis.
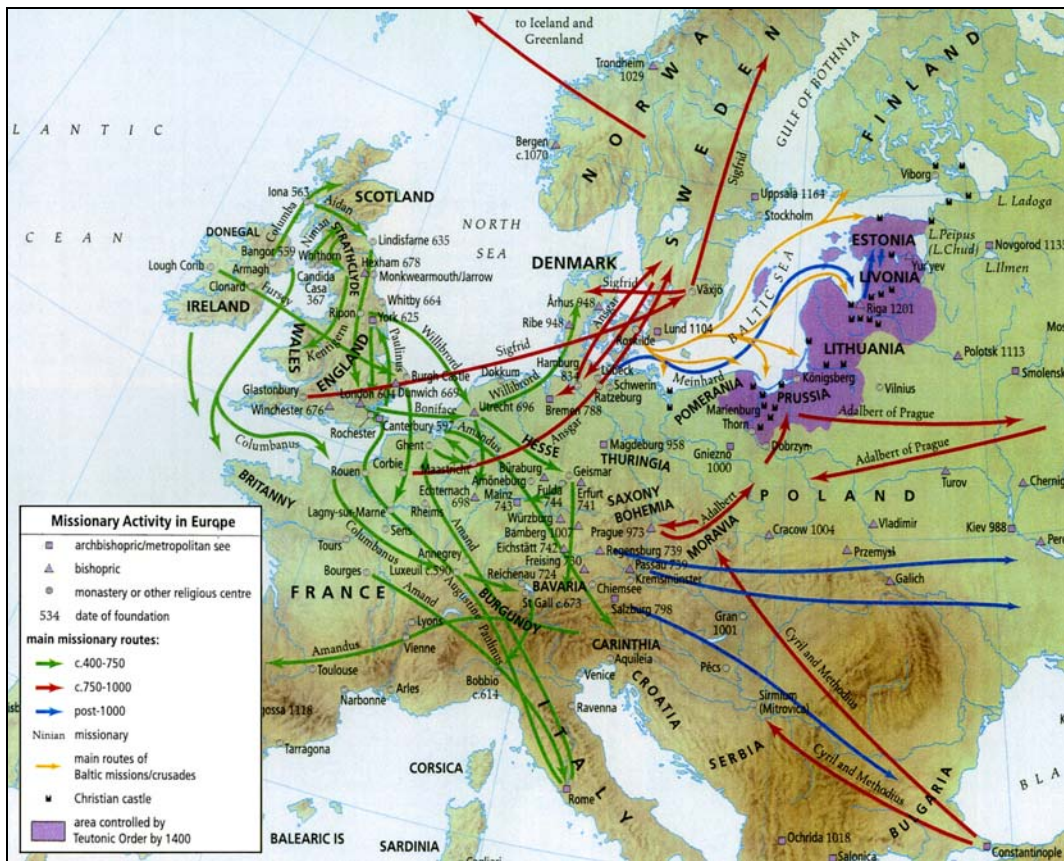
Figure 3.1. The evangelisation of Europe *c.*400–post-1000 (Smart 1999, 144).

The new converts in Ireland and England began, in turn, to send out missions of their own (Figure 3.1). Columba left Ireland and founded the monastery of Iona in 563, from where he set about converting the Picts (Dales 1997, 55–67). The monks of Iona – Aidan in particular – were subsequently to play a major role in the conversion of the Northumbrian kingdom in the seventh century (Dales 1997, 93–112). In conjunction with the Franks, another Irishman, Columbanus, helped to Christianise eastern Gaul during the late sixth century, before turning his attention to Lombard Italy (Dales 1997, 67–74; Wood 2001,

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31–5). The newly converted Anglo-Saxons sent missionaries to their continental homelands in the late seventh and eighth centuries (Cusack 1998, 119–34). The Northumbrian Wilfrid spent time preaching amongst the Frisians on his way to Rome in the late 670s, before his return to England, where he was subsequently instrumental in the conversion of Sussex (Mayr-Harting 1991, 129–47; Thacker 2004). Wilfrid was followed by fellow Northumbrian Willibrord, who, after a period in Ireland, arrived in Francia in 690 and worked among the Frisians, remaining their Archbishop until he died in 739 (Dales 1997, 145–60; Costambeys 2004). The missionary work of Boniface began in modern-day central Germany in 718 and is well evidenced in letters to, from and about him, which were collected together after his death (Tangl 1916; Emerton 1940). With papal support Boniface spent his life evangelising Thuringia, Frisia, Hessen, Franconia and Bavaria, became Archbishop of Germany and established a network of episcopal sees before his martyrdom in 754 (Parsons 1983, 280–4; Wood 2004).

Willibrord had attempted to evangelise the Danish in the early eighth century with little success, but Christianity finally took hold in both Denmark and Sweden under the auspices of Bishop Anskar of Hamburg during the early ninth century, although his work was undone shortly afterwards by the rise to prominence of the pagan Vikings (Wood 1981, 88; Cusack 1998, 135–41). The Vikings, too, were eventually converted. Danish King Harald Gormsson became Christian in 965, although it is clear that many in his country were already familiar with Christian beliefs and practices by that date (Sawyer 1987, 69–70). The conversion of Norway began in the last years of the tenth century and Christianity was established after much conflict between the different Norwegian kingdoms. The English court of Athelstan appears to have played an important role in the process, for the Norwegian prince Håkon had been educated there before returning to his homeland (Sawyer 1987, 70–4; Abrams 1995, 216–23; Cusack 1998, 146–8). Bishop Anskar's ninth-century attempts to evangelise Sweden enjoyed only limited success, but the thousands of Swedish runestones dating from the end of the tenth to the twelfth centuries suggest that by then Christianity had become widespread and popular (Gräslund 2000; Lager 2003). Finally, Christianity had been familiar in Iceland since its settlement in the ninth century and the country was subject to a number of tenth-century missions before

officially adopting Christianity at the Althing of 999/1000 (Cusack 1998, 158–72; Vésteinsson 2000).

Such is the broad framework of the conversion of western Europe and Scandinavia as it can be reconstructed from the historical evidence (see, for example, Fletcher 1997; Cusack 1998). Although greatly simplified here, the picture painted by the historical sources is by no means complete, nor particularly comprehensible, and there were clearly a great many other factors behind the rise of western Christendom of which we remain unaware. Conversions continued to occur throughout Europe during the medieval and post-medieval periods and Christianity spread around the world as new countries and their peoples were encountered and missionaries dispatched to them (Neill 1986). Of course, we must also remember that conversion is not just the stuff of history; missionary activity continues to occur in societies around the world to this day (Hefner 1993, 3). With so much history and so many locations from which to choose, the field of conversion studies is understandably vast and the approaches and methods which it employs are suitably diverse.

Terminology: Conversion and Christianisation

The two most commonly used terms in discussions of changing religious beliefs are 'conversion' and, within a Christian context, 'Christianisation'. However, in addition to religion-specific nature of the latter, some commentators make important distinctions between these two terms, as exemplified in the title of Armstrong and Wood's *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals* (2000). 'Christianisation' is generally considered to be a social process through which a population becomes Christian and is a process which may take a considerable period of time to be completed. 'Conversion', on the other hand, is now often taken to refer to the personal religious experience of an individual changing beliefs and is a process which may take only an instant. In some works 'Christianisation' is therefore distinct from 'conversion', although they are related, for the conversion of individuals is an important part of the Christianisation process.

However, not everyone is content with the use of these terms. While endorsing the definition of conversion, Wood argues that the process should be subdivided into 'Christianisation' and 'mission'. He defines the latter as those

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attempts to provoke religious change directed at pagans, whilst defining the former as the process of evangelisation within communities which are already nominally or officially Christian (Wood 2001, 3–4). 'Christianisation', in Wood's opinion, often begins before and ends after 'mission'. Kilbride is similarly unhappy with 'Christianisation'. He dislikes the term because it carries connotations of a single body of Christian practice, whereas Christianity was and is a very adaptable religion (see below). He also argues that considering Christianisation to be a process implies that at some point the process is completed because it has achieved a definable set of criteria (Kilbride 2000, 4–8).

Cusack brands such a separation of 'conversion' and 'Christianisation' 'excessively pedantic' (Cusack 1998, 17). She goes on to argue that, as the intangible personal experience of the individual convert lies beyond the limits of our knowledge, the semantic separation of the individual and the societal becomes meaningless, for ultimately we can only discuss the more tangible outward signs of changing religious beliefs. She therefore continues to use the two terms interchangeably to describe the process of changing religion. In a specifically Anglo-Saxon context, Geake consistently refers to the 'Conversion period', by which she means *c.*600–*c.*850, broadly the period during which the English kingdoms were converted to Christianity (Geake 1997; 2002) – exactly the sort of thing which others might dub Christianisation. The pragmatic views expressed by Cusack and adopted by Geake and others are also adopted in this thesis. Therefore, in what follows, the terms 'conversion' and 'Christianisation' are used interchangeably and where more subtle definitions are required they are elucidated in the text.

Studying Conversion

Since the nineteenth century, studies of Christian missionary activity, both historical and contemporary, have become increasingly secularised and academic in their nature. A number of different approaches to the subject have been developed in that time and, as Cusack states, 'the missionary historian should ideally be to some extent a social, political and economic historian; a geographer, ethnologist and historian of religions; as well as a Christian historian in the more usual sense' (Cusack 1998, 2). Cusack's list could be expanded further:

'anthropologist' is noticeably absent from her prescribed specialisms, as, indeed, is 'archaeologist'.

The last few decades have seen a number of publications provide a broad range of studies of Christianisation drawn from around the world and from throughout history. Examples include the Christianisation of the Classical World (e.g. Frend 1984; Lane-Fox 1986; Brown 2003; Mills and Grafton 2003a), medieval Europe (e.g. Parsons 1983; Crawford 1988; Mayr-Harting 1991; Russell 1994; Cusack 1998; Wood 2001), Scandinavia (e.g. Sawyer *et al.* 1987; Vésteinsson 2000; Brink 2004), the New World (e.g. Traboulay 1994; Mills and Grafton 2003b), Russia (e.g. Hamant 1992), Africa (e.g. Finneran 2002) and the Colonies (e.g. Neill 1986). Other publications have examined methodological aspects of the study of conversion or have presented an eclectic mixture of loosely linked conference papers (e.g. Cuming 1970; Hofstra *et al.* 1995; Armstrong and Wood 2000; Holtrop and McLeod 2000). In the last ten years a particular interest has been taken in the Christianisation of Western Europe and Britain, precipitated by the 1,400th anniversary of Augustine's arrival in Kent in 597 and the impending arrival of the third Christian millennium (e.g. Dales 1997; Fletcher 1997; Gameson 1999a; Carver 2003).

The range of approaches to the study of conversion presented in publications such as these is very broad, encompassing historical, theological, psychological, sociological, archaeological and literary methods. With so many historical instances of conversion so widely separated by space and time and such a large number of specialised approaches, it is clear that no single methodology is ever going to be able to address the subject of conversion in its entirety. Such compartmentalised study has inevitably led to criticism of rival approaches: for example, sociological approaches to the study of conversion have been criticised for taking too materialistic an approach to the subject and neglecting its cerebral aspects; psychological approaches, on the other hand, have been criticised for doing exactly the opposite (Cusack 1998, 2–8). Anthropological and ethnographic studies of religious conversion abound, but have been similarly criticised for their concentration upon the social and material aspects of the process (Cusack 1998, 8–15). Ultimately, each approach to conversion can only address an aspect of the whole and studies must be combined to create a clearer understanding.

The Conversion Process

When considering the conversion process it is important to consider how one decides upon the point at which conversion might be considered to have been achieved (Sawyer *et al.* 1987, 1). There are no easy answers to this question and, as Edwards has observed, a great deal of uncertainty remains about the conversion process, what it entailed and how it was made manifest (Edwards 2005, 119). Studies such as those of Cusack (1998, 175–9), Higham (1997) and Wood (2001) have highlighted the 'top-down' nature of the conversion processes enacted in western Europe. That is to say, the missionaries in question targeted the ruler of any given society and, once the individual ruler had converted, other people would follow suit. As will become apparent later in this chapter and throughout the next, the historical sources would have us believe that this was the model to which the Roman missionaries worked when they evangelised the kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England. Certainly there were a number of political and social benefits which Christianity would have afforded an Anglo-Saxon king, among them greater integration with the powerful political entities of mainland Europe, but some commentators have gone so far as to deny that conversion had any religious motivation at all, considering it an entirely political gesture (e.g. Chaney 1970; Higham 1997; Urbanczyk 1998; Yorke 2003). From the missionaries' point of view kings would have been powerful allies, but this 'top-down' model is only one part of the wider conversion process, which began before any direct missionary approaches were made, continued long after they had occurred and affected all tiers of society.

In his work on the conversion of Norway, published in 1973, Birkeli divided the conversion process into three distinct phases. The first of these was 'infiltration', which comprised a period of time during which a given people might become passively acquainted with Christianity through cultural or economic contacts. Second was the 'mission' phase, during which Christianity was actively introduced to the population by missionaries and the adoption of Christianity effected. This was followed by the third, 'institution', phase, which saw the establishment of an ecclesiastical infrastructure and the foundation of churches (cited in Lager 2003, 497). Birkeli's three-phase model was echoed by Foote (1993), who was also working on Scandinavian material and who argued for three

similar phases of conversion. Foote's equivalent of the 'infiltration' phase was the 'familiarisation' phase, which included the same passive contacts with Christianity, but which also encompassed Birkeli's more active 'mission' phase (Foote 1993, 137). Secondly, Foote highlighted the 'conversion moment' itself, perhaps marked by the ruler of a society changing beliefs and declaring their people Christian. This is the point of the process most closely identified with the 'top-down' model of conversion. Thirdly, Foote identified a subsequent period of consolidation, akin to Birkeli's 'institution' phase, which, Foote argued, might be said to have ended when metropolitan bishoprics were established (Foote 1993, 137).

A phased interpretation of the conversion process is also supported by Insoll, who argues that the initial stages of the 'institution/consolidation' period advocated by Birkeli and Foote should be divided into three sub-phases. The first of these was the 'inclusion' period, during which the new religion becomes as integrated into the existing social and religious infrastructures as possible. Second came an 'identification' period, during which the population begin to identify and realign themselves with the teachings of the new religion. Finally, there was a 'displacement' period, during which the new religion successfully ousts the old and proceeds to build infrastructures of its own (Insoll 2001).

Conversion can, therefore, be argued to be a multi-phased process which takes time, sometimes a considerable length of time (Morris 1989, 46–92; Jolly 1996). This is rather at odds with the accounts of conversion given by the historical sources, which have led to most studies of conversions focusing on the 'conversion moment' itself (Foote 1993, 137; Urbanczyk 1998, 129). Christianity is a religion of the book and therefore conversion often brought literacy with it, facilitating the creation of a number of pertinent historical sources in the process (Jesch 2004, 55). Of course, in many instances these records were not contemporary accounts and, even if they were, such sources are inevitably biased towards both Christians and the upper echelons of society. Studies of Anglo-Saxon England are no exception to this trend, largely because Bede's account of the conversion of the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms concentrates heavily on the role played by the Anglo-Saxon kings in furthering the cause of the church (see Chapter Four). Kilbride has argued that concentration on the role of the ruler draws attention away from the importance of missionaries and their like and he

suggests that in extreme cases the impression can be given that the clerics rested easy once the king had been converted (Kilbride 2000).

The picture of conversion most often presented is, therefore, one of changing beliefs among the upper classes which often gives no account of the drawn-out, multi-phased process of conversion which might have affected the vast majority of the population. This is largely the result of relying on historical sources. By contrast, although it is very difficult to recognise the actions of specific individuals in the archaeological record, one of the great strengths of studying archaeological remains is the fact that it is possible to see the material traces of wide-scale social changes very clearly. As Greene states, 'the testimony of the archaeological record is capable of being particularly vivid at times of rapid and dramatic social and political change' (Greene 2001, 4). How, then, might archaeology be brought to bear on the study of the conversion process?

The Archaeology of Conversion

The concept of the 'numinous', that part of religious belief which is entirely in the mind, was discussed in the previous chapter, where it was concluded that we must accept that that part of religion lies beyond the limits of our knowledge. Similarly, at its most fundamental level religious conversion is also 'all in the mind', the personal experience of discarding one set of religious beliefs in favour of another being an essentially private affair. We must therefore accept that we cannot hope to understand fully the motivations of those who converted, be they political or religious. Even the contemporary documents and early historical accounts struggle to express this aspect of conversion, for unless they were penned by the individual or individuals concerned it is impossible for them to capture the innermost thoughts of those converted.

Yet, as was also argued previously, it *is* possible, despite difficulties, to recognise some material traces of religiously motivated acts in the archaeological record. Indeed, Carver has argued that the archaeological study of material remains is the *only* viable option available to us when attempting to understand the process of conversion and gauge its progress (Carver 1998a, 12). Material culture, unlike documentary sources, was intentionally created and used by both pagans and Christians and therefore provides evidence for the periods both before and

after conversion. We must also be able to examine these same material remains for signs of change which might indicate religious conversion (Insoll 2001, 19; Lane 2001, 150).

In a related argument, Carver also claims that the conversion process is only visible in a small part of the archaeological record; specifically, that part whose creation is high in investment and monumental in its function (Carver 1998a, 11–12). In essence, Carver's argument is the archaeological equivalent of historians' concentration on the elites within society, and it would appear that his assertions are too narrowly focused. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the notion of religion being visible only in certain aspects of the archaeological record contradicts the stance taken by the likes of Renfrew and Insoll, both of whom convincingly argue that religion, and therefore religious change, has the potential to be reflected in all aspects of the material culture of any given society (e.g. Renfrew 1994b; Insoll 2004a). Roesdahl is in no doubt that the conversion of the various Scandinavian countries had a great effect on the material expression of religious beliefs, making the process particularly visible in, amongst other things, changing burial customs, burial memorials, changes in iconography and the introduction of churches (Roesdahl 1987, 2).

The search for archaeological traces of conversion should not, however, be limited to individual artefacts and features; we must also look to the wider landscape, for, as Carver also notes, 'the documented conversion was coincident with a radical reorganisation of the way that agricultural resources were exploited and people lived' (Carver 1998a, 19). That is to say, it is possible to chart the progress of the conversion not only in material artefacts, but also by examining wider changes which occurred in the landscape. This notion has recently been developed by Turner, who has examined the changing conversion-period landscapes of Cornwall and Wessex with a view to understanding the effects that the development of an ecclesiastical framework had on the existing landscape (Turner 2003; 2006).

In accepting that it is possible to identify and study the conversion process archaeologically a significant and very positive step is taken towards beginning this investigation of the conversion of East Anglia. A broad range of archaeological material is examined in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight, where the evidence

for the East Anglian conversion offered by churches, churchyards, cemeteries, burials and iconographic artefacts is examined and synthesised. Before that journey can truly begin, however, final consideration needs to be given to the usefulness or otherwise to such a study of the many other conversions which have occurred around the world and throughout history.

The Use of Analogy

In discussing the spread of Islam, Insoll describes it as a set of fundamental religious beliefs which have been adapted and interpreted within different cultural contexts around the world. This has ultimately resulted in a diverse range of practices, cultures and material manifestations, all of which, however different, are still considered to be Muslim (Insoll 1999a, 1). His observations are equally applicable to any of the major world religions and Christianity is no exception. As Hill has observed, 'no religion has ever written its creed upon a blank page of human history' (Hill 1974, 14–15) and, in its long history, Christianity has demonstrated a remarkable ability to take on different cultural shadings as different peoples have adapted it to their different world-views (Sawyer *et al.* 1987, 1; Hefner 1993, 5). As a result of this adaptation there is no universal set of Christian ideals or practices, for in every instance of conversion these varied in response to the nature of the converting population. During the course of conversion many compromises were made with existing beliefs and many existing practices integrated and adapted to suit the new religion (Pluskowski and Patrick 2003). As has been argued by Russell, throughout first-millennium western Europe this meant that as the Germanic peoples gradually became Christian, their versions of Christianity became progressively more Germanic (Russell 1994). One way in which such amalgamations might be signalled materially is via syncretic artworks in which local artistic styles are used to depict Christian iconography, a phenomenon recognised throughout the Christian world (Figure 3.2; Lane 2001, 168). Another indication might be the appropriation of existing religious festivals or deities, such as the adoption of the name of the Anglo-Saxon goddess Eostre for the Christian festival of Easter (Mayr-Harting 1991, 22).

Figure 3.2. A syncretic fusion of Aztec art and Christian iconography, *c.*1600 (Wake 2002, fig. 322).

It is tempting, given the numerous studies of conversion which cover such broad historical and geographical ranges, to compare one conversion to another in an attempt to find analogies and identify universal patterns in the conversion process. From the preceding discussion it is clear that this cannot be done. The highly adaptive nature of Christianity, which maps itself onto the existing social and economic structures of the converted society and which absorbs aspects of existing cultures, means that no two conversion processes will follow the same path or have the same result: Urbanczyk argues that there are many Christianities, rather than one single Christianity (Urbanczyk 1988, 129). Although these

different Christianities are linked by overarching beliefs, the fundamental differences between them mean that the conversion of a people from one place and time cannot be used as an analogy to explain the circumstances of the conversion of a different people in another place and time, in much the same way that the Icelandic sagas or the writings of Tacitus cannot readily be used to understand the religion of Early Saxon England (Higham 1997, 7–8; *cf.* Hodder 1982, 11–27).

Scholars of conversion have long been aware of this variation and the difficulties it presents (e.g. Wood 1993, 305; Mayr-Harting 1994). Within the context of the conversion of the Scandinavians, Roesdahl was at pains to remind us that Scandinavia comprised a number of different kingdoms, each with different religions, languages and cultures, and that its various regions were exposed to Christianity at different times (Roesdahl 1987, 2–3). The highly regionalised nature of this area, she argued, requires that the conversion of each kingdom must be studied individually in order to be properly understood, meaning that one cannot readily talk of a 'Scandinavian conversion'. Similarly, Staecker compared the conversions of three adjacent peoples in the Schleswig-Holstein region of northern Germany – the Saxons, the West Slavs and the Danes – and concluded that, despite their geographical closeness, each region saw a different conversion strategy employed which was dependant upon the local circumstances (Staecker 2000). Cusack attempted to develop a theory of conversion which might apply to the Germanic peoples of early medieval Europe via a comparative study of the Goths, Franks, Anglo-Saxons, continental Saxons, Scandinavians and Icelanders, but was eventually forced to conclude that each conversion was very different and could only be understood individually (Cusack 1998, 30–62, 173–80).

Closer to home, a strong reminder that different versions of Christianity existed alongside one another is recorded in the pages of Bede. Well into the seventh century there were distinct differences between the Irish, British and Roman churches which indicate that, although all were Christian, there was no uniform version of Christianity in the British Isles. The Synod of Whitby (664), at which various ecclesiastical differences, including disagreements about the manner of calculating Easter and the correct form of tonsure, were argued out between

adherents of the Irish and Roman churches, is a testament to the strength of feeling on both sides and demonstrates that, occasionally, steps were taken to unify some of the divergent branches of Christianity (*HE* III,25; Mayr-Harting 1991, 103–13).

As there is no uniform type of Christianity every conversion is unique, being shaped by any number of factors including the missionaries' own brand of Christianity, the nature of the society being converted and the various local practices which were rejected by or adapted into the emerging Christian doctrine. Therefore, while all of the conversions to which this chapter refers took place under the nominal banner of Christianity, realistically each can only be studied and appreciated within its own, highly regionalised terms. In fact, once the extent of the potential for local variation is accepted, a lot of the difficulties encountered in the traditional attempts to understand conversion can be explained. For example, much discussion has centred upon explaining why the conversion to Christianity in the Frankish kingdoms coincided with the *origin* of the practice of richly furnishing burials, while in Anglo-Saxon England it was associated with the *waning* of the practice (e.g. James 1979; 1989; Halsall 1995; Young 1999; Effros 2002; 2003). Under the terms discussed here it should come as no great surprise that two different peoples should respond to conversion in two different ways; indeed, it would be surprising if they responded in the same way, although even if this were the case then no analogous link could or should be made between them.

The attempt to understand the conversion of East Anglia presented in this thesis therefore focuses on the evidence that survives from East Anglia itself and interprets that material within its own, regional frame of reference. Whilst not denying the occasional usefulness of looking to other episodes of conversion in order to assist and inspire interpretation, one should not expect to find the answers to any particular East Anglian questions anywhere but in East Anglia. Consequently, it is only a detailed analysis of the historical and archaeological evidence from Anglo-Saxon East Anglia itself that will provide the answers that this thesis is seeking. With these theoretical and methodological concerns in mind, we now turn to examine the mechanism by which Christianity came to England – Augustine's mission to Kent in the late sixth century, the first part of the process which ultimately led to the conversion of East Anglia.

The Gregorian Mission to the English

The arrival in Kent in 597 of the Roman mission, initiated by Pope Gregory the Great and led by the monk Augustine, is traditionally taken to mark the beginning of the conversion of the English. Bede has much to say on the subject of Augustine's mission, but his version of events is based on incomplete sources and subject to all of the usual forms of historical bias (see Chapter Four). Therefore, the accounts of Augustine's mission which historians derive from Bede are similarly flawed. Of greater use are the primary sources offered by the *Registrum epistularum* of Pope Gregory, from which numerous letters elucidate Gregory's motivation for sending Augustine's mission to the English, the manner in which the mission was executed and the ways in which the Pope built upon its initial successes.

Pope Gregory the Great

It is clear from the writings of Bede and others that the English considered Pope Gregory to be the founder of their church, for Gregory had taken a personal interest in their conversion and had dispatched Augustine's mission to undertake the task (Gameson 1999b, 3; Ortenberg 1999, 31–5). Bede devoted one of the longest chapters of the *HE* to Gregory and placed it prominently at the beginning of Book Two. He says of Gregory that 'we can and should by rights call him our apostle' (*HE* II,1); similar sentiments were expressed by the anonymous Whitby author of the earliest life of Gregory, who described him as 'this apostolic saint of ours' (Colgrave 1968, 81–3). The explanation offered by the anonymous Whitby life for Gregory's interest in converting the English, one later reiterated by Bede, begins with Gregory's encounter with some Anglo-Saxon slaves in a Roman market place while he was a monk:

> When he heard of their arrival he was eager to see them; being prompted by a fortunate intuition, being puzzled by their new and unusual appearance, and, above all, being inspired by God, he received them and asked what race they belonged to. (Now some say they were beautiful boys, while others say that they were curly-haired,

handsome youths.) They answered, "The people we belong to are called Angles." "Angels of God," he replied. Then he asked further, "What is the name of the king of that people?" They said, "Ælli," whereupon he said, "Alleluia, God's praise must be heard there." Then he asked the name of their own tribe, to which they answered, "Deire," and he replied, "They shall flee from the wrath of God to the faith." (Colgrave 1968, 91)

Bede also tells a version of this story, cautiously attributing it to the 'tradition of our forefathers' (*HE* II,1). The Whitby life records that Gregory then asked Pope Benedict (d. 579) to be allowed to lead a mission to the English himself, a request which was granted; however, the people of Rome objected so strongly to his leaving that he was recalled only three days into his journey (Colgrave 1968, 91–3). Again, Bede tells a similar, but less detailed, version of the tale (*HE* II,1). Gregory was eventually elected to the pontificate in 590, but a further six years passed before he finally initiated Augustine's mission to convert the English (Colgrave 1968, 23–4).

Of course, the conversion of the English for which Bede revered Gregory was only one small aspect of Gregory's papal missionary endeavours. Gregory's letters indicate that he took a broad and frequent interest in furthering the boundaries of western Christendom both in order to emphasise his position as patriarch of the West and because he believed that the end of the world was immanent and his Church needed converts to show the Lord on the Day of Judgement (Markus 1999; Martyn 2004, 47–50). Gregory was responsible for a mission to Sardinia in 594 and was actively engaged in evangelising the kingdoms of Gaul from 595 onwards, reforming and expanding the existing Frankish Church (Colgrave 1968, 24–5; Markus 1997, 163–77; Cusack 1998, 63–87; Martyn 2004, 50–8). It is, however, the part which Gregory played in the conversion of the English which concerns us here.

Both the Whitby life and Bede's *HE* are eighth-century sources written in northern England and neither should be expected to present an accurate account of Gregory's late sixth-century actions and motives in Rome (Meyvaert 1964, 7). Unlike the author of the Whitby life, Bede did draw upon several letters written by

Gregory which Nothhelm, a priest of the London church, had copied from the papal archives on Bede's behalf (*HE*, Preface). The *Libellus responsionum*, which comprised Gregory's replies to questions from Augustine, was already in circulation and a copy reached Bede independently of the letters brought to him from Rome (Meens 1994, 6–11). Bede quoted extensively from several of Gregory's letters in the *HE* (I,23, I,24, I,27, I,28, I,29, I,30, I,31, I,32), using them to construct his narrative and emphasise – Gameson (1999b) argues overemphasise – Gregory's role in the conversion process. Bede chose his source material well, for the fourteen books of the *Registrum epistularum* of Pope Gregory comprise one of very few primary documentary sources for the conversion of the English, as well as for many other aspects of western Christendom at that time (Wood 1999, 70–80; Martyn 2004, 18–47). However, it would seem that Bede only received copies of these letters as the *HE* was nearing completion, necessitating last-minute changes to his text (Markus 1963). Nor did he utilise all of the pertinent letters, and the version of events which he constructs from those he did use does not sit comfortably with the fuller picture offered by the *Registrum epistularum* (Markus 1963; Martyn 2004, 58–72). Some thirty of Gregory's letters pertain to the English conversion (Appendix I), and all provide information about the motivation and mechanics of the conversion process (Colgrave 1968, 24–7; Higham 1997, 8–9; Martyn 2004, 47–72).

In 599 Gregory wrote in a letter to the Bishop of Autun that he had decided to send a mission to the English 'after long thought' (Martyn 2004, 9.223), although he does not specify how long the idea had been in his mind. If the story of the slaves in the market place is to be believed, then the idea of an English mission pre-dated Gregory's papacy by some twenty years, but this would appear not to have been the case. In September 595, barely six months before the English mission departed, Gregory issued instructions to Candidus that a number of English slave-boys should be bought so that they might be trained in monasteries and presumably thence serve as important members of any subsequent mission to the English (Martyn 2004, 6.10). It is possible that this instruction represents the kernel of truth behind the episode of slave-related papal punning described above, in which case the notion that the mission had been many years in the planning is unfounded (Markus 1963, 29–30; Mayr-Harting 1991, 57–9; Logan 2002, 51).

Indeed, contrary to the pictures painted by the anonymous monk of Whitby and by Bede, there is evidence to suggest that the conversion of the English was not solely the result of Gregory's papal ambition. In a letter of July 596, addressed to the Frankish Kings Theoderic and Theodebert and sent with Augustine's mission, Gregory wrote that 'it has come to our attention that the people of England earnestly desire to be converted to the Christian faith … but that the priests from nearby neglect them' (Martyn 2004, 6.51). He repeats this assertion in a letter to Brunhilde, Queen of the Franks, which was also sent with Augustine (Martyn 2004, 6.60). In neither letter does Gregory state whence this English request had come, nor name the neglectful nearby priests, although the request may have come from the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent (see below) and Gregory could have been referring to the Irish, British or Frankish clergy.

The nature of the surviving evidence and the emphasis which Bede later placed on Gregory's part in the conversion of the English has meant that Augustine's own role has been very much overshadowed (Gameson 1999b; Markus 1999). It is all too easy to forget that once the mission had left Rome, armed with a series of introductory letters, Gregory played a very minor role in the mission to the English, the bulk of the work being done by Augustine and his fellow monks.

Augustine

We know very little about Augustine himself. From Pope Gregory's letters we learn that Augustine had been brought up under a monastic rule and that by 596 he was the prior of Gregory's own monastery of St Andrew in Rome (Martyn 2004, 9.223). The introductory letters which Gregory sent with Augustine often refer to Augustine's earnestness and zeal (Martyn 2004, 6.51, 6.54, 6.55, 6.60) and Gregory later described Augustine as being 'replete with knowledge of Holy Scripture and endowed with good works by the Grace of God' (Martyn 2004, 11.37). Augustine and the monks of his mission left Italy in the spring of 596, but appear to have reached only southern Gaul before the mission faltered and they contemplated returning to Rome (Martyn 2004, 6.55, 6.56, 6.57, 6.59). Augustine returned to Gregory to request the abandonment of the mission, but instead the Pope convinced him of the worthiness of the undertaking and persuaded him to

continue. Tellingly, it was only at this point that Gregory wrote the series of letters addressed to the nobles and ecclesiastics of Gaul who were to aid Augustine's progress, leading some to suggest that Gregory's initial approach to the mission had been poorly conceived and ill prepared (Gameson 1999b, 10). Gregory wrote a letter to Augustine's monks, which Bede quoted in *HE* I,23, in which he admonished them for contemplating abandoning their mission, telling them that it would have been better not to have set off than to have set off and given up. Gregory also instructed them not to let 'the tiresome journey or the tongues of abusive peoples' deter them, and made Augustine their abbot, so that he might command them with authority (Martyn 2004, 6.53). Armed with his new authority and carrying gifts and a sheaf of letters, Augustine set off again.

The names of the Gallic ecclesiastics and Frankish rulers to whom Gregory's letters were addressed suggest the route to England which he envisaged for Augustine, although the actual route taken is not known (Figure 3.4). After sailing from Italy to the south of France the mission passed through Aix, Arles, Vienne, Lyon and Châlons, before turning west to Autun and Tours (Gameson 1999b, 10–12). From Tours the route is even more conjectural, but appears to have taken the mission into north-eastern Gaul, from where it crossed over to England (Martyn 2004, 8.29). This meandering route, the contents of Gregory's letters and the associated gifts emphasise the point that Augustine's mission was not just aimed at the English, but that its progress through Gaul was used to reinforce the papal influence there too and bolster support for the ecclesiastical work being conducted in Gaul by Candidus (Martyn 2004, 6.51, 6.52, 6.54, 6.59, 6.60; Gameson 1999b, 12–14; Wood 1999). Gregory's strategy paid off, at least with some individuals, for in July 599 Gregory bestowed the *pallium* on Bishop Syagrius of Autun in acknowledgement of how 'concerned and devoted and helpful in all ways' he had been to Augustine (Martyn 2004, 9.223, *cf.* 8.4, 9.214). Gregory heaped similar praise on the Frankish Queen Brunhilde, who he thanked deeply for the assistance she had given Augustine, even crediting her with the success of his mission (Martyn 2004, 8.4, 9.214, 11.35, 11.48). The Frankish kings Theoderic, Theodebert and Clothar were also each sent papal letters of thanks (Martyn 2004, 11.47, 11.50, 11.51).
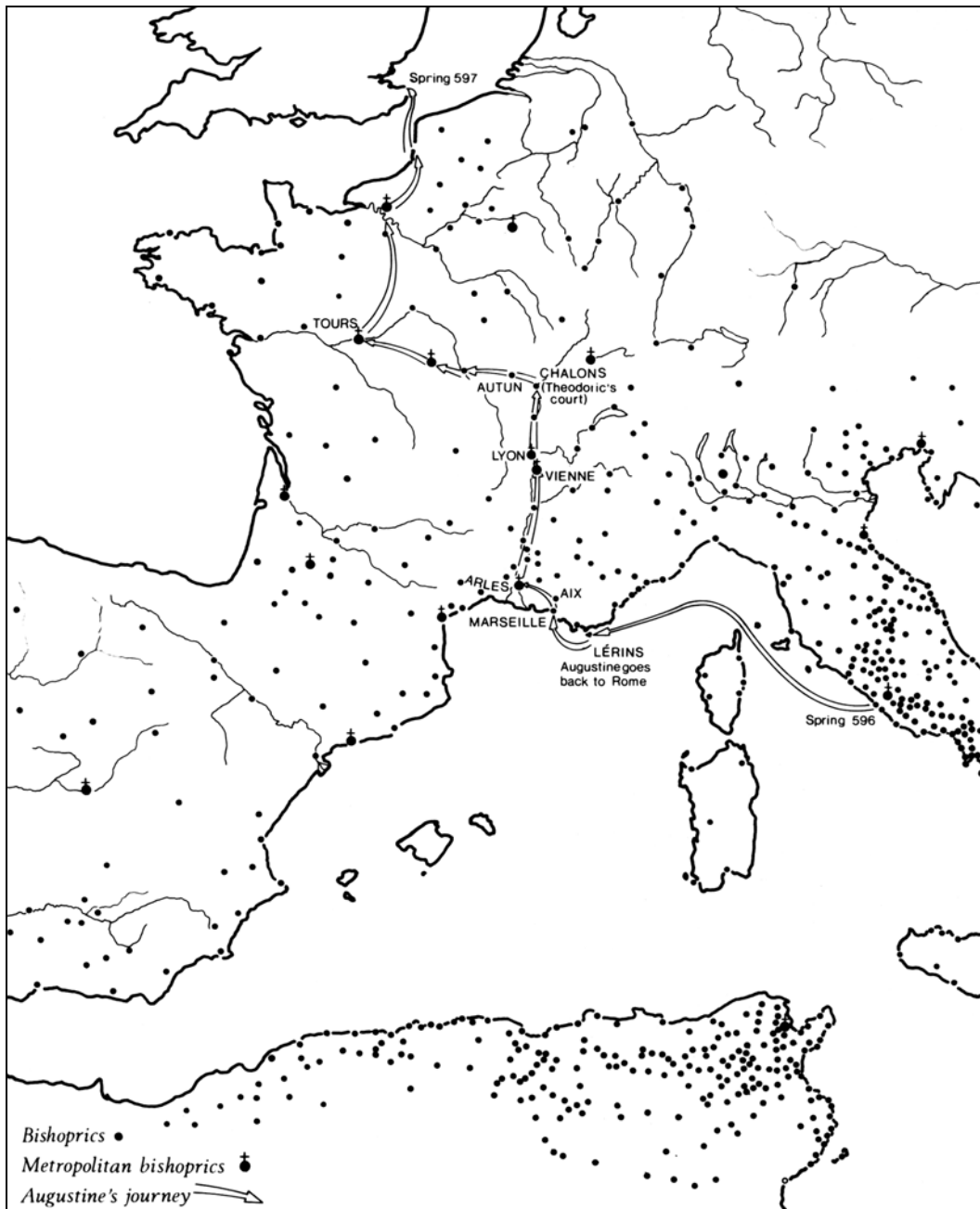
Figure 3.3. Western Christendom *c.*597. Showing bishoprics, metropolitan bishoprics and Augustine's probable route to England (Hill 1981, fig. 237).

Gregory's letters make it clear that he had received written news of Augustine's mission by July 598 and that Augustine had become a bishop by that date (Markus 1963, 24). In a letter to the Bishop of Alexandria Gregory reported on Augustine's consecration by 'the bishops of Germany', a statement which contradicts Bede's later assertion that Augustine had been consecrated at Arles (Martyn 2004, 8.29; *HE* I,27; see Markus 1963, 24–8). In the same letter Gregory also wrote that 'he, or those who crossed over with him, are ablaze with such great

miracles among that same race [the English], that they seem to be imitating the virtues of the apostles with the proofs that they provide. And in the solemnity of our Lord's nativity [Christmas 597] … it was reported that our brother and fellow-bishop baptized more than ten thousand English' (Martyn 2004, 8.29). Here we are afforded a glimpse of the consolidation phase of the conversion process, as Christianity spread throughout the population.

Reinforcements and Instructions

Gregory received more substantive news of the English mission in 601. In both a letter and the opening paragraph of the *Libellus responsionum* Gregory records that a monk called Peter and a priest called Laurence had returned from England with news of and questions from Augustine (Martyn 2004, 8.37, 11.35). Further papal letters indicate that in the summer of 601 a party of monks, led by this same Laurence and also by one abbot Mellitus, was dispatched to England to bolster Augustine's mission (Martyn 2004, 11.34, 11.41). Once again Gregory penned a series of commendatory letters requesting aid for them along their way and the increased number of ecclesiastics and kings that he was able to call upon is an indication of the manner in which the relationship between Gaul and Rome had flourished during the intervening five years (Martyn 2004, 11.34, 11.38, 11.40, 11.41, 11.42, 11.43, 11.46, 11.47, 11.48, 11.49, 11.50, 11.51).

Several letters were addressed to Augustine, in which Gregory outlined his vision for the conversion of the English and the development of an English episcopal structure (Martyn 2004, 11.36, 11.39, 11.56). By the same post Gregory also wrote letters to both King Æthelberht of Kent and his Christian wife Bertha, of whom he had clearly been made aware (Martyn 2004, 11.35, 11.37). Gregory had been an acquaintance of Bertha's mother and it is possible that he knew of Bertha already (Wood 1994, 11). Bertha was a Frank and had been married to Æthelberht for some thirty years, since long before he had become king. Bede later tells us (*HE* I,25) that as a Christian Bertha had been afforded freedom of worship and had been accompanied to Kent by her own bishop, Liudhard. It is therefore possible that Bertha and her entourage were the original source of the English requests for conversion referred to by Gregory, perhaps beginning to make their requests once Æthelberht had come to the throne (Martyn 2004, 6.51,

6.60; Wood 1994, 10–11). Whether directly or indirectly, Bertha's presence at court was doubtless a strong contributory factor to the warmth of the reception which Augustine received and the subsequent rapidity of his success, as was acknowledged by Gregory in his letter to her (Martyn 2004, 11.35).

It is clear from Gregory's letters that he was not familiar with the political situation in England as it stood at the end of the sixth century, and nor should we expect him to have been. In one letter Gregory issued instructions to Augustine regarding how he was to proceed in creating the new English episcopal structure. He was granted permission to ordain twelve bishops who would be subject to his jurisdiction and subsequently subject to the metropolitan bishop of London. A second metropolitan bishopric was to be established in York and its bishop in turn was to ordain twelve bishops to be his subordinates. Whichever of the two metropolitan bishops had been ordained first was to be deemed the senior partner (Martyn 2004, 11.39). This design provides a vivid insight into Gregory's understanding of the geography of Britain, an understanding clearly derived from the political situation as it had been in the days of the Roman Empire, when London and York had been the capitals of *Britannia Superior* and *Inferior* respectively (Wacher 1976, 84). London and York had each sent a bishop to the Council of Arles in 314 and it would appear that Gregory was attempting to recreate this state of affairs via his instructions to Augustine (Miller 1927; Paor 1996, 53–6).

It can be argued that another indication of Gregory's lack of local knowledge is offered by his addressing Æthelberht as King of the English, suggesting that he was also not aware that England at that time comprised a number of independent kingdoms. However, his instruction that Æthelberht should 'hasten to extend the Christian faith among races subject to you' (Martyn 2004, 11.37) might indicate that he understood the situation a little better than he is given credit for. Æthelberht was the over-king of the kingdoms of southern England at the time and therefore did have 'races' subject to him, in the form of subordinate kings. As is explored in the next chapter, Æthelberht's subsequent actions in baptising the kings of Essex and East Anglia demonstrate that he obeyed his instructions from the Pope (Higham 1995, 47–57). Gregory's instructions to Æthelberht continued:

redouble your righteous enthusiasm in their conversion, hunt down the worship of idols, and overturn the building of temples, by encouraging the morality of your subjects with your great purity of life, by terrifying them, by flattering them, by correcting them and by showing them buildings that are examples of good deeds. (Martyn 2004, 11.37)

Bede knew of this letter to Æthelberht, for he included it in the *HE* (I.32), but it seems that he did not know of Gregory's accompanying letter to Bertha, although some have argued that he did and chose to ignore its contents (see Markus 1963, 17–21). In this letter Gregory congratulated Bertha on the part she had played in securing the success of the mission, telling her that news of it had reached Constantinople and implored her to support her husband and Augustine in their efforts to further the Christian cause (Martyn 2004, 11.35).

The mechanism by which the cause was to be furthered was the subject of an additional letter penned by Gregory to Mellitus, dated a month later than those he had sent with the new missionaries and hurriedly sent after the travelling party. Markus (1970) argues that the arrival of the emissaries from England in 601 had precipitated much activity as reinforcements were gathered, numerous letters written and the party quickly dispatched, leaving Gregory to mull over the details of what he had heard about the progress of the English conversion and, apparently, to change his mind as to how best to approach the problem. In this new letter he instructed Mellitus to inform Augustine that the:

temples of the idols among the people ought not to be destroyed at all, but the idols themselves, which are inside them, should be destroyed. Let water be blessed and sprinkled in the same temples, and let altars be constructed and relics placed there. For if those temples have been well constructed, it is necessary that they should be changed from the cult of demons to the worship of the true God. (Martyn 2004, 11.56)

In a similar vein, Gregory went on to explain that the large-scale slaughter of oxen of which he had heard should be recast as a Christian rite and that

religious festivals should be celebrated 'around those churches that have been converted from shrines' (Martyn 2004, 11.56). In writing this letter Gregory overturned the policy of conversion based on royal coercion which he had espoused since the earliest days of his papacy and used to great effect in his dealings with Italians, Sicilians, Sardinians, Corsicans and, initially, the English, suggesting instead a policy based on adaptation and repackaging of existing buildings and practices (Markus 1970, 30; Grinsell 1986; Holtorf 1998). This represented a move away from a more overtly 'top-down' approach to conversion towards a more 'inclusive' method.

As was briefly discussed in the previous chapter, the policy of rededicating pagan shrines and temples as Christian churches espoused by Gregory and repeated by Bede (*HE* I,30) has been the starting point for a considerable number of attempts to understand Early Saxon religion (e.g. Meaney 1985; 1995; Blair 1995). Such material manifestations of the conversion process have been observed throughout the Christian world, usually in the form of Christian crosses added to pre-existing monuments (Grinsell 1986, 33–5; Holtorf 1998). Examples of this kind of rededication are considerably less common in Anglo-Saxon England than in other parts of western Europe, leading to the conclusion that Gregory's ideas were not implemented. Presuming that Mellitus received his new instructions at all, there might be a number of reasons for this. A particular source of discussion is the question of how applicable Gregory's instructions were to sixth-century Kent. In 596 it was apparent that Gregory knew nothing of England and his letters of 601, particularly regarding the new episcopal structure, suggest that he was still largely ignorant of England five years on. We do not know how much Laurence and Peter were able to report back to Gregory about the English and the nature of their pagan rites, temples and shrines during their brief visit to Rome in 601. Some historians, such as Markus (1963) and Wood (2000), presume that Gregory was well informed on the subject and issuing instructions in response to real situations. Others have argued that Gregory's notion of paganism, dominated by idols and temples, was a recurring theme throughout his letters and one drawn straight from the pages of the Old Testament (e.g. Wormald 1978; Evans 1986; Markus 1997; Church in preparation). Therefore, they argue, the imagery he employed should not realistically be expected to bear any resemblance to the

archaeological evidence from Kent or anywhere else in Anglo-Saxon England.

Such is the extent of the evidence for the conversion of the English contained within the letters of Pope Gregory. This discussion has deliberately shied away from relying too heavily on the at times questionable version of events recounted by Bede, preferring instead to focus on the information contained in the primary sources (Markus 1963; Wood 1994). While this inevitably reduces the level of detail of the discussion, it does present an account which is more complete than that presented in the *HE* and, indeed, often contradicts it. Bede's work and his motivation for writing the *HE* are examined in the following chapter, where the subsequent spread of Christianity among the kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England and, in particular, the historical evidence for the conversion of the kingdom of the East Angles are also discussed.

Conclusions

The spread of Christianity throughout western Europe during the first millennium resulted in the conversion of numerous peoples. The expansion of Christianity into the New World and beyond during the second millennium has increased this number further, and missionary activity and conversions continue to occur around the world to this day. We are unable to study the numinous aspect of conversion, that part of the process which is 'all in the mind', archaeologically, and therefore cannot pass much comment on the motivations of the converted. Yet, in the same way as in the previous chapter, it was demonstrated that we are at least able to study the material traces of religious activities, so we can use those traces to identify the process and progress of the conversion to Christianity. In studying conversion we must attempt to reconcile the available historical evidence, with its Christian bias and emphasis on the upper echelons of society, with the body of archaeological, anthropological and sociological evidence which suggests that conversion is a more drawn-out, multi-phased process and one which affects many different tiers of society. The archaeological record is particularly suited to the study of conversion, for its material traces are manifested in a number of different ways and on a number of different scales, ranging from individual artefacts to entire landscapes.

It is not all plain sailing, however, for despite the considerable number of

conversions which have occurred during the last 2,000 years, we must be wary of using analogies drawn from comparative examples in our interpretations. Christianity can be demonstrated to be a highly adaptive religion and one of the keys to its success is the ease with which it moulds itself to the existing social, political, economic and religious structures of the converting society, even going so far as to integrate existing religious practices into its doctrine. Therefore, no two conversions can ever be the same, for in each case the mechanism of the conversion process will vary and the end result will be a uniquely regionalised version of Christianity, tailor-made for the population in question. Consequently, while we may look to comparative examples to inspire our interpretations, we cannot use one conversion as an analogy for another and must instead study each conversion within its own immediate context. This means that the questions posed in this thesis can only be answered by taking a detailed look at the East Anglian historical and material records and letting them tell their story. Ultimately it does not matter if that story contradicts those told of the conversions of other peoples, for there is nothing unexpected or unusual in finding radically different conversion processes affecting even neighbouring peoples in different ways and producing different Christianities as a result.

The primary sources which survive in Gregory's *Registrum epistularum* provide a vivid insight into both the motivation and the mechanics of Augustine's mission and provide our only contemporary accounts of the events which transpired in Kent as a result of Augustine's labours. The actions of the Kentish King Æthelberht as he followed the Pope's instructions resulted in the first official contact between the Roman church and the East Anglian kingdom, culminating in the baptism of King Rædwald. In order to understand Rædwald's situation and examine the ecclesiastical development of his kingdom we must turn away from Gregory's letters and instead look to Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, a source which contains almost all of the historical evidence for the conversion of East Anglia, but which is not without its difficulties.

Part II: Data

Chapter Four: The Historical Sources Examined

'In the beginning was the Word'.

<div align="right">John 1:1</div>

Any attempt to study the history of the East Anglian region during the Anglo-Saxon period is hindered by the fact that little documentary material exists and the handful of sources which are extant provide incomplete and unreliable coverage (Yorke 1990, 58–60). This chapter presents the contents of those sources and examines their provenance, before placing them within their wider context. The majority of what follows is drawn from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (*HE*), so the first part of this chapter comprises an examination of Bede's motivation for writing this work and the sources that he used. The *HE* emphasises the important role that the East Anglian kings played in the Christianisation of the region, and the pertinent events which occurred during their reigns are examined here, introducing other relevant sources where appropriate. The most important step towards the Christianisation of the kingdom was the establishment of the episcopal see, at *Dommoc* in the first instance. The see was later divided and a second bishopric established at Elmham. Debates have raged for a number of years about the locations of *Dommoc* and Elmham; these are considered here, with assessments of the historical and archaeological evidence. The place of missionaries and their monastic houses in the Christianisation process is also addressed. The first to be considered is Fursa, the founder of the unlocated monastery of *Cnobheresburg*; it is argued that the traditional identification of Burgh Castle as the site of *Cnobheresburg* is fundamentally flawed. Secondly, Botolph, founder of the monastery of *Icanho*, is discussed; the site of *Icanho* is easily identifiable, but is not mentioned by Bede.

The Fate of the East Anglian Sources

The dearth of Anglo-Saxon documentary sources pertaining to East Anglia becomes clear when the relatively large quantities of documentation from the other major Anglo-Saxon kingdoms are considered. A graphic representation of this shortfall is conveyed in Figure 4.1, which shows the distribution of places and

areas mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* between 410–949. The major Anglo-Saxon kingdoms also produced ample quantities of other documents, such as genealogies, regnal lists, administrative records and charters. Distribution maps of each of these sources would show a similar dearth of East Anglian material (e.g. Hill 1981, figs 31 and 35). That such manuscripts were widely produced in East Anglia is well evidenced by the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci Auctore Felice*, commissioned by East Anglian King Ælfwald (713–49) and written about 730–40 by Felix, an East Anglian monk of an unspecified house. Although Guthlac was a Mercian saint, the time he spent in the Fens doubtless made him of interest to the East Anglian royal house, and the text of the *Vita* demonstrates that its author was familiar with a wide range of the scholarly texts of the day (Colgrave 1956, 15–9). Indeed, if we accept Newton's arguments, a case can be made for *Beowulf* having been composed in East Anglia during the eighth century (Newton 1993). We must conclude, then, that the current paucity of East Anglian documentary sources is a result of the material not having survived rather than never having existed.

Traditionally this poor survival rate has been attributed to the predations of ninth-century Viking raiders upon most of the region's principal episcopal and monastic institutions (Whitelock 1972, 1; Pestell 2004, 72–6). The Peterborough Manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that in 870 the Danes 'did for all the monasteries to which they came' ('fordiden ealle þa mynstre þa hi to comen'; Plummer and Earle 1898, 71). It also tells how, after the reconquest of the Eastern Danelaw, further incursions occurred during the eleventh century: both Norwich and Thetford were attacked in 1004 and Thetford again in 1010 (Plummer and Earle 1898, 135–6, 140–1). But were the Vikings really the only responsible party? As Campbell notes (1996, 9), the shortage of documents is not confined to the pre-Viking period; the post-Viking period is equally poorly represented, for what must be different reasons.

A contributing factor to the poor survival of post- as well as pre-Viking records may have been a lack of proper curation. By the time of the first of the Viking raids the East Anglian diocese had already been divided into two, as mentioned above, each see presumably producing documents of its own. Of the two bishoprics, only Elmham was re-established after the reconquest and the see subsequently moved to Thetford in 1071/2 and to Norwich around 1095

(Whitelock 1972, 1). We do not know what impact these relocations had on the documentary material, but we do know that once the bishopric made its final move to Norwich very little pre-Conquest material survived in the episcopal archives (Campbell 1996, 9). The suggestion that all pertinent sources were lost is lent further credence by the fact that the post-Conquest historians who dealt with the history of East Anglia all clearly relied upon the same sources that we have now (Yorke 1990, 58).
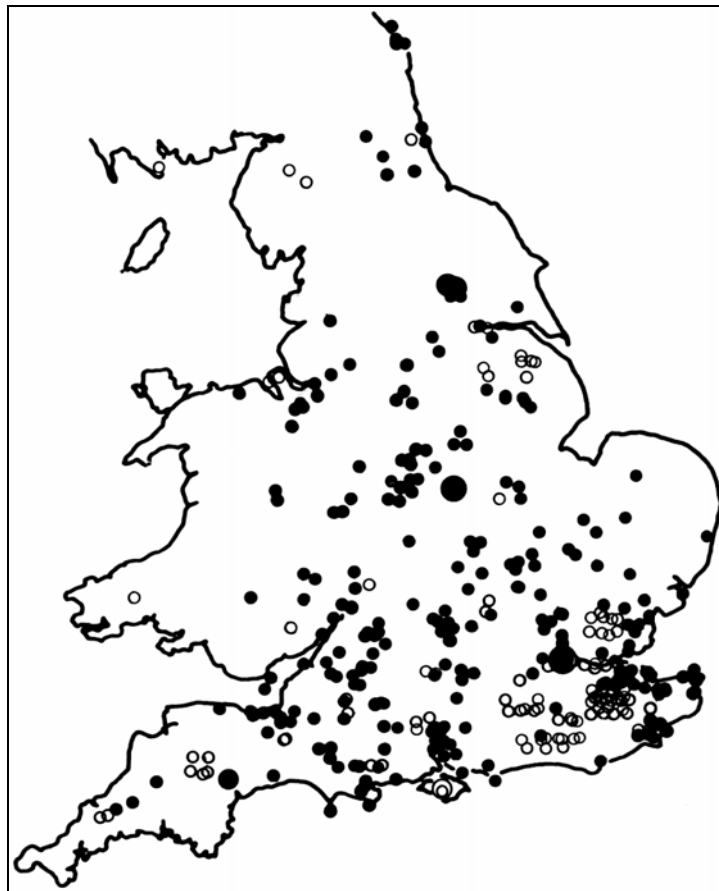
Figure 4.1. Place-names (dots) and area-names (circles) mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* between 410–949 (After Hill 1981, figs 27–9).

This state of affairs only serves to emphasise the importance of the region's rich archaeological record. The majority of the available documentary sources were written in other parts of the country, often much later than the events they describe. Bede's *HE*, for example, was completed in the Northumbrian monastery of Jarrow in 731. Despite this, our reliance upon his work is so great that, as Yorke states, 'without Bede's information we would scarcely be able to attempt the history of the East Anglian kingdom' (Yorke 1990, 58).

Bede and the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*

Bede is widely acknowledged as 'the most learned, voluminous, and influential Latin writer of Anglo-Saxon England' (Ray 2001, 57). Our knowledge of Bede's life is derived from the short autobiographical passage he appended to the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (V,24) and from his pupil Cuthbert's letter conveying details of Bede's death to Cuthwin (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 579–87). From these we learn that Bede was born in the Newcastle-upon-Tyne region in about 673, and was, at the age of seven, placed by his family in the monastery of Wearmouth, itself founded in 674. In 685 the monastery at Jarrow was dedicated, creating a twin institution with Wearmouth, and the young Bede transferred to the new site. Save for short visits within the region towards the end of his life, he remained at Jarrow until his death in 735 at the age of 63. Bede was ordained deacon at nineteen and priest at thirty, although he never became an abbot or a bishop, for by his own admission his greatest delights were 'to learn or to teach or to write' (*HE* V,24). He certainly wrote prolifically, producing biblical commentaries, hagiographies, histories, homilies, liturgical works, and scientific and educational texts, the majority of which he listed at the end of the *HE* (Whiting 1935).

Although in his letter Cuthbert says that Bede continued writing and translating up until his death, the presence and tone of the biographical and bibliographical appendix suggests that Bede was well aware that the *HE* was his greatest work and marked the conclusion to his scholarly endeavours (Blair 1959, 6). The *HE* is now widely recognised as the most important source for early English history; indeed, for much of the history of early England it is the *only* source (Gransden 1974, 17). In the space of five books, totalling barely 85,000 words, Bede told the history of the Church in his own land. After a scene-setting description of the British Isles, he summarised the history of the Roman occupation, their eventual withdrawal and the coming of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, before reaching the beginning of his history with the arrival of Augustine's mission in Kent in 597. The two main themes of the *HE* are the gradual conversion of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms – most often through royal patronage and the establishment of the episcopal sees, depicted as a direct continuation of the work of the apostles (Barnard 1976, 107) – and the unification of different Christian entities into a single whole. Bede describes how the disparate Christian

kingdoms overcame their initial difficulties in sustaining their new faith, eventually becoming united under the Kentish church, and settled many differences with the British church, elements of which were brought into the fold (Markus 1975, 9).

The probable completion date of the *HE* was suggested by Bede himself when he wrote 'this is the state of the whole of Britain at the present time … in the year of our Lord 731' (*HE* V,23). The text gives no indication of the time Bede took to write the *HE*, but it was clearly composed over a period of some years. Bede had been collecting material about Augustine's mission for a considerable time, since he refers to it in his earlier works (Kirby 1992, 2–5). A lengthy composition process is also suggested by a letter which Bede wrote to Albinus, abbot of Canterbury, in which he told Albinus that he was sending him a copy of the *HE*, referring to Albinus' having commissioned him to write it 'long ago' (Kirby 1992, 3). Bede also acknowledged his debt to Albinus in the Preface to the *HE*, where he describes him as his *auctor* (translated by Whitelock (1976, 28) as 'promoter' or 'begetter'), and states that 'it was chiefly through the encouragement of Albinus that I ventured to undertake this work.' Albinus succeeded as abbot of Canterbury in 710, meaning that the *HE* could have been as many as twenty years in the writing.

That Bede, a monk of Northumbria, should have been commissioned, or at least encouraged, to write a history of the English Church by the abbot of Canterbury is an indication that Bede's work was already well known and highly regarded. By the time that he completed the *HE* Bede had been a monk for fifty years and a distinguished scholar for thirty. His earliest known works date to the early eighth century and enjoyed a wide circulation among a network of bishops, abbots and monks. Bede was held in such high regard by these influential readers that they even made enquiries of the man who would become Pope Gregory II on Bede's behalf (Whitelock 1976, 25–7). Bede's work was aided by the fact that he had access to one of the greatest libraries of his day, largely due to the efforts of Abbots Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith. The references contained within Bede's works demonstrate that the library at Wearmouth-Jarrow was one of considerable quality: Laistner (1935) listed over 120 works to which Bede's writing alluded and current estimates place the contents of the eighth-century monastic library at some 200 books (Brown 1996, 3).

However, we must tread carefully when using Bede's work to illuminate our own. Bede's list of his own works emphasises the point that, despite the fact that he is now best known for his *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede was not primarily a historian. Indeed, only two of his works might be considered to be properly historical, the *HE* itself and the *Historia abbatum* (Campbell 1986a, 1), although several others – the *Chronica minora* and *Chronica maiora*, the hagiographical works (four saints' lives and a martyrology), and a work on holy places – might be considered eligible if the criteria are set broadly enough (Ray 1997, 1).

Bede's work was not without precedent. Both national and ecclesiastical history were established genres by his day, although they had both seen a decline in popularity by the eighth century (Markus 1975, 3–6; Barnard 1976, 106). Gregory of Tours had compiled a national history in his late sixth-century *Historia Francorum*, of which Bede had a copy, while Eusebius had presented the history of the Christian church as an international institution in his early fourth-century *Historia Ecclesiastica*, of which Bede possessed Rufinus' Latin translation (Laistner 1935, 263–6). In attempting to do for the Church in England what Eusebius had done for the Church as a whole, Bede combined national and ecclesiastical history to great effect. His emphasis was always on the latter, and for this reason he rarely mentioned secular issues, only including them when they were relevant to his ecclesiastical narrative (Campbell 1986a, 5). Indeed, there are instances where Bede can be shown to have not included material with which we know he was familiar, such as the exclusion of Botolph, discussed in greater detail below.

The *HE* bears a particular resemblance to the Eusebian model in its structure and historical method. Like Eusebius, Bede placed a great emphasis upon the collection of documents, the clear citation of sources and the inclusion of extracts, sometimes lengthy, from original texts (Markus 1975, 3–5; Campbell 1986b, 34). Bede used a great many sources in his work and synthesised them into a 'skilful mosaic' (Meyvaert 1976, 42–3). These are the qualities which have most endeared Bede to modern historians, many of whom see him as a historian in their own image (e.g. Levison 1935; papers in Thompson 1935 and Bonner 1976). This affection has arguably caused many historians to lose sight of the limitations placed on our use of the *HE* by both Bede's motivation for writing it and the sources that he used.

Bede was a theologian and an educator and the dominant purpose of his work was theological instruction (Brown 1996, 1–4). The *HE* was therefore intended not only to record the triumph of the Christian faith in the kingdoms of the English but also to present a model of good Christian conduct designed to illustrate the principles of the faith in which he believed and teach people how to lead good lives (Campbell 1986a, 25; 1986b, 46). Bede was a man 'whose dominant intention was to expound, spread and defend the Christian faith by all the means in his power' (Campbell 1986a, 1); his biblical exegeses were one of the methods by which he achieved this. Cuthbert's letter gives us another insight into his methods when he tells us that at his death Bede was in the process of translating the gospel of St John into English – a feat that remained uncompleted until Wycliffe's work in the fourteenth century (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 582–3). This, then, is the real context within which the *HE* needs to be read: not simply as a historical account in the modern sense, but as a didactic tool written for a specific purpose by the foremost theological scholar of his day.

An additional issue which is also of great importance to our use of the *HE* is the difficulty inherent in assessing the veracity of the material within it. The fact that the *HE* is often our *only* source for much of its content means that what it says cannot be easily corroborated. Indeed, in many instances even Bede himself would have been unable to verify the information he obtained and we can never know the extent to which he edited and amended his source material. Despite this knowledge, however, it is all too easy when reading the *HE* to be lulled into a false sense of security by Bede's measured prose. Many individuals have made this mistake, but that does not mean that the contents of the *HE* should be dismissed out of hand. An understanding of Bede's motives enables his work to be considered in a more reasoned light.

It is clear from the highly regionalised coverage of the *HE* that the information that was available to Bede varied widely in its scope depending on the place from which it had come: as might be expected, Northumbria is particularly well covered, while Mercia is hardly represented at all (Kirby 1966, 342). Consequently, although the *HE* is a masterful synthesis, the end result is a fragmentary patchwork with a strong regional bias. We need to be aware of this bias when considering the East Anglian sources which Bede used.

Bede's East Anglian Sources

Bede's East Anglian sources can be reconstructed with some certainty, for he outlined some of them in the preface and conclusion of the *HE*, as well as occasionally acknowledging his informants in the text. Additional sources can also be inferred. Bede tells us in his preface that much of what he had learned of the Gregorian mission of 597 and the subsequent spread of Christianity came as a result of the academic efforts of Albinus, abbot of the monastery of SS Peter and Paul in Canterbury; Nothhelm, a priest of the London church, acted as their intermediary and subsequently travelled to Rome on Bede's behalf, where he searched the papal archives for copies of letters that had been exchanged during the period of the conversion, extracts of which were copied into the *HE*. Bede also indicates that Albinus and Nothhelm provided him with details of the East Anglian episcopal lists and the division of the East Anglian diocese in the late seventh century, which he included in *HE* III,20 and IV,5. It therefore seems likely that Canterbury was the original source for the passages of the *HE* which recount East Anglian King Rædwald's Kentish baptism (II,15) and Sigeberht's relationship with the Burgundian Bishop Felix (III,18).

Bede is explicit about the provenance of the material which interests us here, explaining that he 'learned the history of the church of East Anglia, partly from the writings or the traditions of men of the past, and partly from the account of the esteemed Abbot Esi' (Preface). The singling out of Esi in this manner suggests that he was the major source for most of the East Anglian material, which in turn indicates that Bede himself had no direct contact with the East Anglian bishops. It is a reasonable assumption that Esi was the abbot of an eighth-century East Anglian monastery, but unfortunately we know nothing more of him (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 6). David Kirby has suggested that Esi may have been the abbot of the unnamed monastery to which Sigeberht eventually retreated and from which he was subsequently dragged against his will into battle (*HE* III,18), a first-hand connection which would certainly account for the details included in Bede's retelling of the episode (Kirby 1966, 361–2).

Bede also referred to East Anglia in *De octo quaestionibus*, a work not listed at the end of the *HE*, which may have been compiled from his writings after his death (Foley and Holder 1999, 145–7). He makes reference to an illustration in

'the book which the most reverend and most learned Cuthwine, Bishop of the East Angles, brought with him when he came from Rome to Britain' (Foley and Holder 1999, 151). We know from the surviving episcopal lists that Cuthwine was Bishop of *Dommoc* at some point between 716 and 731 and, as there is no evidence to suggest that Bede ever visited East Anglia, the means by which he obtained the book remain open to conjecture. Whitelock (1976, 30) suggests that Abbot Esi may have brought the book to Northumbria, thus explaining Bede's contact with him. We will never know, but the idea is an attractive one.

Returning to the *HE*, Bede refers to a handful of other sources in the text. In the famous passage in which Bede tells of King Rædwald's two-altared temple (*HE* II,15), he states that 'Ealdwulf, who was ruler of the kingdom [of East Anglia] up to our time, used to declare that the temple lasted until his time and that he saw it when he was a boy.' Bede's tone suggests that, if he had not met Ealdwulf himself, then he had at least met someone who had. Ealdwulf died in 713, eighteen years before the completion of the *HE*, but his link with the Northumbrian royal house, Bede's probable source, can be clearly identified. We are told in *HE* IV,23 that Ealdwulf's mother, Hereswith, was a member of the Northumbrian royal house who had married into the East Anglian Wuffingas dynasty. Bede does not give her husband's name, but he is thought to have been Æthelric, who reigned in East Anglia around 630–40, but about whom little else is known (Stenton 1959, 48–9). Sam Newton (2003, 44) suggests that Æthelric should actually be identified with Ecgric, who, according to Bede, succeeded Sigeberht and was killed alongside him in battle (*HE* III,18). Although Bede has nothing more to say about Ealdwulf, it is possible that the latter supplied details of his royal ancestors, the Wuffingas, stretching back as far as Rædwald.

Bede names further informants in the course of his passage on Æthelthryth, the daughter of the East Anglian King Anna, who became the queen of Ecgfrith of Northumbria before becoming the founding Abbess of Ely in 673 (*HE* IV,19). Bede describes conversations that he had with Bishop Wilfrid about Æthelthryth's life in Northumbria and provides an account of her later life and death at Ely in 679. Sixteen years later, in 695, her body was exhumed and found to be incorrupt, an event about which Bede says 'more certain proof is given by a doctor named Cynefrith, who was present at her deathbed and at her elevation

from the tomb' (*HE* IV,19). A long passage written by Cynefrith is quoted verbatim, and we can assume that much of the rest of passages IV,4 and IV,19 was drawn from material also provided by him. Wallace-Hadrill (1988, 159–60) suggests that Bede was also working from an Ely Life of Æthelthryth.

Another East Anglian source is acknowledged by Bede in his account of Fursa, the Irish missionary who founded a monastery in the kingdom in the early 630s. He states that 'an aged brother is still living in our monastery who is wont to relate that a most truthful and pious man told him that he had seen Fursa himself in the kingdom of East Angles' (*HE* III,19). As provenance goes, this is rather tenuous (arguably bordering on gossip), but in this instance Bede is only using the connection to lend credence to his outline of Fursa's career. Bede had access to a copy of the anonymous *Vita Sancti Fursei* which he incorporated into the *HE*, embellishing it in places with information derived from his other sources. It may be that Bede was introduced to this *Vita* by Abbot Esi (Kirby 1966, 361–2). The extent to which he quoted from it is highlighted in Plummer's edition of the *HE* (1896, 163–8); comparison with the earliest *Vita Sancti Fursei* published by Krusch (1902, 434–49), thought to date to the early seventh century, demonstrates it to be either a close copy of the version in Bede's possession or, more probably, identical to it (Bieler 1976, 222–3).

In addition to the overtly acknowledged sources, it is also possible to offer some other, conjectural, sources for Bede's East Anglian material. There were a number of connections between the East Anglian and Northumbrian royal dynasties, some of which have already been referred to, and consequently Bede would have been able to use his Northumbrian material to reconstruct parts of the East Anglian chronological framework. Most notably, Rædwald had protected the Northumbrian Edwin during the period of his exile and helped to deliver his kingdom in the Battle of the River Idle in 617 (*HE* II,12). Once installed as king, Edwin was subsequently responsible for the conversion of Rædwald's son Eorpwald, then king of East Anglia around 625 (*HE* II,15). Doubtless details of these events were preserved in the Northumbrian traditions with which Bede would have been familiar. On a less positive note, Bede was also aware that Æthelhere of East Anglia had fought alongside Penda of Mercia against the Northumbrian King Oswiu at the battle of Winwæd in 655. He even names

Æthelhere as the cause of the war, although he does not elaborate, and records that he was killed in the conflict (*HE* III,24 and V,24).

Bede also records two kingly baptisms that took place in East Anglia. The first is that of Cenwealh of Wessex, who spent three years exiled in Anna's court around 645–8, where he 'accepted the true faith' (*HE* III,7; Keynes 2001, 512). The second is the baptism of Swithhelm, king of the East Saxons, which was sponsored by Anna's brother and successor Æthelwold. The ceremony was conducted around 661 by the East Saxons' own Bishop Cedd, but actually took place in the royal vill of Rendlesham in south-east Suffolk (*HE* III,22; Newton 2003, 44). The political circumstances surrounding these baptisms are discussed below, but both accounts are likely to be derived from information supplied to Bede by institutions in Wessex and Essex respectively, rather than directly from East Anglian sources. In the case of Swithhelm a further Northumbrian connection is possible, for Cedd was Northumbrian and was instrumental in founding Lastingham, an abbey with which Bede was later in contact (*HE* III,23; Kirby 1966, 347).

It is clear that very little of Bede's East Anglian material was derived from East Anglian sources. Many of the details he provides can be shown to be drawn from Northumbrian traditions, while the traditions of Wessex and Essex also provided him with details. The episcopal lists and an outline diocesan history doubtless came from Canterbury. First-hand accounts were provided by Abbot Esi, who may have told Bede the story of Sigeberht, and King Ealdwulf, who told of Rædwald's temple and provided details of his royal ancestors. The physician Cynefrith, and to a lesser extent Bishop Wilfrid, told Bede the story of Æthelthryth and Ely, while his accounts of Fursa's activities were clearly derived from a copy of the *Life of Fursa* which was in his possession. Bede does not appear to have been in contact with either of the East Anglian bishoprics, presumably the result of their not having responded to his enquiries, as he surely would have made an effort to contact them. Except for the unnamed house of Abbot Esi, none of the region's monastic houses provided him with any information, although Bede was clearly aware of the existence of some of them. Far from providing a comprehensive account of the East Anglian conversion, 'Bede's account of the kingdom is fragmentary, the traditions scattered in time and space' (Kirby 1966, 363).
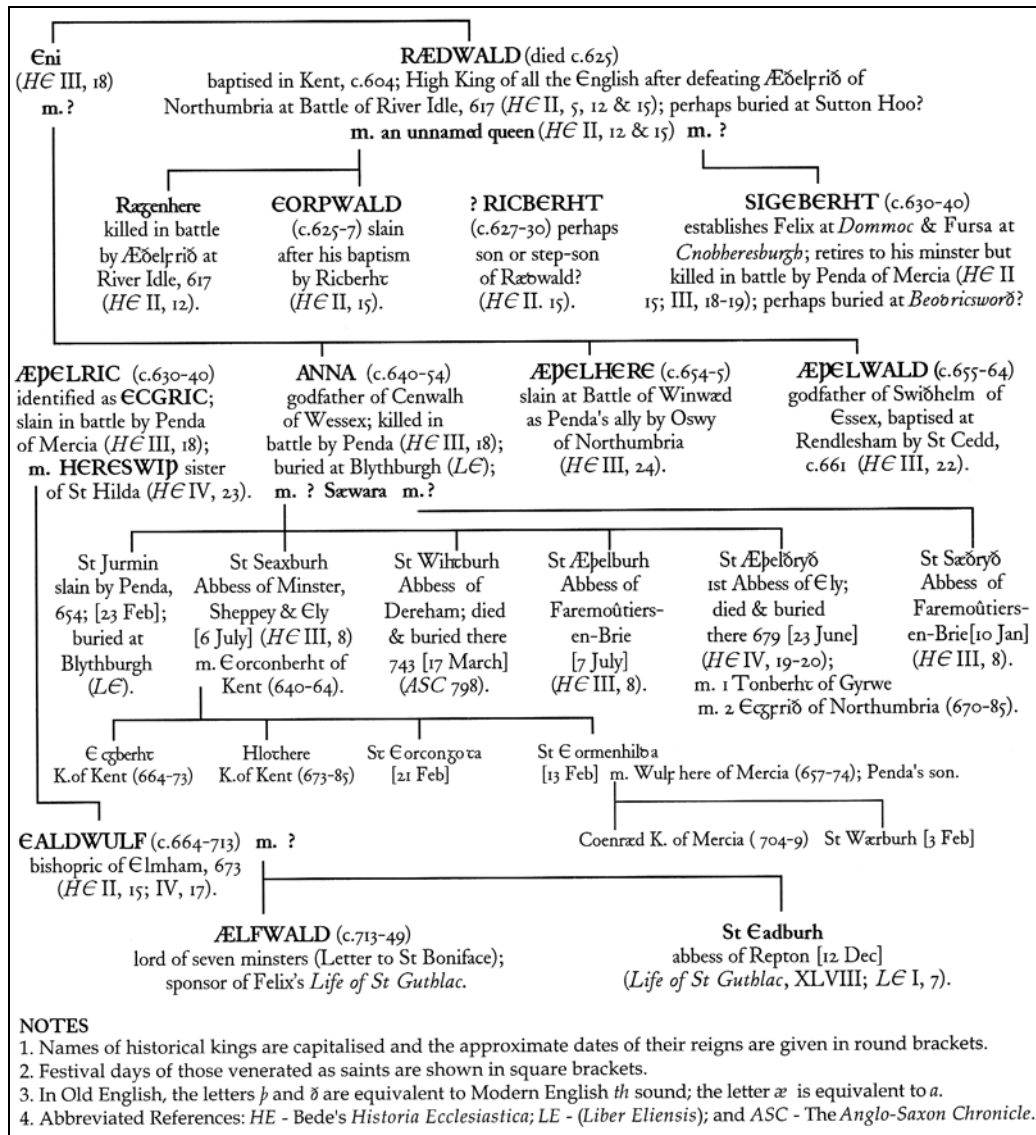
Figure 4.2. An annotated genealogy of the Wuffings, the East Anglian royal dynasty (Newton 2003, 44).

The Kings of East Anglia

The earliest East Anglian regnal list is found in a late eighth-century Mercian collection of royal genealogies (Dumville 1976, 33–4). Bede is our main source for the East Anglian kings, as the narrative of the *HE* is intimately bound up with their affairs. The achievements of each king are examined here chronologically and sources which supplement Bede's work are introduced where appropriate.

Rædwald (Ante 600–c.625)

The first East Anglian king to feature in the historical record as anything more than just a name in a regnal list is Rædwald, who ruled the region in the first

quarter of the seventh century (Figure 4.2; Stenton 1959; Dumville 1976). Rædwald was the first East Anglian king to come into contact with Christianity. This initial contact, and Rædwald's reaction to it, have since made him one of the most widely discussed kings of East Anglia, not least because of his possible connection with the Sutton Hoo ship burial. Despite these credentials, history actually tells us relatively little about Rædwald: Bede refers to him in four passages of the *HE* (II,5, II,12, II,15 and III,18) and he is briefly mentioned in the *Vita Gregorii*, written by an anonymous monk of Whitby in the first or second decade of the eighth century (Colgrave 1968, 99).

Bede tells us that Rædwald was the son of Tytil and the grandson of Wuffa, 'from whom the East Anglian kings are called the Wuffingas' (*HE* II,15). During Bede's account of the conversion of Rædwald's son Eorpwald by Edwin of Northumbria, we are told that Rædwald himself had 'long before been initiated into the mysteries of the Christian faith in Kent' (*HE* II,15). Bede does not give a date for this Kentish baptism, but it must have taken place after the arrival of the Gregorian mission in 597 and the subsequent establishment of the episcopal see of Canterbury, as recounted in *HE* I,25 and I,26. In 601 Pope Gregory the Great wrote a letter to Æthelberht of Kent in which he encouraged him to 'hasten to extend the Christian faith among races subject to you' (Martyn 2004, 11.37). Bede included a version of the letter in *HE* I,32, courtesy of Nothhelm. Æthelberht clearly acted on this papal advice, for in 604 his nephew Sæberht, then king of the East Saxons, was baptised and Mellitus, who had led the second wave of the Gregorian mission in 601, was consecrated Bishop of London (*HE* II,3). This, then, is the context within which Rædwald's own baptism needs to be viewed. Sam Newton (2003, 9–10) dates the episode to around 604 and, although the details of the baptism remain a mystery, he suggests that Æthelberht may have acted as Rædwald's godfather and that Augustine himself may even have conducted the ceremony.

As might be expected, Bede presents Rædwald's baptism as a profoundly spiritual undertaking, but it can also be seen as a political gesture. Although a king in his own right, Rædwald was subordinate to Æthelberht of Kent at the time of his baptism, and his acceptance of the new faith should be seen as a statement of allegiance to Kent as much as a genuine spiritual conversion. This interpretation

is lent credence by the ensuing events, for Rædwald's conversion did not last long. In one of the most famous passages of the *HE* (II,15), we are told that 'on his return home, he was seduced by his wife and by certain evil teachers and perverted from the sincerity of his faith, so that his last state was worse than his first.' Apparently Rædwald's baptism sparked some debate in the East Anglian court, as might well be expected. In all likelihood members of the Gregorian mission had accompanied Rædwald back to East Anglia to help reinforce his new religion and they too may have become embroiled in this debate, along with his unnamed wife and these 'evil teachers' (Newton 2003, 11–2). The situation is analogous to the council meeting held by Edwin of Northumbria after his conversion, in which the pros and cons of the new faith were weighed up. In the East Anglian case, however, the verdict went against the new religion (*HE* II,13).

Ultimately Rædwald's situation was resolved with, in Higham's words, 'a balancing act of some subtlety' (Higham 1995, 190), which allowed both the old and the new gods to be served. As Bede explains, 'he seemed to be serving both Christ and the gods whom he had previously served; in the same temple he had an altar for the Christian sacrifice and another small altar on which to offer victims to devils' (*HE* II,15). This did not sit well with Bede, who branded Rædwald 'noble by birth though ignoble in his deeds'. The temple appears to have survived until at least the late seventh century, for we are told that Ealdwulf remembered seeing it when he was a boy (*HE* II,15; see below).

Was Rædwald really an apostate? Certainly, he did not adhere exclusively to his new faith, but he did not reject it outright either. By balancing the two religions, it could be argued, as Newton (2003) and Kilbride (2000, 5–7) do, that Rædwald considered himself a Christian of sorts. However, there is little wider evidence to suggest that Rædwald became a Christian in anything more than name. During his reign Christianity did not become the sole, or even the dominant, religion of East Anglia and no steps were taken towards developing any kind of diocesan infrastructure. The artefacts and rite employed in his probable burial at Sutton Hoo also displayed a strong pre-Christian imagery, suggesting that those who buried him did not consider him to be truly Christian. Indeed, given Bede's motives for writing the *HE*, it seems incongruous that he should have included the story of Rædwald's apostasy at all. Bede's inclusion of Rædwald's

story can be explained when one considers the role which Rædwald played in protecting and enthroning Edwin, the king who brought Christianity to Bede's native Northumbria.

Bede records that Æthelberht of Kent died in February 616 and describes how Æthelberht had been the third English king to hold *imperium* or overlordship over all of the southern kingdoms (*HE* II,5). He continues 'the fourth was Rædwald, king of the East Angles, who even during the lifetime of Æthelberht was gaining the leadership for his own people'. This sentence has proved difficult to translate, but is now widely taken to mean that while Rædwald remained subordinate to his overlord, he was growing in might even before Æthelberht's death (Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 59, 220–2). Certainly, once Æthelberht was dead, Rædwald emerged from his shadow as one of the most powerful rulers of his day and the rejection of his dead overlord's religion can be seen as a statement of new-found independence. Under his rule, there would have been little to be gained by any of Rædwald's subject-kings pursuing Christianity with any great zeal.

Christian King Æthelberht was succeeded by his unbaptised son Eadbald, under whose rule the kingdom of Kent lapsed from Christianity (*HE* II,5). Eadbald followed the Anglo-Saxon tradition and took his father's wife, making him doubly unholy in the eyes of the church; the practice was the subject of correspondence between Augustine and Gregory the Great (Chaney 1970, 25–8; Martyn 2004, 8.37; *HE* I,27). Sæberht of Essex, whom Æthelberht had baptised in 604, also died around 616 and was survived by his three sons. These sons are also reported to have quickly steered the kingdom back into idolatry, even going so far as to expel the bishop and his retinue from the kingdom (*HE* II,5). At this point the Gregorian mission appears to have lost its impetus.

Meanwhile, in the north, Æthelfrith of Bernicia was growing in might, prompting the appearance of Edwin of Deria at the East Anglian court in the mid-610s. The events of Edwin's stay are recounted in both *HE* II,12 and in the anonymous *Vita Gregorii* (Colgrave 1968, 99). Rædwald was offered money to kill Edwin, but eventually his wife persuaded him not to and in 617 the new overlord and his army marched north to meet Æthelfrith. Battle was joined on the banks of the River Idle, where Rædwald's son Regenhere was killed, along with Æthelfrith. As a result of the victory, Edwin was installed as king of Northumbria and

consequently Edwin would have been indebted to Rædwald, his protector and deliverer, for the rest of his life.

After this episode, Bede tells us nothing more of Rædwald, although once he had made himself over-king of the English kingdoms he appears to have enjoyed a period of political stability, peace and prosperity. In breaking off his narrative at this point Bede also confirms the supposition that Rædwald's story was included because of its importance regarding Edwin. Bede does not tell us when or how Rædwald died, but from other references in the *HE* he is assumed to have died about 625 if not slightly before (Chadwick 1940, 85; Kirby 1991, 66 and 77). As mentioned above, this powerful king has become associated with the high-status ship burial under Mound 1 at Sutton Hoo. Chadwick was the first to consider the identity of the buried individual and concluded that 'all probability is in favour of the great and wealthy high-king Rædwald, who seems to have died about 624–5' (Chadwick 1940, 87), a suggestion echoed in Bruce-Mitford's Sutton Hoo excavation report (1975, 683–717). The significance of Sutton Hoo is considered in later chapters; here, continuing with Bede's account of events, we turn to Rædwald's son Eorpwald.

Eorpwald (c.625–7)

After Rædwald's death his surviving son, Eorpwald, became king of East Anglia (Figure 4.2). We know very little about him, beyond the sparse details that Bede provides. In 627, some time after his investiture and significantly after the death of his overlord and sponsor, Edwin of Northumbria converted to Christianity and, we are told, 'so great was Edwin's devotion to the true worship, that he also persuaded Eorpwald, son of Rædwald and king of the East Angles, to abandon his idolatrous superstitions and, together with his kingdom, to accept the Christian faith and sacraments' (*HE* II,15). By then Edwin had become an overlord in his own right and Eorpwald's acceptance of Christianity needs to be viewed in the same context – a subordinate king accepting his overlord's faith – as both Sæberht and Rædwald's baptisms under Æthelberht.

Again, there is no wider evidence to suggest that the kingdom of East Anglia was converted at this point in anything more than a nominal sense, for we do not hear anything of a developing ecclesiastical infrastructure and Eorpwald's

conversion was, very literally, short-lived. Bede records that 'Eorpwald was killed not long after he had accepted the faith [in 627], by a heathen called Ricberht. Thereupon the kingdom remained in error for three years, until Eorpwald's brother Sigeberht came to the throne' (*HE* II,15). It is not clear whether this should be seen as representing a backlash against Christianity or an unfortunate moment in secular politics. Whether Ricberht ruled the kingdom for the three erroneous years is also unknown. Regardless, in 630 or 631 Sigeberht came to throne, and his accession marked the beginning of the major period of the East Anglian conversion.

Sigeberht (630/1–c.640)

Bede discusses Sigeberht's story twice in the *HE* (II,15 and III,18), which suggests to Kirby (1966, 363) that he may have heard it from two different sources. The first version is included in the passage which describes Rædwald's temple and may well result from information provided by Ealdwulf. The second account may have come from Abbot Esi, again suggesting that it was Esi's unspecified monastery that Sigeberht had founded and ultimately entered. Bede describes Sigeberht as 'a good and religious man' (*HE* III,18) and 'a devout Christian and a very learned man in all respects' (*HE* II,15) and tells us that during his brother's reign Sigeberht had been in exile in Gaul, fleeing from the enmity of Rædwald. The reason for his exile is not disclosed, but the fact that he is described as Eorpwald's brother and not Rædwald's son has led some to suggest that he was actually Rædwald's stepson and consequently out of favour (Figure 4.2; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 266 n.3). Sigeberht had become a Christian while in Gaul and 'as soon as he began to reign he made it his business to see that the whole kingdom shared his faith' (*HE* II,15).

Sigeberht was aided in his efforts by Felix, a Burgundian bishop, who became the first Bishop of the East Angles. The *HE* tells us that Felix was born and consecrated in Burgundy and that, having arrived in Canterbury, he was sent to East Anglia by Archbishop Honorius (*HE* II,15). We learn nothing of his Continental background, although a Bishop Felix is recorded holding the Burgundian see of Châlons in 626/7 and McClure and Collins (1999, 381–2) suggest that he may have become a political exile after the death of Frankish King Chlotar II in 629. Sigeberht and Felix may have previously encountered one

another in Gaul, and it is probable that Honorius sent Felix to East Anglia in response to a request for assistance from Sigeberht. As both men were familiar with the Frankish church and doubtless had languages in common, Felix would have been the obvious candidate to send. Sigeberht was keen to 'imitate some of the excellent institutions which he had seen in Gaul, and established a school where boys could be taught letters' and for this Bishop Felix was able to provide him with 'masters and teachers as in the Kentish school' (*HE* III,18). Further events in Felix's life, along with the foundation of the diocese, are discussed below.

In addition to working with Felix to establish the diocese, Bede records that Sigeberht welcomed at least one missionary, Fursa, to the kingdom and encouraged him to found a monastery at *Cnobheresburg* (*HE* III,19). The nature and location of *Cnobheresburg* are also considered below, but at this point it is worth reiterating that Fursa's missionary activities were by no means unique and it is likely that he was only included in the *HE* because Bede had a convenient source of information in the form of Fursa's *Vita.* We know that there were other missionaries at work in East Anglia who were not included in the *HE*, the most notable being Botolph, whose founding of a monastery at Iken is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for the year 653 (Plummer and Earle 1892, 28–9; see below).

After setting a number of religious developments in motion, Sigeberht wished to pursue holy matters on a more personal level and so 'resigned his kingly office and entrusted it to his kinsman Ecgric, who had previously ruled over a part of the kingdom' (*HE* III,18). Once again, historical details are lacking, but this event presumably occurred in the mid to late 630s and Ecgric is thought to have been Sigeberht's brother. Bede adds nothing about him and there are two main readings of the situation: either Ecgric had ruled during the three 'erroneous' years after Eorpwald's death, before Sigeberht's return from exile, or he had shared in Sigeberht's rule, probably over a subdivision of the East Anglian kingdom. Such arrangements were common in Kent and Northumbria, and it may be that the arrangement was more common in East Anglia than the historical sources suggest (Yorke 1990, 32–9, 74–81). Perhaps here we are being given an early glimpse of the North-folk and the South-folk?

After his abdication Sigeberht 'entered a monastery which he himself had

founded. He received the tonsure and made it his business to fight instead for the heavenly kingdom' (*HE* III,18). We do not know the name of the monastery that Sigeberht founded; a later tradition, interlineated into the twelfth-century *Liber Eliensis*, records that it was *Betrichesworde* (later Bury St Edmunds), but this suggestion is not corroborated in any other sources (Blake 1962, 11; Whitelock 1972, 4; Pestell 1999, 321). Clearly, entering the cloister did not remove Sigeberht from public consciousness, for around 640, when Sigeberht had been in his monastery for 'some considerable time', the East Anglian kingdom was attacked by Penda of Mercia. The East Anglians asked Sigeberht, as their 'most vigorous and distinguished leader', to join the fight as a figurehead, but he refused and in the end was forcibly dragged from his monastery to the battlefield. True to his new vocation, Sigeberht refused to carry anything but a staff into battle and, unsurprisingly, was killed, along with his brother Ecgric and much of the army (*HE* III,18). The location of the battlefield is unknown, although it presumably lay towards the western border of the kingdom. Despite losing the battle, the East Anglian kingdom survived this attack and the two brothers were succeeded by their uncle, Anna, another of Eni's sons and brother or (as is more likely given the timescale) half-brother of Rædwald (Figure 4.2).

Anna (c.640–54)

Bede writes of Anna in approving tones, calling him 'a good man and blessed with a good and saintly family' (*HE* III,7). We are told that Anna added greatly to the endowments of *Cnobheresburg* and presumably to many of the other religious houses that existed at that time (*HE* III,19). After Fursa's death *c.*650, Anna was expelled by the Mercians and *Cnobheresburg* was despoiled (see below). Fursa's work is explored in more detail below, but it is appropriate to consider here the other ways in which Christianity flourished during the reign of Anna, building upon groundwork laid by Sigeberht. Bede records, for instance, that Anna was responsible for the conversion of King Cenwealh of Wessex. Cenwealh had been attacked by Penda of Mercia for slighting his sister, and driven into exile in East Anglia. He stayed at Anna's court for three years, during which time he was converted to Christianity – another example of an exile adopting his protector's faith (*HE* III,7).

We do not hear of any of Anna's other Christian deeds, although there were surely many, but we are told about his daughters, who were equally religious (Figure 4.2). After marriages to Tondberht, an ealdorman of the South Gyrwe (Campbell 1979, 5), and King Ecgfrith of Northumbria, Anna's daughter Æthelthryth entered the monastery at Coldingham around 672, but a year later was appointed the founding abbess of Ely. On her death she was succeeded at Ely by her sister Seaxburh, who had previously been married to King Eorcenberht of Kent (*HE* IV,19). Another of Anna's daughters, Æthelburh, became the abbess of the continental monastery of Faremoutiers-en-Brie, as did her step-sister Sæthryth (*HE* III,8). As his predecessors had been, Anna was killed in battle by Penda in 653 (*HE* III,18; Plummer and Earle 1892, 28–9) and the *Liber Eliensis* records that he was buried at Blythburgh (Blake 1962, 18).

Æthelhere (653–5), Æthelwold (655–64) and Ealdwulf (664–713)

Anna was succeeded by his short-lived brother Æthelhere, who reigned as Penda's client-king (Figure 4.2). He fought alongside Penda at the battle of the Winwæd in 655, where he was killed along with Penda by Oswiu of Northumbria. Bede states that Æthelhere was the cause of the battle, although he does not specify how (*HE* III,24). Æthelhere was succeeded by a second brother, Æthelwold, who, free from Penda's power, continued the Christian traditions of his kinsmen in a reign which lasted until around 664 (Newton 2003, 44). Æthelwold married the Northumbrian princess Hereswith (*HE* IV,23), and also sponsored the baptism of Swithhelm of Essex, which took place at the royal vill of Rendlesham in around 661 and was conducted by Bishop Cedd of the East Saxons (*HE* III,22). Æthelwold was succeeded by his son, Ealdwulf, who enjoyed a long reign between 664–713, which saw the creation of the new diocese of Elmham.

This, then, except for a few incidental details about the episcopal succession and Fursa's monastery at *Cnobheresburg* (both discussed below) is the sum total of Bede's contribution to East Anglian history. Clearly, these brief descriptions do not constitute a comprehensive history and yet many have seen them as sufficiently detailed to negate the need for further research. However, the desirability of more research is highlighted by a reassessment of one of the few original sources for East Anglian ecclesiastical history, Ælfwald's letter to Boniface.

Ælfwald (713–49)

Ælfwald was the son of Ealdwulf and is famed for commissioning one of the earliest English saint's lives, the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, written around 730–40 by Felix, an East Anglian monk of an unspecified house (Figure 4.2; Colgrave 1956, 15–9). Ælfwald is also remembered for the letter that he wrote to Saint Boniface at some point between 742 and 749. Boniface was an Anglo-Saxon missionary, active on the Continent in the first half of the eighth century, and widely known as the Apostle to the Germans (Wood 2004). In response to a request for support from Boniface, Ælfwald wrote to assure him that his name was being remembered *'in septenis monasteriorum nostrorum sinaxis'* and suggested that they exchange the names of their dead, so that mutual prayers could be said (Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 387–8; Tangl 1916, 181–2; Emerton 1940, 149–50). The letter demonstrates Ælfwald's complex grasp of Latin and the phrase quoted above has caused difficulties for those trying to understand the early East Anglian church.

Dorothy Whitelock's view was that the phrase meant that prayers were being said for Boniface in seven East Anglian monasteries (Whitelock 1972, 16–7). Whitelock's reading of 'seven monasteries' has percolated through a number of other works: Williamson (1993, 143–9) cites it; Newton (1993, 134–5; 2003, 44) uses it, citing both Whitelock and Tangl's Latin transcription of the letter; Pestell (2004, 21) also mentions the letter, but although his footnote cites only Tangl it is clear from his mention of seven monasteries that he supports Whitelock's reading. These authors all acknowledge that there must have been more than seven monasteries in East Anglia and are at pains to explain this reference. However, their efforts were unnecessary, since the various pieces of this puzzle have been in print for a long time, although they have only recently been brought together and published by Plunkett (2005, 153). A footnote to the Latin transcription published by Haddan and Stubbs clearly states that the letter actually refers to the seven canonical hours and not seven monasteries (Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 388; Foot 1990, 52). Emerton's 1940 translation renders the problematic sentence thus: 'Your name is to be remembered forever in the seven-fold recitation of the office of our monasteries' (Emerton 1940, 149). Ælfwald was clearly referring to the manner in which Boniface's name and those of others were to be praised during the monastic day and his sentiments echo the canons of the Council of *Clovesho*

(747), with which Boniface was heavily involved (Cubitt 1995, 99–110). Whitelock's mistake has therefore led many writers astray, as anyone who had checked the original text or the existing translations would have soon discovered – an object lesson to us all. Unfortunately, this is not the only instance of a mistaken interpretation becoming an accepted fact, as is made clear in the following examination of the foundation of the East Anglian dioceses.

The East Anglian Dioceses

In 630/1 Sigeberht granted Felix a site for his bishopric at *Dommoc*, where he abided until his death seventeen years later (*HE* II,15). Bede tells us that on Felix's death 'Honorius [the Archbishop of Canterbury] consecrated in his place his deacon named Thomas who belonged to the nation of the Gyrwe. When he died five years afterwards, Honorius put in his place Berhtgisl, also named Boniface, from the kingdom of Kent' (*HE* III,20). *Dommoc* remained the sole East Anglian see under these bishops until around 673, when Boniface's successor Bisi became too infirm to minister to the diocese and Archbishop Theodore consecrated two bishops in his place, thus dividing the diocese. One bishopric continued at *Dommoc* under Æcci, while the other was established under Baduwine (*HE* IV,5). Bede does not name the new see, but evidence from the Council of *Clovesho* identifies it as Elmham (Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 547). This division prevailed until the ninth century, when both dioceses were disrupted by Viking incursions. After the English reconquest of the region in the early tenth century only the see of Elmham was restored, and the new incumbents styled themselves Bishop of the East Angles (Wade-Martins 1980, 3–11).

