

# EAST ANGLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

REPORT NO. 12

The Barrows of  
East Anglia



NORFOLK MUSEUMS SERVICE

SUFFOLK COUNTY COUNCIL

ESSEX COUNTY COUNCIL

1981

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Typed by Joan Daniells

Cover illustration by Sue White, after an 1827 watercolour by  
S.Woodward of a barrow at Eaton, Norfolk

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CAMBRIDGESHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL

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# The Barrows of East Anglia

by

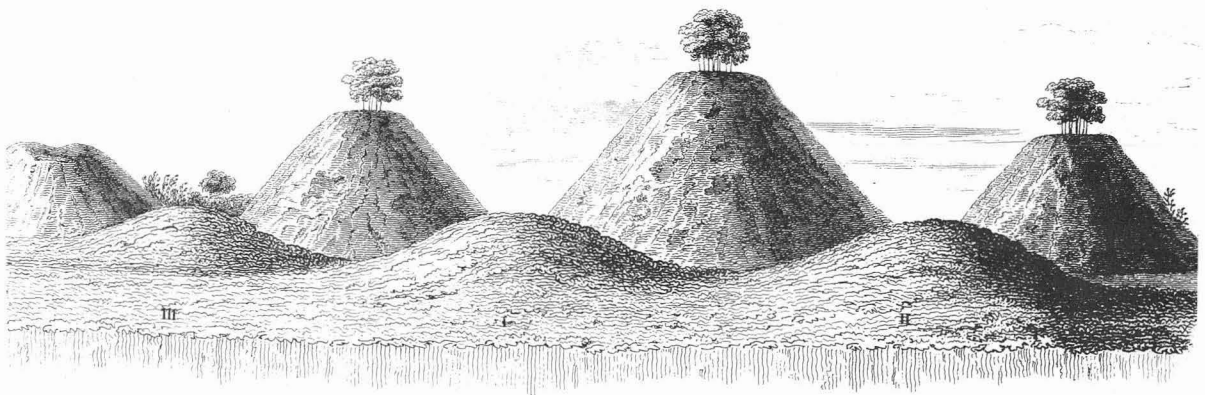
Andrew J. Lawson, Edward A. Martin

and

Deborah Priddy,

with an appendix by

Alison Taylor



*Perspective View of the Barrow Hills (from the N.W.)*

'... past barrows where slept the heroes of old times, Briton, Roman, Saxon, Dane; forefathers of his own, perhaps, among them. Ay - that was the place for a hero to sleep in. Not choked in a minster charnel-house, amid green damp, and droning monks; but out under the full sky, with his weapons round him, his horse, his dog, the antlers of his game; where he might come up out of his barrow on moonlit nights and scent the rushing breeze ...'

Charles Kingsley,  
Hereward the Wake,  
1886, Ch.XXX

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## EDITORIAL

The barrow surveys published in this volume are based on information contained within the sites and monuments registers maintained by the archaeological sections of the relevant County Councils. These records comprise information from maps, drawings, photographs, documents and published sources, together with field observations and excavation accounts. Where no published reference is given the information is derived from the appropriate sites and monuments register.

Gazetteers of all known or suspected barrows within the counties of Norfolk, referred to in the text as 'N', Suffolk (S), Essex (E) and Cambridgeshire (C), have been compiled. In these, the barrows are listed by parish and identified by a unique code number. Different coding systems are, however, employed by the four counties: in Norfolk each site has a county number, e.g. 5188; in Suffolk sites are given parish numbers, the parish name being reduced to a three-letter code, e.g. RBY 001; in Essex codes are based on consecutive numbering within a two-figure Ordnance Survey reference, e.g. TM 02.15; whilst in Cambridgeshire the six-figure national grid reference is employed as the sites and monuments record number, e.g. TL 662713, eight figure references are used where further differentiation of sites is necessary. In the gazetteers as much detail as possible is given of the barrows and their condition and contents, also included are the principal references.

These gazetteers are not reproduced in this volume, but copies are held by the relevant county archaeological sections, to whom application should be made by bone fide students wishing to consult these documents. Microfiche copies of the gazetteer are available for Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex.

The current survey which commenced eight years ago in Norfolk developed into a regional study which now incorporates sites from three other eastern counties. The Cambridgeshire report was included as an appendix at a late stage in the compilation of the main three counties survey and although the Cambridgeshire survey is brief, it most certainly provides an invaluable supplement of almost 1500 barrows in the west of the survey zone, particularly emphasising the importance of the chalk uplands in the south, and the river gravels and fenland to the north. It is hoped that the neighbouring counties of Hertfordshire and Lincolnshire will now be encouraged to produce their own surveys which will almost definitely confirm the extension of major barrow groups to the west.

"The Barrows of East Anglia" provided the foundation on which regional policies for the preservation and excavation of barrows could be formulated. Much of the preservation policies with regard to the updating of the scheduled ancient monument lists have now been implemented. This volume is a testimony to the regional co-operation that has been fostered by the East Anglian county archaeological units and without doubt should promote further regional thematic surveys both here and elsewhere in the British Isles.

The papers were prepared for publication at the Norfolk Archaeological Unit and special thanks must be given to Andrew Lawson whose considerable patience and time devoted to assisting the editor and assembling the final copy for printing has been invaluable.

John Hedges  
August 1981

## FOREWORD

Foreword, a preface, was a term coined as a counter to excessive latinity. It has become a term for commendatory words supplied for something written by someone else. Let me say straightaway that good wine needs no bush and that to be asked to write some introductory words at the outset of this signal work is a pleasure and a privilege.

O.G.S.Crawford's article in Antiquity I (1927) on barrows was the symbolic juncture at which change took place from immethodical nineteenth-century notions to a recognisable critical awareness, appropriate to our own age. Crawford confined himself to such structural facts as were available and avoided extended considerations of numbers and distributions. Thereafter barrow study became the especial and almost exclusive province of Leslie Grinsell who, for a lifetime, has walked the length and breadth of southern England recording the mounds that our Tom Robinsons would destroy.

By the outbreak of the last war Leslie Grinsell had systematically studied and recorded not only the barrows of Surrey and Sussex, but also those of Berkshire, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, as well as aspects of Wiltshire and Somerset. In addition he had produced the first edition of the now classic Ancient Burial Mounds of England (1936). It should be remembered that all the fieldwork involved in these detailed county surveys was carried out on foot. Collaboration with R.F.Jessup brought about a survey of the barrows of Kent but, unhappily, the papers were destroyed in an air-raid. Since those distant days, there has been a second edition of Ancient Burial Mounds (1953), the magisterial Victoria County History of Wiltshire I, pt.1 (1957) followed by surveys of the barrows of Dorset, Gloucestershire, with H.E.O'Neil, Somerset West and South, North Devon, Somerset North and East and Dartmoor.

Leslie Grinsell and Roy Rainbird Clarke (1914-1963) planned a survey of Norfolk's barrows. The Norfolk Research Committee's energies were enlisted and people were assigned to particular areas. A card catalogue was built up, which has been the basis of the section treating this county.

Inevitably, and for many years to come, surveys of barrows will be compared with Leslie Grinsell's work, for he has forged particular standards of skill and reliability. In these days, it is easy to ignore, or, at best, perfunctorily refer to, previous work. This cannot be done in the present context for, curiously, few have followed in his footsteps. Indeed, The Barrows of East Anglia (Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex), is the first to do so. A county by county treatment follows the prescribed pattern: the establishment of distinctions, together with details such as place-names, documentary sources and folklore. However, it diverges in that it includes, besides ostensible long barrows, numerous ring-ditches, presumably remnant round barrows, detected by aerial photography, which supplement standing monuments, producing surprising totals and enhanced distributions. For the first time a dimension of the long-obliterated East Anglian prehistoric landscape is to be seen.

Of all our ancient field monuments, barrows are the best known. Because of their overt funerary associations, a factor that has never entirely been lost sight of, and great numbers, some 20,000 is a conservative estimate, they have continually been subjected to damage and obliteration. The ravages of medieval treasure seekers and nineteenth-century barrow openers, seen in retrospect, were modest when compared with the encroachments of recent absolute agriculture. Unquestionably, the very number has encouraged a cavalier attitude towards them. There has been a myopic official reluctance to recognise deep-ploughing as a destructive agent which has left us with only one undamaged major barrow group in the vicinity of Stonehenge, Europe's premier prehistoric monument.