The lack of surviving East Anglian documents means that the earliest episcopal lists are preserved in a ninth-century Mercian compilation, based upon lists compiled in the last decade of the eighth century (Whitelock 1972, 15, 19–20; Page 1965 and 1966). The details contained within these lists are complemented by a handful of other sources: the Canterbury Bi-Lingual manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 798, which records the death of Bishop Ælfhun at Sudbury, his subsequent burial at *Dommoc* and his succession by Tidfrith (Whitelock *et al.* 1961, 38); a letter written by Alcuin to the East Anglian bishops Alhheard and Tidfrith at the turn of the ninth century (Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 551–2); three other

bishops' professions of faith to the archbishops of Canterbury, which shed a little more light on the episcopal succession (Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 511, 591 and 659); the records of numerous eighth- and ninth-century synods and councils attended by the bishops of *Dommoc* and Elmham; and charters witnessed by various East Anglian bishops. In the latter two cases the bishop's see is not usually named and we can only identify the bishopric to which they belonged by cross-referencing with the surviving episcopal lists (Whitelock 1972, 17–18; Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 360–76, 447–62, 541–8, 579–86, 592–607 and 624–5). As can be seen from Figure 4.3, although we can be reasonably confident of the names of the bishops and their order, a great deal of uncertainty remains about the exact dates of their episcopates.

Bishops of *Dommoc*		
Name	**From**	**Until**
Felix	630x631	647x648
Thomas	647x648	652x653
Berhtgils	652x653	669x670
Bisi	669x670	672x673

Division of the Diocese *c*.673			Bishops of Elmham		
			Name	**From**	**Until**
Æcci	*c*.673	???	Baduwine	*c*.673	693x???
Æscwulf	???	???			
Eardred	???x716	716x???	Nothberht	???x706	716x???
Cuthwine	???	???			
Aldberht	???x731	731x???	Heathulac	???x731	731x???
Ecglaf	???	???	Æthelfrith	736	736x???
Heardwulf	???x747	747x???	Eanfrith	???x758	758x???
Heardred	???x781	789x793	Æthelwulf	???x781	781x???
Ælfhun	789x793	798	Alhheard	???x785	805x???
Tidfrith	798	816x824	Sibba	???x814	816x???
Wærmund	816x824	824x825	Hunferth	816x824	816x824
Wilred	824x825	845x870	Hunberht	???x824	845x???
Æthilwald	845x870	???			

Figure 4.3. The episcopal lists of *Dommoc* and Elmham before the ninth-century disruption of the dioceses (Whitelock 1972, 19–22; Fryde *et al.* 1986, 216).

The last known Bishop of Elmham before the disruption of the dioceses was Hunberht, who attended a meeting in London in November 845 (Whitelock 1972, 22). After this date nothing more is heard of the bishops of Elmham for over

a century. Similarly, the final historically attested Bishop of *Dommoc* was Æthilwald, whose profession of obedience to Archbishop Ceolnoth of Canterbury dates to between 845 and 870 (Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 659–60). This suggests that either or both of the East Anglian bishoprics could have been disrupted as early as 845. However, the Peterborough Manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that in 870 the Danes conquered the region, a much more likely date for, and cause of, the diocesan disruption (Plummer and Earle 1892, 71).

So much for the bishops themselves, but what of their sees? The location of *Dommoc* has never been satisfactorily established. The two main contenders are Dunwich and Walton Castle, both on the Suffolk coast, but as both sites have since been eroded by the sea further archaeological investigations are impossible. Of the two sites, Dunwich is the more popular identification, although a much stronger case can be made for Walton Castle. The location of Elmham is only marginally less problematic: there is a North Elmham in Norfolk and a South Elmham in Suffolk, both of which parishes contain significant ecclesiastical remains (Wade-Martins 1980; Smedley and Owles 1970). Once again, opinion is divided, hence James Campbell's witty summation of the whole matter as an 'East Anglian game of musical *sedes episcopales*' (Campbell 1979, 36 n.6).

'Dommoc'

As has already been noted, the see of *Dommoc* has traditionally been identified with Dunwich: Colgrave and Mynors translated it as Dunwich in their edition of the *HE* (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 191), Dorothy Whitelock supported the identification in her seminal paper on the early East Anglian church (Whitelock 1972, 4), and *Dommoc* is still consistently indexed or translated as Dunwich in many edited sources (e.g. Mynors *et al.* 1998; Preest 2002). The identification continues to be made, despite the fact that Rigold pronounced it to be 'unwarranted' over forty years ago (Rigold 1961, 55). It is reassuring that the accepted truth is gradually being overturned as further research is undertaken. There is now a growing consensus among regional specialists that Walton Castle was actually the site of *Dommoc*: Newton is a staunch advocate (Newton 1993, 134), as is Pestell (1999, 299–305) and this writer is similarly convinced.

The name *Dommoc* only appears in four primary sources. Of these, the

earliest is Bede (*HE* II,15) in which Felix '*accepitque sedem episcopatus in ciuitate Dommoc*' (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 190). The second is the reference in the Peterborough manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 798 concerning Ælfhun's burial at *Domuce* (Rigold 1961, 56). Thirdly, the signatories to the Council of *Clovesho* from 803 include '*Tidfrith Dummucæ civitatis Episcopus*' (Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 547). Finally, the name appears in the ninth-century Bishop Æthilwald's profession of obedience to Archbishop Ceolnoth of Canterbury, in which he is described as '*officium Dommuciæ civitatis*' (Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 659–60).

In each of these instances the true form of the name is shown to be *Dommoc*, *Dommuc, Domoc* or *Dummuc*, a name of probable Romano-British origin which Ekwall (1960, 154) suggests is derived from the Celtic *dubno-* 'deep'. It could even be derived from the Celtic *domnach*, a pre-monastic word for church widely used in Ireland (Rees 2001, 7). Dunwich, on the other hand, is a perfectly intelligible English place-name, perhaps deriving from the Old English *Dun* ('a hill', or the personal name *Dunna*), and -*wic* ('settlement', 'town' or 'port') (Smith 1956, 138–9, 257–63). Place-name specialists, assuming that the identification of Dunwich as *Dommoc* is correct, have been at some pains to explain the transition from one form of the name to the other, attributing the change to 'popular etymology' (Ekwall 1960, 154). However, the *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* now acknowledges that the equation of the two is no longer universally accepted (Watts 2004, 200), and an examination of the medieval usage of the name *Dommoc* suggests the process by which this name became synonymous with Dunwich.

Dunwich is given as *Duneuuic* and *Dunewic* in Domesday Book (LDB f.311v, f.312, f.312v, f.385v) and yet the early spellings of *Dommoc* continued to be employed by post-Conquest medieval chroniclers. In the first quarter of the twelfth century, William of Malmesbury made three references to the see in the *Gesta regum Anglorum*, using *Dammucensis, Dammuensis* and *Dommucensem* respectively (Mynors *et al.* 1998, 122, 534). He also made reference to the see in his *De gestis pontificum Anglorum* in which he used *Dammucensem, Dammucensis, Dommuc, Dommucensis* and *Domuc* (Hamilton 1870, 16, 147, 148). Interestingly, one late twelfth-century manuscript of *De gestis pontificum Anglorum* contains an instance of *Donewyc* for the final *Domoc* and has had the first *Dammucensem* altered to

Donuycensem in a later ink (Hamilton 1870, 148, 16). Stuart Rigold believed that this one copyist's error and subsequent corrections may have been the origin of the 'Dunwich myth' (Rigold 1961, 57; 1974, 97). A survey of the other medieval chroniclers suggests that this 'myth' did not take hold until the fifteenth century, for *Dommoc* and its variants remained in common use throughout the medieval period.

John of Worcester referred to *Dommuc* throughout his *Chronicle* (Darlington and McGurk 1995, 90, 98, 140). Gervase of Canterbury used *Domuicensis* in the thirteenth-century *Gesta regum* (Stubbs 1880, 34), a spelling which Rigold (1961, 57) dubs 'equivocal', for the *i* introduces a *wic*-like sounding element to the name while retaining the *Dom-* prefix. However, Gervase subsequently used *Domoc* twice in the *Actus pontificum*, which suggests that the insertion of the *i* may be a later error (Stubbs 1880, 334, 340). Roger of Wendover used *Dommoc* in his entry for 632 in the *Flores historiarum* and *Domniae* and *Domnoniam* under 870 (Luard 1890, 306, 442). In the *Chronica majora* Matthew Paris used *Dommoc*, *Domne*, *Domucensis* and *Domnoniam* when discussing the years 632, 673, 734 and 870 respectively, and continued in a similar vein throughout (Luard 1872, *passim*). Finally, Bartholomew Cotton, writing in the late thirteenth century, used *Dommoc*, *Domoc, Domocensis* and *Donmoc* (Luard 1859, 387–8).

The partial origin of the 'Dunwich myth' is found in the work of Ranulf Higden. The fourteenth-century manuscript of his *Polychronicon* uses *Donmic*, which later copies render as *Donwik* and *Dunwik* and which Trevisa's English translation eventually gave as *Domnyk*. The anonymous fifteenth-century translation stays faithful to *Donmic*, but later copies of Trevisa's work use *Domynyk* and *Donmik*. It was not until the publication of Caxton's edition of the *Polychronicon* in 1482 that *Donwyck* was first used, although by then an unequivocal identification of *Dommoc* with Dunwich had been made elsewhere (Lumby 1876, 6–7; Rigold 1961, 57).

The first explicit identification of the see of *Dommoc* with Dunwich was made in the early fifteenth century by Thomas of Elmham, a monk of Canterbury. In his *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis* he wrote that Felix '*acceptique sedem episcopatus in civitate Donwichnica, id est, Donwiche*' (Hardwick 1858, 166). It is possible that Thomas hailed from North or South Elmham, and may have simply substituted *Dommoc* for the more familiar (to him) Dunwich as an

independent act of scholarship. Rigold argues that this identification was picked up by Caxton and used in the *Polychronicon*, subsequently being adopted by Leland and Camden, from whence it has become an accepted fact (Rigold 1961, 57).

While listing all of these references might seem a little excessive, it is important to understand that the use of *Dommoc* and its variations was commonplace well into the twelfth century and continued into the fourteenth century, with a couple of miscopied exceptions. In order to compensate for the lack of early historical identifications, supporters of the Dunwich argument cite several pieces of later medieval evidence which they claim demonstrate that *Dommoc* really was Dunwich. On its foundation *c.*1086 Eye Priory received a grant of all of the churches that were then in Dunwich and those which had yet to be built there, and subsequently founded its own cell in Dunwich. These events are in themselves unremarkable, but in Leland's day the Priory is said to have possessed a gospel book known as the *Red Book of Eye* which was purported to have belonged to Felix himself. The book has been lost, but its supposed association with Felix and Eye Priory's connection with Dunwich has led many to complete the circle and conclude that Dunwich was *Dommoc* (Rigold 1961, 59; Whitelock 1972, 4).

Figure 4.4. Ninth-century seal-matrix of Bishop Æthilwald and its impression. (Image: Webster and Backhouse 1991, fig. 205; Inset: Wilson 1964, fig. 18)

A second connection between Eye and *Dommoc* is argued for on the strength of a seal-matrix discovered in a garden some 200m from Eye Priory (Figure 4.4). Its name is believed to be that of the ninth-century Bishop of *Dommoc*, Æthilwald, a conclusion supported by the stylistic and linguistic evidence (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 238; Wilson 1964, 79–81, 131–2). Æthilwald does not appear in the surviving episcopal lists, but professed obedience to Archbishop Ceolnoth (see above), and by implication the seal must therefore date to before 870, the date of Ceolnoth's death (Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 659–60). Archaeologically this artefact is a stray find, as its provenance is vague and its association with the Priory by no means proven. Indeed, further doubt is cast on the use of the seal-matrix to strengthen the Eye/*Dommoc* association by the fact that Eye Priory was itself only 4km from Hoxne, a known landholding of the Anglo-Saxon bishops of East Anglia, and perhaps a more convincing source for the seal-matrix.

The final piece of evidence cited by the Dunwich supporters is the fact that the sokemen of South Elmham, a pre-Conquest manor of the East Anglian bishops, owed services to Dunwich (Whitelock 1972, 4). This service was first recorded during the reign of Edward I (1272–1307), by which time Dunwich had become the principal port of the district. Rigold rightly describes this evidence as 'tenuous' (Rigold 1974, 97). Given that South Elmham is only 14km from Dunwich there is nothing particularly surprising or significant about this connection and many institutions besides South Elmham had links with Dunwich (Whitelock 1972, 4; Rigold 1974, 97; Pestell 1999, 300–1).

Such then, is the evidence for the identification of *Dommoc* with Dunwich, none of which can be said to be particularly convincing. So, if the traditional, but unfounded, association of *Dommoc* with Dunwich is ignored and we return to the primary sources, what evidence do we have as to the actual location of *Dommoc*? One of our only clues comes from the fact that Bede refers to *Dommoc* as a *civitas* (*HE* II,15). He did not refer to every episcopal see as such, so the term was not used as a reflection of its current status, but it is telling that all the identifiable places Bede referred to as *civitates* had a significant Roman past (Campbell 1979, 35). A high proportion of these *civitates* also had vernacular names ending in -*caestir*, which again generally refers to a Roman town or city. This distinction was

also made in the signatories of the Council of *Clovesho* of 803 (Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 546–7). Of the thirteen signatory bishops, eight described their sees as *civitates*, *Tidfrith Dummucae civitas* among them, while the remaining five, including Alhheard, Bishop of Elmham, described their sees as *ecclesiae*. In every identifiable instance the sites which are described as *civitates* had Roman connections, while the *ecclesiae* did not (Campbell 1979, 40).

In this light, Dunwich is an even less convincing candidate for *Dommoc*. Dunwich was particularly prosperous from the late eleventh to the fourteenth century, when it was one of the region's principal ports and was richly appointed with parish churches and town defences (Scarfe 1986, 129–37). The *-wic* place-name and discoveries of imported pottery suggest it originated as an Anglo-Saxon trading port, probably associated with Blythburgh, and the significant growth between 1066 and 1086 recorded in Domesday Book shows it to have been 'a boom town of the eleventh century' (Rigold 1961, 56; Scarfe 1986, 130; quote Warner 1996, 127). Archaeological work carried out at Dunwich produced very little Roman material, although a considerable area of land has been lost to the sea (West 1973). This lack of evidence has not stopped people postulating a Roman past for Dunwich. Some have suggested the existence of a Roman fort at Dunwich (West 1973; Haslam 1992), while others have placed a particular emphasis on the existence of at least four Roman roads converging on Dunwich (West 1973, 30; Wade-Martins 1980, 4–5; Scarfe 1986, 129). However, Margary makes no mention of these roads (1973, 243–77) and Warner (1996, 128) considers the road network around Dunwich to be 'almost certainly Anglo-Saxon in origin', adding that it bears little relation to the Roman road network further inland. Inventing a hypothetical Roman past for a site that was not explicitly identified as *Dommoc* until the fifteenth century seems rather an extreme solution to the problem of the unlocated bishopric, but the tradition persists.

Fortunately, another site fits the available evidence rather better. A significant, but often overlooked, contribution to this debate was made by Bartholomew Cotton in the late thirteenth century in his *Historia anglicana*. His passage on Felix begins by following Bede, but crucially he adds '*et in civitate Donmoc sedem habuit, quæ nunc Filchstowe vocatur, super mare in orientali parte Suthfolchiæ*' (Luard 1859, 387). Here, then, is a clear identification of *Dommoc* with Felixstowe,

lent great weight by the fact that Cotton was a Suffolk-born monk of Norwich Cathedral Priory and therefore likely to be much better informed than many of the other commentators discussed here (Rigold 1961, 57–8; 1974, 9).

An independent statement identifying Felixstowe as *Dommoc* is contained within documents copied from Rochester Priory, ultimately collected and published by Leland (Rigold 1974, 98–100). This statement could be as early as the mid-twelfth century and is no later than the mid-thirteenth, meaning that it could predate Cotton's identification by some 150 years or be a near-contemporaneous source (Rigold 1974, 98–100). A third reference contained within Leland's notes, this time an extract of a lost Jervaulx chronicle dating to *c.*1200, again equates *Dommoc* with Felixstowe (Rigold 1974, 98–100). That three independent sources should have explicitly identified *Dommoc* as Felixstowe, at least one of them pre-dating the first, accidental, naming of Dunwich and all of them pre-dating the first explicit identification, is clearly significant.

Figure 4.5. Walton Castle in 1766 by Francis Grose (Fox 1911, ff.288).

It is also tempting to see the preservation of Felix's name in the place-name as significant, especially given the *-stow* suffix, which can mean 'holy place' (Smith 1956, 158–61). However, Old Felixstowe was identified as *Burch* in

Domesday Book (LDB f.340) and the earliest use commonly cited is *Filchestou* (1254), numbering the examples given above amongst the earliest instances (Eckwall 1960, 177; Watts 2004, 227–8). The consensus is that the early personal name is Filica and not Felix (Watts 2004, 227–8; Warner 1996, 204), but it is possible that the later name was influenced by folk-memory, for there is a site in the vicinity which fits the available evidence and could well have been *Dommoc*.

Walton Castle was a Roman fort which stood on the coast at Felixstowe and was eventually destroyed by the sea in the eighteenth century, but not before the site was recorded by a number of antiquarians (Figure 4.5). Their accounts describe a fort over 100 yards long, with round corner-bastions and bands of decorative red brick in its walls, broadly comparable with the fort at Burgh Castle (Fox 1911, 287–91; Fairclough and Plunkett 2000, 419–26). Traces of the rubble of the fort can still be seen at very low tide. Walton Castle was not one of the shore-forts listed in the *Notitia dignitatum*, but its location, date and style strongly suggest that it was a part of the Saxon Shore scheme; Hassall (1977, 8) is confident that its omission results from copyists' errors.

Several strong arguments can be made in favour of Walton Castle having been the site of *Dommoc*. As a standing Roman masonry structure, Walton Castle would certainly have warranted Bede's description as a *civitas*, emphasised by the signatory at *Clovesho*, and the reuse of Roman buildings as early ecclesiastical sites is a well-attested phenomenon which is explored more fully in Chapter Eight. Comparative local examples are found at Bradwell, where Cedd established a church, and at Burgh Castle (*HE* III,21; Rigold 1977; Bell 1998). We do not know what Walton Castle's Roman name was, but Rigold (1961, 59) suggests that *Dommoc* preserves an element of it, the full name having perhaps been *Dommucium*. Walton Castle's location also makes its identification as *Dommoc* more favourable: after the Roman withdrawal it would have remained a significant landmark which Felix would have passed if he made his way from Kent to East Anglia by sea. The site stood at the gateway to the Wuffingas' heartland in south-east Suffolk, for the Deben valley was the site of both the royal burial-ground at Sutton Hoo and the royal vill at Rendlesham, making Walton Castle a fitting site for the king's new bishopric and one which he was well within his rights to gift to Felix.

There is evidence that a pre-Conquest church stood within the walls of

Walton Castle. Although it is difficult to ascertain when it was founded, it may well have been a remnant of the original bishopric. Shortly after the Conquest, Roger Bigod built a castle within the Roman fort and during the reign of William II (1087–1100) he is recorded as having granted Rochester priory the church of Walton St Felix, where it subsequently established a cell. This cell is also thought to have been sited within the fort in the first instance (Rigold 1974, 98–100; Davison 1974, 142–3; Pestell 1999, 303–4; Fairclough and Plunkett 2000, 451–2). In 1154 Roger's son, Hugh Bigod, is recorded granting the priory land elsewhere in Walton in exchange for 'the land of their church where he built his castle' (Davison 1974, 143). It seems likely that this referred to an expansion of the area of the castle within the walls, rather than its initial construction. In the fourteenth century the priory moved again, to a site in the vicinity of St Mary's church, Walton, where its remains were excavated in 1971 (West 1974). We know that the Bigod castle was constructed inside the walls of the Roman fort and it would therefore appear that the original church of St Felix had been too. While the dedication to St Felix must post-date his episcopate, perhaps by some time, it is certainly suggestive that a church dedicated to the founding Bishop of East Anglia should have stood within the walls of one of the probable candidates for his see.

As was outlined above, *Dommoc* remained the sole bishopric until around 673, when Archbishop Theodore divided the see. *Dommoc* continued under Bishop Æcci and a new see was established under Bishop Baduwine (*HE* IV,5). Fortunately, identifying the location of this second see has not proved to be quite as controversial as identifying *Dommoc*, although it is not without its difficulties.

Elmham

The earliest documentary reference to the second see is found in the signatories of the Council of *Clovesho* from 803, among whose number was *Alhheard Elmhamis ecclesiae episcopus* (Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 547). The new see is widely thought to have been at Elmham since its inception, but there are no contemporary documentary sources which conclusively prove whether this was North Elmham in Norfolk or South Elmham in Suffolk (Wade-Martins 1980, 3). As with that for *Dommoc*, the evidence for each of the two possible contenders for the Elmham see has been debated for many years (e.g. Harrod 1864; Howlett 1914). It has even

been suggested that the see was relocated from South Elmham to North Elmham on its refoundation (Scarfe 1987, 121; Harrold 2003, 81–3). The situation is not helped by the fact that the North and South prefixes, which now make identification so easy, date from the mid-thirteenth century (Ekwall 1960, 164). Additionally, North Elmham and South Elmham are noted for the fact that they both feature the architectural ruins of apsidal churches, each of which has been argued to have had Anglo-Saxon origins. Neither are we comparing like with like, for unlike Norfolk's Elmham, which is a distinct settlement, Suffolk's Elmham is actually a group of seven parishes which share the name, each now differentiated by the dedication of its church. Together with the parish of Flixton, itself argued to preserve the name of Felix (Harrold 2003, 38–9, 48), the South Elmhams form a rectangular block of land, some 5km SW–NE by 6.5km NW–SE, and there can be little doubt about their having once been a single, large estate which subsequently fragmented.
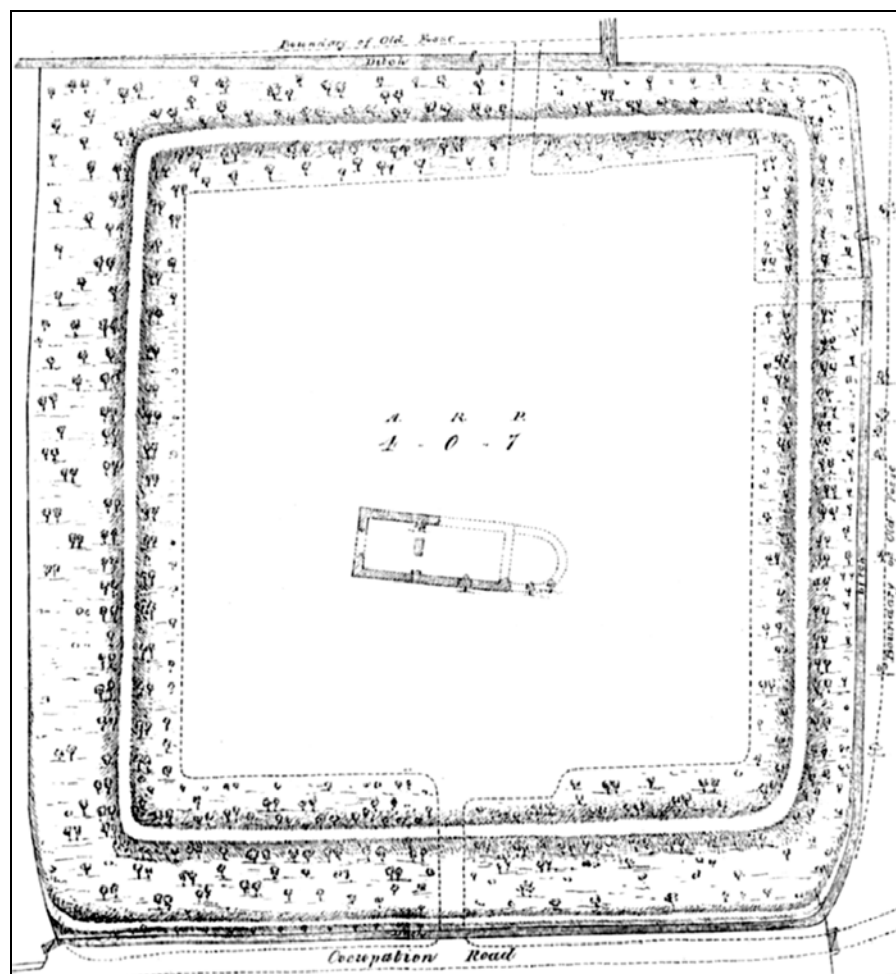
Figure 4.6. The 'Old Minster', South Elmham, in 1863 (Woodward 1864).

Elmham is described in the signatories of the Council of *Clovesho* as an *Ecclesiæ*, as distinct from *Dommoc*'s *civitatis* (Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 547), suggesting that the site did not have a Roman past. This would certainly apply to North Elmham, which has been extensively investigated and found to have had no Roman antecedent (Rigold 1962; Wade-Martins 1980). By contrast, the church known as the 'Old Minster' in South Elmham (the focus of the argument for its having been the bishopric) stands within the earthworks of a square enclosure (Figure 4.6), which its excavators ascribe a Roman date (Smedley and Owles 1970, 5–6). This conclusion is supported by Wade-Martins as a result of his own fieldwork at the site (Wade-Martins 1980, 5), although Fairclough and Hardy suggest that the enclosure may be a later feature dug through an area of Roman settlement (Fairclough and Hardy 2004, 85). North Elmham would thus appear to be the better candidate for the episcopal see on this evidence.

We can at least be certain that the bishopric was based at North Elmham after the refoundation of the diocese in the tenth century. Domesday Book records that North Elmham (*Elmenham*) was owned by the Bishop of Thetford and had been in the hands of the bishopric in 1066 (LDB f.191v). The entry also records that Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury until 1072, had 24 sokemen in North Elmham in 1066. These presumably remained from his period as Bishop of Elmham, which was begun in 1043 and briefly interrupted in 1044 before ending in 1047, when he moved on to the see of Winchester (Cowdrey 2004). The estate stayed in the hands of the bishopric until 1536, remaining an episcopal residence after the transference of the see itself to Thetford and then Norwich (Rigold 1962, 71). Domesday Book also records the bishop holding one manor in South Elmham, at Homersfield, now also known as South Elmham St Mary (LBD f.379). Norman Scarfe (1987, 123) suggests that the name is derived from that of Hunberht, the last Bishop of Elmham before the disruption of the dioceses. The same Domesday entry records that the bishop had jurisdiction over the whole *ferding* (a quarter of a hundred) of South Elmham. Clearly the bishops held some sway in the South Elmham area at Domesday, almost certainly as a result of its having been held as a larger estate which had subsequently fragmented. However, this does not mean that South Elmham was the bishopric.

Confirmation that South Elmham was not the bishopric from the tenth

century onwards is attested by two sources, both of which identify nearby Hoxne as the episcopal see of Suffolk, *Dommoc* having fallen out of use. After the reconquest the first claim to East Anglian episcopal authority is found in the will of Theodred, Bishop of London, dated to 942x951 (Whitelock 1930, 2–5). In it he makes reference to his bishopric at Hoxne, meaning that in the first instance the diocese was united with that of London. No indication is given as to whether his authority extended to Elmham or for how long he had held the position, but he was Bishop of London by 926 and the diocese was presumably refounded shortly after this (Wade-Martins 1980, 7). Hoxne is also the first Suffolk holding listed in Domesday Book for the Bishop of Thetford and the entry explicitly refers to Hoxne having been the episcopal see of Suffolk at the time of the Conquest (LDB f.379). Despite being nominally a separate see from that of Elmham, it would appear that the two were held in plurality, with the incumbents styling themselves the Bishop of the East Angles (Wade-Martins 1980, 3–11).

Figure 4.7. North Elmham from the north-east. Note the ruined church (centre) and the later parish church (top left). 26 April 1984. TF9821/ABS/AWE2 ©Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service.

There is archaeological evidence for both North and South Elmham. The remains of the church at North Elmham (Figure 4.7) had traditionally been thought to be the remains of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral, much altered when Bishop Henry le Despenser (1370–1406) converted the building into a fortified residence and caused the elaborate earthwork defences that surround the site to be made (Rigold 1962, 70–1; Emery 2000, 129–31). However, excavations in the 1950s revealed, in addition to Despenser's alterations, a number of earlier phases of Late Saxon timber building beneath the stone-built structure (Rigold 1962, 78–95). Similarly, Stephen Heywood argues that the standing ruins contain no traces of any characteristic Anglo-Saxon workmanship, suggesting that it was an unequivocally Norman structure and post-dated the transference of the see to Thetford (Heywood 1982, 1–5). The visible remains are therefore not those of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral, although they stand on the site of its later, timber incarnations. A lack of Middle Saxon evidence from the trenches suggests that the earlier, pre-disruption cathedral was constructed on a different site in the vicinity of North Elmham.

An explanation for this sequence is found in the first register of Norwich Cathedral, which records that Bishop Herbert de Losinga (1091–1119) founded a church at North Elmham (Saunders 1939, 32–3). This was the present parish church, which is situated immediately to the south of the main earthwork enclosure. Having provided for the spiritual needs of the population with this new church, Bishop de Losinga then seems to have built his own private chapel in stone on the site of the original cathedral (Heywood 1982, 5–10).

Between 1967–72 an area of North Elmham Park adjacent to the site of the standing ruins was excavated, revealing a sequence of occupation stretching back to the Middle Saxon period: three increasingly intensive phases of Middle Saxon settlement were discovered. Although these did not produce much Ipswich Ware or metalwork, they were sufficient to convince the excavator that North Elmham had been the site of the bishopric since the foundation of the diocese (Wade-Martins 1980, 628–32). By the eleventh century the population of this rural centre had grown, requiring the expansion of the cathedral cemetery over some of the settlement area, an event which seems to have coincided with alterations made to the cathedral itself (Wade-Martins 1980, 632–4). Further excavation around the

area of the cathedral and its enclosure would be desirable, as Rigold closely examined only the area of the building itself and Wade-Martins seems to have explored the periphery of an extensive Middle Saxon estate centre. But how does this compare to the archaeological evidence from South Elmham?

In his assessment of the architectural remains at North Elmham Heywood drew attention to some unusual characteristics, particularly the width of the tower, which was the same as that of the nave, and the presence of an external stair turret at the south-east corner of the tower. Both of these characteristics are only paralleled at one other site in East Anglia – the 'Old Minster' at St Cross South Elmham (Figure 4.6). This, says Heywood, is proof enough that the remains at South Elmham must also be of Norman date, a conclusion supported by his architectural analysis of the remains, which are again devoid of Anglo-Saxon workmanship (Heywood 1982, 5–9). Again the first register provides us with an explanation, for it also records that Bishop de Losinga bought the manor of St Cross South Elmham and gave it to the monks of Norwich Cathedral Priory (Saunders 1939, 36–9). As the Bishop was also the Prior, South Elmham continued to be used as an episcopal residence and the closely paralleled designs of the two ruined buildings suggest that the 'Old Minister' was another of de Losinga's private chapels (Heywood 1982, 8–10; Fairclough and Hardy 2004, 104–7). Heywood's conclusions echo those of Smedley and Owles, who partially excavated the site of the 'Old Minster' in 1963/4 (Smedley and Owles 1970). They discovered the buried foundations of the external stair-turret and a carved stone built into the south-east corner of the nave, which they considered dated to the eleventh century (Smedley and Owles 1970, 9–14). Significantly, neither the excavations or any subsequent fieldwork at the 'Old Minster' have produced any evidence for Anglo-Saxon occupation from the area of the enclosure (Smedley and Owles 1970, 9–14; Martin *et al.* 1985, 52).

Although neither case is conclusive, the available historical and archaeological evidence tends to suggest that North Elmham was the site of the bishopric of Elmham from the late seventh century until the disruption of the diocese and then again from the refoundation until the eleventh century. South Elmham was clearly an episcopal estate, which had fragmented by Domesday, but this did not function as the bishopric. After the reconquest there was a nominal

bishopric of Suffolk, based at Hoxne, complementing Norfolk's Elmham, but both were held by the same bishop under their title of Bishop of the East Angles.

Missionaries

The creation of the dioceses of *Dommoc* and Elmham was not the only method by which Christianity was advanced within East Anglia; the kingdom also played host to a number of missionaries who founded their own monasteries under royal patronage. Foremost among these individuals were Fursa, the founder of *Cnobheresburg*, and Botolph, founder of Iken.

Fursa and 'Cnobheresburg'

The establishment of *Dommoc* was not the only step towards the Christianisation of the region which occurred during Sigeberht's reign. In a chapter of the *HE* largely derived from a copy of the *Vita Sancti Fursei* Bede tells us how the Irish missionary Fursa was honourably received by Sigeberht, who subsequently granted him the site of *Cnobheresburg* on which he proceeded to build a monastery (*HE* III,19). *Cnobheresburg* is described as being 'pleasantly situated close to the woods and the sea, in a Roman camp which is called in English *Cnobheresburg*, that is the city of Cnobhere' (*HE* III,18). Fursa then spent his life preaching the gospel to the population in the Irish tradition and, we are told, was responsible for the conversion of many individuals to the Christian faith (*HE* III,19). He may even have founded other monasteries in the region that have gone unrecorded. Of the later history of *Cnobheresburg*, Bede tells us that Anna (about 640–54) and his nobles 'endowed it with still finer buildings and gifts', doubtless making it an institution of some standing (*HE* III,19). After many years, wishing to free himself from worldly affairs, Fursa left *Cnobheresburg* in the care of his brother Foillán and two priests, Gobán and Dícuill, and went to live as a hermit with another of his brothers, Ultán. In response to the Mercian onslaught of 640 that saw the deaths of both Sigeberht and Ecgric on the battlefield (*HE* III,18), Fursa left East Anglia and travelled to the court of Clovis, king of the Franks (*HE* III,19). Once there Fursa founded another monastery at Lagny, where he resided until his death (*HE* III,19). Unusually, Bede's account can be supplemented by another source, an account of Foillán's life written at Nivelles not later than 655 (Whitelock 1972, 6). This tells

that after Fursa's death in around 650, King Anna had been expelled by the Mercian advance and *Cnobheresburg* despoiled. Foillán himself would have been killed but for the timely return of Anna and his army, and afterwards the monks and their relics, altar equipment and books were loaded onto a boat and shipped to Frankia (Whitelock 1972, 6).

Cnobheresburg is another site identified by Bede the location of which is unknown, but about which there is much debate. In a manner reminiscent of the association of *Dommoc* with Dunwich, *Cnobheresburg* is now almost universally thought to have been within the Roman fort at Burgh Castle, although again the actual evidence is not particularly strong. Indeed, if anything, the surviving documentary evidence contradicts the traditional identification. However, in order to get to the heart of the matter it is first necessary to dissect the relevant passage of the *HE* in some detail.

Bede openly acknowledged that he used a copy of the *Vita Sancti Fursei* (Krusch 1902, 434–49; Bieler 1976, 222–3). Of Fursa's monastery the *Vita* says: *'Quod monasterium in quodam castro constructum, silvarum et maris vicinitate amoenum rex gentis illius Anna ac nubiles quique tectis et muneribus adornarunt'* (Krusch 1902, 437). Here, then, are three of the elements of the story which Bede presented: the monastery was built in a *castrum*; it was in the vicinity of woods and the sea; and Anna provided the site with further buildings and gifts. Significantly, the *Vita* does not give the name of the site. The phrase *'quod lingua Anglorum Cnobheresburg, id Vrbs Cnobheri'* which Bede uses in *HE* III,19 is his own addition and must be derived from one of his other East Anglian sources, most likely Abbot Esi.

Two different types of information are available to us: that of the *Vita*, and Bede's own sources. Hagiography is notoriously difficult to use for historical purposes and as the author of the earliest *Vita Fursei* remains anonymous, little can be said of its provenance and therefore its reliability. Anna surely did patronise the site during his reign and is also likely to have patronised other East Anglian monasteries which remain unrecorded. The topographical description – being in the vicinity of woods and the sea – is quite general and could easily be applied to large tracts of East Anglia. Likewise, in *HE* IV,13 Bede describes the monastery at Bosham on the Sussex coast as being similarly 'surrounded by woods and sea' (Parsons 1987, 12). In both instances the phrase has a poetic quality which

suggests that it was being used to conjure a suitable image rather than provide a topographical guide. The word *castrum* when used to describe the enclosure within which the monastery was founded should, James Campbell (1979, 36) suggests, be translated as 'fortified place' rather than 'Roman camp', and it is significant that c*astrum* is used in the *HE* only in the context of passages copied from other written sources, each of which used it to convey a different meaning (Jones 1929, 73; *HE* I,5, I,20, III,19, V,7). Bede's description of *Cnobheresburg* as having been built within a *castrum*, therefore, is not one of his own devising and cannot be treated in the same manner as the additional information which he conveys directly.

Two things are notable about the information which Bede adds to the text of the *Vita*: the name *Cnobheresburg* and his description of it as an *urbs*, both of which are suggestive of a non-Roman fortified enclosure. Bede's use of the words *civitas* and *urbs* were very specific, the former signifying a site with a Roman past and the latter one without (Campbell 1979, 35–7). Unlike *Dommoc*, which Bede rightly calls a *civitas* (if the Walton Castle identification is accepted), his use of *urbs* for *Cnobheresburg* suggests he was aware that it was a non-Roman site. This usage seems to be supported by the English place-name, whose *-burg* element also tells of 'a fortified place' of possible prehistoric, Roman or Anglo-Saxon date (Smith 1956, 58–62).

Reference has already been made to the traditional association between the Roman fort at Burgh Castle and *Cnobheresburg*. The earliest documented equation of the two is in William Camden's *Britannia*, first published in 1586. In discussing Suffolk he wrote 'where *Yare* and *Waveney* meet in one streame, there flourished *Cnobersburg*, that is, as *Bede* interpreteth it, *Cnobers City*, we call it at this day *Burgh-Castle*' (Camden 1695, col. 376). Whether Camden was reporting a local tradition or, as James Campbell believes, simply making an educated guess, his identification stuck and has since become an accepted fact (Campbell 1979, 36). The extent to which this 'truth' has become ingrained is encapsulated in the title of Dahl's 1913 work, *The Roman Camp and the Irish Saint at Burgh Castle*. The tradition prevails, despite the fact that the evidence presented by Bede tends to contradict it by suggesting that *Cnobheresburg* lay within a non-Roman fortification. Colgrave and Mynors' translation of *castrum* as 'Roman camp' in their edition of the *HE* is misleading in this instance and it is clear from their identification of the

site as Burgh Castle that their choice of phrase was coloured by the traditional equation of the two (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 271).

There appear to be two main reasons why the identification of *Cnobheresburg* with Burgh Castle was made and has prevailed: the translation of *castrum* as Roman camp and the Burgh element of its place-name. The Roman fort at Burgh Castle, being the best-preserved example in the region, is an obvious candidate. However, it is only the best-preserved *surviving* example: the Roman fort at Brancaster, which now only survives as an earthwork, was described by Sir Henry Spelman in the seventeenth century as having walls standing twelve feet high and Blomefield reports that much of the masonry was only removed in the mid-eighteenth century (Rose 1985). Similarly, Spelman notes that the Roman walls at Caister-on-Sea were still standing in the seventeenth century, although they too had been demolished by the eighteenth century (Darling with Gurney 1993, 1). The situation at Walton Castle was slightly different; there the Roman fort stood proud until it was undermined by the sea in the early eighteenth century (Fairclough and Plunkett 2000, 423–6). And, inland, the walls of the Roman town at Caistor St Edmund are still visible today and, significantly, contain the parish church. The reuse of Roman enclosures by members of the early Church is widely recognised (e.g. Bell 2005) and all of these Roman sites can be demonstrated to have played a role in the evangelisation of the East Anglian kingdom (Chapter Eight). However, all of this is rendered somewhat redundant when one considers that, on the basis of Bede's evidence, none of these Roman sites should even be considered as the possible location of Bede's *Cnobheresburg*.

The identification of Burgh Castle is lent further credence in the popular mind by the Burgh element of its place-name. Burgh Castle is listed in Domesday Book simply as *Burch* (LDB f.445); the 'Castle' element was not added until the late thirteenth century and refers to the Norman motte which was constructed on the site (Gurney 2002, 15). Interestingly, Old Felixstowe, the site of Walton Castle, was also called *Burch* at Domesday (LDB f.340). As has already been mentioned, the *burg* place-name has a very general application as 'a fortified place' (Smith 1956, 58–62), but it is unusual that both sites should be considered *burgs* at all, for Roman remains in the area were more commonly referred to by the OE *ceaster* 'city' or 'old fortification', as at Caister-on-Sea, Caistor St Edmund and

Brancaster (Smith 1956, 85–7). John Blair (2005, 250) has drawn attention to the fact that *burg* was often used as a vernacular alternative for *mynster*. This association would certainly apply to both Walton Castle and Burgh Castle (the ecclesiastical character of the latter is not in dispute, merely its identification as *Cnobheresburg*).

Figure 4.8. The church and ploughed-out enclosure at Burgh (Martin 1988).

Of course, there is no particular reason why the name *Cnobheresburg* should be preserved in modern place-names at all but, if it is, there are many place-names from throughout East Anglia which include the *-burg* element. The search can be narrowed if one takes account of the dubious topographical detail – 'pleasantly situated close to the woods and the sea' – offered by Bede (*HE* III,19), but in the immediate Burgh Castle area this still includes the parishes of Burgh St Margaret and Burgh St Peter, with Happisburgh lying further to the north. Moving south another plausible candidate is encountered at Blythburgh, known to have been a major Anglo-Saxon royal estate centre and said to be the burial place of King Anna (Warner 1996, 120–1; Williamson 2005b, 16). Entering south-east Suffolk, the heartland of the East Anglian kings who gifted *Cnobheresburg* to Fursa, further sites suggest themselves: Aldeburgh is one, Grundisburgh another. The latter has produced Middle Saxon pottery and lies adjacent to Burgh (now sometimes

known as Burgh-by-Woodbridge) which contains the remains of a substantial, broadly rectangular, double-ditched enclosure occupied throughout the Iron Age and into the Roman period (Martin 1988, 68–74; below, pp.291–4). This enclosure contains Burgh parish church, dedicated to St Botolph, and is situated on the River Lark (Figure 4.8). Excavations within the enclosure revealed no trace of Anglo-Saxon occupation, but Edward Martin believes that the site was an integral part of an Anglo-Saxon estate in the Lark valley centred upon Burgh and Grundisburgh (Martin 1988, 74–6). It needs to be stressed that none of these sites is being proposed as the *real* site of *Cnobheresburg*, they are simply being highlighted because they also fit the available evidence, in many instances much more closely than Burgh Castle. For the final section of this chapter we now turn our attention to another early Christian missionary working in south-east Suffolk, Botolph.

Botolph and Iken

It is increasingly evident that the *HE* is not a complete and comprehensive history. The lack of contemporary sources makes it difficult for us to gauge the true extent of the omissions, but there is one East Anglian example which sheds some light on the limitations and motivation of Bede's work: the total exclusion of Botolph and his monastery at Iken. It is ironic that the one locatable Conversion-period monastic site about which there is little or no dispute should be the one which Bede does not mention. Turning from the *HE* to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we find that the entry for the year 653 records that 'Her Anna cining werð of slagen and Botuulf ongan timbrian mynster æt Icanhoe' (Plummer and Earle 1898, 28–9). This statement does not explicitly tell us that *Icanho* was East Anglian, but its being mentioned in the same sentence as the death of Anna strongly suggests it. Indeed, the former might have been a cause of the latter.

Further proof that *Icanho* is East Anglian is provided by the *Vita Ceolfridi*, written by an anonymous monk of Jarrow after 716 and before Bede subsequently used it in his *Historia abbatum* of *c.*725 (Plummer 1894, 388–404; Whitelock 1979, 758–70). The biographer records that long before he became the founding abbot of Jarrow, Ceolfrith began his monastic career at Ripon about 670 and shortly afterwards visited Kent to learn more about the monastic way of life (Whitelock 1979, 758–70; Stevenson 1924, 35). After leaving Kent, Ceolfrith 'came also to

East Anglia to see the monastic practices of Abbot Botwulf, whom report had proclaimed on all sides to be a man of unparalleled life and learning, and full of the grace of the Holy Spirit' (Whitelock 1979, 759). As a result of his visit Ceolfrith 'returned home abundantly instructed, as far as he could be in a short time, so much so that no one could be found at that time more learned than he in either the ecclesiastical or the monastic rule' (Whitelock 1979, 759). High praise indeed for Botolph and his monastic practices, and confirmation that *Icanho* is indeed in East Anglia.

Figure 4.9. Iken church on its promontory (©Suffolk County Council).

There has been some historical debate about the location of *Icanho*, although considerably less than about the other sites discussed in this chapter, and it is, at least, a debate which has reached a definite conclusion! In the nineteenth century, and indeed into the early twentieth, *Icanho* was thought to have been at Boston (Lincolnshire), the name being derived from *Botolph's tun* and its church being dedicated to St Botolph (cited in Stevenson 1924 and Whitely 1931). This is clearly contradicted by the anonymous *Vita* and by the 1920s there was a growing consensus that Iken, in south-east Suffolk, was the real site of Botolph's minster (e.g. Cox 1907, 7). The argument was comprehensively presented by Stevenson (1924, 31–2) and built upon by Whitley (1931, 233–7), who both cited the proof of

Iken church's dedication to St Botolph (although he surely would not have dedicated the church to himself) and the fact that the name *Ycanho* is used for Iken in a fourteenth-century charter of nearby Butley Priory. The *-ho* of *Icanho* refers to a low spur of land projecting into a river or an area of more level ground (Smith 1956, 256) and the church at Iken is sited on just such a promontory – a 'textbook' *-ho* (Figure 4.9).

Since the 1930s the Iken identification has only really been challenged by Warwick Rodwell, who in 1976 stated that 'a stronger case can be argued for the identification of *Icanho* with Hadstock [Essex] than any other place' (Rodwell 1976, 69). His main evidence was Hadstock church's dedication to Botolph and a twelfth-century charter of Bishop Nigel of Ely which stated that Hadstock (then called *Cadenho*) was the site of a foundation of Botolph and the location of his burial (Rodwell 1976, 68; Blake 1962, 336). It is easy to see how a case might be made from this evidence, but it would appear that Bishop Nigel was simply equating his own *Cadenho* with the historical *Icanho*. Rodwell's suggestion provoked a detailed reply from Edward Martin in which he firmly restated the case for Iken and there the matter has rested (Martin 1978).

The standing fabric of Iken parish church comprises a Norman nave, a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century tower and south porch and a Victorian chancel. The recognition of a broken piece of carved Anglo-Saxon cross shaft built into the base of the tower prompted an archaeological excavation in 1977 (West *et al.* 1984). Trenches inside the church revealed the Norman foundations of the nave, which cut a series of earlier graves, and produced a number of Romano-British pottery sherds and a selection of early medieval pottery. Excavation in the churchyard revealed a series of clay-filled trenches, thought to have been the foundations of an earlier, timber church (Figure 5.17). The excavations also produced three Ipswich Ware and two Thetford Ware sherds, as well as several hundred twelfth- and thirteenth-century sherds (West *et al.* 1984, 283–8). The carved stone was also removed from the wall and revealed to be a 1.5m section of broken cross-shaft, decorated with interlaces, crosses and animals (Figure 4.10). The cross is an unusual artefact in the region and would have originally been 3m high. It has been stylistically dated to the late ninth or early tenth centuries and is thus later than the documented period of the monastery's occupation, but may

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well have been erected as a monument to Botolph, whose remains were buried there until the tenth century (West *et al.* 1984, 289–92).
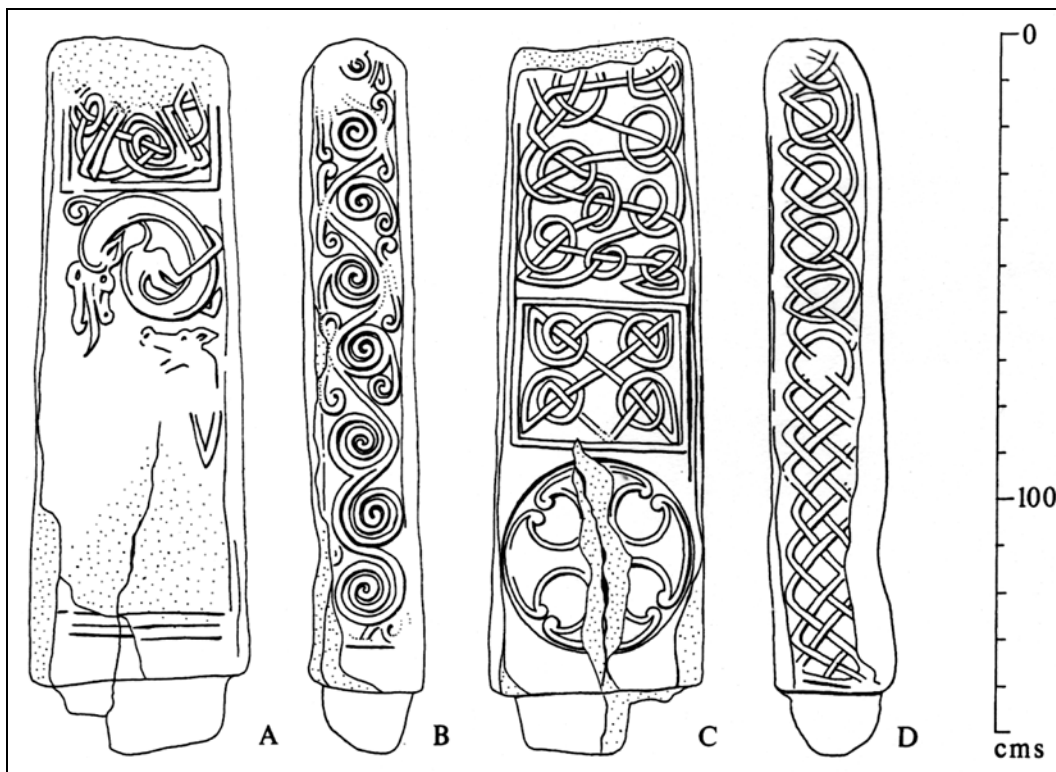
Figure 4.10. The Iken cross-shaft (West *et al.* 1984, fig. 76).

Iken was presumably destroyed in the Viking raids of 870, along with the region's other major institutions (Plummer and Earle 1898, 71). However, in the later years of the tenth century royal consent was given for Botolph's body to be exhumed and divided into thirds, to be shared between the Abbeys of Ely and Thorney and King Edgar himself, through Westminster Abbey (Stevenson 1924, 42–3; Blair 2002b, 518–19). This appears to have been related to Edgar's gifting the manor of Sudbourne, of which Iken was a part, to Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester in return for his translating the Rule of St Benedict into English (West *et al.* 1984, 298). Thorney clearly received its portion of the body, prompting the eleventh-century *Vita* to be written, but it is not clear whether Ely and Westminster received theirs. Tradition records that Botolph's body (or at least bits of it) rested for some time at nearby Grundisburgh, from whence Cnut ordered it be transferred to Bury St Edmunds in 1020, suggesting some of it never got any further than Bury (West *et al.* 1984, 299–300). It has been argued that this resulted

in the foundation of St Botolph's church at Burgh (West *et al.* 1984; Stevenson 1924, 43–5; Martin 1988, 74). The later interest in Botolph's relics led to a revival of his cult, attested by the many churches which are dedicated to him nationwide; his cult even spread to Scandinavia, where it enjoyed wide support (Blair 2002b, 518–19; Toy 2003).

Botolph was clearly a significant figure in the early East Anglian and, indeed, the wider Church and the practices observed at Iken must have been truly exemplary if the praise in the *Vita Ceolfridi* is anything to go by. The influence of Iken ranged far and wide and the later popularity of Botolph's cult suggests that he was widely known. Why, then, is Botolph absent from the *HE*? Did Bede simply not know about him? Did he deliberately exclude him from the narrative and, if so, what was his motivation for doing so? It is possible to answer these questions with some certainty and this episode returns the focus of the discussion to Bede's purpose in writing the *HE* and his attitude towards his sources.

We can be reasonably certain that Bede did know about Botolph and Iken. Ceolfrith's visit to Iken clearly made a strong impression upon him and Bede had a great affection for Ceolfrith: Ceolfrith was Abbot when Bede transferred from Wearmouth to Jarrow as a young boy and may well have been directly responsible for Bede's education. The *Vita Ceolfridi* recounts how in the early years of Jarrow's foundation a plague swept Britain, affecting the monastery to such an extent that Abbot Ceolfrith and one little boy were the only two left who could read or preach. The same passage describes how the boy grew up to be a priest of the monastery and a writer in praise of the abbot: there is a widely held belief that this boy was the young Bede, which would make his relationship with Ceolfrith particularly special (Whitelock 1979, 762; McClure 1984, 81–2). By the time that Ceolfrith departed for Rome in 716, a journey from which he did not return, the two men had lived side-by-side at Jarrow for some forty years. An indication of the strength of Bede's feelings towards Ceolfrith can be found in the introduction to his commentary on the book of Samuel where he explains that Ceolfrith's departure caused him such grief that he was unable to work for some time (Whitelock 1976, 22–3).

Given the strength and history of their relationship it seems very unlikely that Ceolfrith would never have told Bede of his travels in East Anglia. Even if he

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had never spoken of them, Bede certainly knew the *Vita Ceolfridi*, for he used parts of it himself in both the *Historia abbatum* and the *HE* (Campbell 1986b, 44; Plummer 1896, 364–87; Webb and Farmer 1998, 185–210). Some have even gone so far as to suggest that Bede was the anonymous author of the *Vita Ceolfridi*, for the style of the two writers is very similar and their motives sufficiently different to explain the different approaches to their subject (e.g. McClure 1984; Wood 1995b, 18–19).

We must conclude that Bede deliberately chose not to mention Botolph in either of his own works. This omission has led some to suggest that Bede did not approve of Botolph and deliberately left him out of his histories, but this argument cannot be sustained. Whitley suggests that Botolph's exclusion may have been the result of his being a Scot (at least according to the unreliable eleventh-century *Vita*) as Bede held a vehement dislike of the British church (Whitley 1931, 236–7). Ceolfrith had left his original monastery of Gilling, dissatisfied with its British practices, and became a monk of Repton, the house of Wilfrid, also an opponent of the British Church (Whitelock 1972, 10–11; 1979, 759–61). It seems unlikely that Botolph's monastery was practising anything other than a rule which was deemed acceptable by Ceolfrith, for his previous actions suggest that he would not have visited a house which observed British practices. Therefore, instead of questioning Bede's opinion of Botolph's practices, we must look to the motives behind Bede's writing for our explanation.

In the first of his works which dealt with Ceolfrith, the *Historia abbatum*, Bede was more concerned with the history of his monastery than with detailing the lives of the abbots themselves. Bede makes no mention of Ceolfrith's early life or, indeed, his career until after the death of his predecessor Benedict Biscop (Wood 1995b, 9). By default, this approach would result in the exclusion of Ceolfrith's East Anglian visitation, undertaken early in his monastic life, and explains the lack of references to either Botolph or Iken.

By contrast, the *HE* would appear to be the obvious context for Bede to have imparted his knowledge of Botolph and Iken, and yet he chose not to do so. The answer lies in the focus of his work. Bede was writing a history of the English Church and thus he simply did not concern himself with the separate history of the development of monasticism. Those monastic sites which he does mention are

all directly related to the principal characters in his narrative, most often royalty, but occasionally important bishops (Campbell 1986b, 40). Fursa, who was sponsored by Sigeberht, the king responsible for introducing both Bishop Felix and Christianity to the East Anglian kingdom, was therefore included; while Botolph, whose monastery was begun well after the major apparatus of the diocese was in place, was not included. Botolph was simply not relevant to Bede's narrative.

Conclusions

East Anglia is one of the most poorly represented Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in terms of its historical documentation. It is fortunate for this study that the vast majority of the material which has been preserved is of an ecclesiastical nature or at least of ecclesiastical interest. This material is not without its difficulties, for very few of the surviving sources actually come from the place or time with which they are concerned, having been preserved in the records of other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms or, in the case of the bulk of the material, collected, compiled and edited by Bede at least a century later and in a different part of the country. It is important that one should not fall into the trap of believing that Bede was a historian in the modern mould, which many have done in the past to the detriment of their own work and that of others. Bede was first and foremost a theologian, who used his historical writing to present object lessons on good Christian living; he was not writing history for its own sake. Neither was he writing a history of Anglo-Saxon England; he was specifically interested in recording the development of his own, English, Church. As such, the *HE* is particularly focused upon the conversion of individual kings and kingdoms, the creation of the dioceses and the unification of the disparate strands of Christianity into a single entity. In pursuing these aims, Bede made judicious use of his sources, including only those details which helped fulfil his purpose. It is also dangerous to assume that Bede's work has uniform geographical and chronological coverage, for an examination of the sources available to him reveals his work to be a patchwork of material, skilfully synthesised, but by no means comprehensive.

In the past there has been a tendency amongst those who have addressed the subject of Anglo-Saxon East Anglia to rely heavily and unquestioningly upon

the historical framework presented by Bede. Perhaps the best example of this is the discussion surrounding the identity of the individual buried in Mound 1 at Sutton Hoo, a debate which has raged since the late 1930s (e.g. Chadwick 1940; Bruce-Mitford 1975). It is therefore somewhat ironic that, despite the progress made in Bedan studies during the last fifty years, the discovery of a similarly rich burial at Prittlewell (Essex) in 2003 immediately prompted an identical debate as to the identity of the inhumed (MOLAS 2004, 39–42). The reliance upon the material presented by Bede and the acceptance of the veracity of his writing have resulted in a decided lack of scholarly interest in the subject of the conversion of East Anglia. This manifests itself in two main ways: first, the lack of detail in the *HE* has made scholars reluctant to look beyond the written word and consider those aspects of the conversion about which history is silent, a shortcoming addressed by the rest of this thesis. Secondly, the few 'facts' regarding people and places which Bede does present have become the focus of such intensive debate that any attempt to place them within a wider historical and archaeological framework gets lost in the need simply to identify a certain grave or pinpoint a settlement on a map. This is exemplified by the attempts to name the 'seven monasteries' thought to have been referred to by Ælfwald in his letter to Boniface, all ultimately stemming from a confused translation.

It has been necessary to engage with such debates in this chapter, particularly those surrounding the location of the bishoprics of *Dommoc* and Elmham and the monastery of *Cnobheresburg*. Despite the lack of evidence, *Dommoc* has erroneously become associated with Dunwich in the popular mind, but such is the box-ticking mentality of those studying the subject that once the matter has been seen to be resolved, no further analysis is deemed necessary. Overwhelming evidence in favour of its having been at Walton Castle and fifty years of discussion appear to have made little difference to the popular identification. Similarly, the more easily resolved debate surrounding Elmham has focused upon the remains of two buildings, both widely considered to be Anglo-Saxon and both demonstrably not. In this case the evidence supports the identification of North Elmham, although clearly South Elmham was at least partially in the hands of the bishopric, along with nearby Hoxne.

A third, practically identical debate has been conducted concerning the

location of Fursa's monastery at *Cnobheresburg*, widely identified as Burgh Castle, again in spite of the contradictory evidence. A number of alternative locations which fit the evidence equally or better have been suggested here, although the aim at this stage is to debunk the Burgh Castle identification, rather than genuinely to identify *Cnobheresburg*. Less problematic is Botolph's monastery at *Icanho*, now accepted on historical and archaeological grounds to have been at Iken. In this instance, we have had to engage with a different historical problem, that of Bede's silence on the matter of the man and his monastery, when we can be certain that he must have known of both. The answer, of course, lies in Bede's motivation for writing his histories, and brings this chapter full-circle.

Ultimately one has to question the use of trying to identify sites named in incomplete sources when one's time could be spent much more productively trying to develop an understanding of a wider range of issues. Burgh Castle is a good case in point: despite being erroneously identified as Fursa's monastery, it is clear from the archaeological evidence that Burgh Castle had a religious significance during the Middle Saxon period (Johnson 1983, 60–5; below, pp.278–82). For those who believe the Fursa connection this material confirmation is enough to let the matter rest and another site mentioned by Bede can be ticked off the list. However, irrespective of what name the site may or may not have had, its use is made far more relevant and makes much greater sense when viewed within the wider context of the reuse of Roman structures by early ecclesiastics (Bell 1998; 2005). It is clear that the account of the East Anglian conversion derived from the documentary sources does not provide a comprehensive explanation of events; rather, it provides a framework against which the contemporary archaeological evidence can be measured, compared and contrasted. This combined historical and archaeological approach to the East Anglian conversion is developed in the rest of this thesis and the next two chapters examine in detail the material evidence that is available to be studied. First, the evidence for Middle Saxon churches is considered and then attention turns to the evidence offered by the burial record.

CHAPTER FIVE: IDENTIFYING ANGLO-SAXON CHURCHES

'No church remains in the county [of Norfolk] antedate the 11th century'.

Neil Batcock (1988, 179)

Churches founded during the Middle Saxon period played an important part in the evangelisation of the region, but how might we recognise them and distinguish them from churches established during later periods? Churches first began to be founded in the seventh century and new churches continue to be founded to this day (see Morris 1989). There are approximately 1,600 known churches in Norfolk and Suffolk, of which about 100 have been founded during the last 300 years, the majority of them in urban centres (Batcock 1991; Cautley 1982). The remaining 1,500 churches are all of medieval or earlier origin, although a lack of corroborative documentary evidence makes it difficult to ascertain exactly when they were founded. Some 300 of these churches have now been declared redundant or are in various stages of ruination, but the remaining 1,200 still function as parish churches (Batcock 1991; 2005; Pevsner 1975; Pevsner and Wilson 1997; 1999).

The Anglo-Saxon period saw two main waves of church foundation. The first was associated with the conversion itself and gave rise to the network of missionary stations and minster churches which established the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical framework (Morris 1989, 93–139; Blair 2005, 79–290; Foot 2006, 75–137). The second wave of foundations occurred during the Late Saxon period, when the minster system fragmented, numerous local churches were founded and the parochial system was established (Morris 1989, 140–67; Blair 2005, 368–504). Therefore, by Domesday some of the churches we know today had been in existence for 400 years, many others were still comparatively new foundations and some had yet to be built. The churches of most relevance to this thesis are those which can be demonstrated to be Middle Saxon in their foundation date, or which can at least be argued to have Middle Saxon origins.

This chapter assesses the many forms of evidence for East Anglian Anglo-Saxon churches in order to identify those sources and churches which are of use to this study. Its structure builds on the historical themes of the last chapter by examining the evidence contained in Domesday Book, other Anglo-Saxon

documentary sources, and church dedications to Anglo-Saxon saints. The emphasis then shifts from documentary to material evidence, considering first extant Anglo-Saxon architecture and then moving on to the archaeological remains excavated from beneath churches. Finally, the focus is broadened to consider the usefulness of Anglo-Saxon artefacts found in graveyards as well as wider spreads of Anglo-Saxon material discovered adjacent to churches during fieldwalking surveys.
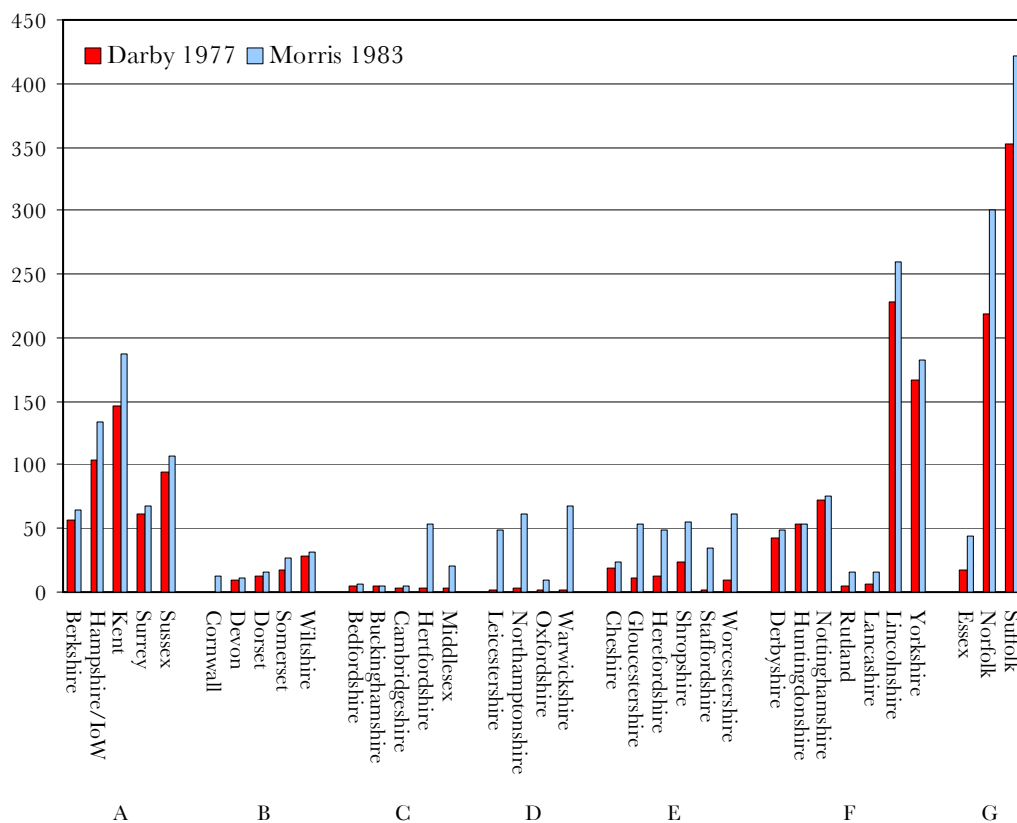
Figure 5.1. The number of places with Domesday churches (Darby 1977, 346) and the total number of Domesday churches (Morris 1983, 69) by Domesday county and recording circuit.

Domesday Book

Domesday Book was the product of a survey instigated in 1085 by William the Conqueror. His aim was to establish the extent of his lands and record the ownership and occupancy of the whole of England (Williams 2001, 143). Similarities between the records of individual counties suggest that the country was divided into a series of seven circuits, each visited by a different team of commissioners (Galbraith 1961, 12–44, 59–66; Darby 1977, 5–6). These

commissioners heard testimony from royal officials, gathered information from local juries and received written accounts from tenants-in-chief (Roffe 2000, 117–46). Their findings were collated into the two volumes which survive today: Great and Little Domesday Books (GDB and LDB respectively).

GDB is substantially the work of one scribe and, having been collected on a geographical basis, each circuit's returns were edited into a feudalistic format before being abbreviated into their final form (Thorn and Thorn 2001, 38–40, 56). LDB is of very different provenance and results from a different stage of the inquest process (Galbraith 1961, 9; Rumble 1987, 80–1; Roffe 2000, 220–3). Like GDB, the entries of LDB are also feudally structured, indicating that at least one reorganisation of the data has occurred. LDB, however, is the product of a number of scribes and its entries survive in a largely unedited form, unlike the heavily abstracted text of GDB (Roffe 2000, 89–94, 177–80). Consequently, LDB provides a lot of detail about the counties it contains – Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex – including the first historical references to a significant number of Norfolk churches and the vast majority of Suffolk churches.

Like everything in Domesday Book, churches were recorded because they were considered to be an asset. The fact that a large proportion of church entries give the acreages of land and meadow that they held suggests that their value as a source of income was the motivation behind their inclusion (Holdsworth 1986, 56). Churches were evidently common within the Late Saxon landscape, yet the way in which they were recorded in Domesday Book was very inconsistent. This is a feature of the Survey which has long been recognised (e.g. Ellis 1833, 286; Page 1915, 61), and comparison of the number of churches recorded in each county highlights the fact that variation occurred not only between the recording circuits, but also between the counties within them (Figure 5.1; Finn 1963, 190–3; Darby 1977, 346; Morris 1983, 69). Within Circuit G, the three counties recorded in LDB, the churches of Essex were recorded differently from those of Norfolk and Suffolk, suggesting that at least two groups of commissioners were at work. As Figure 5.1 demonstrates, Norfolk and Suffolk are the counties with the greatest number of recorded Domesday churches, meaning that the area of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of East Anglia is, fortunately, better provided for by this source than any other part of the country.
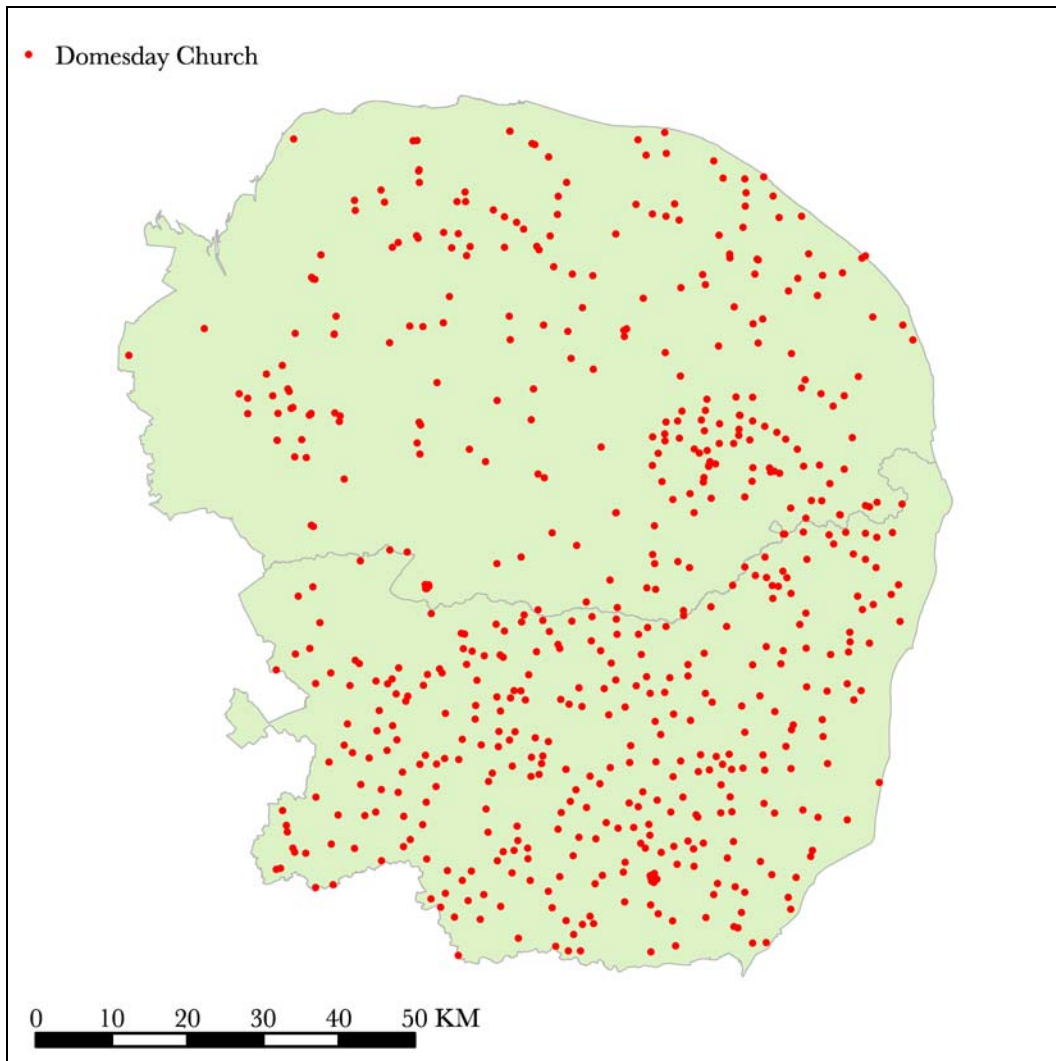
Figure 5.2. The Domesday churches of Norfolk and Suffolk.

The Domesday Churches of Norfolk and Suffolk

It is difficult to count the exact number of churches recorded in Domesday Book. Darby identified 249 churches and eleven priests in Domesday Norfolk, representing a total of 219 places with one or more churches and five with a priest but no church (Darby 1977, 346). He counted 427 churches and four priests in Suffolk, which he took to represent 352 places with at least one church and two with only priests (Darby 1977, 346). Morris identified 301 churches in Domesday Norfolk and 421 in Suffolk (Morris 1983, 69). Scarfe counted 274 Norfolk churches and 'about 418' Suffolk churches (Scarfe 1999, 52). To facilitate this discussion a spreadsheet of the references to Norfolk and Suffolk churches in LDB has been compiled and is presented here as Appendix II (Alecto 2002; Brown 1984; Rumble 1986). This produced a minimum of 276 Norfolk churches and 453

Suffolk churches. Their locations, in so far as they can be identified, are shown in Figure 5.2.

It is not surprising that these totals should vary so greatly, for decisions made by each scholar about the definition of a church obviously affect the outcome. This is particularly true with regard to priests and what they represent, as the work of Darby and Morris demonstrates. Fortunately, the majority of pertinent entries refer to a single church, but the matter becomes more complicated in instances where the survey lists places which had more than one church or only fractions of churches. Fractionated churches are characteristic of the Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire surveys and may have arisen through, for example, partible inheritance, a fragmenting estate or the division of their revenues as a result of joint foundation (Stenton 1924, xxi–xxii; Finn 1963, 194–5; Darby 1977, 53–5). Sometimes fractions of churches can be added together to create a whole church, as at Chippenhall, Suffolk, which had two halves of a church (LDB f.329 and f.368). Fractions are occasionally expressed as 'parts' which can also be added together, such as Aspall, Suffolk, where 'two parts' and the 'third part' of a church were recorded (LDB f.321 and f.418). More usually, it is not possible to reconstruct a whole church: three one-fifths of a church were listed for Raydon, in Suffolk, but no account was given of the missing portions (LDB f.377v and f.378).

Matters are even more complicated when fractions of more than one church are involved. For example, one whole church and one quarter of a second were recorded at Stoke Ferry in Norfolk (LDB f.251), while one whole church and two halves were recorded at Dagworth in Suffolk (LDB f.408v and f.409v). The entries pertaining to Debenham, Suffolk, are particularly fractionated, demonstrating the complexity that could arise in such situations. Reference was made to 'three parts' and 'two parts' of a church, along with three one-quarters and one third of additional churches (LDB f.305v and f.376v). Therefore, the possible number of churches ranges from two to six, but the Domesday text suggests that there were only two: 'two parts', two quarters and one third pertain to the church of St Mary, meaning that each 'part' of St Mary's was one twelfth; the other 'three parts' and one quarter comprise the church of St Andrew, meaning that each part was a quarter in this instance.

Indications of multiple churches were not just restricted to the fractionated entries and many places were recorded as having several churches. In all, 99 places are recorded as having multiple churches. Occasionally, these multiple churches might share a churchyard, a phenomenon still not entirely understood (Warner 1986; Groves 1995), but more usually they lay in close proximity to each other. An insight into how such an arrangement might occur is provided by the LDB entry for Thorney, Suffolk, which tells how four free men built a chapel on their own land, next to the cemetery of the existing parish church (LDB f.281v).

Sometimes multiple churches were spread out over a larger territory which has subsequently fragmented, the new territories thus created retaining a common element in their names. For example, two Domesday churches were recorded at Tivetshall in Norfolk (LDB f.210v and f.211), which now comprises the parishes of Tivetshall St Margaret and Tivetshall St Mary. Likewise, three churches were listed at Barsham, Norfolk, which now comprises North, East and West Barsham (LDB f.168 and f.168v). It is not always possible to identify such correlations, because churches were not always named in such a fashion and many such churches might now lie in neighbouring parishes under different names (Scarfe 1999, 52–3; Batcock 2005).

An Incomplete Survey

For all the detail, it is clear that more churches existed in the Late Saxon landscape than were recorded in Domesday Book. On a national scale, the lack of churches in the records of some counties is proof enough of this (Figure 5.1), yet even in Norfolk and Suffolk it is clear that the record was by no means complete. The high incidence of fractionated churches not adding up to a whole number also indicates that not all fractions of a church's revenues were included in the survey. Indeed, in some Suffolk entries this is explicitly indicated by a phrase to the effect that 'others have a share here' (LDB f.282v, f.283, f.326, f.388v, f.400v and f.407). Historical confirmation of the incomplete coverage of the Norfolk and Suffolk surveys is provided by the *Inquisitio Eliensis (IE)*, a twelfth-century collection of documents pertaining to the estates of the abbey of Ely, which seems to have been derived from the same source material as LDB (Roffe 2000, 100–1). The *IE* records seven Norfolk churches not mentioned in LDB, at East Dereham, Pulham

(which has two medieval churches), Bridgham, Northwold, West Walton, Terrington and the unidentified *Torp*. It also lists an additional church at Harpole, in Suffolk (Darby 1971, 138, 190).

NORFOLK HUNDRED	MNC		SUFFOLK HUNDRED	MNC
Norwich	24		Bosmere	46
Humbleyard	21		Blything	35
Clackclose	20		Blackbourn and Bradmere	33
North Erpingham	15		Hartismere	33
Henstead	14		Wangford	29
Clavering	14		Risbridge	25
Tunstead	13		Babergh Two Hundreds	24
Thetford	13		Samford Hundred and a Half	22
Eynsford	13		Bishop's	21
Gallow	11		Thingoe	19
Brothercross	9		Claydon	19
Depwade	8		Lackford	18
Holt	8		Thedwestry	17
Mitford Hundred and a Half	8		Loes	15
Loddon	8		Plomesgate	15
Happing	7		Wilford	14
South Erpingham	7		Cosford Half-Hundred	13
Blofield	7		Stow	13
Freebridge Hundred and a Half	7		Ipswich Half-Hundred	12
Taverham	7		Colneis	11
Diss Half-Hundred	6		Carlford	11
Greenhoe (South)	5		Lothing	5
Launditch	5		Parham Half-Hundred	3
East Flegg	4		Lothingland Half-Hundred	1
Wayland	4			
Guiltcross	3			
Walsham	3			
West Flegg	3			
Docking	2			
Shropham	2			
Earsham Half-Hundred	1			
Greenhoe (North)	1			
Grimshoe	1			
Smethdon	1			
Forehoe	1			

Figure 5.3. The Domesday hundreds of Norfolk and Suffolk and the minimum number of churches (MNC) recorded for each of them.

Additional confirmation of the incompleteness of LDB is afforded by the eleventh-century will of Edwin, a Norfolk thegn who lost his lands after the

Norman Conquest, which contains bequests to a number of Norfolk churches (Whitelock 1930, 86–9, 199–201). Edwin referred to churches at Sparham, Wreningham, Hapton and Fundenhall, all of which are mentioned in LDB, but he also mentioned churches at Little Melton, Ashwell, Nayland, Bergh and Holverston, which are not in LDB. Likewise, King Edward's confirmation of the lands and privileges of St Benet's Abbey at Holme, dated *c*.1047, lists twenty-eight churches, not all of which were recorded in LDB (Hart 1966, 92–3; Cotton 1980, 11–2). The examples cited here are not exhaustive, but serve to confirm that although the mention of a church in Domesday is proof of its existence in 1086, its absence from that source cannot be taken as proof that a church did not exist at that time.

A crude measure of the inadequacy of the Domesday record can be obtained by comparing the number of churches recorded for each of the Domesday hundreds of Norfolk and Suffolk (Figure 5.3). At least one church was recorded in all of the hundreds, although it is clear that very few churches were noted in some of them, suggesting that the completeness of the record was dependent on local factors. Without knowing how many churches there actually were in each Domesday hundred we are not able to quantify the degree to which they were, or were not, recorded. The preponderance of relatively high totals for some hundreds in Suffolk might suggest that churches in Norfolk were less well recorded, but we simply cannot be sure.

A possible explanation for this under-recording might be found in the fact that as a part of the data-collection process the Domesday commissioners received returns from the tenants-in-chief about their estates. The reporting of Domesday churches was, therefore, affected by how these lords chose to record their assets (Galbraith 1961, 82; Roffe 2000, 141–2). The accounts of a number of East Anglian tenants-in-chief include statements to the effect that their churches were included in the valuations of their manors and, as such, were not listed separately. Examples include the holdings of King William (LDB f.116), William de Warenne (LDB f.116 and f.172), St Benet's of Holme (LDB f.219) and Ranulf Peverel (LDB f.254 and f.254v). Once again, although we can identify the shortcoming its effect is difficult to quantify, for we do not know how many churches were held by each tenant-in-chief and therefore cannot know how thorough their recording was.

Other Documentary Evidence

Reference has already been made to other documentary sources, including the *Inquisitio Eliensis* and the will of Edwin. To these can be added a handful of other tenth- and early eleventh-century references to Suffolk churches made in a series of Anglo-Saxon wills (Figure 5.4). In his will of 942x51 Bishop Theodred of London referred to a minster at Mendham, to which he wished to leave a hide of land in Mendham and his estates at Shotford and Mettingham. He bequeathed his estates at Horham and Athelington to the religious community at St Ethelbert's church at Hoxne (which he elsewhere referred to as an episcopal demesne; above, pp.104–10) and also left estates at Nowton, Horningsheath, Ickworth and Whepstead to St Edmund's church in Bury (Whitelock 1930, 2–5, 99–103).

Another will, of Ælfgar, father of King Edmund's bride, and dated 946x951, gave an estate at Cockfield to St Edmund's at Bury. It also made several references to a religious foundation at Stoke by Nayland, to which Ælfgar bequeathed estates at Peldon and Mersea (both Essex), woodland at Ashfield and, if his children had no heirs, many of his other estates (Whitelock 1930, 6–9, 103–8). Two of Ælfgar's daughters, Æthelflæd and Ælfflæd, also made wills. Æthelflæd's, dated 975x991, refers to St Edmund's at Bury and to the foundation at Stoke by Nayland, both of which were ultimately intended to receive estates after the death of her sister, to whom they were to be given in the first instance (Whitelock 1930, 34–7, 137–41). Ælfflæd's will, dated 1000x02, as well as reiterating the gift of the bulk of the family's estates to Stoke by Nayland, bequeathed an estate at Waldringfield to St Gregory's church in Sudbury, an institution which was also remembered in the will of the Essex thegn, Æthelric (Whitelock 1930, 38–43, 141–6).

These wills are interesting for a number of reasons, not least for their vivid portrayal of the strong bonds maintained between members of the same family and individual religious institutions (Blair 1988b, 2–5). More importantly here, the wills attest to the existence of a number of Suffolk institutions in the tenth century. They also contain evidence of some early church dedications, a line of enquiry which might also be used in the investigation of Anglo-Saxon churches.
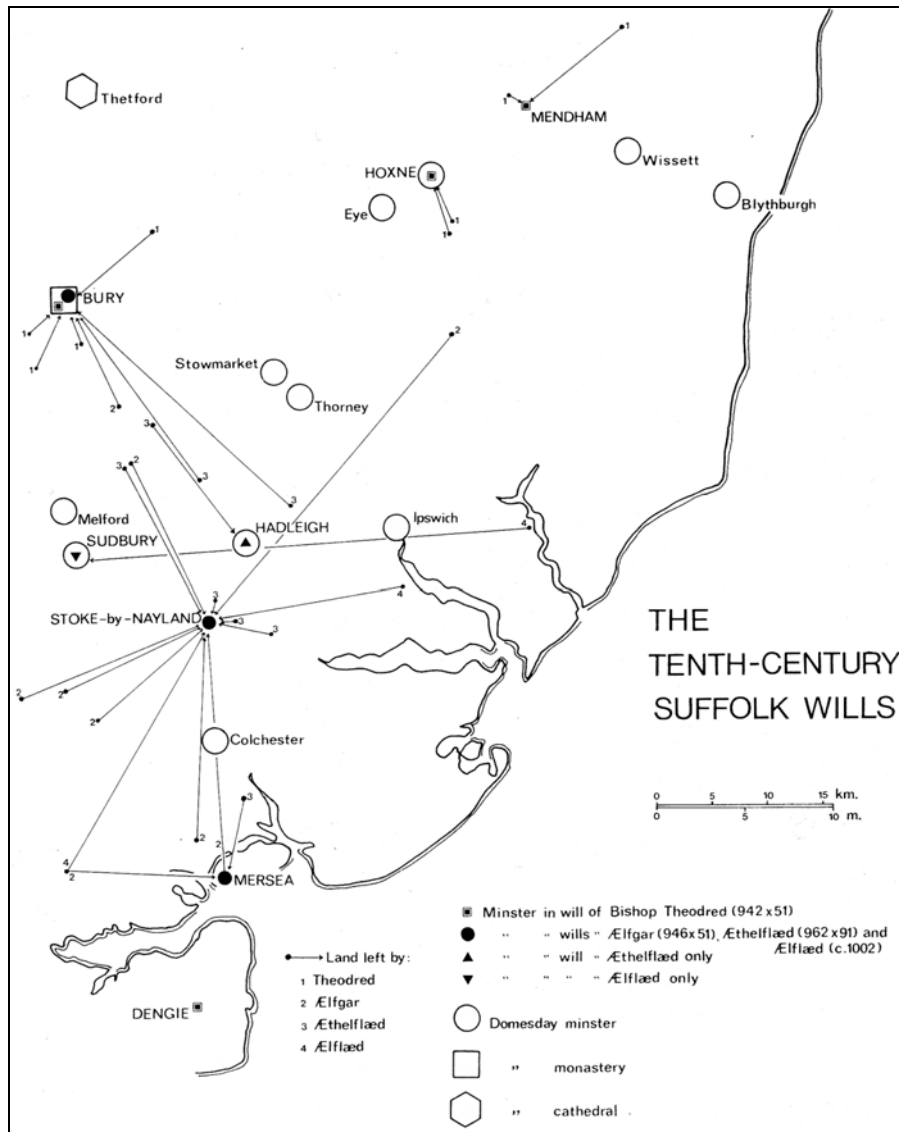
Figure 5.4. Bequests made in the tenth-century Suffolk wills. (Blair 1988b, fig. 1)

Church Dedications

The practice of dedicating churches to particular saints, religious concepts or particular events has been one characteristic of Christianity since at least the fourth century (Bond 1914, 1–16; Friar 2000, 153). The possible motivations for choosing particular dedications are many and varied: dedications may be made in memorial of a particular saint; because a particular saint founded the church; because of connections between a church and other churches, estates or religious houses; or simply because a particular saint was preferred by the local population or lord (Arnold-Forster 1899 vol. 1, 6–16; Bond 1914, 65–70; Orme 1996).

One school of thought argues that dedications can be used to gauge the

antiquity of a church and also to chart the development of ecclesiastical infrastructure (e.g. Bowen 1977; Everitt 1986). The church dedications of Cornwall (e.g. Padel 2002; Pearce 2004, 136–48) and Wales (e.g. Davies 1982, 141–93; Davies 2002) are characterised by what Bond describes as 'an extraordinary number of saints whom nobody has ever heard of' (Bond 1914, 25), by which he means the numerous dedications to local saints which typify the western regions. This preponderance of local saints has given rise to the suggestion that such churches came to be so dedicated because the saint in question had founded the church or had a personal connection with its site. This, in turn, has led to the patterns of these dedications being used to inform histories of the early Christian period (e.g. Bowen 1945; 1954; 1977). In a similar vein, Everitt attempted to use church dedications to chart the ecclesiastical development of Kent, although the dedications which he had to work with were very different to the western examples (Everitt 1986, 225–58). Many have rightly questioned the validity of such approaches, for it is perfectly possible that such dedications were made some considerable time after the church was founded, and the dedications themselves cannot be dated (e.g. Padel 2002; Davies 2002; Turner 2006, 8–9).

An exhaustive survey published by Arnold-Forster in 1899 demonstrated that, country-wide, by far the most frequent church dedication is to St Mary the Virgin, followed in close succession by dedications to All Saints, St Peter, St Michael and All Angels and St Andrew (Arnold-Forster 1899). Clearly the patterns of local dedications seen in the western church are not replicated across the rest of England, where dedications to more universally known saints were preferred (Bond 1914, 1–27; Rollason 1989; Clayton 1990). However, that is not to say that local dedications did not occur in Anglo-Saxon England; Blair has argued that dedications to local Anglo-Saxon saints may have been much more widespread that we realise, but that knowledge of these dedications simply did not survive long past the end of the Anglo-Saxon period (Blair 2002a). In any event, there can be no doubt that our understanding of pre-Conquest patterns of church dedication is particularly poor, not least because of the paucity of documentary sources which record the dedications of Anglo-Saxon churches (Levison 1946, 259–65; Butler 1986; Orme 1996, 11–24).
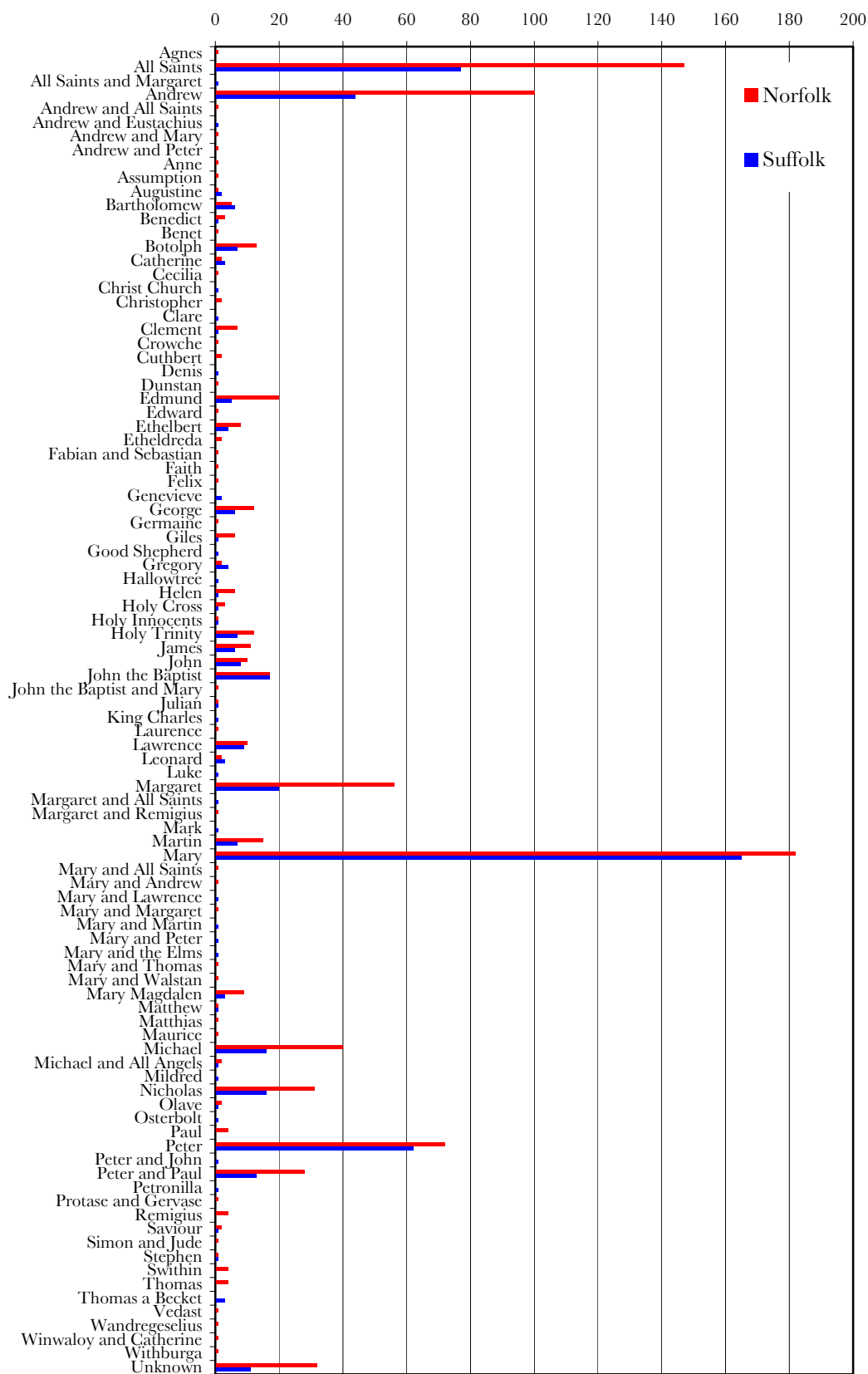
Figure 5.5. The frequency of church dedications in Norfolk and Suffolk.

Reference has already been made to the church dedications mentioned in the tenth-century Suffolk wills and these are considered further below. An additional reference to a church of St Martin at Shotesham appears in King Edward's confirmation of the holdings of St Benet's Abbey (Hart 1966, 93), but otherwise the earliest documentary references for some church dedications are contained in Domesday Book. In Norwich churches dedicated to All Saints (LDB f.116), St Martin, St Michael, Holy Trinity, St Laurence (LDB f.116v), and St Simon and St Jude (LDB f.117v) were recorded. A church dedicated to St Benedict was listed in Yarmouth (LDB f.118v), while in Thetford churches dedicated to St Helen (LDB f.136) and St Mary were also noted, the latter being described as having four churches attached to it: St Peter's, St John's, St Martin's and St Margaret's (LDB f.118v). Elsewhere, it is stated that a priest named Colbern built a church dedicated to St Nicholas at an unspecified site in Norfolk's Humbleyard Hundred (LDB f.263v).

In Suffolk, dedications are recorded in Ipswich to the Holy Trinity, St Mary, St Augustine, St Michael (LDB f.290), St Lawrence, St Peter, St Stephen (LDB f.290v), St George (LDB f.421v) and St Julian (LDB f.446v). Also specified are churches at Eye, Thurleston and Sudbury dedicated to, respectively, St Peter (LDB f.319v), St Botolph (LDB f.290v) and St Gregory (LDB f.286v). The latter is also mentioned in the will of Ælfflæd, while St Edmund's church at Bury was mentioned in the wills of Ælfgar, Æthelflæd and Theodred. Theodred also referred to St Ethelbert's church at Hoxne, dedicated to the East Anglian king whose beheading by King Offa is recorded in the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* for the year 794 (Whitelock 1930, 2–9, 34–43; Whitelock *et al.* 1961, 36). The fractionated churches of St Mary and St Andrew at Debenham have already been mentioned (LDB f.305v and f.376v).

These isolated examples aside, the first historical records of the vast majority of East Anglian church dedications are at best medieval and, in many cases, post-medieval in date. Indeed, despite extensive historical research, the dedications of 43 ruined churches remain a mystery (Linnell 1962; Cautley 1982; Batcock 1991). These are shown in Figure 5.5 along with the 1,439 medieval East Anglian churches for which the modern dedications are known. A detailed list of the dedications of each of the 1,482 churches is given in Appendix III. The

majority of these dedications are to more widely known saints and the popularity of dedications to St Mary, All Saints, St Andrew, St Peter, St Margaret, St Michael, St Nicholas and SS Peter and Paul is clearly illustrated (Arnold-Forster 1899; Bond 1914; Linnell 1946).
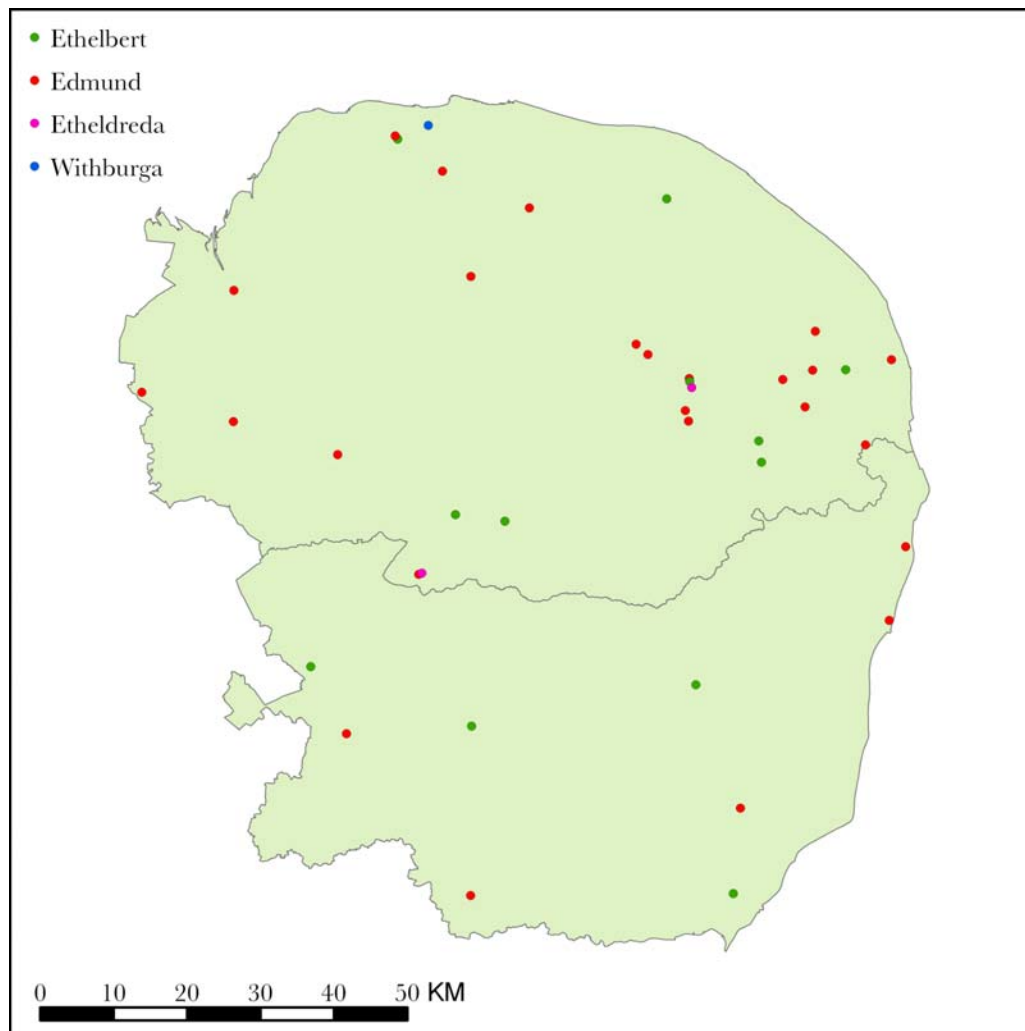
Figure 5.6. Medieval churches dedicated to St Ethelbert, St Edmund, St Etheldreda and St Withburga.

Among these dedications are a number to East Anglian royal saints or to individuals involved in the conversion of East Anglia (Figures 5.6 and 5.7). Reference has already been made to the beheading of Ethelbert and twelve East Anglian churches are dedicated to him, although whether they were dedicated as a direct response to his martyrdom or as the result of a later cult is a matter of debate (Linnell 1962, 18; Butler 1986, 46; Blair 2002b, 505–6). Twenty-five churches are dedicated to the more famous East Anglian king, Edmund, martyred

at the hands of Ivarr in 869 and after whose burial place Bury St Edmunds was named (Blair 2002b, 528). The cult of St Edmund enjoyed widespread popularity in the Late Saxon and post-Conquest periods and doubtless resulted in a number of Edmund dedications. Similarly, an dedication to Edmund might result from an estate having been held by the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, as was the case at Caistor St Edmund (Ridyard 1988, 211–33). In addition to the martyred kings, dedications to two of King Anna's daughters also occur: two churches are dedicated to Etheldreda (Æthelthryth), who eventually became Abbess of Ely and whose cult flourished in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries (Butler 1986, 46; Blair 2002b, 507–8); and one church is dedicated to Anna's youngest daughter, Withburga, who, according to the *Liber Eliensis*, founded a nunnery at Dereham (Rose 1993; Davison 1993a; Blair 2002b, 559).
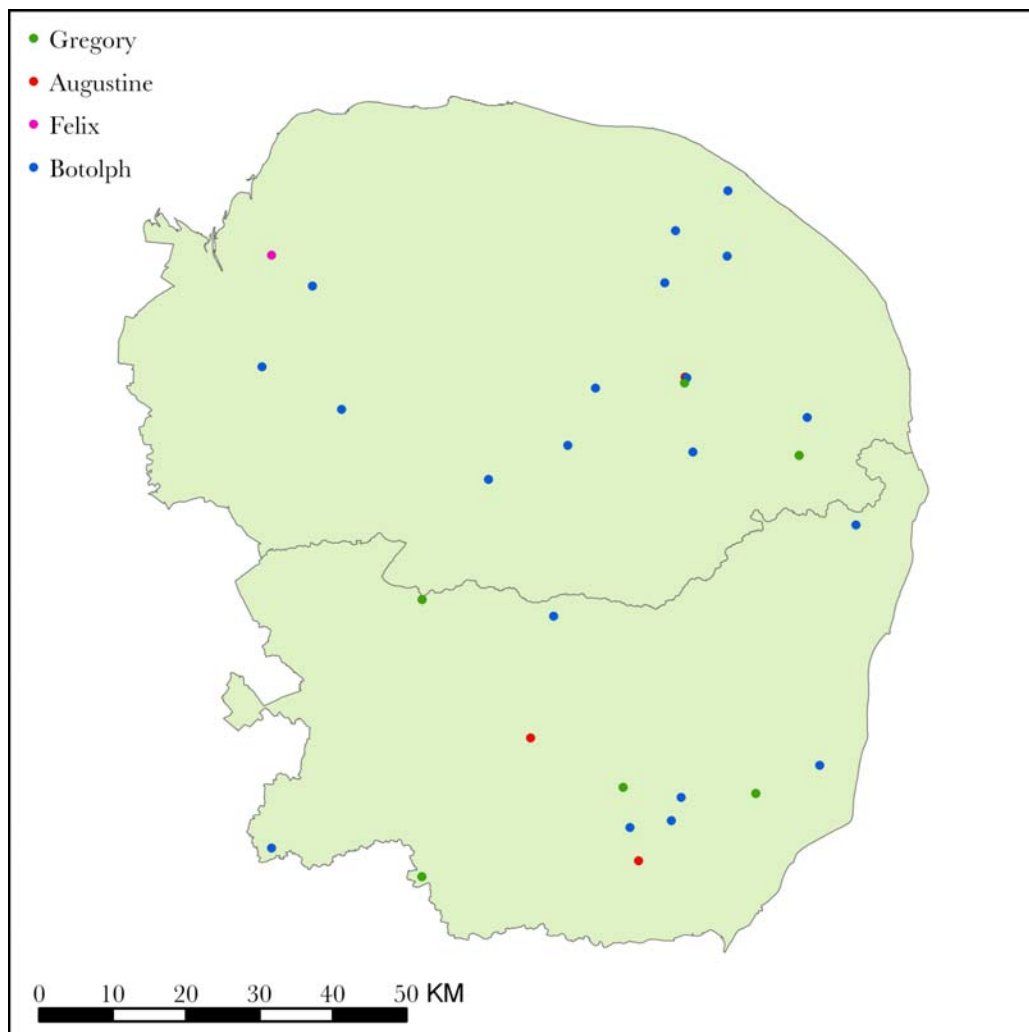
Figure 5.7. Medieval churches dedicated to St Gregory,
St Augustine, St Felix and St Botolph.

Those individuals concerned with the establishment of Christianity in East Anglia are also remembered in church dedications. St Gregory – Pope Gregory the Great – is the subject of six dedications, including that at the Anglo-Saxon royal vill of Rendlesham. St Augustine has only three dedications and St Felix one, at Babingley (Norfolk), where, according to Camden, he first landed in the seventh century (Moralee 1982; Jones 1999, 53–9). Botolph has twenty East Anglian dedications, including the site of his minster at Iken, although he was unlikely to have named this after himself. As was discussed above (pp.115–21), Botolph dedications are largely the result of the development of his cult in the post-Conquest period (Toy 2003; Blair 2004).

Before too much is made of the significance of these dedications several problems need to be considered, problems so fundamental that they effectively rule out the possibility of using church dedications to serve historical ends. First, it would appear that many churches remained undedicated even into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, at which point there was a widespread move to provide them with dedications (Linnell 1962, 22; Orme 1996, 25–41). Second, our inability to date church dedications accurately is a major obstacle to their use in historical studies. While it is true that certain dedications were periodically fashionable, that does not guarantee that a dedication dates to a particular period. Indeed, with the exception of those saints whose date of death provides a *terminus post quem*, such as Thomas Becket, whose martyrdom occurred in 1170, most dedications could date from any point from the seventh century onwards (Butler 1986; Orme 1996, 3–10; Turner 2006, 8–9). A third difficulty is that we have no real way of verifying the provenance of the dedications currently known to us and it would appear that a substantial number of dedications may have changed or been forgotten over the years (Arnold-Forster 1899 vol. 2, 507–563; Bond 1914, 189–93; Friar 2000, 153). It is noteworthy that the churches dedicated to the Holy Trinity and to St Michael recorded in the LDB entry for Ipswich no longer survive, while the church of St Peter recorded at Eye is now dedicated to SS Peter and Paul (LDB f.290 and f.319v). In his study of Norfolk dedications Linnell revealed a number of churches for which the medieval dedication differed from the modern (Linnell 1962, 24–46). The reasons for such changes may be related to changing ecclesiological fashions, such as the rededication of Wymondham Abbey

from St Mary and St Alban to St Mary and St Thomas after Becket's martyrdom (Linnell 1962, 16), but the majority of the changes ultimately derive from the effects of the Reformation.

In the aftermath of the Reformation church dedications were strongly associated with popery and as the importance of individual saints dwindled the dedications of churches appear to have been forgotten (Bond 1914, 191–2; Northeast 1995). Indeed, by the eighteenth century it was necessary for antiquarians to begin researching the lost dedications of churches as interest in them grew again and it was not until the late nineteenth century that every church once again had a dedication (Orme 1996, 42–51; Northeast 1995, 201). Therefore, whilst many dedications may well have remained the same, a significant number of them are conjectural back-projections and others might be the result of confusion over places with the same or similar names. For example, the church at Brampton in Norfolk, historically known to have been dedicated to St Andrew, was later ascribed a dedication to St Peter, the same dedication as the Suffolk Brampton (Northeast 1995, 202). Northeast is able to list a number of other Suffolk examples of post-Reformation mistakes in the attribution of dedications, and the evidence collected by Linnell would suggest that a similar number of mistakes might be found in Norfolk dedications were a more thorough examination to be made (Northeast 1995; Linnell 1962).

Ultimately, while church dedications might enable some light to be shed on the Anglo-Saxon churches of East Anglia, their use as historical evidence is so beset with difficulties that the exercise would be rendered largely meaningless. With this negative conclusion the historical evidence for Anglo-Saxon churches in East Anglia is exhausted and we must turn instead to the material evidence for such structures, in the form of surviving architectural features and archaeological deposits.

Anglo-Saxon Architecture

Anglo-Saxon architecture has been actively studied since the mid-eighteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century saw a particularly intense interest taken in the subject (Rickman 1817; Brown 1903; 1925; Clapham 1930; 1936; Hunter 1977, 129–34). Anglo-Saxon architectural studies arguably reached

their zenith in 1965 with the publication of the Taylors' two-volume *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, containing descriptions and illustrations of all the English parish churches which, in their opinion, contained architectural features in an Anglo-Saxon style (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 2). A third volume followed in 1978, in which Harold Taylor adopted a typological approach to many of the features described in the earlier volumes and put these features into their national context (Taylor 1978). It is no understatement to say that the Taylors' work has underpinned all of the subsequent work on the subject, including that of Fernie (1983) and Gem (1993), and it also informs this thesis.

The study of Anglo-Saxon architecture is beset by two difficulties: the fact that few examples survive and the fact that even fewer can be dated with certainty. Once founded, the locations of churches have rarely changed; yet most of the buildings themselves have been greatly altered over time (Parsons 1998, 11–3; Rodwell 2005, 77–82). Consequently, the most prosperous, and therefore most developed, medieval churches might be expected to preserve the least Anglo-Saxon architecture and those which were less well off to preserve it rather better. This tends to mean that the extant examples of Anglo-Saxon architecture lie in remote and 'unfashionable' places (Kerr and Kerr 1983).

Whereas the architectural styles of the medieval period can be ascribed broadly accurate date-ranges via contemporary documentary sources, the lack of any equivalent pre-Conquest sources means that the same approach cannot easily be taken when studying Anglo-Saxon architecture (Taylor 1972, 259, 263–4). Taylor was only able to cite five Anglo-Saxon churches which can be dated solely by historical means and a further four which can be dated via a combination of historical and archaeological evidence (Taylor 1978, 737–46). None of these churches are in East Anglia. Ultimately, the Taylors resorted to structural analysis to identify building phases and features which pre-dated recognisably Norman workmanship (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 1–3; Taylor 1972, 261–9; 1976, 3–7). In all, they found forty churches at which such a stratigraphic sequence existed, the only East Anglian instance being Framingham Earl (Norfolk), where Norman dressed-stone doorways and the chancel arch had clearly been set into older flintwork (Taylor 1978, 748).

The absence of any real primary dating evidence means that the hope of

developing an absolute chronology of Anglo-Saxon architecture in this fashion is a faint one (Gem 1986, 146). However, it has proved possible to identify a number of architectural features which characterise the Anglo-Saxon style (Brown 1925; Clapham 1930; Taylor 1978). The distinction between features in an Anglo-Saxon *style* and of an Anglo-Saxon *date* is an important one, for a building may be pre-Conquest in style and yet be post-Conquest in date. This is the case at Norwich Cathedral, where six Anglo-Saxon-style circular windows are to be found in the western wall of the cloister, a building of known post-Conquest date (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 470–1). We have no clear indication of how soon after the Conquest the Anglo-Saxon architectural styles were superseded by the Romanesque, but, in the words of Stephen Heywood, it is naïve to assume that 'every Anglo-Saxon mason was killed on the battlefield at Hastings' (Heywood 1988, 170). In later periods the transition from one architectural style to another was subject to considerable local variation and we should not assume that the process was either quick or geographically uniform (Fernie 1999, 3–5).
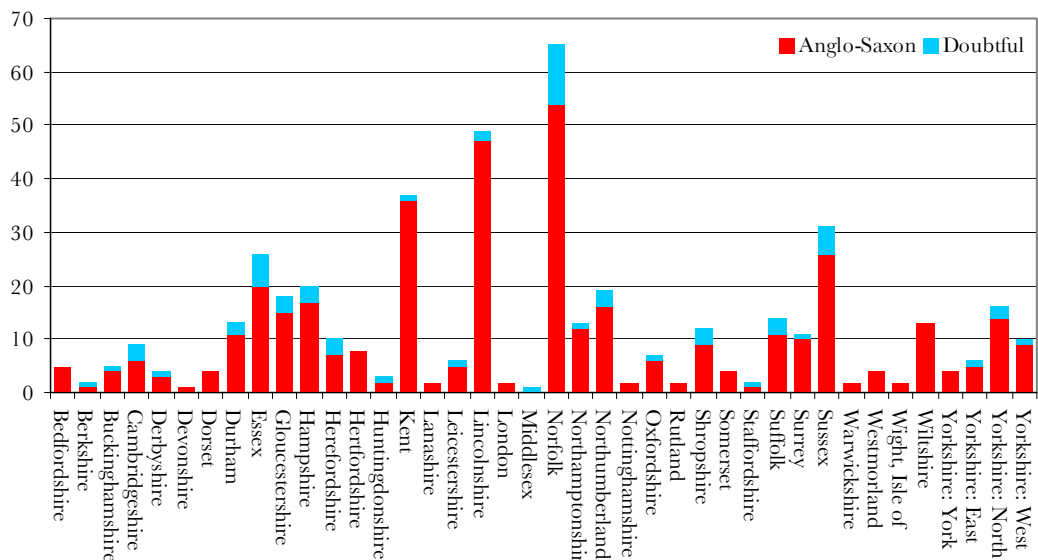
Figure 5.8. The number of 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'doubtful' churches listed by Taylor and Taylor (1965, 726–30) broken down by pre-1974 counties.

The Taylors included 464 churches in their survey, dividing them into two main categories: 402 churches with definite Anglo-Saxon features and an additional sixty-two churches with features not sufficiently definite to warrant full discussion. In total, the Taylors listed sixty-five East Anglian churches with Anglo-Saxon features, of which fifty-four are in Norfolk and eleven in Suffolk. A further

eleven Norfolk and three Suffolk churches were considered to be doubtful, bringing the total number of East Anglian churches considered to seventy-nine, 17 per cent of the Taylors' total. Figure 5.8 places these totals in their national context and demonstrates that the number of churches with Anglo-Saxon features is higher in Norfolk than in any other county, considerably so if the doubtful cases are included as well. The number of Anglo-Saxon churches in Suffolk is much more typical.

Figure 5.9. All Saints' church, Newton-by-Castle Acre from the north-west.

The Taylors' figures are not an indication of the actual number of Anglo-Saxon churches that may have stood in any particular county; they simply reflect the *survival* of architectural features of this date to the present. In most counties the vast majority of parish churches were undoubtedly in existence by Domesday and their numbers appear to have remained relatively constant throughout the medieval period, generally exhibiting an increase in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Norfolk appears to have had a great many churches at Domesday, presumably a reflection of its much higher Late Saxon population density (Williamson and Skipper 2005). Over time this population density fell and so a

large number of churches have retained their Anglo-Saxon features because the settlements to which they belonged were unable to support the expense of additional building work to expand or update their churches (Batcock 1991). A good example is All Saints' church, Newton-by-Castle Acre, essentially a Late Saxon church which failed to develop because Castle Acre itself drew the settlement away from the church (Figure 5.9).

NORFOLK	Tower	Triangular-topped Belfry	Round-topped Belfry	Long and Short Work	Undressed Quoins	Pilaster Strips	Circular Double Splay Window	Arched Double Splay Window	Single Splay Window	Arched Door	Triangular-topped Door	Taylors' Date
Antingham, St Margaret	West				✓							Doubtful
Aslacton	Round	✓										C3 (1050–1100)
Barsham, West	West				✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	C3 (1050–1100)
Bawsey	Central										✓	Doubtful
Beachamwell, St Mary	Round	✓	✓	✓								C3 (1050–1100)
Beeston St Lawrence	Round				✓				✓			C3 (1050–1100)
Bessingham	Round	✓			✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	C3 (1050–1100)
Brockdish	West								✓			Doubtful
Burnham Deepdale	Round					✓			✓	✓	✓	C3 (1050–1100)
Burnham Norton	Round				✓							Doubtful
Colney	Round					✓		✓				C3 (1050–1100)
Coltishall	West						✓			✓		C3 (1050–1100)
Cranwich	Round							✓		✓		C (950–1100)
Cringleford	West							✓				C (950–1100)
Dunham, Great	Central		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	C3 (1050–1100)
Fishley	Round		✓		✓							Doubtful
Forncett St Peter	Round	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓		C3 (1050–1100)
Framlingham Earl	Round				✓	✓	✓					C3 (1050–1100)
Framlingham Pigot	N-W				✓		✓	✓				C3 (1050–1100)
Gayton Thorpe	Round				✓			✓			✓	C3 (1050–1100)
Gissing	Round		✓				✓		✓			C3 (1050–1100)
Guestwick	West				✓	✓			✓	✓		C (950–1100)
Haddiscoe	Round	✓					✓		✓			C3 (1050–1100)
Hales	Round							✓	✓			Saxo-Norman
Heigham, St Bartholomew	West				✓							C (950–1100)
Houghton-on-the-Hill	West							✓				C3 (1050–1100)
Howe	Round				✓		✓	✓				C3 (1050–1100)
Kirby Cane	Round					✓						C (950–1100)
Letheringsett	Round								✓			Saxo-Norman
Lexham, East	Round		✓								✓	C (950–1100)
Lopham, South	Central						✓					C3 (1050–1100)
Melton, Great, All Saints	West				✓			✓		✓	✓	C (950–1100)
Merton	Round				✓				✓			Doubtful

NORFOLK	Tower	Triangular-topped Belfry	Round-topped Belfry	Long and Short Work	Undressed Quoins	Pilaster Strips	Circular Double Splay Window	Arched Double Splay Window	Single Splay Window	Arched Door	Triangular-topped Door	Taylors' Date
Morningthorpe	Round							✓	✓			C3 (1050–1100)
Morton-on-the-Hill	Round				✓			✓				C (950–1100)
Newton-by-Castle Acre	Central	✓			✓			✓				C3 (1050–1100)
Norwich, John de Sepulchre	West			✓					✓			C (950–1100)
Norwich, John Timberhill	West			✓								C (950–1100)
Norwich, Martin at Palace	West			✓								C (950–1100)
Norwich, St Julian	Round					✓	✓	✓				C3 (1050–1100)
Norwich, St Mary Coslany	Round	✓										C3 (1050–1100)
Quidenham	Round					✓	✓					C (950–1100)
Rockland, All Saints	West			✓								C3 (1050–1100)
Roughton	Round	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓			C3 (1050–1100)
Ryburgh, Great	Round				✓						✓	C3 (1050–1100)
Scole	West											Doubtful
Sedgeford	Round								✓			Doubtful
Seething	Round				✓	✓						Doubtful
Shereford	Round				✓			✓			✓	C3 (1050–1100)
Snoring, Little	None											Saxo-Norman
Sustead	Round				✓							Doubtful
Swainsthorpe, St Peter	Round				✓			✓				C (950–1100)
Tasburgh	Round					✓			✓			C3 (1050–1100)
Thornage	West			✓	✓			✓				C3 (1050–1100)
Thorpe Abbots	Round				✓					✓		C (950–1100)
Thorpe-next-Haddiscoe	Round				✓	✓	✓		✓			C3 (1050–1100)
Walsham, North	West				✓			✓				C (950–1100)
Weybourne	Central	✓			✓	✓	✓					C3 (1050–1100)
Wickmere	Round				✓	✓						Saxo-Norman
Witton	Round				✓	✓	✓					C3 (1050–1100)
Yaxham	Round				✓	✓				✓		Saxo-Norman
SUFFOLK												
Barham	South											Doubtful
Bradley Parva	Round			✓								C3 (1050–1100)
Claydon	West			✓								C3 (1050–1100)
Debenham	West			✓					✓			C (950–1100)
Fakenham Magna	West			✓								C3 (1050–1100)
Flixton	West		✓					✓	✓		✓	C (950–1100)
Gosbeck	South			✓					✓	✓		Saxo-Norman
Hasketon	Round								✓			Doubtful
Hemingstone	West			✓								C (950–1100)
Herringfleet	Round	✓						✓	✓	✓		C3 (1050–1100)
Mettingham	Round				✓							Doubtful
Thorington	Round					✓			✓			Saxo-Norman

Figure 5.10. East Anglian churches containing architectural features in an Anglo-Saxon style (compiled from Taylor and Taylor 1965).

The churches which the Taylors included in their survey contain a number of architectural features considered typical of the Anglo-Saxon period: ground- and upper-floor doorways; single- and double-splayed windows; round- and triangular-headed double belfry openings; undressed quoins; long-and-short work; and decorative pilaster strips. These features are discussed below, while Figure 5.10 lists the East Anglian churches described by the Taylors and notes which Anglo-Saxon architectural features were present in each building.

A number of Anglo-Saxon doorways survive in the churches of East Anglia. Typically, such doorways were cut straight through the thickness of a wall and had flat, rounded or triangular heads. They tend not to survive on the ground floor of churches, as doorways were often enlarged, but a number of doors survive in the first storeys of western or central towers, from whence they led into the roof-space of the nave (Taylor 1978, 799–805). The Taylors recorded thirteen East Anglian churches with at least one surviving round-topped doorway, eleven in Norfolk and two in Suffolk, and eleven churches with at least one extant triangular-topped doorway, all bar one of them in Norfolk. Only five churches had both round- and triangular-topped doorways.

Single-splayed windows, with their frame flush with the exterior wall and the splay opening into the body of the church, were found in twenty-three East Anglian churches, seventeen in Norfolk and six in Suffolk. Single-splayed windows were built throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, into the Norman period and beyond, although certain methods of construction, such as the use of rubble jambs and a round head cut into a square lintel, have been argued to indicate Anglo-Saxon workmanship (Taylor 1978, 836–7). By contrast, double-splayed windows, especially circular ones, are a distinctive part of the Anglo-Saxon architectural style and rarely occur in Norman buildings (Taylor 1978, 836). There are two forms of double-splayed window – circular and round-arched – both of which have their openings in the middle of the thickness of the wall and have large splays inside and out. The Taylors identified eighteen East Anglian churches that had one or more surviving circular double-splayed windows, only one of which was in Suffolk. They also identified seventeen churches with at least one surviving round-topped double-splayed window; all of these were in Norfolk. Only six churches contained both circular and round-topped double-splayed windows.

Double belfry openings have long been recognised as a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon style, both in the form of two lights topped with crude round arches and two lights topped with triangular heads (Figure 5.9; Taylor 1978, 872–3). The Taylors recorded seven East Anglian churches with at least one rounded-headed double belfry opening, six of them in Norfolk. Ten churches, nine of them from Norfolk, were recorded as having triangular-headed double belfry openings. In most cases each church possessed three or four double openings, facing the cardinal points, although only two churches had a mixture of round- and triangular-headed belfry openings.

The Taylors also considered three main characteristics of church construction to be typically Anglo-Saxon: the use of long-and-short work; the construction of quoins from undressed stone; and the use of pilaster strips. Long-and-short work, in which large dressed stones are laid alternately on their side and on their end to create a quoin, is widely recognised as an Anglo-Saxon trait (Taylor 1978, 939–44). Thirteen East Anglian churches had at least one surviving example of a long-and-short quoin, seven from Norfolk and six from Suffolk. These six comprise half of the Suffolk churches listed in the Taylors' survey, meaning that long-and-short work is the most diagnostic Anglo-Saxon feature in that county. The use of long-and-short work is largely dependent upon the availability of freestone with which to build it. East Anglia is not an area in which suitable freestone occurs naturally, making those churches with long-and-short all the rarer and requiring that early stonemasons sought other solutions to the problem of weak corners. One solution, constructing quoins using the largest and most regular pieces of stone available, appears to have been widely practised (Figure 5.9). Many undressed quoins would have subsequently been replaced when dressed stone became available, but at least one undressed quoin survives in thirty-one East Anglian churches, thirty of them in Norfolk.

The final Anglo-Saxon architectural detail considered by the Taylors was the pilaster, a raised vertical strip of either dressed stone or shaped rubble. Pilasters were designed to look decorative, but also performed the important structural function of strengthening the walls (Taylor 1978, 915–21). Twenty-one East Anglian churches were recorded with at least some surviving traces of pilasters, only two of them in Suffolk. All bar three of these churches have round

towers as well and in many instances the pilasters fill the acute angles between the flat western wall of the nave and the curve of the tower.

Taylor concluded that single-splayed windows occurred throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, while double-splayed windows, long-and-short work and pilasters all indicated a ninth-century date or later (Taylor 1978, 1068–70). Belfry openings signified a date from the mid-tenth century onwards, while the double belfry opening was a feature of the late eleventh century onwards. In accordance with these observations the Taylors were in doubt as to whether fourteen of their East Anglian churches were of Anglo-Saxon date at all. They ascribed eighteen others to the rather broad period 'C' (950–1100), a further thirty-five to period 'C3' (1050–1100), and described the remaining seven as being of Saxo-Norman date, a period assumed to broadly overlap with 'C3' and continue into the twelfth century. The Taylors' conclusion is clear: although there are a number of East Anglian churches in which features of Anglo-Saxon style are preserved, at least two-thirds of them date from the period of the Conquest or later and, conceivably, the other third do as well.

The Taylors' catalogue is by no means complete, for there are churches with Anglo-Saxon features of which they were unaware, others where concealed features have since come to light and any number of churches over which academic opinion is divided (Heywood 2005b). Despite this, their catalogue remains the most comprehensive survey of the subject and it is unlikely that the inclusion of further examples in their analyses would have greatly altered the conclusions of their work. Ultimately, this discussion demonstrates that architectural studies are of no practical use to an attempt to study the early Anglo-Saxon church in East Anglia, for the simple reason that there are no surviving architectural remains from that period. Nevertheless, there is one further building element which has been held over for a discussion of its own, as it is the most commonly cited feature in discussions of East Anglian Anglo-Saxon churches – the round tower.

Round-towered Churches

No discussion of this kind would be complete without considering the round towers which are such a common feature of the region's parish churches. Over the

years there has been a great deal of debate about them, yet little consensus has been achieved. It is difficult to know how many round towers may once have stood, for any number of them could have subsequently been replaced, but Heywood states that there are 174 extant round towers in Britain, fifteen ruinous examples and evidence for another sixteen which are no longer extant (Figure 5.11; Heywood 2005a). Although the towers are distributed across a number of counties, they are primarily an East Anglian phenomenon. Norfolk contains 144 round towers (70 per cent), while Suffolk accounts for a further forty-three (21 per cent). The locations of these towers are plotted in Figure 5.12, which demonstrates that most of the towers are clustered in south-east Norfolk and north-east Suffolk, around the Yare and Waveney river valleys. This distribution can in part be explained by the area having been the most densely populated part of the region during the Late Saxon and early medieval periods, when the majority of the towers were constructed (Williamson and Skipper 2005).

	Standing	Ruinous	Gone	Total
Norfolk	123	11	10	**144**
Suffolk	38	3	2	**43**
Essex	6	0	2	**8**
Cambridgeshire	2	0	0	**2**
Sussex	3	0	0	**3**
Berkshire	2	0	0	**2**
Kent	0	0	1	**1**
Surrey	0	0	1	**1**
Egilsay (Orkney)	0	1	0	**1**
Total	**174**	**15**	**16**	**205**

Figure 5.11. Round-towered churches in Britain. (Heywood 2005a)

Perhaps the most enduring debate over round towers concerns the reasons behind their distinctive shape. Functionally, there is very little difference between round towers and their square counterparts: both have tower-arches, many also have first-storey doorways and upper-storey bell chambers (Heywood 1988, 169). One widely circulated, but wholly wrong, explanation for their shape is that the towers were originally the stone linings of well-shafts, which erosion of the surrounding landscape left standing proud and onto which opportunistic parishioners subsequently built their churches (cited in Messent 1958, xviii). A more pragmatic explanation, first expressed by Gage in 1831 and now widely accepted, sees round towers as a logical solution to the problem of building stone

towers in a region where there is no naturally occurring freestone with which to create square quoins (Gage 1831, 17; Gunn 1849; Messent 1958, xvii; Hart 2003, 13–14). It is worth noting at this point that twenty of the churches with undressed quoins also have round western towers.
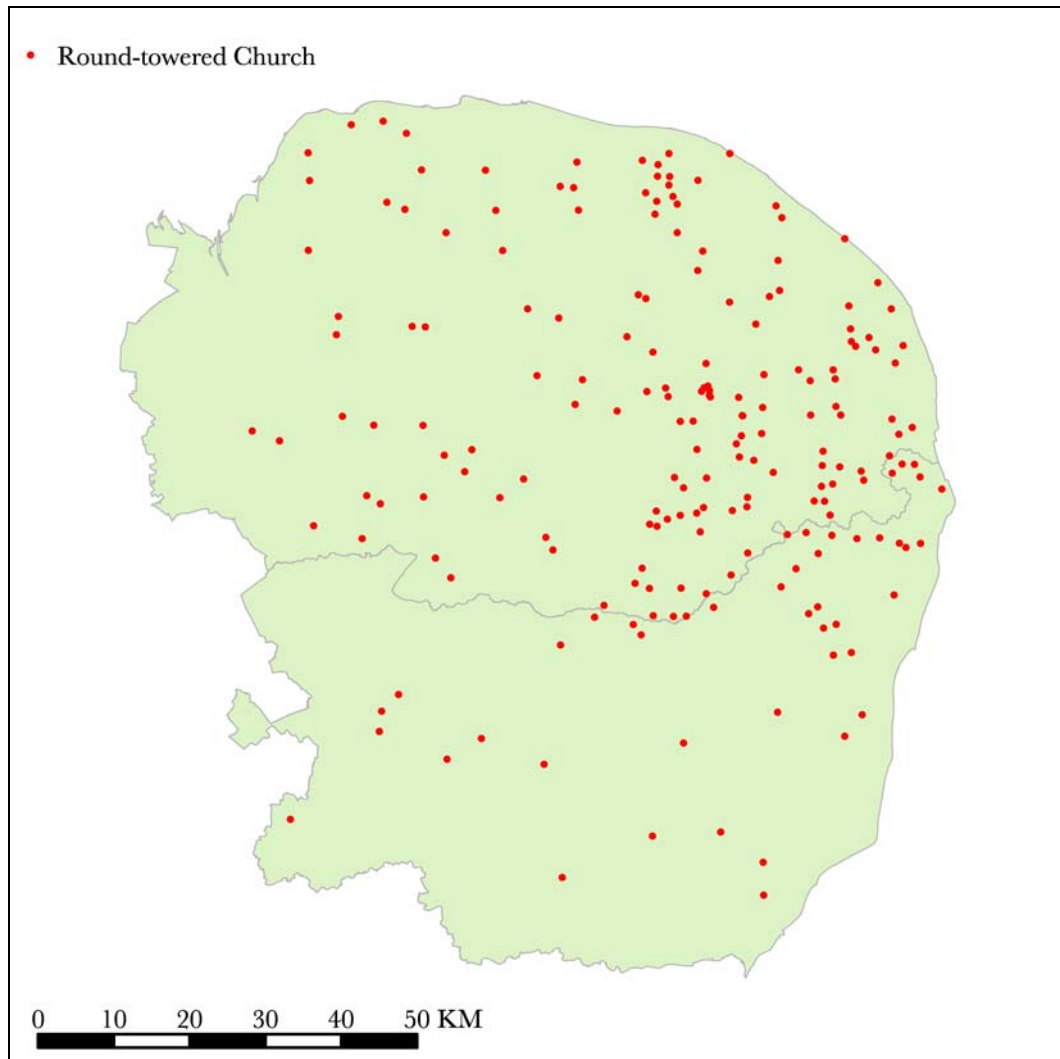
Figure 5.12. The distribution of round towers in Norfolk and Suffolk.

Fernie counters this argument with the observation that round towers were not constructed in other areas which have a paucity of freestone (Fernie 1983, 168), but it certainly appears to have been the solution adopted within East Anglia. Heywood disputes the assertion that a round flint tower would have been easier to construct than a square one without freestone, highlighting the difficulty of attaching a circular tower to a flat western gable-end and pointing out that some round towers are built from materials more suited to square towers

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(Heywood 1988; 2005). Instead, he suggests that the prevalence of round towers was a result of cultural contacts with northern Germany and southern Sweden, both regions which have round towers built in a similar style (Heywood 1988, 171–3; 2005a). Such arguments leave a lot to be desired: Heywood does not attempt to explain why the Continental towers should be round either and it is perfectly possible to turn this argument around and suggest that the English towers were the original influence for their Continental counterparts (Hart 2003, 13). On balance, it seems safe to assume that the shape of a round tower was largely determined by the available building materials and that it subsequently became an architectural characteristic of the region.

Dating is one of the most divisive issues surrounding round towers. In 1829 Gage recorded the received opinion that the round towers were of Danish origin, although his own research revealed that they were predominantly Norman, with a handful of Anglo-Saxon examples (Gage 1831, 11; *cf.* Fisher 1969, 74–5). Gage's view prevailed throughout the early twentieth century (Cox 1910; Bryant 1912; Brown 1925, 422–4). A radical departure was made by Cautley, who subscribed to the theory that round towers had been built as a defensive measure *against* the Danish, only acquiring a church once the threat had passed (Cautley 1937, 33–4; 1949, 2–4). This can be ruled out on the grounds that none of the towers was built before its church and several were later additions to existing naves (Hart 2003, 42–6). Messent attributed more towers to the Anglo-Saxon period than his predecessors, but still considered the majority of them to be post-Conquest (Messent 1958). The Taylors did not consider a round tower to be an intrinsically Anglo-Saxon feature and the twenty-one examples in their catalogue were included on the strength of other architectural features within the church fabric, mostly undressed quoins (Taylor and Taylor 1965). Heywood's research suggested that round towers span the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, although he was of the opinion that the vast majority of them date to the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Heywood 1988). A contradictory theory emerged with Goode's work, which considered the bulk of the round towers to be Anglo-Saxon, dating them from as early as 800 through to *c*.1100 (Goode 1982; 1994). In the most recent study of the subject, Hart has returned to the traditional line, advocating a tentative Anglo-Saxon date to a minority of towers and ascribing to the bulk of

them a post-Conquest date (Hart 2003, 166–71).

Clearly there has been, and continues to be, disagreement about the dating of round towers, but they can with reasonable certainty be shown to be a part of the Romanesque architectural package that typified East Anglian rural church building in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is easy to see why the popular belief in an Anglo-Saxon date for them prevails, for a number of towers contain examples of Anglo-Saxon-style workmanship, but the presence of such features does not automatically equate with a pre-Conquest date. In so far as there is a consensus, no towers can be of pre-eleventh-century date and the vast majority of them should be dated to the later eleventh and the twelfth centuries. Such conclusions echo those made above concerning other classes of Anglo-Saxon architectural features and there are very few surviving traces of Anglo-Saxon style architecture in East Anglia. All of those examples which do survive are of eleventh-century date at the earliest and probably later. Consequently, little is to be gained from pursuing the study of upstanding remains in an effort to understand the early churches of East Anglia. The problem is one that must be addressed by the study of archaeological, rather than architectural, remains.

Excavating Anglo-Saxon Churches

Leahy describes the Anglo-Saxon period as having been an 'Age of Wood' (Leahy 2003, 15), for the vast majority of Anglo-Saxon architecture, ecclesiastical and secular, was constructed from timber, wattle and daub (Rahtz 1976; Cherry 1976; Fernie 1983; Rodwell 1986; Gem 1993). Anglo-Saxon carpenters' tools are known from a number of sites nationwide, including complete toolkits from Nazeing (Essex) and Flixborough (Lincs.) (Morris 1983; Leahy 1994). Iron axe- and adze-heads, saw blades and spoon-bits have been discovered at a number of East Anglian sites, including North Elmham, Norwich, Thetford and Ipswich (Figure 5.13; Wade-Martins 1980a; Rogerson and Dallas 1984; Ayres 1994; West 1998). While some of the tools survive, the organic nature of the buildings themselves means that, except in waterlogged or very arid conditions, they will decay and leave only the most ephemeral archaeological traces (Taylor 1981). Very much the exception which proves this rule is the nave of Greensted church (Essex), which, despite having been largely reconstructed in 1848, is widely heralded as the only

surviving example of a pre-Conquest timber structure in England (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 262–4; Christie *et al.* 1979). Dendrochronology has shown this assertion to be somewhat optimistic, suggesting a construction date between 1063 and 1100, but Greensted can still rightly claim to be the oldest extant timber building in Britain, if not Europe (Tyers 1996).

Earth-fast timber buildings rarely survive as much more than a series of postholes or beam-trenches from which timbers were systematically removed or in which they were allowed to rot (Barker 1993, 22–6). The domestic timber architecture of Anglo-Saxon England has been discussed since the early decades of the twentieth century, with sites such as Mucking (Essex) and West Stow providing numerous examples of Early Saxon sunken-featured buildings and posthole-built rectangular timber halls (Hamerow 1993; West 1985; 2001; Tipper 2004). The foundation-trenched rectangular halls of the Middle and Late Saxon periods have been similarly studied, although there are fewer excavated examples of the type (Radford 1957; Addyman 1972; Rahtz 1976; James *et al.* 1984; Marshall and Marshall 1991; 1993).
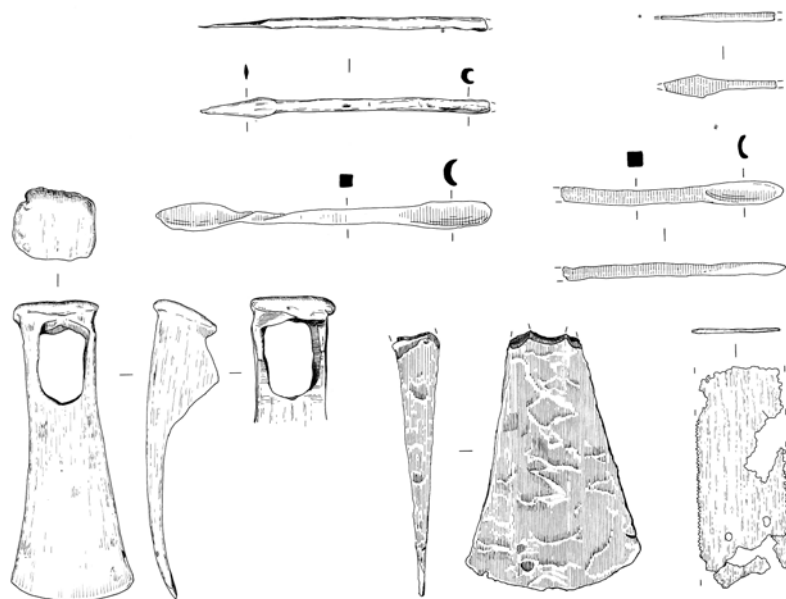
Figure 5.13. Anglo-Saxon woodworking tools from Thetford. Scale 1:4. (Rogerson and Dallas 1984, fig. 117.)

With the exception of Greensted, ecclesiastical timber architecture has received rather less attention, because studies of Anglo-Saxon churches predominantly focus on masonry (e.g. Taylor and Taylor 1965; Fernie 1983). The

lack of evidence is also problematic: the timber phases of churches are difficult to study archaeologically for, in addition to the ephemeral nature of the evidence, one has to contend with the additional problems created by the nature of church sites themselves (Rodwell 2005, 140–60). In the vast majority of cases, once a church had been founded it became a permanent fixture and the continual rebuilding which occurred throughout the subsequent centuries will have obliterated the earlier building phases or sealed them beneath later floors (Cunnington 1993; Rodwell 2005, 140–60). The later proliferation of burial within the church will also have destroyed earlier deposits as numerous graves and vaults were dug into them (Rodwell 2005, 173–86). Consequently we are only able completely to excavate whatever remains of these earliest phases when a church has fallen out of use, been relocated or remained relatively undeveloped. Such instances are rare, although there are some East Anglian examples where this has been achieved.

A more frequent occurrence, although still not a common one, is the partial discovery of earlier building phases made whilst excavating beneath the floors of extant churches for a variety of maintenance- or development-led reasons. The near-complete floor-plans of three timber churches have been excavated in East Anglia: one in Thetford, one in Norwich and one at Brandon. Discoveries of timber churches are rare even on a national scale and only a handful of sites has been excavated, including those at Potterne in Wiltshire (Davey 1964) and Wharram Percy in Yorkshire (Hurst 1976a). Of the three East Anglian examples, only that from Brandon was of Middle Saxon date, while the Thetford and Norwich examples were Late Saxon.

The remains of a church and associated graveyard were accidentally discovered in Thetford in 1912 and full excavation during 1969–70 revealed an eleventh-century timber church overlain by two eleventh- and twelfth-century masonry phases and surrounded by burials (Dallas 1993a, 76–94; NHER: 5759). The Late Saxon timber church (Figure 5.14) was a two-celled structure, with a nave measuring 7m by 4.6m and a chancel 3.6m long by 3.2m wide. The walls were of square posts, some of which had been shaped *in situ*, and there was a doorway in the west wall of the nave. In the south-west corner of the nave a flint-filled pit was interpreted as the possible remains of a soak-away for a font and a

string of postholes across the eastern end of the nave may have represented a rood screen. In the late eleventh century the timber church was replaced by the first masonry church, which was itself extended westwards shortly afterwards, although the church appears to have fallen out of use *c*.1200 (Dallas 1993a, 84–7).
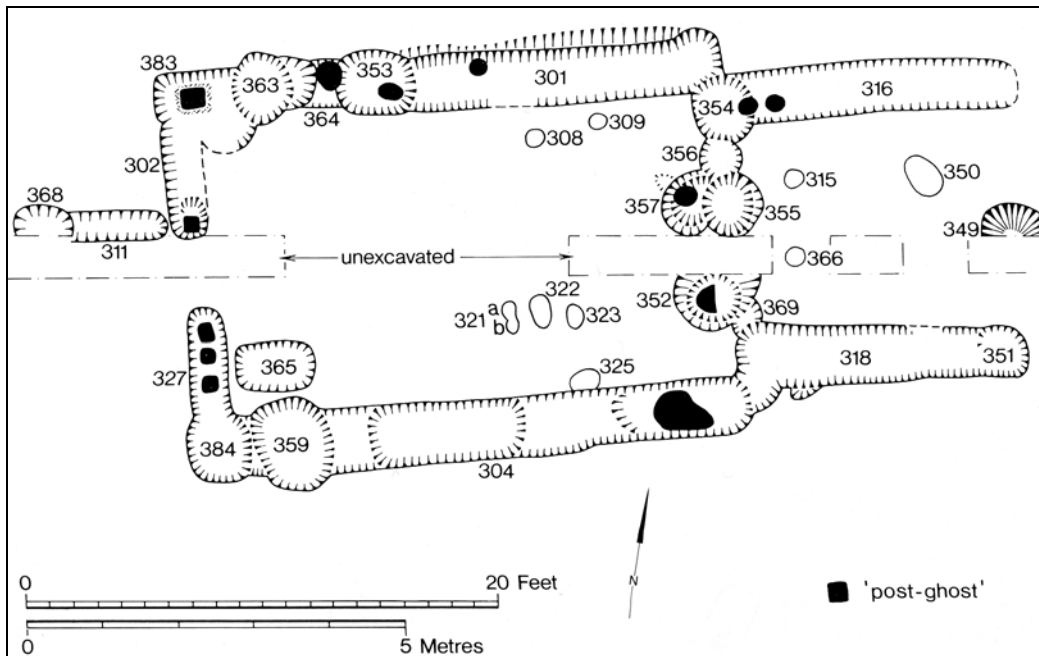
Figure 5.14. Late Saxon timber church from Thetford (Dallas 1993a, fig. 107).

In 1979 the remains of three phases of a Late Saxon timber church and its graveyard were excavated within the area of the north-eastern bailey of Norwich Castle (Figure 5.15; Ayres 1985; NHER: 416). The first building phase, thought to have occurred in the late tenth century, comprised a square single-celled structure with walls approximately 3m long. The second phase was more ephemeral, but saw the building become rectangular; it also featured a possible bell-casting pit. In its third phase the building became double-celled and took on the recognisable form of a church with a nave and chancel. The nave of the church measured approximately 6.5m by 4m, while the chancel was 2.5m square. The walls comprised postholes set into trenches and the doorway was probably in the centre of the southern wall of the nave. The west end of the nave featured a large chalk-filled pit, similar to that at Thetford, which may have acted as a soak-away for a font. In the centre of the nave stood a large post, which may have supported a belfry or formed part of the internal fittings of the church (Ayres 1985, 7–26).

The church appears to have fallen out of use during the development of Norwich castle in the late eleventh century, a project which necessitated the removal of a substantial number of houses, streets and churches from the heart of the Late Saxon town (Ayres 1985, 1–6). Indeed, four additional cemeteries – two Middle Saxon and two Late Saxon – were discovered within the castle's defences during excavations ahead of the construction of the Castle Mall. In these instances no traces of associated churches survived, although one of the Late Saxon cemeteries appeared to be associated with the extant church of St John Timberhill (Shepherd Popescu forthcoming).
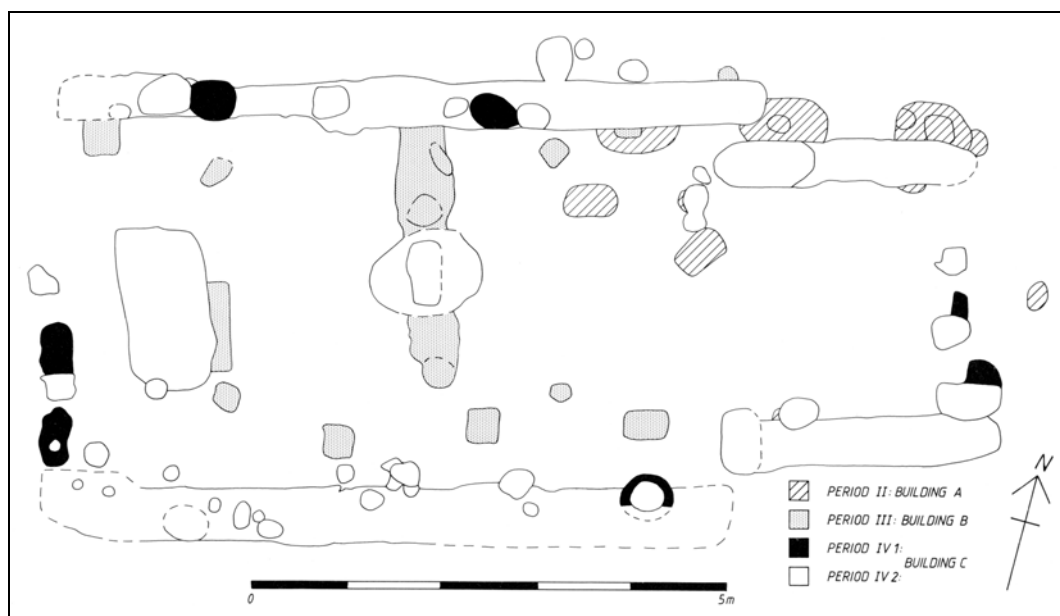
Figure 5.15. Three phases of the Late Saxon timber church from the north-east bailey of Norwich castle (Ayres 1985, fig. 8).

Both the Thetford and Norwich churches were Late Saxon, but the remains of the timber church excavated at Brandon (Suffolk) provide the most complete example of a Middle Saxon timber church (Carr *et al.* 1988; SSMR: BRD018). At its greatest extent the church was a three-cell structure, with a total length of approximately 25m (Figure 5.16). In its first phase it comprised a nave measuring 14m by 6.5m with an adjoining chancel of 5m by 4.3m. The chancel contained an isolated burial which had been disturbed by a later feature, and the remains of an insubstantial structure at the eastern end of the nave have been interpreted as traces of an altar. The walls were constructed from posts and planks set vertically into foundation trenches and the nave had a pair of opposing doors

in the centre of each long side. The doorways were represented by short trenches set within the wall-line, suggestive of substantial wooden doorframes. A smaller door entered the chancel from the south. A third, western cell, measuring 5.5m by 4.3m, appears to have been added during a second phase of Middle Saxon building and it, too, was entered by a southern doorway. The function of this third cell remains an open question, but it could have been a baptistery or even the base of a small tower (Carr *et al.* 1988, 374).
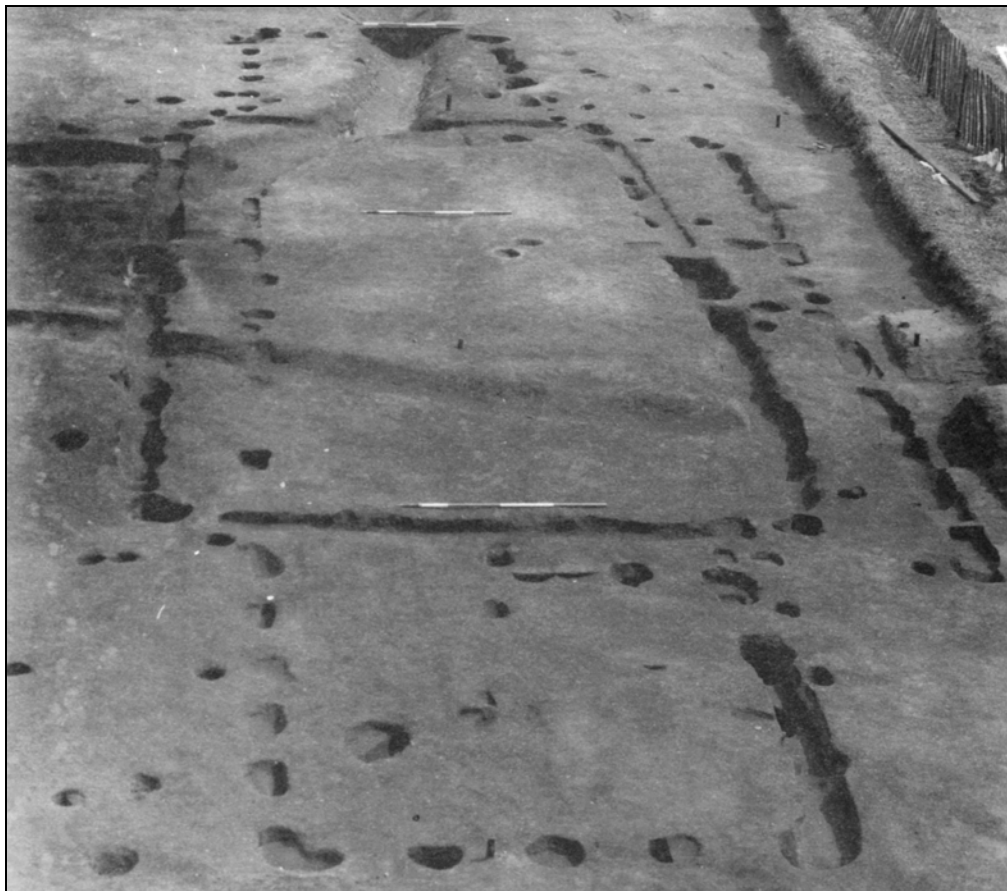
Figure 5.16. The archaeological evidence for a Middle Saxon church excavated at Brandon, Suffolk, looking east (Glazebrook 1997, pl. VII).

A contemporary inhumation cemetery was excavated to the south-east of the church (Figure 8.11). It produced at least 220 inhumations of mixed age and sex, some of which had been buried in coffins (Anderson 1990). This cemetery appears to have gone out of use at about the same time that a third phase of building saw the removal of the chancel and the replacement of the nave and the western cell with a similar-sized building in broadly the same position. It seems likely that both the church and cemetery therefore ceased to function at this point

and were presumably refounded to the north of the site, where a second cemetery was partially excavated (Carr *et al.* 1988, 374, 376–7).

All three excavations demonstrate the ephemeral archaeological nature of Anglo-Saxon timber architecture and also highlight the similarity between the domestic and ecclesiastical architecture of the Anglo-Saxon period. The earliest, square phase of the Norwich church is indistinguishable from other contemporary buildings and is only differentiated by its relationship with the surrounding graveyard and the subsequent, more overtly ecclesiastical, phases. The two-celled floor-plans of the later phases of the Norwich church, the Thetford church and the Brandon church are more distinctive and have parallels in the design of contemporary stone-built churches in other parts of the country. Marshall and Marshall have stressed the similarity between these churches and buildings with annexes at other sites which have been considered to be of a domestic nature (Marshall and Marshall 1993, 369). However, once the distinctive floor-plan, the west–east alignment of the building and the surrounding burials are taken into consideration there can be little doubt that these buildings were churches.

All three sites also demonstrate the reasons why so few examples of the type are known. The Thetford church was one of many churches which had been founded during the economic boom of the Late Saxon period, but which subsequently fell out of use as Thetford's fortunes went into decline (Davison 1993b, 208–15). The timber church had been superseded by a masonry church, the foundations of which did not destroy the earlier phases. Had this church continued to develop it is unlikely that these remains would have survived; fortunately, it did not. Similarly, the Norwich church was also founded during the prosperous Late Saxon period. Although the Norwich church demonstrated several phases of rebuilding in timber, the fact that a stone church was never built on the site as a result of the site being cleared ahead of the construction of Norwich castle was clearly the primary factor behind the preservation of the church's remains. Finally, at Brandon we have not only a distinctly Middle Saxon timber church, again with additional phases of timber construction, but we also see the church and graveyard falling out of use and being replaced by another building during the Anglo-Saxon period. The fact that the Anglo-Saxon settlement at Brandon was subsequently abandoned as the medieval town grew up

to the south of the site has meant that the Anglo-Saxon features remained undisturbed and were able to be excavated. Had this slight shift of settlement focus not occurred, the site would have been destroyed or would have remained sealed beneath the later settlement.

The three timber church sites discussed here are exceptional. In the overwhelming majority of cases church sites remained fixed points in the landscape from the date of their foundation and the church building was and continues to be continually redeveloped. Consequently the earliest phases will often be destroyed or, if they do survive, will only be able to be studied in small areas. East Anglia, and Norfolk in particular, has an enormous number of disused and ruined churches, several of which have been partially excavated either out of archaeological interest or as a part of the process of their conversion to other uses (Batcock 1991). Some of these excavations have revealed traces of timber structures lying sealed beneath the later masonry structure. Similarly, a number of small-scale excavations conducted within and around working churches during the course of restorations or maintenance have also revealed traces of earlier Anglo-Saxon building phases.
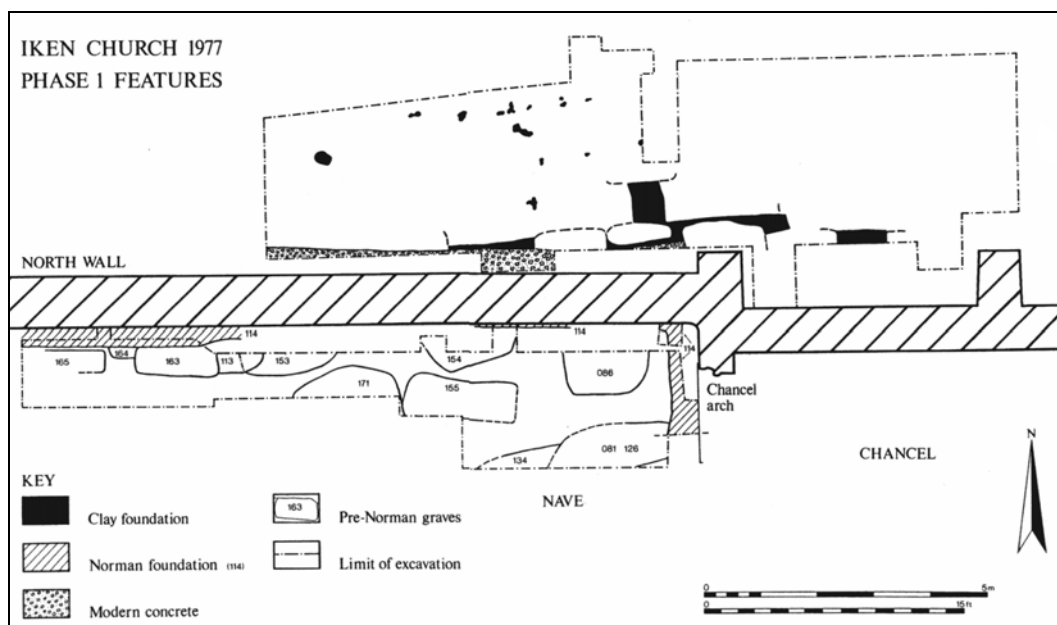
Figure 5.17. Trenches inside and outside the north wall of Iken church revealed the foundations of an earlier church (West *et al.* 1984, fig. 74).

Reference has already been made to the excavations conducted at Iken church, inspired by its historical connection with Botolph and the discovery of a

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ninth- to tenth-century cross shaft built into the base of the tower (Figure 4.10; West *et al.* 1984; SSMR: IKN007). As well as revealing details of the Norman foundations of the masonry church these excavations also identified the clay-filled foundation trenches of an earlier, timber church built on a slightly different alignment (Figure 5.17). In a similar vein, excavations between 1986 and 1988 within the nave of the disused church of St Martin-at-Palace, Norwich, revealed the partial remains of two timber phases of construction dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries, overlain by the first masonry phase of the church (Figure 5.18; Beazley 2001, 5–13; NHER: 450). Both timber phases were on a slightly different alignment to the later church and lay only partially within the excavated area. In the later phase the main construction technique used was posts set in pits, while the earlier phase comprised posts set in a trench; it is suggested that the latter was built to replace the former, as the two structures lay side by side (Beazley 2001, 54–5). Below these timber phases was found a single inhumation, radiocarbon-dated to the Middle Saxon period, the grave cut of which had disturbed at least one other burial. The presence of these two burials suggests the possibility of more burials and a Middle Saxon ecclesiastical focus lying outside the limited area of the excavation (Beazley 2001, 4–5, 54).
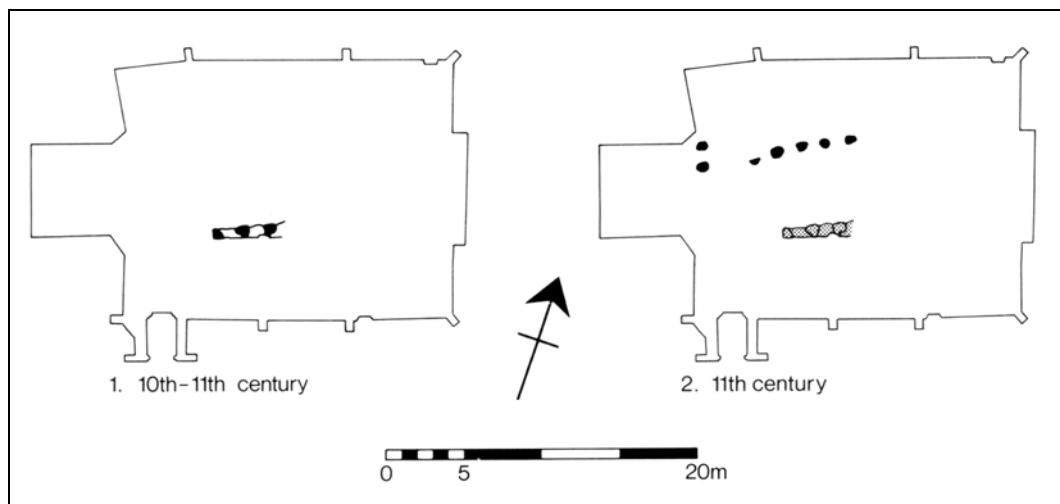
Figure 5.18. The two earliest structural phases recognised beneath the church of St Martin-at-Palace, Norwich (Beazley 2001, fig. 33).

Clearly we cannot always expect to find earlier construction phases immediately beneath later churches. This may simply be because later phases of building have obliterated the earlier ones, as was partially the case at St Martin-at-

Palace. An absence of earlier phases might also be explained by the fact that a particular church was a later foundation and that earlier phases do not exist to be discovered. In such cases we might expect to find evidence of whatever use the site had been put to before it became a church. A third alternative is that the later phases might have been built adjacent to the existing structure, rather than on top of it, so that it might continue to be used during the perhaps lengthy period of construction. In instances such as this we might expect to find earlier phases of burials, evidence of the churchyard on which the new building was erected.

For example, the excavation of All Saints' church, Barton Bendish, revealed that the initial masonry phase of the church overlay a well-established Late Saxon cemetery, suggesting to the excavators that the Late Saxon church had lain elsewhere on the site (Rogerson and Ashley 1987, 7–11, 52–3, 63–4; NHER: 4499). The excavation of the bombed-out remains of St Benedict's church in Norwich also revealed evidence of Late Saxon burials lying beneath later masonry phases. Again, no trace of a church contemporary with the burials was found within the excavated area, suggesting that a timber church had stood elsewhere on the site (Roberts with Atkin 1982, 13, 27–9; NHER: 157).

The examples of fully excavated, abandoned churches discussed here are exceptional, for in the overwhelming majority of cases churches continue to occupy the same site and their Anglo-Saxon phases are sealed beneath later buildings or burials. The growing propensity for church extensions, the installation of new heating systems and the like means that partial excavations are increasingly being conducted within active churches and such work often reveals traces of earlier building phases (e.g. NHER: 425; 2081; 2210; 5962; SSMR: IPS274). Nevertheless, excavated evidence of Anglo-Saxon building phases remains scarce and in order to identify churches with a significant Anglo-Saxon past we must broaden the scope of our investigations.

Anglo-Saxon Finds From Churchyards

Whereas the area immediately beneath a church is effectively sealed off and is reachable only via partial or total excavation of the interior of the building, the surrounding churchyard is at once both more accessible and considerably more disturbed. A measure of the extent of the disturbance caused during the normal

lifespan of a churchyard can be gained by extrapolating from the information recorded in post-medieval burial registers. The burial registers of Sedgeford church in north-west Norfolk record 2,950 burials as having taken place during the 322 years between 1560 and 1879, the point at which the churchyard was closed to burial (NRO: PD601/1; PD601/2; PD601/3; PD601/12). Crudely assuming that the rate of burial remained roughly constant throughout the medieval period and allowance is made for population growth, the churchyard might have received somewhere in the region of 7,500 burials since its Late Saxon foundation. Sedgeford churchyard is approximately 50m square and a large portion of the centre of the churchyard is filled by the church, meaning that perhaps as many as thirty successive layers of burials must have been accommodated over the centuries. Sedgeford is by no means unusual and most medieval churchyards might be expected to have received a proportionate number of burials.

Obviously such intensive use of the churchyard will have disturbed any underlying archaeological deposits a long time ago and so the hope of finding evidence of earlier churches of the kind sometimes preserved beneath church buildings themselves is minimal. However, the restrictions placed on the removal of soil from the consecrated ground of the churchyard mean that any artefacts disturbed should at least remain on-site if not actually *in situ* (Gittos 2002; Thompson 2004, 172–6). Although we cannot always be sure what type of features these artefacts might represent, they do at least provide an indication of Anglo-Saxon activity on the site, which in the case of Middle and Late Saxon artefacts might also be contemporary with the foundation of the church. The validity and implications of this line of reasoning are discussed at length in Chapter Eight, but for now we turn to examine the available data.

The NHER and the SSMR contain references to eighty-nine churchyards in which material of Early, Middle or Late Saxon date has been discovered (Appendix IV). The majority of the material is pottery, although there are also some pieces of metalwork. These artefacts are primarily surface finds, brought to light by burrowing animals or the constant digging of graves; of the remainder, some finds were made at a greater depth during the excavation of cable trenches, drains and occasionally in the bottom of graves, and some were metal-detected.
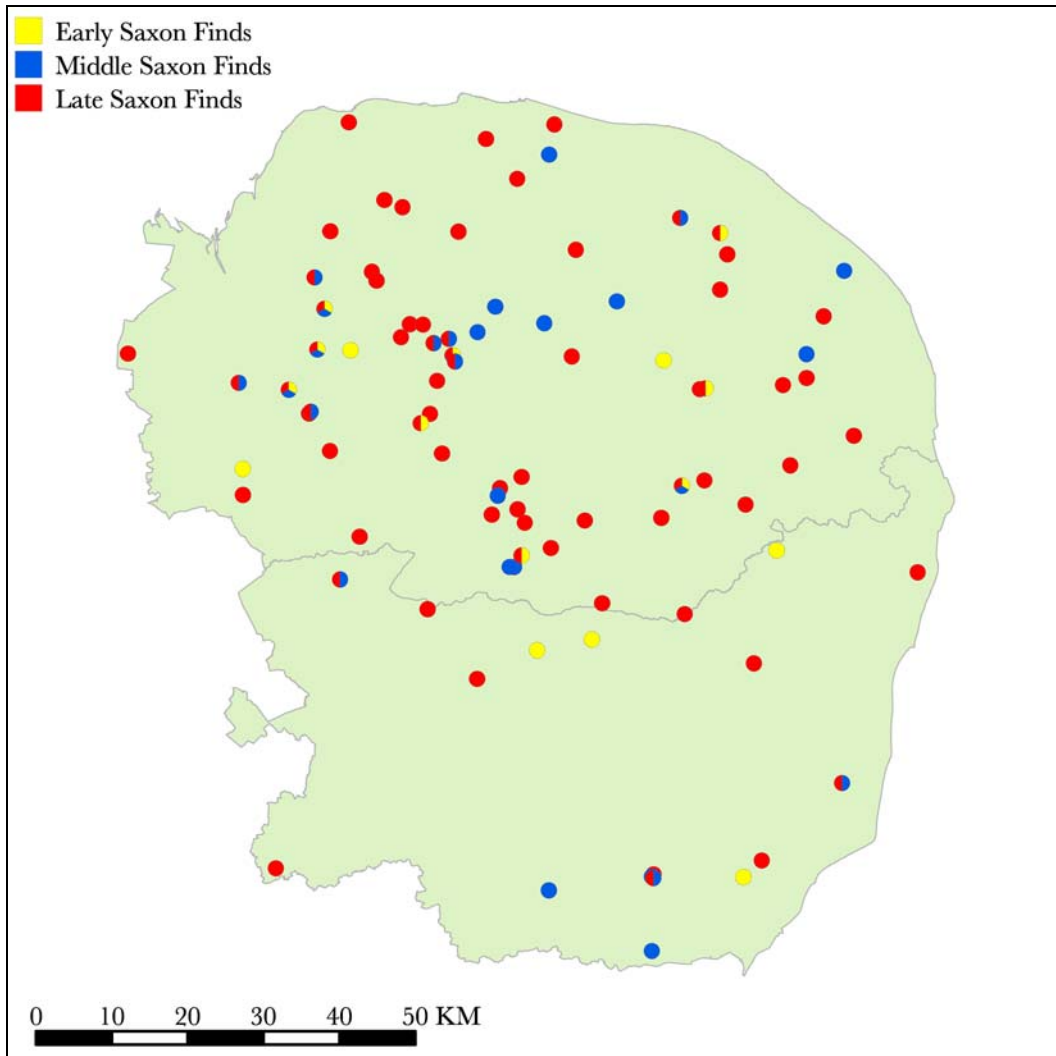
Figure 5.19. Churchyards in which Anglo-Saxon artefacts have been discovered.

Fifteen churchyards have produced Early Saxon finds. In most cases these were abraded sherds of pottery of a kind which is often difficult to distinguish from Iron Age pottery; this means that the total number of sites might be even smaller. In addition to sherds there have also been a few more notable discoveries: a pair of spindle whorls were discovered at Felmingham (NHER: 7583), while a small cremation urn, furnished with an iron knife and tweezers, was found during grave-digging at Waldringfield in 1841 (SSMR: WLD001). A similar urn was discovered in Earsham churchyard in 1906, seemingly an outlier of the cremation cemetery which clustered around several Bronze Age barrows to the north-east of the church (NHER: 11110; 11118). Four or five cremation urns were unearthed in North Runcton churchyard in 1907; again, they seem to have been outliers of a

nearby mixed-rite cemetery (NHER: 3348; 3369). A single, furnished inhumation, represented by an iron spearhead, pin and accessory vessel, was found in Hilgay churchyard in 1897 (NHER: 4453). Fieldwalking around the church has failed to reveal further traces of a cemetery, although metal-detector finds 400m to the east suggest that there are further burials in the area (Silvester 1991, 45).

Middle Saxon artefacts are recorded from twenty-eight churchyards. The majority of these finds are sherds of Ipswich Ware, the ubiquitous wheel-made pottery which began to be produced in the second half of the seventh century and the presence of which is our most reliable archaeological indicator of Middle Saxon activity (above, pp.9–11; Figure 1.6). Several pieces of Middle Saxon metalwork have also been found: brooches and a strap-end were discovered with a metal-detector at Wangford (SSMR: WNG016); an equal-armed brooch was discovered at Congham (NHER: 3562); and a hoard of six early ninth-century silver brooches was disturbed whilst grave-digging at Pentney (Figure 5.20; NHER: 3941; Webster and Backhouse 1991, 229–31).

Figure 5.20. The Middle Saxon brooches from Pentney (British Museum).

Late Saxon artefacts are recorded from seventy churchyards. These finds are primarily of Thetford-type Wares, fast-wheel-thrown pottery which was produced in a number of regional centres from the mid-ninth to the eleventh centuries (Hurst 1957; Dunning *et al.* 1959). Late Saxon coins were discovered at Oxborough, South Pickenham, Wangford and Laxfield (NHER: 2628; 4717; SSMR: WNG016; LXD032). A finger ring was also found at Laxfield and another at Ixworth (SSMR: IXW010); a brooch was found at Shouldham (NHER: 4290); a strap-end at Little Hautbois (NHER: 7695); a pair of iron shears at Threxton (NHER: 4686); and an iron knife was discovered at Blofield (NHER: 10265).

In all, six of the churchyards listed in Appendix IV produced only Early Saxon artefacts. Five churchyards produced Early and Middle Saxon artefacts, although all five also produced Late Saxon finds as well. Four churchyards are recorded as containing only Early Saxon and Late Saxon finds. Just Middle Saxon artefacts are recorded in twelve churchyards, while sixteen churchyards have produced both Middle and Late Saxon material. Fifty-one churchyards have only produced Late Saxon material. While we must not attach too much significance to these figures, it is interesting that these totals should mirror what we know of the two waves of Anglo-Saxon church foundation: a few Middle Saxon foundations, followed by a more populous second wave of Late Saxon foundations.

Stray finds from churchyards do at least provide a useful indication of Anglo-Saxon activity on the site, particularly in developed areas where the churchyard remains the only available space with archaeological potential. Yet stray finds are just that – stray – and as such their presence or absence, while informative, is not necessarily representative of a wider pattern of occupation. An indication of the nature of this data set is revealed by the fact that many of the Norfolk discoveries result from site visits by Andrew Rogerson, one of few archaeologists who actively searches for such artefacts. Fortunately, the nature of the East Anglian settlement pattern and the changes that it underwent during the Late Saxon and medieval periods mean that many East Anglian churches are not now hemmed in by development. Phenomena such as common-edge drift and settlement desertion have resulted in churches which are surrounded by arable fields and in many instances these fields have been investigated as part of fieldwalking surveys (Williamson 1993, 167–71; 2003, 91–101; 2006, 51–6).
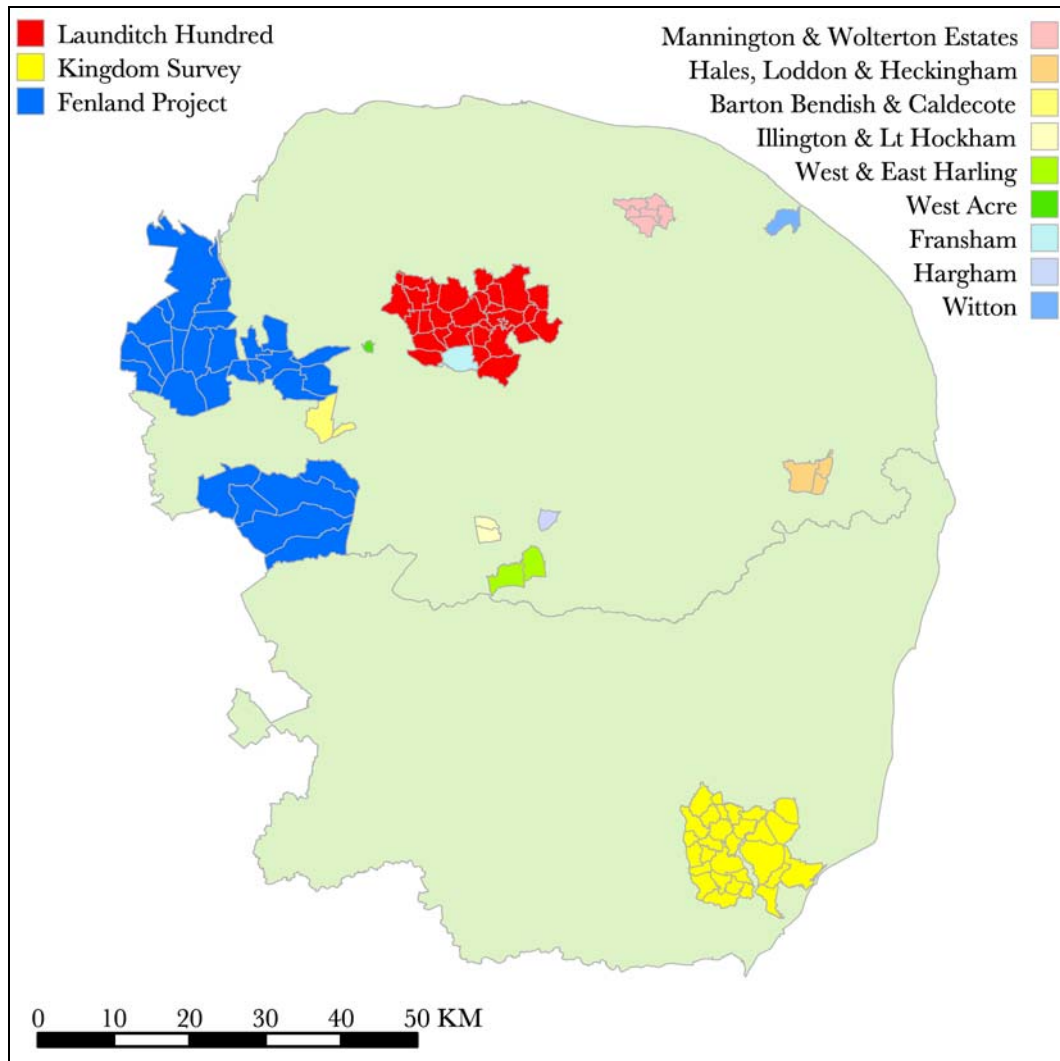
Figure 5.21. The fieldwalking surveys discussed in the text.

Pottery Scatters Around Churches

In a region in which such a high percentage of land is given over to arable farming fieldwalking has been demonstrated to be a particularly effective technique for investigating changing settlement patterns (e.g. Wade-Martins 1980b; Silvester 1988b; 1991; Newman 1992; 2005). The damage to the archaeological record caused by ploughing has long been recognised, but, given that such damage is an inevitability, the utilisation, via fieldwalking, of the material which ploughing brings to the surface has produced many very positive results (Foard 1978; Lawson 1980; Parker Pearson and Schadla-Hall 1994; Williamson 1994; Millett 2000; Geake 2002a; English Heritage 2003). Unlike stray finds discovered in individual churchyards, fieldwalking surveys of the areas surrounding churchyards provide a systematically collected, and therefore much more comprehensive, data set. Also,

unlike churchyard finds, which often comprise no more than a single pot sherd, fieldwalking surveys have the added benefit of recovering large scatters of material and therefore shed greater light on the landscape context of an individual church.

In order to use fieldwalking data to ascertain when a church might have been founded we are again largely reliant on the presence of Ipswich Ware and Thetford-type Wares as indicators of Middle Saxon and Late Saxon activity respectively. If either or both of these pottery types are present then we are able to say something about the possible foundation date and development of the church and churchyard. In addition, the spatial element of fieldwalking data means that we are also able to use horizontal stratigraphy to examine the relationship between the Middle Saxon and the Late Saxon settlement phases. Put simply, if a church is not surrounded by any Anglo-Saxon material then we can conclude that it was most likely a post-Conquest foundation. If a church is associated with a Late Saxon surface scatter, then we might suppose a Late Saxon foundation date. If both Late Saxon and Middle Saxon scatters surround the church then we might consider either a Late or a Middle Saxon foundation date, although, as is explored in Chapter Eight, the Middle Saxon date would seem to be the more likely. Finally, if a church is only surrounded by a Middle Saxon scatter, then we can say that the church was a Middle Saxon foundation and that, although the church continued to be used into the Late Saxon period and beyond, by the Late Saxon period its associated settlement had already begun to drift away.

The potential presented by fieldwalking surveys for increasing our understanding of the development of ecclesiastical sites during the Anglo-Saxon period has been appreciated since the 1960s, although the available data has yet to be fully synthesised. We are fortunate that East Anglia has played host to three large-scale fieldwalking projects spanning many parishes, which have produced data enabling large tracts of landscape to be studied. They are the Launditch Hundred Survey, the Deben Valley Survey and the Fenland Project, and the findings of each survey are discussed below. In addition, there have also been a number of smaller-scale fieldwalking surveys which have examined individual parishes or small groups of parishes. The results of each of these surveys are also included below.

The Launditch Hundred Survey

Between 1967 and 1970 Peter Wade-Martins conducted an extensive campaign of fieldwalking and other fieldwork in the central Norfolk hundred of Launditch (Figure 5.21; Wade-Martins 1971; 1980a; 1980b). He focused his fieldwalking efforts on the areas of each parish which contained evidence for medieval settlement and in particular on the sites of parish churches. While this approach did not provide a complete coverage of all available land, and no doubt resulted in many outlying areas of settlement being overlooked, this policy did at least result in a set of comparative data collected from around the churches of a group of adjoining parishes (Wade-Martins 1980b, 3–7). Inevitably some of the parish churches within the hundred were too densely hemmed in by settlement to enable much fieldwalking to take place, but within the thirty parishes examined only two churches could not be studied while a limited degree of fieldwork near a further nine resulted in no surface evidence of any kind. The remaining nineteen parish churches, none of which was recorded in Little Domesday Book, revealed surface evidence which enabled something of their history to be ascertained (Figure 5.22).
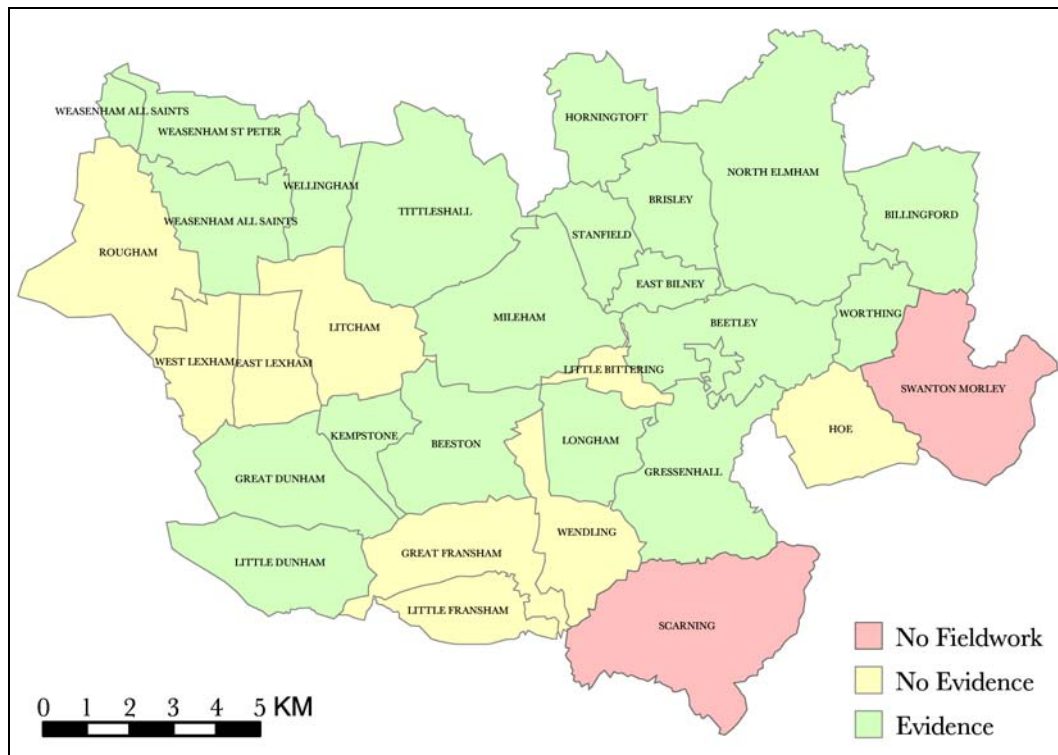
Figure 5.22. The Launditch Hundred (1851 boundaries), highlighting parishes in which no fieldwork was possible and those which produced no evidence.

On the basis of the surface scatters found around them four of the churches in the Launditch hundred can be ascribed a likely post-Conquest foundation date: East Bilney, Brisley, Gressenhall and Beeston. Surrounding scatters of Thetford-type Wares suggest that six churches were founded during the Late Saxon period: Kempstone, Longham, Stanfield, Weasenham St Peter, Worthing and Billingford. An additional six churches were surrounded by scatters of both Thetford-type Wares and Ipswich Ware, suggesting that they were Anglo-Saxon foundations, but making it more difficult to ascertain exactly when they were founded: Beetley, Horningtoft, Tittleshall, Weasenham All Saints, and Great and Little Dunham. Two churches were associated solely with Ipswich Ware scatters, indicative of a Middle Saxon foundation date: Mileham and Wellingham (Wade-Martins 1971, 209–27; 1980b, 17–76). To the latter can be added the Middle Saxon church at North Elmham, evidenced both by excavation and historical sources (Figure 4.7; Rigold 1962; Wade-Martins 1980a). These findings are illustrated in Figure 5.23; the conclusions which can be drawn from these data are presented in Chapter Eight.
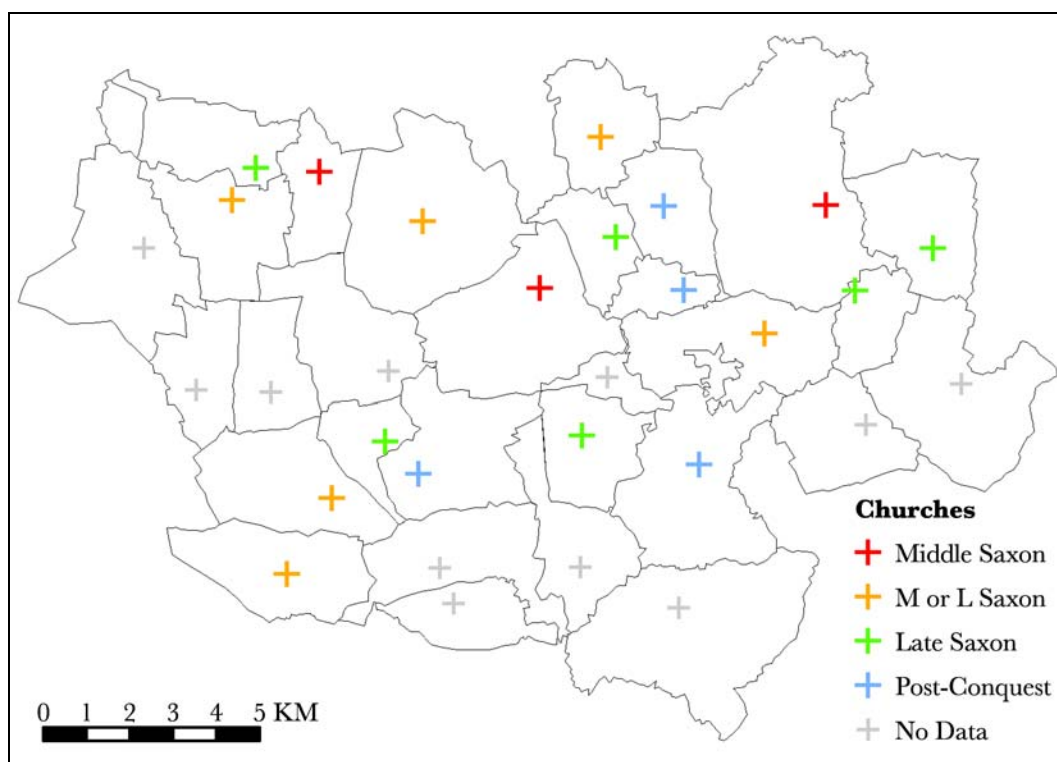
Figure 5.23. The foundation dates of the parish churches in Launditch Hundred as suggested by surrounding pottery scatters.

Figure 5.24. The Deben Valley Survey area (1851 parish boundaries), highlighting those parishes in which no major fieldwalking was conducted and those in which the church was inaccessible.

The Deben Valley Survey

When the latest period of archaeological investigation began at Sutton Hoo in the 1980s it was decided that the work should be complemented by an extensive fieldwalking survey of the surrounding area. Consequently, a 216 km² study area was defined using OS gridlines. This area was centred on Sutton Hoo and straddled the Deben river valley (Figure 5.21). Between 1983 and 1989 John Newman fieldwalked forty-two per cent of this study area (65 per cent of the available arable land) in transects spaced 20m apart. Areas containing significant scatters were intensively resurveyed using a grid method (Newman 1992, 28–9; 1994; 2005, 478–9). Extensive evidence for the prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods was discovered, enabling much to be said about the changing

settlement patterns of the area surrounding the Deben valley. To date only short summaries of the survey's findings have been published (Newman 1992, 30–6; 2005, 480–3), but John Newman has kindly provided copies of his unpublished data from which the following analysis has been derived.
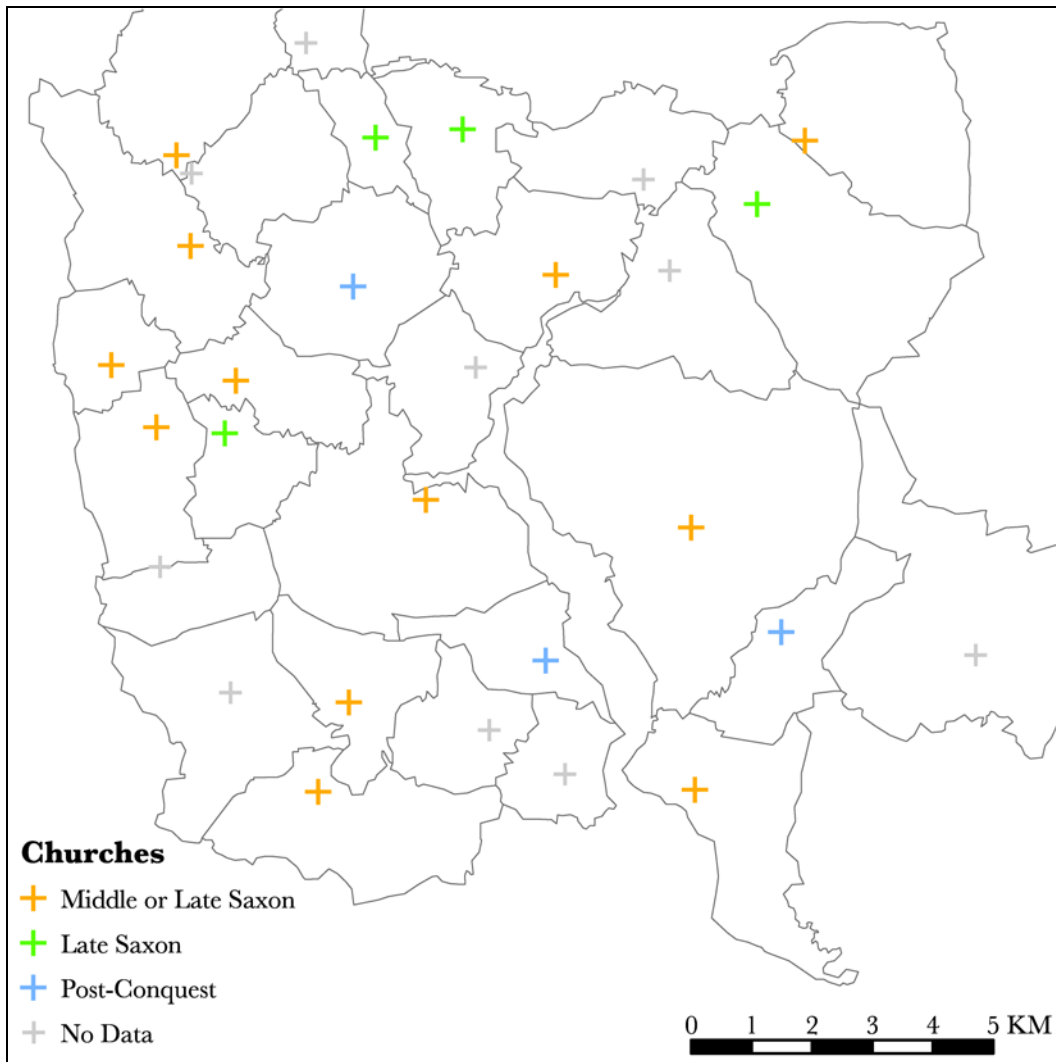
Figure 5.25. The foundation dates of the parish churches in the Deben Valley Survey area as suggested by surrounding pottery scatters.

Figure 5.24 shows the twenty-nine whole or partial parishes which comprised the Deben Valley study area. It should be noted that many of the peripheral parishes, such as Hollesley, were not walked to any great extent and consequently four of them have been classified as having had no fieldwork conducted. This is in contrast to the six parishes highlighted as containing 'no evidence', for these are the parishes which were extensively fieldwalked, but in which the areas immediately around the parish church were inaccessible for

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reasons of ground cover or development. In the remaining nineteen parishes extensive fieldwalking was conducted in the vicinity of the parish church and, once again, any pottery scatters discovered there have been used to ascribe a broad foundation date to the church in question.

The absence of any Anglo-Saxon surface scatters means that three churches can be ascribed a post-Conquest foundation date: Hasketon, Shottisham and Waldringfield. Scatters of Thetford-type Wares are responsible for the ascription of Late Saxon foundation dates to four churches: Little Bealings, Eyke, Boulge and Bredfield. Both Boulge and Bredfield were recorded in LDB (f.319 and f.387v). The discovery of mixed scatters of Thetford-type Wares and Ipswich Ware at the remaining twelve churches (Clopton, Grundisburgh, Culpho, Playford, Great Bealings, Melton, Sutton, Martlesham, Ramsholt, Brightwell, Bucklesham and Rendlesham) suggests Middle or Late Saxon dates for these foundations. Of these, Domesday churches were recorded at Clopton, Culpho, Playford, Great Bealings, Sutton, Brightwell, Bucklesham and Rendlesham (LDB f.417, f.346, f.314v, f.441v, f.318, f.386, f.292 and f.326v)

Unlike the Launditch Hundred, there were no churches associated only with Ipswich Ware, so no purely Middle Saxon dates can be ascribed, but it is possible that the relative quantities of Middle and Late Saxon pottery could be employed to identify sites which may have been significant during the Middle Saxon period. Sutton church, for example, was surrounded by a particularly strong spread of Ipswich Ware, as was Clopton, while the relative quantities of pottery discovered at Melton and Martlesham suggest that they were of greater significance during the Late Saxon period. Rendlesham was the only church to have been surrounded by Roman, Early Saxon, Middle Saxon and Late Saxon scatters, suggesting a strong degree of continuity and a significant degree of importance within the local area. Rendlesham is, of course, identified by Bede as a royal vill and the archaeological evidence would seem to match the historical evidence on this point (Newman 1992, 34–6; *HE* III,22).

The Fenland Project

The Fenland Project was founded in 1981 with the remit of systematically surveying as much of the fen basin which surrounds the Wash as was possible in

the six years allotted to the project (Sylvester 1993; Hall and Coles 1994, 7–12). The fenlands of west Norfolk cover a sizeable area, approximately ten per cent of the area of the county, and comprise some sixteen per cent of the total area of the fens, which also cover large parts of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire (Silvester 1988a). As they were unable to deal with the entirety of the Norfolk fens, the surveyors concentrated on three main areas: the marshland parishes lying immediately to the south of the Wash; the peat-filled valley of the River Nar, which flows westwards into the marshland; and the Wissey embayment, an area of peat fen to the south of the marshland (Figure 5.26; Sylvester 1988b; 1991).
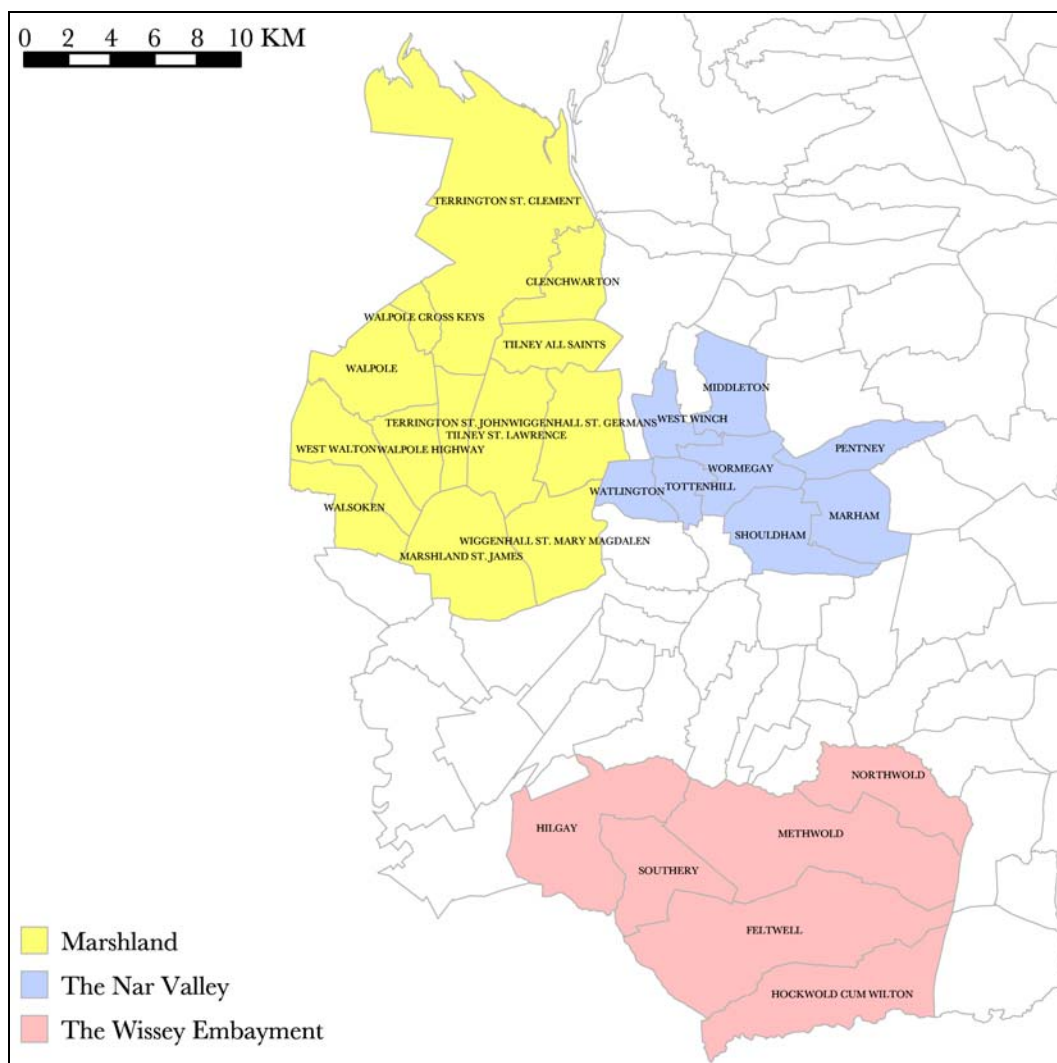
Figure 5.26. Areas of Norfolk studied by the Fenland Project (also see Fig. 5.21).

The Fenland Project reached a number of important conclusions about the habitation and exploitation of the fenlands (e.g. Silvester 1993; Hall and Coles

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1994). With specific regard to our understanding of Anglo-Saxon Norfolk, a number of significant scatters of Ipswich Ware were discovered in the marshland parishes, spaced at regular intervals along the raised northern edge of the area, close to the coast. These sites were often sited on roddons – silted-up river channels which form areas of raised ground – and have been interpreted as being related to seasonal grazing or salt production. Many of these Middle Saxon sites were short-lived, although some were complemented by scatters of Thetford-type Ware, suggesting 'continued, if not continuous' occupation into the Late Saxon period and beyond (Silvester 1988a, 328; 1993, 27–8). One Ipswich Ware scatter, at Hay Green in the parish of Terrington St Clement, was exceptionally large and produced over 1,000 sherds of pottery (Rogerson and Silvester 1986; Silvester 1988, 35–41). Unfortunately, the other two areas of Norfolk examined by the Project were less illuminating. Of the Wissey embayment it was concluded that 'little useful comment can be made on the Saxon exploitation of the fen' (Silvester 1991, 91), while the survey of the Nar valley was hampered by the decision to concentrate on the bottom of the river valley and exclude the higher ground on either side (Silvester 1988b, 169–73).