The study of barrows, long and round, is important, particularly in a discipline that has materialistic undertones, because they are a class of monument that cannot be readily explained in material terms. Archaeologists have always assumed that barrows were sepulchral, long barrows were mausolea and round barrows covered single graves, and that their investigation entailed the assessment of funerary evidence. With this there is a further assumption; burial rites are synonymous with afterworld beliefs, and articles found in barrow graves were intended for use on the journey to, or in, that place. Moreover, it can be argued that many of these things were made exclusively for funerary purposes.

With Sir Cyril Fox the investigation of barrows entered a new phase, marked by total excavation and assessment of internal and peripheral features. Some earthen long barrows covered ridge-roofed timber structures and were built, in stages, over a long period. Round barrows have emerged as similarly complex, multiphased monuments, often covering a range of interments.

Some decades of careful barrow excavation have allowed reassessments of the role of these monuments. The disparity between the exiguous quantities of human bone and the masses of occupation debris from some stone-built and earthen long barrows has led to the suggestion that they might be interpreted as shrines incorporating dedicatory deposits to promote soil fertility. Stone-built long barrows crowd the bare rocks of such places as Ireland's bare limestone Burren, an erstwhile rich environment, while Wessex earthen long barrows were an integral part of Neolithic agricultural activity. A further feature of long barrows is their similarity to Linear Pottery long houses. It has been thought that simulated long houses, the long barrows, were integral to the first imitative agriculture undertaken by Mesolithic indigenes who saw them as essential to an apparently prestigious and desired mode of life. Round barrows have been the basis for an estimate of the population of earlier Bronze Age England and Wales. As compared with population appraisals derived from the arithmetic of public works the total was modest and it may be that round barrows were used only for selected persons. Flat graves around and between round barrows are known but they have only been incidentally discovered and rarely excavated. The possibility that some of the individuals beneath round barrows may have been victims, echoing the repository principles inherent in the earlier long barrows has been considered. The planning, siting and building of barrows may have been the especial task of particular people, presumably the precursors of the Druids. Their usages, as detailed by the classical writers, seem more appropriate to some barrow burials than to later times.

The inclusion of ring-ditches, which enhances conventional standing barrow distributions, is a new departure, but one cannot but wonder for how much longer new examples will continue to appear for record by aerial photography? A further consideration is that of those barrows scheduled as Ancient Monuments; far too many have been destroyed without record, while those that survive are often so mutilated that their external characteristics cannot be determined. Sadly, those bodies charged, in the nation's name, with their protection are as emasculate in 1980 as they were when I wrote in 1960. Archaeological destruction in the countryside is such that little of value will be left by the next century.

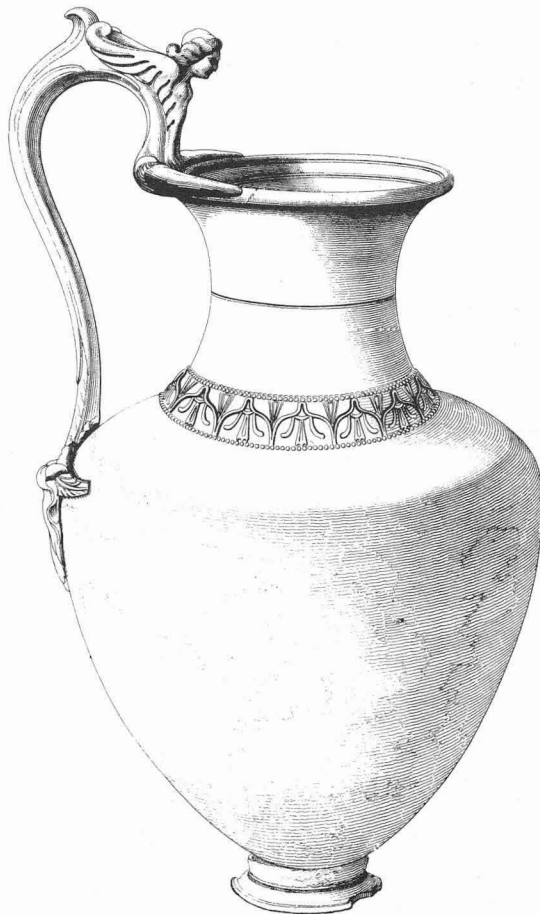
Should a further spate of barrow excavation be undertaken it should be remembered that the number of barrows which one can accept as authentically examined and definitively published is derisively small. Our knowledge of structural features, post and stake circles, internal structures, grave forms, turf-stacks, mounds etc. is still slender. Nor has an area between barrows ever been cleared to reveal the presence or absence of burials, since the days of Pitt Rivers, or a line of barrows set into reliable chronological order. Moreover, our knowledge, in terms of sex, age and physique of the occupants of barrows is woefully inadequate.



While the greater number of our barrows are prehistoric, there are, in the region, Roman barrows as at Bartlow Hills, in Essex, and the dynastic cemetery of the Wuffingas, the earlier Saxon East Anglian kings, at Sutton Hoo. Roman barrows have hardly received the attention they deserve: they have been thought of as evidence of a link with the Rhineland and as a deliberate social archaism. The Sutton Hoo cemetery is best thought of as an adjunct to the as yet unlocated royal residence.

This volume is a model for future archaeological publication of this kind, in that it is descriptive and analytical, although the details of the barrows, the lists that loomed so large in earlier works, are in the records of the respective county units. It is to be hoped that copies will be made and deposited in more than one place. Disasters to unique archives have occurred in the past and could easily occur again. That the phenomenal archaeological activity of the past decade has outstripped the resources of conventional publication and that the resultant accumulations can now only be handled by such methods present hazards that have yet to be fully recognised. Notwithstanding these considerations this is a signal volume which should stimulate and encourage such work by others.

Paul Ashbee  
Chairman of the Scole Archaeological Committee Ltd.  
The University of East Anglia



Bronze jug from the Bartlow Hills, Ashdon, E. (Gage 1836, pl.XXXIV)

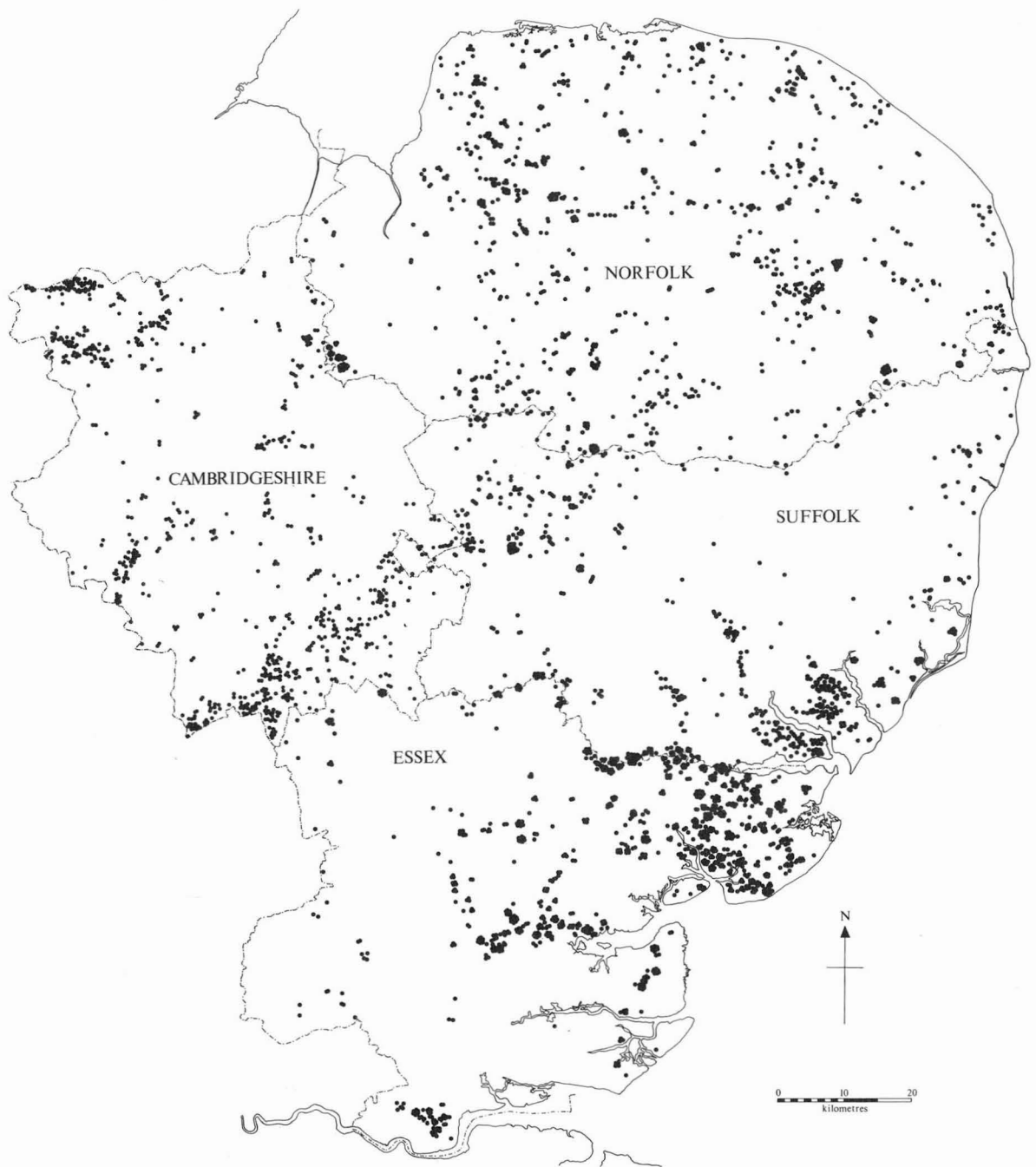


Fig.1. Distribution of barrows and ring-ditches in East Anglia.

# I. Summary

Surveys of the evidence for barrows have been conducted in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, with the principal aim of assessing the field evidence for these burial mounds. In these surveys all recorded mounds, whether extant or destroyed since they were originally observed, have been called barrows when it seemed likely that their original function was to commemorate the dead. Frequently the material for these mounds was derived from surrounding ditches which may no longer be visible.

The present survey commenced in Norfolk in 1973, where a similar work had been started in 1935, though never finished. Here horizontal measurement was mainly by pacing and the vertical dimension estimated by eye. No previous synthesis existed in Suffolk and consequently in 1975 it was decided to initiate a survey in that county. Here horizontal measurement was with tapes and vertical measurement with a level. In these two counties fieldwork was conducted specifically for this survey. In 1979 a review of the evidence for barrows was undertaken in Essex in order to complete a regional survey. For Essex the recently recorded field evidence in the county archive formed the basis of the report. In all three counties the work was undertaken to assess the present condition of these monuments so that policies for preservation and excavation could be formulated.

An attempt has been made in the Introduction to bring together the evidence from all three counties for the chronology and meaning of barrow names; for the folklore and legends associated with barrows; for the various types of burial mounds in the region; and for the agents of destruction. Other mounds which superficially resemble barrows are discussed. Circular crop and soil-marks which record the presence of now-infilled ditches that are thought to have surrounded barrows, now levelled, are here referred to as ring-ditches. The ring-ditches recorded within the three counties are discussed, annular, causewayed and multiple examples being noted.

Within East Anglia the following numbers of barrows have been recorded:

	<u>Reported</u>	<u>Surviving</u>	<u>Unlocated</u>
Norfolk	625	228 (36.5%)	6
Suffolk	249	113 (45.4%)	4
Essex	49	27 (55.1%)	6

Without doubt some of the 'barrows' recorded here are misinterpretations of similar-looking, but non-sepulchral mounds, both of natural and artificial origin.

During the surveys the vegetational cover of the surviving mounds was recorded, as follows:

	<u>Suffolk</u>	<u>Norfolk</u>	<u>Essex</u>
Ploughed	23 (20.4%)	52 (22.8%)	3 (11.1%)
Grass	10 ( 8.9%)	72 (31.6%)	17 (63.0%)
Bracken	21 (18.6%)		
Heath	1 ( 0.9%)		

The Barrows of East Anglia

	<u>Suffolk</u>	<u>Norfolk</u>	<u>Essex</u>
Bushes	5 ( 4.4%)	104 (45.6%)	7 (25.9%)
Trees	54 (47.8%)		
TOTAL	113	228	27

Only those barrows under shallow-rooting plants such as grass, bracken or heather can be regarded as being in a satisfactory condition. The deep roots of bushes and trees can be very damaging to barrows, especially when they are uprooted either during forestry activities or by gales. Those under plough are slowly being eroded away: in Norfolk a mean annual rate of erosion of nearly 2 cm can be shown.

A small proportion of the barrows and ring-ditches are scheduled as Ancient Monuments. However, this legislation does not guarantee protection as a number of scheduled sites have been destroyed, usually without record.

	<u>Norfolk</u>	<u>Suffolk</u>	<u>Essex</u>
Total scheduled barrows	162	103	12
Destroyed	33	13	-
Ring-ditch groups	7	6	10

In none of these counties is it possible to be specific about barrow typology, as generally the true earthwork features of the monuments have been altered by ploughing and erosion. Moreover, the results of excavation show that some barrows are multi-phase structures, with successive usages of the mound altering its form. The range of mound diameters recorded is from 3-65 m.

Ring-ditches are included in the surveys, the information for these being derived principally from the aerial photographs held by the three archaeological sections, but also from photographs belonging to external collections.

The following numbers of ring-ditches are recorded: (it must be noted, however, that the final date for inclusion in this survey differs from one county to another):

<u>Form</u>	<u>Norfolk</u> (up to 31.3.1977)	<u>Suffolk</u> (up to 21.12.1978)	<u>Essex</u> (up to 31.7.1979)
Annular	451	395	1437
Penannular	10	12	76
Multiple-causewayed	4	2	13
Double-ditched	17	40	13
Double-ditched and causewayed	1	-	-
Triple-ditched	-	-	2
Triple-ditched and causewayed	-	1	-
Unconfirmed	66	24	1
	549	474	1542

As with mounds, the true identity of a ring-ditch as a ploughed-down remnant of a raised barrow is by no means certain.

Neolithic long barrows are conspicuously rare in East Anglia, but the following numbers are suggested:

	<u>Mounds</u>	<u>Aerial photographs</u>
Norfolk	4	2
Suffolk	1(?)	12
Essex	-	9

## Summary

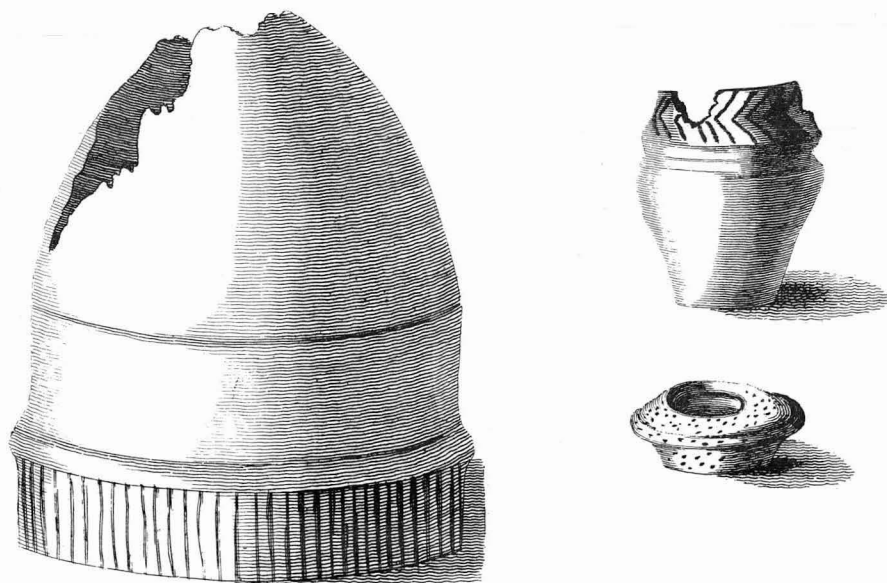
There is a long history of barrow investigation in each county, recorded 'excavation' having begun as early as the fifteenth century in Norfolk, and the sixteenth century in Suffolk and Essex. The total number of barrows known to have been investigated are

Norfolk	156	(including 5 ring-ditches)
Suffolk	75	(including 11 ring-ditches)
Essex	60	(including 29 ring-ditches)

The finds from excavations have not been studied in detail here as this survey is primarily a study of the field evidence. However, they range in date from the Neolithic to the Early Saxon period, with occasional evidence for later re-use. The emphasis of date is different in each county but the quantity of Middle Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman finds in Essex is noteworthy, detracting from any concept that barrow burial is solely an Early Bronze Age rite. Regrettably few excavations have been thoroughly published, especially in Norfolk.