Unlike the other large-scale surveys discussed here, the data produced by the fenland survey are of no great use to this thesis. In many instances the areas surrounding parish churches, many of which are sited on such higher ground, were not examined and, in some cases, due to the inundation of much of the area during the Anglo-Saxon period, no Anglo-Saxon precursors to extant churches existed (Figure 1.4). In fact, there are only two sites which are of further relevance to this thesis: West Walton, where the parish church is associated with a number of small Middle Saxon scatters which also contained Late Saxon material, perhaps indicating a Middle or Late Saxon foundation date for the church (Silvester 1985; 1988b, 88–96); and Wormegay, which, due to its location on an island in the Nar valley, was the only village to be surveyed (Silvester 1988b, 172–3). A large Ipswich Ware scatter was found on the southern slopes of the island, adjacent to the parish church. The scatter also contained a handful of Thetford-type Ware, indicating that some occupation continued into the Late Saxon period, yet the settlement appears to have relocated to the western end of the island during this period and a castle was eventually founded there (Silvester 1988b, 143–50).

Fieldwork has continued at both West Walton and Wormegay and their significance is discussed in Chapter Eight (Rogerson 2003, 118–21).

Other Fieldwalking Surveys

In addition to the large-scale fieldwalking projects discussed above, there have also been a number of smaller surveys concentrating on individual parishes or groups of parishes. Many of these surveys were conducted in Norfolk by the late Alan Davison, whose single-handed contribution to our understanding of the Norfolk landscape cannot be overestimated. The conclusions of these surveys tell us many things, but their inclusion here is justified by the facts that numerous parish churches fell within the individual study areas and that several of them were associated with Anglo-Saxon scatters.

Fieldwalking in the three south-east Norfolk parishes of Hales, Loddon and Heckingham enabled these adjacent parishes to be studied as a single block of landscape (Figure 5.21; Davison 1990). Although a Middle Saxon pin was discovered in the vicinity of Loddon church in 1948, today the church is entirely surrounded by later development and could not, therefore, be fieldwalked. Hales church was hemmed in to the south by grassland, but ploughed fields lay to its north. Heckingham church is surrounded by farmland and could, therefore, be examined in detail. No conclusions could be drawn about the foundation date of Loddon church, while the total absence of any Late Saxon material from the vicinity of Hales church suggests a post-Conquest foundation date, in keeping with its ornate Romanesque architecture (Davison 1990, 16–22; Pevsner and Wilson 1999, 375–6). A dense scatter of Ipswich Ware was discovered surrounding Heckingham church, while the main concentration of Thetford-type Ware lay 100m or so further to the north, with only residual traces of Late Saxon activity in the vicinity of the church (Davison 1990, 16–22). This would seem to suggest a Middle Saxon foundation date for Heckingham church and indicate that the adjacent settlement had already begun to drift away from the church in the Late Saxon period.

A fieldwalking survey of the Mannington and Wolterton Estates in north Norfolk included five parish churches (Figure 5.21). Of these, the churches of Wickmere and Mannington were found to have associated Middle Saxon scatters.

Both churches also had Late Saxon scatters, suggesting that they were either Middle or Late Saxon foundations. Limited work around Calthorpe church suggested that it had a Late Saxon origin. Standing buildings prevented much work from being conducted at Little Barningham, although a church was recorded there at Domesday, while no Anglo-Saxon evidence was discovered in the vicinity of Wolterton church, suggesting that it was a post-Conquest foundation (Davison 1995, 166–70). In fieldwalking the north-east Norfolk parish of Witton the greatest number of Ipswich Ware sherds discovered were found in the vicinity of the church (Figure 5.21; Lawson 1983, 70–2). An even greater concentration of Thetford-type Ware was found in the same area, placing Witton in the 'Middle or Late Saxon' foundation category (Lawson 1983, 73–4).

An extensive fieldwalking survey of the south-west Norfolk parish of Barton Bendish revealed a number of Ipswich Ware sherds in a field to the west of St Mary's church (Figure 5.21; Rogerson with Davison 1997, 20–1). St Mary's was one of two Domesday churches recorded in the parish, although excavation demonstrated that a third Late Saxon church went unrecorded (Rogerson and Ashley 1987, 7–11, 52–3, 63–4). All three churches were surrounded by dense Late Saxon scatters, meaning that St Mary's should be considered a Middle or Late Saxon foundation, while both St Andrew's and All Saints' were Late Saxon foundations. In the adjacent parish of Oxborough, fieldwalking on the site of the deserted medieval settlement of Caldecote revealed a concentration of Ipswich Ware 200m north-east of the church and a dense scatter of Late Saxon pottery around the church itself, indicating a Late Saxon foundation date (Silvester 1997, 83–5).

A comprehensive fieldwalking survey of the parish of Fransham, conducted by Andrew Rogerson, revealed a great deal of information which the more selective fieldwalking of the Launditch Hundred survey did not (Rogerson 1995b). The only Middle Saxon site located by this survey lay 800m east of Great Fransham parish church. The church itself was associated with a scatter of Late Saxon pottery, as was that at Little Fransham, suggesting Late Saxon foundation dates for both churches (Rogerson 1995b, 101–62). An additional fieldwalking survey in the parish of West Acre was less comprehensive, for the areas to the west, south and east of the church are either developed or under grass, yet the

open ground to the north produced both Middle and Late Saxon sherds, indicating a Middle or Late Saxon foundation date (Davison 2003, 212–18).

Fieldwalking in the Breckland parish of Illington (Figure 5.21) revealed a dense concentration of Late Saxon material around the site of the church, while only a few Middle Saxon sherds were found, some 400m to the west. This would suggest that Illington church was also a Late Saxon foundation (Davison *et al.* 1993, 3–4). In the adjacent parish to the north, Little Hockham, fieldwalking revealed a concentration of Middle and Late Saxon pottery. Although there is no church on the site now, it would seem that one stood in the same area as this concentration, suggesting a Middle or Late Saxon foundation date (Davison 1987; Batcock 1991, microfiche). Fieldwalking nearby on the site of the deserted medieval village of Hargham, now in the south-Norfolk parish of Quidenham, revealed a discrete scatter of Ipswich Ware which was superseded by an elongated scatter of Thetford-type Ware, demonstrated a gradual drift eastwards towards the site of Hargham church (Davison with Cushion 1999). This must therefore have been a Late Saxon or even a post-Conquest foundation.

Four kilometres south of Illington, the environs of the parish churches at West and Middle Harling were also examined. The absence of any Middle Saxon artefacts and the presence of a number of Late Saxon ones clearly indicate a Late Saxon foundation date for West Harling church, while a scatter of Ipswich Ware, Thetford-type Ware and ploughed-up human bone in Middle Harling was interpreted as the site of a former church which may have had a Middle or a Late Saxon foundation date (Davison 1983, 332–4). Several years later, a part of the Middle Harling site was excavated after a rich hoard of Middle Saxon coins was discovered, suggesting that the Middle Saxon phase of occupation was the more significant and perhaps indicating a Middle Saxon foundation date for the church (Rogerson 1995a).

Conclusions

The ability to identify churches which might be Middle Saxon foundations and to differentiate them from Late Saxon foundations is clearly highly desirable to a study such as this. Unfortunately, this is by no means an easy task, for in general the documentary evidence has little or nothing to offer and the archaeological

evidence is hard to obtain and difficult to interpret. As this chapter has demonstrated, although we are fortunate that the folios of Little Domesday Book record many hundreds of churches in both Norfolk and Suffolk, it is clear that omissions were made and that the survey was not complete. We can therefore take the listing of a church in LDB as an indication of its existence, but its exclusion is not proof it did not exist. Difficulties also beset any attempts to identify early foundations using the dedications of particular churches to Anglo-Saxon saints, for dedications can be demonstrated to have changed as the popularity of particular saints rose and fell and an alarming number of dedications appear to have been forgotten and misappropriated in the post-medieval period.

The material evidence in the form of Anglo-Saxon church architecture is no less problematic, not least because of the important distinction which needs to be made between architecture in an Anglo-Saxon *style* and architecture of an Anglo-Saxon *date*. Further complications are caused by the fact that successful churches were constantly redeveloped and extended by their parishioners, meaning that traces of Anglo-Saxon architecture only survive in churches belonging to communities that could not afford such embellishments. In any event, stone-built architecture did not become a feature of East Anglian churches until the eleventh century, meaning that the phases with which we are concerned were built of timber and may occasionally be preserved beneath later buildings. Occasionally, it is possible for the complete plan of these timber phases to be excavated – if, for example, a church has been abandoned – but such occurrences are rare and it is more common for traces of earlier phases to be revealed in small trenches dug for maintenance purposes.

Other indications of a church's antiquity might be found in the soil of the graveyard, disturbed from the underlying archaeological contexts by the continual digging of graves. The recovery and recording of such evidence is not consistent, but the notion of broadening the search beyond the footprint of the church itself is a sound one. Fortunately, the East Anglian phenomena of common-edge drift and of settlement desertion have resulted in a number of churches now standing in isolation, surrounded by seas of arable land and ripe for archaeological investigation via fieldwalking. As has been discussed above, a large number of church sites have been investigated in this manner and the presence or absence of

Middle Saxon Ipswich Ware and Late Saxon Thetford-type Ware can be used to drawn conclusions about foundation dates. The evidence is difficult to interpret, as many churches are associated with both Middle and Late Saxon scatters, but when this class of evidence is combined with others, such as topography or associations with existing sites, a more comprehensive picture emerges. The exploration of such combinations of evidence forms the subject of Chapter Eight.

One final aspect of the Anglo-Saxon archaeological record which has not been considered thus far is burial. Churchyard burial is clearly a characteristic of the Christian ecclesiastical landscape and the archaeological record of the pre-Christian Early Saxon period is heavily weighted towards funerary evidence, so it follows that we should be able to use this evidence to explore the conversion process. A large number of Early and Middle Saxon cemeteries have been discovered in East Anglia; the following chapter introduces this data set so that it may be employed in later chapters.

CHAPTER SIX: THE ANGLO-SAXON BURIAL RECORD

'We mercifully preserves their bones, and pisse not upon their ashes.'

Sir Thomas Browne (1658, A4)

Having examined both the documentary and the material evidence for Anglo-Saxon churches, we now turn to the other major category of material evidence which informs this examination of the East Anglian conversion: the burial record. In order to understand the burial practices and funerary landscapes of the Anglo-Saxon period and use them to illuminate the conversion process (Chapters Seven and Eight) we must first understand the nature of the material evidence available. Numerous cultural and natural factors affect the creation, preservation, detection and recovery of the Anglo-Saxon burial record, each of which in turn affects the conclusions which can be drawn from it. Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have been discovered in East Anglia since at least the sixteenth century. Crucially, we are only aware of those sites which were recognised and reported, and doubtless many more were discovered of which we have no knowledge. Despite this, we now have a substantial funerary data set preserved in the region's archaeological archives. Some cemeteries, however, are represented by nothing more than a handful of artefacts, while others have been extensively excavated to a high standard. Consequently, the data are not of a uniform quality and some sites are more informative than others. This chapter examines the quantity and quality of the East Anglian Anglo-Saxon burial record, focusing particularly on the factors responsible for the discovery of cemeteries and the degree of subsequent work undertaken, so that the material can be more readily drawn upon in the following chapters.

The Cemetery Data Set

A number of gazetteers of East Anglian Anglo-Saxon burials have been published but, although each has its merits, none was entirely suitable and for the purposes of this analysis it was necessary to return to the original records (Smith 1901; 1911; Clarke 1940; Meaney 1964, 169–85, 224–36; Myres and Green 1973, 258–62; O'Brien 1999, 105–17). By March 2005 the Norfolk Historic Environment

Record (NHER) contained 177 entries which included the search terms 'burial' and/or 'cemetery' dated Early Saxon (AD 411–650) or Middle Saxon (AD 651–850). The removal of duplicated or uncertain records and the amalgamation of others brought the total number of recorded Early and Middle Saxon cemetery sites in Norfolk to 141, of which 135 could be accurately located. Likewise, the Suffolk Sites and Monuments Record (SSMR) contained 103 records of Early and/or Middle Saxon burials and cemeteries which represented a total of seventy-five Early and Middle Saxon cemetery sites, of which only three could not be accurately located. The data set therefore comprises 216 cemeteries for which it is possible to provide a description, date and general provenance (141 from Norfolk and seventy-five from Suffolk). Fully 208 can be accurately located (Figure 6.1).
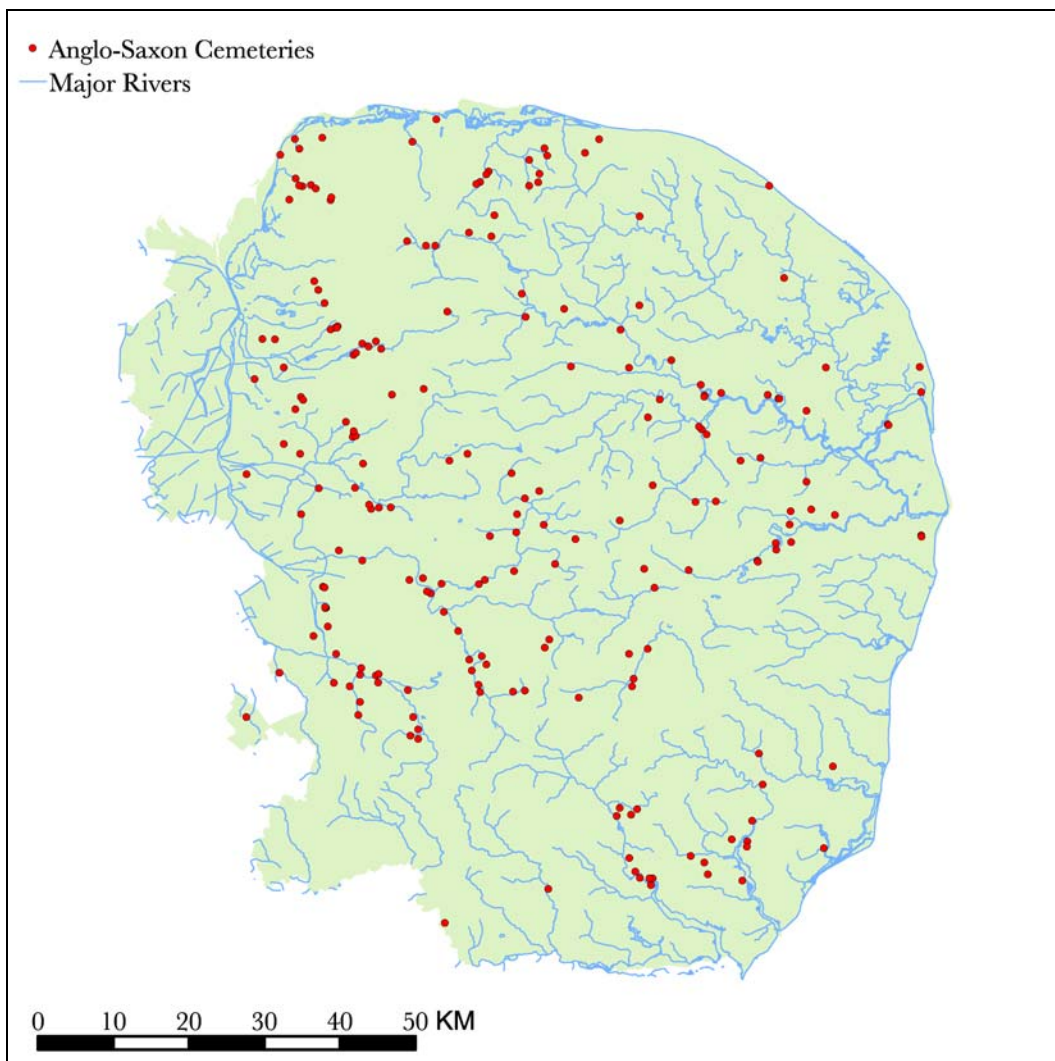
Figure 6.1. The 208 locatable cemetery sites of Norfolk and Suffolk, shown against the modern river network.
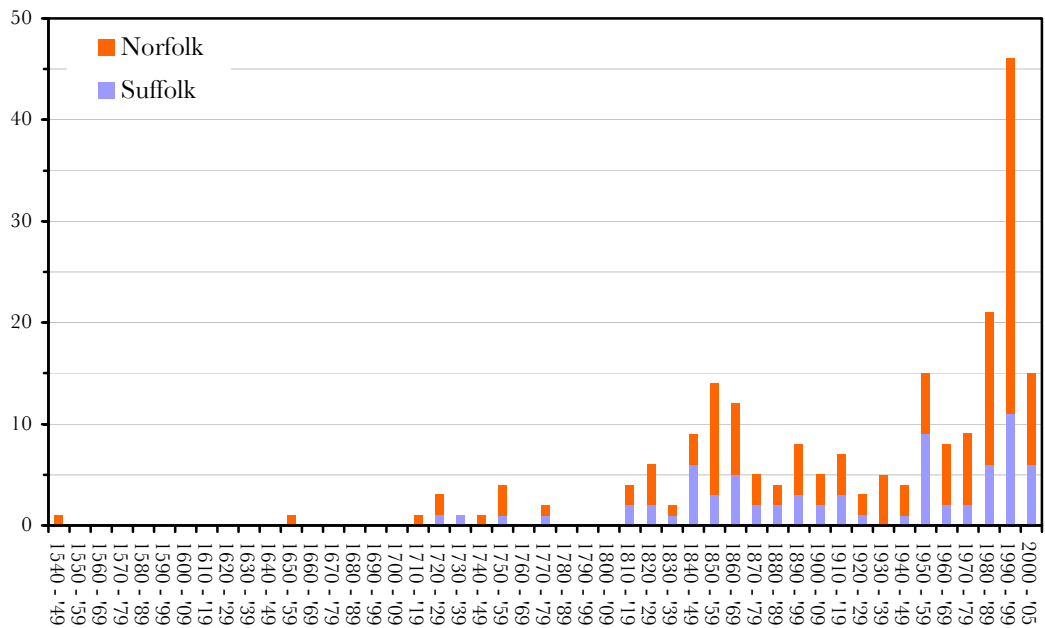
Figure 6.2. Anglo-Saxon cemetery discoveries in Norfolk and Suffolk by decade.

Cemetery Discoveries

The dates at which each of the 216 recorded cemeteries was discovered are shown by decade in Figure 6.2. The sporadic discoveries of the eighteenth century, the distinct mid-nineteenth century peak, the mid-twentieth century spike and sudden increase in discoveries since the 1980s all suggest that a number of different factors are at work which an analysis of discovery dates alone is not subtle enough to identify. In order to understand these patterns better and gain an insight into the quality of the data it is necessary to examine the method by which each site was discovered, for this can be demonstrated to have had the greatest effect upon the type and quality of data available. These methods of discovery are very diverse and in order to simplify the discussion a little, a number of broad categories have been devised. These categories are *Agricultural Practices*, ranging from mound-levelling to hedge-making; *Building Work*, from the digging of sewers to large-scale evaluations ahead of developments; *Railway Construction*, separated out from other building work here as it is often cited as a major contributor to the discovery of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (e.g. Lucy and Reynolds 2002, 5); *Mineral Extraction*, whether for sand, gravel or other materials; *Barrow-Digging*, a popular post-medieval hobby which produced a number of finds; *Other Excavations*, archaeological investigations during which Anglo-Saxon sites were accidentally

discovered; *Modern Burials*, which have disturbed earlier, Anglo-Saxon ones; *Unknown*, referring to those excavated sites for which no details of their discovery survive; and *Metal-Detecting*, whereby sites are located by the discovery of metallic surface finds, but which significantly are not often excavated (Figure 6.3).
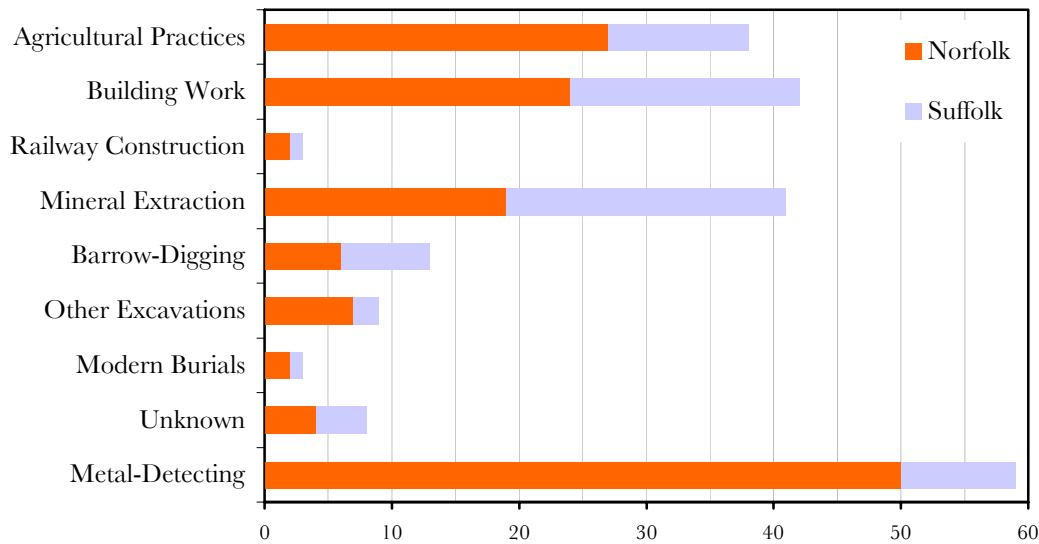
Figure 6.3. The Anglo-Saxon cemetery discoveries in Norfolk and Suffolk categorised by discovery method.

As can be seen, Metal-Detecting has been the most productive activity, responsible for 27.31% of all cemetery discoveries, followed by Building Works with 19.44%, Mineral Extraction with 18.98% and Agricultural Practices with 17.59%. More minor contributions have been made by Barrow-Digging (6.02%) and Other Excavations (4.17%), while Modern Burials and Railway Construction account for 1.39% each. The details of 3.70% of the cemeteries are unknown. As the data set comprises elements of both the NHER and SSMR, individual examinations of the data from each county prove to be illuminating. When the totals for Norfolk are examined, Metal-Detecting remains top, accounting for 35.46% of sites. Second place is taken by Agricultural Practices with 19.15%, third by Building Work with 17.02% and fourth by Mineral Extraction with 13.48%. Other Excavations and Barrow-Digging are next, with 4.96% and 4.26% respectively, and Modern Burials account for 1.42% of cemetery discoveries. The circumstances of 2.84% of discoveries are unknown. By contrast, Mineral Extraction accounts for the largest percentage of discoveries in Suffolk, with 29.33% of cemetery discoveries resulting from it. Building Work is second with

24.00%, Agricultural Practices third with 14.67% and Metal-Detecting is relegated to fourth with only 12.00%. Barrow-Digging accounts for 9.33% of discoveries, with Other Excavations responsible for 2.67%. Railway Construction and Modern Burials have each accounted for 1.33% of sites and the circumstances of 5.33% of discoveries are unknown. The following sections are given over to more detailed discussions of the 216 cemetery sites in the data set, following the categories outlined above.
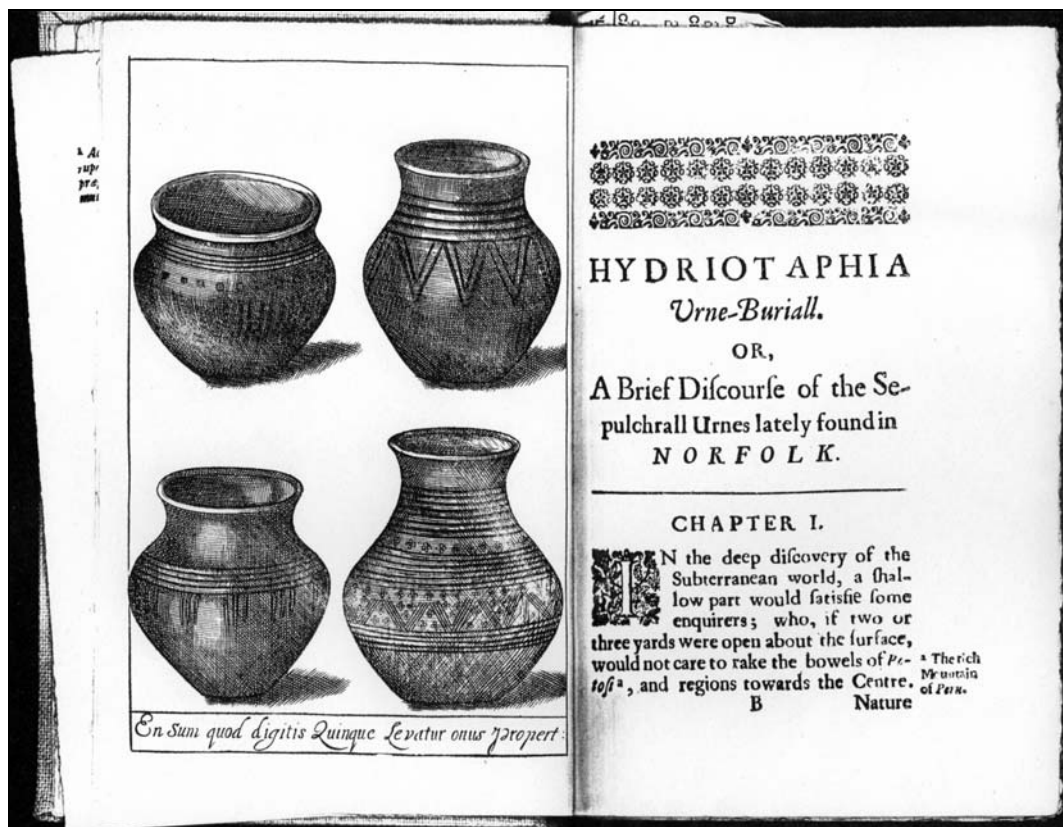
Figure 6.4. The opening pages of Sir Thomas Browne's *Hydriotaphia* (1658), featuring some of the earliest illustrations of Anglo-Saxon cremation urns.

Agricultural Practices

As might be expected in a region with such a high proportion of cultivated arable land, agricultural practices have been responsible for the discovery of a number of cemetery sites. Of the 216 cemetery sites included in this analysis, thirty-eight (17.59%) were discovered in such a manner. These discoveries began to be recorded at a relatively early date, although the antiquarians who wrote on the subject were generally too vague for their work to be of much use here. For example, in his *Itinerary* of *c.*1538–43 the antiquary John Leland noted that 'Syr

John Dicons told me that yn digging of a baulk or mere yn a field longging to the paroche of Keninghaul [Kenninghall] in Northfolk ther were founde a great many yerthen pottes yn order *cum cineribus mortuorum* [with the ashes of the dead]' (Toulmin Smith 1964, 120; NHER: 10845). Similarly, Sir Thomas Browne's *Hydriotaphia* of 1658 tells how:

> In a field of old Walsingham, not many moneths past, were digged up between fourty and fifty Urnes, deposited in a dry and sandy soile, not a yard deep, nor farre from one another … Some containing two pounds of bones, distinguishable in skulls, ribs, jawes, thigh-bones, and teeth, with fresh impressions of their combustion. Besides the extraneous substances, like peeces of small boxes, or combes handsomely wrought, handles of small brasse instruments, brazen nippers, and in one some kind of Opale. (Browne 1658, 14)

Hydriotaphia contains some of the earliest illustrations of Anglo-Saxon cremation urns (Figure 6.4), but it is much more than a simple excavation report, for Browne broadened the work to consider the place of the cremation rite in ancient societies and provided a vivid insight into the seventeenth-century attitude towards cremation (Williams 2002a, 47). However, as with the discoveries described by Leland, identifying the precise location of the cemetery is problematic, leading to many suggested locations and making a more detailed analysis of the site impossible (NHER: 2030; 14303).

Agricultural activities similar to those described by Leland and Browne accounted for other, often poorly documented, cemetery discoveries throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries (NHER: 1047; 1609; 3000; 3969; 4561; 6164; 9158; 10657; SSMR: CAM002; ERL003; FSG Misc). For example, the raising of a new boundary bank and the planting of a hedge between the parishes of West Acre and Castle Acre (Norfolk) in 1857 located between twenty and thirty urns, which subsequent excavations in 1877 and 1891–2 revealed to be part of a cremation cemetery containing over 100 burials, although very few records were kept (NHER: 3781; Housman 1895; Smith 1901, 329–31; Clarke 1940, 218–20). Occasionally, however, such early chance discoveries might

result in subsequent decades in the recovery of a great deal of well-provenanced material. One such find, made while mending boundary ditches and fences in 1711, brought to light the first recorded traces of the vast cremation cemetery at Spong Hill (NHER: 1012; Hills 1977, 6–9). In a letter to the Royal Society, local antiquary Peter Le Neve reported how labourers had 'accidentally pitch'd upon a Pot … and fell to ransacking; but finding nothing but Dust and Ashes, went to their work again' (quoted in Hills 1977, 1–2). Within a year of these initial discoveries a further 120 urns had been retrieved and additional batches of urns were excavated from the site in 1852 and 1954. In 1968 the threat of deep ploughing combined with the attractive proposition of recovering a cremation cemetery in its entirety led to trial excavations, followed by total excavation of the site between 1972 and 1981. The remains of at least 2,284 cremated individuals were recovered, the majority of them urned, while the site also revealed the remains of fifty-seven inhumations, fifty of which were furnished. Spong Hill remains one of very few cemeteries to have been entirely excavated to modern standards and the conclusions drawn from the site inform much of our understanding of the Early Saxon cremation rite (Hills 1977; Hills and Penn 1981; Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984; 1987; 1994; Healy 1987; McKinley 1994a; Rickett 1995).

Arboriculture in its various forms has also been responsible for a number of discoveries (NHER: 5653; 7853; SSMR: LKH041). The remains of a cremation cemetery at Markshall (Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk) were first disturbed during fence-making and tree-planting for a new plantation in 1815, with further urns being periodically excavated during the following ten years (NHER: 9788). The site was eventually re-examined and re-excavated during the 1940s, when the neighbouring Caistor-by-Norwich cemetery was excavated (NHER: 9791; Myres and Green 1973, 234–5). The first cremation urns from the Caistor-by-Norwich cemetery were discovered in an area of Caistor Park so overgrown with the roots of trees that no urn could be lifted whole. These trees had obviously been cleared by the time that further urns were ploughed up in 1814, and when the site was excavated by Surgeon-Commander F.R. Mann in the 1930s the conditions were 'as unpropitious for archaeological investigation as could be imagined' (Myres and Green 1973, 1–2). Mann's excavations recovered evidence for at least 700

cremations and sixty inhumations, but the edges of the cemetery were not reached. Both the Markshall and Caistor-by-Norwich cemeteries lie in close proximity to the Roman civitas capital of *Venta Icenorum* and the significance of this relationship is examined more fully in Chapter Eight (below, pp.309–13).

Over the years several other discoveries have been made during work in parkland or gardens (NHER: 3970; 4985; 10234; 14472; SSMR: BUN Misc; LGH005; UFF Misc). In 1860 an inhumation furnished with a spear and knife was dug up in Hunstanton Park (Norfolk) and a further dozen or so furnished burials were revealed when the site was more comprehensively excavated in 1900–02 (NHER1142; Clarke 1940, 222–3). On a smaller scale, furnished inhumations were found near Cross House, Ixworth (Suffolk), in 1868, with further inhumations furnished with weapons coming to light in 1871. At least nine cremation urns were subsequently discovered in an adjoining garden in 1946 (SSMR: IXW005). Land improvement has also contributed significantly to cemetery discoveries, whether in the form of the 'stone raising' that revealed a cluster of furnished inhumations at Woodbridge in 1873 (SSMR: WBG022), or in the form of the levelling of any number of mounds and barrows (NHER: 1050; 4811; 5828; 8277; 11110; SSMR: IPS016). For example, in 1813 a number of barrows adjacent to the Roman Walsingham Way were removed from Coates Common, Sporle (Norfolk). Record-keeping was poor, so it is not clear whether the burials discovered were primary or secondary interments. One of the barrows apparently contained seven inhumations, laid out in a row of three males, each with a spear and shield, and a row of four females, variously furnished with brooches, buckles, beads and pins. Another barrow in the vicinity is said to have contained a horse (NHER: 4598).

Figure 6.5 plots by decade the discovery dates of the thirty-eight cemetery sites revealed as a result of agricultural practices, beginning with the first recorded discovery in the 1540s. The exceptional nature of the two earliest recorded discoveries is clear, as is the sporadic nature of recorded discoveries before the 1810s, after which time new discoveries amassed at a reasonably constant rate, peaking in the 1850s and eventually tailing off in the 1950s. The last agricultural discovery was made in 1975. This pattern of reported discoveries cannot be simply explained as a result of agricultural intensification, for the agricultural practices

which led to these discoveries did not begin in the early eighteenth century – much of the region had been under the plough for over a thousand years by then. Although the major reworking of the landscape associated with enclosure and reclamation of marginal land might be expected to have resulted in new discoveries, the main period of Parliamentary Enclosure in East Anglia (1790s–1810s) only produced three new sites, all of them in the 1810s, and much of the region was unaffected by this process in any case (Tate 1978; Dymond 1989; Turner 2005). Similarly, one might expect the Forestry Commission plantings of the 1920s and 30s to have revealed cemeteries, but they did not; either because there were no sites to be discovered or because no interest was taken in any discoveries which were made whilst planting (Skipper and Williamson 1997).
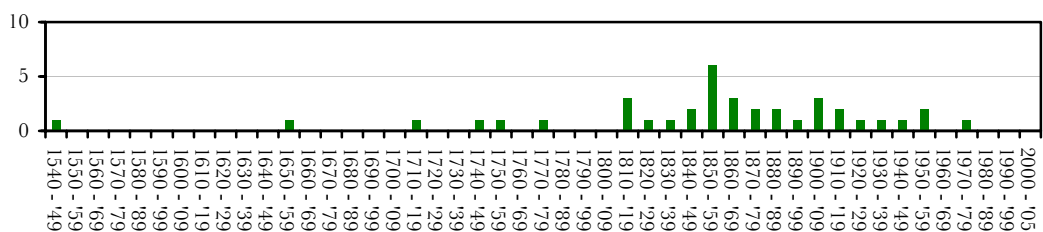
Figure 6.5. Cemetery discoveries resulting from agricultural practices by decade.

Crucially, it must be remembered that the sites of which we know are those which were recorded in some way after their discovery, so it is necessary to consider the mechanisms by which that recording occurred. The first half of the nineteenth century saw a great increase in the level of archaeological interest among the middle and upper classes, manifested in the emergence of numerous local archaeological societies and the foundation of a number of regional museums. The inaugural meeting of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, for example, was held in Norwich in 1846 and the first volume of its Proceedings was published in 1847. From its earliest days the Society was closely linked to the Norwich Museum, which had been established in 1824 (Cozens-Hardy 1946). Similarly, the first meeting of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History was held in Bury St Edmunds in 1848. The first museum in Ipswich opened in 1847 while Bury St Edmunds acquired one in 1899 (Ashbee 1984, 4). It would seem that the pattern displayed in Figure 6.5 is directly attributable to the methods of reporting and recording finds afforded by the creation of such institutions. The exhibition and publication of these discoveries

would have in turn resulted in a greater awareness of the material and increasing the likelihood of new finds being reported. We must therefore assume that the number of nineteenth- and twentieth-century discoveries is actually quite typical of previous centuries also, the implication being that a considerable number of discoveries have previously gone unrecorded. We cannot be sure, therefore, of the number of sites which may have been completely destroyed by earlier agricultural practices and which are now lost to us, but the suggestion is that it is a large number.

The decline in new discoveries from the 1950s onwards is most likely a result of the increasing mechanisation of agricultural practices, resulting in less direct human contact with the ground. However, while discoveries resulting from agricultural practices tailed off in the second half of the twentieth century, the number of those resulting from building work increased dramatically.

Railway Construction and Building Work

The creation of the built environment has been responsible for a substantial number of the cemetery discoveries in Norfolk and Suffolk, although in many instances excavation has only been partial, due to the constraints of time, space and money. Building projects of every kind have revealed forty-two (19.44%) of the 216 cemeteries under consideration, while construction of the railways revealed only three sites (1.39%). In 1849 a cutting for the Norwich–Ipswich railway revealed an inhumation furnished with two brooches at Gissing (NHER: 10961), and the same year saw a cutting for the Eastern Union railway disturb a number of cremation urns and a furnished inhumation in Cotton (SSMR: COT015). During the following year, a further inhumation, furnished with a pot and three brooches, was found in Little Walsingham (NHER: 2031) in a cutting for the Wells–Fakenham railway. The near-contemporaneous dates of these three discoveries reflect the intensive nature of the railway building programme in East Anglia, which began in 1844 and had linked most of the region's major population centres within ten years (Robertson 1999a; Joby 2005a).

Large-scale evaluations are conducted before the laying of cross-county industrial pipelines and one evaluation revealed two juvenile Middle Saxon inhumations at Methwold (Norfolk) in 1992 (NHER: 23120), while in 2003 work

ahead of the Bacton–Kings Lynn pipeline encountered the remains of two cremations and twenty-six furnished inhumations clustered around a ring-ditch in Tittleshall (NHER: 37622). The maintenance of the road network has also accounted for a number of discoveries, either directly through road-making itself (NHER: 0165; 3573; 8781; 9628) or indirectly through the extraction of gravel and other raw materials elsewhere (see below). The earliest recorded instance is the discovery of 'a bushel' of human remains at Risby (Suffolk) in 1771, when the building of the Bury–Newmarket turnpike damaged part of an extant Bronze Age barrow. Anglo-Saxon material in a secondary context was subsequently found in the same barrow (SSMR: RBY001; Martin 1976, 43–8). The extensive work carried out along the path of the Norwich Southern Bypass discovered a prehistoric barrow cemetery at Harford Farm. During the course of excavations here a number of Anglo-Saxon inhumations were unexpectedly revealed. The cemetery (Figure 8.15) consisted of two groups of inhumations, fifteen clustered around a prehistoric barrow and a further thirty-one lying in rough rows some 200m to the north. The site was in use during the late seventh century and it is the 'first complete Final Phase cemetery of good size to be excavated in Norfolk' (Penn 2000a, ix; NHER: 9794).

The extensive ground-works carried out during the creation and development of the region's military bases have brought to light a number of cemeteries (NHER: 2154; 2757; 37159). The most significant of these sites are those discovered during excavations at RAF Lakenheath, Eriswell (Suffolk), since the 1950s (Figure 6.6). The existence of Anglo-Saxon burials was first recognised in 1957, when a furnished inhumation was discovered. The construction of a new hospital in 1959 revealed traces of further burials and subsequent excavation revealed thirty-three inhumations (SSMR: ERL008; Hutchinson 1966). These excavations were extended in 2000, when another sixty-seven burials were found and the relationship between the burials and the Bronze Age barrows around which they cluster was demonstrated (SSMR: ERL114; Caruth 2002).
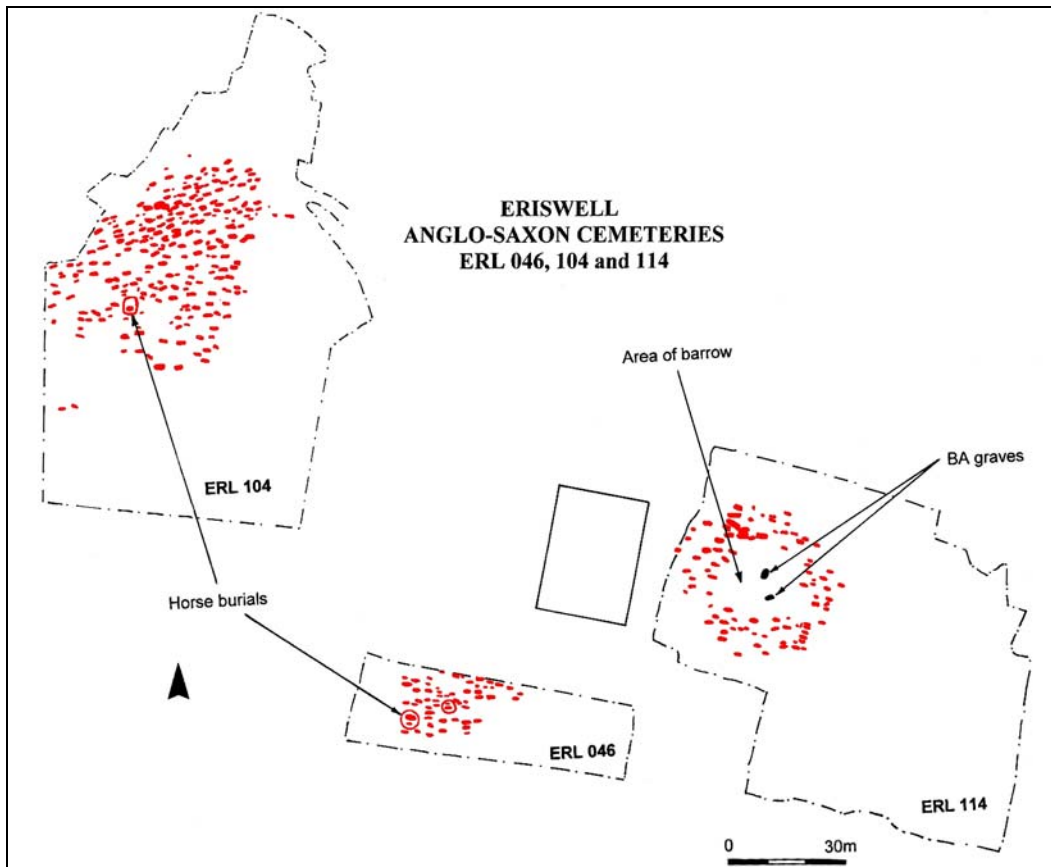
Figure 6.6. The Eriswell Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Caruth 2002, 220, fig. 50).

However, this is not the only cemetery at RAF Lakenheath. Approximately 50m to the west of ERL114 four inhumations were revealed in a pipe-trench in 1981, to which further excavation in 1998 added another fifty-nine burials, although the relationship with the burials to the east remains unclear (SSMR: ERL046; Caruth 2000). The third and largest of the Lakenheath cemeteries was revealed during the evaluation of a baseball pitch in 1997. A total of 261 graves was excavated, a figure estimated to represent 90% of the cemetery (SSMR: ERL104; Caruth 1998).

More conventional building work has also been responsible for a number of new cemetery discoveries over the years, although frequently the limited nature of the work undertaken reveals similarly limited evidence (NHER: 1092; 1529; 5112; 5138; 5139; 6872; 10231; 25154; SSMR: BSE005; BSE007; BUN003; CDD003). In 1970 nineteen inhumations and a possible cremation were excavated after initial traces of a cemetery were discovered during the construction of The Paddocks housing estate, Swaffham (NHER: 1125). The site was one of the first to be excavated and recorded to modern archaeological

standards in Norfolk (Hills and Wade-Martins 1976). Similarly, in 1972, human remains, a shield-boss and a brooch were recovered on a building site at Westgarth Gardens, Bury St Edmunds (SSMR: BSE030), prompting an excavation which recovered sixty-five inhumations and four cremations from an area of approximately 30m by 30m (Figure 7.13; West 1988).

Significant discoveries were made between 1998 and 2001, when extensive excavations ahead of a new housing development at Carlton Colville (Suffolk) revealed thirty-nine sunken-featured buildings, at least eight hall-type buildings, and twenty-six inhumations (SSMR: CAC016; Dickens, Mortimer and Tipper 2006). Similarly, excavation ahead of the Sutton Hoo Visitors' Centre in 2000 revealed a cemetery *c.*600m north of the main barrow cemetery which consisted of at least nineteen inhumations and seventeen cremations. Some of these burials clustered around a Bronze Age ring-ditch, while four of the cremations were clustered around a fifth buried in a hanging-bowl (SSMR: BML018). Both of these sites are examined in detail in Chapters Seven and Eight.

Ipswich has played host to an orchestrated campaign of archaeological investigations since the early 1970s, partly a response to its status as a Middle Anglo-Saxon emporium (SSMR: IPS053; IPS247; IPS411; IPS414). A large area excavated before the redevelopment of the Buttermarket Shopping Centre in 1987–8 revealed seventy-seven inhumations from a cemetery, the edges of which were not reached. Thirty-two burials were furnished, most rather poorly, although one contained a shield, two spears, a broad seax in a scabbard and an elaborate belt of continental types. Some burials were in coffins, others in chambered graves and some surrounded by small ring-ditches. Both the grave-goods and radiocarbon dates suggest that the cemetery spans the seventh and eighth centuries. The Buttermarket cemetery is still in post-excavation analysis, although the dating of its burials makes the site very relevant to the following chapters (SSMR: IPS228; Scull 1997).

In 1990 a mixed-rite cemetery was discovered during building work on the Boss Hall Industrial Estate, Ipswich. The subsequent salvage excavation recovered twenty-three inhumations and five cremations, although only the western extent of the cemetery was reached. One inhumation was a wood-lined chamber grave, around which some of the cremations clustered, suggesting the existence of a small

barrow. Nineteen of the graves contained grave-goods (nine female, seen male and three unsexable). One female burial was very richly furnished, featuring a bag containing a composite brooch, four gold pendants, a Merovingian coin and a silver toilet set (Figure 7.20). The grave-goods suggest that the site spans the sixth and early seventh centuries. Like the Buttermarket site, Boss Hall is still undergoing post-excavation analysis (SSMR: IPS231).
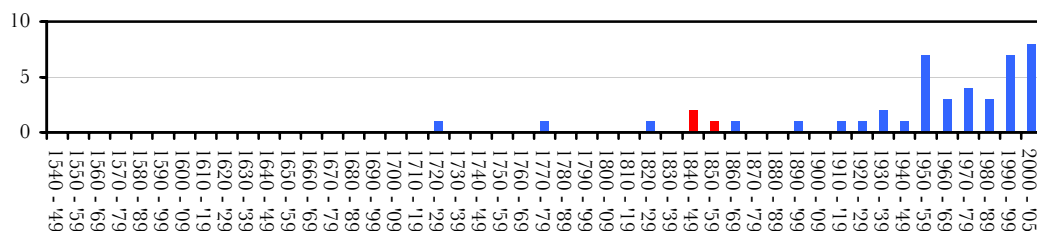
Figure 6.7. Cemetery discoveries resulting from building work (blue) and railway construction (red) by decade.

Figure 6.7 plots the discovery dates of the forty-five cemetery sites discovered as a result of building work. At first glance this might seem a disproportionately high number of discoveries, given the relatively small proportion of the region which might be considered to be urban. However, as Figure 6.7 shows, it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that the number of cemetery discoveries showed a marked and steady increase, by which time archaeological reporting had improved significantly. It has already been observed that the nineteenth century saw an increasing awareness of the archaeological material, therefore the low numbers of discoveries resulting from building work in the nineteenth century must be seen as a genuine figure, for, if such discoveries were made, the evidence suggests that they would have also been reported. Whereas agriculture-related discoveries tailed off during the first half of the twentieth century, building-related discoveries began to rise steadily, doubtless a reflection of the changing emphasis from a rural to an urban economy. The peak in the 1950s is in part the result of urban regeneration in the immediate post-war period.

The continued rise in the number of sites recognised during the later twentieth century was in part the result of comprehensive urban archaeology strategies instigated by the authorities in Norwich, Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds (e.g. Scole Committee 1973; Carr 1975; Norwich Survey 1980), which presaged

the most significant advance in building-related archaeology, the introduction of *Planning Policy Guidance Note 16: Archaeology and Planning* (PPG16) in 1990 (DoE 1990). This legislation gave planners the authority to request that prospective developers provide a desk-based assessment of a site's archaeological potential and, where necessary, to arrange for field evaluations and excavations to be carried out before any planning permission decisions are made. The introduction of PPG16 has resulted in a vast increase in the amount of archaeological work being conducted, contributing an enormous amount of new data to the regional databases in the process (Darvill and Russell 2002, 12–50). This work clearly accounts for the sharp rise in the number of new cemetery sites discovered in the 1990s and the first five years of the 2000s, the figures for which have already outstripped those of the 1990s.

Mineral Extraction

Mineral extraction, mainly driven by the demand for raw materials for building projects, has historically been widespread throughout the region and today, like building work, it is subject to the constraints of PPG16. The creation of quarries of all sizes has resulted in the discovery of forty-one of the 216 cemetery sites (18.98%), nineteen in Norfolk and twenty-two in Suffolk. Sand- and chalk-pits account for a number of cemetery discoveries (NHER: 3348; 4291; 4801; 6076; SSMR: RKN012). In 1834 a chalk pit in Mildenhall (Suffolk) revealed the first traces of the Holywell Row cemetery, subsequently excavated by Lethbridge in 1929. This excavation revealed 100 inhumations dug into chalk and sand, although the limits of the cemetery were not reached and the site had previously been disturbed. No cremations were discovered. All of the inhumations were aligned broadly west–east and bone preservation was poor, but grave-goods were bountiful (SSMR: MNL084; Lethbridge 1931). Lethbridge's data was comprehensively analysed by Pader in her exploration of social relations and mortuary remains, the conclusions of which are referred to in Chapter Seven (Pader 1980; 1982, 90–135).
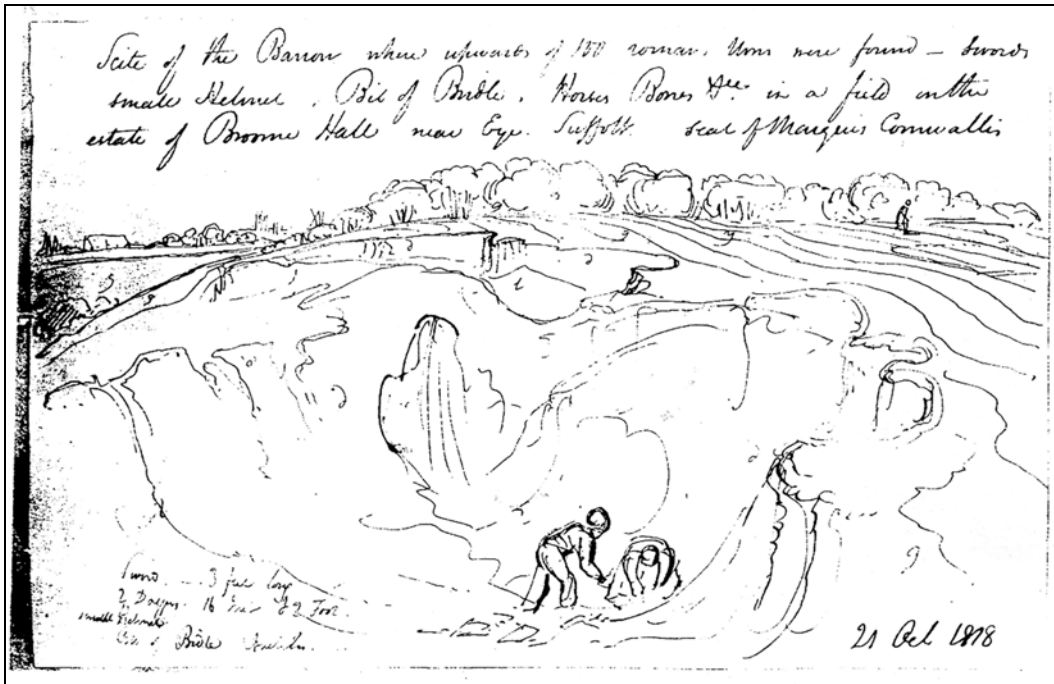
Figure 6.8. A sketch of Eye dated 21 October 1818 showing the 'Site of the Barrow where upwards of 100 Roman Urns were found' (West 1998, fig 44a.1).

By far the most numerous quarrying-related finds are those from gravel pits (NHER: 1048; 1054; 1121; 1145; 1288; 1611; 2133; 2414; 4412; 4416; 10279; 13670; SSMR: BAA008; COL001; EXG005; FSM Misc; HCH013; IKL026; IXT002; PRH002; WSW003). In 1818, for example, workmen digging a gravel pit in Waterloo Plantation, Eye (Suffolk), 'ransacked' *c.*150 cremation urns in four days, only seventeen of which were kept, although the excavation was recorded in an unsigned sketch (Figure 6.8). Further urns were discovered on the site in 1925 and 1955, and the site has subsequently been levelled (SSMR: EYE003; West 1998, 35).

Investigations undertaken as a result of large-scale quarrying have also led to the discovery of burials (NHER: 2266; SSMR: BEL010; FKM001; FLN008; FLN053; FLN062; IXT007; PKM006; TDD001). By 1898 gravel-digging on Burrow Hill (also known as Insula de Burgh, Suffolk) had revealed traces of a Middle Saxon cemetery, but it was not until rescue excavations were conducted between 1978 and 1981 that an inhumation cemetery of at least 200 individuals was revealed. All of the inhumations were unfurnished and orientated west–east, with some exhibiting coffin-stains. Only two infants are recorded and the adults are described as being 'mainly male' (SSMR: BUT001; Fenwick 1984). A similar

set of circumstances apply to the cemeteries and associated settlement excavated at Staunch Meadow, Brandon (Suffolk). Gravel extraction in the mid-nineteenth century removed several hundred inhumations from the site, the details of which went largely unrecorded, and it was not until the site was threatened with levelling to create a playing field that the site was excavated. Between 1979 and 1988 an area of *c.*13,000m² was excavated revealing a complete Middle Saxon settlement with buildings, industrial areas, a church and two cemeteries, all concentrated on an island (Figure 8.11; SSMR: BRD018; Carr, Tester and Murphy 1988).

In 1973 copper grave-goods were found in a gravel screening machine at a quarry in Bergh Apton (Norfolk). The subsequent rescue excavation revealed 63 inhumations, of which fifty-eight contained grave-goods. Bone preservation was poor, but the grave-goods identified eighteen males, twenty-four females and twelve children. At least forty burials were orientated west–east and at least three were orientated east–west (NHER: 1011; Green and Rogerson 1978). Another cemetery was discovered while gravel was being quarried at Morning Thorpe (Norfolk) in 1974 and was excavated over the following year. In all, evidence for *c.*365 inhumations and nine cremations was recovered from the site; only the southern and western limits of the cemetery were reached. Bone preservation was very poor due to the acidic conditions, making ascertaining the orientation and sex of burials difficult. A number of graves were surrounded by secondary features such as ring-ditches and post-holes (NHER: 1120; Green, Rogerson and White 1987). In 1999 monitoring and excavation of the expanding Shrubland Park Quarry, Coddenham (Suffolk), by the Suffolk Archaeology Service revealed at least fifty seventh-century inhumations associated with four ring-ditches of ploughed-out barrows. About half of the graves were furnished, including two 'chambered' graves with significant 'warrior' assemblages and a woman buried on a wooden bed (SSMR: CDD050; Topham-Smith 2000).
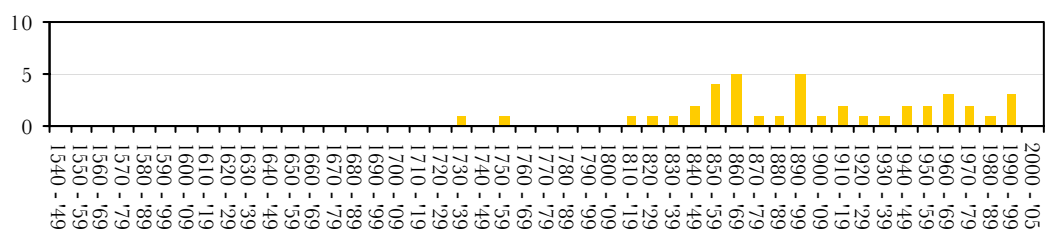
Figure 6.9. Cemetery discoveries resulting from mineral extraction by decade.

Figure 6.9 plots the discovery dates of the forty-one cemetery sites discovered as a result of mineral extraction. The pattern, as can be seen, is similar in general terms to that described in previous sections, although in addition to a peak in discoveries during the 1840s–60s a second peak occurred in the 1890s. Throughout the twentieth century the number of discoveries remained relatively low, increasing slightly in the post-Second World War period. There are enough early discoveries recorded here to suggest that others must have gone unrecorded. There is clearly a background level of discoveries made while minerals were being extracted, meaning that peaks in the number of discoveries must be the result of increases in the number of extraction pits being dug, greater social awareness of archaeological material or other factors.

The steep rise and peak during the period 1840–70 closely parallels the intensive period of railway construction discussed above, suggesting that the increased demand for hardcore created by these projects was responsible for the discovery of many new sites. The peak in the 1890s is more difficult to explain, as there is no obvious extra demand for materials to which it could be correlated. In 1889 the newly formed county councils assumed responsibility for 188 miles of main roads in Norfolk and Suffolk, while Rural District Councils took charge of all remaining roads in 1894 (Robertson 1999b; Davison and Joby 2005; Hamilton and Knowles 1995, paragraph 12). Whether these administrative changes resulted in an intensified programme of maintenance is unclear, but it is certainly possible that they were in part responsible for the rise in discovery numbers.

The escalation in the number of building-related discoveries made during the twentieth century appears to be mirrored in the rise in discoveries related to quarrying. Again, there is a slight post-war peak in discoveries, as rebuilding would have created an increased demand for hardcore. As was also the case with building-related discoveries, the 1990s saw an increase in numbers due to the introduction of PPG16. Although building and mineral extraction are clearly linked, fewer discoveries result from extraction than from building-work. This may be because, whereas buildings are often on new sites, most extraction pits are returned to time and again until their exhaustion necessitates the opening of a new site. The increasing mechanisation of the extraction process has doubtless also played a role, as a worker with a pick-axe is likely to notice artefacts *in situ*, while

other sites may only be brought to light when artefacts get caught in mechanical filters, as was the case at Bergh Apton (Green and Rogerson 1978, 1).

Barrow-Digging and Other Excavations

The vast majority of the cemetery sites discussed so far, because they were purely archaeological in nature, were discovered when the earth that contained them was disturbed. However, some sites have been discovered during the excavation of upstanding archaeological features (not necessarily connected to the Anglo-Saxon material discovered), whether earthworks or masonry. Within the region twenty-two Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites (10.19%) have been discovered during deliberate excavations of extant features. These can be broadly divided into two sub-categories: thirteen sites (6.02%) discovered by barrow-digging and nine (4.17%) discovered during excavations of other visible archaeological sites.

During the 1970s the surviving remains of nearly 900 barrows were identified in Norfolk and Suffolk, along with evidence obtained from aerial photographs for over 1,000 ring-ditches (Lawson, *et al.* 1981). Both counties have a long history of 'hill-digging' – Norfolk's beginning in the fifteenth century, Suffolk's in the sixteenth – and several hundred of these sites are known to have been 'excavated' in subsequent years (Lawson, *et al.* 1981, 36–8, 67–9). The vast majority of these barrows have proved to be Bronze Age in date, but of these a number have revealed secondary Anglo-Saxon burials focused around an extant barrow (NHER: 1781; 3754; 6153; 10597; 10628; 10985; 11971; SSMR: BNH016; MNL001; RBY003). There is also a handful of examples of Anglo-Saxon primary barrow-burials, of which the barrow excavated at Bloodmoor Hill, Gisleham (Suffolk), in 1758 is an example. The burial was furnished with a gold pendant coin of Avitus (AD 455), an onyx pendant and a necklace of rough garnets. Recent work by metal-detectorists suggests that this burial did not exist in isolation and the surface finds suggest a burial complex of some richness (SSMR: GSE003; Newman 1995). Three small barrows were also excavated in the Brightwell/Martlesham border (Suffolk) in 1919. Two were Bronze Age and the third contained an Anglo-Saxon bronze bowl filled with cremated remains. An adult male, a female, a new-born infant and a foetus were represented, along with an ox and a dog. The bowl also contained an iron-riveted bone comb, an ivory

ring, two glass beads and a decorated bone disc (SSMR: BGL017).

The first recorded archaeological investigation of the barrows at Snape (Suffolk) took place in 1827, uncovering gold rings and brooches. In 1862 the landowner, Septimus Davidson, excavated three of the mounds, revealing a number of cremations and a ship-burial, the latter represented by rows of iron rivets. The boat had already been robbed, but a gold intaglio ring and a broken claw beaker remained. The excavators returned the following year and recovered the remains of a further forty cremation urns from the site (SSMR: SNP007; Bruce-Mitford 1974, 114–40). Interest in the site subsequently waned, but in 1972 a sewer trench through the area revealed nine more cremations. From 1985 to 1992 the site was subjected to a comprehensive archaeological investigation which opened several large areas and uncovered a mixed-rite cemetery of some complexity. The site comprised fifty-two cremations, seven of them un-urned and one in a bronze bowl. Forty-eight inhumations were also found, four of them boat-burials, and due to particularly good organic preservation a wide array of grave-goods and furnishings were also preserved (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001).

By far the most famous Anglo-Saxon cemetery in East Anglia is the barrow cemetery at Sutton Hoo, the first recorded excavation of which took place in 1860, although the archaeological evidence suggests that the whole site was systematically looted in the late sixteenth century. At least fifteen mounds were once visible on the site; they were gradually eroded and ploughed until only a few remained extant (Figure 6.10; SSMR: SUT038; Carver 1998b; 2005). The nineteenth-century excavation opened one of these mounds, probably Mound 2, unearthing 'two bushels' of iron ship rivets in the process.

Several other mounds were opened in this fashion, but very little appears to have been discovered (Carver 1998b, 148–53). In 1938 Basil Brown began excavating several of the mounds, opening Mound 1 in 1939 and discovering the famous ship-burial and its treasures on the eve of the Second World War. Mound 1 and other areas were re-excavated between 1967–9 and published during the late 1970s and early 1980s (Bruce-Mitford 1975, 1978 and 1983). Another major campaign of excavation ran from 1984 to 1992, during which half of the site was excavated. In all the site has produced evidence for two ship burials under mounds, eight cremations under mounds and five inhumations under mounds, all

dating to the late sixth/early seventh centuries. A group of forty execution-burials dating from the Middle to Late Saxon period were found surrounding one of the mounds, which was interpreted as the site of a later gallows (Carver 2005, 315–62).
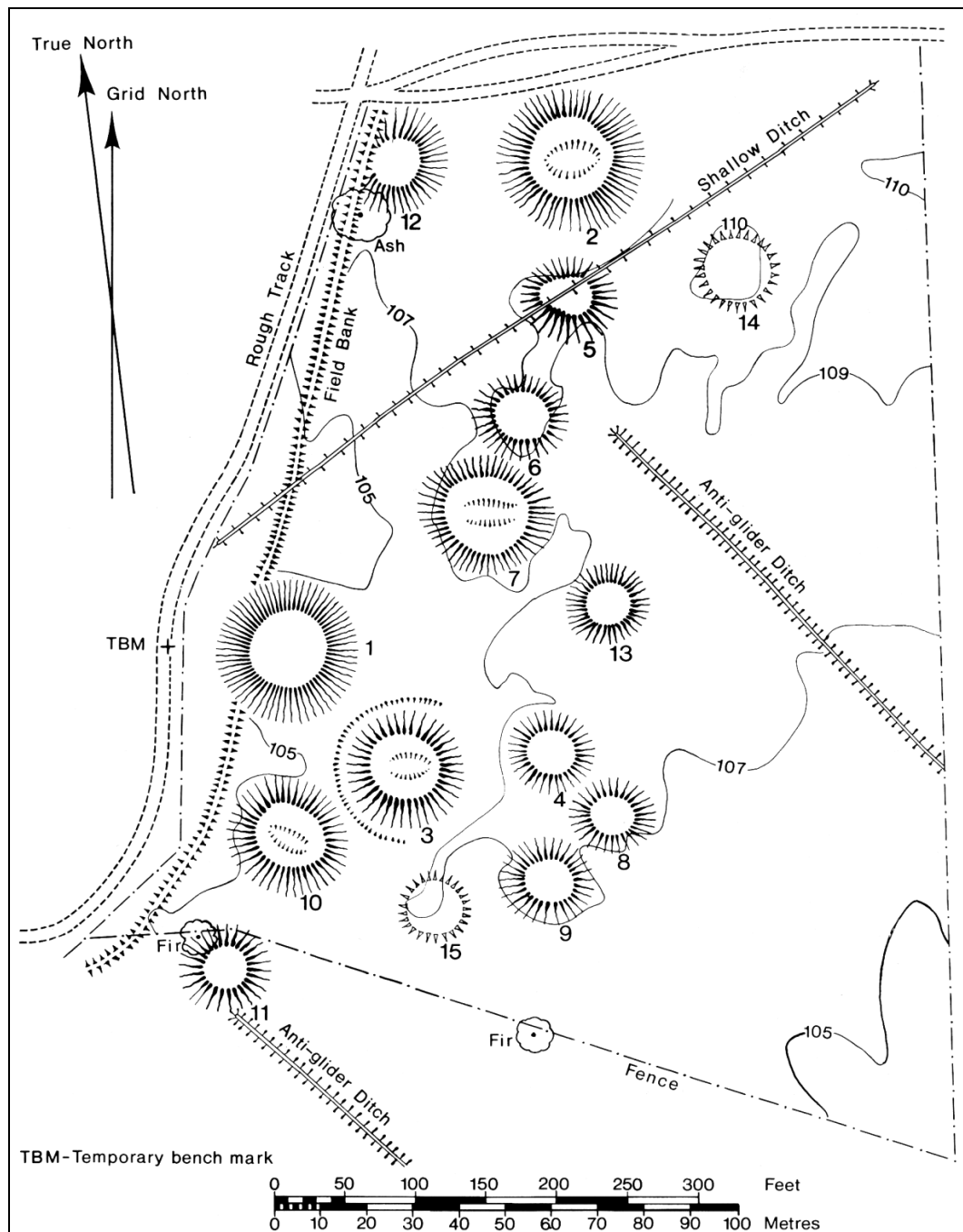
Figure 6.10. An earthwork plan of Sutton Hoo (Evans 1994, fig. 5).

Barrows are not the only type of archaeological site to attract the attention of interested parties and a number of Anglo-Saxon burials have been discovered

during the excavation of other sites in the region (NHER: 2029; 6033; SSMR: WSW002). The Roman fort at Burgh Castle (Norfolk), for instance, never truly disappeared: the walls of three sides of the fort still survive and the earthworks of the Norman motte constructed within them were only ploughed flat in 1837 (Johnson 1983, 4). In 1756 a small area outside the fort was 'opened' and a small number of cremation urns recovered. At the time they were thought to be Roman, but the published illustrations clearly show them to be Early Anglo-Saxon (Meaney 1964, 225–6). Several areas of the fort's interior were excavated by Charles Green between 1958 and 1961, revealing evidence of post-Roman occupation and a Middle Saxon cemetery of some 164 inhumations (Figure 8.4; NHER: 10471; Johnson 1983, 50–5; below, pp.278–282). Another similar site is the early Roman fort at Caister-on-Sea (Norfolk), which, although ruinous, was never actually forgotten. Limited archaeological explorations took place at the site from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, although it was not until sewers and foundation trenches for houses began to be dug in the area in the 1930s that two major foci of Middle Saxon burials came to light. In 1936 between fifty and 100 inhumations, described as supine, unfurnished and orientated west–east, were discovered in the north-east quadrant of the fort, a location which suggests a Middle Saxon date (NHER: 8675; Rumbelow 1936; below, pp.282–5). Further Middle Saxon inhumations were discovered in foundation trenches to the south of the fort in 1946. The area was trial-trenched in 1947 and an area containing at least 150 inhumations was excavated in 1954 (Figure 8.6; NHER: 8675; Darling with Gurney 1993, 45–61).

Similarly, a Middle Saxon inhumation cemetery was unexpectedly discovered during the excavation of a strongly-defended Roman enclosure of the first century AD at Thornham (Norfolk) in the 1950s (NHER: 1308; Gregory and Gurney 1986, 1–60; below, pp.288–9). Situated on the north Norfolk coast, the site comprised a substantial rectangular bank and ditch of indeterminate function, although it is not believed to have been a military enclosure. It appears not to have been occupied for very long in the Roman period, although the ramparts would have still been visible in the Middle Saxon period, when a number of inhumations were made within the enclosure (Figure 8.8).

The final site discussed in this section is the only Middle Saxon cemetery to

have been discovered by fieldwalking. In the aptly-named Big Men's Bones Field, Wormegay (Norfolk), work conducted as a part of the Fenland Survey in 1986 detected a discrete surface scatter of human bone within a wider spread of Ipswich Ware, suggesting the presence of burials within an area of settlement (NHER: 17286). No excavation has taken place at the site, so this assumption remains untested, but it would certainly fit the pattern of Middle Saxon cemeteries located within settlements which has been observed at other, excavated, sites (below, pp.314–21).
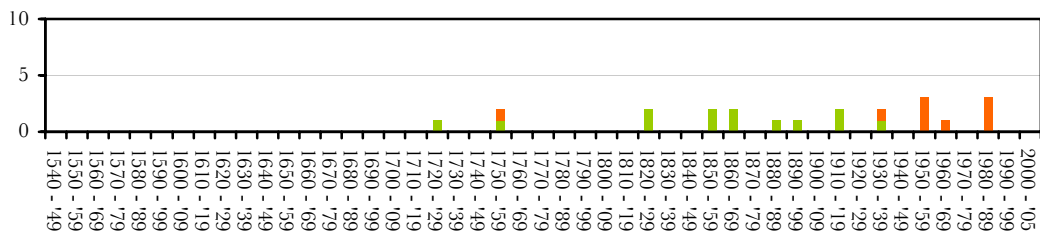
Figure 6.11. Cemetery discoveries resulting from barrow-digging (green) and other excavations (orange) by decade.

Figure 6.11 plots the discovery dates of the twenty-two sites discussed in this section, with the thirteen cemeteries discovered while barrows were being dug highlighted in green and the nine discovered during the excavation of other types of site in orange. Again, there were a handful of eighteenth-century discoveries, in this instance all of them the result of barrow-digging. The last discovery related to barrow-digging was made in the 1930s. Aside from the isolated instance in the 1750s all of the cemetery discoveries resulting from the excavation of other types of sites were made during the twentieth century. The widespread popularity of barrow-digging is attested from the fifteenth century onwards, although it is unrealistic to expect many, if any, of the sites discovered prior to the mid- to late eighteenth century to have been recorded. However, we might expect them to be recorded with regularity during the nineteenth century. The relatively low number of recorded discoveries noted here is a reflection of the fact that the vast majority of barrows are actually Bronze Age, only some of which contain secondary Anglo-Saxon burials; few barrows contain primary Anglo-Saxon burials (Appendix V).

It is reasonable to assume that the number of recorded Anglo-Saxon burials is a conservative reflection of their actual number: barrow-diggers tended to dig straight into the centre of extant mounds, meaning that many secondary

burials may have been missed, while the ironwork which so often characterises these burials may have been deemed to be of little or no interest. It is impossible to quantify the number of barrows that may have been dug between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, during which time very little was recorded. The cemeteries discovered as a result of other excavations are an eclectic mix, the earliest being the chance discovery in the vicinity of the Roman remains of Burgh Castle. Likewise, at Caister-on-Sea and Thornham it was the excavation of Roman sites which revealed Anglo-Saxon remains, an association which is explored more fully in Chapter Eight.

Modern Burials

Three cemeteries (1.39%) have been discovered as a result of disturbance caused by modern burials. A small cremation urn containing a miniature knife and tweezers was found while a grave was being dug in Waldringfield churchyard (Suffolk) in 1841 (SSMR: WLD001). In Pulham St Mary (Norfolk) *c*.1900 an unspecified number of skeletons were found in the vicinity of the new burial ground and a number of cremation urns were subsequently discovered once new graves began to be dug (NHER: 13143). However, it is not just modern human burials that disturb remains; in 1967 the burial of a pig in Middleton (Norfolk) disturbed an inhumation furnished with an iron artefact (NHER: 3392).
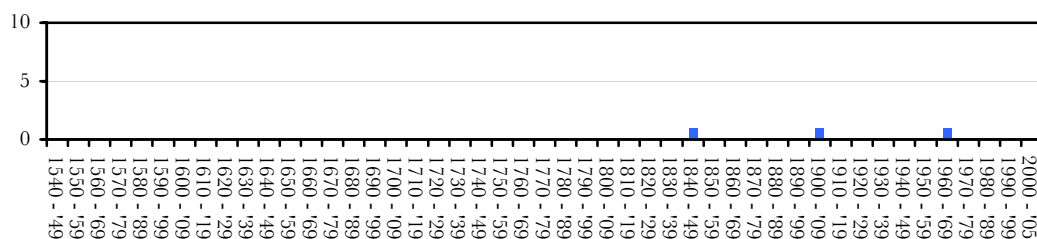
Figure 6.12. Cemetery discoveries resulting from modern burials.

There is very little significance to the dates of these discoveries, although the locations of the first two are of more interest. As one of very few Anglo-Saxon burials to have been discovered in a churchyard, the Waldringfield urn takes on a degree of significance and is considered further in Chapter Eight, along with other Saxon finds from churchyards discussed in Chapter Five (above, pp.162–6). While superficially this might appear to be the case at Pulham St Mary, the overlapping

of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery by a modern cemetery is a purely coincidental result of the site chosen for the new burial ground in the late nineteenth century; the parish church is over 130m away from the site.

Unknown Circumstances

The exact circumstances of discovery are unknown for eight cemeteries (3.70%). Two cremation urns, one complete and one broken, are recorded as having been found at Botesdale in 1720 (SSMR: BOT004), making them the earliest recorded cemetery discoveries in Suffolk, and similar isolated finds were made throughout the region during the nineteenth century (NHER: 8755; 9036; 10132; 13882; SSMR: BAR Misc; SNT Misc). The means of discovery of the cremation cemetery at Lackford, the largest discovered in Suffolk, remain obscure. Urns purported to be from the site were purchased by Bury St Edmunds museum in 1874 and further acquisitions were made in 1914–15. However, it was not until deep-ploughing in 1945 revealed the site's exact location that a full excavation was undertaken. This revealed at least 500 cremation urns, despite reaching none of the edges of the cemetery site (SSMR: LKD001; Lethbridge 1951).
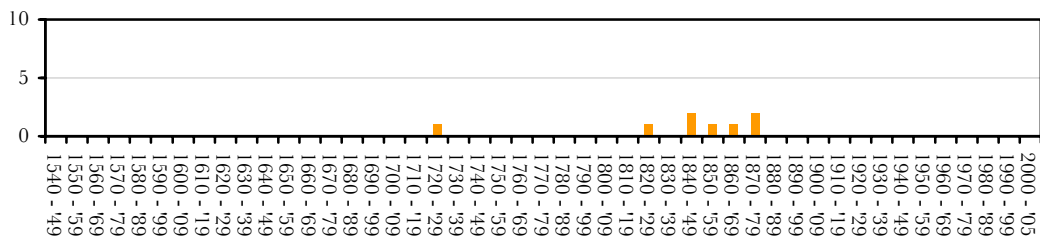
Figure 6.13. Cemetery discoveries resulting from 'unknown' causes by decade.

Figure 6.13 plots the discovery dates of the eight sites for which the circumstances of discovery are unknown. Aside from the example from the 1720s the discoveries of these sites fall during the mid nineteenth century, a period when the quantity and quality of archaeological recording was increasing. Tellingly, many of these sites were only recognised as cemeteries retrospectively, after a number of finds had come to light, perhaps explaining their initially poor recording. Given the dates involved it is reasonable to suggest that these sites were discovered as the result of agricultural practices, with numbers of artefacts gradually accumulating over time. A number of the site records which were ruled

out of the analysis at an early stage as being too vague could have been included in this section, while an argument could be made for ruling out some of the sites that have been included. In general, the sites which have been included are those for which at least some physical evidence corroborates the documentary records. The analyses presented here do not suffer greatly as a result of this policy.

Metal-Detecting

Of the 157 sites discussed so far, 156 are sites from which material evidence for a cemetery has been recovered from primary archaeological contexts. The exception is the Middle Saxon cemetery site at Wormegay, inferred from a surface scatter of bone discovered during fieldwalking. Like fieldwalking, metal-detecting is also concerned with the collection of artefacts which have been disturbed from their primary archaeological contexts and have entered the plough-soil. Since its widespread emergence as a popular pastime in the 1970s the relationship between metal-detecting and archaeology has been contentious (Gregory and Rogerson 1984; Dobinson and Denison 1995; Gurney 1997; Faulkner 2003; Chester-Kadwell 2004; 2005). Fortunately, the region's archaeological authorities have always taken a very positive view of metal-detecting, now complemented by the Portable Antiquities Scheme. The results of these good relations are clear to see here. The absence of excavated features means that the identification of cemeteries from metal-detector finds is a process of interpretation rather than of material fact, but the decision to ascribe cemetery status to a site has generally been made when finds which would typically be excavated from a cemetery have been found clustered on the surface. To date fifty-nine cemeteries have been identified in the two counties (27.31% of the data set).

The vast majority of the metal-detected sites are interpreted as inhumation cemeteries, with only a handful of mixed-rite and cremation cemeteries. This is largely because the majority of the detected artefacts are typical of those discovered in inhumation contexts, while the ferrous material that might help refine these identifications does not survive or tends to get screened out by the detectorists. It is only signs of burning or melting which may provide proof of cremation and artefacts that are unrecognisable as a result often may not be recovered (Chester-Kadwell 2005, 77–90). There is a strong probability that many

cremation and mixed-rite sites are represented in the metal-detector data set, but are not recognised archaeologically.

In 1974 surface finds of Early Anglo-Saxon pottery and other artefacts indicated the presence of a cremation cemetery at East Walton (Norfolk), which was confirmed by the partial excavation of a number of urns in 1986. Since 1985 the site has been subjected to regularly recorded metal-detector surveys which have produced numerous Early Saxon artefacts. These finds further corroborate the existence of cremations, but also highlight the presence of a number of inhumations (NHER: 1060). The site is in the vicinity of the barrow, discussed above, which was found to contain probable Anglo-Saxon burials *c.*1886 (NHER: 3754). Evidence of mixed-rite cemeteries has been metal-detected at a number of other sites (NHER: 1473; 19576; 21137; 21927; 24254; 35101; 35988), while evidence suggestive of cremations has also been discovered at a number of sites (NHER: 3569; 20859; 30039; SSMR: YAX016).

Traces of isolated inhumations, such as those of an inhumation furnished with a sword-belt detected at Field Dalling in 1999 (NHER: 31558), have been found at a number of sites (NHER: 34655; 34858; 34886; SSMR: BAR034). In all of these cases it is possible, but not certain, that these finds represent a much larger number of burials and repeated episodes of metal-detecting will often reveal extensive evidence of inhumation cemeteries. For example, in Hilgay (Norfolk) the discovery of a number of artefacts during the early 1980s led to the eventual identification of an inhumation cemetery in 1983 (NHER: 17797). A similar sequence of event occurred at Playford (Suffolk) in 1983–4 (SSMR: PLY010) and at a number of other sites since (NHER: 1659; 2024; 7438; 9082; 15404; 16841; 17184; 21862; 21925; 23001; 23345; 25848; 25856; 28645; 29344; 30049; 30205; 30986; 31172; 32340; 32605; 32608; 32821; 33176; 34131; 34355; 34965; 36629; 37217; 41004; SSMR: EYE060; FRK038; HMG018; HMG019; HNY017; LKD045).

The degree to which fieldwalked and metal-detected finds represent the true nature of the archaeological record is an important consideration (Millett 2000; Chester-Kadwell 2004; 2005). The only site at which a metal-detected scatter has subsequently been excavated is at Oxborough (NHER: 25458; Penn 1998). In 1989 a metal-detector survey of a distinct mound produced forty-one

pieces of Early Anglo-Saxon metalwork, predominantly to the east of the mound (Figure 6.14), suggesting the presence of a number of inhumations focused on the mound. Thinking that the surface scatter only represented a small portion of the assemblage, the excavators expected to find a considerable number of furnished graves. In practice, the excavation only produced ten plough-damaged graves lying to the west of the mound, with a further fifteen burials to the east assumed to have been completely lost to ploughing – hence the large quantity of surface finds. Far from being a portion of the assemblage, the surface scatter actually represented a substantial amount of the ploughed-out cemetery; Oxborough serves as a cautionary tale that we need to be wary when attempting to quantify sites from their surface scatters alone (Penn 1998, 24–6).
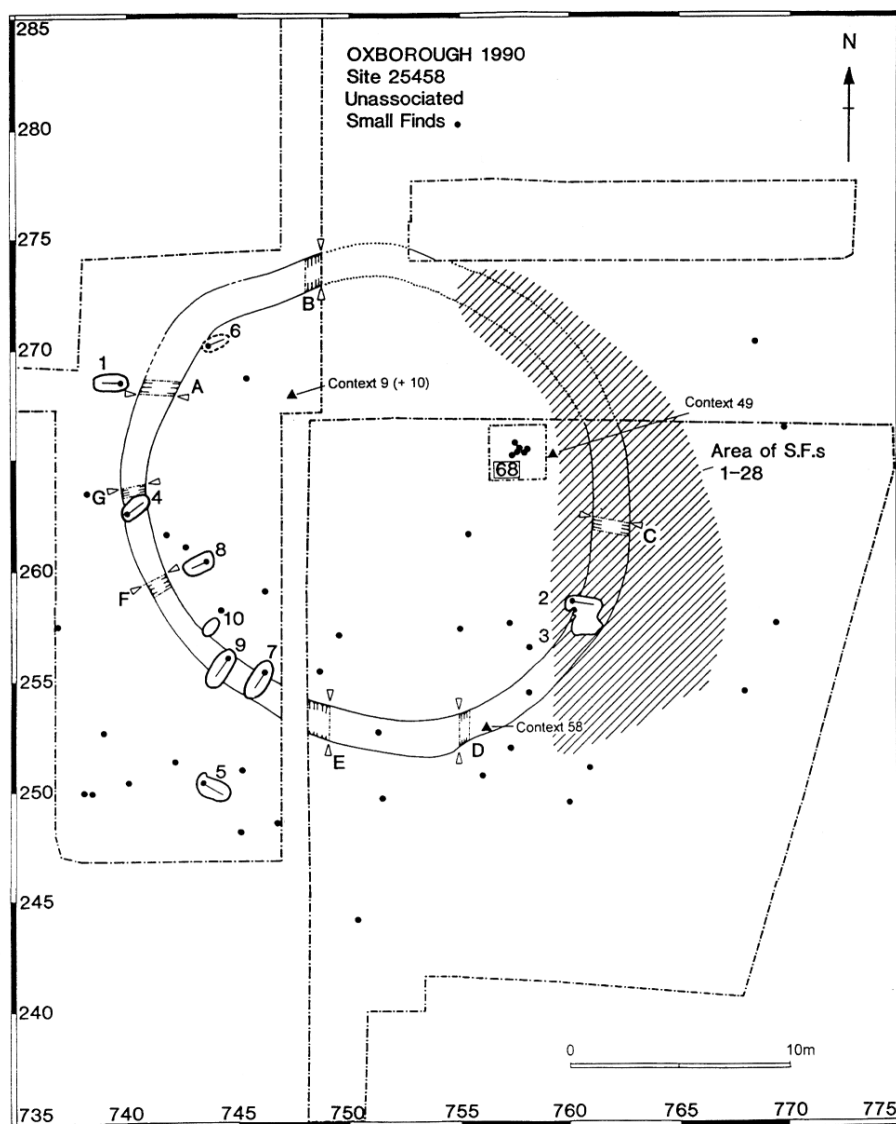
Figure 6.14. Oxborough: excavation plan (Penn 1998, fig. 5).

Figure 6.15 plots the discovery dates of the fifty-nine cemetery sites identified as a result of metal-detecting. These discoveries only began to occur during the 1970s, as the metal-detectors were not widely available or affordable before that date. The sharp rise in the number of sites identified during the 1980s and 1990s is partly a reflection of the growing interest in and widespread coverage of metal-detecting and also of the increasingly good relationships between the region's metal-detectorists and the authorities. Despite covering only five years, the figures for the 2000s appear to show a drop in the number of new cemeteries identified. The popularity of metal-detecting does not appear to be waning, but having reached the end of the initial bloom of discoveries, it appears that many detectorists are revisiting known sites and expanding our knowledge of those, rather than discovering large numbers of new sites (Chester-Kadwell 2004; 2005). Unlike archaeological discoveries, cemeteries which are metal-detected are not immediately categorised as such and it may take several years for sufficient finds to accumulate from a single site before it is called a cemetery; it seems likely that many more sites currently being metal-detected will eventually be added to the records.
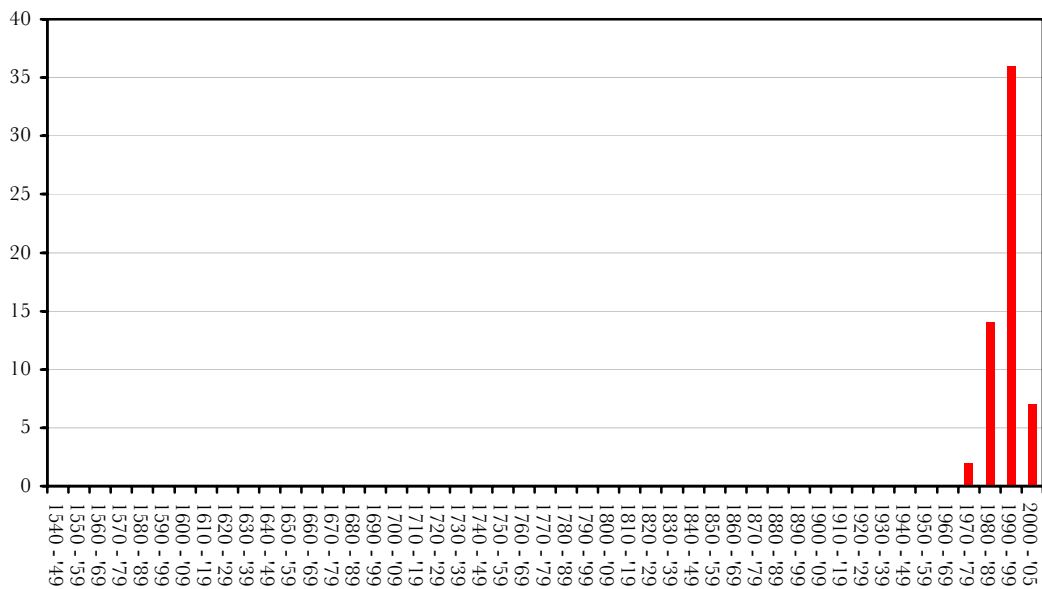
Figure 6.15. Cemetery discoveries resulting from metal-detecting by decade.

Analysing the Cemetery Data Set

As is apparent from the preceding discussion, no two cemetery sites are alike, making it difficult to analyse them without obscuring a lot of fine detail. Methods

of discovery were deemed important enough to form the structure of this chapter thus far, but the cemeteries may also be analysed by the burial rites practised, the number of burials and by period. In their 1973 gazetteer of East Anglian cemetery sites Myres and Green followed the classifications used by the Ordnance Survey (1966) which used burial rites and the number of burials to categorise each cemetery (Myres and Green 1973, 258–62). Their five categories were: 'predominantly inhumation cemetery'; 'predominantly cremation cemetery'; 'mixed cemetery'; 'inhumation burials up to three in number'; and 'cremation burials up to three in number'. Such a broad-brush approach obviously presents difficulties: why do four burials constitute a cemetery when three do not? Is a cemetery of four burials really comparable to a cemetery containing 400? At what point does a cemetery which is *predominantly* of one burial rite become a *mixed* cemetery? For want of a better alternative, this analysis also employs Myres and Green's categories; the issue of predominance is overcome by including *any* site with *both* inhumations and cremations in the 'mixed-rite' category irrespective of the ratio between the two burial rites. Figure 6.16 gives the total number of cemeteries in each category, as well as giving the totals for Norfolk and Suffolk. Although Norfolk has twice as many cemeteries as Suffolk, the percentages of site-types are broadly similar, but with some significant differences. When these categories are plotted on a distribution map and considered alongside the actual numbers of burials at each site several trends become apparent (Figure 6.17).

	Total Sites		Norfolk Sites		Suffolk Sites	
Up to 3 Cremations	11	5.09%	8	5.67%	3	4.00%
Cremation Cemetery	29	13.43%	25	17.73%	4	5.33%
Up to 3 Inhumations	45	20.83%	24	17.03%	21	28.00%
Inhumation Cemetery	96	44.44%	63	44.68%	32	42.67%
Mixed-Rite Cemetery	35	16.20%	21	14.89%	15	20.00%
	216	100%	141	100%	75	100%

Figure 6.16. Categorising the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of Norfolk and Suffolk.

Appendix V records the actual number of cremations and inhumations from each cemetery. Of course, with the exception of Spong Hill, no site has been fully excavated and the number of burials is at best a minimum number of individuals. We have no way of knowing the number of burials which remain undiscovered and must assume these figures to be vastly under-representative.

Where quantities were unspecified in excavation reports a minimum number of one was entered in Appendix V. The number of metal-detected sites also creates difficulties, because in the absence of any excavation it is impossible to know how many burials are actually represented. Consequently, each metal-detected cemetery is assumed to contain twenty burials, the average number of burials from the 156 excavated sites. Following these assumptions, the total minimum number of burials from East Anglia is 9,992, of which 5,920 are cremations and 4,098 are inhumations, a ratio of approximately 3:2.
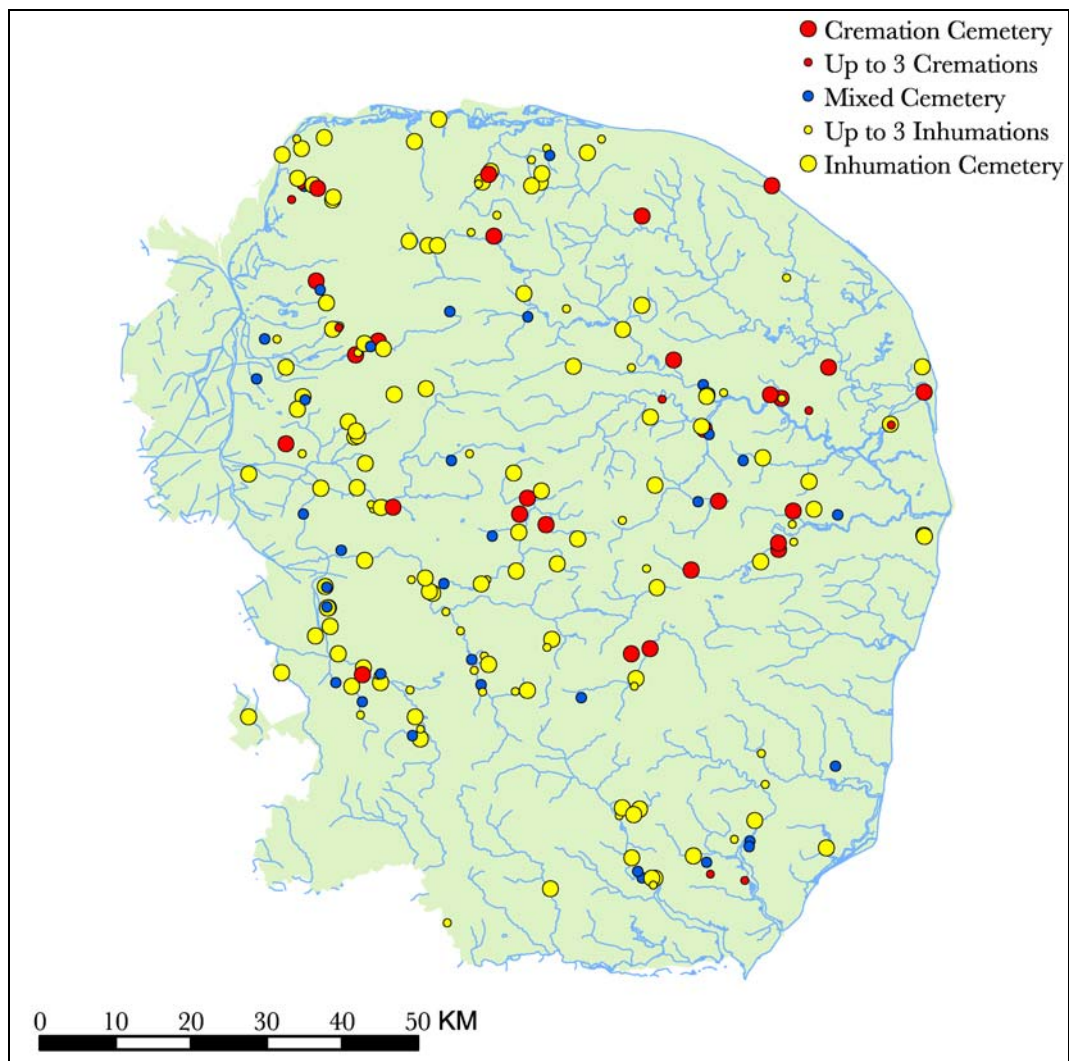
Figure 6.17. The distribution of cemeteries by classification.

Of the 5,920 recorded cremations, Norfolk accounts for 5,077 (86% of the total); Suffolk's 14% equates to 843 cremations. Despite this, the percentages of each county's cemeteries with up to three cremations are broadly similar and both

are low, reflecting the fact that cremations are most often found in large quantities. It is therefore telling that Norfolk has more than three times Suffolk's percentage of cremation cemeteries and from Figure 6.17 it is clear that the vast majority of the cremation cemeteries lie in Norfolk, with only a handful of sites in north Suffolk. Of the 4,098 recorded inhumations, Norfolk accounts for 2,062 and Suffolk has 2,036 inhumations, a near 50% split. A much higher percentage of Suffolk sites comprise cemeteries with up to three inhumations, while the percentage of inhumation cemeteries in the two counties is broadly similar. These burials and cemeteries are widely distributed throughout both counties, but exhibit a denser concentration in west Norfolk and west Suffolk. It would appear that inhumation was practised uniformly throughout Norfolk and Suffolk, but when one considers the considerable number of Norfolk cemeteries which result from the disproportionate amount of metal-detecting which has occurred there then the Suffolk figures take on particular significance. In all likelihood, were an equivalent amount of metal-detecting to be undertaken in Suffolk, the number of inhumation cemeteries would far outstrip that of Norfolk.

Suffolk has a slightly higher proportion of mixed-rite cemeteries than Norfolk and the majority of the mixed-rite sites are distributed throughout south-west Norfolk and north-west Suffolk, although there are additional clusters of sites in east Norfolk and south-east Suffolk. This distribution appears to mark the broad boundary between the cremation-dominated area of Norfolk and north Suffolk. A greater insight into this boundary is obtained by examining the ratios between cremations and inhumations in these cemeteries. Of the thirty-six sites shown in Figure 6.18, fifteen have an even division between burial rites, suggesting that no one rite was dominant. Twelve sites show a slight to heavy bias towards cremation; the majority of these sites lie in Norfolk, two in west Suffolk and one at Sutton Hoo. The remaining nine sites show a slight to strong bias towards inhumation; with the exception of two sites in Norfolk, they all lie in west or south-east Suffolk. The burial rites practised at Sutton Hoo are discussed in Chapters Seven, but the fact that the mixed-rite cemeteries found within the northern half of the region are dominated by cremation, whilst those further south are dominated by inhumation, reinforces the conclusion that cremation was prevalent in northern East Anglia and the area in which it was practised was tightly defined.
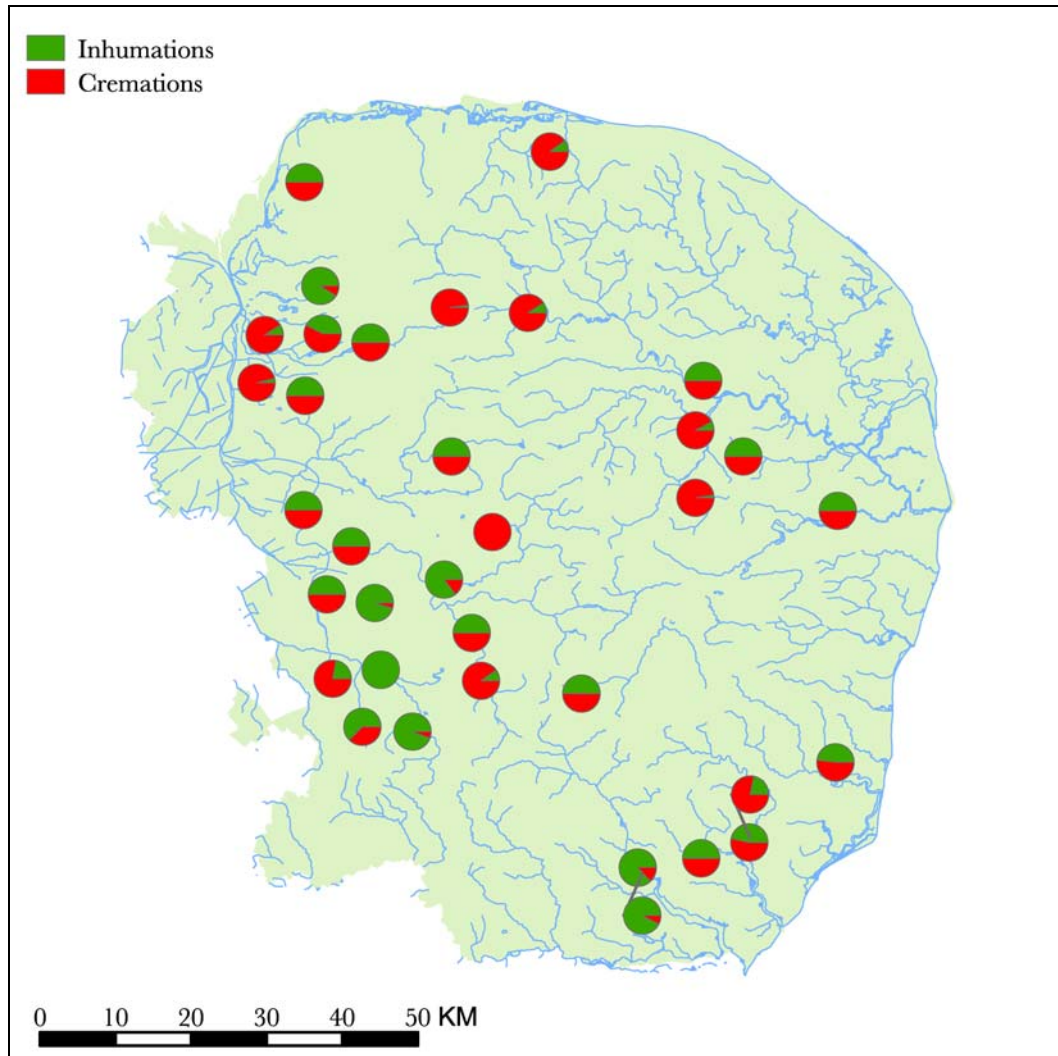
Figure 6.18. The ratio of cremations to inhumations at mixed-rite cemeteries.

Cemeteries can also be classified chronologically. The NHER and SSMR ascribe each site a period, Early Saxon or Middle Saxon, and these are recorded in Appendix V. This divide is artificial, for the burial sequence flows seamlessly through both periods, although changes in burial practice are apparent throughout (Chapter Seven). All of the cremation cemeteries and isolated cremations are Early Saxon, as are thirty-four of the thirty-five mixed-rite sites. The exception is the Boss Hall site in Ipswich, where the inhumation part of the Early Saxon mixed-rite cemetery continued into the Middle Saxon period. Of the isolated inhumations, forty-two of the forty-five sites are Early Saxon, along with seventy-three of the ninety-six inhumation cemeteries. This results in 189 Early Saxon cemeteries and twenty-seven Middle Saxon cemeteries, 87.50% and 12.50% of the 216 cemetery sites respectively (Figure 6.19).
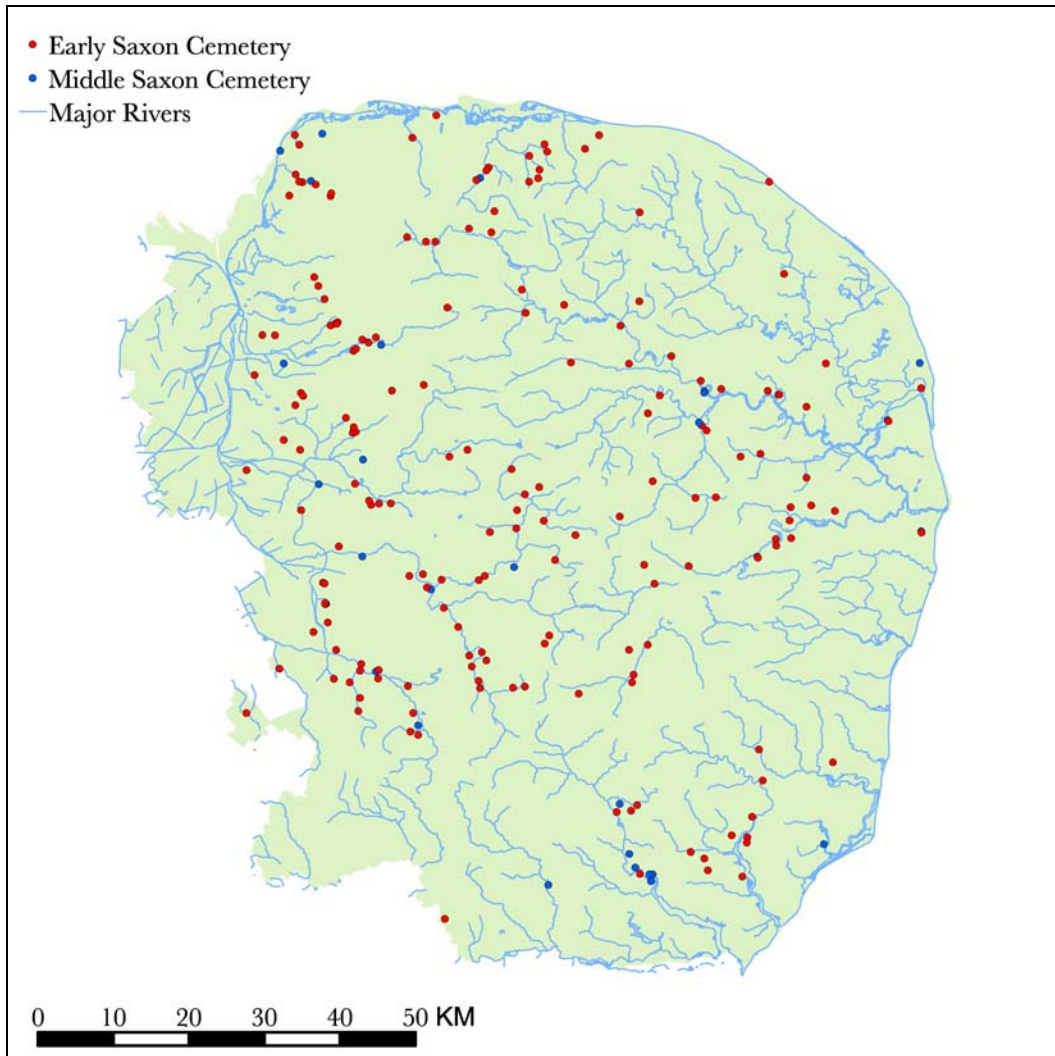
Figure 6.19. The distribution of Early and Middle Saxon cemeteries.

There are a number of possible reasons for the substantial bias towards Early Saxon cemetery sites noted above. First, the grave-goods and other artefacts which accompany many Early Saxon burials are archaeologically robust and highly visible, whereas the bones themselves survive poorly in acidic soils. This allows furnished burials to be actively metal-detected in addition to their being found accidentally and, more importantly, allows them to be dated to the Early Saxon period when they are discovered. By contrast, the unfurnished burials of the Early and, especially, of the Middle Saxon period cannot easily be detected and the lack of associated artefacts makes it difficult to ascribe a date to any discoveries. In many cases it is only through the use of radiocarbon dating that a Middle Saxon date may be confirmed – the authorities' policy of routinely dating

human remains from Ipswich has resulted in a number of Middle Saxon identifications and the case of the Middle Saxon Hunstanton Woman, thought to be prehistoric before radiocarbon-dating, demonstrates the benefits of such an approach (Hoare and Sweet 1994). The nature of both Early and Middle Saxon burial rites is considered in greater detail in Chapter Seven.

Conclusions

This chapter has evaluated the burial record of Early and Middle Saxon Norfolk and Suffolk which is drawn upon in the following chapters. The detailed nature of this discussion is a reflection of the fact that funerary evidence is of fundamental importance to our understanding of the East Anglian conversion. Unlike other sources of evidence, we are able to study funerary material from before, during and after the conversion period, and are therefore able to use it to chart the progress of Christianity. Structuring this analysis around the means of discovery of each cemetery has proved particularly enlightening and allows a number of pertinent points to be made. In a general sense, this analysis has shown that cemeteries were only recorded sporadically until the eighteenth century and that this recording did not become commonplace until the nineteenth century, when the creation of local societies and museums and the publication of relevant journals began.

More specifically, this analysis demonstrates that the agricultural practices of the last millennium must have continually disturbed Anglo-Saxon remains, although the majority of the discoveries made may well have gone unrecorded. From the nineteenth century onwards new discoveries were often recorded, although sites discovered as a result of agricultural activities were rarely excavated and many simply remain as stray finds. Similarly, early building work may have disturbed some sites, but the immense intensification of building work throughout the twentieth century has revealed many more. Since the introduction of PPG16 in 1990, building has accounted for the majority of archaeological work conducted not just in East Anglia but across the country and this has resulted in the discovery of a number of new Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. The intensification of mineral extraction, in part related to the boom in building work, has in turn led to a rise in the number of cemeteries discovered, although the increasingly mechanised

nature of the extraction process may have resulted in even more cemeteries going unnoticed. A number of cemeteries have been discovered accidentally as a result of their associations with other, more visible, archaeological features such as barrows or Roman forts. Metal-detecting has resulted in the identification of a number of sites for which the location is known, but for which details of the burials themselves remain obscure due to a lack of excavation. All of these sites, and those for which details of their discovery remain obscure, have produced material remains which can be employed in an analysis of the East Anglian conversion process, both at the level of individual burial rites and from a wider landscape perspective.

Classification of the cemeteries in the data set by burial rite and number of burials provided a particular insight into funerary patterns within the region. Exclusively cremation cemeteries appear to be a feature of the northern half of the region, while a number of mixed-rite cemeteries are located within a broad boundary zone around the periphery of this cremation zone. Inhumation appears to be widespread throughout the region, although it is likely that inhumation is underrepresented in the Suffolk SMR because less metal-detecting has taken place in Suffolk. The significance of both the cremation rite and the inhumation rite to our understanding of the conversion process is fully explored in the following chapter.

Finally, it is particularly significant that the vast majority of the cemeteries in the data set belong to the Early Saxon period, with only a handful of Middle Saxon sites featuring in the records. This discrepancy is in part the result of the archaeological visibility of Early Saxon burials and the desirability of the artefacts they often contain, a factor which the detailed analysis of discovery methods presented here has highlighted. Yet the significant difference between the number of known Early Saxon and Middle Saxon burials is also symptomatic of a wider issue which needs to be resolved: the likelihood that a significant number of Middle Saxon burials must be 'missing' from the archaeological record, for the number of recognised Middle Saxon burials comes no where near to representing the entire population. As is explored more thoroughly in the following chapters, the search for an explanation for the absence of these burials sheds a great deal of light on the Christianisation of East Anglia, but first we turn our attention to the

evidence for conversion offered by the individual burial rites practised during the Early and Middle Saxon periods.

Part III: Synthesis

CHAPTER SEVEN: BURIAL AS A BAROMETER OF BELIEF

'when you are asked this question next, say 'a grave-maker': the houses that he makes last till doomsday.'

First Clown, *Hamlet* Act V, Scene 1

Having established the nature of the Anglo-Saxon burial record, this chapter considers the degree to which burial practices can be used to chart the conversion of East Anglia. Particular attention is paid to the cessation of cremations and the emergence during the Middle Saxon period of the main characteristics of the Christian burial rite: the inhumation of the dead without grave-goods and a west–east burial alignment (e.g. Rahtz 1978; Daniell 1997; Thompson 2004; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005; Rodwell 2005, 161–196). With a degree of caution and some provisos, these characteristics can be demonstrated to be useful indicators of the adoption of Christianity, contrary to recent studies that have questioned the use of burial evidence in this way. Traditionally, discussions of Anglo-Saxon burial rites consider inhumation at length and prior to cremation (e.g. Owen 1981; Wilson 1992; Welch 1992; Lucy 2000; Glasswell 2002); however, in adopting this structure authors often create a false cut-off point in the development of the inhumation rite, for although both cremation and inhumation were practised during the Early Saxon period, cremation ceased during the Middle Saxon period and inhumation became the dominant burial rite. Therefore, in this chapter the cremation rite is considered before the inhumation rite, enabling the longer-term development of the inhumation rite to be explored more fully.

The Cremation Rite

The archaeological potential of Anglo-Saxon cremations can be difficult to recognise (Figure 7.1) and in the past this often led to the disposal of significant quantities of cremated material in the belief that nothing useful could be learnt from it (Hills 1980, 197). Consequently, despite there having been over a century of prior excavations, it was not until the 1930s that the subject of Anglo-Saxon cremations began to be addressed seriously (see Williams 2002a, 47–57). In 1960 Wells published one of the first analyses of Anglo-Saxon cremated remains, based

on material from Illington, in which he addressed both the demography of the cremated population and the technicalities of cremation itself (Wells 1960). Further insights were provided by Gejvall (1963) and Spence (1967), both of whom used prehistoric cremations to demonstrate the amount of information that could be retrieved, but, unfortunately, these observations all went largely unheeded by archaeologists.

Figure 7.1. Cremation urns *in situ* at Spong Hill (Lucy 2000, 114).

More recently, McKinley's analysis of the cremations from Spong Hill has demonstrated the sheer quantity of high-quality information that can be recovered from cremations and given us a much greater insight into this often underestimated burial rite (McKinley 1994a). The evidence from Spong Hill is exceptionally good, because the cemetery was excavated in its entirety to a very high standard and the material from it has been subjected to detailed post-excavation analysis. Whilst this inevitably causes the evidence from Spong Hill to dominate discussions of the cremation rite, its conclusions greatly inform our interpretations of other, less well-excavated sites. The cremation rite required a great many resources and considerable organisation and was, no doubt, a

substantial and costly undertaking. Figure 7.2 shows a flow-chart summarising the numerous stages of the cremation rite which can be inferred from archaeological evidence. As McKinley states 'there is a considerable amount of unseen and unrecognised wealth in cremations, and to consider them the "poor man's" alternative to inhumation is to misunderstand them' (McKinley 1994a, 119). This section discusses the cremation rite and examines the religious beliefs of its practitioners.
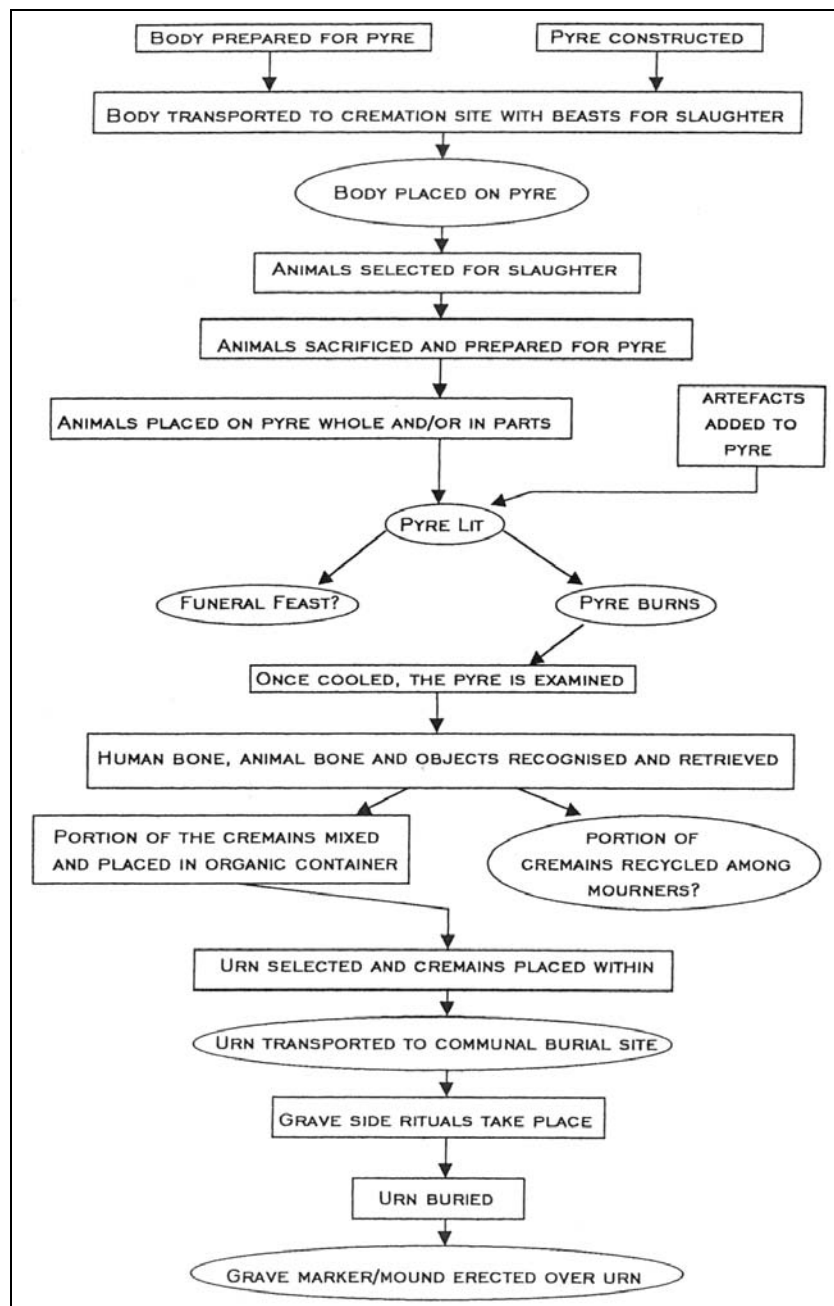
Figure 7.2. A simplified summary of the Anglo-Saxon cremation process, as inferred from the archaeological evidence (Williams 2001b, 196, fig. 13.1).

The Pyre

Despite the thousands of cremations that have been excavated, only a handful of possible cremation pyres have been discovered (Lethbridge 1931, 71; Myres and Southern 1973, 10; Genrich 1981, 59–60; Dickinson and Speake 1992; Lucy 2000, 106). The first to be recorded in any detail was found at Snape and comprised burnt bone, charcoal, fragments of melted metal and several broken pots, all preserved in a sixth-century soil layer (Carnegie and Filmer-Sankey 1993; Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 252–5). The evidence suggests that an Anglo-Saxon pyre comprised a timber frame filled with brushwood, which may have been of considerable size if more than one individual or a number of animals were to be cremated (McKinley 1994a, 82–4). Pyres are by their very nature ephemeral features, but there is more to their scarcity than simple survival: their location within the landscape is also a factor.

That there were distinct locations for cremation pyres is suggested by nine urns from Spong Hill which contained intrusive bones, thought to have been collected accidentally after the reuse of a poorly cleared pyre site. However, as the overwhelming majority of the Spong Hill cremations did not contain intrusive bone, it can be assumed that either a fresh site was used for each cremation or the pyre site was usually well cleared (McKinley 1994a, 82–3). That so few pyres have been discovered during the numerous excavations of cremation cemeteries strongly suggests that the cremations themselves took place elsewhere; Snape would appear to be an exception to this rule. Significantly, no pyre sites have been found during the excavation of Early Saxon settlement sites either, although there have admittedly been substantially fewer of these. We must, therefore, conclude that the majority of cremations took place at sites which we have yet to discover, perhaps near to the settlements in which people lived, but not in them (Williams 2004b, figs 5.6 and 5.7). The lack of cremation pyres in settlements may be explained as minimising the risk of fire, but it may also be a symptom of the separation of the living and the dead which characterised the settlements and cemeteries of the Early Saxon period. This separation is explored more thoroughly in Chapter Eight.

The Corpse

Cremated remains tell us a lot about the deceased. Despite the fragmentary nature of the cremated bone it is often possible to age and sex the individual, provided that the relevant bones are present. The remains can also provide pathological evidence of disease or trauma, allowing something of the deceased's health and lifestyle to be reconstructed (Brothwell 1981, 59–72, 127–74; McKinley 1994a, 11–21; Mays 1998, 33–66, 122–81). Of the 2,284 cremated individuals identified at Spong Hill, 96% could be aged, while only 38% of the 1,671 adult individuals could be sexed with any certainty. Juveniles cannot be sexed, although they can be aged very precisely (McKinley 1994a, 66–9). These analyses also revealed that several urns contained the cremated remains of more than one individual, in most cases an adult and an infant, and such pairings are generally presumed to be members of the same family who died at the same time (Wilson 1992, 132–4; McKinley 1994a, 100–2).

Cremated remains also tell us a great deal about the treatment of the corpse. Some early discussions suggested that the corpse was laid on the ground with the pyre heaped over it (e.g. Wells 1960, 34–5; Welch 1992). However, many of the bones from Spong Hill exhibit differential burning of a sort that can only have occurred if the corpse was laid on top of the pyre (McKinley 1994a, 83–4). McKinley also observed melted glass and bronze adhering to fragments of bone, enabling her to reconstruct something of the dress and posture of the corpse. Melted material was most often found on the skull, arm bones, hand bones and ribs, indicating jewellery on the head, neck, shoulders and wrists. The material had melted and cooled whilst remaining *in situ*, clearly indicating that the corpse was laid on its back, occasionally with hands folded across the chest, and that the corpse remained undisturbed once the pyre had been lit (McKinley 1994a, 83–4).

Pyre-Goods

Excavated evidence suggests that up to 67% of the cremations from Spong Hill, 46 per cent from Caistor-by-Norwich, 34% from Illington and 21% from Lackford contained artefacts which had survived the heat of the pyre and were eventually buried (McKinley 1994a, 86). These figures are broadly comparable to those for inhumation cemeteries, in which grave-goods are found in about half of

all burials (Stoodley 1999, 24–9). Although differences of opinion exist, it would seem that the vast majority of pyre-goods exhibit some evidence of burning, ranging from minor melting to total liquidation (McKinley 1994a, 90; Hills 1977, 23; Richards 1987, 78; Lucy 2000, 108). This suggests that the artefacts were placed on the pyre with the body, where they may have remained *in situ* and been fully burnt or from which they may have fallen, thus being preserved more or less intact (McKinley 1994a, 88–90).
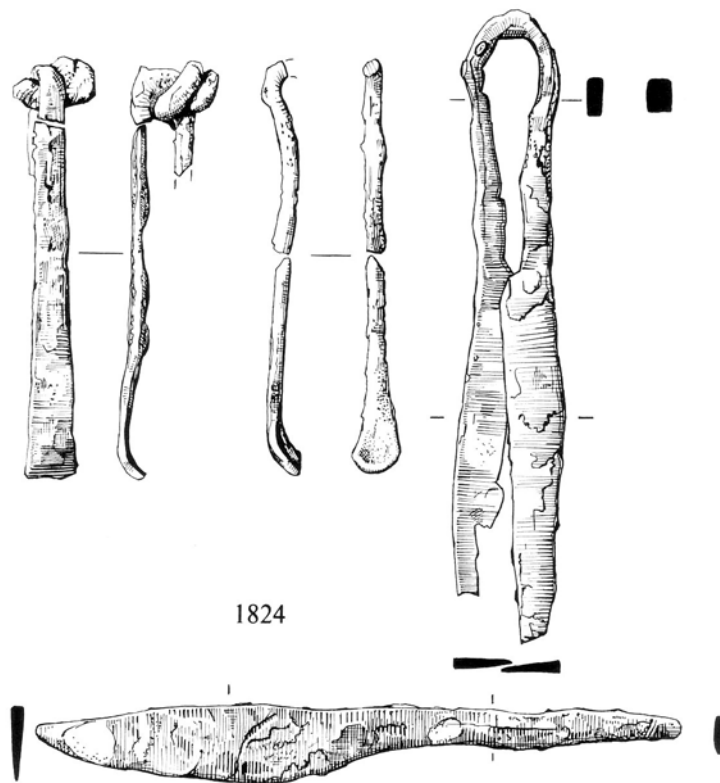
Figure 7.3. A toilet set from Spong Hill cremation 1824. Showing iron tweezers (left), ear-scoop (centre), shears (right) and blade (bottom). Scale 1:1.
(Hills and Penn 1981, fig. 147.)

As already mentioned, melted metal and glass artefacts, including the remains of glass beads, bronze brooches and clothes fastenings, suggest that the corpse was fully clothed, perhaps in special funerary costume (Myres and Green 1973, 84–5, 87–90; Hills 1977, 24–8). Other personal effects commonly found include finger rings, earrings, bone combs and toilet sets (Figure 7.3). The latter are frequently found suspended from a ring and presumably constituted a part of the individual's dress (Myres and Green 1973, 91–7, 103–11; Hills 1977, 25–9; McKinley 1994a, 91; Williams 2003a). As it has been possible to age and sex

many of the cremated individuals at Spong Hill, correlations between pyre-goods and the age and sex of the individual can be identified. Hills' analysis found that no one type of pyre-good was exclusive to one sex, although some trends were recognised: brooches, necklaces, spindle whorls, bronze rings, antler rings and ivory were all found with more females than males; toilet sets, knife blades, antler/bone beads, worked antler and worked bone were all found with more males than females; while bowls, buckets, glass vessels, gaming pieces, combs and iron rings were distributed evenly between the sexes (McKinley 1994a, 88–92). The Spong Hill findings support Richards' earlier conclusion, drawn from a number of other sites, that very few pyre-goods appear to be sex-linked, but that certain groups of artefacts could be said to occur more frequently with male or female cremations (Richards 1987, 126). Age correlations were also inconclusive (McKinley 1994a, 90), again confirming Richards' conclusion that most types of pyre-good 'show little or no correlation with a specific age grouping' (Richards 1987, 130). Overall, it would appear that the provisioning of pyre-goods was 'partly age-linked, occasionally sex-linked, and subject to a great deal of variation between sites' (Lucy 2000, 111).

The possible religious connotations of pyre- and grave-goods are discussed later in this chapter with reference to both cremation and inhumations. Suffice it to say at this point that while the pyre-goods clearly reflect the social identity of the deceased individual, their very presence can be taken to suggest a belief that the dead individual would continue to need them after death. Of course, their presence may simply have been the result of their being a part of the dress of the deceased individual. It would seem that a distinction needs to be drawn between those goods simply worn on the body and goods which represent the deliberate inclusion of additional equipment or offerings. Into the latter category fall artefacts such as casket fittings and bits of bronze bowls and buckets, as well as pottery sherds and pieces of glass vessels, which presumably contained food and drink (Myres and Green 1973, 77–113; Hills 1977, 23–30). Offerings of food and drink are particularly suggestive of the individual being equipped; the gesture is especially symbolic given that corpses have no need of food. Being organic, the nature of these offerings remains obscure to us; however, in some cases burnt nuts and cereal grains have been found, and a great many urns also contain cremated

animal bone (Murphy 1994).

The difficulty in separating cremated fragments of human and animal bone have often led to the latter being overlooked. Wells (1960, 37) was amongst the first to note its presence in cremations, and it is now widely recognised (Crabtree 1995; Williams 2001b; 2005), but once again the most detailed evidence comes from Spong Hill (Bond 1994; 1996). Here 46% of the cremations contained some animal bone, ranging from a few grams to over a kilogram and often representing several different animals. Horses were found to be most numerous, followed by sheep/goat (their bones being largely indistinguishable), pig, cattle and dog (Bond 1994, 121; 1996, 78–9). Butchery marks were found on sheep/goat, cattle and pig bones, suggesting that these, at least, were intended as food offerings. By contrast horses and dogs were cremated whole and were perhaps considered to be the personal possessions of the cremated individuals (Bond 1994; 1996, 82–4). The Spong Hill remains suggest that more adult than child cremations contained animal remains and that more male cremations contained them than female (McKinley 1994a, 99–100; Richards 1987, 128–34). The use of animals in all aspects of the cremation rite has been extensively discussed by Williams (2001b; 2004a; 2005), who sees them as part of an overtly pagan, shamanistic 'ideology of transformation' involving the animals' ultimate destruction alongside and merging with the deceased individual.

The Cremation Ceremony

It appears that laying out the body with its pyre-goods was the most important part of the cremation process (Williams 2004a, 270–1). The death tableau represented the point in the process at which the greatest quantity of resources had been gathered in one place and were on display, along with the deceased individual, whose corpse would have been a powerfully symbolic object in itself (Williams 2004a). Once the pyre was lit the individual, their pyre-goods and the pyre itself were all reduced to ashes in a prolonged and violent period of burning (Figure 7.4). Archaeologically we are unable to say much about what the burning itself was like, but something of the spectacle of a cremation pyre can be gleaned from the description of the hero's funeral at the end of *Beowulf*:

The Geat people built a pyre for Beowulf,

stacked and decked it until it stood foursquare,

hung with helmets, heavy war-shields

and shining armour, just as he had ordered.

Then his warriors laid him in the middle of it,

mourning a lord far-famed and beloved.

On a height they kindled the hugest of all

funeral fires; fumes of woodsmoke

billowed darkly up, the blaze roared

and drowned out their weeping, wind died down

and flames wrought havoc in the hot bone-house,

burning it to the core. They were disconsolate

and wailed aloud for their lord's decease.

<div align="right">(Heaney 1999, lines 3137–49)</div>

Figure 7.4. Niels Bach's reconstruction of a cremation pyre.
(http://www.tollundman.dk/illustrationer.asp)

Although texts such as *Beowulf* and also Ibn Fadlan's account of a Rus cremation (Jones 1984, 425–30) inform our interpretations of the archaeological record, we should be wary of using such accounts as direct analogies. The use of ethnographic parallels is similarly instructive in this regard, but only in general

terms (e.g. Downes 1999; Williams 2000, 34–131). What we can say is that the cremation must have made a great impression upon those who witnessed it, providing 'a veritable assault on the senses' in Williams' words (2004a, 271). We might expect a vigil of some kind to have been held while the burning occurred. Perhaps the ceremony took place at night, when it would look most dramatic; or possibly it occurred during the day, when the smoke would be visible for miles around. We can only imagine the sights, smells, sounds and intense heat that would have been experienced by the onlookers as the pyre burned (see Williams 2004a, although his account is not for the faint-hearted). Fortunately the archaeological evidence tells us a great deal more about what happened after the pyre had burnt out and cooled down.

The Aftermath

Charcoal is rarely found in Anglo-Saxon cremation urns and the bone fragments are often particularly clean, indicating that the cremated remains were carefully separated from the ashes before being placed into their burial vessel (Murphy 1994; Mays 1998, 207). Given the very small size of some of the fragments this must have been a delicate and time-consuming job, although the task may have been made simpler by winnowing or by floating the ashes in water to separate out the heavier material (McKinley 1989a, 73; 1994a, 85–6). The difficulty of this task may explain the variation in the quantity of bone collected, which might range from a few hundred to a few thousand grams per individual. The contents of the urns from Spong Hill demonstrate that although all the major parts of the body were represented, the remains appear never to have been collected in their entirety (McKinley 1994a, 85–91). The fate of the pyre debris and the rest of the cremated material remains a mystery. We must assume either that it was disposed of in a way that left no archaeological trace or that it remains to be discovered somewhere. The cremated remains that were collected were placed in a container, usually a pottery urn, but occasionally an organic container, as in the case of seven cremations from Snape (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 250). There are also instances of bronze bowls being used (Lucy 2000, 115), and their significance is considered below.

Interment

The cremated remains were ultimately taken to a cemetery, which may have been at some distance from the settlement, necessitating the expenditure of further resources to travel to the burial site (Williams 2002b; 2004b; see also Chapter Eight). The period of time which elapsed between the cremation ceremony and the final interment is unknowable, but could conceivably have been of quite some length. Generally cremation urns were buried singly in specifically dug pits, although in a number of instances two or more urns appear to have been buried together (as in Figure 7.1). These urns often have similar shapes or decoration, and it is possible that they represent members of the same family buried together.

Of course, urns buried together need not reflect the simultaneous death and cremation of their occupants, for it is perfectly possible that urns were curated above ground and only taken to the cemetery when a sufficient number of them had accrued to warrant the journey. A stronger sense of family plots is given by areas in which several overlapping pits have been dug, resulting in large numbers of urns being deposited over a period of time, all of which appear to respect each other. This leads to the conclusion that there must have been surface markers which made it possible to return to certain burials (McKinley 1994a, 102–5).

Cremation Urns

Whereas cremated remains themselves have suffered from a lack of academic interest, the opposite is true of the urns in which they are found. Illustrations of such urns have been published since the seventeenth century (e.g. Browne 1658; Figure 6.4), but it was only when Myres started working on them in the 1930s that they began to be studied in a systematic fashion (e.g. Myres 1937; 1969; 1977). Early Saxon pottery was handmade and can be broadly divided into domestic wares and funerary wares. In general, domestic wares were simple, undecorated and poorly made, whilst funerary wares were well-made and adorned with linear, bossed and/or stamped decoration (Dunning *et al.* 1959; Hurst 1976b, 283 and 292–9; Kennett 1989, 7–14). The contrast between domestic and funerary pottery is so great that Myres found it 'sometimes difficult to believe that folk of the same culture and period were responsible for designing and making the complex and elaborately ornamented funerary *Buckelurnen* ['bossed urns'] on the one hand, and

some of the shapeless and incompetent domestic bowls and cookpots on the other' (Myres 1969, 13).

The large-scale absence of funerary wares from domestic contexts strongly suggests that they were deliberately made for the purpose of burial and that issues of display and prestige were at work (Myres 1969, 12–13; Hurst 1976b, 292–9; Kennett 1989, 7; West 1985, 128–35). This becomes even more apparent when the decorative schemes employed upon the urns are analysed. The design of every urn is unique and therefore has the potential to differ greatly from its fellows, but despite this there is considerable repetition in the range of forms and decorative motifs employed, enabling common styles to be recognised and interpretative typologies to be developed (Myres 1969; 1977). This repetition suggests that the potters were working to a culturally-defined template which dictated the form and appearance of cremation vessels. The existence of individual potters or workshops is suggested by the use of identical decorative stamps or groups of stamps, as well as similarities of form and design (Myres 1977, 68–83). Within East Anglia the products of the Illington/Lackford workshop have been particularly fully discussed (Myres 1937; 1977; Green, Milligan and West 1981).

Using data from cremation cemeteries throughout Anglo-Saxon England, Richards was able to demonstrate that aspects of the form and decoration of Anglo-Saxon cremation urns were associated with the social identity of those whose remains they contained (Richards 1984; 1987; 1988; 1992). He found a close correlation between the age and sex of an individual and the size and shape of their urn: males tended to have taller and wider urns than females, but within both sexes infants had the shortest urns and old adults the tallest (Richards 1987, 134–48). The decorative schemes employed also revealed links to the contents of the urn, both in terms of grave-good assemblages and physical identity (Richards 1987, 157–91). Richards concluded that each cremation urn was, to a greater or lesser extent, tailored to its occupant and recorded the identity of the deceased according to a culturally controlled set of symbolic rules (Richards 1987, 193–210). The departed individual, having lost their personal identity, was afforded a symbolic description by the decoration on the outside of their cremation urn, in a manner akin to a headstone. Williams (2004a, 282) describes the urns as acting as a 'second body' for the cremated individual after the destruction of their first.

Religious Symbols

Certain decorative motifs employed on cremation urns can be identified as relating to Early Saxon religious beliefs, the most commonly discussed examples being the swastika, the *wyrm* and the ↑-rune. Swastikas appear as both stamped and as a freehand decoration (Figure 7.6) and are one of the symbols of the god Thunor, whose association with fire appears to be of particular relevance (Brown 1981). Likewise, the *wyrm*, the serpent or dragon (Figure 7.7), traditionally the guardian of the burial mound and its treasure and associated with the god Woden, is found in a variety of stylised forms (Wilson 1992, 142–50). Runes occur more rarely on cremation urns, but the use of the ↑-rune for the god Tiw is the most frequently found on cremation urns (Figure 7.8; Myres 1977, 66–7). Three urns from Spong Hill were repeatedly stamped with Tiw's name (Figure 7.5).

Crucially, we are only able to identify the religious symbolism of these designs because of the complementary literary sources that are available to us. As Richards (1987, 41) states, if the religious connotations of these three symbols can be identified 'it is likely that other aspects of the design [of urns] are also symbolic, although their meaning is no longer understood, and their interpretation evades us'. Richards' comment makes the point that, although we are able to recognise many correlations and associations in the archaeological record, without a wider, usually literary, frame of reference we are often unable to ascribe religious or indeed any ideological significance to a particular feature or characteristic.
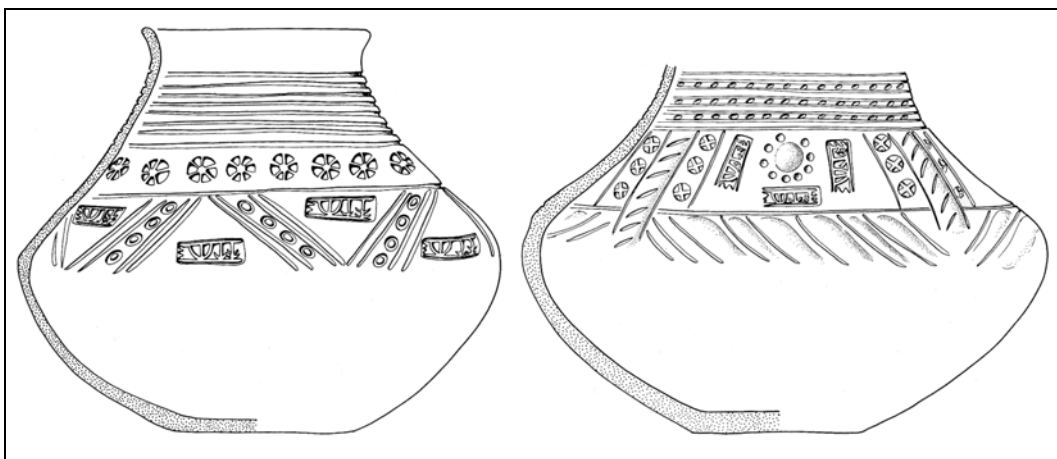
Figure 7.5. Urns 1564 (left) and 1224 (right) from Spong Hill, both stamped with the runic name Tiw. Scale 1:4. (Hills 1977, fig. 58).

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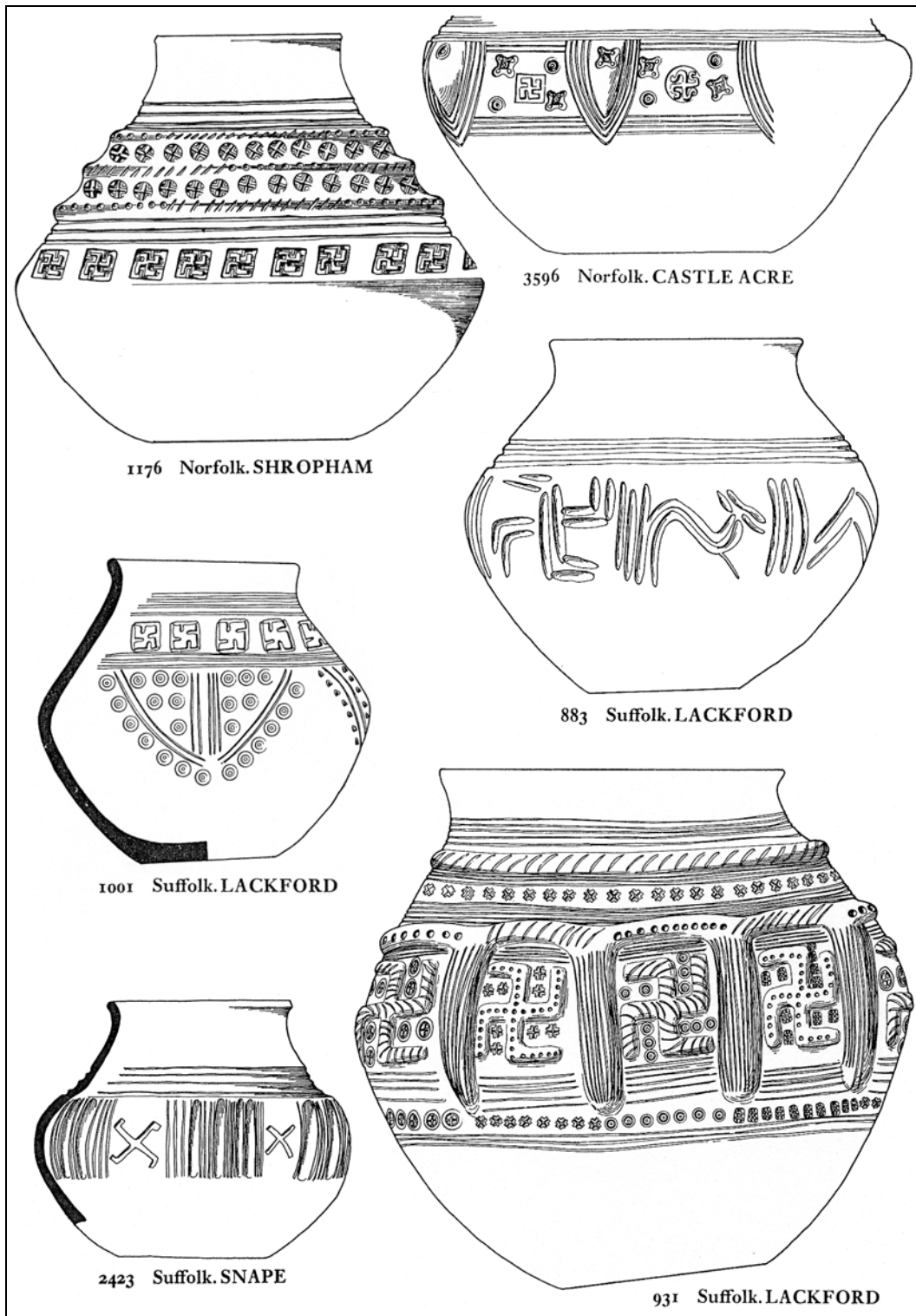
Figure 7.6. A selection of East Anglian cremation urns bearing incised, embossed and stamped swastikas. Scale 1:4. The numbers are those given to each urn in Myres' *Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Pottery* (1977), from which these images are taken (figs 100, 118, 216, 315, 355, 365).
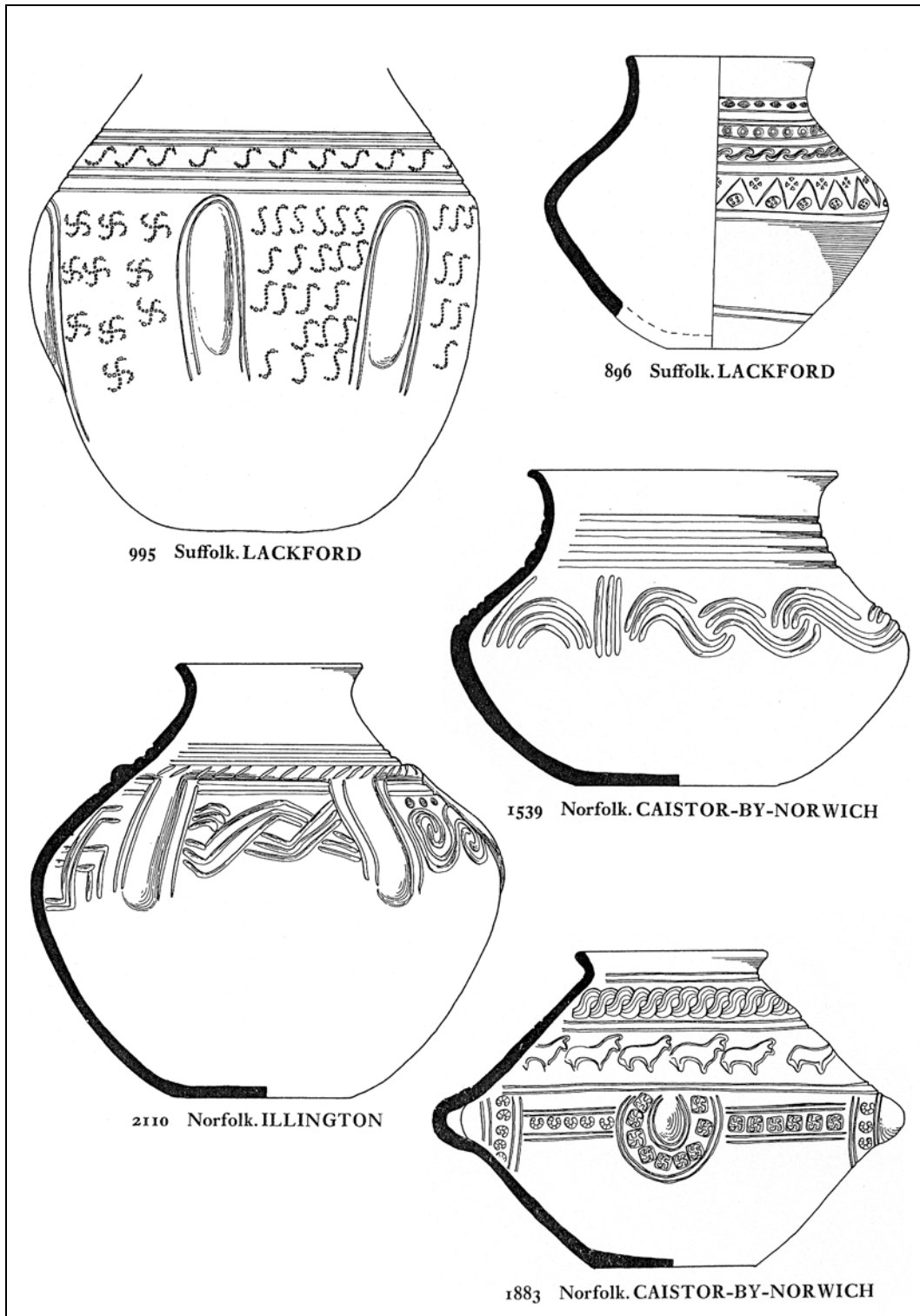
Figure 7.7. A selection of East Anglian cremation urns bearing incised and stamped *wyrms*. Note the occasional overlapping of *wyrms* to form swastikas. Scale 1:4. The numbers are those given to each urn in Myres' *Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Pottery* (1977), from which these images are taken (figs 141, 176, 358, 366).

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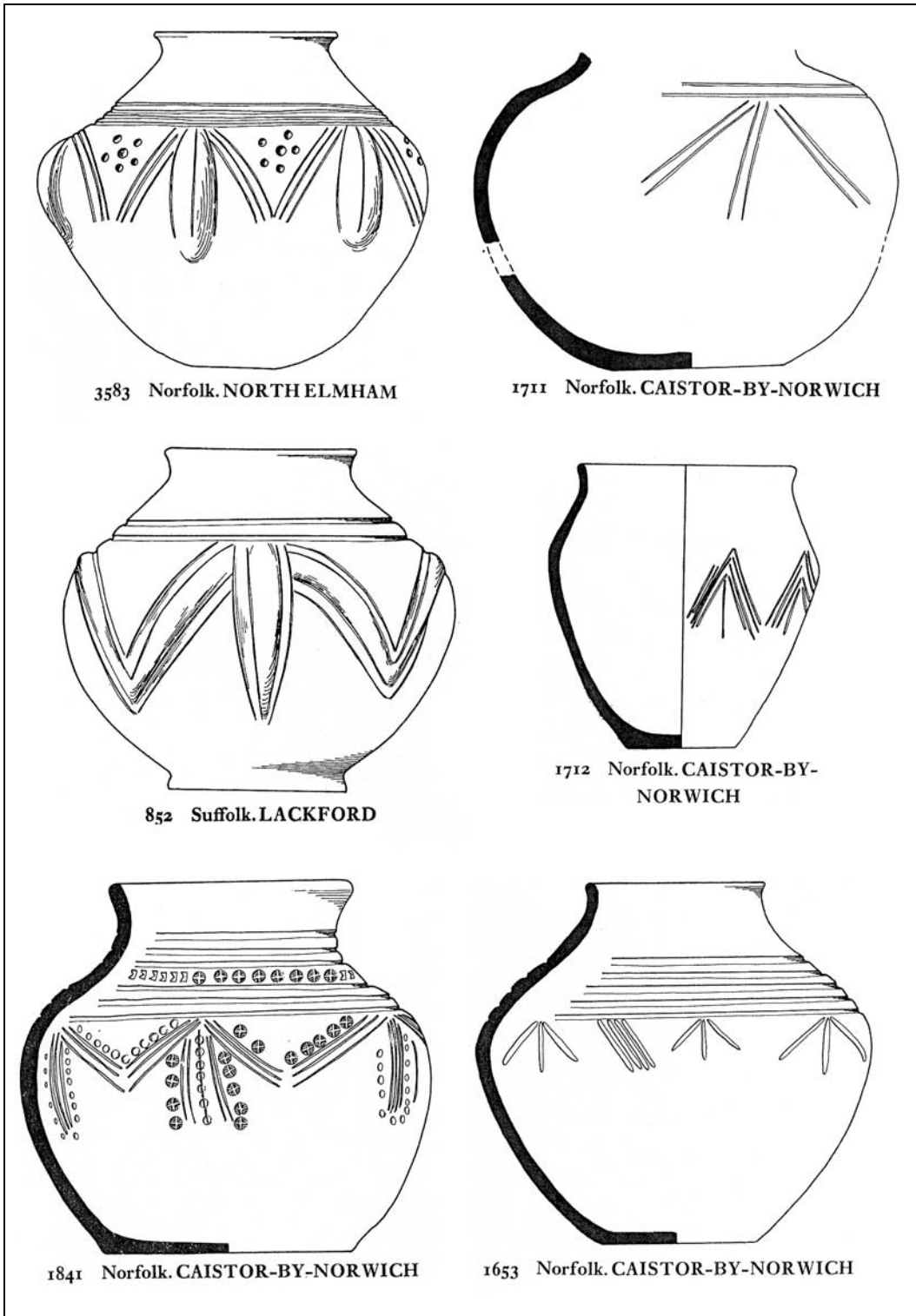
Figure 7.8. A selection of East Anglian cremation urns bearing incised, embossed and stamped ↑-rune designs. Scale 1:4. The numbers are those given to each urn in Myres' *Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Pottery* (1977), from which these images are taken (figs 188, 268, 276, 288, 315, 368).

The Chronology of Cremation

The cremation rite was clearly one which called for the collection, display and destruction of substantial quantities of resources. Every stage of the process was demonstrably laden with pagan religious significance, sometimes of great complexity, but how does this help us understand the conversion process? In this regard chronology is of fundamental importance, for if it can be demonstrated that cremation ceased to be practised before the reintroduction of Christianity to these shores, then its cessation was clearly unrelated to the conversion. However, if the rite can be demonstrated to have continued into the early seventh century, then we must at least consider the possibility that its cessation may be tied into the adoption of Christianity. Unfortunately, as is so often the case, things are not as clear cut as we would like them to be. Despite the enormous quantity of curated and published material, the precise dating of cremation is problematic and the rite's chronological cut-off point is rarely discussed in the literature (e.g. Owen 1981, 85–95; Wilson 1992, 131–64; Lucy 2000, 104–22). This uncertainty is largely due to the vast majority of this material, primarily cremation urns, now being devoid of archaeological context and, more significantly, any associated finds. To this day the main source for dating cremations remains the typology of urn styles developed by Myres (1969; 1977), who, somewhat surprisingly, himself considered the contents of urns to be 'the least informative … of all the material relics of ancient culture' (Myres 1969, 13).

Although comprehensive, Myres' typology actually contains very few absolute dates and the largely stylistic nature of the work has been criticised for its assumption of linear and constant development over time (e.g. Hurst 1976b, 294–9; Hills 1979, 324–6). Richards (1987, 25) goes so far as to state that 'one might conclude that the material is undatable'. Fortunately, the increasing number of cremations excavated under modern conditions are enabling more detailed dating to be achieved, both by association and stratigraphically. At Snape, for example, the excavators are confident that they have urned cremations which date to the early seventh century (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 234–6). It is unlikely that these cremations were isolated cases and we can therefore assume that the other urned cremations must also date to this time.

Figure 7.9. The cremation-containing bronze hanging-bowl from the Sutton Hoo Visitors' Centre cemetery (Newman 2002).

Most of the twenty-one known examples of cremations contained within various types of copper-alloy vessel (Figure 7.9) are now dated to the late sixth and early seventh centuries. The use of such vessels in place of ceramic urns is interpreted as an indication of status and they carry connotations of hospitality and feasting (Carver and Fern 2005, 289). There are twelve East Anglian examples, from Illington, Brightwell Heath, Snape, the Sutton Hoo barrow cemetery and the Sutton Hoo Visitors' Centre cemetery (Dickinson and Speake 1992; Geake 1999a; Davison, Green and Milligan 1993; Reid-Moir 1921; Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 250–5; Carver and Fern 2005, 285–7; Newman 2002, 502–3). The cremation rite can therefore be demonstrated with some certainty to have continued into the seventh century and therefore its cessation remains relevant to the discussion of the East Anglian conversion.

The Cessation of Cremation

This brings us to what seem likely to be among the latest instances of cremation in the East Anglian burial record, the cremations at Sutton Hoo, which are dated to the first quarter of the seventh century (Carver 1998b; Carver and Fern 2005). The fact that the cremation rite was enacted here is perhaps the most telling physical clue in ascertaining the relationship between the end of cremation and the acceptance of Christianity. Over a number of years Martin Carver has promulgated the theory that the Sutton Hoo burial complex represents an overtly

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political statement of pagan defiance 'provoked by the perceived menace of a predatory Christian mission' (Carver 1998b, 136). In particular he draws attention to the use of what he takes to be iconic pagan practices at the site: barrow burial, boat burial and cremation (Carver 1989; 1998a; 1998b, 134–6; 2000; Carver and Fern 2005, 312–13). Barrow and boat burials are both very rare, and therefore can tell us little about the burial practices of the lower echelons of society, but cremation was widely practised at a grassroots level, making it much more useful in charting the spread of the conversion. It is certainly telling that the last pagan kings of East Anglia should be among the last to practise cremation in the region (Carver 1989; 1998a). Taking Carver's interpretation to its logical conclusion, it would appear that in the early seventh century cremation was seen as a totemic pagan rite and was flaunted at Sutton Hoo in an act of defiance and resistance. The corollary of this is that the paganism which the rite symbolised must have been under direct threat from these 'predatory' Christian missionaries, and the episode is strongly suggestive of a Christian policy of eradicating cremation, albeit one unrecorded in early documents.

We have seen (Chapter Two) that one of the means by which Christianity achieved its widespread success was through a deliberate policy of adoption and adaptation of local customs as it expanded into new territories (e.g. Carver 1998a; Urbanczyk 1998; 2003; Pluskowski and Patrick 2003). Yet, while this can be demonstrated to be true for many Early and Middle Saxon practices, cremation of the dead appears to have been a burial practice which was simply not tolerated. Why, though, should the practice have been so deplorable to early Christians and its eradication have been so desirable?

Many ethnographic parallels suggest that fire is seen as both a purifying force and a means of freeing the spirit by destroying the body (e.g. Bachelard 1964, 99–109; Downes 1999). These interpretations have been echoed in a specifically Early Saxon context via Howard Williams' 'ideology of transformation' in which cremation functioned as a mechanism through which the deceased was destroyed and transformed into a new ancestral form (Williams 2001b; 2004a; 2005). Such ideas would have been fundamentally at odds with the early Christian world-view and, although some ideologies and beliefs could be assimilated into the emerging doctrine, it would appear that the destruction of the

body by fire and its transformation to something 'Other' was simply not one of them. Throughout the Christian West, early Christians continued the Jewish tradition of burial and actively supplanted cremation with inhumation (Prothero 2001, 6). At its most fundamental level the Christian opposition to cremation stems from the belief that on the Day of Judgement the dead will be resurrected, a phenomenon for which the body of the deceased needed to be kept intact. In Christian ideology the flames of the cremation pyre were equated with the fires of hell and the destruction of the corpse which cremation wrought was believed to prevent the chance of resurrection (Ariès 1981, 31–2). It is no coincidence that medieval heretics were burned alive, ensuring that the condemned had no body in the next life (Ariès 1981, 31–2; Bynum 1995). These beliefs were so strongly held that cremation remained an anathema for Anglican Christians until the nineteenth century (Parsons 2005, 15–58). Similarly, it was not until 1963 that the Catholic church permitted cremation, although to this day the cremated remains cannot be scattered and must be kept together (Cremation Society of Great Britain 1974; Parsons 2005, 227).

Clearly the Christian opposition to cremation was the result of strongly ingrained doctrine regarding the mechanics of the resurrection. It can therefore be argued that the adoption of this doctrine may well have accounted for the disappearance of cremation from the archaeological record in the early seventh century. With regard to recognising the conversion in the burial record it therefore follows that any cemetery which contains evidence of cremation must represent a community which had yet to adopt Christianity. Where they can be dated, these sites can be used to provide something of a *terminus post quem* for the localised adoption of Christianity. Obviously the parts of the region to which this is applicable are limited to those areas where cremation was practised, which, as was shown in the previous chapter (Figure 6.17), effectively means Norfolk and northern Suffolk. The fact that cremation should have ceased to be practised across such a large area in a relatively short period during the early seventh century is strongly suggestive of the conversion to Christianity having been widespread at a local level from its earliest days. The implications of this observation are explored more fully in Chapter Eight. However, while the presence of cremation can be used to demonstrate the continued existence of

pagan practices, its absence alone cannot be taken as conclusive proof of the adoption of Christianity, for cremation was only one of many pagan burial rites practised in the region, the other major rite being inhumation.

The Inhumation Rite

Although the Anglo-Saxon inhumation rite has been the traditional focus of academic interest, not all types of inhumation have received equal attention. Early Saxon inhumations have been studied at length, largely because of the visibility (and desirability) of their associated metalwork, while the unfurnished inhumations of both the Early and Middle Saxon periods are often poorly preserved and have therefore not been extensively studied. The resulting synthetic literature consequently fails to address the ways in which the inhumation rite changed during the period of the conversion, discussion tending to tail off with the end of furnished burials in the seventh century (e.g. Owen 1981, 67–76; Wilson 1992, 67–130; Lucy 2000, 65–103). Inhumation was practised alongside cremation during the Early Saxon period and eventually became the sole burial rite under Christianity, remaining so until the reintroduction of cremation in the nineteenth century (Parsons 2005, 15–58). Inhumation is traditionally said to provide the key to identifying the conversion in the burial record (Hadley 2001, 92), for, although inhumation continued to be practised throughout the conversion period, the nature of the rite changed considerably. Particular attention has been paid to the changes which occurred regarding the deposition of grave-goods and also the increasingly regular adoption of a west–east alignment for the burial, both criteria which are commonly described as being amongst 'the earliest tangible signs of the new religion in the archaeological record' (MacGregor 2000, 221). This section considers the evidence for Early and Middle Saxon inhumation in East Anglia and evaluates its usefulness in charting the progress of the conversion.

The Nature of the Evidence

When considered alongside the cremation rite, which comprised a number of stages and required a great deal of time and resources to enact (Figure 7.2), the Anglo-Saxon inhumation rite was comparatively simple. After the death of an

individual, the corpse was prepared, taken to a cemetery, laid out in a grave and buried. Yet, because the archaeological remains of inhumation are often less fragmentary and therefore more easily understood than those of cremation, inhumations have consistently dominated discussions of Anglo-Saxon burial rites.

Figure 7.10. A 'sand-body' from Sutton Hoo (Carver 1998b, plate IX).

Inhumations are much more susceptible to decay than cremations because they retain their organic component, and their material remains vary greatly in quantity and quality. Poor bone preservation is a serious problem within East Anglia and a number of the region's inhumation cemeteries have suffered greatly as a result of acidic soil conditions (Wade 1997, 48). Among the best-preserved inhumations in the region are those from Sedgeford, where a chalky soil and minimal ploughing have resulted in a high degree of preservation (Cabot, Davies and Hoggett 2004), while among the worst examples are the burials at Bergh Apton, where only scraps of bone survived in the graves (Green and Rogerson 1977). Some of the most unusual sites are those, such as Sutton Hoo and Snape, where acidic soils have completely eaten away the bone leaving only the shape of body as a stain in the sand (Figure 7.10; Bethell and Carver 1987).

Fortunately, the corpse was often not the only object deposited in a grave;

the widespread practice of furnishing burials resulted in many artefacts of different materials also being deposited, both as the fastenings of items of clothing and in the form of additional equipment added to the grave. Although organic artefacts, including the corpse and any foodstuffs which may have been buried with it, may be completely destroyed, inorganic artefacts survive well in the burial environment and are usually the only element of the burial to survive. Metal artefacts of many kinds are very common discoveries; these are mainly made of copper alloys or iron, although objects of silver, gold and lead are also discovered (Hodges 1976, 64–98; Cronyn 1990, 176–237; Leahy 2003, 135–56). In some circumstances the presence of metal artefacts may indicate the former presence of organic materials: for example, spearheads indicate the presence of a spear shaft, and fixtures and fittings may indicate the shapes of boxes or furniture. More interestingly, metallic corrosion products may affect adjacent organic material such as textile or wood, resulting in its preservation either as a pseudomorph or a cast of its original shape (e.g. Crowfoot 1978; 1983; Härke 1981; Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 37–8). In exceptional circumstances wooden artefacts may be preserved as soil stains, such as at Snape or Harford Farm, and soil stains may also preserve evidence for artefacts such as mattresses, mats, cushions, biers and coffins, amongst other things (Taylor 1981, 7–8; Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001; Penn 2000a; Green & Rogerson 1978; Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984).

However, not all graves were furnished: in the Early Saxon period approximately half of all graves were unfurnished or at the very least were furnished with grave-goods which left no archaeological trace. At sites where bone preservation is good, such as Oxborough (Penn 1998), these unfurnished burials are at least recognisable, but at sites where bone preservation is poor, such as Morning Thorpe (Green, Rogerson and White 1987), unfurnished burials will appear as empty graves. During the Middle Saxon period, the deposition of grave-goods waned and eventually ceased, for reasons which are fully explored below, meaning that Middle Saxon cemeteries may be recognised for what they are in areas of good bone preservation, but may simply appear as a series of empty graves in areas of acidic soil.

Grave-goods are significant sources of evidence for two reasons: first, they enable burials to be recognised, through metal-detecting or during excavation,

and to some extent reconstructed if bone preservation is poor; secondly, and more importantly, they allow the burial to be dated, albeit broadly. The previous chapter demonstrated the extreme imbalance between the number of recognised Early Saxon and Middle Saxon burials in East Anglia; the dominance of Early Saxon burials is in part due to the ease with which they are discovered and identified, although these are not the only factors at work.

The Treatment of the Corpse

While diverse degrees of preservation can make direct comparison of cemetery data difficult, the great advantage in studying inhumations over cremations is the amount of information that can be recovered about the inhumed individual and the nature of their burial. Provided that the bone preservation is good enough, we are able to infer something of the age, sex, health and lifestyle of the inhumed from their skeleton (Brothwell 1981, 59–72; McKinley 1994a, 11–21; Mays 1998, 33–66). Such demographic data is particularly useful because it allows links between sex, age and burial practice to be explored (e.g. Crawford 1991 and 1993; Lucy 1997; Stoodley 1999 and 2000). We are also able to infer a great deal about the death tableau itself, for once the grave is filled in the burial tableau, but for decay, remains largely undisturbed.

Early Saxon inhumations were laid out in a variety of positions – on their back (supine), front (prone), or on one side or the other. Their legs may be straight, crossed, flexed, crouched or contracted. Likewise, their arms may be laid by the sides, crossed across the pelvis or chest, or any combination of these. A flavour of this variation is given by Figures 7.11 and 7.12, which illustrate the postures of the female and male inhumations from Westgarth Gardens. However, despite the potential for great variability, the dominant burial position in Early Saxon cemeteries was 'extended supine': i.e., the corpse laid out straight on its back and facing upwards (Lucy 2000, 78–81; Brush 1993, 221). Middle Saxon inhumations were almost exclusively 'extended supine', suggesting that the prevailing tradition continued, but was more strictly enforced. Extended supine is the position in which the body can be viewed most easily from the grave-side, highlighting the importance to the funerary process of viewing the death tableau.

While single burial was clearly the dominant burial rite, the burial of two

or more individuals in the same grave, such as at Harford Farm (Penn 2000a, 19–20), was a widespread but rarely practised phenomenon; multiple burials are not a common feature of Middle Saxon cemeteries (Stoodley 2002, 103–5). In the vast majority of cases the individuals were inhumed contemporaneously and were most commonly laid side by side. An adult and a child buried together are often interpreted as a parent and offspring, while adult male and female combinations are most often interpreted as being husband and wife, although other familial relationships are possible. Same sex pairings are also known and again a familial relationship is most often suggested, although the possibility of homosexuality should not be ruled out. Of course the individuals may have be linked by any number of factors of which we remain unaware: lifestyle, profession, religion, ethnicity or even the time and location of their deaths (Stoodley 2002, 112–14).

The evidence provided by multiple inhumations may help in the interpretation of multiple cremations, where similar pairings have been identified. Beyond the fact that the two individuals were buried together, they do not appear to have received special treatment: although obviously bigger than their single counterparts, the graves themselves do not display any exceptional characteristics and the range of grave-goods provided does not tend to differ from those of single burials, suggesting that pragmatism was the governing factor behind such burials (Stoodley 2002, 114–21). The treatment afforded the corpse therefore exhibited slight changes between the Early and Middle Saxon periods – the Early Saxon preference for extended supine burial became a uniformly applied practice in the Middle Saxon period, and the already minimal occurrences of multiple burials appear to have been largely phased out. Unfortunately, neither of these characteristics can be said to be definite indicators of changing religious beliefs because neither represented the introduction of a new practice. But can a greater insight into the conversion process be gleaned from the most regularly discussed characteristic of Anglo-Saxon graves – burial alignment?
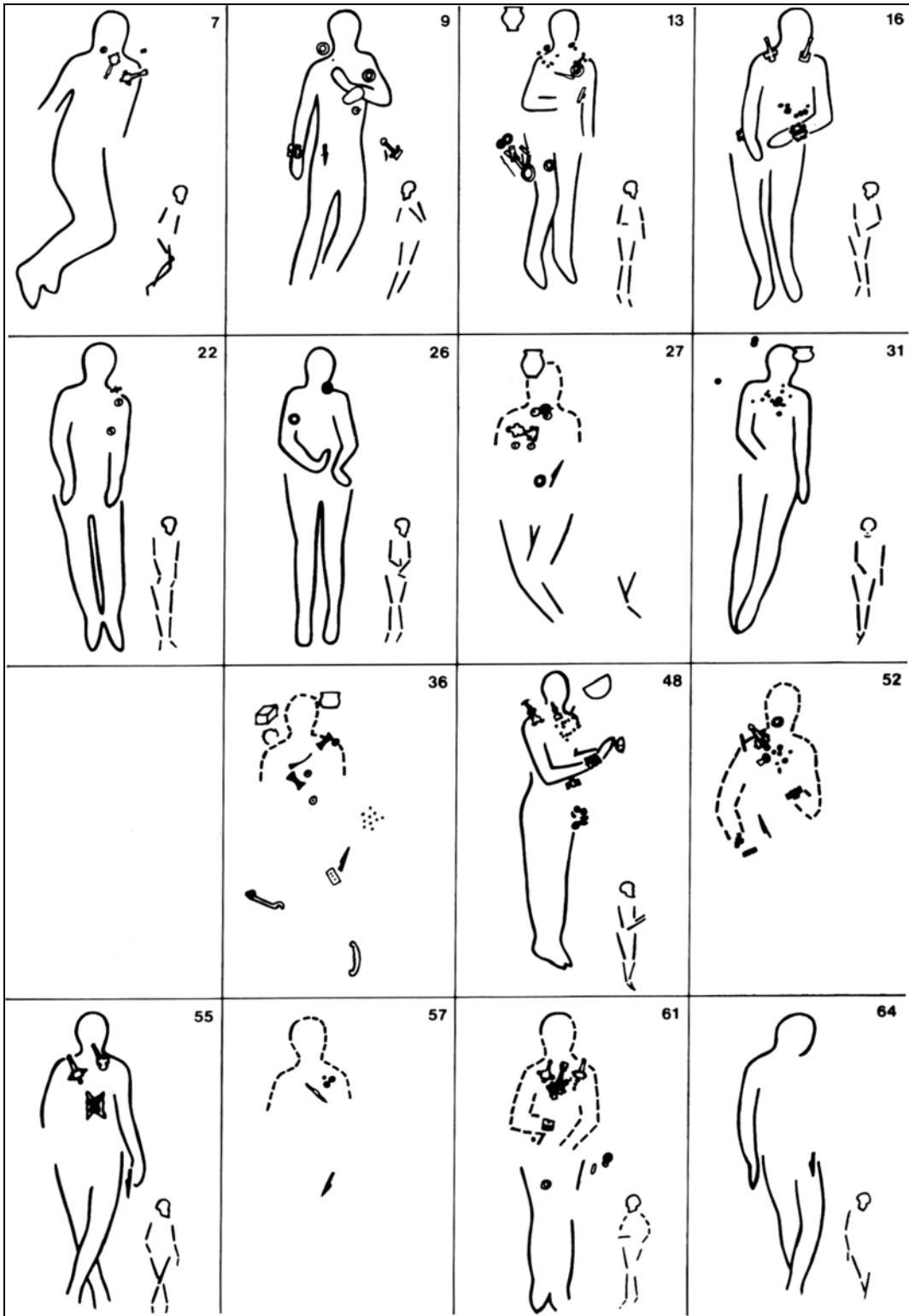
Figure 7.11. The burial postures and grave-goods of the female inhumations at Westgarth Gardens. Inset: the surviving bones (West 1988, fig. 6).

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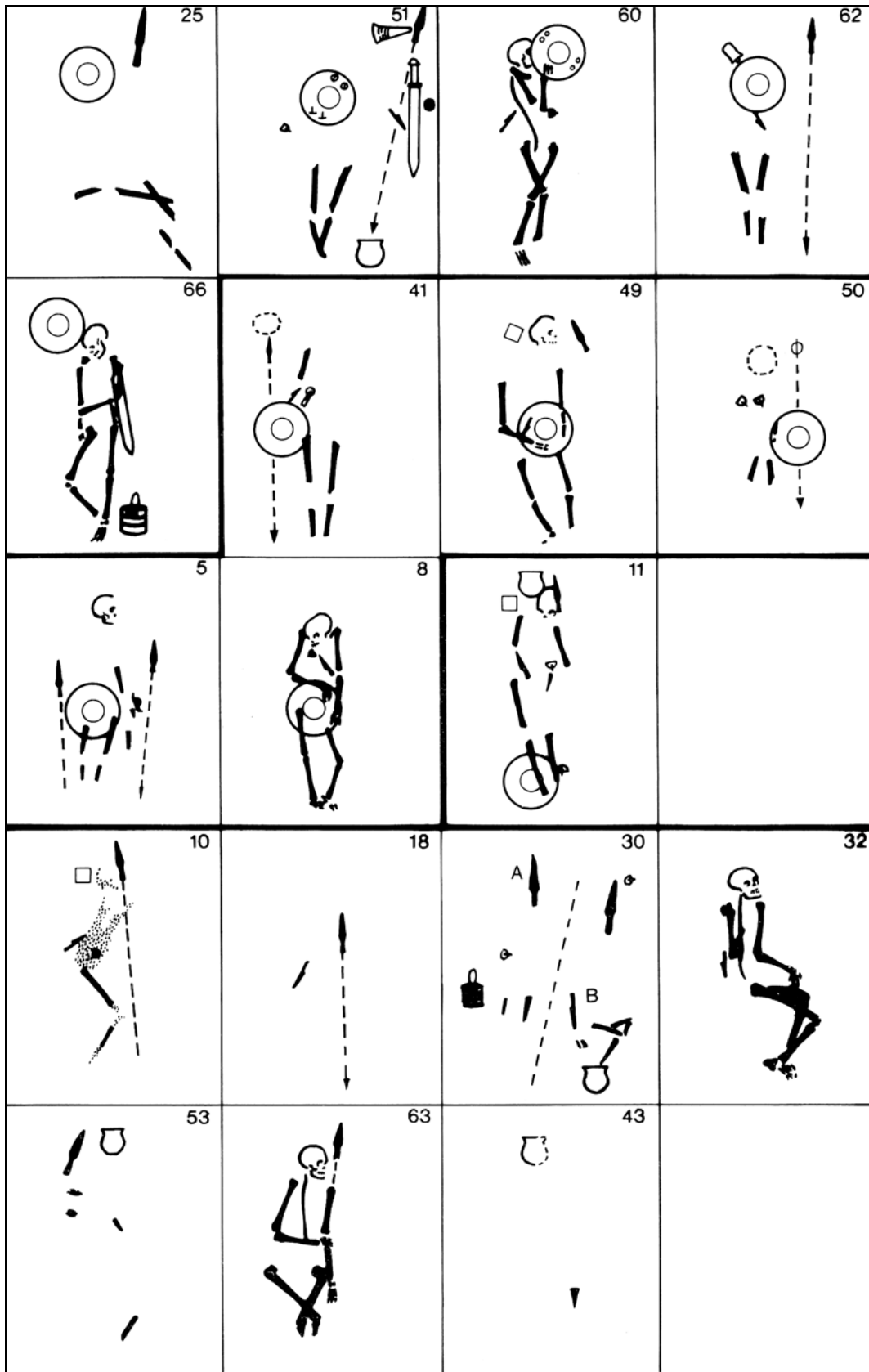
Figure 7.12. The surviving bones and grave-goods of the male inhumations at Westgarth Gardens, grouped by shield position (West 1988, fig. 7).

Burial Alignment

Studies of known examples of Christian burial from both medieval and post-medieval contexts have demonstrated that supine burial orientated west–east was, and continues to be, the norm for Christian burial (e.g. Rahtz 1977; 1978; Daniell 1997; Rodwell 2005, 161–96; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 152–6). It is generally accepted that the head was placed to the west so that, were the dead to sit up in their graves, they would be facing the east (Dearmer 1949, 432; Rahtz 1978; Kendall 1982; Brown 1983). Despite being so ingrained in Christian practice, the reason for the adoption of this orientation appears to have been largely forgotten, although liturgical explanations have been given for the Christian desire to face the east since at least the twelfth century (Thurston 1908; Rahtz 1978; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 152). Foremost among these explanations is that recorded by John Mirk in the fifteenth century: that Christ will return from the east on the Day of Judgement, as is foretold in Matthew 24:27, and the dead will rise toward him (Erbe 1905, 294). But can the fact that Christian burials are consistently aligned west–east be used to trace the progress of the conversion, as some have suggested?

Of course, it does not logically follow that, just because all Christian burials are orientated west–east, all such burials must be Christian. Examples of west–east burials occur in many demonstrably non-Christian contexts from around the world and throughout history. Although liturgy is used to explain the Christian adoption of a west–east alignment, many of the non-Christian examples have been explained as being aligned on the sunrise and/or sunset (e.g. Ucko 1969; Rahtz 1978, 1–3). That the rising and, perhaps more significantly, the setting of the sun should become linked with death is not so surprising when one considers how fundamentally important it is to life, and we should certainly consider the possibility that the west–east burial alignment is another instance of Christianity adopting an already widespread practice and subsequently finding its own justification for it.

As the position of sunrise changes throughout the year it has been suggested that burial alignment could be used to infer the time of year at which burial occurred (e.g. Wells and Green 1973; Hawkes 1976; Hill 1997, 253–5). One of the first serious considerations of the subject was that by Wells and Green (1973), whose analysis of burial alignments from the Middle Saxon cemeteries at

Caister-on-Sea and Burgh Castle demonstrated that the burials were aligned west–east within a broad solar arc (Figures 8.4 and 8.6). However, they discovered that if the burials had actually been aligned on the sunrise 90% of those at Caister had occurred within three months of the year, while 65% of those at Burgh Castle had occurred within only two months. Both observations indicate that the solar hypothesis is 'an unacceptable proposition' (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 49), but they do reflect the deliberate and organised nature of the burial alignments within the cemetery.

Despite these conclusions, the solar alignment argument was taken one stage further by Hawkes (1976; 1982) in her study of burial alignment at Finglesham (Kent). She argued that the conversion could be identified in the site's burial record by comparing the differences in alignment between the sixth- and seventh-century burials. Although all are broadly aligned west–east, the former fell outside the solar arc, while the latter fell within it, suggesting to Hawkes at least that the population had become Christian by the seventh century and had begun orientating burials on the sunrise. While it would be wonderful if this conclusion were tenable, those studies cited above refute the assumption that Christian burials were aligned on the sunrise. Rather, the difference between the dated alignments suggests that some sort of reorganisation had taken place, but this cannot be said to have been the result of the conversion because the Finglesham burials were generally aligned west–east both before and after the event.

Similarly negative conclusions must be drawn in East Anglia, for numerous examples of west–east burials occur in many demonstrably pre-Christian cemeteries throughout the region. For example, at both Bergh Apton and Morning Thorpe the burials are regularly laid out and aligned west–east (Green and Rogerson 1978, 4; Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 10–11); and at Westgarth Gardens the alignment is broadly west-north-west–east-south-east (Figure 7.13; West 1988, 7–8). However, this is not the case in all cemeteries and there is also considerable variation within the East Anglian data set. For example, at Oxborough (Figure 6.14) most of the burials are aligned on the prehistoric barrow around which the cemetery clustered (Penn 1998, 24–5), and non-west–east burials were also found at Snape (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001). Despite these examples, there is a degree of uniformity of west–east burial within the East

Anglian data set both before and after the period of the conversion, which effectively rules out alignment as a possible indicator of changing beliefs, even if such a proposition could be proved to be tenable. Clearly, the adoption of Christian burial practice within East Anglia did not necessitate the adoption of a new tradition of burial alignment in very many instances, although its justification and meaning may well have been redefined. However, while the adoption of a west–east alignment is no use as a direct indicator of conversion, the Christian observance is so strict that we can at least say with some certainty that burials which are *not* aligned west–east are demonstrably not Christian.
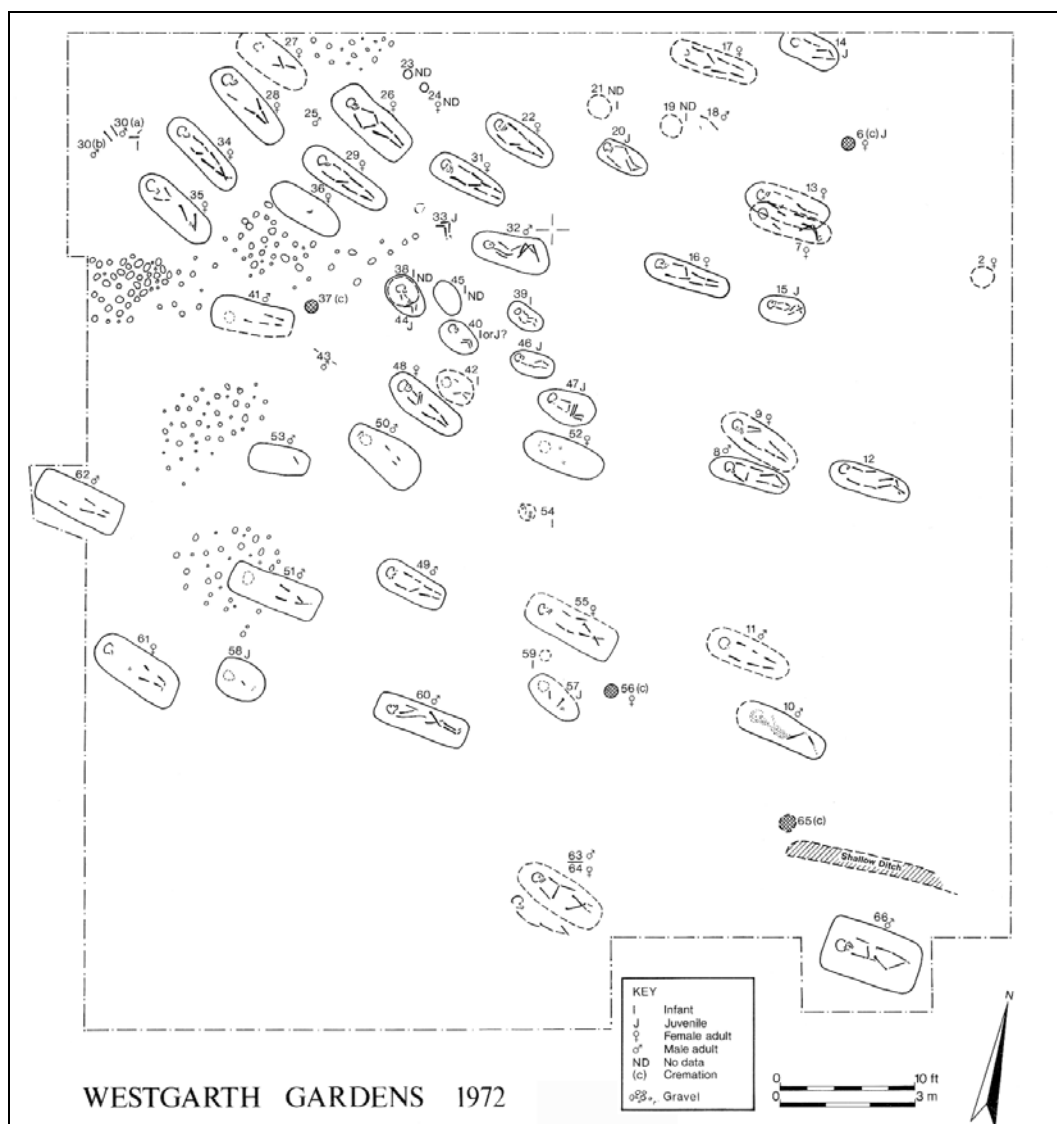
Figure 7.13. The excavated graves at Westgarth Gardens (West 1988, fig. 4).

Grave-Goods

We now turn from the structure of the grave to examine the final aspect of the Anglo-Saxon inhumation rite which is commonly said to signify religious conversion – grave-goods. Since the earliest days of archaeology authors have commented on the possible explanations for the provision of both pyre- and grave-goods, phenomena found in many world cultures throughout history and prehistory (see Bahn 1996; Allan 2004). In his famous paper on the subject Ucko (1969, 264–5) offered a number of alternative explanations for the use of grave-goods, drawn from ethnographic parallels: they may have been items possessed by the deceased; they may be mourners' gifts to the departed; they may be provided to prevent the dead from returning to the world of the living; or they may be included as reminders of a persons' deeds or character. However, the most widely accepted explanation for the presence of grave-goods is that the deceased was being equipped for some form of afterlife in which the provided artefacts would prove useful (e.g. Lubbock 1865, 133; Wilson 1976, 3; Parker Pearson 1999, 7–11; Taylor 2001, 23–4).

Grave-goods are the most well-studied elements of Anglo-Saxon burials. Traditionally, studies have tended to focus upon individual classes of artefact, resulting in a series of chronological typologies which do not always agree (e.g. Bone 1989; Dickinson and Härke 1992; Hines 1997c), but the increasing use of correspondence analysis enables artefacts to be more easily studied in combination and more coherent chronologies produced (e.g. Jensen and Høilund Nielsen 1997b; Høilund Nielsen 1997a; Brugmann 1999; Hines 1999). In addition to providing a chronological framework, the interpretation of grave-goods has addressed issues ranging from the purely technological (e.g. artefact manufacture, Leahy 2003), to imported grave-goods and their economic networks (e.g. Huggett 1988; Welch 2002), and particularly the socio-economic structure of the buried population (e.g. Arnold 1980; Pader 1980; 1982; Geake 1997; Høilund Nielsen 1997b; Ravn 1999; 2003).

To date, very few studies have addressed the religious interpretation of grave-goods, for it has become very fashionable, in British archaeology at least, to brand such approaches naïve and instead to focus exclusively on social factors (Hadley 2000, 150). Notable exceptions are Williams (2003a; 2004c; 2005; 2006),

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whose work on the religious significance of cremation and pyre-goods has spilled over into inhumations and grave-goods, and Crawford (2003; 2004), whose recent papers hopefully mark the start of a resurgence of interest in the religious significance of grave-goods. Traditionally, continental and Scandinavian scholars have taken a much more enlightened approach to the subject, and religious interpretations of grave-goods are more widely accepted (see Schülke 1999, 85–93); the lack of penetration of these ideas into British archaeology might in part be explained by the fact that few of the relevant articles have been published in English.

Grave-goods are relevant to the study of the conversion of East Anglia for a number of reasons. First, the vast majority of our evidence for the Early Saxon period comprises grave-goods and a method of utilising this evidence must be developed. Secondly, the nature of grave-goods and the composition of the burial assemblage changed during the Anglo-Saxon period and these changes need to be explained. Finally, the practice of furnishing burials is traditionally considered to have been a pagan rite which was phased out under Christianity; it is certainly the case that the vast majority of Middle Saxon burials are unfurnished. The one exception to this rule is the burials of priests, many of whom were interred with a chalice and paten so as to minister to their flock at the resurrection (Rodwell 2005, 173–90; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005). While the religious significance of grave-goods is emphasised here, there is no denying the fact that burial assemblages were highly-structured and also symbolically reflected the social identity of the deceased. This was achieved through both the dress of the individual and the consequently the inclusion of grave-goods which were worn on the body, and also through the inclusion in the grave of additional items of equipment or provisions. It is therefore prudent briefly to examine the nature of the symbolic language employed in the structured deposition of grave-goods, before its relevance to the study of religious conversion is considered.

Correlations between Grave-Goods and Sex

Grave-good assemblages have been studied in considerable detail and are particularly suited to statistical analysis to determine underlying patterns in their deposition (e.g. Pader 1982; Lucy 1997; 1998; Stoodley 1999; 2000). It is clear

that there were several ways of adorning the dead and that some were deemed more appropriate for particular individuals than others. Lucy has identified four distinct types of Early Saxon burial assemblage: burials containing dress fittings, jewellery or ornamentation, including brooches, beads, sleeve clasps and waist ornaments (Figure 7.14); burials containing weapons, defined as a minimum of one spear (Figure 7.15); burials containing goods other than jewellery and weapons, including vessels, knives, buckles and belt fittings (Figure 7.16); and burials containing no surviving artefacts (Lucy 1997, 157; 1998, 41; 2000, 87).

As to the relative quantities of each type of burial assemblage, Lucy's analysis demonstrated that approximately half of all burials contained either 'other goods' assemblages or fell into the 'no surviving artefacts' category. The remaining burials were divided between the jewellery and weaponry categories at a ratio of approximately 4:1 (Lucy 1997; 1998, 41). These patterns have been generally recognised across Early Saxon England, although detailed studies have not been made of every region (Pader 1982; Härke 1989a; Brush 1993; Stoodley 1999; Hadley 2001).

Lucy's first category, jewellery assemblages (Figures 7.11 and 7.14), is almost exclusively associated with female burials. It would therefore appear that women in the fifth, sixth and early seventh centuries were buried in their clothes, as is evidenced by the pairs of brooches placed at the shoulders, metal clasps at the wrists, centrally placed brooches or cloak-pins, and belt buckles and strap ends. Women were often buried wearing personal jewellery such as bead necklaces, bracelets and finger rings (Owen-Crocker 1986, 28–57; Stoodley 1999, 33–5). Many of the artefacts found in female graves, including toilet sets, keys, girdle-hangers and chatelaines, were presumably attached to the belt; Stoodley's analysis demonstrated that all these artefacts had a strong female bias. Weaving tools, comprising spindle whorls, weaving battens, shears and needles, were found to be exclusively female items (Stoodley 1999, 30–3). It is worth noting that the vast majority of the typically female grave-goods are dress-related, being artefacts that were worn on the body, either as elements of costume or as equipment carried at the belt. Additional equipment and tools do not seem to have been placed in female graves very regularly.
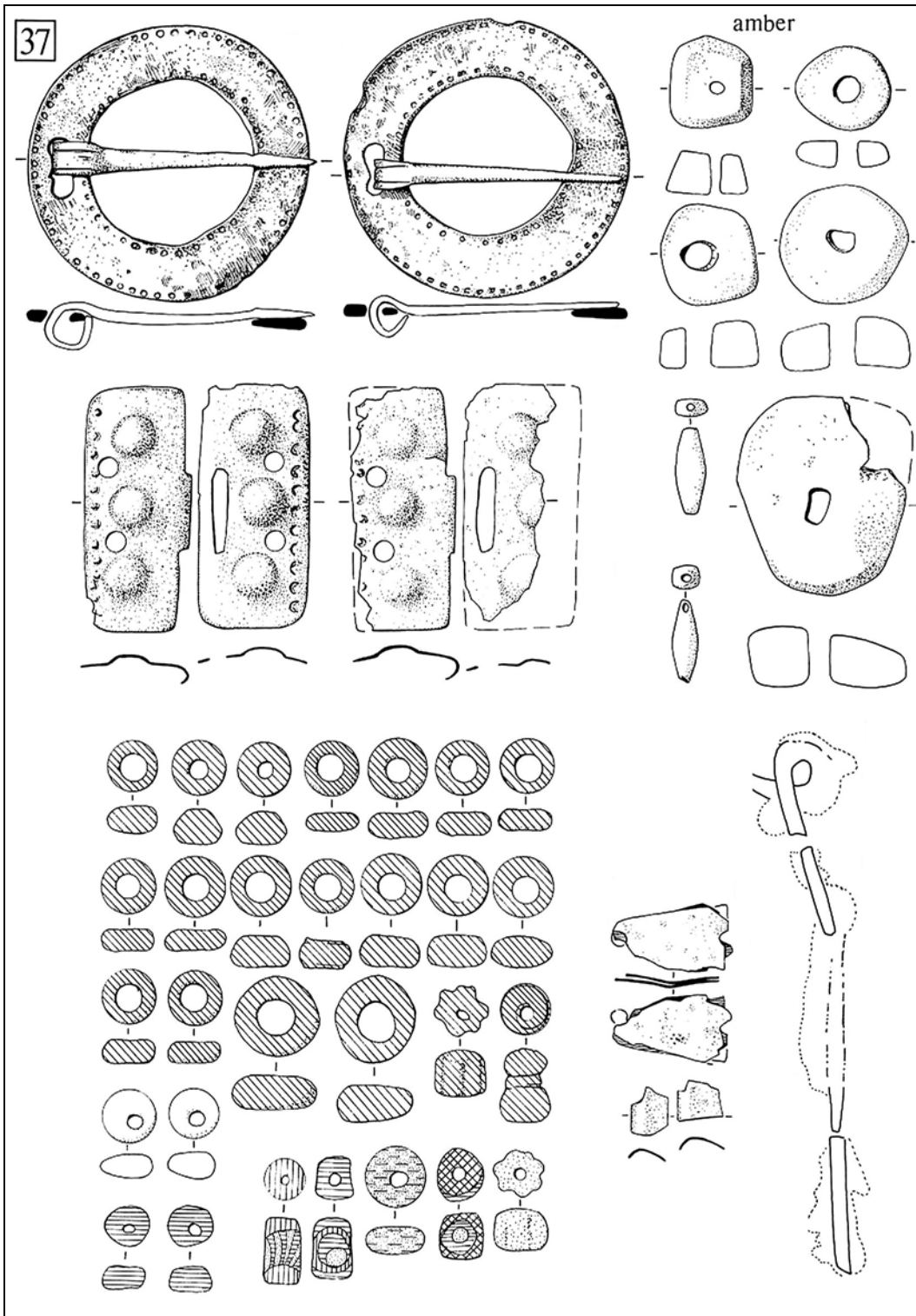
Figure 7.14. A typical jewellery assemblage from Spong Hill Grave 37. Scale 1:1. (After Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, fig. 90.)
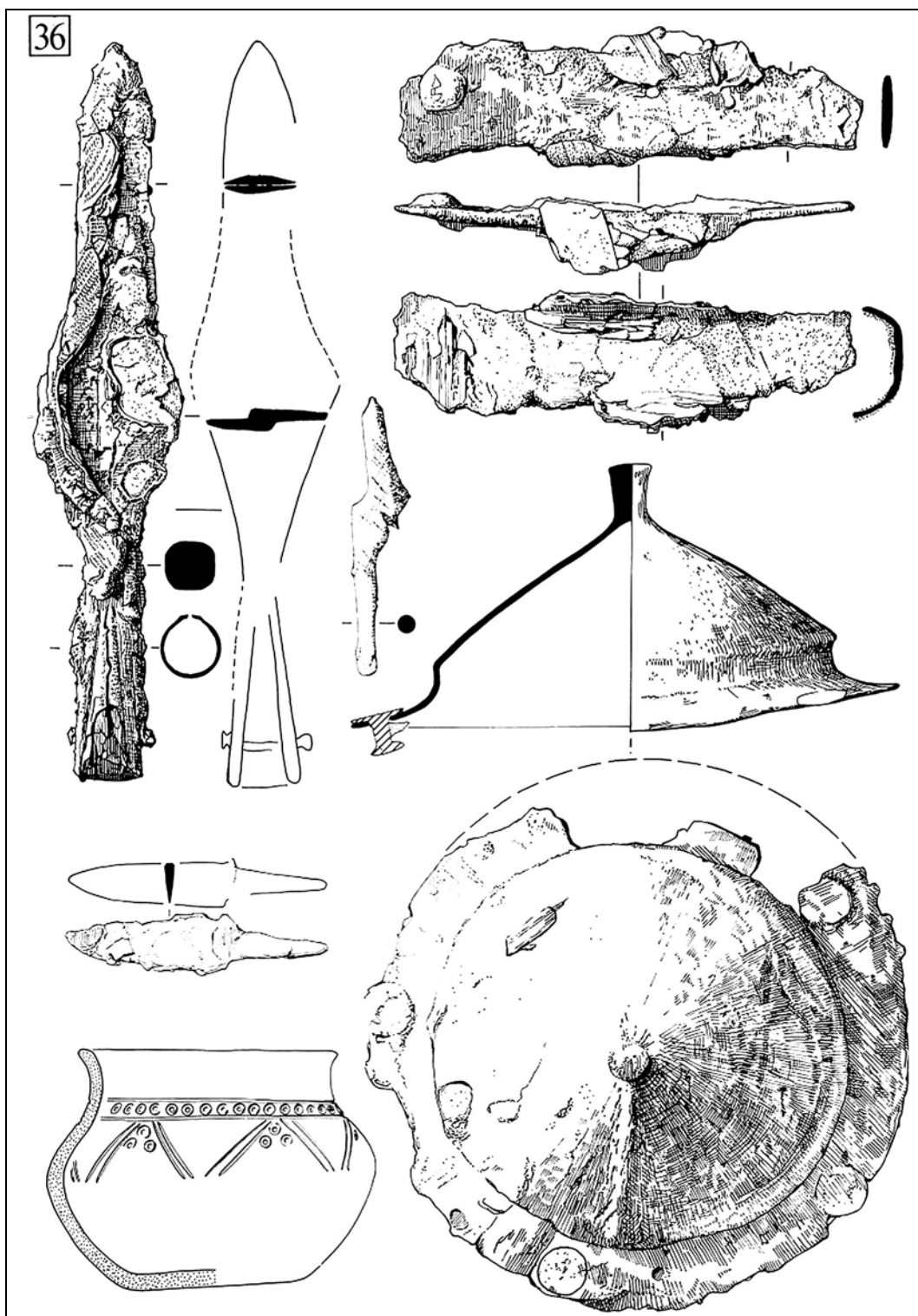
Figure 7.15. A weaponry assemblage from Spong Hill Grave 36. Scale 1:2, except the pot which is shown at 1:3. (After Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, fig. 89.)
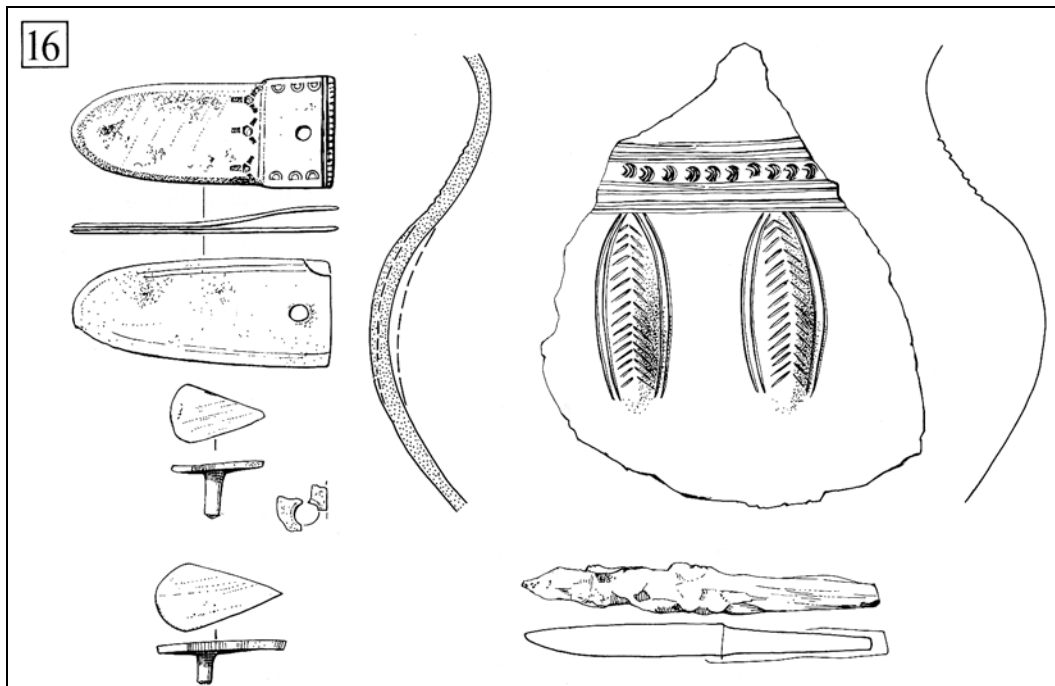
Figure 7.16. A neutral assemblage from Spong Hill Grave 16.
The pot is shown at 1:3, the knife at 1:2 and everything else at 1:1.
(After Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, fig. 76.)

Lucy's second category, weapon burials (Figures 7.12 and 7.15), has long been recognised as demonstrating a very strong male association and has been considered at length by Härke (1989a; 1989b; 1990; 1992; 1997; 2000). Spears are found very commonly, shields somewhat less so and swords only rarely. Seaxes, axes and arrows are particularly infrequent finds. Härke also analysed the various combinations of weapons. The most frequent is a single spear, found in almost half of all weapon burials, while the combination of a shield and spear accounts for a further quarter. None of the other possible combinations of spears, shields, swords, seaxes, axes and arrows account for more than 5% of weapon burials and many account for less than 1% (Härke 1989a, tables 4.1–4.3; 1990, 24–8).