The distribution of the reported barrows is related to the geology, overlying Pleistocene deposits and topography of the region. Few barrows are recorded on clay deposits, whether the London Clay of Essex (except where overlain by sand and gravel) or on the Boulder Clay which covers parts of all three counties.

The Breckland region of sandy soils in Norfolk and Suffolk contains many barrows, but in Norfolk they are also found in large numbers on the 'Good Sand' soils in the north-west of the county and in the river valleys. In Suffolk the largest numbers are in the lower river valleys and the Sandlings of the east coast. In Essex the majority of the ring-ditches have also been recorded on the river terraces and especially the Tendring Plateau. The bias in distribution may, in part, be due to the unsuitability of clay soils to produce cropmarks, but also to the survival of mounds on the lighter soils, where the pressures of agriculture have been less intense. For instance in Suffolk the present distribution of surviving mounds corresponds almost exactly with the areas that have been heaths, commons and sheep-walks.



Pottery from Buxton Common, Hevingham, N. (Crowe 1800, pl. XXVI)

## II. Introduction

### THE PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE <sup>1</sup>

The names that have been applied to barrows can be useful indicators of the past history of these mounds: their appearance, contents, ownership, later re-use and their place in local lore and tradition can all be reflected in their names.

Unfortunately, only about 175 or 19% of the 913 recorded barrows in East Anglia bear or are known to have borne names (36% of the 39 barrows in Essex, 23% of the 249 in Suffolk and 17% of the 625 in Norfolk). A list of all the known barrow names, with references and dated forms of the names (where known), is given at the end of this section. This is followed by a list of ninety names which suggest the former presence of barrows.

Seven terms seem to have been used in East Anglia to describe barrows or barrow-like structures: howe, lowe, barrow, hill, mound/mount, grave and tumulus.

Perhaps the oldest group of names is that which incorporate howe or lowe, derived, respectively, from O.N. haugr 'a natural height, a hill, a heap, an artificial mound, a burial mound' (Smith 1956, I, 235), and O.E. hlaw 'a mound, a hill, a burial mound' (Smith 1956, I 248-9). O.N. haugr is often confused with O.E. hōh (dat.sg. hō, hōe) meaning 'a heel' and topographically 'a spur of land, a low projecting piece of land in the bend of a river or in more level ground, a slight or steep ridge, the end of a ridge where the ground begins to fall steeply' (Smith 1956, I, 256). O.E. hlaw can be mistaken for M.E. lāh 'low'.

Howe is commonest in Norfolk, where there are eight examples: Forehoe Hills (8873), Greenhoe (2688 or 2698), Grimshoe (5640), The How (2789), Howe Hill (1780), Howe's Hill (6292), Ringhowe (11278) and Rowhow Hill (6737). In addition the former Pirnhov village is close to the barrow group (10611, 10622-3, 10632) on Broome Heath (now partly in Ditchingham). In Suffolk there are three examples: Henhowe (BSE MISC.), How Hill (IKL001) and Thing Houe (BSE004). There are no known examples in Essex.

Lowe, on the contrary, appears to be slightly more common in Essex, where there are two certain examples: Bartlow Hills (TL54.13) and Mutlow Hill (TL53.71), and a possible third in Harlow (TL41.6). In Suffolk there is one definite example: Eastlow Hill (RGH001). In Norfolk there are two dubious examples close to each other on the north Norfolk coast: The Lowes, Salthouse (Chester 1859) and Holt Lowes, Holt. Although there are barrows near both examples, a good case can be made for deriving both Lowes from the dialect term lows meaning 'low, level ground' (Moor 1823, 217).

There are also, however, a number of place-names which incorporate howe or lowe but which are not associated with any known barrow. These names may, therefore, commemorate destroyed barrows. In Norfolk there are twenty examples of howe: AErnehogo, Baldereshowe, Blakehowe, Calkhowe, Coxhowe, Drakenhowe, Galehoges,



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Grenehowhyll, Harthowe, Howe, Kypeshowe, Osolfehowe, Ranhowe, Shordhowe, Spellow Fields, Thinghou, Thohowes, Wafes Howe, Westhowe, and Wolfhowe. In Suffolk there are thirty examples: Armeld how, Beeshowe, Blethowe, Cadowe, Godemundes-howe, Gravelokehowewent, Holhowe How, The Howe (two examples), Howe Lane (two examples), Howe Wood (seven examples), Howhill, How Wood, Littlehow (three examples), Rogereshowe, Scabbehowe, Skatchhowe, Threhowes, Thremel, and Whitthowe. In Essex there are two examples: Howe Hall and Howe Wood; in addition P.H.Reaney (1935) recorded seven howe names which he considered to be derived from O.E. hōh rather than O.N. haugr.

In addition lowe occurs in ten Essex place-names: Bentloe, Boblow, Bromley Barn, Harlow Hill, le Lowe (three examples), Pentlow, Stotenloe and Thunderlow. In Suffolk it occurs eleven times: Buxlow (three examples), Cupola Farm, Lawshall, Lowe Hill, Lubberlow Field, Redlow, Thurlow, Waploe, and Wicklow. There are no known examples in Norfolk.

Barrow and its O.E. parent beorg, meaning 'a hill, an artificial hill' and in Southern and South-Western English dialect 'a burial mound' (Smith 1956, I, 29), appear in some ancient compound names (using O.E. beorg) and in some more modern names (using barrow). Barrow is, of course, now a standard archaeological term for a burial mound, however, its parent could be used to describe natural hills as well. Confusion can also arise between O.E. beorg and O.E. bearu (dat.sg. bearwe) 'a grove, wood' (e.g. the Suffolk parish of Barrow) and O.E. burh, burg (dat.sg. byrig, byrg) 'a fortified place'.

In Norfolk an ancient use of beorg is Warborough Hill (1863), a possible Iron Age barrow (Clarke and Apling 1934). Probably more modern are The Barrow (1705), Great Barrow (7532), Dead Man's Barrow (7500) and No Man's Barrow (3684). In addition there is the lost Modberge. Suffolk has two possible ancient usages of beorg, Finborough and Babergh, in addition to the relatively modern name Undley Barrow (LKH 022). Essex examples of beorg are Rumberry Hill (TI43.2), Plumberow Mount (TQ89.1) and Barrow Hill (TM01.1), all three mounds appear to be Roman in date (Neville 1858; Francis 1913-5; and Warren 1915). Former barrows may be commemorated by Barrow Field (three examples), Chigborough, Mulberry Green, Seaborough Hall, Spelbeorge and Wigborough.

The commonest term for a barrow in East Anglia is hill, from O.E. hyll 'hill', of which there are seventy-five examples (forty-seven in Norfolk, twenty-four in Suffolk and four in Essex).

Mound/mount, derived ultimately from Latin mons 'a mountain, a hill' either through O.E. munt or O.Fr. mont, occurs four times in Norfolk: The Mount (1643), The Mount (5154), The Mount (4341) and Viking's Mound (10785). In Suffolk it occurs twice: The Mount (TRS004) and Sutton Mounts (SUT001, 004-019). The three examples in Essex are: The Mount (TL92.20), Mount (TL92.21) and Plumberow Mount (TQ89.1).