Male burials contain a lot less clothing-related evidence, but textile impressions, occasional cloak-brooches, and belt fittings all suggest that men, too, were buried clothed. Personal jewellery is particularly rare in male burials, but occasionally finger rings or a decorative bead from the pommel of a sword are present (Owen-Crocker 1986, 65–84). Stoodley (1999, 29–33) found tweezers and purse-mounts to have a male bias, although they were also present in a number of female graves, and demonstrated that musical instruments, horse bits and woodworking tools were exclusively male items. The contrast with female burial

assemblages is striking, for the vast majority of male grave-goods comprises additional equipment and tools added to the grave, rather than costume-related artefacts. The significance of this contrast is explored more fully below.

The existence of Lucy's third category, burials containing non-gender-specific goods, and a fourth group of burials containing no artefacts clearly indicate that biological sex was not the sole factor in the structuring of grave-good assemblages. Lucy (1997, 157; 1998, 41; 2000, 87) argues that there is no reason why these 'neutral' assemblages should not have been as symbolic as the other assemblages, but as the grave-goods included show no correlation with the sex or age of the inhumed, other aspects of social identity which we are less able to infer from the archaeological record must also have played a role.

Correlations between Grave-Goods and Age

The age of the deceased was also a factor in the structuring of grave-goods and a series of age-related thresholds has been identified at which the composition of the burial assemblage changed. This would suggest that the various stages of the Early Saxon lifecycle were clearly of great importance and that they were symbolically marked in both life and death. Stoodley (2000, 458–9) has observed that the majority of excavated cemeteries contained no infant burials and that, at those sites which did, they were often found in double burials with an adult (*cf.* Buckberry 2000). It would therefore appear that it was not until the age of 2–3 years that the burials of children began to be treated like those of adults, at which age they began to be buried in individual graves with grave-good assemblages mirroring adult assemblages (Stoodley 2000, 459–62). Both 'male' and 'female' burial assemblages underwent a second change at around 10–14 years, when the range of grave-goods employed increased; coinciding with the onset of puberty, it would appear that this biological milestone was marked materially (Stoodley 2000, 461–2; Crawford 1991; 1993; 1999; 2000). It was not until the late teens that the full burial rite described by Lucy began to be practised. As this last threshold does not coincide with any major physiological changes, it therefore must represent a culturally defined stage of the lifecycle (Stoodley 2000, 461–5). In late maturity, both weapon and jewellery assemblages exhibit further changes; the number and types of weapons deposited decline and certain aspects of the jewellery assemblage

also cease to be deposited. Again, these changes may reflect the individual's changing social status, perhaps marking the end of their being a warrior or capable of giving birth (Stoodley 2002, 461–5).

The distinct types of burial assemblage and the trends and thresholds identified in their use are indicative of biologically and culturally defined practices which, in some cases, reflected aspects of both the age and sex of the deceased. Age and sex alone do not explain all of the patterns that we see in the burial record and there must have been a great many other factors at work of which we remain unaware. The patterns discussed here primarily apply to the Early Saxon burials of the fifth, sixth and early seventh centuries and have been included here because it is only by understanding the norm in the Early Saxon period that the changes in the inhumation rite that occurred during the seventh century can be fully appreciated.

The 'Final Phase' I: Grave-Goods

Grave-good assemblages can be demonstrated to be highly structured and symbolically to express a number of different messages, some of which pertain to the sex and age of the deceased, but is this of any use when trying to recognise the conversion in the burial record? It is a commonly held belief that the conversion was responsible for the demise of the practice of burying grave-goods, but grave-goods continued to be employed until the first half of the eighth century, at least a century after the main period of conversion. Geake places the end of the grave-good tradition at 720–30 and notes that it occurred suddenly among all types of artefact, with little or no evidence to suggest that some types were abandoned before others (Meaney 1964; Geake 1997, 125; Hadley 2001, 96–7). Clearly, then, the end of the grave-good tradition cannot be related to the initial period of conversion, although it is probably related to the subsequent development of churchyard burial and the institutions that accompanied it (e.g. Evison 1956; Hyslop 1963; Meaney and Hawkes 1970; Carver 1989; Boddington 1990; Hadley 2001). Even if this were not the case, the simple criterion 'furnished/unfurnished' could not be used as an indicator of conversion, because a significant quantity (approximately half) of Early Saxon burials were unfurnished anyway or, such as at Snape and Harford Farm, were furnished with organic artefacts which cannot

usually be recognised archaeologically (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001; Penn 2000). However, although both pagan and Christian burials might contain grave-goods this does not mean that grave-goods cannot be employed in the study of the conversion, for there are a number of ways in which they prove to be illuminating.

It has often been observed that there are three distinct phases in the development of the inhumation rite: pagan (or pre-Christian) inhumation, Christian inhumation, and a transitional phase between the two, which straddles the period *c.*600–800 and has come to be known as the 'Final Phase' (see Geake 1997, 1–6). With reference to this study, the distinct differences between the burial assemblages of the fifth and sixth centuries and those of the seventh and early eighth are by far the most significant factors. The existence of this transitional phase has long been recognised: Lethbridge's excavations at Burwell and Shudy Camps (both Cambridgeshire) in the 1930s provided the stimulus for Leeds' initial description of the material evidence for the 'Final Phase' (Lethbridge 1931; 1936; Leeds 1936, 98–114). Originally, Leeds was referring to the final phases of Early Saxon-style furnished burial and the grave-goods in use during the period in question, but use of the term 'Final Phase' has since broadened to become synonymous with a wider model of conversion and cemetery development (e.g. Evison 1956; Hyslop 1963; Meaney and Hawkes 1970; Faull 1976; Morris 1983, 49–62; Boddington 1990). This model is discussed more fully in Chapter Eight, where its relevance to the study of settlements and cemeteries is addressed more fully (below, pp.307–9); here we focus on the grave-goods of the 'Final Phase'.

Many of the sex- and age-related patterns in grave-good assemblages discussed in the previous section remained constant, with regional characteristics, throughout the majority of the Early Saxon period (see Lucy 2000). However, during the early seventh century, while some classes of artefact continued to be deposited, many of the diagnostic grave-good types abruptly stopped being used and were replaced with grave-goods of markedly different character (Hyslop 1963; Geake 1997, 107–22; 1999b; Hines 1999). Whereas approximately half of all Early Saxon burials were furnished, during the 'Final Phase' the proportion of unfurnished burials in cemeteries rose considerably. Most burials that contained grave-goods were poorly furnished, usually only with a knife, while those very few burials which were properly furnished were furnished richly and tended to be

those of females (Boddington 1990; Geake 1997, 126–7). In general, while costume-fitting-style grave-goods continued to be deposited, there was a marked drop-off in the deposition of additional equipment and foodstuffs with the body, suggesting that the religious and ideological reasons which had previously governed their deposition, i.e. that individuals were being equipped for an afterlife, had changed.

Within this smaller number of furnished graves sex and age continued to be signalled, but in new and different ways. The nature of the non-sex-specific assemblages changed: for example, glass vessels became less popular, bronze bowls became more popular, and new designs of combs and buckles were introduced (Geake 1999b, 203–4). From their mid-sixth-century peak, the proportion and frequency of weapon burials declined steadily until they ceased completely at the end of the seventh century (Härke 1990, 28–31). The same types and combinations of weapons continued to be deposited, although some of the seventh-century weapons, including the newly introduced seax, showed a Frankish influence (Geake 1997, 116–17). The weapon rite appears to have been one of the few Early Saxon burial practices which continued unchanged into the 'Final Phase', albeit in a greatly reduced form. Aside from the few weapon burials, 'Final Phase' burials of both men and boys remained invisible (Geake 1997, 128–9).

The greatest changes in the grave-goods of the 'Final Phase' were exhibited in the female jewellery assemblages: the major Germanic brooch types of the sixth century stopped being used 'almost overnight' (Geake 1999b, 204), as did long strings of beads and many of the girdle items which typified the earlier assemblages. These were replaced by classically influenced single disc brooches; single pins and pairs of pins linked by chains; new types of necklaces with pendants; and new types of girdle item including iron latch-lifters, spoons, toilet sets, bags and 'workboxes' (Figure 7.17; Owen-Crocker 1986, 107–29; Geake 1997; 1999b; 2002). In addition, the burials of girls, which in the Early Saxon period contained only limited ranges of grave-goods, were instead furnished with the full array of adult female accoutrements (Geake 1997, 128–9).

In addition to the changes affecting the equipping of individuals, it would appear that the biological and cultural stages of the lifecycle which were so clearly signalled during the Early Saxon period had also changed. Instead of marking a

number of distinct stages, the uniformity of the grave-goods for young and old alike suggests that a single social status was being signalled in the 'Final Phase', one which had its origins early in life. Crawford (1993; 1999, 75–91) has argued that Christian baptism was the earliest milestone in the lives of these seventh- and eighth-century individuals, lending support to the wider argument that many of the characteristics of the 'Final Phase' were influenced by the Church.
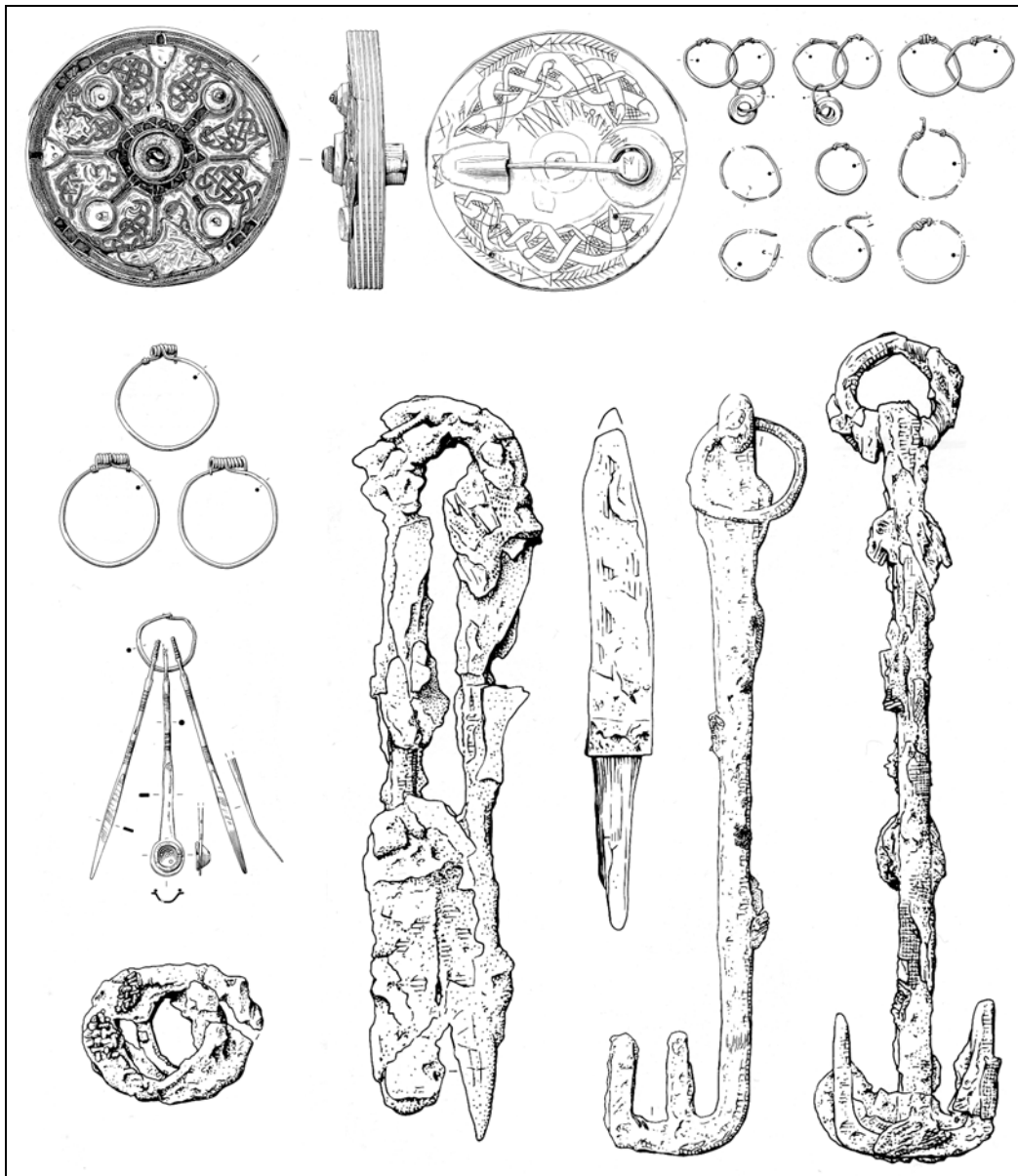
Figure 7.17. A 'Final Phase' burial assemblage from Harford Farm Grave 11. Scale 1:2. (After Penn 2000a, figs 84 and 85). Compare with Figure 7.14.

Traditionally, the grave-goods of the 'Final Phase' were considered to be Frankish and their occurrence throughout Anglo-Saxon England was ascribed to

their diffusion from Kent, the original point of contact with Francia (e.g. Leeds 1936; Hyslop 1963; Meaney and Hawkes 1970). However, the lack of Frankish parallels for many of the new types of grave-goods suggested to Geake that this Kentish/Frankish model was wrong and that instead the inspiration behind the fashions of the 'Final Phase' could be found further afield, in the Roman and later Byzantine world (Geake 1997; 1999b). In part this influence may have been the result of the continued recognition and reuse of Romano-British material culture (e.g. White 1988; Williams 2003b). Some authors, such as Marzinzik (2003, 85–6), have argued that even this Romano-Byzantine influence was the result of acculturation via the Franks, but Geake refutes this and suggests a more direct conduit in the form of the Christian mission itself (Geake 1997, 121–2).

In a surprising side-step from the logical development of her arguments Geake stops short of suggesting that the Church was the ultimate *cause* of the 'Final Phase', describing it only as the *mechanism* by which the 'Final Phase' was brought about; in the final paragraphs of her thesis she cites instead the rise of kingship as the cause of the 'Final Phase' (Geake 1997, 133; 1999b, 209–12). She argues that the desire of newly emerging Anglo-Saxon kings to legitimise their position led to the use of Romano-Byzantine artefacts in an attempt to recall the days when Britain had been a part of the Roman Empire. Yet this interpretation is at odds with much of the data that Geake presents – indeed is at odds with some of her own arguments – and other writers, such as Crawford (2003; 2004), have been more certain in concluding that Christianity was the principal factor responsible.

A much stronger argument can be made for the Church having been responsible for the promotion of the range of classically influenced artefacts found in seventh- and early eighth-century graves. Ideas of *romanitas* were propagated directly by the arrival of the Christian mission and the subsequent spread of Mediterranean ecclesiastics throughout Anglo-Saxon England. They were also indirectly propagated via the desire for *romanitas* instilled by the increasing authority of the Church at a popular level in seventh-century society (Geake 1997, 121–2, 132–3; 1999b, 209–12; Bell 1998, 5–8; 2005, 16–22). The pursuit of *romanitas* is a widely recognised phenomenon and was not confined simply to grave-goods; the ecclesiastical penchant for reusing ruinous Roman sites is explored more fully in the next chapter.

The uniformity of 'Final Phase' assemblages across the kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England has often been commented on (Boddington 1990; Geake 1999b; Crawford 2003; 2004). Geake ascribes this uniformity to the near-contemporaneous development of kingship in each of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, with each kingdom independently choosing to focus on Romano-Byzantine material (Geake 1999b). While the kingdoms remained independent political entities, the Church was an overarching entity capable of planting and promoting its ideas across the secular political boundaries. Therefore, a much more convincing explanation for the uniformity of the 'Final Phase' might be found in the teachings of the Church as it spread throughout the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. In this regard, it is particularly telling that the areas of Anglo-Saxon England to have been converted last – Sussex and the Isle of Wight – are also the areas which have the fewest 'Final Phase' burials (Geake 1999b, 214). Nevertheless, while the motivating force behind the changing burial assemblages of the 'Final Phase' remain a matter of debate, there are some seventh-century artefacts which display a clear Christian influence.

Grave-Goods Bearing Christian Iconography

The inherent difficulties surrounding religious symbols in the archaeological record were discussed in Chapter Two and above in this chapter with reference to the decorative schemes employed on cremation urns. The cross is an easily recognised symbol and its presence on artefacts contained within seventh-century graves might be taken to be an indication of the spread of Christian beliefs. However, it is also a very common motif and can be found on many demonstrably non-Christian artefacts. Context is all-important and there are a number of artefacts discovered in the East Anglian graves for which Christian connotations can be argued.

Some of the most frequently discussed examples of possible Christian iconography are the ten silver bowls and two spoons from the Mound 1 ship-burial at Sutton Hoo (e.g. Hawkes 1982, 48; Webster and Backhouse 1991, 32; Werner 1992; Evans 1994, 59–63; Arnold 1997, 167–8). The bowls are decorated with equal-armed crosses, although this does not automatically suggest that they had Christian connotations. The spoons are identical, bar the Greek inscriptions

'Saulos' and 'Paulos' – thought to be a reference to Saul/Paul's conversion on the road to Damascus (Figure 7.18). Although it is possible that 'Saulos' is actually a failed attempt at rendering 'Paulos' (the Greek characters are very similar), the spoons are often taken at face value and interpreted as having been a baptismal gift to the individual buried under Mound 1 – strengthening the suggestion that it was Rædwald's grave. However, one must not overstate the significance of these spoons, for in every other respect the Mound 1 ship-burial was an overtly pagan funerary display (Carver 1998b; 2000; 2005). Even if anyone could have read their Greek inscriptions, it seems unlikely that the spoons had any more significance than their value as treasure (Evans 1994, 63). However, there are other finds which speak more clearly of Christianity.

Figure 7.18. The 'Saulos' and 'Paulos' spoons and three of the ten silver bowls from the Mound 1 ship-burial at Sutton Hoo (The British Museum).

A number of coins have been found in seventh-century burials. Their discovery is particularly significant, for not only do they each provide a *terminus post quem* for the burials they can also be argued to have been deposited for their Christian symbolism. Two coins were discovered placed at the head end of the particularly well-furnished Grave 18 at Harford Farm. Both are Series B *sceattas* dating to the last two decades of the seventh century and, significantly, both bear a cross on their reverse sides (Penn 2000a, 18–9, 75–6). Coins were also discovered in association with a high-status seventh-century bed-burial at Coddenham. The burial contained a gold coin pendant with a strong cross motif (Figure 7.19) and three series B *sceattas*, each bearing a cross (DCMS 2003, 50–1). It seems to be

particularly significant that the only coins found in seventh-century burials are those bearing crosses, while the presence of a pair of coins near the head of Grave 18 suggests that the coins might have been placed on the eyes of the corpse.

Figure 7.19. The coin pendant from Coddenham (Watkins 2006, 41).

Figure 7.20. The brooch and pendants from Boss Hall Grave 93 (Webster and Backhouse 1991, pl. 33).

A single series B *sceat* was also discovered in Grave 93 at Boss Hall, a grave which exhibited a great deal of other potentially Christian imagery, including a brooch and a number of pendants decorated with crosses (Figure 7.20). These artefacts had been deposited in a leather pouch near the corpse's head, rather than being worn (Newman 1993, 34; Shearman 1993). The disc brooch depicts a splayed, equal-armed cross, reminiscent in style of the pectoral crosses discussed below, while two of the pendants depict crosses in gold filigree. The composite

disc-brooch from Harford Farm illustrated in Figure 7.17 also bears a cross, picked out in red garnets against a gold background. The illustration shows the brooch with its pin horizontal, but there is no reason why this should indicate the correct orientation of its face, and it could easily have been worn with a vertical cross displayed. While some might argue that these brooches and pendants and others like them do not necessarily depict Christian iconography, there is a final class of artefact about which there can be no doubt – pectoral crosses.

Pectoral Crosses

Pectoral crosses are considered to be among the earliest overtly Christian artefacts in the archaeological record (MacGregor 2000). Two such artefacts came to light in the nineteenth century, in Suffolk and Norfolk respectively – the Ixworth Cross (Figure 7.21) and the Wilton Cross (Figure 7.22). The Ixworth Cross, named after the Suffolk parish in which its nineteenth century owner lived, was purchased in 1856 as a part of a group of objects reportedly discovered in a gravel pit in the neighbouring Suffolk parish of Stanton, although the exact findspot is not known (SSMR: STN Misc.). The cross was said to have been found with twenty-four staple-like iron objects and the broken front plate of a gold disc brooch from which the gems had been removed, all of which would seem to indicate the richly furnished bed-burial of a high-status woman (Speake 1989; West 1998, 96). The cross has four equally flared arms, is in the cloisonné style, inset with garnets, and is suspended from a barrel-shaped loop; the rear shows traces of an ancient repair. It is dated to the mid-seventh century (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 26–7).

Figure 7.21. The front and rear of the Ixworth Cross, approximately actual size (after West 1998, pl. VII.2).

Similarly, the Wilton Cross was discovered by gravel diggers in the Norfolk parish of Wilton in the early 1850s (Chester 1852). The exact location and context of the discovery were unrecorded, but the fact that it was discovered while digging gravel and the similarities between it and the Ixworth Cross suggest that this cross too furnished an inhumation. The Wilton Cross is also in the cloisonné style, inset with garnets, and has three flared arms; the fourth ends in a bi-conical loop. The central roundel holds a gold *solidus* of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, which can be dated to between 613 and 630 (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 27–8). The reverse of this coin is displayed and it bears the image of the cross, set atop four steps representing the hill of Golgotha. The coin is displayed upside-down, perhaps so that the cross on it appeared the right way up to the wearer, although the fact that the hidden obverse of the coin was set the correct way up suggests that the maker did not realise that the obverse and reverse of the coin were misaligned and did not fully appreciate the significance of the steps to the design of the cross. This cross also dates to the mid-seventh century (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 27–8).

Figure 7.22. The front and rear of the Wilton Cross, approximately actual size (after Webster and Backhouse 1991, pl. 12 and Bruce Mitford 1974, pl. 96.e).

Both pieces have close affinities to several items of cloisonné jewellery from Sutton Hoo and they were all probably made in the same East Anglian workshop during the first half of the seventh century, demonstrating a remarkable degree of continuity in the manufacture of pagan and Christian items (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 28). That two such pieces should have come to light, despite the laws of diminishing returns which govern the archaeological record, must surely

be an indication that several crosses of the type must have been in circulation. Another example, seemingly from the same workshop, was discovered as far afield as Holderness (E. Yorks.) and many others might still be awaiting discovery (MacGregor 2000, 220–1).

That the two crosses can be linked to the workshop which produced the royal regalia of the pagan kings of East Anglia raises interesting questions about the status of their owners and the means by which they acquired their crosses. The general consensus is that pectoral crosses were worn by the women of upper-class families and were ultimately used to furnish their burials (e.g. Hawkes 1982, 49; Geake 1997, 179; Crawford 2003, 2). However, although the product of a Northumbrian workshop, a close parallel for the two East Anglian crosses is the pectoral cross of St Cuthbert, found *in situ* when his coffin was opened in 1827 (Bruce-Mitford 1974, 294–5; Campbell 1982, 80–1). In life Cuthbert had been Bishop of Lindisfarne and the assumption that pectoral crosses are an ornament of secular females arguably underplays their potential significance. The Wilton Cross is essentially without provenance, and the circumstances and associations of the Ixworth Cross are by no means certain – artefacts having been purchased together does not necessarily indicate that they were found together. Could not both the Ixworth and Wilton crosses have been worn by seventh-century East Anglian ecclesiastics of a similar standing to Cuthbert? This is certainly a valid inference and the clear links with the 'Sutton Hoo workshop' seem to indicate that the ecclesiastics who wore these crosses enjoyed royal patronage. It is frustrating that the provenances of the two crosses are not better known, for we may have missed the chance to discover an 'East Anglian Cuthbert', but even as they are these two artefacts are a testament to the strong Christian ethos of the mid-seventh century.

Conclusions

If, as Taylor (2001, 15) believes, 'religious change … is particularly likely to be marked by radical shifts in burial practice', then it should be possible to identify the conversion in the archaeological record. This chapter has explored the ways in which the archaeologically rich burial record of Anglo-Saxon East Anglia might be used to trace the spread of Christianity throughout the region. The burial record presents two main avenues of investigation – cremation and inhumation –

and each brings different aspects to the study of the conversion. Despite some provisos, it has been possible to demonstrate that not only is the conversion visible in the burial record, it is represented in a number of different, but complementary ways. The evidence suggests that the conversion of East Anglia occurred early in the first half of the seventh century and that it was a widespread affair, not merely the preserve of the upper classes. A final aspect of the funerary evidence – the landscape context of the cemeteries in which these burials were found – can also be used to chart the progress of the conversion and this subject forms a part of the following chapter. First, though, we turn to examine how the idea of early Christian *romanitas* expressed via the grave-goods of the 'Final Phase' was also made manifest in the wider landscape of conversion-period East Anglia.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE LANDSCAPE OF CONVERSION

'[W]hat is not in doubt is that the conversion to Christianity did eventually take place, but the process and its material correlates are far from clear.'

C.J. Arnold (1997, 169)

In addition to the evidence for the conversion offered by individual burial rites, a great deal of evidence is also to be found in the wider archaeological landscape of East Anglia. This evidence falls into a number of categories, each of which is considered below. First, there is the evidence from the reoccupation of Roman enclosures by the newly arrived churchmen, who put the sites to ecclesiastical use as missionary stations. Roman enclosures were not the only sites deemed suitable for this purpose and the second category of evidence concerns other pre-existing enclosures which were similarly reoccupied. In the absence of an appropriate ready-made enclosure, a suitably defined topographical setting was chosen instead for such missionary activity, most often a peninsula or riverine island.

Funerary evidence has more to offer than the simple study of individual burial rites. Unlike the foundation of missionary stations, which introduced a new type of site to the Middle Saxon landscape, the burial of the dead in archaeologically visible cemeteries occurred before, during and after the conversion. Consequently, funerary evidence provides us with a unique insight into the changing religious attitudes of the conversion period. As was demonstrated in the previous chapter, these attitudes can be seen in changing burial rites and the use of grave-goods, but they can also be read in the changing landscape context of the cemeteries themselves and in particular in the changing relationship between cemeteries and settlements. Whereas pre-Christian settlements and cemeteries had remained separate landscape entities, under the influence of Christianity settlements and cemeteries converged to become a unified whole, providing us with a vivid material indication of the progress of the conversion.

Any academic discussion of the Middle Saxon ecclesiastical landscape is inevitably dominated by the 'minster' model, in which the conversion of the population and their integration into the church was precipitated by teams of clergy based at important early churches – minsters – to which large parochial

territories were attached (Radford 1973; Blair 1988a; 1988b; 1992; 1995b; 2005; Blair and Sharpe 1992; Foot 1990; 1992). The development of the ecclesiastical system throughout the Anglo-Saxon period and its ultimate fragmentation into the parochial system of the medieval period have often been discussed and debated, sometimes quite heatedly (e.g. Everitt 1986, 181–224; Morris 1989; Cambridge and Rollason 1995; Holdsworth 1995; Hall 2000; Zadora-Rio 2003; Pestell 2004; Blair 2005; Foot 2006). In general the subject matter of these discussions post-dates the material and events under consideration in this thesis, for such discussions invariably concern the ecclesiastical infrastructure once the conversion had been achieved, not the mechanics of the conversion itself.

Both proponents and opponents of the 'minster' model openly acknowledge that the first religious sites to be founded during the period of the conversion were different to those founded later on and must have housed ecclesiastics who combined a traditional life of monastic devotion with proactive missionary and pastoral work within the local lay community (e.g. Cambridge and Rollason 1995, 93–4; Foot 1990, 50; Thacker 1992; Aston 2000, 48). Blair goes so far as specifically, but subtly, to separate his discussions of those sites which were founded as a part of the conversion effort and those which came later, as the Church was consolidated (Blair 1992, 231; 1995, 206–9; 2005, 65–73). This thesis is concerned only with the former sites.

The modern term 'minster' is derived from *mynster*, an Old English translation of the Latin *monasterium*. *Mynster* was used by the Anglo-Saxons to describe a wide range of early ecclesiastical foundations. Modern scholars use 'minster' in a similarly broad sense and is generally preferred because it carries none of the later medieval connotations of 'monastery' (Foot 1992). However, in the light of the preceding discussion, this broad usage is felt to be too general to be helpfully employed here and, therefore, following the example of Rigold (1977), the term 'missionary station' is instead used to describe ecclesiastical sites which were founded during the initial wave of the conversion and which formed the early ecclesiastical framework.
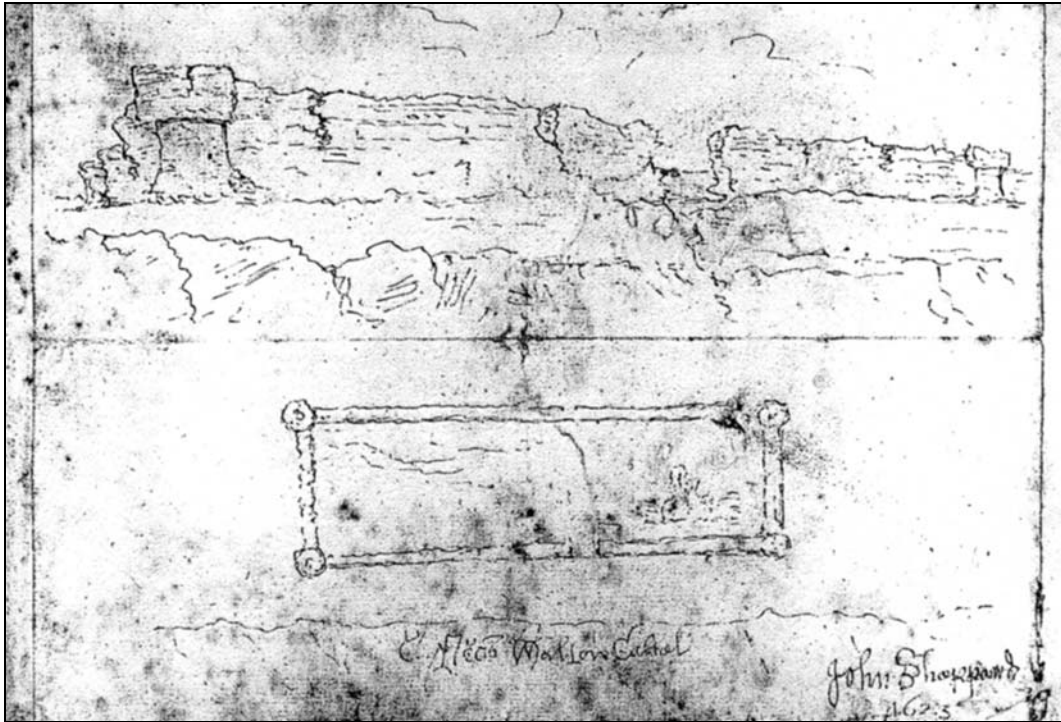
Figure 8.1. A later copy of John Sheppard's *East Prospect of Walton Castle* of 1623 (Fairclough and Plunkett 2000, fig. 107).

Roman Enclosures as Missionary Stations

The historical evidence for the establishment of the East Anglian bishopric was examined in Chapter Four, beginning with Sigeberht's gift of the elusive site of *Dommoc* to Bishop Felix *c*.630 (*HE* II,15). The evidence suggests that *Dommoc* was the disused Roman fort at Walton Castle, which stood on the coast at Felixstowe, the maritime gateway to the Wuffingas' heartland in south-east Suffolk. Archaeological investigation of Walton Castle is not possible as the fort was destroyed by the sea in the eighteenth century (Figure 4.5), but seventeenth-century records describe a long, narrow fort with round corner-bastions and decorative bands of red brick, not unlike that which survives at Burgh Castle (Fox 1911, 287–91; Fairclough and Plunkett 2000, 419–26). There is also evidence that a pre-Conquest church was sited inside the fort; this church survived the construction of Roger Bigod's eleventh-century castle and was eventually relocated in the twelfth century (Davison 1974, 142–3; Fairclough and Plunkett 2000, 425, 451–2; above, pp.100–4). Rigold suggested that the ruin depicted on a seventeenth-century plan of the fort might be the remains of the episcopal complex, although it is more probable that it represents the ruins of Bigod's castle (Figure 8.1; Rigold 1977, 72). It is unfortunate that Walton Castle was destroyed,

for it could doubtless have shed much light on early Christian East Anglia, but its loss does not mean that nothing can be inferred about the site. The fact that the bishopric should have been located within the walls of a Roman fort is particularly telling, for it is part of a wider pattern of the reuse of Roman enclosures for ecclesiastical purposes which is seen across Britain.

The Roman withdrawal from Britain in the early fifth century did not result in the sweeping away of the existing Roman infrastructure and the Anglo-Saxon landscape contained the remains of Roman towns, villas, settlements and roads. Many of these were old even at the end of the Roman period and by the seventh century would have been in a poor condition, if not entirely ruinous (Dark and Dark 1997, 135–47). Dilapidated Roman masonry buildings, sometimes of immense size, would have been particularly awe-inspiring in a period characterised by modest timber architecture; small wonder, then, that later Anglo-Saxon poets referred to such ruins as *enta geweorc* – 'the work of giants' (Jack 1994: *Beowulf*, ll. 1679, 2717 and 2774; Bradley 2003: *The Ruin*, l. 2).

In Britain, associations between early ecclesiastical sites and extant Roman ruins have long been recognised, although it was not until the 1980s that they began to be studied in a systematic fashion (Rigold 1977; Rodwell and Rodwell 1977; Morris and Roxan 1980; Morris 1983, 40–5; Rodwell 1984; Blair 1992, 235–46; Bell 1998; 2005). Such associations are also commonplace in continental Europe, particularly Gaul and Italy, but we must not draw too many parallels of this sort as most of these European sites were continuously occupied from the Roman period onwards (e.g. James 1981; Percival 1997). By contrast, within most of lowland England there was a distinct hiatus between the end of Roman occupation and the beginning of ecclesiastical reoccupation, although greater continuity in the reuse of Roman sites for burials can be found in the west of England (Dark 1994; Bell 2005, 38–68). But why should ruinous Roman sites have been considered by the early ecclesiastics to be such suitable locations?

One traditionally cited explanation for this association is the ready source of quarried stone that Roman buildings provided for the new churches (see Morris 1983, 43–5; Eaton 2000, 10–35). Yet, as was explored in Chapter Five, the building of stone churches did not begin in earnest in East Anglia until the late eleventh century, meaning that for 400 years church builders had no need of

quarried stone. It is true that once churches began to be built of stone Roman sites were quarried for their raw materials, but this is a secondary process which has somewhat muddied the water (Allen and Fulford 1999; Allen, Fulford and Pearson 2001; Pearson 2003, 33–57). The real explanation for the association is to be found not only in pragmatic considerations of building materials, but in the symbolic connotations carried in the seventh century by all things Roman.

By the seventh century the Church had come to regard itself as the natural successor to the Imperial Roman state, in both actual and metaphorical senses, and Pope Gregory appears to have approached the conversion of the English not only as the evangelisation of a new people, but also as the spiritual reclamation of a lost Roman province (Bell 2005, 26–7). This sentiment was reinforced by Gregory's letter to Augustine of 601, in which he set out a vision of a Christianised England which was heavily based on the administrative structure of late Roman Britain: archbishoprics were to be established in London and York, the capitals of *Britannia Superior* and *Inferior* respectively, while additional bishoprics were to be founded in accordance with the network of regional *civitas* capitals (Martyn 2004, 11.39). Such notions of *romanitas* were so ingrained that on their arrival in Britain the missionaries of the Roman church would not only have recognised the extant remains of Roman buildings for what they were, they would have considered them to be extremely appropriate sites for churches (Blair 1988a, 44; 1992, 235–46). As was explored in the previous chapter, this desire for *romanitas* and, therefore, Christianity was evidenced in the burial record through the use of Classically influenced costumes and jewellery, but it was also made manifest in the wider landscape. Consequently, from the mid-seventh century strong intellectual associations were made between Roman sites and Christianity, a concept which not only resulted in the missionaries of the Roman church being drawn to such sites but was also widely disseminated as a result of these missionaries' subsequent actions (Bell 1998, 5–8; 2005, 16–22).

Doubtless as a result of specific requests from the missionaries, many ruinous Roman forts became the subject of royal gifts so that the sites might be reoccupied and put to ecclesiastical use: alongside the gift of *Dommoc* to Felix by Sigeberht other examples include the gift of the fort at Bradwell-on-Sea to Cedd by Sigeberht of Essex (*HE* III,22). Nationwide, more than forty-six early

ecclesiastical sites, many of them directly attributable to missionaries of the Roman church, are associated with Roman forts or enclosures; almost all of the Saxon Shore forts were reused in this manner, as well as a considerable number of forts along Hadrian's Wall and elsewhere (Rigold 1977; Bell 1998, 14–15). In every case, the walled enclosure itself seems to have been of most importance to the occupiers, rather than the presence of any particular building within it. These enclosures were not used for defensive purposes – indeed, many would not have been defensible by the seventh century – but the walls served to mark the boundary between the secular exterior world and the religious precinct within, while simultaneously providing a strong symbolic link with the Roman past (Blair 1988a, 46; 1992, 235–41; Bell 1998, 15–16).

Having fallen out of use, it is clear that many of East Anglia's Roman buildings remained abandoned until they were put to ecclesiastical use in the seventh century (Williamson 1993, 57–62). Although not all instances of this reuse are documented, many of the reoccupations can be materially demonstrated to have been an active part of the evangelisation of East Anglia. Within the region the predominant type of site reused in this fashion was the walled fort, of which coastal examples existed at Walton Castle, Burgh Castle, Caister-on-Sea and Brancaster. All of these sites would have been attractive to seventh-century ecclesiastics and each can be shown to be of relevance to this study. The walled Roman town at Caistor St Edmund (*Venta Icenorum*) is a related site, albeit different in character, and is considered separately later in this chapter.

Burgh Castle

Most authors identify Burgh Castle as the site of *Cnobheresburg*, the site given to the Irish missionary Fursa by Sigeberht in the 630s (*HE* III,19; NHER: 10471). As was argued in Chapter Four, this identification is not supported by the historical evidence, but this does not mean that the site of Burgh Castle did not play an important role in the conversion process. The late third-century fort is strategically situated on the River Waveney and in the Roman period it sat on the southern side of the Great Estuary (Figure 1.5; Pearson 2003, 38–40). Today its walls and external bastions survive on three sides; the west wall collapsed into the river shortly after the end of the Roman period (Figure 8.2; Johnson 1983, 43–5). The

site was reoccupied during the Middle to Late Saxon periods and after the Norman Conquest a motte was constructed in the south-western corner of the fort (Figure 8.3a). The motte was finally ploughed flat in 1837 (Johnson 1983, 118–20). A series of small trenches was dug along the western perimeter in 1850 and 1855 (Harrod 1859) and a series of excavations was conducted by Charles Green between 1958 and 1961 (Figure 8.3b; Johnson 1983). As Figure 8.3b illustrates, much of the fort's interior remains unexcavated.

Figure 8.2. Burgh Castle from the east, showing the walls of the Roman fort (top left) and the proximity of the parish church (right). TG4704-ADX-ARM14.
© Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service

Green firmly believed Burgh Castle to be the site of *Cnobheresburg* and confidently expected to discover the remains of Fursa's monastery. Indeed, so strong was his conviction that in the excavation records some layers were simply labelled 'Fursey' (Johnson 1983, 7–8). The flaws in Green's approach to interpretation are plain to see, but, although not Fursa's monastery, Burgh Castle did produce evidence for a significant phase of Middle Saxon occupation. The north-east corner of the fort produced nearly 300 sherds of Middle Saxon pottery, very few of which were associated with cut features (Dallas 1983, 104–6). In these same trenches Green recognised a number of oval structures of varying size, each of which he took to be the foundations of a Middle Saxon hut. However, Johnson questions whether these ovals survived to the extent which Green suggested or,

indeed, whether they had actually existed at all (Johnson 1983, 37–9). Given the depth of the plough damage it seems unlikely that any Middle Saxon features would have survived in this area, suggesting that whatever these oval features might have been, they were not Middle Saxon.
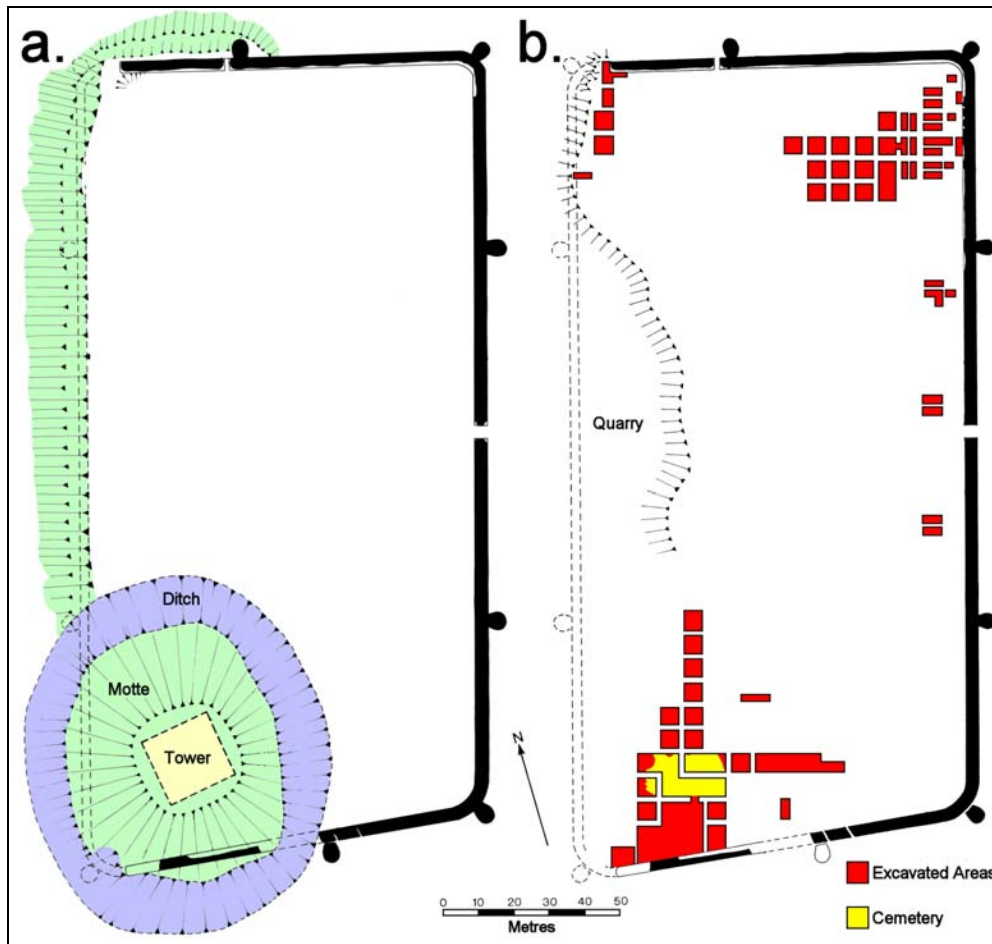
Figure 8.3a. The Norman motte at Burgh Castle. **8.3b.** Green's trenches, highlighting the area of the cemetery (after Johnson 1983, figs 2, 20 and 29).

The only area of the site in which Middle Saxon features were found *in situ* was in the south-west corner where the motte had stood and the depth of overlying soil was consequently greater. Here the remains of an extensive cemetery were discovered, although the original ground surface from which the graves had been cut and several higher layers of burials had been destroyed (Johnson 1983, 55–60; Figure 8.4). Excavations further north revealed no trace of burials, suggesting that the northern extent of the cemetery was reached, but burials apparently continued beyond the eastern and western extents of the trenches. The southern extent of the cemetery was definitely reached, as it was

delineated by the line of a Roman wall running broadly west–east.

The cemetery clearly post-dated the Roman layers and was sealed beneath the eleventh-century motte. Three radiocarbon dates suggested that the cemetery began in the early seventh century and continued to be used into the Late Saxon period (Johnson 1983, 111–2; Jordan *et al.* 1994, 27–8). The excavated cemetery comprised 163 graves and many additional patches of disarticulated bone, which subsequent analysis demonstrated to contain a mixture of males and females ranging in age from infancy to old age (Anderson and Birkett 1993). All of the burials were orientated west–east and arranged into rough north–south rows, and at least a third of them were laid parallel to the southern wall of the fort, suggesting that it was from this, and not the sunrise, that their alignment was derived (*cf.* Wells and Green 1973; above, pp.247–50). In places there was evidence for later burials having been dug into earlier ones, suggesting that the cemetery was in a confined area and used over a long period of time.
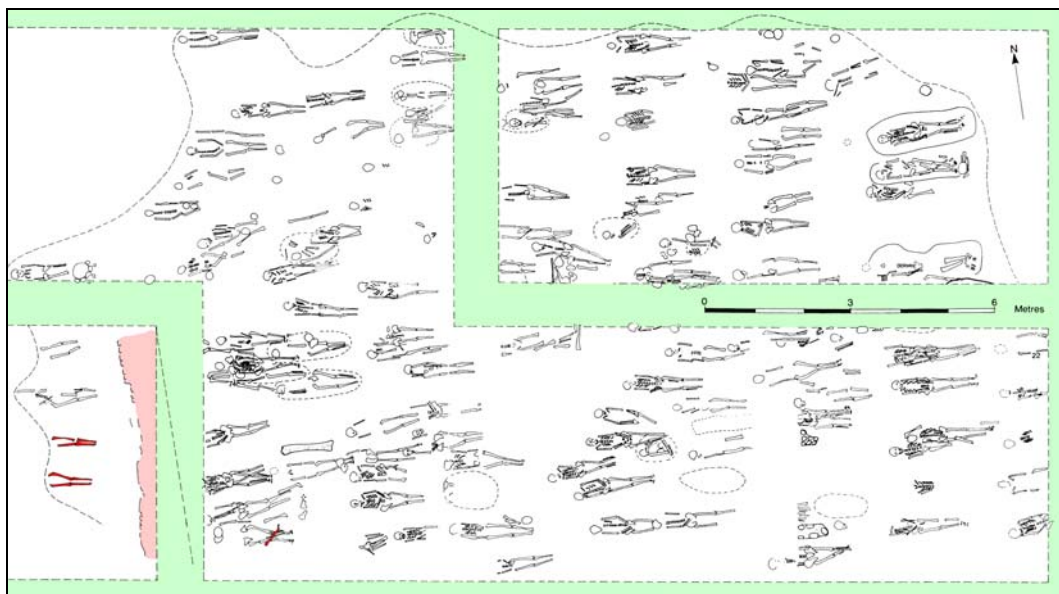
Figure 8.4. The Burgh Castle cemetery (after Johnson 1983, fig. 24).

According to the criteria discussed in the previous chapter, the cemetery at Burgh Castle was clearly Christian, a conclusion which has sparked much speculation about the presumed whereabouts of the associated church. Such discussions are largely superfluous, for it seems most likely that any trace of an associated Middle Saxon church, or indeed any other Middle Saxon building, has

long since been ploughed away (Johnson 1983, 48–50). Yet, given that the Middle and Late Saxon religious focus lay within the fort it is notable that the present parish church stands approximately 250m north-east of the fort (Figure 8.2). This church comprises a nave, chancel and Norman round western tower, to which a north aisle and vestry were added in the mid-nineteenth century (Pevsner 1975, 128–9; NHER: 10500). In 1993–4 a small excavation was conducted in an area immediately to the south of the churchyard, revealing a number of Romano-British and Late Saxon agricultural ditches (Wallis 1998). No evidence of Middle Saxon activity was found near to the church, which, combined with the agricultural nature of the underlying Late Saxon evidence and the date of the tower, suggests that the church might have been relocated to its present site in the early Norman period, when the fort was converted into a motte and bailey castle (cf. Pestell 2003, 131).

Caister-on-Sea

A similar sequence of Middle Saxon reoccupation occurred at the nearby Roman fort of Caister-on-Sea, situated on the opposite side of the Great Estuary to Burgh Castle (Figure 1.5; NHER: 8675). Built in the early third century AD, the fort was approximately 400m square and comprised an earthen rampart, stone wall and outer defensive ditch (Figure 8.5; Darling with Gurney 1993, 8–15). The walls of the fort were still standing in the seventeenth century, although they appear to have been demolished by the eighteenth century (Darling with Gurney 1993, 1). There have been a number of small- and medium-scale excavations in and around the site of the fort, many of them in response to housing development, but large areas of the fort's interior remain unexplored. Excavations within the fort revealed two ranges of Roman buildings, the southern gatehouse and a stretch of interior road, and demonstrated that the fort had fallen out of use in the last decades of the fourth century. As at Burgh Castle, the overlying Anglo-Saxon archaeology had been greatly disturbed by later agriculture, although large quantities of Ipswich Ware and a number of sceattas were discovered (Darling with Gurney 1993, 37–45; Dallas 1993b; Sherlock 1993). Very little evidence of the Anglo-Saxon settlement survived *in situ*, the only cut feature being a 'working hollow'. The excavations did, however, reveal evidence for two Middle Saxon inhumation

cemeteries – one inside the fort and one immediately outside it to the south (Darling with Gurney 1993, 37).
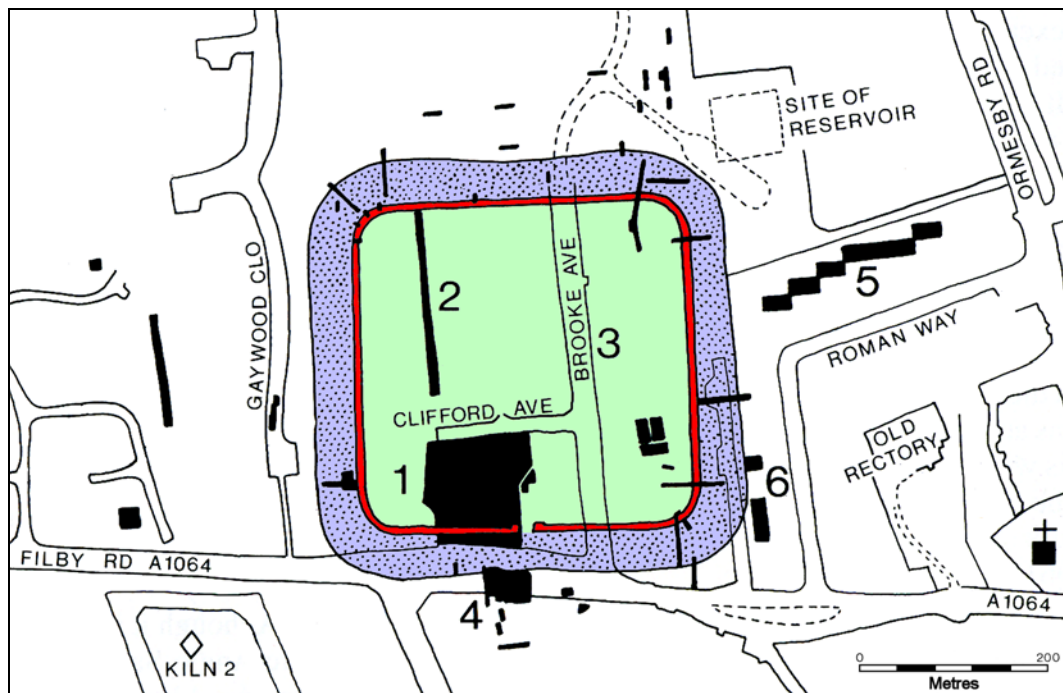
Figure 8.5. The fort at Caister-on-Sea shown against the modern road network. Also shown are the line of the fort's wall (red) and surrounding ditch (blue). Excavated areas are shown in solid black (after Darling with Gurney 1993, fig. 5).

In 1935 Rumbelow recognised the remains of an inhumation cemetery in the north-east quadrant of the fort (Area 3 in Figure 8.5; Rumbelow 1938, 180–2). It would appear that 50–100 burials of men, women and children were discovered, all unfurnished, orientated west–east and laid in broad rows. In places there were several layers of burials, which occasionally intercut. Unfortunately no plans were made of the cemetery, but the burials did not apparently continue far west of the line of the then newly constructed Brooke Avenue. Green's excavation of Area 1 revealed two isolated Middle Saxon burials towards the centre of the fort, and three additional burials were discovered in the north-east corner in the 1960s, but beyond that the intramural cemetery remains elusive (Rumbelow 1938, 180–2; Gurney with Darling 1993, 45).

A number of inhumations orientated west–east were revealed immediately to the south of the fort in 1932 (Area 4 in Figure 8.5). More burials were discovered to the south of Area 4 in 1946–7 and in 1954 a medium-sized trench revealed at least 147 inhumations, again all unfurnished, laid west–east and with

areas of dense intercutting (Figure 8.6; Darling with Gurney 1993, 45–61). The 139 skeletons from the cemetery comprised both infant and adult males and females (Anderson 1993). It is thought that the northern and western extents of the cemetery were reached during the excavation, but the distribution of the other discoveries in Area 4 suggests the existence of a substantial cemetery to the south of the fort; estimates of the number of individual burials within this cemetery range from hundreds to thousands (Darling and Gurney 1993, 45).
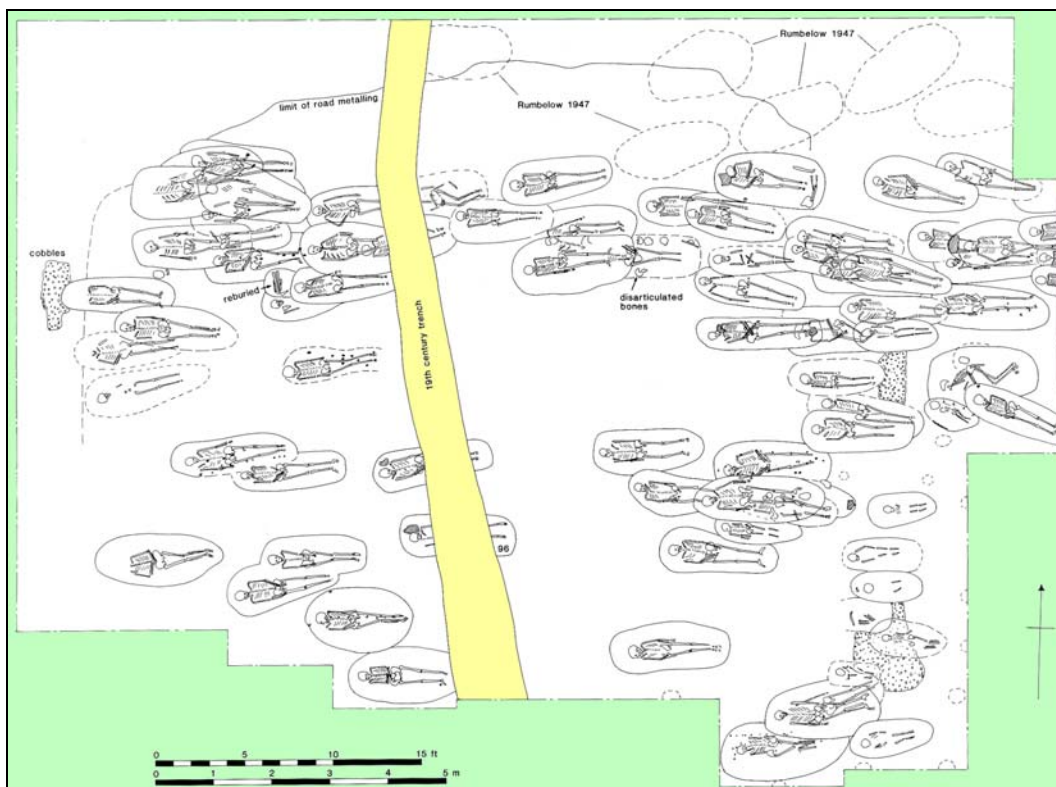
Figure 8.6. The cemetery excavated from Area 4, Caister-on-Sea (after Darling with Gurney 1993, fig. 26).

It is clear from the archaeological evidence that both the intramural and extramural cemeteries at Caister-on-Sea are Middle Saxon in origin and similar in character. The lack of recorded details for the cemetery discovered in the north-east corner of the fort means that interpretation can only be speculative. It would seem likely that the intramural cemetery had its origins in the seventh century, at the point when the ruined fort was turned to ecclesiastical use. This cemetery seems to have continued into the Late Saxon period before falling out of use. We can be more certain about the extramural cemetery, to which Darling and Gurney

attribute a start date of *c*.720 on the strength of associated finds (Darling with Gurney 1993, 252). This cemetery also continued into the Late Saxon period. If the intramural cemetery was a part of the original refoundation of the fort, it would seem that the extramural cemetery was founded to accommodate the increasing numbers of burials which the site must have attracted as its influence grew. Certainly the number of burials outside the fort suggests that this was the more regularly used cemetery, perhaps indicating that the right to be buried in the intramural cemetery became more exclusive over time.

The medieval church at Caister-on-Sea, rather than being situated within the walls of the fort, is some 300m to the east (Figure 8.5). The church was heavily restored in the late nineteenth century, but traces of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century masonry survive (Pevsner and Wilson 1997, 424–6). No trace of Middle or Late Saxon activity has been discovered on the site, suggesting that the church was a later foundation (NHER: 8683). Unlike at Walton Castle and Burgh Castle, there was no Norman occupation of Caister fort which might have precipitated the relocation of an intramural church, yet the fact that the church was founded in close proximity to the larger of the two Middle to Late Saxon cemeteries might be significant.

Brancaster

The Roman fort at Brancaster is situated on the north Norfolk coast (Figure 1.5; NHER: 1001). The fort was built in the second quarter of the third century and was roughly 200m square, with a rampart, corner turrets and a large external ditch (Cunliffe 1977). In the seventeenth century the walls were recorded as standing twelve feet high, but much of the masonry was removed in the mid-eighteenth century (Rose 1985). Today the fort survives as an earthwork and a particularly spectacular series of cropmarks on the edge of the village of Brancaster. The parish church lies about a kilometre to the west of the site. To date very little excavation has taken place within the fort, although the north-east corner turret was investigated in 1846 (Warner 1851, 11–15), a series of cuttings was made across the western defences in 1935 (St Joseph 1936), and a number of surface finds have been made in and around the area of the fort (Green and Gregory 1985). Aerial photography has revealed something of the layout of the

fort and a planned *vicus* surrounding the site (Figure 8.7; Edwards and Green 1977). In the 1970s two excavations were conducted within the western part of the *vicus*, revealing evidence of Roman settlement (Hinchcliffe with Green 1985).

Figure 8.7. The cropmarks of Brancaster Roman fort (foreground) and associated *vicus* (background), looking east. 16 July 1976 TF7844-APH.
© Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service

The fort at Brancaster is unusual in its lack of evidence for seventh-century Christian reoccupation, for one would expect the site to have been the focus of some kind of ecclesiastical institution in the immediate aftermath of the conversion (Rigold 1977). The lack of large-scale archaeological investigation is, therefore, frustrating, but there are a number of incidental details which suggest that evidence for Middle Saxon occupation at Brancaster may yet be found. The excavation of a sherd of imported Tating Ware from the western *vicus* and the recovery of a piece of Middle Saxon metalwork from the vicinity of the fort hint at some kind of higher-status occupation in the Middle Saxon period (Hodges 1985; NHER: 1003). In addition, the National Mapping Programme has described amorphous cropmarks visible within the fort which may relate to later

reoccupation of the site (Figure 8.7; NHER: 1001). Finally, Edwards and Green refer to a scatter of human remains discovered at the western wall of the fort, which they suggest might be the ploughed-out remains of later burials (Edwards and Green 1977, 25–9). Given the nature of the other sites discussed here, these pieces of evidence may well be an indication that Brancaster, too, was a focus of Christian activity, including burial, from the seventh century onwards. One suspects that further archaeological investigation of the fort's interior would reveal evidence of early Christian occupation akin to that at Burgh Castle or Caister-on-Sea.
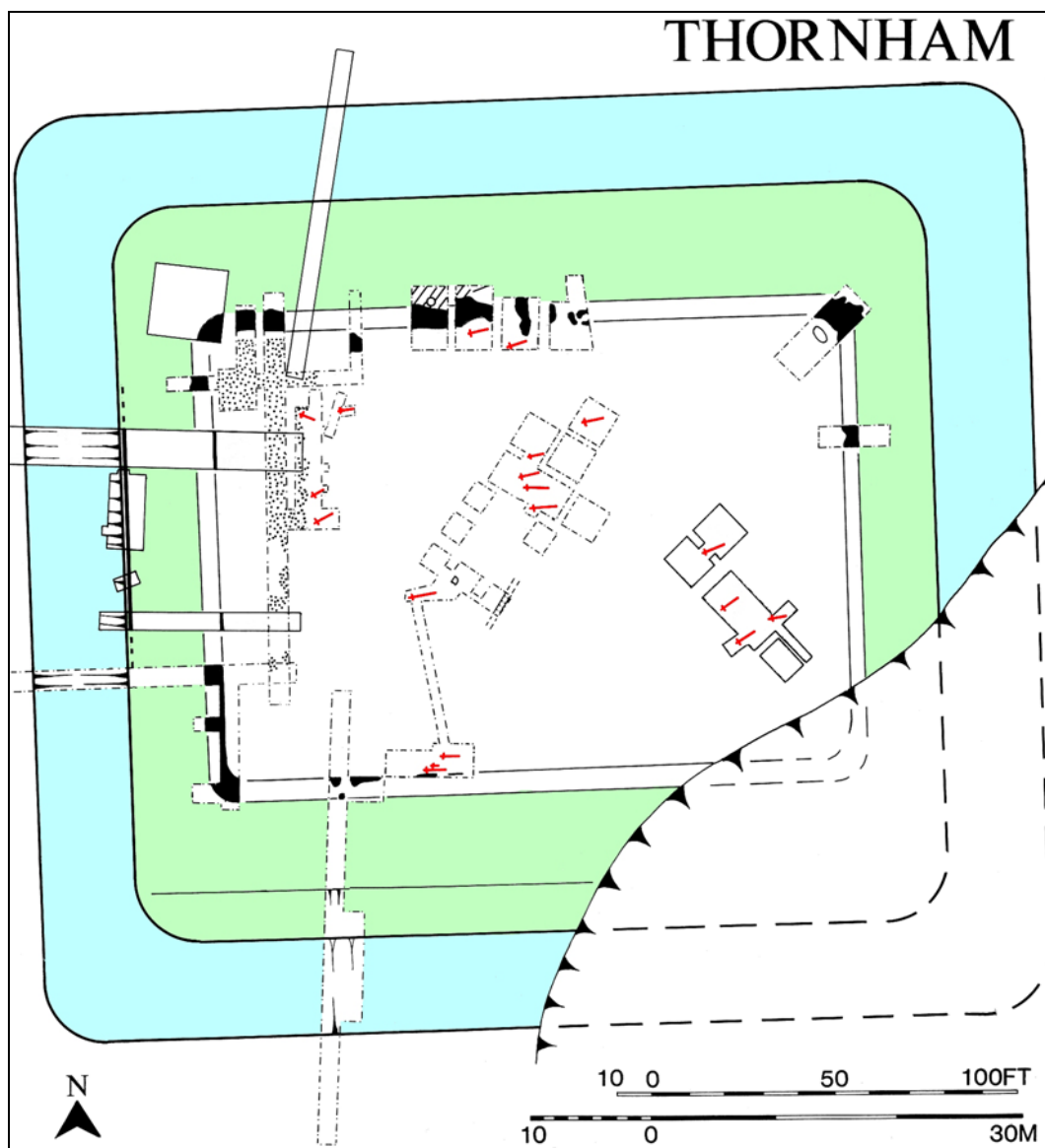
Figure 8.8. A rectified plan of the Thornham enclosure with the positions of the inhumations highlighted in red (after Gregory and Gurney 1986, figs 3 and 4).

Thornham

The cropmark of an enclosure was recognised at Thornham, 6km west of Brancaster, in 1948 and excavated during the 1950s, although the work was only partially published in the 1980s. The enclosure was found to be Roman, of mid-first-century date, and was delineated by an earthen rampart and external ditch (NHER:1308; Gregory and Gurney 1986, 1–5). Initially the site was thought to have been a military signalling station, and the enclosure is clearly very defensive, but the site appears to have been sparsely occupied during the Roman period and its function remains unclear (Gregory and Gurney 1986, 8, 13). The substantial earthworks of the rampart would still have been clearly visible in the seventh century, when the site became the focus of an inhumation cemetery. The published plans of the site were visibly distorted as a result of poor surveying on the part of the excavator, but Figure 8.8 shows a rectified plan of the excavated burials in relation to the enclosure.

Twenty-four inhumations were excavated (although not all of them appear on the published plan), all of which were aligned west–east and arranged in rough rows. Thirteen graves were unfurnished and most of the others contained only belt buckles and knives. One individual was buried wearing a bronze bracelet, a variety of beads and one or two chatelaines, one adorned with a pierced hanging bowl escutcheon. The inhumations were distributed throughout the interior of the enclosure, which itself was only partially excavated. They appear to be evenly spaced and there is no evidence of intercutting, suggesting that the burials were marked on the surface and there was plenty of space available; it is also possible that the life-span of the cemetery was not particularly great.

The use of a smaller enclosure and the different character of the burials are clear indications that the reoccupation at Thornham is not of the same character as that at Burgh Castle, Caister-on-Sea and, potentially, Brancaster. Indeed, the grave-goods are typical of 'Final Phase' burial assemblages, as described in the previous chapter (above, pp.258–63) and discussed further below. Nevertheless, the fact that a recognisably Roman enclosure was used for seventh-century inhumations is an indication that the traditional cemeteries of the Early Saxon period had been abandoned, by some of the population at least, in favour of the new site. It is possible that the Christian reoccupation of the fort at Brancaster

provided the stimulus for such a change: might the new cemetery have been founded within a Roman enclosure under instruction from missionaries stationed at Brancaster?

Missionary Stations

It is clear that a number of the region's walled Roman enclosures played an instrumental part in the evangelisation of East Anglia, as they did in other parts of the country (Bell 1998; 2005). The Roman fort at Walton Castle became the site of the episcopal see, from which the authority of the bishop radiated across the region (above, pp.96–104). Further north, the pair of forts which flanked the Great Estuary, Burgh Castle and Caister-on-Sea, each became the focus of a Middle Saxon Christian community, the archaeological evidence for which is clear, albeit heavily disturbed. Still further north, the fort at Brancaster may also have become the focus of such a community, although the evidence is currently rather uncertain and the possible links between the site and the cemetery at Thornham remain conjectural. Once the early ecclesiastics had occupied these Roman enclosures they became missionary stations from which the holy men could begin their work within the local population. The success of this work is difficult to measure, except in general terms, but the rapidity with which the changes in burial rites (discussed in the previous chapter) were effected suggests that these missionaries made a strong impact very quickly.

A good indication of the degree of success enjoyed by early missionaries is also provided by the presence and extent of the Christian cemeteries associated with the Roman sites described above. Excavations at Burgh Castle indicated that the cemetery contained at least several hundred burials; it is also probable that many more were lost to ploughing during the period in which arable agriculture took place within the fort. The intramural cemetery at Caister-on-Sea was perhaps of a similar size to that at Burgh Castle, while the extramural cemetery was much larger, comprising hundreds or perhaps even thousands of burials. At Brancaster, ploughed-up human bone might suggest the presence of a similar cemetery, and it can be assumed that one or more Christian cemeteries formed part of the episcopal complex at Walton Castle. From the sheer quantity of burials discovered, particularly at Caister-on-Sea, it would seem that each of these

missionary stations had a zone of influence which extended far beyond its walls, with individuals from the surrounding area also being buried within or close to the fort. This interpretation is supported by the fact that in all of the instances where excavated skeletons have been studied these cemeteries have been demonstrated to contain a mixture of males and females ranging in age from childhood to old age – essentially 'normal' populations – indicating that the cemeteries catered for whole communities, rather than one exclusive section of society.

Although no traces of any Anglo-Saxon churches have been found in association with any of these cemeteries in East Anglia, something of the kind must surely have once existed and their absence may be explained by the organic nature of the original structures and the post-depositional disturbance which occurred at each site. In many parts of the country these early churches were either built of stone from an early date, so leaving material evidence for their existence, or else continued to develop on the same site into the medieval period. In East Anglia, however, in every case the medieval church was built outside the fort at a lesser or greater distance (Bell 2005, 69–127). At Walton Castle there is historical evidence for the survival of the church until the Norman Conquest, but the disruption of the dioceses caused by the tenth-century Viking incursions and the fact that only the later diocese of Elmham was refounded indicate that whatever remained at *Dommoc* had diminished greatly since its seventh-century heyday. Similarly, both Burgh Castle and Caister-on-Sea appear to have floundered in the Late Saxon period and it is possible that they too fell victim to the Vikings, either directly or via precautionary measures taken against attack from the sea. Certainly, all of the sites discussed here, Brancaster included, are in coastal positions and thus were very vulnerable to attack from the sea.

The picture painted thus far might be taken to suggest that only Roman sites became missionary stations, and that consequently there were only a handful of missionary stations within East Anglia, but this is not the case. Roman sites were clearly attractive to the first wave of Christian missionaries, but that is not to say that they were occupied to the exclusion of all other sites. In many cases the Roman sites are only the most archaeologically obvious form of sites which could have been employed in this manner and, because of their visibility, also happen to be the sites which have attracted the most archaeological attention. There are, of

course, many other sites which were either converted to a Christian purpose or founded anew during the course of the conversion. In general, these are harder to identify and tend to be less well studied than are the Roman sites, but there are a number of sites within East Anglia which might fall into this category.

Other Enclosures, Topography and 'Productive' Sites

As outlined above, other types of ready-made enclosure, those formed by Iron Age earthworks in particular, were also reoccupied and put to ecclesiastical use (Blair 1992, 227–35). In Chapter Four the Iron Age enclosure at Burgh in south-east Suffolk was suggested as one of several possible alternatives for the location of *Cnobheresburg* (above, pp.110–15; Figure 4.8). Irrespective of this possible identification, the site fits well with the patterns of early church foundation discussed in this chapter. In addition to its Iron Age occupation, excavations within the double-ditched earthwork revealed that it contained a substantial villa complex and continued to be occupied throughout the Roman period (Martin 1988, 68–74). Bell included Burgh in his list of Roman enclosures reused by early churches, but it has been classified separately here because the enclosure itself comprised an Iron Age earthwork rather than Roman masonry (Bell 2005, 198, fig. 55).

The parish church of St Botolph, which is situated within the earthwork, was recorded at Domesday (LDB f.400v). It is commonly thought to have been founded in the tenth century as a chapel to house the remains of St Botolph once they had been removed from his minster at Iken (above, pp.115–21; West *et al.* 1984; Stevenson 1924, 43–5; Martin 1988, 74–6). However, it seems unlikely that Botolph's remains should have rested at a spot which was not already a site of some religious significance and at which there was not already a suitable structure to house them. Somewhat surprisingly, the excavations within the enclosure revealed very little evidence of Middle Saxon activity, and it is unfortunate that no land in the vicinity of the parish church could be fieldwalked as part of the Deben Valley survey (Figure 5.24; Martin 1988, 74–6). Despite the lack of material evidence, the landscape context of the church strongly suggests an early seventh-century missionary origin, akin to those discussed above.

The Burgh enclosure lies approximately at the centre of a block of land

comprising the parishes of Burgh, Clopton, Grundisburgh and Otley, and through which flows the River Lark (Figure 5.24). Martin has suggested that these four parishes formed a Middle Saxon estate centred on the enclosure at Burgh and argues that this estate had already begun to fragment in the Middle Saxon period (Martin 1988, 74–6). Such an early fragmentation would explain why fieldwalking revealed a substantial concentration of Ipswich Ware around Clopton church, some 400m to the north of the enclosure, and a similar scatter around Grundisburgh church, a kilometre to the south. This might also explain the lack of Middle Saxon material within the enclosure itself, for the religious focus may have already been relocated by the time that Ipswich Ware began to be used in the second half of the seventh century.
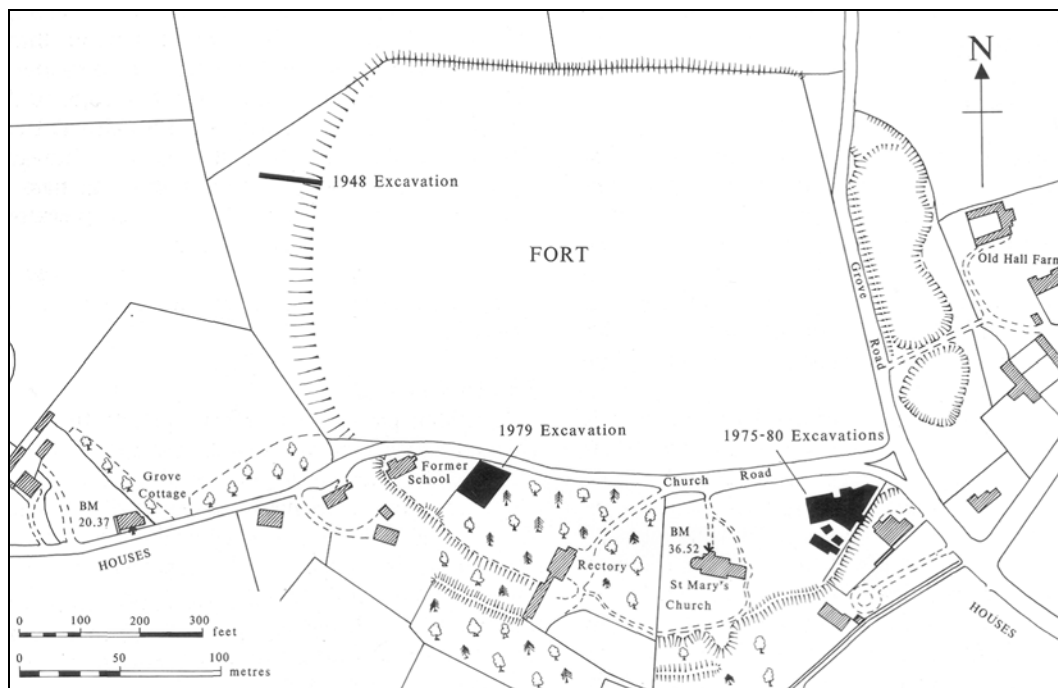
Figure 8.9. The earthwork and parish church at Tasburgh (Rogerson and Lawson 1991, fig. 28).

A similar, and marginally less problematic, example of a reused non-Roman enclosure is encountered in the south Norfolk parish of Tasburgh, where the parish church is sited within an earthwork enclosure (Figure 8.9). The Tasburgh enclosure sits on a spur of land overlooking the confluence of the Tas and two of its minor tributaries. It is broadly oval and comprises a single bank and ditch, the northern section of which has been modified and now forms a straight

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edge. The southern quarter of the site has been developed and contains a number of buildings, among them the parish church (Rogerson and Lawson 1991, 31–5). The enclosure is assumed to be Iron Age, largely on stylistic grounds, for limited excavations have failed to produce any definite dating evidence and few Iron Age surface finds have been made. Somewhat confusingly, excavation in the 1970s uncovered several sherds of Thetford-type Ware sealed beneath a raised bank of sand and dumped flints, which led some to conclude that the entire enclosure is of Late Saxon date (NHER: 2258). However, the excavators were of the opinion that the excavated bank had not formed a part of the original rampart and that its Late Saxon date did not call into question the presumed Iron Age date of the enclosure (Rogerson and Lawson 1991, 37–44).

Excavations in the vicinity of the church revealed 135 sherds of Ipswich Ware, a particularly high number given the limited areas investigated, suggesting that there was certainly a strong Middle Saxon presence in the southern part of the enclosure. Large quantities of Late Saxon pottery and the foundations of a Late Saxon timber building were also excavated, indicating that the Middle Saxon focus continued to develop into the Late Saxon period, after which time the settlement began to drift away from the church (Rogerson and Lawson 1991, 57–8). The church itself has a round tower and exhibits typical eleventh-century architectural features, but its location within the earthwork enclosure, combined with the pottery evidence, strongly suggests that it is a seventh-century foundation of the kind discussed so far.

On the strength of the material evidence discovered in their vicinities, but more particularly on the evidence of their being situated within ancient enclosures, the churches at Tasburgh and, more conjecturally, Burgh can both be argued to have been seventh-century foundations. The names of both sites also support the idea of their having been early ecclesiastical foundations for, as Blair has observed, in many cases the *burg* place-name element was used as a vernacular synonym for *mynster* (Blair 1992, 239; 2005, 250). The deliberate location of both churches within pre-existing Iron Age earthwork enclosures is suggestive of their being founded in accordance with the early Christian ethos discussed above, specifically the desire to reoccupy an already enclosed space which could demark the boundary between secular and religious spaces (Blair 1992, 231–46). Not every

extant Iron Age enclosure was reoccupied in this fashion, but Burgh had the added attraction of having been a significant Roman centre as well (Bell 1998, 5–8; 2005, 16–22). Tasburgh, on the other hand, had no significant Roman precursor, although there were Roman sites in the area, but is situated in the same river valley as the *civitas* capital of *Venta Icenorum* at Caistor St Edmund, some 7km to the north (Rogerson and Lawson 1991, 57). *Venta Icenorum* is greatly relevant to issues considered here and both it and its environs are discussed below (pp.309–13).

Topography

Pre-existing enclosures were not the only topographic feature which attracted the early ecclesiastics. Blair has observed that a high number of important Anglo-Saxon churches are situated on the summits or shoulders of low hills, promontories or islands in marshy floodplains, as indeed are many of their Gaulish or Germanic counterparts (Blair 1992, 227–31; Pestell 2004, 52–6). Such sites, at once both topographically separated from the surrounding world and yet fully integrated into the major riverine routes of communication, were ideally suited to the purposes of those who were seeking to combine a traditional life of monastic devotion with the pro-active conversion of the surrounding population (Cambridge and Rollason 1995, 93–4; Foot 1990, 50; Aston 2000, 48). A number of East Anglian religious foundations conform to this model, suggesting that they were particularly early foundations which may have played an active role in the conversion.

The foundation of Botolph's minster at *Icanho*, recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 653, was discussed in Chapter Four (above, pp.115–21; Plummer and Earle 1898, 28–9). *Icanho* has been firmly identified with Iken, in south-east Suffolk, and the church is situated on a spur of land which projects into the river, as the *-ho* place-name element suggests (Figure 4.9; Smith 1956, 356). The Middle Saxon foundation date of the church was confirmed by excavations inside and outside the medieval church, which produced a couple of sherds of Ipswich Ware and revealed the packed-clay foundations of earlier building phases (Figure 5.17; West *et al.* 1984). A similarly isolated topographic situation was exploited at Burrow Hill, Butley, some 10km south of Iken. The site's medieval

name, *Insula de Burgh*, shares an element with the other 'burgh' sites discussed here and also indicates that the hilltop was once an island in the river valley, cut off from dry land by tidal mudflats over which an artificial causeway was constructed during the Anglo-Saxon or early medieval period (Fenwick 1984, 35–7).

Excavation at Burrow Hill revealed Middle Saxon settlement evidence, an unusually high quantity of metalwork and a substantial cemetery containing over 200 inhumations (Fenwick 1984, 37–40). In her discussion of the site, the excavator emphasised the defensive nature of the island site and stressed its strategic importance, but its *burgh* place-name, island location and Middle Saxon Christian cemetery are all strong indicators that its closest parallels are the other religious sites discussed here (Fenwick 1984, 40–1). Burrow Hill fell out of use during the Anglo-Saxon period, perhaps as a result of Viking depredations, and consequently the site never acquired a masonry church; indeed, the hilltop was not reoccupied until an unrelated Augustinian priory was founded there in the late twelfth century (Pestell 2003, 133). That the site has yet to be published in anything more than an interim form and the hilltop has now been quarried away are sources of great frustration, for it would surely have provided much useful evidence.

There are a number of other sites in situations very similar to that of Burrow Hill, but for which the Middle Saxon evidence is less certain. One such site is St Benet's abbey (NHER: 5199). The earliest documentary reference to the abbey, which is situated in the heart of the Norfolk Broads, dates to *c*.1020 and it was already a well-endowed institution by *c*.1047 (Hart 1966, 29–30). Yet the topographic situation of the site – on a natural island in low-lying wetland, and linked to the mainland by an earthen causeway – is suggestive of a Middle Saxon foundation date (Penn 1996, 45; Williamson 1997, 27–32; Pestell 2004, 138–46). Invasive fieldwork has yet to be conducted at St Benet's, but Middle Saxon pottery has been discovered in molehills on the site, indicating that excavation would reveal earlier phases of occupation.

Two topographically isolated sites in west Norfolk are relevant to this discussion. The first is Wormegay, a sandy island in the Nar valley which was fieldwalked as a part of the Fenland Project (Silvester 1988b, 143–50; Rogerson 2003, 119–20). A substantial Ipswich Ware scatter covering more than a hectare

was discovered adjacent to the church on the south side of the island. The presence of relatively few sherds of Thetford-type Ware in the scatter indicates that the settlement at Wormegay had already begun to drift away from the church by the Late Saxon period and that the church must have already been founded by that date.

Figure 8.10. Bawsey from the west, showing the ruined church (top) and the cropmark of the Anglo-Saxon enclosure. 17 July 1989. TF6620/AH/DNQ4. © Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service

The second of these sites is located on a peninsula in the Gaywood valley at Bawsey (Figure 8.10). Although the site now lies several miles inland, elevated sea levels during the Middle Saxon period meant that the site was at that time surrounded by water on three sides. The site was also defined by a substantial ditch, which is now clearly visible as a cropmark on aerial photographs (Rogerson 2003, 112–14). On the crest of a slight hill stands the ruined church of St James,

which exhibits high-quality Romanesque architecture and obscures the earlier building phases (Batcock 1991, 114–16). Metal-detecting over a number of years has revealed artefacts spanning the period from the seventh century to the medieval and there are also substantial scatters of Ipswich Ware and Thetford-type Ware covering much of the hilltop (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 231–2; Rogerson 2003, 112–14). Excavations and geophysical surveys conducted as a part of *Time Team Live 1998* revealed further evidence of intensive Middle Saxon occupation, much of it industrial or agricultural in nature, in addition to the more obvious ecclesiastical elements (Taylor 1999, 67–73).

Finally, the Middle Saxon site at Brandon is similarly located on an island in a river valley, linked to the mainland by a causeway (Carr *et al.* 1988; Figure 8.11). Large-scale excavation of the site demonstrated that it was perfectly possible for the ecclesiastical elements of a Middle Saxon settlement – in this case a timber church and two cemeteries (above, pp.157–9; Figure 5.16) – to be fully integrated into the normal workings of a settlement which also engaged in river-borne trade, arable and pastoral agriculture and light industry (Carr *et al.* 1988, 375). Indeed, sites such as Brandon and Bawsey have caused much debate amongst those who have sought to categorise them, for they do not seem to conform to any one type of site, being neither wholly secular or wholly ecclesiastical (e.g. Andrews 1992; Aston 2000, 48–54; Pestell 2004, 22–7; Hutcheson 2006). On the strength of the emerging evidence it would seem that many Middle Saxon sites performed a multiplicity of functions. The implications that this observation have for our understanding of the landscape of the conversion are explored more fully below, but first it is necessary to examine how those functions might be recognised materially.

'Productive' Sites

Many of the sites discussed thus far are linked by their categorisation as so-called 'productive' sites (Rogerson 2003; Newman 2003). The term was coined by numismatists in the 1980s to describe sites at which unusually large quantities of Middle Saxon coins and metalwork had been discovered, usually via metal-detecting (Pestell and Ulmschneider 2003, 2). There is now, however, a general consensus among many scholars that the term is unsatisfactory and has unhelpful

connotations. In particular, fieldwork is increasingly demonstrating that the 'productive' sites are not a homogenous group and that, apart from their method of discovery, they have little in common with one another (e.g. Andrews 1992; Richards 1999; Whyman 2002; Pestell 2004, 31–6).
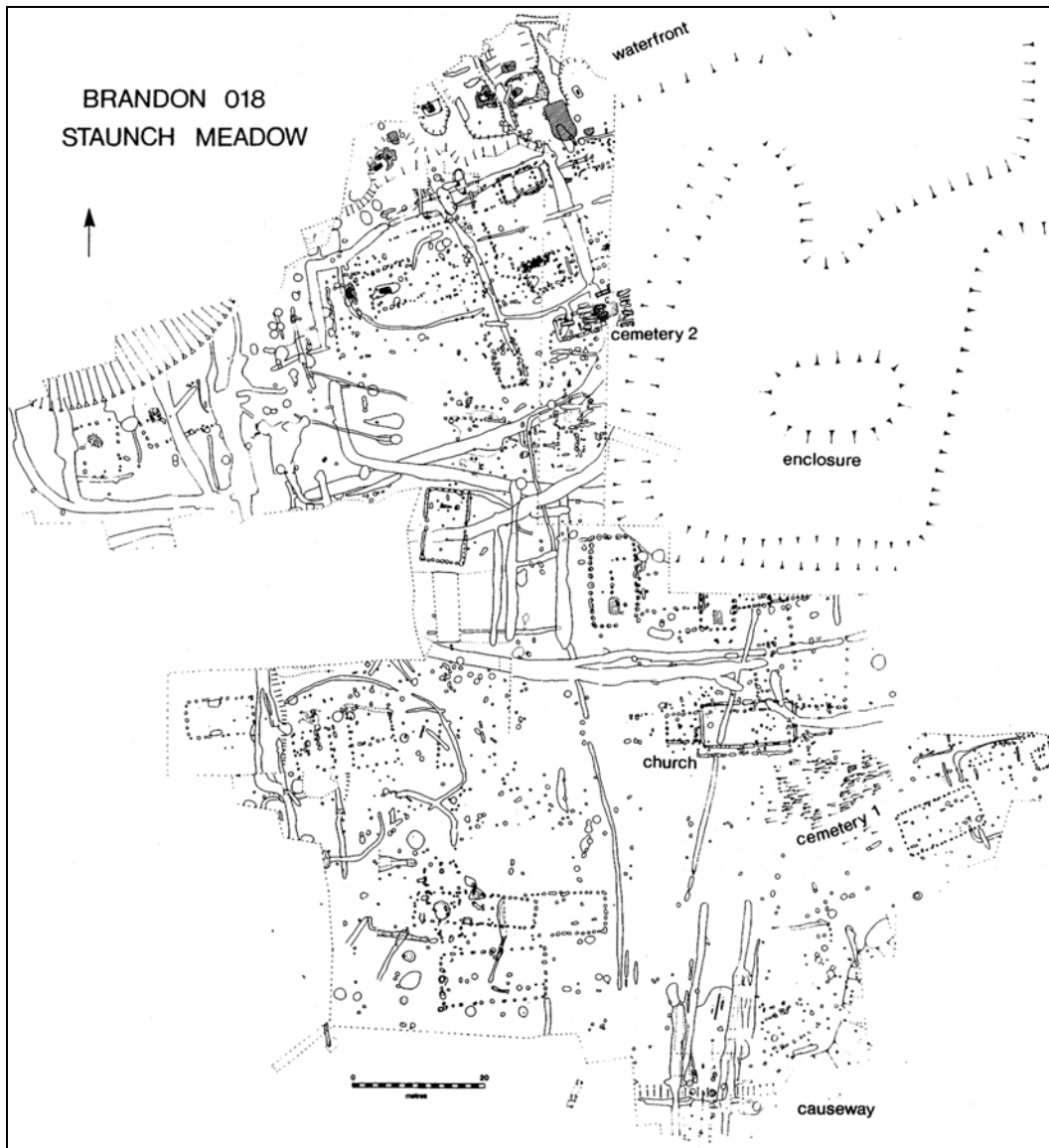
Figure 8.11. The excavated Middle Saxon settlement, cemeteries and church at Brandon (Carr *et al*. 1988, fig. 2).

While the diversity of the 'productive' sites is clear, their individual functions are not so easily ascertained and have been the subject of much debate during the last twenty years (see Pestell and Ulmschneider 2003). Richards is of the opinion that some 'productive' sites are simply settlements discovered via metal-detected finds instead of the more traditional methods of fieldwalking and

excavation (Richards 1999). Another perspective is offered by Ulmschneider, who identifies many 'productive' sites as having been the sites of seasonal fairs or more permanent trading posts, largely on the basis of the number of coins discovered (Ulmschneider 1999; 2000a; 2000b; 2002). Similar economic arguments have been propounded by Naylor (2004) and Hutcheson (2006). Of greater relevance to the sites discussed here is Pestell's highlighting of the ecclesiastical and monastic elements of some 'productive' sites (Pestell 1999; 2003; 2004, 31–6). Many sites, he argues, were important religious institutions during their Middle Saxon heyday and some continued to be so during their Late Saxon and medieval 'afterlives' (Pestell 2003). Of course, there are 'productive' sites which fall into all of the types of site outlined here and there is no reason why any one site should not fall into several categories. Indeed, several of the sites discussed so far, particularly Brandon, show signs of having performed a number of these different roles simultaneously (Pestell and Ulmschneider 2003, 5–9).

As 'productive' sites are largely identified from metal-detecting finds they are particularly numerous in Norfolk and Suffolk, where the reporting of metal-detected material has been encouraged since the 1970s (Newman 2003; Pestell 2003; Rogerson 2003; 2005). Of the Roman sites argued here to have been reoccupied as a part of the conversion process, both Burgh Castle and Caister-on-Sea have earned the 'productive' epithet on the strength of the metalwork recovered during their excavations (Andrews 1992; Pestell 2003, 130–1). The Roman town and 'productive' site of *Venta Icenorum* are discussed below, and one must assume that, had it not been washed away, Walton Castle would have produced similar Middle Saxon evidence.

The reused Iron Age enclosures at Burgh and Tasburgh are not considered to be 'productive', but a number of the Middle Saxon sites situated on peninsulas or islands are. Given the small size of the excavated area, the site at Burrow Hill was particularly 'productive', although this is largely because a metal-detector was used to check deposits throughout the excavation (Fenwick 1984, 37). The scale of the excavations at Brandon meant that a large quantity of finds were discovered, some of them particularly rich, such as the gold plaque bearing the image of John the Evangelist discovered before the work began (Figure 8.12). Bawsey has only been partially excavated and the bulk of its metalwork is the

result of metal-detecting over many years (Rogerson 2003, 112–14). This is also the case at Wormegay (Rogerson 2003, 119–20).

Figure 8.12. A gold plaque depicting Saint John the Evangelist discovered at Brandon. Shown approximately twice actual size (British Museum).

The diversity of 'productive' sites is demonstrated by the fact that not all of the religious sites identified thus far might be classed as 'productive' and that there are additional 'productive' sites which are clearly not ecclesiastical or monastic in their nature (e.g. Silvester 1985; Andrews 1992; Rogerson 2003; Newman 2003). Therefore, although the issue of 'productive' sites is of relevance to the study of early ecclesiastical sites, it, like the various topographical associations of various sites, is not applicable in every instance. In fact, the only common features linking all of the sites discussed thus far are Christian burials, and it is to the subject of funerary evidence that we now turn.

Cemeteries in the Landscape

In the previous chapter it was demonstrated that changing burial rites and the use of grave-goods can be employed to chart the progress of the conversion. In addition, the burial record provides an avenue of investigation in the form of the changes which occurred in the landscape setting of cemeteries during the conversion period. Cemeteries are a particularly good indicator of religious change, because burial was practised both before, during and after the conversion

and we are therefore able to use burials and cemeteries to study the entire conversion process (Blair 1988b, 51). The locations chosen for the burial of the dead were not arbitrary and, although it may be difficult for us to identify all of the relevant criteria in the decision-making process, we are able to say something about the reasoning behind the siting of cemeteries. The contrasting types of site used for Early and Middle Saxon cemeteries and the differing relationships between cemeteries and settlements of those periods suggest that the changes which occurred during the conversion period also affected where the dead were placed in the landscape.

Somewhat surprisingly, given the amount of academic attention which both funerary remains and the Anglo-Saxon landscape have received, the landscape context of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries has been particularly poorly studied and is conspicuously absent from many otherwise comprehensive surveys (e.g. Wilson 1976; Welch 1992; Halsall 1995; Arnold 1997; Hooke 1998; Reynolds 1999). A notable exception is to be found in Bonney's work on the relationship between cemeteries and administrative boundaries, although the validity of his studies has been questioned (Bonney 1966; 1972; 1979; Goodier 1984; Reynolds 2002; Draper 2004). Nevertheless, it would seem that the place of cemeteries in the Anglo-Saxon landscape has rather fallen into the gap between burial and settlement archaeologists, with specialists in each field assuming that the other would take care of it.

Since the 1990s a number of scholars have attempted to rectify this situation. Lucy's analysis of the cemeteries of East Yorkshire marked the beginning of this trend (Lucy 1998) and other regional studies have since been completed (e.g. Lucy 1999; Hadley 2001; Semple 2003; Richardson 2005). Individual themes have also been explored, in particular the reuse of prehistoric and Roman monuments as foci for Anglo-Saxon burials (e.g. Williams 1997; 1998; 1999; 2006; Semple 1998; 2003; Bell 1998; 2005), and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) are increasingly being used to produce computerised models of cemetery locations in the Anglo-Saxon landscape (Chester-Kadwell 2005; Brookes forthcoming). To date, the landscape contexts of East Anglian Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have received very little attention, with the exception of some of the major sites such as Sutton Hoo (e.g. Newman 2005). Such detailed analyses lie

outside the scope of this work and a doctoral thesis examining the landscape context of the cemeteries of Early Saxon Norfolk is currently being conducted at the University of Cambridge (see Chester-Kadwell 2004; 2005). For the purposes of this discussion, a general overview will suffice.
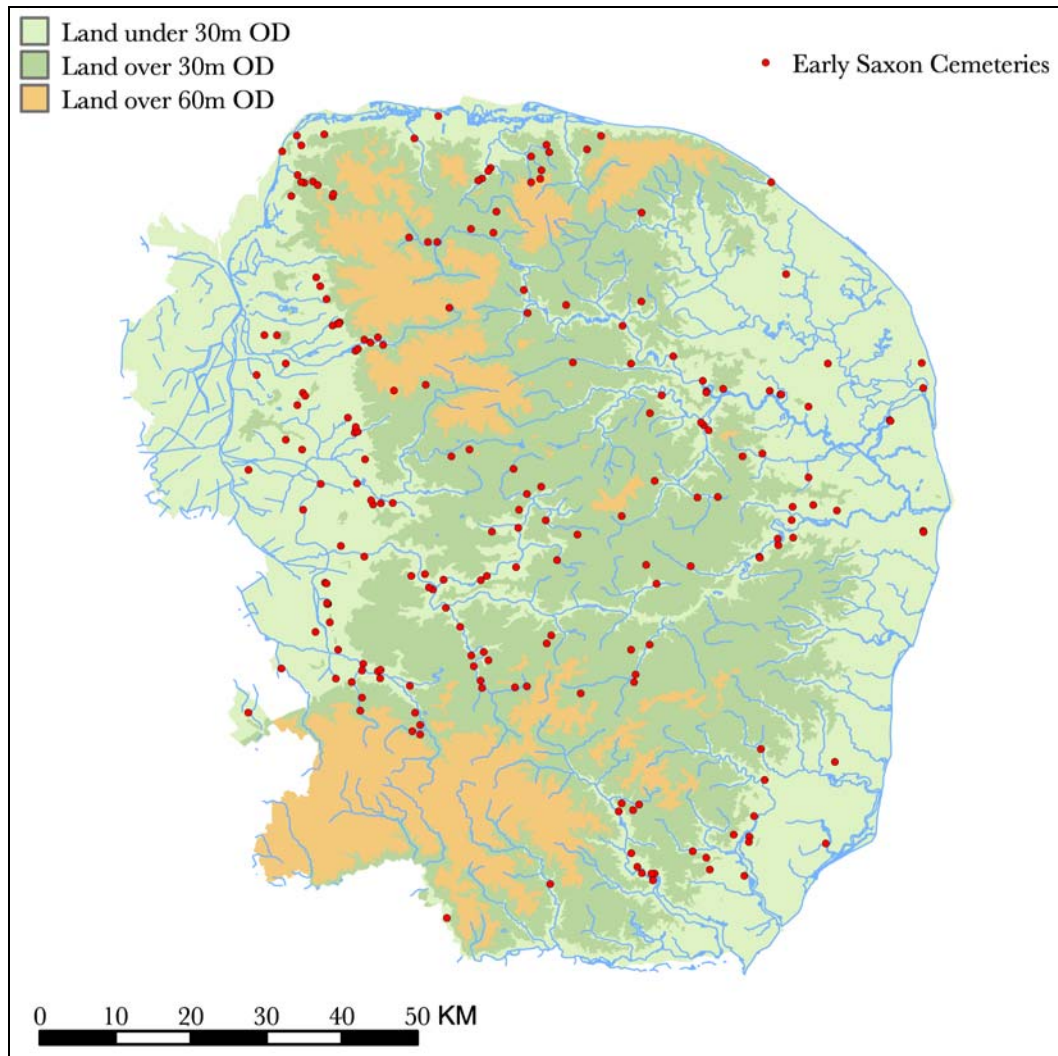
Figure 8.13. The relationship between the Early Saxon cemeteries of East Anglia, the major rivers and areas of high ground.

Early Saxon Cemeteries

We have already seen that inhumation, cremation and mixed-rite cemeteries all existed in Early Saxon East Anglia and that they varied greatly in the number of burials which they contained (Figures 6.17; 6.18; 6.19; Appendix II). Observations made by archaeologists about the landscape setting of Early Saxon cemeteries such as these have been, thus far, quite general. In 1979, Hills observed that Early Saxon cemeteries were often to be found on higher ground, hilltops or terraces

above river valleys (Hills 1979, 310). Of the relationship between cemeteries and settlements she stated that, while Early Saxon settlements and cemeteries might lie in close proximity, they remained separate entities, and she went on to explain that many cemeteries may have served large geographical areas containing numerous settlements (Hills 1979, 310). Nearly three decades of subsequent research have done little to challenge these observations, although some of the detail has been refined (e.g. Boddington 1990; Newman 1992, 31–4; West 1999; Wade 1999; Williams 1999; Lucy 2000, 152; Penn 2005; Rogerson 2005).