Grave, derived from O.E. graef 'a grave, trench, pit', occurs in Norfolk in the two Boadicea's Graves (6112 and 10785) and in Giant's Grave (2390). Suffolk has one example, Deadman's Grave (IKL027), a small mound of uncertain date and purpose. In Essex there was Prasutagus' Grave (TL92.21).

The Latin term tumulus 'a burial mound' occurs once in Suffolk, Swale's Tumulus (WGN003), and once in Essex, Lexden Tumulus (TL92.21).

A chronological distinction is apparent in the use of these different terms for a burial mound. The earliest terms are howe, lowe and beorg, which appear in names recorded in the eleventh century, e.g. Grimshoe (5640), Harlow (TL41.6) and Plumb-

erow Mount (TQ89.1). The example of Rogereshowe, where howe is compounded with a Norman personal name, shows that these names continued to be coined after the Norman Conquest. Hill is first recorded in the thirteenth century with Catteshill (BRG001). By about 1470 hill had been added to an earlier howe name (Grenehowhyll), suggesting that howe had become, or was becoming, obsolete. Explanatory 'hills' have been added to many howe, lowe and beorg names, e.g. How Hill (IKL001), Eastlow Hill (RGH001) and Rumberry Hill (TL43.2). Some barrows even seem to have been re-named, presumably because the original name had become unintelligible, e.g. Henhowe (BSE MISC.) was known, by the nineteenth century, by the alternative name of Gallows Hill. Similarly Galley Hill (ERL035) was probably the 'Great Howe' of Grethowefeld in 1301 (Munday 1965, 205). The survival of some of the earlier names is probably linked to the fact that they were the eponyms of hundreds, e.g. Forehoe, Greenhoe, Grimshoe, Harlow etc. Hill was still in use as a term for a barrow in the first half of the eighteenth century and was used as such, in conjunction with tumulus, by Thomas Martin of Thetford in 1740 (Plate IX). The names Three Farthing Hill (6203) and Three Halfpenny Hill (6202) suggest that the term hill continued to be used in the nineteenth century, for the coins after which these barrows were named were only produced from 1827 to 1844 (copper third-farthing) and from 1834 to 1862 (silver three halfpenny).

In the later eighteenth century beorg seems to have made a come-back in the form of barrow and was responsible for a second wave of names, e.g. The Barrow (1705), Great Barrow (7532) and Undley Barrow (LKH002). As a general term for burial mounds it is recorded in use in Suffolk in 1764 (Kirby, 85), in Essex in 1768 (Morant, I, 426) and in Norfolk by 1775 (Blomefield 1739, X, 287). The term was employed by J. Hodkinson on his map of Suffolk, 1783.

Grave is recorded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the sense of a barrow being somebody's grave, e.g. Prasutagus' Grave (TL92.21), Boadicea's Grave (6112) and Giant's Grave (2390).

Mound/mount is first recorded in the second half of the eighteenth century, e.g. Plumberow Mount (TQ89.1) etc. The use of this term for a burial mound may have been influenced by the use of the term mount for earthen artillery platforms and for mill mounds. The term has also been applied to ice-houses at Quidenham (10786) and Houghton (3523), N., and a water-tower at Blickling (7406), N. Some barrow names incorporating mount are known to have superseded earlier names, for instance Sutton Mounts (SUT001, 004-019) were known, in 1629, as Howehills, and Plumberow Mount (TQ89.1), in 1579, was known as Plumborowe Hyll.

The Latin term tumulus is a learned, antiquarian word which seems to have gained currency in the eighteenth century and was popularised by being used by the Ordnance Survey on their maps to signify a burial mound. Barrow names which incorporate tumulus are, therefore, very recent.

A sequence is, perhaps, thus discernible, starting with howe, lowe and beorg in pre-Conquest times. These terms continued in use until about the fifteenth century when they were replaced by hill. Hill itself was replaced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by barrow, mount/mound, grave and tumulus. This would seem to suggest that the majority of the surviving barrow names date from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

A geographical distinction is apparent between the two early terms howe and lowe. The former is commonest in Norfolk and Suffolk and is virtually absent in Essex, except in a few place-names unrelated to surviving barrows. Conversely lowe is most numerous in Essex and Suffolk and is only represented in Norfolk by two dubious examples. This distinction would seem to be related to the extent of Scandinavian settlement in East

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Anglia as howe is derived from Old Norse haugr and lowe from Old English hlaw. Other evidence does confirm that Norse settlement in East Anglia was most extensive in Norfolk and least apparent in Essex (Loyn 1962, 52-3). The ancient use of beorg does not show such a clear-cut geographical bias, but it does seem to be more common in Essex than in Norfolk or Suffolk.

The meanings of the names of known barrows (indicated by a site number in brackets following the name) and of the names thought to indicate the former presence of barrows can be grouped together into a number of categories: location; shape, colour and composition, vegetational cover, number, animal frequenters; contents; occupants or owners; religious and legendary associations; and later re-use. Several names overlap these categories as sometimes more than one meaning is possible for a name.

The locational names include such simple examples as Lexden Tumulus (TL92.21) 'the tumulus at Lexden', and Swale's Tumulus (WGN003) 'the tumulus in Swale's Plantation'. Barrows at various points of the compass are indicated by Eastlow Hill (RGH001), North Hill (4603) and Westhowe. Anker or Hangour Hill (4531) means, perhaps, a barrow situated on a steep or wooded slope (O.E. hangra).

The shape of barrows is possibly commemorated by the names Round Hills (10485 and SNP020); Ringhowe (11278), from O.E. hring 'ring, circle', perhaps so-called because of its visible circular ditch; Rowhow Hill (6737), from O.E. rūh 'rough'; Cupola Farm (earlier Coplowe), from O.E. copp 'peaked'. Kettle Hill (6735) may have been so-named because of its similarity to a kettle, in the sense of a rounded pot. The Bell Hill (10484 and 5056) names may also indicate similarities of shape.

The size of barrows is indicated by Mickle Hill (5707), O.E. micel 'large, big'; Grethowefeld, O.E. grēat 'big'; the three Littlehows, O.E. lytel 'little'; and perhaps by Rumberry Hill (TL43.2), from O.E. rūm 'roomy, spacious'. The names Three Farthing Hill (6203) and Three Halfpenny Hill (6202) may have something to do with the relative size of these neighbouring mounds, or a somewhat low estimation of their importance.

The colour of barrows is recorded by Greenhoe (2688) and Grenehowehyll, from O.E. grēne 'green', presumably referring to grass or other vegetation; the three Black Hills (3656, GAZ010, TRS003) and Blakehowe, O.E. blæc 'black', referring either to the soil or dark coloured vegetation, or possibly O.E. blāc 'pale, white, bleak', especially for those barrows in chalk areas, e.g. GAZ010 (the linear earthwork called The Black Ditches in Cavenham/Risby, S., which is composed of chalk is perhaps a similar case); Redlow, O.E. rēad 'red', presumably referring to the soil colour; and Whitt-howe, O.E. hwit 'white', probably indicating a chalk capping to the mound.

The composition of barrows is indicated by Calkhowe, from O.E. calc 'chalk', and perhaps by Thohowes, possibly from O.E. ȝoh, ȝo 'clay, loam'.

Vegetation on barrows is recalled by Plumberow Mount (TQ89.1), O.E. plūme 'plum, plum-tree'; Bartlow Hill (TL54.13), O.E. beorc 'birch'; Elder Hill (5956); Bromehowe and Bromley Barn (formerly Bromelowevale), O.E. brōm 'broom'; Bent-loe, O.E. beonet 'bent-grass' and Beeshowe, perhaps from O.E. beos 'bent grass, rough grass'; and perhaps Redlowe, from O.E. hrēod 'reed', as the name comes from the Stour Valley area where ring-ditches are often located very near rivers. A lack of vegetation is perhaps suggested by Blethowe, from O.E. blēat 'wretched, miserable' or 'naked, bare'. Surprisingly none of the names commemorate the Scots pine, the most distinctive plant commonly associated with barrows in East Anglia, an association commented upon as early as 1870 (Prigg 1874a, 287).