Lucy was among the first to attempt to quantify and characterise the landscape setting of different types of Early Saxon cemetery (Lucy 1998, 76–101). Taking East Yorkshire as her study area, she identified a number of distinctive characteristics exhibited by seventy-two Early Saxon cemeteries. Cremation cemeteries were more likely to lie more than 500m from water, be sited above the 50m contour line and lie at the top of a south-west facing slopes. Inhumation cemeteries also occurred in such locations, but were discovered in a variety of other locations as well and exhibited a particular association with gravel terraces above rivers. Larger cemeteries tended to lie mid-slope, while smaller sites were generally located at the tops and bottoms of slopes, and the reuse of existing monuments as burial foci was prevalent (Lucy 1998, 79–87). Lucy's observations are specific to East Yorkshire, but echo patterns observed in other regions. For example, Richardson's study of cemeteries in Kent recognised similar associations with the sloping ground of river valleys, hilltop locations and ancient routeways, the latter having subsequently been examined by Brookes (Richardson 2005, 69–77; Brookes forthcoming). The strong association between prehistoric monuments and Anglo-Saxon burials seen elsewhere was also noted (Richardson 2005, 74–5).

The reuse of extant prehistoric monuments as foci for Early Saxon burials is a trend which has long been recognised by those engaged in excavating the earlier features, although it is only comparatively recently that Anglo-Saxon specialists have approached the subject (Marsden 1974; Lawson *et al.* 1981). Although the Anglo-Saxons had no notion of the Bronze Age or the Neolithic, they were aware of the great antiquity of the earthen monuments which dotted the landscape. The deliberate association of their dead with these monuments is best interpreted as an attempt on the part of the Anglo-Saxons to forge a direct link

with the past, thereby legitimising authority and defining territory in the present (Lucy 1992; Williams 1997; 1998).

In Early Saxon East Anglia, Bronze Age round barrows were commonly reused as burial foci (Williams 1997, 19–20 and fig. 14; Lawson *et al.* 1981, 26, 40–1, 71). Indeed, this juxtaposition was directly responsible for the discovery of a number of cemeteries during the excavation of barrows (above, pp.199–204; Appendix V). The region's cemeteries also conform to many of the other typical characteristics noted here. Figure 8.13 clearly demonstrates the close correlation between major river valleys and Early Saxon cemetery sites of all types, a correlation which would be even more pronounced if minor tributaries had also been included. Very few of the cemeteries are immediately adjacent to the rivers themselves; rather, they are set back from the water on the sloping sides of the valleys. In areas with land above 30m OD cemeteries are generally found clustered in the river valleys below the 30m contour line, while no cemeteries are to be found on land which is over 60m OD. That the pattern of cemetery distribution should so closely mirror the river network should come as no great surprise, for the river valleys also accommodated those who would be buried in the cemeteries. It is the relationship between settlements and cemeteries, rather than the landscape context of cemeteries *per se*, that is of the greatest relevance when using evidence of wider landscape changes to chart the progress of the conversion.

Hills' observation that Early Saxon cemeteries might lay in close proximity to Early Saxon settlements, yet remained separate entities in the landscape can be shown to be broadly true in East Anglia. This relationship is a distinctive characteristic of the Early Saxon landscape (Hills 1979, 310; cf. Arnold 1997, 166; West 1999; Penn 2005). Yet the settlement:cemetery ratio was not simply 1:1: any number of settlements and farmsteads might have contributed to the population of a single cemetery, while individuals from a single settlement might have been buried in any number of cemeteries (Williams 2006, 188). Close proximity between an Early Saxon settlement and one or more cemeteries can be taken as an indication that there was a link between the two, but the distinctly separate characteristics of domestic and funerary pottery and metalwork assemblages make it difficult to prove such links materially (Chester-Kadwell 2004). Such avenues of

investigation are not helped by the strong archaeological bias towards Early Saxon funerary material (see Chapter Six), meaning that we know of considerably more cemeteries than we do settlements (Hamerow 2002).

An examination of the relationship between the well-excavated Early Saxon settlement at West Stow and contemporary local cemeteries is very revealing. The settlement was sited on a sandy rise to the north of the River Lark in west Suffolk and was extensively excavated between 1957 and 1972 (West 1985; 2001). Excavations in the nineteenth century had already demonstrated that an inhumation cemetery containing some 100 graves lay approximately 350m to the north-east of the settlement. No plans of the cemetery were made, but all of the burials were orientated south-west–north-east and many of them were furnished; one was in a reused Roman stone coffin (SSMR: WSW003; West 1985, 64–9). This cemetery was presumably closely linked to the settlement itself, but it was not the only cemetery accessible to the settlement's inhabitants. Two kilometres to the west lay an inhumation cemetery of at least twenty-five burials clustered around a Bronze Age barrow (SSMR: IKL026), while metal-detecting a kilometre to the south of West Stow has revealed material indicative of another inhumation cemetery (SSMR: LKD045). At Lackford, two kilometres south-west of West Stow, lay Suffolk's largest cremation cemetery, which was partially excavated by Lethbridge in 1947 and demonstrated to have contained at least 500 cremations and probably many more (SSMR: LKD001; Lethbridge 1951). The inhabitants of West Stow clearly had a number of options available to them when the time came to dispose of their dead, as indeed would the inhabitants of the many other Early Saxon settlements and farmsteads that were doubtless to be found elsewhere in the Lark valley and surrounding areas (West 1985, 155–9).

A similar set of circumstances was revealed by excavations at Carlton Colville on the Suffolk coast, where an Early Saxon settlement akin to that at West Stow was excavated in the late 1990s (Dickens *et al.* 2005). Several hundred metres to the south-west of the site metal-detected finds have suggested the existence of an inhumation cemetery of considerable size. This cemetery was probably focused around a prehistoric barrow, which was itself reused for a wealthy Anglo-Saxon burial in the early seventh century (Newman 1996; Dickens *et al.* 2005, 64–5).

Cemetery excavations far outweigh those of settlements and the fact that

so few traces of settlement evidence are found in the vicinity of cemeteries only serves to reinforce the point that Early Saxon settlements and cemeteries formed separate elements in the landscape. None of the region's extensively excavated Early Saxon cemeteries – Bergh Apton, Morningthorpe, Caistor St Edmund, Oxborough, Snape, Lackford and Westgarth Gardens – has revealed any traces of adjacent settlement (Green and Rogerson 1978; Green *et al.* 1987; Myres and Green 1973; Penn 1998; Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001; Lethbridge 1951; West 1988). An exception is Spong Hill, where a small number of Early Saxon domestic structures were discovered adjacent to the cremation cemetery, although the domestic structures were not extensively excavated (Rickett 1995, 41–58, 154–8).

Chapter Seven demonstrated that it is very difficult to discover the criteria dictating which burial rites were considered appropriate for any given individual. Similar difficulties arise when we attempt to ascertain why a given individual was buried in any particular cemetery. The existence of single-rite cremation and inhumation cemeteries suggests that in some areas of East Anglia the choice of cemetery might be dictated by preferred burial rite (or vice-versa), but the existence of a number of mixed-rite cemeteries indicates that this was not uniformly the case (Figures 6.17 and 6.18). The close proximity of a cemetery to a particular settlement would almost certainly have been a factor in the choice of burial location, particularly in the case of inhumation, which required the transportation of the corpse to the site. Yet, such considerations would carry less weight in the case of cremation cemeteries, which required only the urn to be transported to the site. In the case of large cremation cemeteries, such as Lackford and Spong Hill, the vast number of burials (several hundred and several thousand respectively) suggest that the cemeteries served large geographical areas containing numerous settlements (Hills 1979, 310; McKinley 1994a, 66–71; Williams 2002b, 343–6; 2004, 127).

Clearly a great deal more work remains to be done investigating the landscape context of Early Saxon cemeteries in East Anglia. Some of this work is already underway, but from the examples discussed here it is clear that the commonly held views on the types of landscape setting preferred for Early Saxon cemeteries – the sloping ground of river valleys and association with prehistoric monuments in particular – are as applicable to East Anglia as they are to other

regions. It is also clear from the few examples of excavated Early Saxon settlements and the numerous Early Saxon cemeteries that the two classes of site were separate entities within the landscape, although in some instances they were situated in close proximity. Although we do not (and arguably cannot) fully understand the choice of any particular cemetery for the burial of an individual, in a similar fashion to the interpretations offered in the previous chapter, we are at least able to recognise patterns of behaviour and observe changes in those patterns which occurred over time. The effect that the conversion had on individual burial rites has already been considered, but the conversion can also be demonstrated to have had a dramatic effect on the landscape setting of cemeteries, and particularly their relationship with settlements.

The 'Final Phase' II: Cemetery Location

Chapters Six and Seven demonstrated that Middle Saxons burials are more poorly understood than their Early Saxon counterparts. This is partly due to the relative archaeological invisibility of Middle Saxon burials, the vast majority of which were unfurnished and, therefore, unlike Early Saxon cemeteries, cannot be located by metal-detecting (Figure 6.19; above, pp.206–9). However, the relatively low number of discoveries is also due to the changes in the landscape setting of cemeteries which occurred during the Middle Saxon period, resulting in the vast majority of Middle Saxon cemeteries being obscured by later settlement features, in particular churchyards and churches.

When compared to the vast body of literature dedicated to Early Saxon burial rites, the burials of the Middle Saxon period have received very little attention and the transition from one state of affairs to the other has received even less. The exception are those cemeteries which contain 'Final Phase' burials of the kind examined in the previous chapter (above, pp.258–63). The 'Final Phase' was originally identified during the 1930s, when Lethbridge's excavations of two Cambridgeshire cemeteries caused Leeds to describe the distinctive classes of artefacts which were found in such burials (Lethbridge 1931; 1936; Leeds 1936, 98–114). Since the 1950s the 'Final Phase' model has developed beyond the simple characterisation of the grave-goods found in burials dating between *c*.600– 800 and has broadened to include a significant landscape aspect (see Boddington

1990; Geake 1997, 1–6). 'Final Phase' grave-goods exhibit Romano-Byzantine-influenced stylistic changes, while the age-related patterning in the burial assemblages suggests an adherence to the Christian lifecycle, the beginning of which was marked by baptism. The landscape setting of many 'Final Phase' cemeteries suggests that these artefactual changes were not the only way in which these new Christian influences were expressed: these cemeteries' relationships with earlier, contemporaneous and later cemeteries and settlements are also particularly enlightening.

'Final Phase' cemeteries are generally seen as being the Christian successors to Early Saxon cemeteries, founded on fresh sites in the seventh century and eventually superseded by a churchyard located elsewhere (e.g. Boddington 1990; Taylor 2001, 165). Lethbridge was of the opinion that both of the cemeteries containing 'Final Phase' burials which he had excavated in Cambridgeshire – at Burwell and Shudy Camps – contained Christian burials, some of which were furnished. He also concluded that both cemeteries had been founded towards the end of the main period of furnished Early Saxon inhumation and saw their foundation as an indication that Christians were being buried away from the sites of their pagan predecessors (Lethbridge 1931, 48; 1936, 27–9, 48). This notion was subsequently developed by Hyslop, whose discussion of the relationship between the two cemeteries in Leighton Buzzard (Beds.) included the first summation of the defining characteristics of 'Final Phase' cemeteries (Hyslop 1963). Hyslop stated that none of them contained burials which dated from before the seventh century and that they were founded as neighbouring Early Saxon cemeteries fell out of use (Hyslop 1963, 189–94). This aspect of the model was subsequently explored in Meaney and Hawkes's discussion of the two Winnall cemeteries on the outskirts of Winchester (Hants) and has remained at the heart of the 'Final Phase' model ever since (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 45–55). An additional landscape element of the 'Final Phase' model was introduced by Faull, whose analysis of the relationship between two cemeteries at Sancton (Yorks.) included the observation that 'Final Phase' cemeteries were established closer to contemporary settlements than their Early Saxon counterparts (Faull 1976, 232–3). This she attributed to the break-up of the larger territory served by the large cremation cemetery, Sancton I, and she suggested that the 'Final Phase' cemetery,

Sancton II, had been founded in its stead, along with a number of similar, smaller cemeteries.

Figure 8.14. *Venta Icenorum* from the south-east, showing the parish church and cropmarks of the Roman street-plan. TG2303-AQC-HYY14.
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Venta Icenorum *and its Environs*

The environs of *Venta Icenorum*, the Roman town at Caistor St Edmund, contain examples of many of the types of landscape evidence considered thus far (NHER: 9786). The town, which was situated to the east of the River Tas, has its origins in the mid-first century AD, when the street-grid was established; subsequent decades and centuries saw the establishment of a series of public buildings and civic amenities, including a forum, bath complex, an amphitheatre, market, temples, workshops and houses (Wacher 1976, 227–38; Davies 2001, 13–22). *Venta Icenorum* was the administrative *civitas* capital of East Anglia, the region occupied by the Iron Age *Iceni*, and was therefore part of a wider network of similar towns which spread across Roman Britain (Wacher 1976, 226–88). Like many other Roman towns, *Venta Icenorum* was walled during the late third century, reducing the area of the town by half and providing defences which in places were 7m high, 4m thick

and fronted by a ditch 24m wide (Wacher 1998, 95–102; Davies 2001, 23–5). Unlike other *civitas* capitals, *Venta Icenorum* did not become the medieval county town, Anglo-Saxon Norwich having superseded it, so the defences survive largely intact and, barring plough damage and some small excavations, much of the site remains buried (Frere 1971). As a consequence aerial photography has proved particularly rewarding, cropmarks and parchmarks revealing much of the street plan and the foundations of individual buildings both inside and outside the walled area (Figure 8.14; Wilson 2003).

Roman occupation of the town continued into the fifth century, but its ultimate fate remains mysterious (Myres and Green 1973, 31–4; Wacher 1976, 238; Davies 2001, 26). Burials discovered inside the town and taken to be the remains of its massacred inhabitants have proved on re-examination to have a somewhat less fanciful explanation (see below), but the fact that some degree of occupation continued into the Early Saxon period is attested by the presence of two cemeteries on the hillsides overlooking the town itself (Darling 1987). The first of these to be discovered is known as the Caistor cemetery and is situated 350m to the east of the Roman town. It had initially been found in 1754, but was only fully excavated between 1932 and 1937 (NHER: 9791; Figure 8.11). The cemetery contained several hundred cremations, spanning the fifth to the seventh centuries, and sixty inhumations, which were attributed to the late sixth or early seventh century (Myres and Green 1973, 1–11, 209–10). It is clear from the excavation plans that the two burial rites were used concurrently, for there are inhumations dug into cremations and vice-versa. In 1815 a smaller cemetery, known as the Markshall cemetery, was revealed some 300m to the north-west of the Roman town (NHER: 9788; Figure 8.15). It was partially excavated in 1822 and 1949 and found to contain over 100 cremation urns dating from the fifth to the late sixth or early seventh centuries (Myres and Green 1973, 234–9). The facts that both cemeteries contained substantial numbers of cremations and fell out of use in the early seventh century are in accordance with patterns observed elsewhere in East Anglia. It is clear that the complete abandonment of the town was not the cause of these cemeteries' disuse, for new cemeteries were founded in their place; this suggests instead that the coming of Christianity was the ultimate reason behind their demise.
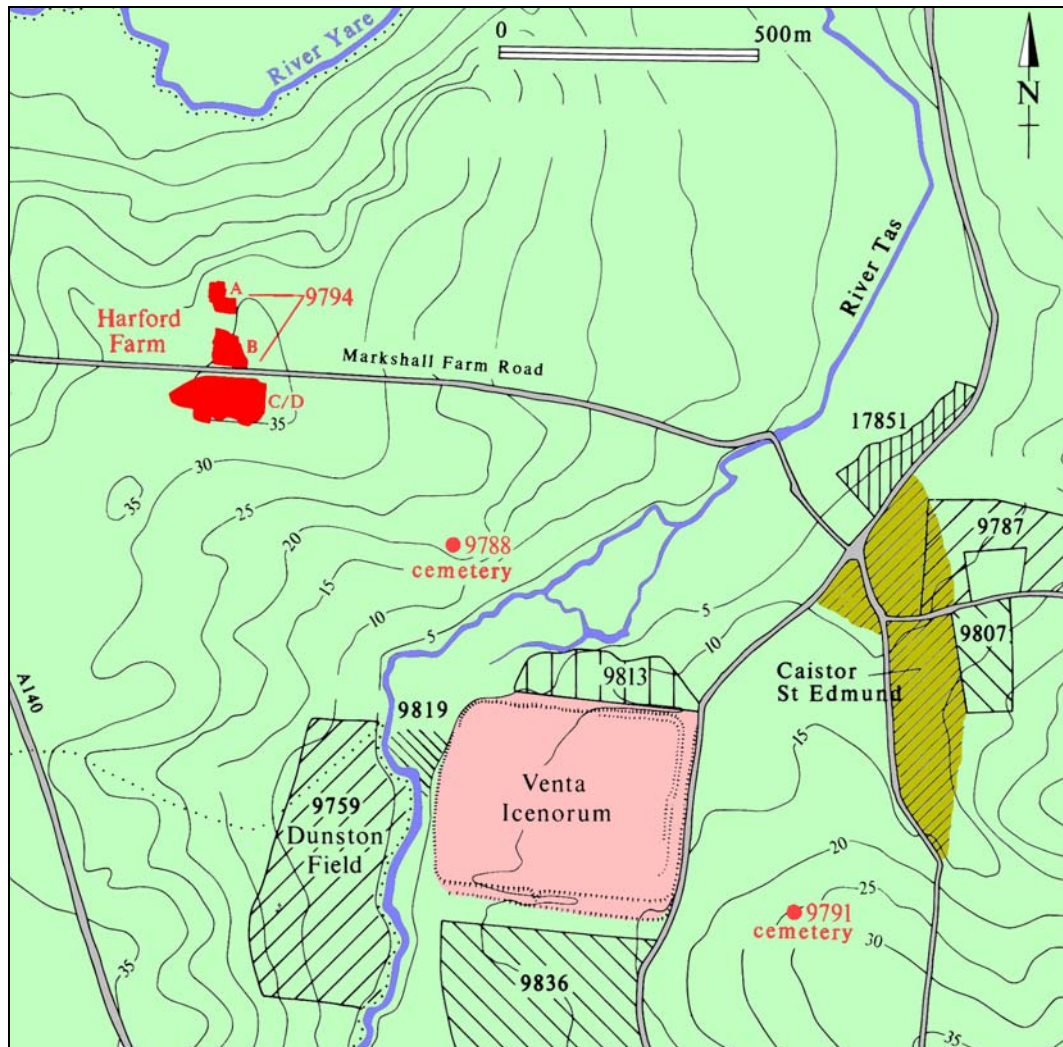
Figure 8.15. *Venta Icenorum* and its environs, highlighting the cemeteries discussed in the text (after Penn 2000, fig. 79).

The Harford Farm cemetery, and the particularly fine examples of 'Final Phase' grave-goods which were found there have already been discussed (above, pp.258–63; Penn 2000). It was sited on the crest of a spur of land some 600m to the north-west of the Roman town, which it overlooks, and doubtless this was a contributory factor in the choice of location. A second factor may have been the cluster of Bronze Age barrows on the site, around which groups of Anglo-Saxon inhumations were buried during the seventh century. In all, two groups of burials comprising forty-six inhumations were discovered, all orientated west–east, the majority of them unfurnished or accompanied only by a buckle and a knife. Four of the graves were lavishly furnished with typical 'Final Phase' burial assemblages (Figure 7.17). The inclusion of two cross-bearing Series B *sceattas* in one grave dates it to *c*.690–710, suggesting that the cemetery spanned the seventh and early

eighth centuries and placing it among the latest of the known 'Final Phase' burial sites (Penn 2000, 1–4, 96–101). Those inhumed at Harford Farm represent a part of a Christian community which was focused on the Roman town, but Harford Farm was not the only cemetery in the area and the town itself would also have been a focus of Christian activity.

Like many of the sites discussed in this chapter, *Venta Icenorum* was a walled Roman enclosure, albeit one on a much larger scale than the other East Anglian examples. In the seventh century it would doubtless have attracted the attention of newly arrived Christian missionaries, all the more so if any administrative capacity or residual occupation remained at the site, as the surrounding Early Saxon cemeteries might suggest was the case. A Middle Saxon 'productive' site has been located immediately to the west of the walled town and a substantial spread of Ipswich Ware was found immediately to the north (Bellinger and Sims 1996; Percival 1996; Pestell 2003, 130–1). In the light of the preceding discussion, it comes as no surprise that the parish church should also be sited within the walls of the Roman town, exactly where we would expect to find a church founded as a part of the missionary process. The present fabric of the church is largely thirteenth- to fifteenth-century, although traces of Late Saxon architecture are claimed (NHER: 1860). Comment has often been passed on the neatness with which the church's location and alignment complement the Roman street-grid, indicating that it was founded while these features were still visible and perhaps suggesting the reuse of a Roman building in the first instance (Rodwell 1984, 9–10; Davies 2001, 27).

If, as seems likely, the church at *Venta Icenorum* represents another ecclesiastical site founded as a part of the conversion process in the seventh century then it should also have had a concomitant cemetery of Burgh Castle/Caister-on-Sea type. Such a cemetery would certainly provide a context for those burials within the town which were originally interpreted as the victims of a massacre; these burials could conceivably be the heavily disturbed remains of early Christian interments (Darling 1987, 268). The existence of such a cemetery also raises two other significant points: first, that 'Final Phase' cemeteries and more conventional Christian 'churchyard' cemeteries existed side by side; and, second, that if a church founded in the seventh century remains on its original site

all of the evidence for these earlier phases will have been disturbed by and buried beneath up to 1400 years' worth of inhumations and ecclesiastical rebuilding.

Missing, Presumed Dead

The 'Final Phase' model has proved to be very popular and is widely accepted, but is not without its critics (e.g. Morris 1983, 53–9; Boddington 1990). Although there was undeniably a change in the nature of the grave-goods deposited during the seventh century, argued here to reflect the Christian beliefs of those using cemeteries, the notion of a linear development of cemetery types – an Early Saxon cemetery being succeeded by a 'Final Phase' cemetery and replaced in turn by a churchyard (Taylor 2001, 165; Meaney 2005, 240–1) – is more problematic. This is not least because the total number of known 'Final Phase' inhumations falls far short of representing even a fraction of the seventh-century population, meaning that the vast majority of seventh-century burials remain unaccounted for (Geake 2002b, 144–8).

Even factoring in the effects of poor preservation and the lack of secure dating evidence, the imbalance between the number of Early Saxon burials and the number of 'Final Phase' burials is so great as to suggest that 'Final Phase' burial was very much the exception rather than the norm. This is particularly true in East Anglia, where, despite the intensive survey work conducted by archaeologists and metal-detectorists alike, only three stand-alone 'Final Phase' cemeteries have been discovered, at Thornham (above, pp.287–9; Gregory and Gurney 1986), Harford Farm (Penn 2000), and the (as yet to be properly published) Ipswich Buttermarket (Scull 1997). The upshot is that, although there are a handful of 'Final Phase' East Anglian sites, it is clear that the linear 'Final Phase' model does not explain the seventh-century funerary landscape of East Anglia. This conclusion raises a question over the location of the burials of the majority of the seventh-century population.

In the last chapter it was demonstrated that cremation continued to be practised into the seventh century (above, pp.238–40). Similarly, the presence of seventh-century artefacts in traditional Early Saxon burials makes it clear that many of the Early Saxon inhumation and mixed-rite cemeteries also continued to be used into the early seventh century. Geake listed the Early Saxon cemeteries at

Bergh Apton, Boss Hall, Holywell Row, Snape, Westgarth Gardens and West Stow as containing at least some seventh-century burials and many others would doubtless be recognised on closer examination (Geake 1997, 169–71, 177–81). All of the funerary evidence discussed here indicates that a contemporaneous abandonment of all kinds of Early Saxon cemetery occurred during the first half of the seventh century. This abandonment was coincident with the cessation of cremation and occurred immediately before the adoption of the Romano-Byzantine grave-goods discussed in the previous chapter; it is therefore also argued to be symptomatic of conversion to Christianity having occurred.

The evidence from *Venta Icenorum* and its environs offers an indication of what happened once these Early Saxon cemeteries ceased to be used. We must conclude that both of the Christian cemeteries in the environs of the Roman town were used simultaneously by the local population, some of whom were buried in the 'Final Phase' manner at Harford Farm, but most of whom were buried in the newly founded churchyard within the walls. Both of these new cemeteries were employed for a while, but eventually the 'Final Phase' cemetery at Harford Farm was also abandoned, while the churchyard inside the town thrived and remains the local cemetery to this day. Therefore, rather than following a simple linear course of development, it would appear that the Early Saxon cemeteries were superseded by a *choice* of Middle Saxon Christian cemeteries. In the minority of cases burials, some of which were furnished with Romano-Byzantine style grave-goods, began to be made in 'Final Phase' cemeteries located away from settlements, but these only account for an small proportion of the population. In the majority of cases burials instead began to be made in new, unfurnished, west–east orientated inhumation cemeteries, some of which were associated with Christian missionary stations and all of which were integrated into settlements.

Cemeteries Within Settlements

Somewhat frustratingly, we are only able to excavate, and thus understand the origins of, those missionary stations at which the church and cemetery founded as part of the conversion effort eventually faltered or were relocated. At sites where the church and cemetery continued to thrive, such as Caistor St Edmund and Tasburgh, we are unable to study the earliest phases directly because they are

sealed beneath later buildings or have been badly disturbed by 1400 years of subsequent burials. All of the missionary stations discussed in this chapter can be demonstrated to be associated with inhumation cemeteries founded in the seventh century. The demographics of the well-excavated cemeteries, such as Burgh Castle and Caister-on-Sea, demonstrate that the inhumed populations comprised men and women, young and old alike (Anderson and Birkett 1993; Anderson 1993). Such normal population profiles suggest that these missionary stations became the loci of burial for their surrounding populations during the seventh century and that these populations quickly began to observe Christian burial practices. Yet, although several examples of certain and probable missionary stations have been discussed here, recognisable examples are not particularly numerous and they alone cannot have accommodated all of the Middle Saxon East Anglian dead, and we are once again brought back to the fact that Middle Saxon inhumation cemeteries are not common archaeological discoveries. Fortunately, these few excavated sites share a number of common characteristics which shed a little light on the problem.

All of the known Middle Saxon cemeteries, including those discussed here, were integrated into Middle Saxon settlements of one kind or another, indicating that the separation of the two elements which characterised the Early Saxon period had ceased to occur. An example of just such a cemetery was excavated at the Whitehouse Industrial Estate on the outskirts of Ipswich, where the extensive remains of a small Middle Saxon settlement situated within an enclosing ditch were revealed (Figure 8.16). The northern half of the enclosure contained a small inhumation cemetery of at least nineteen adults and children. The burials were unfurnished, orientated west–east and were radiocarbon-dated to the Middle Saxon period. This small site appears to have thrived during the Middle Saxon period, but its proximity to the important Middle Saxon *wic* of Ipswich seems to have been responsible for its demise (SSMR:IPS247; Caruth 1996). A similar set of circumstances has been discovered at Sedgeford in north-west Norfolk, where a slight shift in the location of the Late Saxon settlement has enabled excavation of some of the Middle Saxon settlement, including an inhumation cemetery of over 200 unfurnished, west–east burials (Hoggett 2001; Cabot *et al.* 2004).
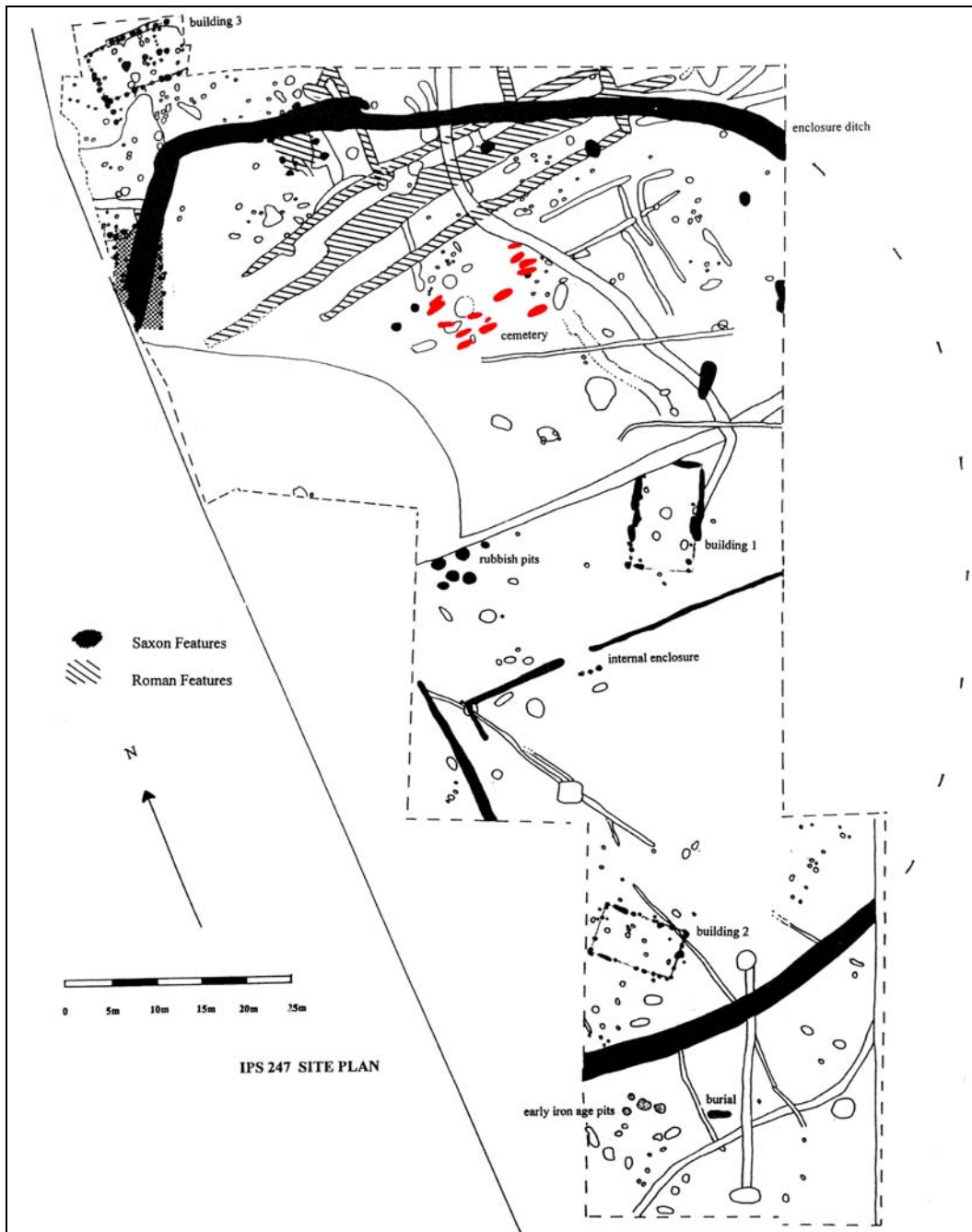
Figure 8.16. The Whitehouse Industrial Estate excavation, highlighting the Middle Saxon inhumations (Caruth 1996, fig. 103).

A great restructuring of the landscape occurred during the Middle Saxon period, not least the major dislocation of settlements known as the 'Middle Saxon shuffle', which saw the numerous transitory Early Saxon settlements coalesce into more permanent settlements (Arnold and Wardle 1981). A number of explanations for these changes, primarily of an economic, social or environmental nature, have been suggested and many commentators have also attributed the fusion of cemeteries and settlements to these same factors (Welch 1985; Hodges

1989, 43–68; Hamerow 1991; Andrews 1992; Rogerson 1996; Williamson 2003). However, that the convergence of cemeteries and settlements was not just another characteristic of the reorganisation of the landscape in this period can be demonstrated with reference to the two best-excavated examples of East Anglian Early Saxon settlements, West Stow and Carlton Colville.

Large quantities of Ipswich Ware demonstrate that West Stow continued to be occupied into the seventh century and it is therefore particularly significant that two west–east, unfurnished, Anglo-Saxon inhumations should have been discovered within the centre of the settlement (West 1985, 58–9, fig. 236). In its last phases West Stow comprised only one hall and associated buildings, suggesting the presence of a single extended family, and this might be the explanation for there being so few burials made before the settlement was finally abandoned (West 2001). Similarly, the settlement at Carlton Colville continued to be occupied into the late seventh or early eighth century and contained a closely spaced cemetery comprising 26 west–east inhumations of both sexes and different ages. Some of the graves contained 'Final Phase' style grave goods, but the majority of the inhumations were unfurnished (Dickens *et al.* 2006, 74–6). The presence of small numbers of inhumations at both sites provides confirmation of the fact that the convergence of settlement and cemetery was a seventh-century phenomenon which was unrelated to other more dramatic landscape changes, for this integration had clearly begun to occur before either site was abandoned.

It is clear that a change in attitude towards the dead caused cemeteries to become integral parts of settlements, but from where did the impetus for this change of attitude come? The creation of new cemeteries is intimately bound up with the abandonment of the old cemeteries. This abandonment has been argued to be a direct result of the conversion to Christianity, so the fusion of cemeteries and settlements can also be attributed to the same process. This coming together of the living and the dead is a characteristic of Christian practice which has been recognised throughout medieval Europe and is most commonly seen in the conjunction of church and churchyard but, as is argued further below, it is also evidenced in the Middle Saxon archaeological record by the incorporation of overtly Christian inhumation cemeteries into settlements without attendant churches (e.g. Boddington 1990; Parker Pearson 1993; Zadora-Rio 2003;

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Thompson 2004, 26–56; Blair 2005, 228–45; Turner 2006). It is difficult to identify the religious motivations behind this integration by archaeological means (e.g. Morris 1983, 49–62), but an explanation can be found in the Christian belief that the buried dead were waiting for the resurrection at the Day of Judgement and that the spiritual prospects of the dead could therefore be enhanced by the intercession of the living (Aries 1981, 29–40; Geary 1994, 77–87). Consequently, the physical integration of the Christian dead into a settlement was a physical reflection of the fact that the dead remained an important part of the community and formed a focus of its worship (Bullough 1983; Penn 1996; Gittos 2002; Thompson 2004, 170–206).

The sites chosen for Middle Saxon execution cemeteries also emphasise the changing attitude towards the appropriate location of the dead in newly Christianised societies (Geake 1992, 87–9; Reynolds 1999, 103–10). Many execution cemeteries were sited on prehistoric or Anglo-Saxon barrows and East Anglian examples are known from Sutton Hoo, where one of the early seventh-century burial mounds subsequently became the site of a gallows (Carver 2005, 315–59), and South Acre, where 119 executed individuals were discovered buried around a prehistoric ring-ditch (Wymer 1996, 58–92). The association of burials with barrows had been a very positive one until the early seventh century, but it very quickly came to carry negative connotations. After the conversion, barrows came to be regarded as unholy and liminal places, primarily, it seems, because of their association with pagan burials. Whereas the revered dead of the Early Saxon period had been buried in locations often at some remove from centres of population, the traditional cemeteries became places to be feared and were therefore considered to be suitable sites for executions, their peripheral location physically mirroring the social exclusion of the executed individuals (Reynolds 1997; Semple 1998; Whyte 2003; Carver 2005, 347–9). This, in turn, emphasises the fact that, as a direct consequence of the introduction of a Christian ideology, the appropriate location for the revered dead in the Middle Saxon period was considered to be 'closer to home', in a cemetery that formed an integral part of a settlement.

It is clear from the available evidence that we are actually dealing with two types of Middle Saxon inhumation cemetery: first, Christian churchyards

established as a part of the apparatus of missionary stations and in which the local population was buried; and, second, inhumation cemeteries founded, in the absence of suitable local missionary churchyards, within individual settlements in order to provide a Christian focus for the Middle Saxon community (*cf.* Morris 1983, 49–62; Boddington 1990). The existence of this second type of cemetery has also been recognised by Blair during his work on minster churches and he explains them as the cemeteries of Christians without the 'ties of patronage, profession, or land-tenure which bound them to specific churches' (Blair 2005, 228–45, quote 234). Tellingly, all of the excavated examples of such cemeteries are from sites where the settlement was subsequently relocated or abandoned, leaving the Middle Saxon phases undisturbed, as was the case at Sedgeford and the Whitehouse Industrial Estate (Hoggett 2001; Caruth 1996). Such observations lead to the inevitable conclusion that the vast majority of Christian Middle Saxon cemeteries must therefore lie beneath later settlements, and in particular beneath later churches and their churchyards (*cf.* Geake 1992, 86–7; Newman 1992, 26; West 1998, 317).

Conclusions

The widespread landscape upheavals caused by the conversion indicate that the new religion had an impact on both the living and the dead. The nature and location of cemeteries changed dramatically, while the constituent parts of settlements were also altered by the introduction of a funerary element. Completely new classes of site were introduced to the Middle Saxon landscape in the form of missionary churches; islands and peninsulas were populated; and, for the first time in two centuries, Roman masonry structures were reoccupied. Far from supporting the notion of a nominal conversion on the part of the king which had little effect on the lower echelons of society, the evidence of the landscape itself suggests that the conversion was a significant and wide-reaching process which was widespread at a grassroots level and which changed the nature of the Anglo-Saxon landscape forever.

Part IV: Conclusions

CHAPTER NINE: THE CONVERSION OF EAST ANGLIA

'Research should be as much, perhaps more, concerned with interpretation and synthesis of existing data, as with new data collection … the museum collections, published reports, excavation archives, results of evaluations, and sites and monuments records of the [East Anglian] region are a resource of inestimable value.'

Brown and Wade (2000, 2)

The coming of Christianity to seventh-century East Anglia was undeniably one of the most significant events in the kingdom's history. Not only did it reintroduce the written word and therefore mark the beginning of history, it also laid the foundations for an ecclesiastical system which was to shape the lives and landscapes of everyday people for the next 1,300 years. Many commentators would have us believe that the choice to convert to Christianity was a purely political decision, made by a particular Anglo-Saxon king, which was of little consequence to the vast majority of the population (e.g. Higham 1996; 1997). Yet, as this thesis has demonstrated, the archaeological evidence clearly indicates that this was far from the case. Although the initial stages of the East Anglian conversion process were instigated by the king, the consequent adoption of Christianity throughout the kingdom was both rapid and widespread and soon developed a momentum of its own. At a popular level the adoption of the new religion resulted in the introduction of missionary stations and churches, major changes to funerary practices and a significant reorganisation of the Middle Saxon landscape.

From the outset of this thesis it has been acknowledged that religion is an abstract concept and that its more numinous aspects do not leave material traces which can be studied archaeologically (Chapters Two and Three). Therefore, it is argued, we cannot study that part of the conversion process which is 'all in the mind' and cannot use material evidence to pass comment on the motivations of those who chose to convert. These conclusions have traditionally led archaeologists to take a very pessimistic view of the archaeological study of religion, but we are not dealing with a lost cause. We can and do find material traces of ritual behaviour encouraged by religious beliefs and, with careful

consideration and interpretation, these traces can tell us a great deal about the religious practices of the past. Numerous changes visible in the material record provide us with strong indications of the process of the East Anglian conversion.

The Historical Framework

The historical evidence provided by Bede in the *HE*, the starting point for every study of the early Anglo-Saxon Church, was clearly derived from a number of different sources, very few of which can be demonstrated to have been East Anglian. It is important to remember that Bede was not a historian in the modern mould; he was first and foremost a theologian, who used his historical writing to present object lessons on good Christian living. As such, the *HE* is particularly focused upon the conversion of individual kings and kingdoms, the creation of the dioceses and the unification of the disparate strands of Christianity into a single entity. Despite these obvious biases, there is a strong tendency amongst those addressing the subject of the East Anglian conversion (and, indeed, the conversions of other regions) to rely unquestioningly upon the historical framework presented in the *HE* and take the information contained within its pages as a full and objective account of the conversion process. Consequently, most historical and archaeological discussions of the subject to date have comprised attempts to identify the people and places referred to by Bede with features in the archaeological record. It has been necessary to engage with a number of such debates in this thesis, particularly those surrounding the location of the bishoprics of *Dommoc* and Elmham and the monastery of *Cnobheresburg* (Chapter Four).

Few individuals have dared to move away from the perceived safety of the documentary evidence and give due consideration to those aspects of the East Anglian conversion about which history is silent, but the archaeological record speaks volumes. Clearly the account of the East Anglian conversion derived from the documentary sources does not provide a comprehensive explanation of events; rather, it provides a framework against which the archaeological evidence can be measured, compared and contrasted. The historical evidence suggests that the beginning of the East Anglian conversion was marked by the baptism *c*.604 of King Rædwald at the behest of King Æthelberht of Kent. Æthelberht was acting

on the Pope's instructions and Rædwald's acceptance was born out of political subordination, as his subsequent apostasy and flagrantly pagan burial at Sutton Hoo clearly attest. After this false start, it was not until the 630s and the reign of Rædwald's son, Sigeberht, that the conversion of the East Anglian kingdom began in earnest. Sigeberht had grown up in Christian Gaul and on his return to East Anglia brought with him a thorough understanding of Christianity.

It was Sigeberht who installed the Burgundian Bishop Felix in the new episcopal see at *Dommoc*, the disused Roman fort of Walton Castle, from where his episcopal authority began to radiate out across the kingdom. But the conversion was not concerned only with infrastructure; of greater importance was the widespread conversion of the general population, and so Sigeberht also supported the Irish missionary Fursa, giving him the site of *Cnobheresburg*. Most traditional narratives would have us believe Fursa was the only missionary at work in East Anglia; rather, he is the only one recorded by Bede. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the anonymous *Life of Ceolfrith* record at least one other missionary, Botolph, who founded a minster at Iken, and there must have been other missionaries like him.

While the documentary evidence for the East Anglian conversion is poor, the material culture of Anglo-Saxon East Anglia is particularly rich and contains many strong indications of the nature and extent of the conversion process. Of particular significance are the several hundred Early and Middle Saxon cemeteries and Middle Saxon artefact scatters which have informed much of this discussion. The burials of the Early Saxon period were sometimes lavishly furnished, making them very visible archaeologically, while the introduction of Ipswich Ware from the seventh century onwards means that Middle Saxon settlements can easily be detected as artefact scatters in ploughed fields. The East Anglian archaeological record has now been subjected to over 150 years of scholarly study, excavation, fieldwalking, aerial survey and metal-detecting, resulting in an archaeological data set which is second to none.

Missionary Stations

It is clear that many of East Anglia's Roman buildings remained abandoned until they were put to ecclesiastical use in the seventh century. Although not all instances of this reuse are documented, many of the reoccupations can be

materially demonstrated to have been an active part of the evangelisation of East Anglia. The Roman fort at Walton Castle became the site of the episcopal see. Further north, the pair of forts which flanked the Great Estuary, Burgh Castle and Caister-on-Sea, along with other sites with Roman connections, became the focus of Christian communities. In every case, the walled enclosure itself seems to have been of most importance to the occupiers, rather than the presence of any particular building within it. These enclosures were not used for defensive purposes – indeed, many would not have been defensible by the seventh century – but the walls served to mark the boundary between the secular exterior world and the religious precinct within, while simultaneously providing a strong symbolic link with the Roman past.

Once the early ecclesiastics had occupied these Roman enclosures they became missionary stations from which the holy men could begin their work within the local population. A good indication of the degree of success enjoyed by early missionaries is also provided by the presence and extent of the Christian cemeteries associated with these Roman sites. From the sheer quantity of burials discovered, particularly at Caister-on-Sea, it would seem that each of these missionary stations had a zone of influence which extended far beyond its walls, with individuals from the surrounding area as well as being buried within or close to the fort. While Roman sites were clearly attractive to the first wave of Christian missionaries, that is not to say that they were occupied to the exclusion of all other sites. There are many other sites which were either converted to a Christian purpose or founded afresh during the course of the conversion.

The finite number of Roman enclosures meant that many other sites were put to Christian use during the course of the conversion. Other types of ready-made enclosure, those formed by Iron Age earthworks in particular, were also reoccupied and many important Anglo-Saxon churches were situated on the summits or shoulders of low hills, on promontories, or on islands in marshy floodplains. Such sites, at once topographically separated from the surrounding world and yet fully integrated into the major riverine routes of communication, were ideally suited to the purposes of those who were seeking to combine a traditional life of monastic devotion with the proactive conversion of the surrounding population. As was demonstrated in Chapter Eight, a number of East

Anglian religious foundations conform to these Roman and topographic models, suggesting that they were particularly early foundations which may have played an active role in the conversion.

Burial Rites

By far our greatest insights into the nature and progress of the East Anglia conversion are provided by the enormous quantity of funerary evidence available to us. Unlike every other class of material evidence, we have archaeological evidence of burials and cemeteries dating from before, during and after the period of the conversion, providing us with a unique overview of the process.

Cremation was predominant in Norfolk and north Suffolk during the Early Saxon period and has been demonstrated to have been an archetypal pagan rite, laden with religious imagery and requiring a large outlay of resources. The cessation of the cremation rite during the early seventh century is the most significant archaeological indicator of the conversion, as the Christian antithesis towards cremation and its use as a totemic pagan rite at Sutton Hoo testify. The speed with which the cremation rite was abandoned and the size of the region within which this abandonment took place therefore suggest that the conversion process was quick and widespread at a grass-roots level. It can therefore be confidently stated that cemeteries which contain cremations represent communities that had yet to be converted and an absence of cremation is a necessary criterion for any identification of a Christian cemetery. However, the absence of cremation from a cemetery does not automatically signal Christian burial, for there were many demonstrably pre-Christian cemeteries which did not feature cremation either.

Several aspects of the inhumation rite can also be used to chart the course of the East Anglian conversion. The increasingly regular adoption of a west–east alignment for burials is often cited as one such indicator, but within East Anglia a west–east alignment was particularly common amongst the inhumations of the Early Saxon period and there was no radical change in this practice over time. While it is true that a west–east orientation is a necessary criterion for identifying a Christian burial and that burials which are not orientated west–east are not Christian, the uniformity of this practice both before and after the period of the

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conversion effectively rules it out as an indicator of Christianisation.

There is no denying that grave-good assemblages were structured to reflect the social identity of the interred. Consequently, many studies view grave-goods only as socio-economic indicators and deny their religious significance. This is symptomatic of the compartmentalised approach to the place of religion in society decried by Insoll (2004b) and discussed in Chapter Two. Such approaches consider religion and socio-economics to be separate sub-categories of society and that the interpretation of grave-goods must belong to one category or the other. The approach advocated by Insoll, which sees religion as an overarching 'umbrella' beneath which all other aspects fit, accommodates this 'dual-purpose' interpretation of grave-goods as *both* religiously important *and* socially symbolic.

Unfurnished burial was practised to varying degrees throughout the Early and Middle Saxon periods and is in itself not a sound criterion for recognising conversion. However, the cessation of the practice of burying grave-goods is often cited as an indicator of conversion. The deposition of grave-goods did not cease completely until the early eighth century and therefore cannot have resulted from the adoption of Christianity, but grave-goods became rarer in the seventh century and there was a distinct change in their character, from a Germanic to a Romano-Byzantine influence, dubbed the 'Final Phase'. These changes clearly represent a radical change in wider spheres of influence and a growth of interest in *romanitas* which can be identified with the arrival of the Church. It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that, while the presence of Germanic grave-goods signals a non-Christian burial, the presence of Romano-Byzantine grave-goods, some of them with strong Christian iconography, is an indication of a converted population.

The changing composition of grave-good assemblages also suggests that there was a move away from the inclusion of grave-goods which we might interpret as equipment or provisions for the deceased, such as weaponry or food offerings. Instead, the majority of grave-good assemblages came to comprise clothes fasteners and items of personal jewellery. This would seem to indicate that notions of equipping the deceased for an afterlife had changed. Similarly, the clearly defined biological and cultural stages of the Early Saxon lifestyle expressed via grave-goods also disappeared during the 'Final Phase', to be replaced by more

uniform types of burial assemblages which were deemed suitable for all ages and which may signify the baptism of the deceased. All of these interpretations sit comfortably with the idea, discussed in Chapter Three, of a conversion process which took on and adapted existing local practices, changing their character but not banning them outright, and ultimately resulted in a uniquely East Anglian form of Christianity.

The Funerary Landscape

Further evidence of widespread religious change is evident in the funerary landscape of Middle Saxon East Anglia. In a minority of cases 'Final Phase' cemeteries were established, although these were relatively short-lived, and the vast majority of the population began to be buried in unfurnished, west–east-orientated inhumation cemeteries either situated within the new missionary stations or integrated into settlements. The overwhelming absence of Middle Saxon burials from the archaeological record suggests that these cemeteries formed the religious precursors to the many of the churches which later filled the medieval landscape. Unfortunately, the nature of church sites is such that these earlier layers are either firmly sealed beneath buildings or have been destroyed by later burials.

It would appear that in the majority of cases it was the Middle Saxon cemetery which provided a Christian focus for a newly converted population and, in the absence of many excavated examples, we must assume that most Middle Saxon cemeteries remain hidden. What is more difficult to ascertain is whether an attendant church was founded at the same time as the cemetery or later, for here we are reaching the limits of the evidence. In order to understand the situation we must return to the surface scatters of Ipswich Ware, Thetford-type Ware and other Middle and Late Saxon materials commonly discovered in association with churches, for they offer our only real hope of interpreting the developmental sequence of individual sites. Numerous examples of such sites were highlighted in both the Launditch Hundred survey and the Deben Valley survey (Figures 5.23 and 5.25). Of course, we cannot rule out the possibility that such sites may have had a Middle Saxon precursor, of which fieldwork has not revealed traces or which remains inaccessible, but all we can do to test this is seek more evidence.
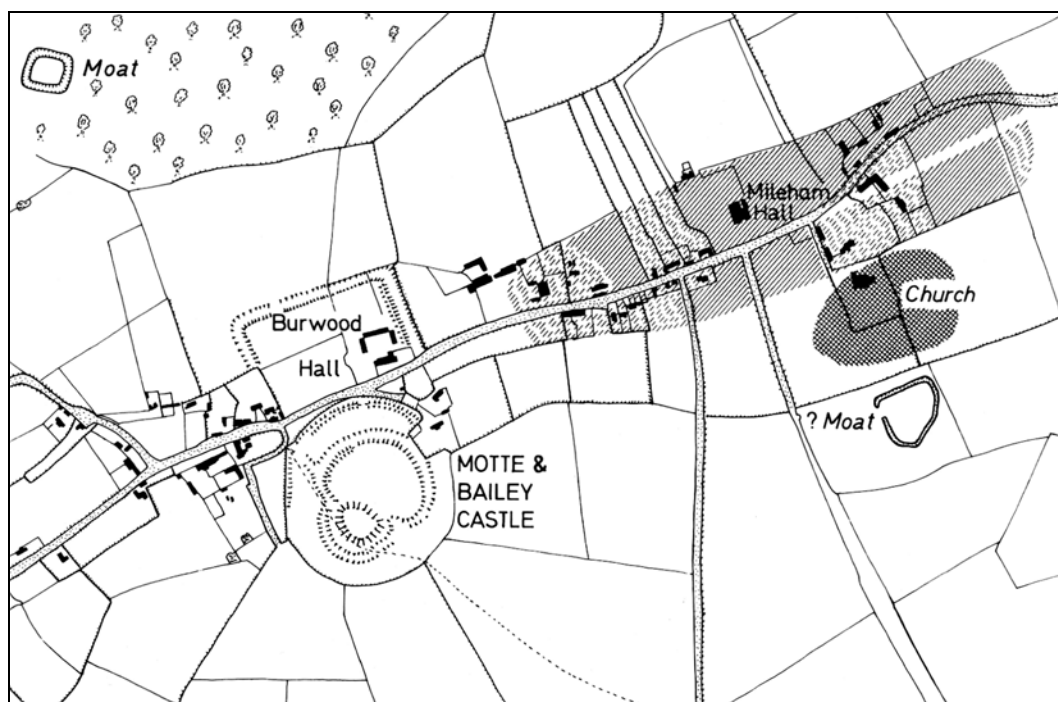
Figure 9.1. Mileham, showing the relationship between the Middle Saxon scatters (cross-hatched), Late Saxon scatters (hatched), and the church. Scale 1:10,000. (Wade-Martins 1980b, fig. 23).

Fieldwalking evidence becomes more useful when churches are associated with both Middle and Late Saxon artefact scatters. In these instances the artefact scatters do not allow us to say any more precisely whether the church was founded during the Middle or Late Saxon period, but the presence of the Middle Saxon material indicates that we are dealing with a settlement with seventh-century origins. It is extremely likely, therefore, that these Middle Saxon settlements had a Christian inhumation cemetery, and possible that this burial ground might have had an accompanying Middle Saxon church. Within the fieldwalking data set churches associated with Middle and Late Saxon scatters were very common, with six out of nineteen Launditch Hundred churches and twelve out of nineteen Deben Valley churches falling into this category (Figures 5.23 and 5.25).

We know that not all of the churches associated with Middle and Late Saxon material were founded during the Late Saxon period because fieldwalking also tells us that some churches were definitely founded during the Middle Saxon period. Some churches are only associated with Middle Saxon material, usually because the Late Saxon scatter lies elsewhere, and in these instances we can say with some certainty that the church itself must be of Middle Saxon date; if the

church were of Late Saxon origin we might expect it to have been founded on the site of the relocated Late Saxon settlement, as was the case at Sedgeford (Hoggett 2001). Such examples are rare, but fieldwalking in the parish of Mileham, Norfolk, revealed that the church stood within a distinct Ipswich Ware scatter, while the Late Saxon scatter lay to the north along the main road (Figure 9.1; Wade-Martins 1980b, 40–8).

If each of the church sites associated with a Middle Saxon scatter possessed a Christian Middle Saxon cemetery this would suggest that much of the Middle Saxon population had become wholly and actively Christian during the seventh century. If this interpretation is taken to an extreme and it is suggested that all of these sites are assumed to have had Middle Saxon churches as well, then we are confronted with the possibility of a very densely populated seventh-century ecclesiastical landscape. Such conclusions contradict strongly the traditionally held views of the extent of the conversion. Even a more moderate view which assumes that only some of these sites had churches suggests that the number of seventh-century foundations would still be higher than might traditionally have been expected. On the strength of the archaeological evidence it would appear that Christianity was far from the preserve of the Middle Saxon royalty; rather, it was widely practised at a grass-roots level and its popularity spread very rapidly.

Conclusion

Rather than providing the whole picture, as some would have us believe, the documentary sources merely provide an outline of the conversion of East Anglia. The archaeological evidence confirms the details of this sketch and also indicates that the true picture of the East Anglian conversion is one of immense scale and variety. The upheavals caused by the conversion indicate that the new religion had an impact on both the living and the dead. The nature and location of cemeteries changed dramatically, while the constituent parts of settlements were also altered by the introduction of a funerary element. Completely new classes of site were introduced to the Middle Saxon landscape in the form of missionary churches; islands and peninsulas were populated; and, for the first time in two centuries, Roman masonry structures were reoccupied.

Far from supporting the notion of a nominal conversion on the part of the

king which had little effect on the lower echelons of society, all of the different classes of evidence considered in this thesis point inexorably towards the same conclusion: once Christianity had been introduced to seventh-century East Anglia the conversion of the wider population was a significant and wide-reaching process which occurred very quickly and was exceedingly popular at a grass-roots level. The adoption of Christianity resulted in a dramatic reorganisation of the East Anglian landscape, many of the effects of which we can still see around us today.

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'The greatest part of a writer's time is spent in reading, in order to write: a man will turn over half a library to make one book.'

Samuel Johnson (Hill 1934, 344)

Abbreviations

ARC	*Archaeological Review from Cambridge*
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
ASSAH	*Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*
BCA	Book Club Associates
BMP	British Museum Press
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CEAS	Centre of East Anglian Studies
CP	Clarendon Press
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sport
DoE	Department of the Environment
EAA	*East Anglian Archaeology*
EH	English Heritage
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
IFA	Institute of Field Archaeologists
JBAA	*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
LUP	Leicester University Press
MedArch	*Medieval Archaeology*
MOLAS	Museum of London Archaeology Service
MUP	Manchester University Press
NA	*Norfolk Archaeology*
NARG	Norfolk Archaeological Rescue Group
NAHRG	Norfolk Archaeological and Historical Research Group
NNAS	Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
OATVL	Oxford Archaeology Thames Valley Landscape
OAU	Oxford Archaeological Unit
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OUCA	Oxford University Committee for Archaeology
PCAS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*
PSIA(H)	*Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology (and History)*
RAI	Royal Archaeological Institute
SMAM	Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph
UCL	University College London
UEP	University of Exeter Press
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
URP	University of Rochester Press
UWP	University of Wales Press
YMP	York Medieval Press

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Appendices

Appendix I: Relevant Letters of Pope Gregory

The letters of Pope Gregory pertaining to the conversion of the English, including the *Registrum epistularum* number given to each letter by Martyn (2004), the date of composition, addressees, a summary of contents and Bede use of the letter .

No.	Date	Addressee(s)	Contents	Bede
6.10	Sept 595	Candidus, a priest going to Gaul	Gregory instructs that English slaves should be purchased.	–
Letters sent with Augustine				
6.51	23 July 596	Theoderic & Theodebert, Kings of the Franks	Letter of recommendation and request for assistance. Writes of the English desire to be converted.	–
6.52	23 July 596	Palagius of Tours Serenus of Marseilles	Letter of recommendation and request for assistance.	*HE* I,24
6.53	23 July 596	The Servants of Our Lord	Gregory instructs Augustine's monks to proceed with their mission and tells of making Augustine their abbot.	*HE* I,23
6.54	July 596	Virgil, Bishop of Arles	Letter of recommendation and request for assistance.	–
6.55	July 596	Desiderius of Vienne Syagrius of Autun	Letter of recommendation and request for assistance.	–
6.56	July 596	Protasius, Bishop of Aix	Personal letter.	–
6.57	July 596	Stephen, Abbot of Lérins	Personal letter praising the good report of the monastery made by Augustine.	–
6.59	July 596	Arigius, Patrician of Gaul	Letter of thanks for help offered to Augustine and a request for more.	–
6.60	July 596	Brunhilde, Queen of the Franks	Letter of recommendation and request for assistance. Writes of the English desire to be converted.	–
8.4	Sept 597	Brunhilde, Queen of the Franks	Personal letter. Acknowledges her favourable reports of the help Syagrius afforded Augustine and thanks her for her own help.	–
8.29	July 598	Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria	Gregory relays news of Augustine's successes, his consecration and the baptism of 10,000 English.	–
8.37	*Unknown*	Augustine	*Libellus responsionum*: Gregory's answers to questions from Augustine.	*HE* I,27
9.214	July 599	Brunhilde, Queen of the Franks	Personal letter. Informs her of bestowing the *pallium* on Syagrius for helping Augustine.	–
9.223	July 599	Syagrius, Bishop of Autun	Gregory thanks Syagrius for helping Augustine and bestows the *pallium* on him in thanks.	–
Letters sent with Laurence and Mellitus				
11.34	June 601	Desiderius, Bishop of Gaul	Personal letter. Requests help for Laurence and Mellitus.	–

No.	Date	Addressee(s)	Contents	Bede
11.35	22 June 601	Bertha, Queen of the English	Personal letter thanking Bertha for assisting Augustine and attributing his successes to her support.	–
11.36	22 June 601	Augustine, Bishop of the English	Gregory warns Augustine not to take too much pride in his achievements.	*HE* I,31
11.37	22 June 601	Æthelberht, King of the English	Gregory celebrates the conversion of the English and tells Æthelberht to continue this good work. Also sends presents.	*HE* I,32
11.38	22 June 601	Virgil, Bishop of Arles	Personal letter. Requests help for Laurence and Mellitus.	–
11.39	22 June 601	Augustine, Bishop of the English	Gregory outlines the episcopal structure he envisages, based on London and York.	*HE* I,29
11.40	22 June 601	Aetherius, a bishop of Gaul	Personal letter. Requests help for Laurence and Mellitus.	–
11.41	22 June 601	Menas of Toulon Serenus of Marseilles Lupus of Châlons-sur-Saône Agiulf of Metz Simplicius of Paris Melantius of Rouen Licinius	All Bishops of the Franks. A 'round robin' letter of recommendation and request for assistance for Laurence and Mellitus.	–
11.42	22 June 601	Aregius, a bishop of Gaul	Personal letter. Requests help for Laurence and Mellitus.	–
11.43	22 June 601	Asclepiodatus, a patrician of Gaul	Personal letter, presumably delivered by Laurence and Mellitus.	–
11.45	22 June 601	Virgil, Bishop of Arles	Gregory instructs Virgil to receive Augustine well should he come to visit.	*HE* I,28
11.46	22 June 601	Brunhilde, Queen of the Franks	Personal letter, presumably delivered by Laurence and Mellitus.	–
11.47	22 June 601	Theoderic, King of the Franks	Personal letter. Thanks him for helping Augustine and requests further help for Laurence and Mellitus.	–
11.48	22 June 601	Brunhilde, Queen of the Franks	Thanks her for helping Augustine and requests further help for Laurence and Mellitus.	–
11.49	22 June 601	Brunhilde, Queen of the Franks	Personal letter, presumably delivered by Laurence and Mellitus.	–
11.50	22 June 601	Theodebert, King of the Franks	Thanks him for helping Augustine and requests further help for Laurence and Mellitus.	–
11.51	22 June 601	Clothar, King of the Franks	Thanks him for helping Augustine and requests further help for Laurence and Mellitus.	–
11.56	18 July 601	Mellitus, Abbot among the Franks	Revised instructions for Augustine's mission regarding the reuse of pagan temples and the re-branding of sacrifices.	*HE* I,30

Appendix II: Domesday Churches of Norfolk and Suffolk

This appendix catalogues the Domesday churches of Norfolk and Suffolk analysed in Chapters Five and Eight.

FIELD	DESCRIPTION
County	The county in which the site lies: Norfolk (Nor) or Suffolk (Suf).
Domesday Manor	The name of the Domesday manor concerned.
Domesday Hundred	The Domesday Hundred within which the manor lay.
Landholder in 1086	The name of the landholder in 1086.
Entry	The reference for the relevant entry in the Phillimore edititions of Domesday (Norfolk – Brown 1984; Suffolk – Rumble 1986).
LDB Folio	The LDB folio on which the entry begins (Alecto 2002).
Churches	The number of churches or fractions of a church listed in the entry.
Land (Acres)	Where given, the amount of land belonging to a church in acres.
Meadow (A)	Where given, the amount of meadow belonging to a church in acres.
Value	Where given, the value of a church in pounds, shillings and pence.

Entries highlighted in green are those which list fractions of a single church at the given Domesday manor.

Entries highlighted in blue are those which list more than one church at the given Domesday manor.

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Norfolk	Acre	Freebridge Hundred and a Half	William de Warenne	8.022	160v	1	30		
Norfolk	Aldeby	Clavering	Ralph of Beaufour	20.036	230	1	12		2s
Norfolk	Appleton	Freebridge Hundred and a Half	Roger Bigot	9.007	173v	1	12		12d
Norfolk	Attlebridge	Taverham	Bishop William	10.037	196	1	6		6d
Norfolk	Aylmerton	North Erpingham	William de Warenne	8.132	172	1/2	10		
Norfolk	Banham	Guiltcross	William of Ecouis	19.013	223	1	30		22s
Norfolk	Barmer	Brothercross	William de Warenne	8.108	169v	1/2			
Norfolk	Barningham	South Erpingham	William de Warenne	8.008	158	1	9		
Norfolk	Barsham	Gallow	William de Warenne	8.099	168	1	100		
Norfolk	Barsham	Gallow	William de Warenne	8.099	168	1	12		
Norfolk	Barsham	Gallow	William de Warenne	8.100	168v	1	8	1/2	
Norfolk	Barton (Bendish)	Clackclose	Hermer	13.003	206	1	12		
Norfolk	Barton (Bendish)	Clackclose	Ralph Baynard	31.021	250v	1	24		2s
Norfolk	Barton (Turf)	Tunstead	St Benedict of Holme	17.050	219v	2	33		15d
Norfolk	Beckham	Holt	Bishop William	10.065	198v	1	2 1/2		
Norfolk	Beecham(well)	Clackclose	Roger Bigot	9.233	190v	1	30		2s 6d
Norfolk	Beeston	Taverham	Ralph of Beaufour	20.025	229	1/2			12d
Norfolk	Beighton	Walsham	Bishop William	10.025	194v	1	7		7d
Norfolk	Belaugh	North Erpingham	St Benedict of Holme	17.033	218v	1/2	3		
Norfolk	Bexwell	Clackclose	Annexation of Hermer of Ferrers	66.009	274	1	24		16d
Norfolk	Billockby	West Flegg	Bishop William	10.090	201	2/3	7		5d
Norfolk	Bircham	Docking	William of Ecouis	19.009	222v	1	4		
Norfolk	Bixley	Henstead	Roger Bigot	9.032	176	1	24		2s
Norfolk	Blakeney	Holt	Bishop William	10.056	198	1	30		16d
Norfolk	Boughton	Clackclose	Ralph Baynard	31.025	251	1	20		20d
Norfolk	Bradenham	(South) Greenhoe	Ralph Baynard	31.034	252	1	15		15d
Norfolk	Bradeston	Blofield	Bishop William	10.076	200	1	10		10d
Norfolk	Bramerton	Henstead	Roger Bigot	9.028	175v	1	24		24d
Norfolk	Bressingham	Diss Half Hundred	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.024	211	1	15		2s
Norfolk	Briningham	Holt	Bishop William	10.057	198	1	12		12d
Norfolk	Briningham	Holt	Bishop William	10.059	199	1	12		12d
Norfolk	Brockdish	Earsham Half Hundred	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.018	210v	1	12		2s

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Norfolk	Brumstead	Happing	Roger Bigot	9.088	179v	1	9		
Norfolk	Burgh (South)	Mitford Hundred and a Half	William de Warenne	8.082	166v	1	12		
Norfolk	Burlingham	Blofield	King William	1.099	123	1	10		
Norfolk	Burlingham	Blofield	Bishop William	10.068	199	1	30		2s 8d
Norfolk	Burlingham	Blofield	Bishop William	10.073	199v	1	10		10d
Norfolk	Burnham Thorpe	Gallow	William de Warenne	8.105	169	1	80		
Norfolk	Buxton	South Erpingham	Ralph of Beaufour	20.029	229	1	30		3s
Norfolk	Caistor	Henstead	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.015	210	1	11		16d
Norfolk	Calthorpe	North Erpingham	St Benedict of Holme	17.026	218	1	None		
Norfolk	Carleton	Humbleyard	Roger Bigot	9.096	180v	2	38		
Norfolk	Carleton	Humbleyard	Roger Bigot	9.209	189	2	30		
Norfolk	Catfield	Happing	Roger Bigot	9.088	179v	1	20		
Norfolk	Chedgrave	Loddon	Ralph Baynard	31.044	253	1	50	1	40d
Norfolk	Claxton	Loddon	Roger Bigot	9.056	177	1	30		3s
Norfolk	Colkirk	Brothercross	Bishop William (pre-1066)	10.006	191v	1	40		2s
Norfolk	Coltishall	South Erpingham	William de Warenne	8.008	158	1	10		
Norfolk	Congham	Freebridge Hundred and a Half	William de Warenne	8.027	161	1	120		
Norfolk	Corpusty	South Erpingham	William of Ecouis	19.034	225	3/4	9		6d
Norfolk	Creake	Gallow	William de Warenne	8.102	168v	1	5		
Norfolk	Cressingham	(South) Greenhoe	Bishop William (pre-1066)	10.001	191	1	20		20d
Norfolk	Cressingham	(South) Greenhoe	Ralph of Tosny	22.004	235	1	15		15d
Norfolk	Croxton	Gallow	William de Warenne	8.104	169	1	None		
Norfolk	Dickleburgh	Diss Half Hundred	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.029	211	1	30		3s
Norfolk	Drayton	Taverham	Ralph of Beaufour	20.026	229	1	8		16d
Norfolk	Dykebeck	Forehoe	Ralph Baynard	31.042	253	1/4	5		5d
Norfolk	Earlham	Humbleyard	King William	1.206	135	1	14	1/2	15d
Norfolk	Eaton	Humbleyard	King William	1.205	135	1	14		14d
Norfolk	Ellingham	Clavering	King William	1.239	141v	1	24		
Norfolk	Ellingham	Shropham	Hermer	13.015	207	1	20		
Norfolk	Elmham	Launditch	Bishop William (pre-1066)	10.005	191v	1	60		5s 4d
Norfolk	Elsing	Eynsford	William de Warenne	8.006	157v	1	18	1	
Norfolk	Erpingham	South Erpingham	Drogo of Beuvriere	30.006	247v	1	6		6d

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Norfolk	Felmingham	Tunstead	St Benedict of Holme	17.039	219	1	2		
Norfolk	Feltwell	Grimshoe	William de Warenne	8.037	162	1			
Norfolk	Fincham	Clackclose	Hermer	13.002	205v	1/4			
Norfolk	Flitcham	Freebridge Hundred and a Half	Roger Bigot	9.004	173	1	8		8d
Norfolk	Forncett	Depwade	Roger Bigot	9.098	180v	1	15		
Norfolk	Foulsham	Eynsford	King William	1.052	114	1	16		
Norfolk	Foulsham	Eynsford	King William	1.052	114v	1	22		
Norfolk	Framingham	Henstead	Roger Bigot	9.030	175v	1	30		3s
Norfolk	Fritton	Humbleyard	Roger Bigot	9.208	189	1	40		
Norfolk	Fulmodeston	Gallow	William de Warenne	8.103	169	1	None		
Norfolk	Fundenhall	Depwade	Earl Hugh	6.006	152v	1	24		
Norfolk	Garvestone	Mitford Hundred and a Half	Hermer	13.019	207v	1	7		
Norfolk	Gillingham	Clavering	King William	1.239	141v	1	30		
Norfolk	Gimingham	North Erpingham	William de Warenne	8.119	170v	1	28		
Norfolk	Griston	Wayland	William de Warenne	8.071	166	1	10		
Norfolk	Griston	Wayland	John, Nephew of Waleran	49.004	265v	1	24		2s
Norfolk	Hapton	Depwade	Earl Hugh	6.006	153	1	15		
Norfolk	Harling	Guiltcross	William of Ecouis	19.015	223	1	4		
Norfolk	Haveringland	Eynsford	Reynold Son of Ivo	21.029	234	1	10		
Norfolk	Heckingham	Clavering	Godric the Steward	12.042	204v	1	8		
Norfolk	Hellesdon	Taverham	Godwin Haldane	61.001	271	1	None		
Norfolk	Helmingham	Eynsford	Bishop William (pre-1066)	10.016	193	2	10		8d
Norfolk	Hempnall	Depwade	Ralph Baynard	31.006	248v	2			
Norfolk	Hempton	Brothercross	William de Warenne	8.114	170	1	1		
Norfolk	Hemsby	West Flegg	Bishop William	10.030	195	1	20		16d
Norfolk	Hethersett	Humbleyard	Count Alan	4.052	150	1	60		5s
Norfolk	Hethersett	Humbleyard	Count Alan	4.052	150	1	8		8d
Norfolk	Hickling	Happing	Count Alan	4.038	148	1	20		20d
Norfolk	Hindolveston	Eynsford	Bishop William (pre-1066)	10.015	192v	1	26		20d
Norfolk	Hoveton	Tunstead	St Benedict of Holme	17.037	218v	2	16		
Norfolk	Howe	Henstead	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.016	210	1	15		2s
Norfolk	Hudeston	Depwade	Roger Bigot	9.100	181v	1	30	2	

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Norfolk	Hunstanton	Smethdon	John, Nephew of Waleran	49.002	265v	1	None		
Norfolk	Intwood	Humbleyard	Eudo the Steward	24.007	240	1	14	1 1/2	
Norfolk	Islington	Clackclose	Hermer	13.013	207	1	2		
Norfolk	Kerdiston	Eynsford	William de Warenne	8.002	157	1/2	7		
Norfolk	Ketteringham	Humbleyard	Roger Bigot	9.095	180v	1	40		
Norfolk	Kirby (Bedon)	Henstead	Roger Bigot	9.029	175v	1	10		12d
Norfolk	Kirby (Bedon)	Henstead	Roger Bigot	9.029	175v	1	10		12d
Norfolk	Kirby (Cane)	Clavering	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.041	212	2/3	14		
Norfolk	Kirby (Cane)	Clavering	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.041	212	1	20		
Norfolk	Kirby (Cane)	Clavering	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.041	212	1	20		20d
Norfolk	Langhale and Kirkstead	Loddon	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.038	212	1	12		16d
Norfolk	Langham	Holt	Bishop William	10.022	194	2	16		16d
Norfolk	*Letha*	Blofield	Bishop William	10.072	199v	1	5		5d
Norfolk	Letton	Mitford Hundred and a Half	William de Warenne	8.083	166v	1	12		
Norfolk	Lexham	Launditch	Ralph of Beaufour	20.008	226v	1	30		16d
Norfolk	Litcham	Launditch	Hermer	13.016	207v	1/2	4		
Norfolk	Loddon	Loddon	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.035	211v	1	60	4	5s
Norfolk	Markshall	Humbleyard	Ralph of Beaufour	20.035	230	1	6		12d
Norfolk	Martham	West Flegg	Bishop William	10.082	200v	1	50		50d
Norfolk	Mattishall	Mitford Hundred and a Half	Ralph of Beaufour	20.016	228	1	20		16d
Norfolk	Melton	Holt	Bishop William	10.058	199	1	6		5d
Norfolk	Melton	Humbleyard	Ranulf Peverel	32.003	254	1	3		
Norfolk	Mulbarton	Humbleyard	Ralph of Beaufour	20.034	229v	1	15		2s
Norfolk	Mundesley	North Erpingham	William de Warenne	8.123	171	1	12		
Norfolk	Mundham	Loddon	King William	1.183	131	1/2	10		
Norfolk	Neatishead	Tunstead	St Benedict of Holme	17.036	218v	1	10		
Norfolk	Necton	(South) Greenhoe	Ralph of Tosny	22.001	235	1	36		36d
Norfolk	Newton	Docking	Ralph of Beaufour	20.001	225v	1	20		16d
Norfolk	Northrepps	North Erpingham	William de Warenne	8.126	171	1	18		
Norfolk	Norton (Sub Course)	Clavering	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.042	212v	1	20		
Norfolk	Norton, (Blo)	Guiltcross	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.008	209v	1	5		10d
Norfolk	Norton, (Wood)	Eynsford	Bishop William (pre-1066)	10.015	192v	1/3	2 1/2		4d

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Norfolk	Norwich	Norwich	King William	1.061	116v	1/2			
Norfolk	Norwich	Norwich	King William	1.061	116v	1		2	
Norfolk	Norwich	Norwich	King William	1.061	116v	1	12		
Norfolk	Norwich	Norwich	King William	1.061	116v	1	112	6	
Norfolk	Norwich	Norwich	King William	1.061	116v	1			
Norfolk	Norwich	Norwich	King William	1.061	117v	1		1/2	
Norfolk	Norwich	Norwich	King William	1.061	116	2 1/6		6	
Norfolk	Norwich	Norwich	King William	1.061	116v	15	181		
Norfolk	Oxnead	South Erpingham	Godwin Haldane	61.002	271v	1	24		2s
Norfolk	Panxworth	Walsham	William of Ecouis	19.025	224	1	8		12d
Norfolk	Paston	Tunstead	William de Warenne	8.011	159	1	1		
Norfolk	Pickenham	(South) Greenhoe	Ralph of Tosny	22.003	235	1	17		17d
Norfolk	Poringland	Henstead	Roger Bigot	9.037	176	1	12		12d
Norfolk	Postwick	Blofield	Eudo the Steward	24.006	240	1	20		2s
Norfolk	Raveningham	Clavering	Roger Son of Rainard	49.012	267v	1	60		
Norfolk	Reedham	Walsham	William of Ecouis	19.024	224	1	40		6s 8d
Norfolk	Rockland	Henstead	Roger Bigot	9.027	175	1	12		8d
Norfolk	Rudham	Brothercross	William de Warenne	8.108	169v	1	None		
Norfolk	Rudham	Brothercross	William de Warenne	8.107	169	2	60		
Norfolk	Runcton	Clackclose	Hermer	13.014	207	1	30		
Norfolk	Runton	North Erpingham	William of Ecouis	19.022	224	1	6		
Norfolk	Ryburgh	Gallow	William de Warenne	8.106	169	1/2	3		
Norfolk	Saxlingham	Gallow	Bishop William (pre-1066)	10.007	191v	1	12		
Norfolk	Saxlingham	Henstead	John, Nephew of Waleran	49.007	266	1	10		16d
Norfolk	Scottow	North Erpingham	St Benedict of Holme	17.023	217v	1	14		
Norfolk	Scratby	East Flegg	Bishop William	10.043	197	1	36		3s
Norfolk	Sculthorpe	Gallow	William de Warenne	8.098	168	1	60		
Norfolk	Seething	Henstead	Roger Bigot	9.025	175	1	18		2s
Norfolk	Seething	Loddon	Roger Bigot	9.051	177	2	16		2s
Norfolk	Shelfanger	Diss Half Hundred	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.032	211v	1	16		2s 6d
Norfolk	Shereford	Brothercross	William de Warenne	8.112	170	1	12		
Norfolk	Sheringham	North Erpingham	William of Ecouis	19.018	223v	1	15		4s

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Norfolk	Shimpling	Diss Half Hundred	Roger Bigot	9.046	176v	1	10		12d
Norfolk	Shotesham	Henstead	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.016	210	1/4			
Norfolk	Shotesham	Henstead	Roger Bigot	9.024	175	1/2	15		15d
Norfolk	Shouldam	Clackclose	Ralph Baynard	31.022	250v	2	73		6s 1d
Norfolk	Sloley	Tunstead	Ralph of Beaufour	20.033	229v	1	1		2d
Norfolk	Snoring	Gallow	William de Warenne	8.101	168v	1	8		
Norfolk	South Burlingham	Blofield	Bishop William	10.074	199v	1/2	15		15d
Norfolk	Southrepps and Northrepps	North Erpingham	William de Warenne	8.128	171v	1	12		
Norfolk	Sparham	Eynsford	Godric the Steward	12.027	204	1	40		
Norfolk	Stiffkey	(North) Greenhoe	Reynold Son of Ivo	21.025	233	1	30		2s
Norfolk	Stinton	Eynsford	William de Warenne	8.001	157	1	14		
Norfolk	Stockton	Clavering	King William	1.239	141v	1	65		
Norfolk	Stoke (Ferry)	Clackclose	Ralph Baynard	31.026	251	1/4	5		5d
Norfolk	Stoke (Ferry)	Clackclose	Ralph Baynard	31.026	251	1	27		27d
Norfolk	Stoke (Holy Cross)	Humbleyard	Tovi	48.003	264v	1 1/2	23		
Norfolk	Stokesby	East Flegg	William of Ecouis	19.036	225	1	23	?	16d
Norfolk	Stow (Bardolf)	Clackclose	Hermer	13.007	206	1	53		3s
Norfolk	Stradsett	Clackclose	Hermer	13.010	206v	1	30		
Norfolk	Stradsett	Clackclose	Hermer	13.010	206v	1	30		
Norfolk	Sutton	Happing	Roger Bigot	9.088	179v	1	10		
Norfolk	Swafield	Tunstead	Bishop William (pre-1066)	10.018	193	1	28		
Norfolk	Swainsthorpe	Humbleyard	Tovi	48.004	265	1	23		
Norfolk	Swanton	Humbleyard	Roger Bigot	9.221	189v	1	60		
Norfolk	Swanton (Abbot)	North Erpingham	St Benedict of Holme	17.025	218	1	7		
Norfolk	Swanton (Morley)	Launditch	Ralph of Beaufour	20.007	226v	1	1 1/2		2d
Norfolk	Tattersett	Brothercross	William de Warenne	8.110	169v	2	40		
Norfolk	Taverham	Taverham	William de Warenne	8.007	158	1/4	3		
Norfolk	Taverham	Taverham	Ralph of Beaufour	20.027	229	1/4	15		16d
Norfolk	Tharston	Depwade	Roger Bigot	9.099	181	1	40		3s
Norfolk	Thetford	Thetford	King William	1.070	119	1/2			
Norfolk	Thetford	Thetford	King William	1.069	118v	1	720		
Norfolk	Thetford	Thetford	King William	1.069	118v	1			

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Norfolk	Thetford	Thetford	King William	1.069	118v	1			
Norfolk	Thetford	Thetford	King William	1.069	118v	1			
Norfolk	Thetford	Thetford	King William	1.069	118v	1			
Norfolk	Thetford	Thetford	King William	1.070	119	1			
Norfolk	Thetford	Thetford	King William	1.210	136	1			
Norfolk	Thetford	Thetford	King William	1.210	136	1	120		
Norfolk	Thetford	Thetford	Roger Bigot	9.001	173	1			
Norfolk	Thetford	Thetford	King William	1.070	119	3			
Norfolk	Thornage	Holt	Bishop William (pre-1066)	10.008	192	1	32		32d
Norfolk	Thorpe (Market)	North Erpingham	William de Warenne	8.122	171	1	10		
Norfolk	Thorpe, (Bacons)	South Erpingham	Robert Gernon	33.002	255	1	30		
Norfolk	Thorpe, (Gayton)	Freebridge Hundred and a Half	Annexation of Hermer of Ferrers	66.022	274v	1/2	30		12s
Norfolk	Thorpe, (Morning)	Depwade	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.040	212	1	12		
Norfolk	Thorpe, (Shouldham)	Clackclose	Annexation of Hermer of Ferrers	66.014	274	1/2	16		12d
Norfolk	Thorpland	Clackclose	Hermer	13.006	206	1	6		
Norfolk	Thrigby	East Flegg	William of Ecouis	19.037	225v	1	5		6d
Norfolk	Thur(e)stuna	Mitford Hundred and a Half	Roger Bigot	9.134	183v	1	16		16d
Norfolk	Thurketeliart	Clavering	Ralph of Beaufour	20.036	230	1	20		40d
Norfolk	Thurlton	Clavering	William of Ecouis	19.040	225v	1/2	12		10s
Norfolk	Thwaite	North Erpingham	St Benedict of Holme	17.027	218	1	6		
Norfolk	Tittleshall	Launditch	Ralph Baynard	31.038	252v	1	6		5d
Norfolk	Tivetshall	Diss Half Hundred	Abbot of St Edmund's	14.023	210v	2	40		7s 6d
Norfolk	Trunch	North Erpingham	William de Warenne	8.124	171	1	10		
Norfolk	Tuddenham	Mitford Hundred and a Half	Ralph of Beaufour	20.015	228	2	20		16d
Norfolk	Unknown	Humbleyard	Colbern the Priest	45.001	263v	1			2s
Norfolk	Walcott	Happing	Ranulf Brother of Ilger	36.005	260v	1	20		20d
Norfolk	Wallington	Clackclose	Annexation of Hermer of Ferrers	66.016	274	1	26		16d
Norfolk	Walsham	Tunstead	St Benedict of Holme	17.038	218v	1	30		
Norfolk	Walsingham	Humbleyard	Ranulf Peverel	32.002	254	1	60		
Norfolk	Walton	Freebridge Hundred and a Half	Annexation of Hermer of Ferrers	66.021	274v	1/2	15		2s
Norfolk	Walton	Freebridge Hundred and a Half	Roger Bigot	9.002	173	1	30		2s 6d
Norfolk	Watton	Wayland	Roger Bigot	9.011	174	1	20		20d

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Norfolk	Waxham	Happing	Count Alan	4.040	148v	1	20		16d
Norfolk	Waxham	Happing	Count Alan	4.042	149	1	18		18d
Norfolk	West Briggs	Clackclose	Hermer	13.005	206	1	5		
Norfolk	West Carbrooke	Wayland	John, Nephew of Waleran	49.005	265v	1	20		12d
Norfolk	Weston	Eynsford	William of Ecouis	19.032	224v	1	12		4d
Norfolk	Wheatacre	Clavering	Ralph Baynard	31.017	250	2	60		5s
Norfolk	Whinburgh	Mitford Hundred and a Half	Hermer	13.019	207v	1	6		
Norfolk	Whitlingham	Henstead	Roger Bigot	9.031	175v	1	10		12d
Norfolk	Wilby	Shropham	William of Ecouis	19.011	222v	1	10		3s
Norfolk	Witchingham	Eynsford	William of Ecouis	19.032	224v	1	None		
Norfolk	Witton	Tunstead	William de Warenne	8.012	159	1	10		
Norfolk	Wolterton	North Erpingham	St Benedict of Holme	17.032	218v	1/2	4		
Norfolk	Woodton	Loddon	Roger Bigot	9.054	177	1	12		12d
Norfolk	Wormegay	Clackclose	Hermer	13.004	206	1			
Norfolk	Worstead	Tunstead	St Benedict of Holme	17.043	219	2	28		
Norfolk	Wreningham	Humbleyard	Hermer	13.024	208v	1	10		
Norfolk	Wroxham	Taverham	Ralph of Beaufour	20.024	228v	2	33		3s
Norfolk	Yarmouth	East Flegg	King William	1.068	118v	1			20s
Norfolk	Yelverton	Henstead	Roger Bigot	9.036	176	1	20		20d
Suffolk	Acton	Babergh Two Hundreds	Ranulf Peverel	34.002	416	1	30		
Suffolk	Akenham	Claydon	Roger of Poitou	8.071	352v	1/2	5		
Suffolk	Akenham	Claydon	Roger of Rames	38.011	422v	3 parts	12		
Suffolk	Aldeburgh	Plomesgate	Robert Malet	6.130	316	2	60		10s
Suffolk	Alderton	Wilford	Robert Malet	6.159	317v	1	24	1	3s
Suffolk	Aldham	Cosford Half Hundred	Aubrey de Vere	35.006	419	1	7		
Suffolk	*Alneterne*	Blything	St Etheldreda's	21.047	385v	1/2	2		
Suffolk	*Alston*	Colneis	Roger Bigot	7.096	341	1	5		16d
Suffolk	*Aluredestuna*	Carlford	Ranulf, brother of Ilger	39.012	425	1	12		12d
Suffolk	Ampton	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.064	363	1	8		
Suffolk	Ash	Bosmere	King William	1.073	285	1/2	16		
Suffolk	Ash	Bosmere	King William	1.073	285	1	3		6d
Suffolk	Ashfield	Claydon	Hervey of Bourges	67.004	441	1	4		

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Ashfield, (Great)	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.093	367	1	12		
Suffolk	Ashfield, (Great)	Blackbourn and Bradmere	Robert Blunt	66.003	439	1	9		
Suffolk	Aspall	Hartismere	Ranulf Peverel	34.018	418	1/3			
Suffolk	Aspall	Hartismere	Robert Malet	6.206	321	2 parts			
Suffolk	Assington	Babergh Two Hundreds	Ranulf Peverel	34.003	416	1	30		
Suffolk	Bacton	Hartismere	Walter the Deacon	41.007	426v	1	24		3s
Suffolk	Badingham	Bishop's	Robert Malet	6.306	328v	1	60		
Suffolk	Badley	Bosmere	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.053	393	1	14		
Suffolk	Badmondisfield	Risbridge	King William	1.121	289	1	10		
Suffolk	Bardwell	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.082	366	1	8		
Suffolk	Barham	Claydon	St Etheldreda's	21.026	383v	1	16		
Suffolk	Barking	Bosmere	St Etheldreda's	21.016	382v	1	83		
Suffolk	Barking	Bosmere	St Etheldreda's	21.018	383	1	6		
Suffolk	Barnby	Lothing	Earl Hugh	4.039	302	1	80		2s
Suffolk	Barnham	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.089	366v	1/2	8		
Suffolk	Barningham	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.081	365v	1	15		
Suffolk	Barrow	Thingoe	King William	1.120	289v	1	17		
Suffolk	Barsham	Wangford	Roger Bigot	7.040	335	1/2	20		3s
Suffolk	Battisford	Bosmere	Robert, Count of Mortain	2.011	291v	1/12			
Suffolk	Battisford	Bosmere	Hugh de Montfort	31.056	410	1/2	20		
Suffolk	Battisford	Bosmere	Eudo, son of Spirwic	53.003	434v	1/2	20		
Suffolk	Bawdsey	Wilford	Robert Malet	6.161	317v	1	20		3s
Suffolk	Baylham	Bosmere	Roger Bigot	7.058	336v	1/2	12		
Suffolk	Baylham	Bosmere	Annexations of William of Bourneville	76.015	448v	1/2	12		
Suffolk	Bealings	Carlford	Hervey of Bourges	67.011	441v	1	20		40d
Suffolk	Beccles	Wangford	St Edmund's	14.120	369v	1	24		
Suffolk	Bedingfield	Bishop's	Robert Malet	6.075	310v	1/4	6		
Suffolk	Bedingfield	Bishop's	Ralph of Limesy	43.005	428v	1/4	6		
Suffolk	Belstead	Samford Hundred and a Half	Geoffrey de Mandeville	32.005	411v	1/4			
Suffolk	Belstead	Samford Hundred and a Half	Robert of Stratford	71.002	445v	1/4			
Suffolk	Belstead	Samford Hundred and a Half	Countess of Aumale	46.003	430v	1	34		
Suffolk	Bildeston	Cosford Half Hundred	Walter the Deacon	41.001	426	1	40	1	

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Blakenham	Bosmere	William of Ecouis	9.001	353	1	1		2d
Suffolk	Blyford	Blything	Godric the Steward	13.002	355v	1	12		
Suffolk	Blythburgh	Blything	King William	1.012	282	1	240	1/2	
Suffolk	Boulge	Wilford	Robert Malet	6.181	319	1	25		
Suffolk	Boynton	Samford Hundred and a Half	Bishop of Bayeux	16.044	378	1/4	6		
Suffolk	Boyton	Plomesgate / Wilford	Robert Malet	6.172	318v	1	8		12d
Suffolk	Boyton	Plomesgate / Wilford	Robert Malet	6.138	316v	2	30		5s
Suffolk	Bradfield	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.052	362	1	10 1/2		
Suffolk	Bradley	Risbridge	Robert of Tosny	44.001	429	1	15		
Suffolk	Braiseworth	Hartismere	Robert Malet	6.225	323v	1/2	17		
Suffolk	Braiseworth	Hartismere	Robert Malet	6.225	323v	1/2	15		
Suffolk	Bramfield	Blything	Count Alan	3.003	292v	1	28		3s
Suffolk	Bramford	Bosmere	King William	1.002	281v	1	80		
Suffolk	Bramford	Bosmere	King William	1.119	289	1	30		
Suffolk	Brampton	Blything	Ralph Baynard	33.005	414	1	16		16d
Suffolk	Brandeston	Loes	William of Arques	47.003	431v	1	12		12s
Suffolk	Brandon	Lackford	St Etheldreda's	21.005	381v	1	30		
Suffolk	Bredfield	Wilford	Robert Malet	6.182	319	1	36		3s
Suffolk	Bredfield	Wilford	St Etheldreda's	21.085	387v	1	31		
Suffolk	Brettenham	Cosford Half Hundred	Robert, Count of Mortain	2.013	291	1	24		
Suffolk	Bricett	Bosmere	Roger of Rames	38.008	422v	1	15		
Suffolk	Brightwell	Cosford Half Hundred	St Etheldreda's	21.054	386	1	None		
Suffolk	*Brihtoluestuna*	Colneis	Hugh de Montfort	31.009	406	1	6		
Suffolk	Brockley	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.014	358	1	6		
Suffolk	Brome	Hartismere	Roger Bigot	7.075	339	1/2	14		2s
Suffolk	Bromeswell	Wilford	Robert Malet	6.249	324v	1	6		6d
Suffolk	Bromeswell	Wilford	St Etheldreda's	21.083	387v	1	16		2s
Suffolk	*Brutge*	Parham Half Hundred	Robert Malet	6.028	306	1/4	6		
Suffolk	*Brutge*	Parham Half Hundred	Hervey of Bourges	67.005	441	1/4	6		
Suffolk	Bucklesham	Colneis	Robert, Count of Mortain	2.016	292	1	8		
Suffolk	Bungay	Wangford	King William	1.110	288	1	5		
Suffolk	Bungay	Wangford	King William	1.111	288	1	12		2s

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Bungay	Wangford	King William	1.111	288	1	8		12d
Suffolk	Bungay	Wangford	King William	1.111	288	1	30		3s
Suffolk	Bungay	Wangford	Earl Hugh	4.019	300	1	2	2	40d
Suffolk	Bures	Babergh Two Hundreds	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.042	392	1	18		
Suffolk	Burgate	Hartismere	Aubrey de Vere	35.005	418v	1/4	1		
Suffolk	Burgate	Hartismere	Aubrey de Vere	35.005	418v	2	29		
Suffolk	Burgh	Carlford	William of Warenne	26.016	400v	1	8		
Suffolk	Burgh	Colneis	Roger Bigot	7.080	340	1	12		2s
Suffolk	Burgh (Castle)	Lothingland Half Hundred	Ralph the Crossbowman	69.001	445	1	10	1	
Suffolk	Burstall	Bosmere	Bishop of Bayeux	16.018	375	1	26		
Suffolk	Buxhall	Stow	Roger of Poitou	8.049	350	1	30	1/2	
Suffolk	Capel	Wilford	Robert Malet	6.183	319	1	12		2s
Suffolk	Cavendish	Babergh Two Hundreds	Ralph of Limesy	43.001	428	1	30		
Suffolk	Cavendish	Babergh Two Hundreds	Ralph of Limesy	43.001	428	1	20		
Suffolk	Cavenham	Lackford	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.035	391v	1	60		
Suffolk	Chamberlain's Hall	Lackford	Eudo to Steward	28.001	402v	1	60		
Suffolk	Charsfield	Wilford	Robert Malet	6.179	319	1	36		3s
Suffolk	Chediston	Bishop's	Roger Bigot	7.015	332	5 parts	16		
Suffolk	Chelsworth	Cosford Half Hundred	St Edmund's	14.109	368v	1	30	1	
Suffolk	Chevington	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.005	357	1	30		
Suffolk	Chickering	Bishop's	Bishop of Thetford's Holding	19.005	379v	1	8		
Suffolk	Chillesford	Plomesgate	Count Alan	3.093	296v	1	5		
Suffolk	Chilton	Babergh Two Hundreds	Robert Malet	6.002	304	1	5		
Suffolk	Chippenhall	Bishop's	Robert Malet	6.311	329	1/2	20		
Suffolk	Chippenhall	Bishop's	St Edmund's	14.105	368	1/2	20		
Suffolk	Clare	Risbridge	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.001	389v	1			
Suffolk	Clopton	Carlford	Ranulf Peverel	34.015	417v	1	15		2s
Suffolk	Coddenham	Bosmere	Roger of Rames	38.005	422	1/4			
Suffolk	Coddenham	Bosmere	Roger Bigot	7.067	338	1/2	2 1/2		
Suffolk	Coddenham	Bosmere	Roger Bigot	7.067	338	1	12 1/2		25d
Suffolk	Coddenham	Bosmere	Roger Bigot	7.067	338	1	8		16d
Suffolk	Coddenham	Bosmere	Bishop of Bayeux	16.020	375	1	3		6d

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Coddenham	Bosmere	Bishop of Bayeux	16.020	375	1	1		2d
Suffolk	Coddenham	Bosmere	Bishop of Bayeux	16.020	375	1	2		4d
Suffolk	Coddenham	Bosmere	Ranulf Peverel	34.009	417	1	3		6d
Suffolk	Coddenham	Bosmere	Ranulf Peverel	34.009	417	3			
Suffolk	Coney Weston	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.076	365	1	8		
Suffolk	Cookley	Blything	William of Ecouis	9.003	354	1/2	1		
Suffolk	Cornard	Babergh Two Hundreds	King William	1.098	286v	1	None		
Suffolk	Cornard	Babergh Two Hundreds	Annexations of Richard, son of Gilbert	76.004	448	1	15		
Suffolk	Cotton	Hartismere	King William	1.095	286v	1	11		2s
Suffolk	Cowlinge	Risbridge	Count Alan	3.001	292v	1	50		
Suffolk	Cratfield	Blything	Ralph Baynard	33.010	415	1	6		6d
Suffolk	Creeting	Bosmere	Abbot of Bernay	23.004	389	1	10		
Suffolk	Creeting (St Peter)	Stow	Abbot of Bernay	23.001	389	1/2	10		
Suffolk	Creeting (St Peter)	Stow	Walter of St Valery	51.001	432v	1/2	10		
Suffolk	Cretingham	Loes	Earl Hugh	4.018	300	1	18		3s
Suffolk	Cretingham	Loes	Humphrey the Chamberlain	52.005	433	1	8		16d
Suffolk	Culpho	Carlford	Roger of Poitou	8.005	346	1	10		20d
Suffolk	Dagworth	Stow	Hugh de Montfort	31.044	408v	1/2	25		
Suffolk	Dagworth	Stow	Hugh de Montfort	31.050	409v	1/2	30	1 1/2	
Suffolk	Dagworth	Stow	Hugh de Montfort	31.050	409v	1	None		
Suffolk	Dalham	Risbridge	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.006	390	1	40		5s
Suffolk	Dallinghoo	Loes	Count Alan	3.048	294	1	29	2	
Suffolk	Darsham	Blything	King William	1.013	282v	1	6		12d
Suffolk	Debach	Wilford	Countess of Aumale	46.010	431	1	8		16d
Suffolk	Debenham	Claydon	Robert Malet	6.018	305v	1/4			
Suffolk	Debenham	Claydon	Bishop of Bayeux	16.028	376v	1/4	10		
Suffolk	Debenham	Claydon	Bishop of Bayeux	16.028	376v	1/4	10		
Suffolk	Debenham	Claydon	Ranulf Peverel	34.012	417v	1/3	10		
Suffolk	Debenham	Claydon	Robert Malet	6.018	305v	2 parts	20		
Suffolk	Debenham	Claydon	Bishop of Bayeux	16.028	376v	3 parts	1 1/2		
Suffolk	Denham	Bishop's	Roger Bigot	7.004	330v	1	12		
Suffolk	Denham	Risbridge	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.007	390v	1	None		

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Dennington	Bishop's	Robert Malet	6.303	328	1	40		
Suffolk	Depden	Risbridge	William of Warenne	26.009	398v	1	24		
Suffolk	Desning	Risbridge	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.003	390	2	180		
Suffolk	Diss	Hartismere	King William	1.008	282	1	24		
Suffolk	Dodnash	Samford Hundred and a Half	Count Alan	3.072	295v	1	30		
Suffolk	Downham	Lackford	St Edmund's	14.021	359	1	20		
Suffolk	Drinkstone	Thedwestry	St Etheldreda's	21.003	381v	1	12		
Suffolk	Dunwich	Blything	Robert Malet	6.084	311v	3			
Suffolk	Edwardstone	Babergh Two Hundreds	Robert Malet	6.001	304	1	30		
Suffolk	Eleigh	Babergh Two Hundreds	Archbishop Lanfranc	15.005	373	1	22 1/2		
Suffolk	Elmham	Wangford	Godric the Steward	13.006	356	1/5	6		
Suffolk	Elmham	Wangford	Godric the Steward	13.006	356	1	8		
Suffolk	Elmham	Wangford	Bishop of Thetford's Holding	19.014	380	1	6		
Suffolk	Elmham	Wangford	Bishop of Thetford's Holding	19.016	380	1	40		
Suffolk	Elmham	Wangford	Bishop of Thetford's Holding	19.016	380	3	30		5s
Suffolk	Elmsett	Cosford Half Hundred	Roger of Auberville	29.012	405	1	15		
Suffolk	Elmswell	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.073	364v	1	20		
Suffolk	Elvedon	Lackford	Count Eustace	5.003	303	1	15		
Suffolk	Elvedon	Lackford	St Edmund's	14.020	358v	1	15		
Suffolk	Elvedon	Lackford	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.034	391v	1	15		
Suffolk	Elvedon	Lackford	William of Warenne	26.003	398	1	15		
Suffolk	Eriswell	Lackford	Eudo to Steward	28.001	402v	1	60		
Suffolk	*Eruestuna*	Stow	Hugh de Montfort	31.046	409	1	10		
Suffolk	Eye	Hartismere	Robert Malet	6.191	319v	1	240		
Suffolk	Fakenham	Blackbourn and Bradmere	Peter of Valognes	37.001	420v	2	40	1/2	
Suffolk	Felsham	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.058	362v	1	10		
Suffolk	Finborough	Stow	Roger of Auberville	29.001	403v	1	30	1	
Suffolk	Finningham	Hartismere	St Edmund's	14.131	370v	1	26		4s
Suffolk	Flempton	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.012	357v	1	8		
Suffolk	Flixton	Wangford	Bishop of Thetford's Holding	19.015	380	1/2	12		
Suffolk	Flixton	Wangford	Eudo, son of Spirwic	53.005	434v	1/2	10		16d
Suffolk	Fornham (All Saints)	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.009	357v	1	30		

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Fornham St Genevieve	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.053	362	1	14		
Suffolk	Framlingham	Loes	Earl Hugh	4.042	302v	1	60		
Suffolk	Framsden	Claydon	Earl Hugh	4.001	298v	1	30		
Suffolk	Freckenham	Lackford	Bishop of Rochester	20.001	381	1	20		
Suffolk	Freston	Samford Hundred and a Half	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.076	395v	1			
Suffolk	Frostenden	Blything	Ralph Baynard	33.006	414	2	28		3s
Suffolk	Gedding	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.060	363	1	6		
Suffolk	Glemham	Plomesgate	Count Alan	3.095	297	1/2	10		
Suffolk	Glemham	Plomesgate	Eudo to Steward	28.006	403	1/2	10		
Suffolk	Glemham	Plomesgate	Robert Malet	6.049	308v	1	10		
Suffolk	Glemsford	Babergh Two Hundreds	St Etheldreda's	21.010	382	1	30		
Suffolk	Gusford	Samford Hundred and a Half	Countess of Aumale	46.005	431	1/3	8		
Suffolk	Hadleigh	Cosford Half Hundred	Archbishop Lanfranc	15.001	372v	1	120		12s
Suffolk	Hargrave	Thingoe	William of Vatteville	54.002	435	1	12		
Suffolk	Harkstead	Samford Hundred and a Half	King William	1.096	286	1			
Suffolk	Harkstead	Samford Hundred and a Half	Countess of Aumale	46.004	430v	1	24		
Suffolk	Harleston	Stow	St Edmund's	14.036	360	1	25		
Suffolk	Hartest	Babergh Two Hundreds	St Etheldreda's	21.011	382	1	80		
Suffolk	Haughley	Stow	Hugh de Montfort	31.042	408v	1	31	1/2	
Suffolk	Haverhill	Risbridge	Tihel of Hellean	42.002	428	1	5		
Suffolk	Hawkedon	Risbridge	Roger of Poitou	8.034	348v	1/2	15		
Suffolk	Hawstead	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.013	358	1	30		
Suffolk	Helmingham	Claydon	Bishop of Bayeux	16.026	376	1/4	1 1/2		
Suffolk	Helmingham	Claydon	Bishop of Bayeux	16.026	376	1/4			
Suffolk	Helmingham	Claydon	Bishop of Bayeux	16.026	376	1/2	3		
Suffolk	Helmingham	Claydon	Robert, Count of Mortain	2.012	291v	1	1		
Suffolk	Hemingstone	Bosmere	Roger of Poitou	8.059	351v	1/2	15		30d
Suffolk	Hemingstone	Bosmere	Roger of Poitou	8.059	351v	1	3		6d
Suffolk	Hemley	Colneis	Ranulf, brother of Ilger	39.005	424	1	8		2s
Suffolk	Hengrave	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.008	357v	1	30		
Suffolk	Henley	Claydon	Roger of Auberville	29.011	404v	1	2		
Suffolk	Henley	Claydon	Walter the Deacon	41.014	427	1	8		

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Hepworth	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.078	365	1	15		
Suffolk	Herringswell	Lackford	St Edmund's	14.018	358v	1	30		
Suffolk	Hessett	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.057	362v	1	12		
Suffolk	Heveningham	Blything	Roger Bigot	7.027	334	1/4	1 1/2		
Suffolk	Higham	Samford Hundred and a Half	Count Eustace	5.006	303v	1/5	4		
Suffolk	Higham	Samford Hundred and a Half	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.075	395v	1	4		
Suffolk	Higham	Samford Hundred and a Half	Gundwin the Chamberlain	58.001	436v	1 part	2		
Suffolk	Hinderclay	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.074	364v	1	1		
Suffolk	Hintlesham	Samford Hundred and a Half	King William	1.118	289	1 1/2	35		
Suffolk	Hitcham	Cosford Half Hundred	St Etheldreda's	21.042	384v	1	2		
Suffolk	Holton	Samford Hundred and a Half	Geoffrey de Mandeville	32.003	411	1			
Suffolk	Homersfield	Wangford	William, Bishop of Thetford	18.004	379	1	12		
Suffolk	Homersfield	Wangford	Bishop of Thetford's Holding	19.013	380	1	30		
Suffolk	Honington	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.085	366	1	20		
Suffolk	Hoo	Loes	St Etheldreda's	21.095	388	1	8 1/2		16d
Suffolk	Hopton	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.080	365v	1	13		
Suffolk	Horham	Bishop's	Judicael the Priest	64.003	438	1	22		22d
Suffolk	Horringer	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.002	356v	1	6		
Suffolk	Hoxne	Bishop's	William, Bishop of Thetford	18.001	379	1			
Suffolk	Hundon	Risbridge	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.002	389v	1	60		
Suffolk	Hundon	Risbridge	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.002	389v	1	4 1/2		
Suffolk	Hunston	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.950	367	1/2	15		
Suffolk	Huntingfield	Blything	Robert Malet	6.080	311	1	14		2s
Suffolk	Icklingham	Lackford	King William	1.115	288v	1	24		
Suffolk	Ickworth	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.010	357v	1	1/2		
Suffolk	Ilketshall	Wangford	Earl Hugh	4.026	301	1	20		2s
Suffolk	Ingham	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.069	364	1	24		
Suffolk	Ipswich	Ipswich Half Hundred	King William	1.122	290	1	26		
Suffolk	Ipswich	Ipswich Half Hundred	King William	1.122	290	1	26		
Suffolk	Ipswich	Ipswich Half Hundred	King William	1.122	290	1	2		
Suffolk	Ipswich	Ipswich Half Hundred	King William	1.122	290	1	11		
Suffolk	Ipswich	Ipswich Half Hundred	King William	1.122	290	1	8		

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Ipswich	Ipswich Half Hundred	King William	1.122	290v	1	12		
Suffolk	Ipswich	Ipswich Half Hundred	King William	1.122	290v	1	1		
Suffolk	Ipswich	Ipswich Half Hundred	King William	1.122	290v	1	1		
Suffolk	Ipswich	Ipswich Half Hundred	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.052	392v	1	720		
Suffolk	Ipswich	Ipswich Half Hundred	Roger of Rames	38.003	421v	1	1		
Suffolk	Ipswich	Ipswich Half Hundred	Vavassors	74.009	446v	1	20		40d
Suffolk	Ixworth	Blackbourn and Bradmere	Robert Blunt	66.001	438v	1	80	1	5s
Suffolk	Kedington	Risbridge	Ralph Baynard	33.001	413v	1	40	1 1/2	6s
Suffolk	Kelsale	Bishop's	Roger Bigot	7.003	330v	1	30		
Suffolk	Kenton	Loes	Robert Malet	6.271	326	1	30		5s
Suffolk	Kersey	Cosford Half Hundred	Abbey of Chatteris	24.001	389	1	3		
Suffolk	Kesgrave	Carlford	Robert Malet	6.114	315	1/2	2		
Suffolk	Kettleburgh	Loes	Count Alan	3.034	293v	1	16		3s
Suffolk	Kirton	Colneis	Roger Bigot	7.114	342v	1	6		12d
Suffolk	Knettishall	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.099	367v	1	12		
Suffolk	Lackford	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.007	357	1	20		
Suffolk	Lakenheath	Lackford	St Etheldreda's	21.006	382	1	60		
Suffolk	Langham	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.094	367	1	20		
Suffolk	Lawshall	Babergh Two Hundreds	St Benedict's of Ramsey	17.001	378v	1	30		
Suffolk	Laxfield	Bishop's	Robert Malet	6.305	328v	1	43		
Suffolk	Layham	Cosford Half Hundred	Eudo to Steward	28.007	403v	1	40	1	
Suffolk	Leiston	Blything	Robert Malet	6.083	311v	3	100		
Suffolk	Letheringham	Loes	Geoffrey de Mandeville	32.014	412	1	20		40d
Suffolk	Levington	Colneis	Roger Bigot	7.117	342v	1	8		12d
Suffolk	Lindsey	Cosford Half Hundred	St Edmund's	14.113	369	1	10		
Suffolk	Livermere, (Great)	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.068	363v	1	12		
Suffolk	Livermere, Little	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.087	366v	1	12		
Suffolk	Loudham	Wilford	Gilbert, Bishop of Evreux	22.003	388v	1	60		5s
Suffolk	Marlesford	Loes	King William	1.094	286v	1	16		40d
Suffolk	Martley	Loes	Count Alan	3.052	294	1	12		2s
Suffolk	Melford	Babergh Two Hundreds	St Edmund's	14.023	359	1	240		
Suffolk	Mellis	Hartismere	Robert Malet	6.195	320v	1	8		10s

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Mendham	Bishop's	Robert Malet	6.313	329v	1/8	5		
Suffolk	Mendham	Bishop's	Bishop of Thetford's Holding	19.002	379v	1/8	40		
Suffolk	Mendham	Bishop's	Roger of Poitou	8.037	349	1/4	10		
Suffolk	Mendham	Bishop's	Robert Malet	6.313	329v	1	8		
Suffolk	Mendham	Bishop's	St Edmund's	14.106	368	1	20		
Suffolk	Mendlesham	Hartismere	King William	1.076	285v	1	40		
Suffolk	Mettingham	Wangford	Earl Hugh	4.021	300v	1	20		3s
Suffolk	Mickfield	Bosmere	Ranulf Peverel	34.010	417	1/2	2 1/2		
Suffolk	Mickfield	Bosmere	St Edmund's	14.038	360v	1	8		
Suffolk	Middleton	Blything	William of Warenne	26.013	400	1	15		2s
Suffolk	Milden	Babergh Two Hundreds	Walter the Deacon	41.010	427	1	15		
Suffolk	Mildenhall	Lackford	King William	1.115	288v	1	40		
Suffolk	Monewden	Loes	Roger of Poitou	8.022	347v	1	30	1 1/2	5s
Suffolk	Mutford	Lothing	King William	1.023	283	2	43		
Suffolk	Nedging	Cosford Half Hundred	St Etheldreda's	21.043	385	1	7		
Suffolk	Nettlestead	Bosmere	Count Alan	3.056	294v	1	8		
Suffolk	Nettlestead	Bosmere	Count Alan	3.056	294v	1	70 1/2		
Suffolk	Newbourn	Carlford	Ranulf, brother of Ilger	39.010	424v	1	12		16d
Suffolk	Newton	Babergh Two Hundreds	Ralph of Limesy	43.003	428v	1/2	8		
Suffolk	Newton	Babergh Two Hundreds	Ralph of Limesy	43.003	428v	1	30		
Suffolk	Newton, (Old)	Stow	Bishop of Bayeux	16.012	374	1/6	10		
Suffolk	Norton	Blackbourn and Bradmere	King William	1.088	286	1	30		
Suffolk	Nowton	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.004	357	1	8		
Suffolk	Oakley	Hartismere	St Edmund's	14.129	370v	2 parts	12		16d
Suffolk	Oakley and Stuston	Hartismere	St Edmund's	14.137	370v	1	24	1/2	4s
Suffolk	Occold	Hartismere	Hugh de Montfort	31.060	410v	1	8		
Suffolk	Occold	Hartismere	Hugh de Montfort	31.060	410v	1	12		
Suffolk	Offton	Bosmere	King William	1.069	285	1	16		
Suffolk	Offton	Bosmere	Roger Bigot	7.060	337	1	16		33d
Suffolk	Offton	Bosmere	Issac	62.001	437v	1	7 1/2		
Suffolk	*Olden*	Bosmere	Bishop of Bayeux	16.021	375v	1	7 1/2		15d
Suffolk	Onehouse	Stow	Ranulf Peverel	34.006	416v	1	3		

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Otley	Carlford	Humphrey the Chamberlain	52.001	433	1	20		4s
Suffolk	Ousden	Risbridge	Count Eustace	5.001	304	1	30		
Suffolk	Pakefield	Lothing	Earl Hugh	4.041	302	1/2	16 1/2		5s
Suffolk	Pakenham	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.049	361v	1	30		
Suffolk	Palgrave	Hartismere	St Edmund's	14.045	361	2	30		
Suffolk	Pannington	Samford Hundred and a Half	Swein of Essex	27.010	402	1	3		
Suffolk	Parham	Parham Half Hundred	Robert Malet	6.032	306v	1	24		
Suffolk	Pettaugh	Claydon	Hervey of Bourges	67.003	440v	1	2 1/2		5s
Suffolk	Playford	Carlford	Robert Malet	6.112	314v	1	10	20d	
Suffolk	Poslingford	Risbridge	Ralph Baynard	33.002	413v	1	40		6s
Suffolk	Preston	Babergh Two Hundreds	St Edmund's	14.026	359v	1	7		
Suffolk	Rattlesden	Thedwestry	St Etheldreda's	21.001	381v	1	24		
Suffolk	Raydon	Samford Hundred and a Half	Bishop of Bayeux	16.037	377v	1/5	5		
Suffolk	Raydon	Samford Hundred and a Half	Bishop of Bayeux	16.041	378	1/5	5		
Suffolk	Raydon	Samford Hundred and a Half	Bishop of Bayeux	16.041	378	1/5	5		
Suffolk	Rede	Thingoe	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.032	391v	1	12		
Suffolk	Redgrave	Hartismere	St Edmund's	14.042	360v	1	30		
Suffolk	Redlingfield	Hartismere	Robert Malet	6.192	320	1	12		
Suffolk	Rendham	Plomesgate	Robert Malet	6.043	307v	1	24		
Suffolk	Rendlesham	Loes	Robert Malet	6.281	326v	1	20		40d
Suffolk	Reydon	Blything	Ralph Baynard	33.004	414	2	120		10s
Suffolk	Rickinghall (Inferior)	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.075	364v	1	24		
Suffolk	Rickinghall (Superior)	Hartismere	St Edmund's	14.046	361	1/5	5		
Suffolk	Ringsfield	Wangford	King William	1.016	282v	1	15		2s 8d
Suffolk	Ringsfield	Wangford	King William	1.020	282v	1 part	20		3s
Suffolk	Ringshall	Bosmere	Roger Bigot	7.056	336	1/2	15		
Suffolk	Ringshall	Bosmere	William, brother of Roger of Auberville	30.001	405	1/2	12		
Suffolk	Risby	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.001	356v	1	24		
Suffolk	Rishangles	Hartismere	Robert Malet	6.222	323	1	20		
Suffolk	Rushmere	Lothing	Hugh de Montfort	31.034	407v	1/4	8		16d
Suffolk	Rushmere	Carlford	Count Alan	3.019	293	1	20		40d
Suffolk	Sapiston	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.083	366	2 parts	6		

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Saxham	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.011	357v	2 parts	6		
Suffolk	Saxmundham	Plomesgate	Roger Bigot	7.070	338v	1	15		
Suffolk	Saxmundham	Plomesgate	Roger Bigot	7.071	338v	2	24		
Suffolk	Shimpling	Babergh Two Hundreds	Ralph Baynard	33.013	415v	1	60		
Suffolk	Shimpling	Babergh Two Hundreds	Countess of Aumale	46.001	430v	1	30		
Suffolk	Shotley	Samford Hundred and a Half	King William	1.102	287	2	62		
Suffolk	Shottisham	Wilford	Robert Malet	6.238	324	1	13		32d
Suffolk	Sibton	Blything	Robert Malet	6.090	312v	1			
Suffolk	Sibton	Blything	Robert Malet	6.090	312v	2	18	3	
Suffolk	Snape	Plomesgate	Robert Malet	6.133	316	1	8		16d
Suffolk	Soham	Bishop's	St Edmund's	14.102	368	1	50		
Suffolk	Somerleyton	Wangford	King William	1.052	284	1	20		3s
Suffolk	Somersham	Bosmere	Roger Bigot	7.059	337	1/4	7 1/2		8s
Suffolk	Sotterley	Wangford	Earl Hugh	4.030	301	1	7		
Suffolk	Southerton	Blything	Drogo of Beuvriere	48.001	432	1	5		
Suffolk	Stanningfield	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.066	363v	1	16		
Suffolk	Stansfield	Risbridge	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.078	395v	1	15		
Suffolk	Stanstead	Babergh Two Hundreds	Hugh de Montfort	31.041	408	1	25		
Suffolk	Stanton	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.072	364	1/4	7		
Suffolk	Stanton	Blackbourn and Bradmere	Robert Malet	6.301	328	1	4		
Suffolk	Stanton	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.072	364	1	28		
Suffolk	Staverton	Loes	Robert Malet	6.260	325	1	10		20d
Suffolk	Stoke	Ipswich Half Hundred	St Etheldreda's	21.015	382v	1	40		
Suffolk	Stoke (Ash)	Hartismere	Robert Malet	6.213	321v	1	15		
Suffolk	Stoke (by Clare)	Risbridge	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.097	397	1	60		10s
Suffolk	Stoke (by Nayland)	Babergh Two Hundreds	Swein of Essex	27.003	401	1	60		
Suffolk	Stonham	Bosmere	Ranulf Peverel	34.011	417	1/4	7 1/2		15d
Suffolk	Stonham	Bosmere	Roger of Poitou	8.055	350v	1/3	5		
Suffolk	Stonham	Bosmere	Roger of Poitou	8.055	350v	1/3	4		
Suffolk	Stonham	Bosmere	Roger of Poitou	8.055	350v	1/3	5		
Suffolk	Stonham	Bosmere	Bishop of Bayeux	16.022	375v	1	7 1/2		15d
Suffolk	Stonham	Bosmere	Bishop of Bayeux	16.022	375v	1	2		4d

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Stonham	Bosmere	Roger of Rames	38.006	422	1	14		
Suffolk	Stonham	Bosmere	Judicael the Priest	64.001	438	1	16		
Suffolk	Stonham	Bosmere	Judicael the Priest	64.002	438	1	20		
Suffolk	Stonham	Bosmere	Bishop of Bayeux	16.015	374v	2	3		
Suffolk	Stow, (West)	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.071	364	1	12		
Suffolk	Stowlangtoft	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.077	365	1	40		
Suffolk	Stradbroke and Wingfield	Bishop's	Robert Malet	6.308	328v	2	40		
Suffolk	Stradishall	Risbridge	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.100	397	1	30		5s
Suffolk	Stratton	Colneis	Roger Bigot	7.119	343	1	10		2s
Suffolk	Stutton	Claydon	Geoffrey de Mandeville	32.006	411v	1/3	15		
Suffolk	Stutton	Samford Hundred and a Half	Robert Gernon	36.002	419v	1/2	15		
Suffolk	Sudbourne	Plomesgate	Robert Malet	6.143	316v	1	16		2s
Suffolk	Sudbourne	Plomesgate	St Etheldreda's	21.038	384	1	8		
Suffolk	Sudbury	Thingoe	King William	1.097	286v	1	50		
Suffolk	Sutton	Wilford	Robert Malet	6.170	318	1	22		
Suffolk	Swefling	Plomesgate	Robert Malet	6.046	308	1	15		
Suffolk	Swilland	Claydon	Walter the Deacon	41.002	426	1	5		
Suffolk	Syleham	Bishop's	Robert of Tosny	44.002	429v	1	16		2s
Suffolk	Tannington	Bishop's	Robert Malet	6.304	328	1	30		
Suffolk	Thelnetham	Blackbourn and Bradmere	Frodo the Abbot's Brother	12.001	354v	1	20		
Suffolk	Thorington	Blything	Geoffrey de Mandeville	32.019	412v	1	8		
Suffolk	Thorington	Samford Hundred and a Half	Robert, son of Corbucion	40.006	426	1	50		
Suffolk	Thorington and Wenhaston	Blything	Count Alan	3.005	292v	1	10	1/2	
Suffolk	Thorndon	Hartismere	Robert Malet	6.223	323	1	50	1	
Suffolk	Thorney	Stow	King William	1.001	281v	2	120		
Suffolk	Thornham	Hartismere	Issac	62.005	437v	1/4	3 1/2		
Suffolk	Thornham Parva	Hartismere	Robert Malet	6.218	322v	3 parts	10		
Suffolk	Thorpe	Cosford Half Hundred	Roger of Poitou	8.035	348v	1	50	2	6s
Suffolk	Thorpe and Ashfield	Claydon	Earl Hugh	4.006	298v	1	12		
Suffolk	Thrandeston	Hartismere	Robert Malet	6.066	310	1	6		12d
Suffolk	Thrandeston	Hartismere	St Edmund's	14.139	371	1	8		16d
Suffolk	Thurleston	Claydon	Roger of Poitou	8.070	352v	1/2	5		

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Thurleston	Claydon	Walter the Deacon	41.003	426v	1/2	5		
Suffolk	Thurleston	Claydon	King William	1.122	290v	1	1		
Suffolk	Thurlow	Risbridge	King William	1.090	286	1	32		
Suffolk	Thurlow	Risbridge	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.093	387	1	29		
Suffolk	Thurston	Risbridge	Roger of Poitou	8.033	348v	1/2	15		
Suffolk	Thurston	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.054	362v	1	30		
Suffolk	Timworth	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.063	363	1	30		
Suffolk	Tostock	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.065	363v	1	12		
Suffolk	Trimley	Colneis	Roger Bigot	7.097	341	1	20		40d
Suffolk	Trimley	Colneis	Roger Bigot	7.097	341	1	8		8d
Suffolk	Tuddenham	Carlford	Robert Malet	6.120	315v	1	15		
Suffolk	Tuddenham	Lackford	Eudo to Steward	28.003	403	1	30		
Suffolk	Ubbeston	Blything	Ralph Baynard	33.009	415	1	3		3d
Suffolk	Uggeshall	Blything	Earl Hugh	4.014	299v	1			
Suffolk	Undley	Lackford	St Etheldreda's	21.007	382	1	None		
Suffolk	Waldingfield	Babergh Two Hundreds	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.046	392v	1/3	10		
Suffolk	Waldingfield	Babergh Two Hundreds	Roger of Poitou	8.048	350	1	30		
Suffolk	Walpole	Blything	Count Alan	3.004	292v	1	16	1/2	12d
Suffolk	Walsham (le Willows)	Blackbourn and Bradmere	Robert Blunt	66.002	439	1/2	10	1	8d
Suffolk	Walton	Colneis	Roger Bigot	7.076	339v	1	8		16d
Suffolk	Wangford	Lackford	St Edmund's	14.019	358v	1	15		
Suffolk	Wantisden	Parham Half Hundred	Robert Malet	6.038	307	1/4	10		
Suffolk	Wantisden	Parham Half Hundred	Robert Malet	6.030	306v	1/2	20		
Suffolk	Wattisfield	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.079	365v	1	12		
Suffolk	Welnetham	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.062	363	2	40		
Suffolk	Wenham	Samford Hundred and a Half	Bishop of Bayeux	16.040	377v	1/4	6		
Suffolk	Wenham	Samford Hundred and a Half	Robert, son of Corbucion	40.003	425v	1	20		
Suffolk	Wenham	Samford Hundred and a Half	Count Alan	3.067	295	1 part			
Suffolk	Westerfield	Claydon	Roger of Poitou	8.073	352v	1/2	7 1/2		
Suffolk	Westleton	Blything	Robert Malet	6.085	312	1	20		40d
Suffolk	Westleton	Blything	Robert Malet	6.096	313v	1	3		
Suffolk	Westley	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.017	358v	1/3	4		

County	Domesday Manor	Domesday Hundred	Landholder in 1086	Entry	LDB Folio	Churches	Land (Acres)	Meadow (A)	Value
Suffolk	Westley	Thingoe	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.027	391	1	8		
Suffolk	Weston	Wangford	King William	1.021	283	1	20		3s
Suffolk	Weston	Wangford	King William	1.113	288v	1	20		3s
Suffolk	Weston, (Market)	Blackbourn and Bradmere	William of Ecouis	9.002	353v	1	4		
Suffolk	Weston, (Market)	Blackbourn and Bradmere	Robert of Verly	60.001	437	1	12		
Suffolk	Wetherden	Stow	St Edmund's	14.035	360	1/2	15	1	
Suffolk	Wetherden	Stow	Hugh de Montfort	31.045	409	1/2	15	1	
Suffolk	Wetheringsett	Hartismere	St Etheldreda's	21.039	384	1	16		
Suffolk	Weybread	Bishop's	Robert Malet	6.312	329v	1/2	8		16d
Suffolk	Whepstead	Thingoe	St Edmund's	14.003	356v	1	30		
Suffolk	Wickham	Hartismere	Roger of Poitou	8.031	348	1	12		2s
Suffolk	Willingham	Wangford	Hugh de Montfort	31.021	407	1	40		7s
Suffolk	Willisham	Bosmere	Roger of Poitou	8.056	351	1	32		
Suffolk	Wingfield	Bishop's	St Etheldreda's	21.045	385	1	24		4s
Suffolk	Winston	Claydon	St Etheldreda's	21.028	383v	1	8		
Suffolk	Wissett	Blything	Count Alan	3.014	293	1	240		
Suffolk	Wixoe	Risbridge	Ralph Baynard	33.003	414	1	5		
Suffolk	Woodbridge	Loes	Robert Malet	6.287	327	1	19		2s
Suffolk	Woolpit	Thedwestry	St Edmund's	14.055	362v	1	15		
Suffolk	Woolverstone	Samford Hundred and a Half	Count Alan	3.074	295v	1	10		
Suffolk	Wordwell	Blackbourn and Bradmere	St Edmund's	14.088	366v	1	1		
Suffolk	Worlingham	Wangford	St Edmund's	14.121	370	1/2	5		12d
Suffolk	Worlingham	Wangford	King William	1.022	283	2	40		6s
Suffolk	Worlington	Lackford	Frodo the Abbot's Brother	12.003	355	1	None		
Suffolk	Worlingworth	Bishop's	St Edmund's	14.103	368	1	10		
Suffolk	Wortham	Hartismere	Ralph of Beaufour	11.004	354v	2	40		7s
Suffolk	Wratting	Risbridge	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.010	390v	1	32		
Suffolk	Wratting	Risbridge	Richard son of Count Gilbert	25.085	396v	1	13		
Suffolk	Wrentham	Blything	William of Warenne	26.012	399	1	40		
Suffolk	Wrentham	Blything	William of Warenne	26.012	399	1	8		
Suffolk	Wyverstone	Hartismere	Hubert of Mont-Canisy	57.001	436v	1	16		

Appendix III: Church Dedications of Norfolk and Suffolk

The church dedications of Norfolk and Suffolk, listed by saint's name and sub-divided into lists of Norfolk and Suffolk parishes. Based on information contained in Batcock (1991), Cautley (1982), Pevsner (1975), and Pevsner and Wilson (1997; 1999).

Agnes

Norfolk: 1   Cawston

Suffolk: 0

All Saints

Norfolk: 147   Alburgh; Alethorpe; Ashwellthorpe; Ashwicken; Bale; Barmer; Barsham, East; Barsham, North; Barton Bendish; Bawdeswell; Beachamwell; Beckham, West; Beeston Regis; Beighton; Belton; Besthorpe; Billockby; Bodham; Boughton; Brandon Parva; Briston; Buckenham, Old; Burnham Thorpe; Burnham Ulph; Cantelose; Carelton Rode; Catfield; Chedgrave; Cockley Cley; Cockthorpe; Congham; Crostwight; Croxton; Dickleburgh; Earsham; Edingthorpe; Filby; Foulden; Fransham, Great; Freethorpe; Fring; Garboldisham; Gillingham; Gimingham; Godwick; Gresham; Guist Thorpe; Hackford; Hainford I; Hargham; Harling, West; Helhoughton; Hemblington; Hempstead; Hethel; Hilborough; Hilgay; Horsey; Horsford; Horstead; Intwood; Keswick; Kettlestone; Kirby Cane; Lessingham; Letton; Leziate; Litcham; Lynn, South; Marsham; Massingham, Great; Mattishall; Melton, Great; Morston; Moulton, Little; Mundesley; Narborough; Necton; Newton-by-Castleacre; Norwich Fybridgegate; Norwich Timberhill; Oxwick; Panxworth; Pickenham, South; Poringland, East, I; Poringland, Great; Postwick; Rackheath; Rockland; Roydon; Runcton, North; Runhall; Ryburgh, Little; Salhouse; Santon; Scottow; Scratby; Sculthorpe; Sharrington; Shelfanger; Sheringham, Upper; Shipdham; Shotesham; Shouldham; Skeyton; Snetterton; Stanford; Stanhoe; Stibbard; Stoke Ferry; Summerfield; Swanton Morley; Tacolneston; Tattersett; Thetford; Thornage; Thornham; Thorpe Abbots; Threxton; Thurgarton; Thurlton; Thwaite; Tibenham; Tilney All Saints; Toftrees; Tuddenham, East; Wacton, Great; Walcot; Walsingham, Great; Walsoken; Warham; Waterden; Weasenham; Weeting; Welbourne; Westacre; Weston Longville; Weybourne; Wheatacre; Wighton; Wilby; Winch, East; Wood Norton, All Saints; Woodton; Wootton, North; Wreningham; Wretton.

Suffolk: 77   Acton; Ashbocking; Ashfield Magna, (Great); Barnardiston; Barrow; Bealings Parva; Beyton; Blyford; Boxted; Bradfield Combust; Bradley Parva; Brandeston; Chedburgh; Chelsworth; Chevington; Cornard Parva; Creeting; Cretingham; Crowfield; Darsham; Drinkstone; Dunwich; Easton; Ellough; Elmham, South; Eyke; Fornham; Foxhall; Frostenden; Gazeley; Glemham, Great; Hacheston; Hartest; Hawstead; Hemley; Hitcham; Holbrook; Hollesley; Honington; Hopton; Hundon; Icklingham; Ixworth Thorpe; Kenton; Kesgrave; Knettishall; Lawshall; Laxfield; Mendham; Mettingham; Newton; Ramsholt; Rede; Ringsfield; Saxtead; Semer; Shelley; Somerton; Sproughton; Stansfield; Stanton; Stoke Ash; Stradbroke; Stuston; Sudbourne; Sudbury; Sutton; Thorndon; Thurlow Magna; Waldringfield; Wenham Parva; Wetheringsett; Wickham Market; Wickhambrook; Wordwell; Worlingham; Worlington.

All Saints and Margaret

Norfolk: 0

Suffolk: 1   Chattisham.

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Andrew

Norfolk: 100   Attlebridge; Bacton; Barningham, Little; Barton Bendish; Bedingham; Beeston; Bessingham; Bickerston; Bircham Tofts; Blickling; Blo Norton; Bradcar; Bradenham, West; Brinton; Broomsthorpe; Buckenham Tofts; Burlingham, North; Burnham; Buxton; Claxton; Colney; Colton; Congham; Cressingham, Little; Deopham; Dereham, West; Dunham, Great; Eaton; Felmingham; Fersfield; Field Dalling; Framingham Earl; Framingham Pigot; Frenze; Gorleston; Guist; Gunton; Harling, Middle; Hempnall; Hempstead; Hempton; Hingham; Hoe; Holm; Holm Hale; Holt; Honingham; Illington; Irmingland; Kilverstone; Kirby Bedon; Lammas; Langford; Letheringsett; Lexham, East; Longham; Lopham, South; Marham; Massingham, Little; Metton; Northwold; Norwich; Ormesby; Pickenham, North; Pickenham, South; Quidenham; Raveningham; Ringstead, Great; Ringstead, Little; Rockland; Roudham; Runcton, South; Ryburgh, Great; Saxthorpe; Scole; Snetterton; Snoring, Little; Southburgh; Stokesby; Tattersett; Thelveton; Themelthorpe; Thetford; Thorpe-by-Norwich; Thurning; Thursford; Tottington; Trowse; Walpole; Walton, East; Wellingham; Westfield; Whitlingham; Wickhampton; Wicklewood; Wickmere; Windle; Winston; Wood Dalling; Worstead.

Suffolk: 44   Alderton; Aldringham; Barningham; Boyton; Bramfield; Bredfield; Brockley; Capel; Cavenham; Chelmondiston; Cornard Magna; Cotton; Covehithe; Fakenham Parva; Finborough Magna; Flixton; Freckenham; Gedgrave; Glemham, Little; Hasketon; Ilketshall; Kettleburgh; Layham; Lowestoft, St Andrew; Marlesford; Mickfield; Mutford; Norton; Oakley; Redlingfield; Rushmere; Sapiston; Saxham Magna; Southerton; Stratford; Timworth; Tostock; Walberswick; Westhall; Weybread; Wickham Skeith; Wingfield; Winston; Wissett.

Andrew and All Saints

Norfolk: 1   Wicklewood.
Suffolk: 0

Andrew and Eustachius

Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Hoo

Andrew and Mary

Norfolk: 1   Langham
Suffolk: 0

Andrew and Peter

Norfolk: 1   Blofield
Suffolk: 0

Anne

Norfolk: 1   Norwich.
Suffolk: 0

Assumption

Norfolk: 1   Barsham, West.
Suffolk: 0

Augustine

Norfolk: 1   Norwich.
Suffolk: 2   Harleston; Ipswich.

Bartholomew

Norfolk: 5	Brisley; Hanworth; Heigham; Norwich; Slolely.
Suffolk: 6	Corton; Dunwich; Finningham; Groton; Orford; Shipmeadow.

Benedict

Norfolk: 3	Horning; Norwich; Yarmouth, Great.
Suffolk: 1	Gunton.

Benet

Norfolk: 1	Thetford.
Suffolk: 0	

Botolph

Norfolk: 13	Banningham; Barford; Grimston; Hevingham; Limpenhoe; Morley; Norwich; Shingham; Shotesham; Stow Bedon; Tottenhill/West Briggs; Trunch; Westwick.
Suffolk: 7	Botesdale; Burgh; Cove North; Culpho; Haverhill; Iken; Thurleston.

Catherine

Norfolk: 2	Fritton; Ludham.
Suffolk: 3	Flempton; Pettaugh; Ringshall.

Cecilia

Norfolk: 1	Bilney, West.
Suffolk: 0	

Christ Church

Norfolk: 0	
Suffolk: 1	Lowestoft.

Christopher

Norfolk: 2	Langhale; Norwich.
Suffolk: 0	

Clare

Norfolk: 0	
Suffolk: 1	Bradfield

Clement

Norfolk: 7	Brundall; Burnham Overy; Keswick; Norwich Conesford; Norwich Fye Bridge; Outwell; Terrington.
Suffolk: 1	Ipswich.

Crowche

Norfolk: 1	Norwich.
Suffolk: 0	

Cuthbert

Norfolk: 2	Norwich; Thetford.
Suffolk: 0	

Denis
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Wangford.

Dunstan
Norfolk: 1   Saxthorpe.
Suffolk: 0

Edmund
Norfolk: 20   Acle; Burlingham, South; Burnham; Caister, West; Caistor St Edmund; Costessey; Downham Market; Egmere; Emneth; Foulden; Fritton; Horningtoft; Lynn, North; Markshall; Norwich; Southwood; Swanton Novers; Taverham; Thetford; Thurne.
Suffolk: 5   Assington; Bromeswell; Hargrave; Kessingland; Southwold.

Edward
Norfolk: 1   Norwich.
Suffolk: 0

Ethelbert
Norfolk: 8   Alby; Burnham Sutton; Herringby; Larling; Mundham; Norwich; Thurton; Wretham, East.
Suffolk: 4   Falkenham; Herringswell; Hessett; Tannington.

Etheldreda
Norfolk: 2   Norwich; Thetford.
Suffolk: 0

Fabian and Sebastian
Norfolk: 1   Woodbastwick.
Suffolk: 0

Faith
Norfolk: 1   Gaywood; Witchingham, Little.
Suffolk: 0

Felix
Norfolk: 1   Babingley.
Suffolk: 0

Genevieve
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 2   Euston; Fornham.

George
Norfolk: 12   Cressingham, Great; Gooderstone; Hardingham; Hindolveston I; Methwold; Norwich Colegate; Norwich Tombland; Rollesby; Saham Toney; Shimpling; Southacre; Thetford.
Suffolk: 6   Bradfield; Ipswich; Shimpling; Stowlangtoft; Thwaite; Wyverstone.

Germaine
Norfolk: 1   Wiggenhall.
Suffolk: 0

Giles
Norfolk: 6   Bradfield; Colby; Houghton; Norwich; Thetford; Topcroft.
Suffolk: 1   Risby

Good Shepherd
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Lowestoft.

Gregory (the Great)
Norfolk: 2   Heckingham; Norwich.
Suffolk: 4   Barnham; Hemingstone; Sudbury; Rendlesham.

Hallowtree
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Nacton.

Helen
Norfolk: 6   Beckham, East; Gateley; Norwich I; Norwich II; Ranworth; Thetford.
Suffolk: 1   Ipswich.

Holy Cross
Norfolk: 3   Caston; Stoke Holy Cross; Sturston.
Suffolk: 1   South Elmham.

Holy Innocents
Norfolk: 1   Foulsham.
Suffolk: 1   Barton, Great.

Holy Trinity
Norfolk: 12   Caister; Hockham; Ingham; Loddon; Marham; Norwich; Rackheath, Little; Runton; Scoulton; Stow Bardolph; Thetford; Winterton.
Suffolk: 7   Barsham; Blythburgh; Bungay; Fordley; Gisleham; Long Melford; Middleton.

James
Norfolk: 11   Bawsey; Carrow; Castle Acre; Crownthorpe; Ellingham, Great; Gowthorpe; King's Lynn; Norwich; Runcton Holme; Southrepps; Wilton.
Suffolk: 6   Bury St Edmunds; Elmham, South; Icklingham; Nayland; Redisham Parva; Stanstead.

John
Norfolk: 10   Beachamwell; Conesford; Hoveton; Norwich Evangelist; Norwich Sepulchre; Ovington; Oxborough; Rushford; Terrington St John; Thetford; Waxham.
Suffolk: 7   Elmswell; Ilketshall; Ipswich; Lowestoft; Stanton; Wantisden; Wenham Magna.

John Lateran
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Hengrave.

John the Baptist
Norfolk: 17 Alderford; Aylmerton; Bressingham; Coltishall; Croxton; Garboldisham; Harleston I; Lakenham; Mileham; Morningthorpe; Norwich Colegate; Norwich Maddermarket; Norwich Timberhill; Pattesley; Reedham; Stiffkey; Trimingham.
Suffolk: 17 Alteston/Alston; Badingham; Barnby; Brightwell; Butley; Campsey Ashe; Denham; Dunwich; Lound; Metfield; Needham Market; Onehouse; Palgrave; Saxmundham; Shadingfield; Snape; Stoke-by-Clare.

John the Baptist and Mary
Norfolk: 1 Stiffkey.
Suffolk: 0

Julian
Norfolk: 1 Norwich.
Suffolk: 1 Ipswich.

King Charles
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1 Shelland.

Laurence
Norfolk: 1 Walsham, South.
Suffolk: 0

Lawrence
Norfolk: 10 Beeston; Brundall; Castle Rising II; Harpley; Hunworth; Ingworth; Norwich; Thetford; Tilney; Wretham, West.
Suffolk: 9 Bricet Parva; Brundish; Cove South; Ilketshall; Ipswich; Knodishall; Lackford; Waldingfield Magna; Waldingfield Parva.

Leonard
Norfolk: 2 Billingford; Mundford.
Suffolk: 3 Dunwich; Horringer; Wixoe.

Luke
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1 Oulton Broad.

Margaret
Norfolk: 56 Antingham; Bayfield; Blo Norton; Breccles; Burgh; Burnham Norton; Calthorpe; Cantley; Catton, Old; Clenchwarton; Cley; Drayton; Dunham, Little; Felbrigg; Felthorpe; Garveston; Hales; Hapton; Hardley; Hardwick; Hempnall; Hopton I; Kirstead; Lyng; Lynn, King's; Morton-on-the-Hill; Norwich Westwick; Norwich Fye Bridge; Norwich Newbridge; Ormesby; Palling; Paston; Pudding Norton; Raynham, West; Rockland; Saxlingham; Shouldham; Stanfield; Starston; Stratton Strawless; Suffield; Swannington; Tatterford; Thetford; Thorpe Market; Tivetshall; Toft Monks; Topcroft; Upton; Wallington; Waxham, Little; Wereham; Witton; Witton; Wolterton; Worthing.
Suffolk: 20 Cowlinge; Easton Bavents; Elmham, South; Herringfleet; Heveningham; Ilketshall; Ipswich; Linstead Parva; Lowestoft; Mells; Reydon; Rishangles; Shottisham; Sotterley; Stoven; Stradishall; Thrandeston; Wattisfield; Westhorpe; Whatfield.

Margaret and All Saints
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Pakefield.

Margaret and Remigius
Norfolk: 1   Seething.
Suffolk: 0

Mark
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Oulton Broad.

Martin
Norfolk: 15   Alpington/Apton; Buckenham, New; Finsham; Glandford; Hindringham;
                    Houghton; Norwich Oak; Norwich Palace; Norwich, in Balliva; Overstrand I;
                    Overstrand II; Raynham, South; Shotesham; Thetford; Thompson.
Suffolk: 7   Barnham; Dunwich; Exning; Fornham; Nacton; Trimley; Tuddenham.

Mary
Norfolk: 182   Aldborough; Aldeby; Anmer; Antingham; Appleton; Arminghall; Ashby; Ashby;
                    Attleborough; Baconsthorpe; Bagthorpe; Banham; Barney; Barningham; Barton
                    Bendish; Barwick, Great; Beachamwell; Bedingham; Beeston-next-Mileham;
                    Bexwell; Bilney, East; Binham; Bircham Newton; Bircham, Great; Bodney;
                    Bradenham, East; Brancaster; Brettenham; Bridgham; Buckenham, New; Burgh
                    Parva; Burgh; Burgh St Peter; Burgh-next-Aylsham; Burnham Deepdale;
                    Burnham Westgate; Burston; Bylaugh; Caldecote; Carleton, East; Carlton
                    Forehoe; Colkirk; Colveston; Congham; Cranwich; Cranworth; Creake, North;
                    Creake, South; Crimplesham; Denton; Denver; Diss; Ditchingham; Docking;
                    Dunham, Great; Dykebeck; Earlham; Eccles; Ellingham; Elmham, North, II;
                    Elsing; Erpingham; Feltwell; Fishley; Flitcham; Fordham; Forncett; Fransham,
                    Little; Fulmodestone; Gayton Thorpe; Gillingham; Gissing; Gressenhall;
                    Gunthorpe; Hackford; Haddiscoe; Happisburgh; Hassingham; Hautbois, Great;
                    Hautbois, Little; Heacham; Hellesdon; Helmingham; Hemsby; Hickling;
                    Hillington; Hockham, Little; Holme; Holverston; Houghton-on-the-Hill; Howe;
                    Hunstanton; Islington; Itteringham; Kelling; Kenninghall; Kerdiston; Kirby
                    Bedon; Langham Parva; Marlingford; Martham; Massingham, Great; Melton,
                    Great; Middleton; Moulton; Narford; Newton Flotman; Northrepps; Norton
                    Subcourse; Norwich Coslany; Norwich in the Marsh; Norwich; Norwich
                    Unbrent; Plumstead, Great; Pulham; Raynham, East; Redenhall; Reepham;
                    Rockland; Rougham; Roughton; Rudham, East; Rushall; Ruston, East;
                    Saxlingham Nethergate; Saxlingham Thorpe; Sedgeford; Shelton; Shotesham;
                    Shouldham Thorpe; Sisland; Snettisham; Snoring, Great; Somerton, East;
                    Somerton, West; Southery, St Mary; Sparham; Sporle; Stalham; Stody;
                    Stradsett; Stratton, Long; Surlingham; Swainsthorpe; Swardeston; Syderstone;
                    Tasburgh; Tharston; Thetford; Thetford Great Mary; Thorpe Parva; Thrigby;
                    Thwaite; Titchwell; Tittleshall; Tivetshall; Tuddenham, North; Tunstead;
                    Wacton, Little; Walsham, South; Walsingham, Little; Walton, East; Walton,
                    West; Warham; Watton; Weeting; Welney; West Tofts; Whinburgh;
                    Whissonsett; Wiggenhall; Wimbotsham; Winch, West; Winfarthing;
                    Witchingham, Great; Wiveton; Wootton, South; Worstead; Wreningham, Little;
                    Wroxham; Yelverton.
Suffolk: 165   Akenham; Aldham; Ashby; Ashfield-cum-Thorpe; Aspall; Bacton; Badley;
                    Badwell Ash; Barham; Barking; Barton Mills; Battisford; Bawdsey; Bealings
                    Magna; Beccles; Bedingfield; Belstead; Benhall; Bentley; Bergholt, East;
                    Bildeston; Blakenham Magna; Blakenham Parva; Blundeston; Boxford; Bradley

Magna; Bramford; Brent Eleigh; Brettenham; Brome; Bucklesham; Bungay; Bures; Burgate; Burstall; Bury St Edmunds; Buxhall; Capel; Cavendish; Chediston; Chilton; Clopton; Coddenham; Combs; Coney Weston; Cratfield; Creeting; Culford; Dalham; Dallinghoo; Debenham; Denham; Dennington; Depden; Dunningworth; Earl Soham; Earl Stonham; Edwardstone; Erwarton; Farnham; Finborough Parva; Flixton; Flowton; Framsden; Friston; Gedding; Gislingham; Glemsford; Gosbeck; Grundisburgh; Hadleigh; Halesworth; Harkstead; Haughley; Haverhill; Hawkedon; Hazlewood; Helmingham; Henstead; Higham; Hinderclay; Holton; Homersfield; Horham; Huntingfield; Ickworth; Ipswich Quay; Ipswich Stoke; Ipswich le Tower; Ixworth; Kentford; Kersey; Kettlebaston; Lakenheath; Langham; Letheringham; Lidgate; Market Weston; Martlesham; Mellis; Mendlesham; Mildenhall; Monewden; Naughton; Nedging; Nettlestead; Newbourne; Newmarket; Newton; Offton; Old Newton; Otley; Pakenham; Parham; Playford; Polstead; Poslingford; Preston; Raydon; Redgrave; Rickinghall Inferior; Rickinghall Superior; Rougham; Santon Downham; Shotley; Somerleyton; Somersham; Stoke-by-Nayland; Stonham Aspall; Stonham Parva; Stowmarket; Stratford; Sweffling; Swilland; Syleham; Tattingstone; Thornham Magna; Thornham Parva; Thorpe; Thorpe Morieux; Trimley; Troston; Tuddenham; Ufford; Uggeshall; Walpole; Walsham-le-Willows; Walton; Washbrooke; West Stow; Westerfield; Wetherden; Wherstead; Wilby; Willingham; Wissington; Withersfield; Witnesham; Woodbridge; Woolpit; Worlingworth; Wortham; Wratting Magna; Wratting Parva; Yaxley.

Mary and All Saints
Norfolk: 1   Melton, Little.
Suffolk: 0

Mary and Andrew
Norfolk: 1   Horsham St Faith.
Suffolk: 0

Mary and Lawrence
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Bricet Magna.

Mary and Margaret
Norfolk: 1   Sprowston.
Suffolk: 0

Mary and Martin
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Kirton.

Mary and Peter
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Kelsale.

Mary and the Elms
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Ipswich

Mary and Thomas

Norfolk: 1   Wymondham.
Suffolk: 0

Mary and Walstan

Norfolk: 1   Bawburgh.
Suffolk: 0

Mary Magdalen

Norfolk: 9   Algarsthorpe; Beetley; Mulbarton; Oxborough; Pentney; Pulham Market; Sandringham; Warham; Wiggenhall.
Suffolk: 3   Sternfield; Whelnetham Parva; Withersdale.

Matthew

Norfolk: 1   Norwich.
Suffolk: 1   Ipswich.

Matthias

Norfolk: 1   Thorpe-next-Haddiscoe.
Suffolk: 0

Maurice

Norfolk: 1   Briningham.
Suffolk: 0

Michael

Norfolk: 40   Aslacton; Aylsham; Barnham Broom; Barton Turf; Bowthorpe I; Braydeston; Broome; Bunwell; Coston; Creake, North; Cressingham, Great; Didlington; Fincham; Geldeston; Hockering; Ingoldisthorpe; Irstead; Langley; Mintlyn; Moulton, Great; Norwich Plea; Norwich Thorn; Norwich Conesford; Norwich Coslany; Norwich Tombland; Ormesby; Oxnead; Plumstead; Poringland, West; Roxham; Ryston; Sco Ruston; Sidestrand I; Stockton; Stratton; Sutton; Swanton Abbot; Thetford; Whitwell; Wormegay.
Suffolk: 16   Beccles; Benacre; Brantham; Cookley; Dunwich; Elmham, South; Framlingham; Hunston; Occold; Oulton; Peasenhall; Rendham; Rumburgh; Rushmere; Tunstall; Woolverstone.

Michael and All Angels

Norfolk: 2   Booton; Flordon.
Suffolk: 1   Boulge.

Mildred

Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Ipswich

Nicholas

Norfolk: 31   Ashill; Bitteringham, Great; Blakeney; Braconash; Bracondale; Bradwell; Brandiston; Buckenham Ferry; Buckenham, Old; Dersingham; Dilham; East Dereham; Feltwell; Fundenhall; Gasthorpe; Gayton; Itteringham; Lexham, West; Lopham, North; King's Lynn; Potter Heigham; Salthouse; Shereford; Swafield; Thetford; Twyford; Walsham, North; Wells; Wood Rising; Yarmouth, Great; Yarmouth Southtown.

Suffolk: 16   Bedfield; Denston; Dunwich; Easton Bavents; Elmham, South; Gipping; Hintlesham; Ipswich; Oakley; Rattlesden; Rushbrooke; Saxham Parva; Stanningfield; Thelnetham; Wattisham; Wrentham.

Olave
Norfolk: 2   Norwich Colegate; Norwich Conesford.
Suffolk: 1   Creeting.

Osterbolt
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Ipswich.

Paul
Norfolk: 4   Kempstone; Norwich; Thuxton; Weasenham.
Suffolk: 0

Peter
Norfolk: 72   Barningham, North; Bastwick; Belaugh; Billingford; Bittering, Little; Bramerton; Brampton; Brooke; Brumstead; Burlingham, North; Burnham Thorpe; Carleton; Carleton, East; Clippesby; Cockley Cley; Corpusty; Cringleford; Crostwick; Dereham, West; Dunton; Easton; Ellingham, Little; Forncett; Foston; Guestwick; Haveringland; Hedenham; Hockwold; Hoveton; Ickburgh; Ketteringham; Kimberley; Lingwood; Lynn, West, I; Lynn, West, II; Matlaske; Mattishall Burgh; Melton Constable; Merton; Morley; Mundham; Neatishead; Needham; Nelonde; Norwich Hungate; Norwich Mancroft; Norwich Parmentergate; Norwich Southgate; Ormesby; Repps; Reymerston; Riddlesworth; Ridlington; Ringland; Ringstead, Great; Rockland; Rudham, West; Shropham; Smallburgh; Spixworth; Stratton; Strumpshaw; Swainsthorpe; Thetford; Upwell; Walpole; Walsingham, Great; Weasenham; Wiggenhall; Wolferton; Wood Norton; Yaxham.
Suffolk: 62   Ampton; Athelington; Baylham; Beccles; Blaxhall; Brampton; Brandon; Bruisyard; Buxlow; Carlton; Carlton Colville; Charsfield; Chillesford; Claydon; Cockfield; Copdock; Cransford; Creeting; Cretingham; Dunwich; Elmham, South; Elmsett; Eriswell; Fakenham Magna; Felsham; Freston; Gunton; Henley; Hepworth; Holton; Horningsheath Parva; Ipswich; Ipswich Brokeshall; Levington; Lindsey; Linstead Magna; Livermere Magna; Lowestoft; Milden; Monk Soham; Monks Eleigh; Moulton; Nowton; Ousden; Palgrave; Redisham Magna; Sibton; Spexhall; Stutton; Sudbury; Theberton; Thorington; Thorpe (Ashfield); Thurlow Parva; Thurston; Ubbeston; Wangford; Wenhaston; Westleton; Weston; Worlingham Parva; Yoxford.

Peter and John
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Kirkley.

Peter and Paul
Norfolk: 28   Barnham Broom; Bergh Apton; Brockdish; Burgh Castle; Carbrooke; Cromer; Edgefield I; Fakenham; Griston; Halvergate; Harling, East; Heydon; Honing; Knapton; Mautby; Newton, West; Oulton; Runham; Salle; Scarning; Shernborne; Sustead; Swaffham; Tunstall; Tuttington; Watlington; Wendling; Wramplingham.
Suffolk: 13   Aldeburgh; Alpheton; Bardwell; Clare; Eye; Felixstowe; Fressingfield; Hoxne; Kedington; Lavenham; Livermere Parva; Pettistree; Stowmarket.

Petronilla
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 1   Whepstead.

Protase and Gervase
Norfolk: 1   Plumstead, Little.
Suffolk: 0

Remigius
Norfolk: 4   Dunston; Hethersett; Roydon; Testerton.
Suffolk: 0

Saviour
Norfolk: 2   Norwich; Surlingham.
Suffolk: 1   Ipswich.

Simon and Jude
Norfolk: 1   Norwich.
Suffolk: 0

Stephen
Norfolk: 1   Norwich.
Suffolk: 1   Ipswich.

Swithin
Norfolk: 4   Ashmanaugh; Bintree; Frettenham; Norwich.
Suffolk: 0

Thomas
Norfolk: 4   Foxley; Kenwick; Thorpeland; Thorpland.
Suffolk: 0

Thomas a Becket
Norfolk: 0
Suffolk: 3   Bungay; Westley; Whelnetham Magna.

Vedast
Norfolk: 1   Norwich.
Suffolk: 0

Wandregeselius
Norfolk: 1   Bixley.
Suffolk: 0

Winwaloy and Catherine
Norfolk: 1   Norwich.
Suffolk: 0

Withburga
Norfolk: 1   Holkham.
Suffolk: 0

Unknown

Norfolk: 32   Barton Turf B; Breccles, Little; Carbrooke, Little; Carelton Rode B; Castle Rising I; Choseley; Clenchwarton, South; Doughton; Elmham, North, I; Hardwick; Kenningham; Lynford; Mannington; Methwold Hythe; Norwich Castle Bailey; Oby; Palgrave, Little; Pensthorpe; Quarles; Seething B; Setchey, I; Shipden; Snarehill; Snoring, Little; Stanninghall; Stoke Holy Cross B; Thetford, Church at Gas Works/Bury Road; Thetford, Church at Red Castle; Thetford, Church at St Michael's Close; Thorpe-by-Norwich; Thurketeliart; Tottenhill.

Suffolk: 11   Brockford in Wetheringsett; Chipley in Poslingford; Flatford; Henham; Loudham; Pannington; Staverton; Stratton; Undley; Walberswick; Washbrook Velchurch.

Appendix IV: Anglo-Saxon Finds From Churchyards

A catalogue of the 89 churchyards discussed in Chapters Five and Eight in which Anglo-Saxon artefacts have been discovered.

FIELD	DESCRIPTION
Cty	The county in which the site lies: Norfolk (Nor) or Suffolk (Suf).
HER	The record number in the Norfolk HER or the Suffolk SMR.
Name	The name of the church in question.
Early	Whether any Early Saxon pottery or metalwork have been discovered.
Middle	Whether any Middle Saxon pottery or metalwork have been discovered.
Late	Whether any Late Saxon pottery or metalwork have been discovered.
Details	Details of the finds and whether they were surface or excavated finds.

Cty	HER	Name	Early	Middle	Late	Details
Nor	157	Norwich, St Benedict			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	425	Norwich, St Michael at Plea	Pot		Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	1389	Titchwell			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	1853	Warham, St Mary			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	1990	Barmer			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	1991	Syderstone			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	2110	Hindringham			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	2210	Walton, West			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	2344	Massingham, Little			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	2345	Massingham, Great			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	2432	Runcton Holme		Pot	Pot	Surface find.
Nor	2590	Southery			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	2628	Oxborough, St Mary			Metal	Coins. Surface find.
Nor	2828	Bilney, East		Pot		Excavated find.
Nor	3014	Swanton Morley		Pot		Surface find.
Nor	3131	Guestwick			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	3201	Saxlingham		Pot		Surface find.
Nor	3513	Anmer			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	3562	Congham, All Saints		Metal	Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	3770	Gayton	Pot	Pot	Pot	Surface find.
Nor	3941	Pentney	Pot	P & M	Pot	Brooches. Excavated find.
Nor	4015	Narford	Pot			Surface find.
Nor	4019	Lexham, West			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	4053	Newton-by-Castleacre			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	4074	Lexham, East			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	4093	Beeston-next-Mileham		Pot	Pot	Surface find.
Nor	4178	Dunham, Great		Pot	Pot	Surface find.
Nor	4206	Fransham, Great	Pot	Pot	Pot	Surface find.
Nor	4290	Shouldham, St Margaret	Pot	Pot	P & M	Brooch. Surface find.
Nor	4453	Hilgay	P & M			Cremation urn. Excavated find.
Nor	4513	Barton Bendish, St Mary			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	4514	Barton Bendish, St Andrew		Pot	Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	4625	Houghton-on-the-Hill			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	4642	Necton			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	4686	Threxton			P & M	Shears. Surface find.
Nor	4717	Pickenham, South	Pot		Metal	Coin. Surface find.
Nor	5639	Weeting			Pot	Surface find.

Cty	HER	Name	Early	Middle	Late	Details
Nor	6033	Harling, Middle		Pot	Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	6049	Harling, East	Pot		Pot	Surface find.
Nor	6051	Harling, West		Pot		Surface find.
Nor	6167	Blakeney			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	6720	Erpingham		Pot	Pot	Surface find.
Nor	7120	Hempton, St Andrew			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	7277	Longham		Pot		Surface find.
Nor	7297	Fransham, Little		Pot	Pot	Surface find.
Nor	7313	Tuddenham, North			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	7471	Reedham			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	7475	Witchingham, Little		Pot		Surface find.
Nor	7583	Felmingham	Pot		Pot	Spindle Whorls. Excavated find.
Nor	7695	Hautbois, Little			Metal	Strapend. Surface find.
Nor	7912	Costessey	Pot			Excavated find.
Nor	8393	Hickling		Pot		Excavated find.
Nor	8457	Ludham			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	8517	Walsham, South		Pot		Excavated find.
Nor	8523	Burlingham, North			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	8987	Rockland, St Peter			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	8989	Stow Bedon			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	9047	Hockham			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	9064	Breccles		Pot		Surface find.
Nor	9065	Shropham			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	9067	Snetterton, All Saints			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	9646	Thorpe St Andrew			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	10072	Wacton, Little			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	10104	Tasburgh	Pot	Pot	Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	10115	Saxlingham Thorpe			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	10212	Bedingham, St Andrew			Pot	Excavated find.
Nor	10265	Blofield			Metal	Iron knife. Surface find.
Nor	10280	Buckenham, Old			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	10464	Sisland			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	10793	Quidenham			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	10913	Roydon			Pot	Surface find.
Nor	11118	Earsham	Pot			Cremation urn. Excavated find.
Suf	BNC014	Benacre			Pot	Surface find.
Suf	BNH003	Barnham			Pot	Surface find.
Suf	BUR001	Burgate	Pot			Surface find.
Suf	HAD032	Hadleigh		Pot		Excavated find.
Suf	HVH018	Haverhill			Pot	Excavated find.
Suf	IKN007	Iken		Pot	Pot	Excavated find.
Suf	IPS198	Ipswich			Pot	Excavated find.
Suf	IPS205	Ipswich		Pot		Surface find.
Suf	IPS274	Ipswich		Pot	Pot	Surface find.
Suf	IXW010	Ixworth			Metal	Bronze ring. Surface find.
Suf	LXD032	Laxfield			Metal	Silver ring. Coins. Surface find.
Suf	STU007	Stutton		Pot		Surface find.
Suf	SUT029	Sutton			Pot	Surface find.
Suf	SYL004	Syleham			Pot	Surface find.
Suf	WLD001	Waldringfield	P & M			Cremation urn. Excavated find.
Suf	WNG016	Wangford		Metal	Metal	Coin. Brooch. Surface find.
Suf	WSF014	Wattisfield	Pot			Excavated find.

Appendix V: Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of Norfolk and Suffolk

A catalogue of the 216 Early and Middle Saxon cemeteries from the NHER and SSMR analysed in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

FIELD	DESCRIPTION
Cty	The county in which the site lies: Norfolk (Nor) or Suffolk (Suf).
HER	The record number in the Norfolk HER or the Suffolk SMR.
E-ing	The site's Ordnance Survey Easting.
N-ing	The site's Ordnance Survey Northing.
Site Name	The commonly used name of the site.
Parish	The modern parish in which the site lies.

Date   The period to which the site has been dated:

ES	Early Saxon (AD 411–650).
MS	Middle Saxon (AD 651–850).

Category   Sites are categorised by burial rite and number of burials. The categories are:

< 3 Inhs	A cemetery with up to 3 inhumations.
Inh Cem	An inhumation cemetery.
< 3 Crems	A cemetery with up to 3 cremations.
Crem Cem	A cremation cemetery.
Mixed	A mixed-rite cemetery.

FIELD	DESCRIPTION
Found	The date the cemetery was first discovered.

Discovery   The activity behind the site's discovery. The following abbreviations are used:

Ag Prac	Agricultural Practices
Build W	Building Work
Min Ext	Mineral Extraction
Bar-Dig	Barrow-Digging
Oth Exc	Other Excavationss
Mod Bur	Modern Burials
Unknown	Unknown
Met-Det	Metal-Detecting

FIELD	DESCRIPTION
MNC	The minimum number of cremations from the site.
MNI	The minimum number of inhumations from the site.
MNB	The minimum number of burials from the site (cremations and inhumations).
Crem	The percentage of the minimum number of burials which are cremations.
Inhs	The percentage of the minimum number of burials which are inhumations.

Description   A summary of the site highlighting metal-detected sites, the number of excavated burials, where known, and listing any other significant characteristics. The following abbreviations are used:

Cem	Cemetery
Crem(s)	Cremation(s)
Inh(s)	Inhumation(s)
M-Ded	Metal-Detected

Cty	HER	E-ing	N-ing	Site Name	Parish	Date	Category	Found	Discovery	MNC	MNI	MNB	Crem	Inhs	Description
Nor	00165	622690	309830	Eade Rd / Aylsham Rd	Norwich	ES	Mixed	1898	Build W	1	1	2	50%	50%	1+ crems; 1+ inhs
Nor	01011	630600	300170	Bergh Apton	Bergh Apton	ES	Inh Cem	1973	Min Ext	0	63	63	0%	100%	63 inhs
Nor	01012	589180	319540	Spong Hill	North Elmham	ES	Mixed	1711	Ag Prac	2700	57	2757	98%	2%	2700+ crems; 57 inhs
Nor	01047	594800	289800	Illington	Wretham	ES	Mixed	1949	Ag Prac	400	3	403	99%	1%	400+ crems; 3 inhs
Nor	01048	603400	286100	Kenninghall I	Kenninghall	ES	Inh Cem	1869	Min Ext	0	10	10	0%	100%	10+ inhs
Nor	01050	595000	329500	Pensthorpe	Pensthorpe	ES	Crem Cem	1826	Ag Prac	25	0	25	100%	0%	25+ crems
Nor	01054	599440	294790	Rockland All Saints	Rocklands	ES	Crem Cem	1949	Min Ext	5	0	5	100%	0%	5+ crems
Nor	01060	574300	317400	East Walton	East Walton	ES	Mixed	1974	Met-Det	15	11	26	58%	42%	5+ crems; M-Ded mixed cem
Nor	01092	586950	282210	St Barnabas' Hospital	Thetford	MS	Inh Cem	1977	Build W	0	1	1	0%	100%	Unknown inhs
Nor	01120	622020	294350	Morning Thorpe	Morningthorpe	ES	Mixed	1974	Min Ext	365	9	374	98%	2%	365+ inhs; 9+ crems
Nor	01125	581800	308550	The Paddocks	Swaffham	ES	Inh Cem	1970	Build W	0	19	19	0%	100%	19+ inhs
Nor	01142	569570	341100	Old Hunstanton	Old Hunstanton	ES	Inh Cem	1860	Ag Prac	0	10	10	0%	100%	10+ inhs
Nor	01145	567000	340300	Hunstanton	Hunstanton	MS	Inh Cem	1862	Min Ext	0	1	1	0%	100%	Unknown inhs
Nor	01288	568940	342410	Hunstanton	Hunstanton	ES	< 3 Inhs	1964	Min Ext	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	01308	572560	342560	Thornham Fort	Thornham	MS	Inh Cem	1955	Oth Exc	0	24	24	0%	100%	24+ inhs
Nor	01473	569950	336120	Eaton Farm	Sedgeford	ES	Mixed	1932	Met-Det	10	10	20	50%	50%	M-Ded mixed cem
Nor	01489	623240	308450	Castle Mall 1	Norwich	MS	Inh Cem	1992	Build W	0	50	50	0%	100%	50+ inhs
Nor	01490	623170	308260	Castle Mall 2	Norwich	MS	Inh Cem	1992	Build W	0	50	50	0%	100%	50+ inhs
Nor	01529	568240	334350	Snettisham	Snettisham	ES	< 3 Crems	1961	Build W	1	0	1	100%	0%	1 crem
Nor	01609	571060	336280	Boneyard	Sedgeford	MS	Inh Cem	1953	Ag Prac	0	200	200	0%	100%	200+ inhs
Nor	01611	571710	335820	Sedgeford Hall	Sedgeford	ES	Crem Cem	1826	Min Ext	5	0	5	100%	0%	5+ crems
Nor	01659	573660	334310	Fring	Fring	ES	Inh Cem	1989	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	01781	587700	345000	Howe Hill	Holkham	ES	Inh Cem	1721	Bar-Dig	0	5	5	0%	100%	5+ inhs
Nor	02024	594600	338100	Great Walsingham	Great Walsingham	ES	Inh Cem	1984	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	02029	593500	336700	St Mary's Priory	Little Walsingham	MS	Inh Cem	1961	Oth Exc	0	1	1	0%	100%	Unknown inhs; 1 stone coffin
Nor	02030	594300	337700	Great Walsingham	Great Walsingham	ES	Crem Cem	1656	Ag Prac	50	0	50	100%	0%	50+ crems
Nor	02031	592990	336420	Little Walsingham	Little Walsingham	ES	< 3 Inhs	1850	Build W	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	02133	592000	330000	Fakenham	Fakenham	ES	< 3 Inhs	1869	Min Ext	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	02154	595400	332290	Little Snoring	Little Snoring	ES	< 3 Inhs	1943	Build W	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	02266	563600	310600	Boons Pit	Tottenhill	ES	Mixed	1890	Min Ext	50	2	52	96%	4%	50+ crems; 2+ inhs
Nor	02414	N/A	N/A	Wallington, Stow Bridge	Stow Bardolph	ES	< 3 Crems	1852	Min Ext	1	0	1	100%	0%	Unlocated crem
Nor	02757	584100	284000	Thetford Warren	Thetford	ES	< 3 Inhs	1911	Build W	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh

Cty	HER	E-ing	N-ing	Site Name	Parish	Date	Category	Found	Discovery	MNC	MNI	MNB	Crem	Inhs	Description
Nor	03000	604600	319900	Sparham / Bawdeswell	Sparham/Bawdeswell	ES	< 3 Inhs	1743	Ag Prac	0	2	2	0%	100%	2 inhs
Nor	03348	564680	315910	North Runcton	North Runcton	ES	Mixed	1907	Min Ext	10	1	11	91%	9%	10+ crems; 1+ inh
Nor	03392	566310	315880	Middleton	Middleton	ES	< 3 Inhs	1967	Mod Bur	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	03569	571500	323550	Congham	Congham	ES	Crem Cem	1982	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded crem cem
Nor	03573	572050	322400	Grimston Bell	Grimston	ES	Mixed	1929	Build W	1	10	11	9%	91%	10+ inhs; 1+ crem
Nor	03754	574600	317600	East Walton	East Walton	ES	< 3 Inhs	1889	Bar-Dig	0	1	1	0%	100%	1+ inhs; secondary in barrow
Nor	03781	579700	315600	Priory Field	Castle Acre	ES	Crem Cem	1857	Ag Prac	100	0	100	100%	0%	100+ crems
Nor	03969	576700	313800	Narborough / Narford	Narborough/Narford	ES	Crem Cem	1775	Ag Prac	1	0	1	100%	0%	Unknown crems
Nor	03970	577050	314060	Narford	Narford	ES	< 3 Inhs	1939	Ag Prac	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	04291	651930	308860	Great Yarmouth	Great Yarmouth	ES	Crem Cem	1879	Min Ext	10	0	10	100%	0%	10+ crems
Nor	04412	567500	302000	Wereham	Wereham	ES	Crem Cem	1890	Min Ext	4	0	4	100%	0%	4+ crems
Nor	04416	569650	300700	Wretton	Wretton	ES	< 3 Inhs	1912	Min Ext	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	04561	575750	304950	Decoy Piece	Beachamwell	ES	Inh Cem	1915	Ag Prac	0	5	5	0%	100%	5+ inhs
Nor	04598	586050	309300	Sporle - Petygards Farm	Sporle with Palgrave	ES	Inh Cem	1813	Ag Prac	0	7	7	0%	100%	7+ inhs; horse burial
Nor	04801	578000	299400	Foulden	Foulden	MS	Inh Cem	1930	Min Ext	0	7	7	0%	100%	7+ inhs
Nor	04811	576900	296200	Watermill	Northwold	ES	Inh Cem	1838	Ag Prac	0	40	40	0%	100%	40+ inhs
Nor	04985	579080	293420	Round Plantation	Mundford	ES	< 3 Inhs	1925	Ag Prac	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	04986	578770	293980	West Hall	Mundford	ES	< 3 Inhs	1967	Build W	0	2	2	0%	100%	2+ inhs
Nor	05112	580070	293580	Opposite School	Mundford	ES	Inh Cem	1951	Build W	0	5	5	0%	100%	5+ inhs
Nor	05139	581660	293620	Lynford Hall	Lynford	ES	Crem Cem	1720	Build W	10	0	10	100%	0%	10+ crems
Nor	05653	594100	284000	Roman Town	Brettenham	ES	< 3 Inhs	1907	Ag Prac	0	21	21	0%	100%	1 inh; M-Ded inh cem
Nor	05828	586470	282480	London Road Cemetery	Thetford	ES	Inh Cem	1868	Ag Prac	0	12	12	0%	100%	12+ inhs; secondary in barrow
Nor	06033	597980	285160	Middle Harling DMV	Harling	MS	Inh Cem	1981	Oth Exc	0	1	1	0%	100%	Unknown inhs
Nor	06076	593350	283430	Shadwell/Rushford	Brettenham	ES	Inh Cem	1753	Min Ext	100	0	100	100%	0%	100+ crems
Nor	06153	602000	341150	Langham	Blakeney	ES	< 3 Inhs	1936	Bar-Dig	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	06164	602390	340180	Saxlingham	Field Dalling	ES	Mixed	1975	Ag Prac	200	22	222	90%	10%	200+ crems; 2 inhs; M-Ded inh cem
Nor	06872	631790	336210	Mundesley	Mundesley	ES	Crem Cem	1965	Build W	9	0	9	100%	0%	9+ crems
Nor	07438	614570	320380	Swannington	Swannington	ES	Inh Cem	1994	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	07853	618800	313100	Drayton Lodge	Drayton	ES	Crem Cem	1848	Ag Prac	40	0	40	100%	0%	40+ crems
Nor	08277	633720	324000	Smallburgh	Smallburgh	ES	< 3 Inhs	1856	Ag Prac	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	08675	651690	312190	Roman Town	Caister-on-Sea	MS	Inh Cem	1936	Build W	0	139	139	0%	100%	139+ inhs
Nor	08755	N/A	N/A	Threxton	Saham Toney	ES	Crem Cem	1852	Unknown	1	0	1	100%	0%	Unlocated crems

Cty	HER	E-ing	N-ing	Site Name	Parish	Date	Category	Found	Discovery	MNC	MNI	MNB	Crem	Inhs	Description
Nor	08781	591800	300700	Watton	Watton	ES	< 3 Inhs	1952	Build W	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	09035	598300	290300	Snetterton	Snetterton	ES	Inh Cem	1999	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	09036	598400	292700	Shropham	Snetterton	ES	Crem Cem	1829	Unknown	5	0	5	100%	0%	5+ crems
Nor	09082	601300	295780	Great Ellingham	Great Ellingham	ES	Inh Cem	1987	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	09158	601900	291300	Hargham	Quidenham	ES	Crem Cem	1859	Ag Prac	30	0	30	100%	0%	30+ crems
Nor	09628	625400	308780	The Oaks	Thorpe St Andrew	ES	< 3 Inhs	1863	Build W	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	09788	622850	303950	Markshall	Caistor St Edmund	ES	Crem Cem	1815	Ag Prac	100	0	100	100%	0%	100+ crems
Nor	09791	623500	303270	Caistor-by-Norwich	Caistor St Edmund	ES	Mixed	1752	Ag Prac	700	60	760	92%	8%	700+ crems; 60 inhs
Nor	09794	622450	304300	Harford Farm	Caistor St Edmund	MS	Inh Cem	2000	Build W	0	48	48	0%	100%	48+ inhs
Nor	10132	628000	299800	Brooke	Brooke / Howe	ES	Mixed	1867	Unknown	10	10	20	50%	50%	Unknown mixed cem
Nor	10172	624730	294420	The Walls	Hempnall	ES	Crem Cem	1854	Min Ext	1	0	1	100%	0%	Unknown crems
Nor	10231	633010	308050	St Clement's Chapel	Brundall	ES	Crem Cem	1820	Build W	1	0	1	100%	0%	Unknown crems
Nor	10232	633080	307990	Water Meadows	Brundall	ES	< 3 Inhs	1932	Build W	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	10234	631600	308500	Brundall Gardens	Brundall	ES	Crem Cem	1880	Ag Prac	7	0	7	100%	0%	7+ crems
Nor	10279	636700	306400	Strumpshaw	Strumpshaw	ES	< 3 Crems	1841	Min Ext	2	0	2	100%	0%	2+ crems
Nor	10471	647450	304600	Gariannonum	Burgh Castle	MS	Inh Cem	1958	Oth Exc	0	165	165	0%	100%	165+ inhs
Nor	10471	647600	304500	Gariannonum	Burgh Castle	ES	< 3 Crems	1756	Oth Exc	2	0	2	100%	0%	2+ crems
Nor	10597	634490	291330	Broome Heath Barrow	Ditchingham	ES	< 3 Inhs	1858	Bar-Dig	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	10628	634600	293100	Broome Heath	Broome/Ditchingham	ES	Crem Cem	1856	Bar-Dig	5	0	5	100%	0%	5+ crems
Nor	10657	637350	293350	Pewter Hill	Kirby Cane	ES	Inh Cem	1855	Ag Prac	0	21	21	0%	100%	1+ inh; M-Ded inh cem
Nor	10845	N/A	N/A	Kenninghall - Leland	Kenninghall	ES	Crem Cem	1540	Ag Prac	1	0	1	100%	0%	Unknown crems
Nor	10961	615200	285480	Gissing	Gissing	ES	< 3 Inhs	1849	Build W	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	10985	N/A	N/A	Scole	Scole	ES	< 3 Crems	1890	Bar-Dig	1	0	1	100%	0%	1 crem
Nor	11110	632650	288870	Earsham	Earsham	ES	Crem Cem	1850	Ag Prac	10	0	10	100%	0%	10+ crems
Nor	11971	580400	314600	South Acre	Southacre	MS	Inh Cem	1987	Oth Exc	0	119	119	0%	100%	119+ inhs (executions)
Nor	13143	621100	285300	Pulham St Mary	Pulham St Mary	ES	Crem Cem	1900	Mod Bur	1	0	1	100%	0%	Unknown crems
Nor	13670	614600	332150	Wickmere	Wickmere	ES	Crem Cem	1915	Min Ext	10	0	10	100%	0%	10+ crems
Nor	13882	569510	336230	Eaton Farm	Sedgeford	ES	< 3 Crems	1875	Unknown	1	0	1	100%	0%	1 crem
Nor	14472	639290	312130	Upton with Fishley	Upton with Fishley	ES	Crem Cem	1890	Ag Prac	1	0	1	100%	0%	Unknown crems
Nor	15404	572860	320650	Gayton / Grimston	Gayton/Grimston	ES	Inh Cem	1992	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	16841	577870	315310	West Acre	Westacre	ES	Inh Cem	1991	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	17184	636700	297000	Loddon	Loddon	ES	Inh Cem	1993	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem

Cty	HER	E-ing	N-ing	Site Name	Parish	Date	Category	Found	Discovery	MNC	MNI	MNB	Crem	Inhs	Description
Nor	17286	567500	312150	Big Men's Bones Field	Wormegay	MS	Inh Cem	1986	Oth Exc	0	1	1	0%	100%	Unknown inhs
Nor	17797	562580	298020	Hilgay	Hilgay	ES	Inh Cem	1981	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	19576	574800	287900	Hockwold cum Wilton	Hockwold cum Wilton	ES	Mixed	1978	Met-Det	10	10	20	50%	50%	M-Ded mixed cem
Nor	20859	617250	307900	SE of Colney Hall	Colney	ES	< 3 Crems	1984	Met-Det	1	0	1	100%	0%	1+ crem
Nor	21137	569800	292700	Feltwell	Feltwell	ES	Mixed	1992	Met-Det	10	10	20	50%	50%	M-Ded mixed cem
Nor	21862	615710	305550	Hethersett	Hethersett	ES	Inh Cem	1985	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	21925	601150	336650	Gunthorpe	Gunthorpe	ES	Inh Cem	1995	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	21927	578690	314900	West Acre	Westacre	ES	Mixed	1994	Met-Det	10	10	20	50%	50%	M-Ded mixed cem
Nor	23001	573760	334650	Fring	Fring	ES	Inh Cem	1989	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	23120	572100	296130	String Drain	Methwold	MS	Inh Cem	1992	Build W	0	1	1	0%	100%	Unknown inhs
Nor	23345	616590	282990	Dickleburgh Bypass	Burston	ES	Inh Cem	1990	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	24254	640500	292600	Gillingham	Gillingham	ES	Mixed	1987	Met-Det	10	10	20	50%	50%	M-Ded mixed cem
Nor	24620	601350	337800	Bale Dunstan Field	Gunthorpe	ES	Inh Cem	1988	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	25154	585950	284230	Brunel Way	Thetford	ES	Inh Cem	1989	Build W	0	11	11	0%	100%	11+ inhs
Nor	25458	576750	303280	Oxborough	Oxborough	ES	Inh Cem	1989	Met-Det	0	10	10	0%	100%	10+ inhs
Nor	25848	599000	321900	North Elmham	North Elmham	ES	Inh Cem	1990	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	25856	573680	317170	East Walton	East Walton	ES	Inh Cem	1990	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	28645	569750	308250	Shouldham	Shouldham	ES	Inh Cem	1991	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	29344	612050	317150	Morton on the Hill	Morton on the Hill	ES	Inh Cem	1994	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	30039	574500	317400	East Walton	East Walton	ES	< 3 Crems	1993	Met-Det	1	0	1	100%	0%	1+ crem
Nor	30049	569010	306590	Fincham	Fincham	ES	Inh Cem	1991	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	30205	616330	296550	Ashwellthorpe	Ashwellthorpe	ES	Inh Cem	1993	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	30986	N/A	N/A	North Creake	North Creake	ES	Inh Cem	1994	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	Unlocated M-Ded inh cem
Nor	31172	607350	340560	Holt	Holt	ES	Inh Cem	1995	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	31558	599960	339640	Crooked Field	Field Dalling	ES	< 3 Inhs	1999	Met-Det	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	32340	584510	342020	Burnham Thorpe	Burnham Thorpe	ES	Inh Cem	1997	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	32605	586300	328270	Tattersett	Tattersett	ES	Inh Cem	1996	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	32608	587540	328260	South Mill Field	Dunton/Tattersett	ES	Inh Cem	1996	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	32821	600000	336200	Gunthorpe	Gunthorpe	ES	Inh Cem	1996	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	33176	606100	289400	Banham	Banham	ES	Inh Cem	1997	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	34131	576620	302950	Oxborough	Oxborough	ES	Inh Cem	1998	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	34355	577010	303070	Oxborough	Oxborough	ES	Inh Cem	1999	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem

Cty	HER	E-ing	N-ing	Site Name	Parish	Date	Category	Found	Discovery	MNC	MNI	MNB	Crem	Inhs	Description
Nor	34655	609280	342350	Kelling	Kelling	ES	< 3 Inhs	1997	Met-Det	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	34859	612000	291880	Carleton Rode	Carleton Rode	ES	< 3 Inhs	1997	Met-Det	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	34886	613200	312100	Easton	Easton	ES	< 3 Inhs	1998	Met-Det	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Nor	34965	576760	303720	Oxborough	Oxborough	ES	Inh Cem	1999	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	34984	597640	298130	Rocklands	Rocklands	ES	Inh Cem	1995	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	35101	589400	299800	Little Cressingham	Little Cressingham	ES	Mixed	1999	Met-Det	10	10	20	50%	50%	M-Ded mixed cem
Nor	35988	570050	307850	Shouldham	Shouldham	ES	Mixed	2001	Met-Det	10	10	20	50%	50%	M-Ded mixed cem
Nor	36629	605520	312270	Mattishall	Mattishall	ES	Inh Cem	2001	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	37159	599500	318840	Roostinghill Quarry	Hoe	ES	Mixed	2002	Build W	10	1	11	91%	9%	10+ crems; 1 inh
Nor	37217	569030	337170	Heacham	Heacham	ES	Inh Cem	2002	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Nor	37349	588400	283500	Broon Covert	Kilverstone	ES	Mixed	2002	Build W	1	6	7	14%	86%	6 inhs; 1 crem
Nor	37622	589300	320300	Tittleshall	Tittleshall	ES	Inh Cem	2003	Build W	2	26	28	7%	93%	2 crems; 26 inhs
Nor	41004	583820	328880	East Rudham	East Rudham	ES	Inh Cem	2004	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Suf	BAA008	599450	269340	Badwell Ash	Badwell Ash	ES	Inh Cem	1922	Min Ext	0	30	30	0%	100%	30+ inhs
Suf	BAR034	593720	273900	Mill Farm	Bardwell	ES	< 3 Inhs	1988	Met-Det	0	1	1	0%	100%	1+ inh
Suf	BARMisc	594300	272800	Bardwell	Bardwell	ES	Inh Cem	1845	Unknown	0	3	3	0%	100%	3+ inhs
Suf	BEL010	623170	246600	Little Bealings	Little Bealings	ES	Mixed	1966	Min Ext	1	1	2	50%	50%	1 inh; 1 crem
Suf	BGL017	623660	245030	Brightwell	Brightwell	ES	< 3 Crems	1919	Bar-Dig	4	0	4	100%	0%	1 crem; primary in barrow
Suf	BML018	628900	249400	Sutton Hoo Visitor Centre	Bromeswell	ES	Mixed	2000	Build W	18	5	23	78%	22%	18 crems; 5 inhs
Suf	BNH016	588670	279760	Barnham Heath	Barnham	ES	< 3 Inhs	1914	Bar-Dig	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh; secondary in barrow
Suf	BOT004	N/A	N/A	Back Hills	Botesdale	ES	< 3 Crems	1720	Unknown	2	0	2	100%	0%	2 crems
Suf	BRD018	577900	286560	Staunch Meadow	Brandon	MS	Inh Cem	18??	Min Ext	0	184	184	0%	100%	153 inhs; 31 inhs
Suf	BSE005	584610	265840	Northumberland Avenue	Bury St Edmunds	ES	Inh Cem	1954	Build W	0	30	30	0%	100%	30+ inhs
Suf	BSE007	585260	262950	Hardwick Ln & Barons Rd	Bury St Edmunds	ES	Inh Cem	1958	Build W	0	7	7	0%	100%	4 inhs; 3 inhs
Suf	BSE030	584250	263380	Westgarth Gardens	Bury St Edmunds	ES	Mixed	1972	Build W	4	65	69	6%	94%	65 inhs; 4 crems
Suf	BSE183	585300	264200	High Baxter Street	Bury St Edmunds	MS	< 3 Inhs	2001	Build W	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Suf	BUN003	634700	289000	Joyce Road	Bungay	ES	< 3 Inhs	1951	Build W	0	2	2	0%	100%	2 inhs
Suf	BUNMisc	632700	288000	Stow Park	Bungay	ES	Crem Cem	1855	Ag Prac	1	0	1	100%	0%	Unknown crems
Suf	BUT001	639000	248500	Burrow Hill	Butley	MS	Inh Cem	1898	Min Ext	0	200	200	0%	100%	200+ inhs
Suf	CAC016	651900	289900	Bloodmoor Hill	Carlton Colville	MS	Inh Cem	1998	Build W	0	24	24	0%	100%	24 inhs
Suf	CAM002	576200	269900	Park Farm	Cavenham	ES	Inh Cem	1900	Ag Prac	0	10	10	0%	100%	10+ inhs
Suf	CDD003	611600	252750	Coddenham	Coddenham	ES	< 3 Inhs	1958	Build W	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh

Cty	HER	E-ing	N-ing	Site Name	Parish	Date	Category	Found	Discovery	MNC	MNI	MNB	Crem	Inhs	Description
Suf	CDD050	612000	253800	Shrublands Park Quarry	Coddenham	MS	Inh Cem	1999	Min Ext	0	50	50	0%	100%	50+ inhs
Suf	COL001	588820	238600	Little Cornard	Little Cornard	ES	< 3 Inhs	1868	Min Ext	0	1	1	0%	100%	1+ inh
Suf	COT015	606580	268400	Station Road	Cotton	ES	Mixed	1849	Build W	1	1	2	50%	50%	1+ inh; 1+ crems
Suf	ERL003	573350	277840	Hardpiece Field	Eriswell	ES	Inh Cem	1915	Ag Prac	0	10	10	0%	100%	10+ inhs
Suf	ERL008	573110	280310	Lakenheath Airfield	Eriswell	ES	Inh Cem	1957	Build W	0	100	100	0%	100%	100 inhs
Suf	ERL046	573020	280270	Lakenheath Airfield	Eriswell	ES	Inh Cem	1981	Build W	0	62	62	0%	100%	62 inhs
Suf	ERL104	572950	280400	Lakenheath Airfield	Eriswell	ES	Mixed	1997	Build W	12	257	269	4%	96%	257 inhs; 12+ crems
Suf	EXG005	562550	265860	Windmill Hill	Newmarket	ES	Inh Cem	1894	Min Ext	0	11	11	0%	100%	11+ inhs
Suf	EYE003	615660	274890	Waterloo Plantation	Eye	ES	Crem Cem	1818	Min Ext	150	0	150	100%	0%	150+ crems
Suf	EYE060	613800	270900	Clint Road	Eye	ES	Inh Cem	2002	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Suf	FKM001	590600	277230	Hercules Went	Fakenham Magna	ES	< 3 Inhs	1951	Min Ext	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Suf	FLN008	630200	286530	Flixton Park	Flixton	ES	< 3 Inhs	1990	Min Ext	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh; secondary in barrow
Suf	FLN053	630300	286400	Flixton Park Quarry	Flixton	ES	Inh Cem	1998	Min Ext	0	200	200	0%	100%	200+ inhs; 11 secondary in ring-ditch
Suf	FRK038	566900	271720	Freckenham Hall	Freckenham	ES	Inh Cem	1995	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Suf	FSGMisc	583900	269400	Fornham St Genevieve	Fornham St Genevieve	ES	< 3 Inhs	1840	Ag Prac	0	2	2	0%	100%	2+ inhs
Suf	FSMMisc	N/A	N/A	Fornham St Martin	Fornham St Martin	ES	Inh Cem	1888	Min Ext	0	1	1	0%	100%	Unknown inhs
Suf	GSE003	651950	289750	Bloodmoor Hill	Gisleham	ES	Inh Cem	1758	Bar-Dig	0	1	1	0%	100%	Unknown inh; primary in barrow
Suf	HAD059	602500	243100	Aldham Mill Hill	Hadleigh	MS	Inh Cem	2000	Build W	0	4	4	0%	100%	4 inhs around ring ditch
Suf	HCH013	630880	256920	Gallows Hill	Hacheston	ES	< 3 Inhs	1986	Min Ext	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh; primary in ring-ditch
Suf	HMG018	614300	253650	Church Farm	Hemingstone	ES	Inh Cem	1997	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Suf	HMG019	613500	252900	Hemingstone	Hemingstone	ES	Inh Cem	1994	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Suf	HNY017	602660	276110	Hinderclay	Hinderclay	ES	Inh Cem	1988	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Suf	IKL026	577750	272340	Mitchell's Hill	Icklingham	ES	Inh Cem	1850	Min Ext	0	25	25	0%	100%	25+ inhs; secondary in barrow
Suf	IPS016	614640	244540	Hadleigh Road	Ipswich	ES	Mixed	1906	Ag Prac	13	159	172	8%	92%	159 inhs; 13+ crems
Suf	IPS228	616330	244500	Buttermarket	Ipswich	MS	Inh Cem	1987	Build W	0	77	77	0%	100%	77 inhs
Suf	IPS231	614040	245370	Boss Hall	Ipswich	MS	Mixed	1990	Build W	4	27	31	13%	87%	27 inhs; 4 crems
Suf	IPS247	613270	247200	Whitehouse Ind Est	Ipswich	MS	Inh Cem	1993	Build W	0	21	21	0%	100%	21 inhs
Suf	IPS411	615900	244500	Elm Street	Ipswich	MS	Inh Cem	1975	Build W	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh (bone spread)
Suf	IPS414	616100	243600	36 Philip Road	Ipswich	MS	< 3 Inhs	2002	Build W	0	2	2	0%	100%	2+ inhs
Suf	IXT002	592410	272010	Crows Field	Ixworth Thorpe	ES	< 3 Inhs	1944	Min Ext	0	1	1	0%	100%	1+ inh
Suf	IXT007	592080	273440	Holmes Wood	Ixworth Thorpe	ES	Mixed	1964	Min Ext	1	1	2	50%	50%	Unknown inhs; unknown crems
Suf	IXW005	593300	270100	Stow Road	Ixworth	ES	Mixed	1868	Ag Prac	9	1	10	90%	10%	1+ inhs; 9 crems

Cty	HER	E-ing	N-ing	Site Name	Parish	Date	Category	Found	Discovery	MNC	MNI	MNB	Crem	Inhs	Description
Suf	LGH005	597850	269200	Langham Hall	Langham	ES	< 3 Inhs	1958	Ag Prac	0	1	1	0%	100%	Unknown inhs
Suf	LKD001	577600	271430	Mill Heath	Lackford	ES	Crem Cem	1874	Unknown	530	0	530	100%	0%	530+ crems
Suf	LKD045	580000	270400	Lackford	Lackford	ES	Inh Cem	1998	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Suf	LKH041	572700	283100	Rearing Field	Lakenheath	ES	Inh Cem	1888	Ag Prac	0	15	15	0%	100%	15+ inhs
Suf	LKH042	572900	283020	Rearing Field	Lakenheath	ES	Mixed	1953	Oth Exc	1	1	2	50%	50%	Unknown inhs; unknown crems
Suf	MNL001	574400	274200	Warren Hill	Mildenhall	ES	Inh Cem	1820	Bar-Dig	0	16	16	0%	100%	16+ inhs; secondary in barrow
Suf	MNL084	571400	276570	Holywell Row	Mildenhall	ES	Inh Cem	1834	Min Ext	0	100	100	0%	100%	100+ inhs
Suf	PKM006	593500	269160	Grimstone End	Pakenham	ES	< 3 Inhs	1953	Min Ext	0	3	3	0%	100%	3 inhs; secondary in barrow
Suf	PLY010	621400	247450	Playford	Playford	ES	Inh Cem	1983	Met-Det	0	20	20	0%	100%	M-Ded inh cem
Suf	PRH002	630400	261000	Fryer's Close	Parham	ES	< 3 Inhs	1734	Min Ext	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Suf	RBY001	577370	266120	Barrow Bottom	Risby	ES	< 3 Inhs	1771	Build W	0	2	2	0%	100%	2+ inhs; secondary in barrow
Suf	RBY003	577610	267830	Risby	Risby	ES	Mixed	1869	Bar-Dig	3	5	8	38%	63%	5 inhs; 3 crems; secondary in barrow
Suf	RKN012	602030	275050	Rickinghall	Rickinghall	ES	< 3 Inhs	1860	Min Ext	0	2	2	0%	100%	2+ inhs
Suf	SNP007	640200	259300	Snape	Snape	ES	Mixed	1827	Bar-Dig	52	48	100	52%	48%	48 inhs; 52 crems; 1 ship
Suf	SNTMisc	N/A	N/A	Stanton	Stanton	ES	< 3 Inhs	1845	Unknown	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh
Suf	SUT038	628780	248700	Sutton Hoo	Sutton	ES	Mixed	1860	Bar-Dig	8	7	15	53%	47%	2 ships; 5 inhs; 8 crems; 40 executions
Suf	TDD001	574100	270370	Tuddenham	Tuddenham	ES	Mixed	1896	Min Ext	7	2	9	78%	22%	2+ inhs; 7+ crems
Suf	THDMisc	613600	269900	White House Farm	Thorndon	ES	< 3 Inhs	1870	Ag Prac	0	1	1	0%	100%	1+ inh
Suf	UFFMisc	629510	252120	Ufford	Ufford	ES	Inh Cem	1819	Ag Prac	0	5	5	0%	100%	5+ inhs
Suf	WBG022	626840	249640	Woodbridge School	Woodbridge	ES	< 3 Inhs	1873	Ag Prac	0	1	1	0%	100%	1 inh; possible mound
Suf	WLD001	628200	244200	All Saints Church	Waldringfield	ES	< 3 Crems	1841	Mod Bur	1	0	1	100%	0%	1 crem
Suf	WSW002	579700	271350	West Stow	West Stow	MS	< 3 Inhs	1957	Oth Exc	0	2	2	0%	100%	2 inhs
Suf	WSW003	580030	271560	Wideham Cottage	West Stow	ES	Mixed	1849	Min Ext	1	100	101	1%	99%	100+ inhs; 1+ crems
Suf	YAX016	613200	274200	Yaxley	Yaxley	ES	Crem Cem	2000	Met-Det	20	0	20	100%	0%	M-Ded crem cem