Groups of barrows are indicated by the names Two Hills (4995 and 6738-9); Three Hills (MNL001); Forehoe Hills (8873); and the three Seven Hills (5958; BUC006-7, FXL011, NAC004-013; and LML002-5, ING004); in addition there are Threhowes, Thremel (earlier Thremhow) and Seaborough (probably O.E. seofon beorgas 'seven hills'). In several cases it is not now possible to check the stated number of barrows, however, the two sets of Two Hills and the Forehoe Hills do appear to be accurately named. In the case of the various Seven Hills, on the other hand, the stated number and the actual number of mounds do not agree.

The Seven Hills (5958) at Brettenham, N., consist of eleven mounds. At the Seven Hills (BUC006-7, FXL011, NAC004-013), Bucklesham/Foxhall/Nacton, S., there are fourteen mounds, and the discrepancy between the name and the number of mounds was noted in the eighteenth century (Kirby 1764, 85). The Seven Hills (LML002-5, ING004), Little Livermere/Ingham, S., were also said, in the eighteenth century, to have been more than seven in number, but with seven mounds larger than the rest (Blomefield 1739, I, 3), however only three mounds now survive. At Seaborough Hall, Thurrock, E., no mounds now remain, but at least two of the four ring-ditches located nearby proved to have been Anglo-Saxon barrows (TQ68.36; Hedges and Buckley 1978, 255). Interestingly this lack of correspondence between the number stated in the name and the physical evidence is also to be found at the Seven Barrows, Lambourn, Berkshire (where there are twenty-six mounds) and at the Seven Barrows, Burghclere, Hampshire (where there are least ten mounds). 'Seven mounds' are also attested in the place-names Seaborough in Dorset and Sewborwens in Newton Reigny, Cumberland (Gelling 1978, 141). This suggests that either 'seven' was being used as a synonym for many, or that 'seven' had some special significance unrelated to the actual number of barrows. 'Seven' in this un-numerical sense also appears in some other types of place-names, e.g. Seven Wells, and A.H. Smith (1956, II, 119) has suggested that the number seven had a special significance for the Anglo-Saxons, for instance a breach of the peace by seven or more men was an act of war and not an act of private violence. This also brings to mind the Biblical 'seven years of plenty, and seven years of dearth' (Genesis xli, 47 ff); similar 'magical' or 'special' links associated with the number seven can also be traced in Celtic society (Rees 1961). The Dorset Seaborough was in existence by 1086 and the Essex example by 1293, which suggests that some of the 'Seven Hills' names may be of some antiquity.

Animals frequenting barrows seem to be recorded by Catteshall (BRG001), O.E. catt 'cat, wild cat'; Hare's Hill (6741); the three Buxlows, O.E. bucc 'a male deer'; Harthowe, O.E. heorot 'hart, stag'; Stotenloe, O.E. stot 'horse or ox'; Wigborough, O.E. wicg 'steed, horse' (archaic and poetical), this brings to mind the grieving horse by its master's barrow depicted on the early eighth-century Franks Casket (Ashbee 1960, 183); and Wolfhowe, O.E. wulf 'wolf'. Birds are indicated by Cuckoo Hill (LKD 005); Henhowe (BSE MISC.), O.E. henn 'hen', usually used of wild birds; Sparrow Hills (4055); perhaps by AErnehogo, possibly from O.E. earn 'eagle'; Coxhowe, O.E. cocc 'cock', often used of wild birds; and perhaps Ranhowe, possibly from O.E. hraefn 'raven'. Insects may be recorded in Beeshowe, O.E. bēo 'bee'. In general the animal names seem to suggest mounds in remote spots where deer and other wild animals were to be found.

A mythological beast is recalled by the name Drakenhowe, from O.E. draca 'a dragon'. In Germanic mythology dragons are represented as the guardians of burial mounds and their treasures, and are referred to in the Anglo-Saxon epic poem Beowulf and in the Gnomic verses: 'the dragon shall be in the tumulus, old, rich in treasures' (Gelling 1978, 141). Drakenhowe would thus have been a barrow thought, or known to have contained treasure. Similar names are Dragon Hoard Way (11675) and Drakenorth (14216), both in Norfolk and both suggesting treasure (see the list at the end of this section). Treasure is also suggested by the name Money Hill (CHF001). Moneypot Hill



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(RGV001) was apparently so-named c. 1790-1800 as a result of the discovery of a large number of Anglo-Saxon urns within it (Warren 1866).

The practice of digging for treasure in burial mounds is perhaps suggested by the names Shordhowe, from O.E. sceard 'gap, notch', and Holhowe, from O.E. hol(h) 'hole'. Alternatively these names might indicate structural collapse within the mounds.

There are several cases where a term for a barrow is compounded with a personal name, however as most barrows in East Anglia have proved to be of Bronze Age date, it is likely that these personal names record the owners of the mounds rather than the people buried within them. Possible barrow names in Essex which appear to contain Old English personal names are: Boblow (Bubba), Pentlow (\*Penta), and Wigborough (Wicga). In Suffolk there are the three Buxlows (\*Bucca), Cadowe (Cada), Godmundeshowe (Godmund), and Waploe (\*Wapa). Norfolk has: Baldereshowe (Baldgar), Kypeshowe (\*Cyppe), Osulfehowe (Oswulf), and Wolfehowe (Wulf or Ulf). Beeshowe in Suffolk and Ranhowe in Norfolk may contain the Scandinavian names Bøsi and Hrani. Not all of these names are necessarily pre-Norman Conquest in origin. Certainly post-Conquest is Rogereshowe in Suffolk, which contains the Norman name Roger. Medieval landowners seem to be commemorated in the names Mitchell's Hill (IKL026), Jennet's Hill (WSW028-9), and Knight's Hill (8764). For details of these names see the list at the end of this section.

Antiquarian speculation has been responsible for the names Prasutagus' Grave (TL 92.21), and the two Boadicea's Graves (6112 and 10785), as there is no good evidence to associate any of these mounds with the last king of the Iceni (tribe that inhabited Norfolk and northern Suffolk in the late Iron Age) who died c. A.D.60, or with his more famous queen (more correctly known as Boudica). In the case of the mound (10785) at Quidenham, N., H.J. Dukinfield Astley (1908, 2 and 3) recorded that this mound was 'locally called "The Bubberies"', which people say is a corruption of Boadicea or Boudicca'. Since then this mound has gone on to acquire the equally unjustified name of the Viking's Mound. Lewis Spence (1937, 260) mentions that Boadicea's name has also, in the past, been associated with the Bartlow Hills (TL54.13) in Essex, again without evidence.

More anonymous are the occupants of Dead Man's Barrow (7500), Deadman's Grave (IKL027), Deadman's Hill (7511), Deadman's Hill (11923), Deadman's Hill or Man Hill (5026), and No Man's Barrow (3684). In the case of Dead Man's Barrow (7500) and Deadman's Hill (5026) the names probably arose as a result of the finding of human remains in those barrows (Crowe 1800 and Amherst 1901). Deadman's Grave (IKL027) seems to have gained its name from a local legend (p. 19), for although investigated, no human remains were found (Prigg 1901, 5).

Human frequenters of barrows appear to be indicated by Traveller's Hill (WRW001), perhaps using traveller in the sense of 'a beggar or tramp' (Compact Oxford English Dictionary, 1971, II, 292); and by Anker or Hangour Hill (4531), which may incorporate the O.E. word ancra 'a hermit, a recluse' (Smith 1956, I, 11). Soldiers' Hill (6112) seems to be linked in tradition with the nearby Devil's Dyke (6115) 'where soldiers used to lie when they fought in the wars' (Clarke 1913, 419).

Mythological occupants of barrows are recorded by the names Giant's Grave (2390) and Fiddler's Hill (1854); for the legends associated with these names see p. 19. The legendary Robin Hood appears in the name of two sets of lost mounds (15523) on Methwold Warren, N., both being called Robynhoodes Butte. Presumably these mounds were thought to have been the target-butts of that famous archer. Robin Hood's Butts also occurs as the name of a group of barrows in Yorkshire.

Pagan religious connections seem to be evidenced by the names Grimshoe (5640) and Thunderlow. Grimshoe appears to contain the name Grīm, meaning the masked one, a

nickname of the Anglo-Saxon god Woden (the equivalent of the Scandinavian god Othin or Odin). There is, however, some evidence that Grīm was used, at a later date, as a more general pseudonym for the Devil (Gelling 1978, 150). The lost Thunderlow contains the name of the Anglo-Saxon god Thunor (the equivalent of the Scandinavian Thor). The Devil himself appears in the names Devil's Hill (FNG003) and Devil's Ring (BGL001). These names may have arisen as a result of the association of barrows with pagan burials and, in later times, with gallows. In particular it is of interest that the god Woden was associated with death by hanging (Davidson 1964, 52 and 189). The Black Hill names (3656, GAZ010 and TRS003) may also be linked with this group of names associated with demons and death, a theory which gains some support from the fact that Black Hill (GAZ010) in Gazeley, S., was adjacent to Gallow Heath Plantations in 1836 (Tithe Map).

Lubberlow Field in Haughley, S., seems to contain the element lubber, one meaning of which is a 'benificent goblin'. Alternatively it can mean 'a big, clumsy, stupid fellow, especially one who lives in idleness, a lout', a term which, in references as early as the fourteenth century, was frequently applied to monks (Compact Oxford English Dictionary, 1971, I, 481-2). This association with monks may be relevant as in 1475 it is recorded that the Abbot of Hailes in Gloucestershire was to erect a new pair of gallows in Luberlow field (Copinger 1905-11, VI, 205).

Also vaguely religious, perhaps, are the rather enigmatic names Hill of Health (CUL003) and Hill of Peace (3742).

The most interesting group of names implying the later re-use of barrows are those which indicate mounds that served as meeting-places for Hundred courts etc. The O.N. word þing 'an assembly, a council, a meeting' (Smith 1956, II, 204), occurs in Thing Houe (BSE004), which was the original meeting-place and eponym of Thingoe Hundred and is mentioned as a place of assembly c. 1095 (Arnold 1890, I, 31). There was also a Thinghou in Holt, N., which was probably the meeting-place of Holt Hundred (Anderson 1934, 68). The O.E. equivalent of þing was (ge)mōt, the root of the modern word moot, and this occurs in the name Mutlow Hill (TL53.71), E., the meeting-place of Uttlesford Hundred; in Mulberry Green (earlier Mudbarrow) in Harlow, E., the meeting-place of Harlow Hundred; and in Modberge, Stoke Holy Cross, N., the meeting-place of Henstead Hundred (Anderson 1934, 80). Other names indicative of meetings are Court Hill (7990), the meeting-place of Taverham Hundred; Spellow Fields, Tilney All Saints, N., the meeting-place of Spelhoge Hundred, a name which contains the O.E. element spell meaning 'speech, discourse' (Smith 1956, II, 136); the lost Spelbeorghe in Littlebury, E., which contains the same spell element; and Harlow (TL41.6), which contains the O.E. element here meaning an 'army, host, multitude', and was possibly the original meeting-place of Harlow Hundred. Harlow Hill, Little Maplestead, E., possibly has the same meaning, but it is not known to have been a meeting-place (it lies in Hinckford Hundred, the meeting-place of which was at Crouch Green in Castle Hedingham). The parish names Great and Little Thurlow, S., seem to contain the O.E. element þrypp meaning 'a troop, a host of warriors' or 'strong, noble' (Smith 1956, II, 217), or just possibly O.E. \*þride, linked to þridian 'to deliberate' (Ekwall 1960, 471). The Thurlows lie in Risbridge Hundred, the meeting-place of which lay in Wickhambrook parish c. 1190 (Butler 1949, 57), so perhaps Thurlow was an earlier meeting-place. Rumberry Hill (TL43.2), E., may possibly contain, as its first element, O.E. rūn 'a secret, a mystery, a council' (Smith 1956, II, 89) and may be another meeting mound. It lies in Clavering Hundred, the meeting-place of which is unknown.

Linked perhaps with the use of mounds as meeting-places for courts of justice was the practice of erecting gallows or gibbets on mounds. An early example of this custom is provided by the eponym of Gallow Hundred, N., (recorded in 1086), which is perhaps Galehoges in Dunton, which means 'gallow hills'. In Norfolk there are two barrows



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called Gallow Hill (6201, 3745), two called Gallows Hill (7664, 11284) and one example each of Gallows Hills (5744) and Gibbet Hill (9157). In Suffolk there are three examples of Gallows Hill (BSE MISC, HAD MISC, and RGV008). Gallows are recorded at Gallows Hill (HAD MISC) in 1305 and gibbets at Gallows Hills (5744) and Gibbet Hill (9157) in 1797 and 1681 respectively. Galley Hill (ERL035) possibly derives its name from O.N. galgi 'gallows', rather than from O.E. galga, gealga, which is the root of our modern word 'gallows'.

The use of mounds as look-out or signal stations is commemorated in the barrow names Tutt Hill (5957), from O.E. \*tōt, tōte 'a look-out' (Smith 1956, II, 184); Beacon Hill (BTM004); and, perhaps, Warborough Hill (1863), which may contain as its first element O.E. waru 'a shelter, defence, guard' or perhaps O.E. weard 'watch(man), guard'.

Structures on barrows are indicated by the three Mill Hill barrow names in Norfolk (10479, 6744 and 5063); by Hut Hill (KNE001); by Lawshall, S., which incorporates O.E. (ge)sell 'a hut, a shelter'; and perhaps by AErnehogo, N., which may have as its first element O.E. aern 'a house, a dwelling'.

Maid's Cross Hill (LKH043) was once crowned by a stone cross, however, this mound has been destroyed and only a fragment of the cross-base now survives. A pre-Reformation wooden cross, which acted as a boundary marker, is recorded at the lost Skatchhowe in Elveden, S., (Martin 1779, 60 and 193). The first element of Skatchhowe may be M.E. scatch, derived from Old North French escache, meaning, principally, 'a stilt' (Compact Oxford English Dictionary, 1971, II, 192). Perhaps the wooden cross looked like a stilt and was known as such. Pole Hill (FXL004) may commemorate a similar wooden cross or boundary marker. Alternatively there is a possibility of pagan religious practices, for the Essex Hundred name Thurstable means 'the pillar of the god Thunor', and it has been suggested that this pillar stood on a barrow 200 yards south-west of Tolleshunt Major church (Christy 1928, 182).

### Names of existing or recorded barrows

Unless otherwise stated these names were recorded by the Ordnance Survey. The authority for dated forms of names in Norfolk and Suffolk is Ekwall 1960, and in Essex, Reaney 1935. For place-name elements see Smith 1956.

Anker Hill or Hangour Hill (4531), Beachamwell, N. (Hangour Hill or Anker Hill, Clarke 1913, 418) O.E. hangra 'a steep slope, a wooded slope', or O.E. ancra 'a hermit, a recluse'.

The Barrow (1705), Bircham, N. (The Barrow c. 1775, Blomefield 1739, X, 287). Alleged to have been the meeting-place of Smithdon Hundred.

Barrow Hill (TM01.1), West Mersea, E. (A John atte Berwe is recorded here in 1319).

Bartlow Hills (TL54.13), Ashdon, E. (Berkelawe 1247-70). O.E. beorc 'birch'.

Beacon Hill (BTM004), Barton Mills, S.

Bell Hill (10484), Fritton and St. Olaves, N.

Bell Hill (5056), Little Cressingham, N. See folklore and legends section.

Black Hill (3656), Weasenham All Saints, N.

Black Hill (GAZ010), Gazeley, S.

Black Hill (TRS003), Troston, S.

Blood Hill or Bloody Knoll (5655), Lynford, N. (Blood Hill, Clarke 1913, 421).

Boadicea's Grave (6112), Garboldisham, N. Also known as Soldiers Hill.

Boadicea's Grave (10785), Quidenham, N. (Boadicea's Grave, Clarke 1913, 420). Also known as The Viking's Mound, formerly called The Bubberies.

The Bubberies (10785) Quidenham, N. (The Bubberies, Astley 1908, 2-3). Later known as Boadicea's Grave or The Viking's Mound.

Catteshill (BRG001), Great Barton, S. (Catteshull 1234-5, Gransden 1963, 6ln.). O.E. catt 'cat, wild cat'.

Court Hill (7990), Frettenham, N. (Court Hill 1855, Clarke 1913, 419). Meeting-place of Taverham Hundred.

Cuckoo Hill (LKD005), Lackford, S.

Dead Man's Barrow (7500), Hevingham, N.

Deadman's Grave (IKL027), Icklingham, S. (Deadman's Grave nineteenth century, Prigg 1901, 5). For the legend connected with this mound see page 19.

Deadman's Hill (7511), Cawston, N.

Deadman's Hill (11923), Upper Sheringham, N.

Deadman's Hill or Man Hill (5026), Hilborough, N.

Devil's Hill (FNG003), Great Finborough, S. ? originally Finborough - see section on place-names suggesting former barrows.

Devil's Ring (BGL001), Brightwell, S.

Eastlow Hill (RGH001), Rougham, S. (Eastlow Hill, Greenwood 1825).

Elder Hill (5956), Brettenham, N. (Elder Hill 1740, Plate IX).

Fiddler's Hill (1854), Warham, N. See section on folklore and legends, p. 19.

Forehoe Hills (8873), Kimberley, N. (Feorhou 1086, Anderson 1934, 78). O.E. feower 'four'.

Galley Hill (ERL035), Eriswell, S. (Local information). O.N. galgi 'gallows'.

Gallow Hill (6201), Kelling, N. (Gallows Hill, W.J.J. Bolding Ms. c. 1850; Gallow Hill, Clarke 1913, 421).

Gallow Hill (3754), East Walton, N.

Gallows Hill (7664), Buxton with Lammas, N. O.E. galga, gealga 'gallows'.

Gallows Hill (BSE MISC.), Bury St. Edmunds, S. (Gallows Hill, Gage 1838) formerly known as Henhowe.

Gallows Hill (HAD MISC.), Hadleigh, S. Also known as The Herst (V.C.H. 1911). In 1305 there is mention of gallows at the Hirst (Hervey 1903, 166). Listed as a barrow in the V.C.H., site now destroyed.

Gallows Hill (RGV008), Redgrave, S.

Gallows Hill (5744), Thetford, N. (Gallows Hills, Clarke 1913, 422).

Gargytt Hills (9619) Thorpe St. Andrew, N. (Gargytt Hills 1585, Rye 1907, 91). By 1907 the 38 mounds shown on the 1585 map had disappeared but a nearby plantation was known as the Gargle Hills, (Rye, 1907, 91).

Giant's Grave (2390), Marshland St. James, N. (Giant's Grave, Miller and Skertchley 1878, 488). For the legend connected with this mound see p. 19. Said to have been the meeting-place of the Seven Towns of Marshland (Cozens-Hardy 1935, 324-5).

Gibbet Hill (9157), Quidenham, N. (Gibbet Hill, Clarke 1913, 419). Gibbet recorded here in 1681.

Great Barrow (7532), Felmingham, N.

Greenhoe (2688 or 2689), Cockley Cley, N. (Grenehov, Granahou, Greneho 1086, Anderson 1934, 74). O.E. grēne 'green'.

Grimshoe (5640), Weeting with Broomhill, N. (Grimeshou 1086, Anderson 1934, 75. Grimesheshoo, Grimeshoe, Blomefield 1739, II, 148).

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Hangour Hill (4531), Beachamwell, N.  
See Anker Hill.

Hare's Hill (6741), Roughton, N. (Hare's Hill, Clarke 1913, 421).

Harlow (TL41.6), Harlow, E. (Herlawe 1043-5, Herlaua 1086). O.E. here 'army, host, multitude'. Possibly the original meeting-place of Harlow Hundred.

Henhowe (BSE MISC.), Bury St. Edmunds, S. (Henhowe 1304-5, Copinger 1905-11, I, 429). O.E. henn 'hen', often used of wild birds. Later known as Gallows Hill.

Hill of Health (CUL003), Culford, S.

Hill of Peace (3742), Gayton, N.

The How (2789), Hoe, N.

How Hill, Ludham, N. Local topography suggests that O.E. hōh is the origin.

Howe Hill (1780), Holkham, N.

Howe's Hill (6292), Upper Sheringham, N. (Howe's Hill, Clarke 1913, 423).

Howehills (SUT001, 004-019), Sutton, S. (Howehills 1629; Arnott 1946, 70). Later known as Sutton Mounts.

How Hill (IKL001), Icklingham, S.

Hut Hill (KNE001), Knettishall, S.

Jennet's Hill (WSW028 and 029), West Stow, S. Name probably derives from the family of Roger de Gydney (1313) who owned Jenney's or Ginney's Manor in West Stow (Copinger 1905-11, I, 412).

Kettle Hill (6735), Roughton, N.

Knight's Hill (8764), Carbrooke, N. The Knights Hospitalers founded a Preceptory at Carbrooke in the twelfth century.

Lexden Mount (TL92.20), Colchester, E. (Laver and Reader 1913).

Lexden Tumulus (TL92.21), Colchester, E. Formerly known as Prasutagus' Grave.

Lowster Hill (7380), Tottington, N.

Maid's Cross Hill (LKH043), Lakenheath, S. (Maid's Cross Hill, Clarke 1925, 186).

Mickle Hill (5707), Croxton, N. (Mickle Hill, Clarke 1913, 419). O.E. micel 'large, big'.

Mill Hill (10479), Belton, N.

Mill Hill (6744), Roughton, N.

Mill Hill (5063), Tottington, N. (Mill Hill, Clarke 1913, 422).

Mitchell's Hill (IKL026), Icklingham, S. The Mitchells were landowners in Icklingham in the fifteenth century (Prigg 1901, 57).

Mona Hill (4603), Necton, N. (Mona Hill, Clarke 1913, 420). Formerly known as North Hill.

Money Hill (CHF001), Chillesford, S.

Moncypot Hill (RGV001), Redgrave, S. Apparently so-named c. 1790-1800 as a result of the discovery of a large number of Anglo-Saxon urns within it (Warren 1866). ? a corruption of 'many'.

The Mount (1643), Docking, N. Possibly a landscape feature but marked on a map dated 1755 (Docking Hall), and shown separated from the Hall by fields and a road.

The Mount (5154), Stanford, N.

The Mount (4341), Stradsett, N. Suggested as the Moot hill of Clackhouse Hundred.

The Mount or Troston Mount (TRS004), Troston, S. (The Mount, Greenwood 1825).

Nare's Hill (6740), Roughton, N.

Norman's Burrow (3684), Raynham, N. (No Man's Barrow, Bryant 1826; Norman's Barrow O.S. 1838).

Nonmete Hill (10044), Forncett, N. (Nonmete Hill 1465, Clarke 1913, 417).

North Hill (4603), Necton, N. (North Hill, Clarke 1913, 420). Later known as Mona Hill.

Old Grograms (10045), Tacolneston, N. (Old Grograms 1886, Clarke 1913, 417). 'Old Grogram' was the nickname of Admiral Edward Vernon (1684-1757). This celebrated admiral was so-named because of his habit of wearing a grogram cloak, grogram being a coarse material of silk and wool.

Pepper Hill (5616), Weeting with Broomhill, N. (Pepper Hill, Clarke 1913, 423). See section on folklore and legends.

Plumberow Mount (TQ89.1), Hockley, E. (Plumberga 1086, Plumborowe Hyll 1579, Plumbarrow Mount 1768). O.E. plūme, plum, plum-tree'.

Pole Hill (FXL004), Foxhall, S.

Prasutagus' Grave (TL92.21), Colchester, E. (Prasutagus' Grave 1758, Laver 1927). Later known as Lexden Tumulus.

Ringhowe (11278), Weeting with Broomhill, N. (Ringhowe sixteenth century, Norfolk Record Office T/C1/10 (a)). O.E. hring 'ring, circle'.

Round Hills (10485), Fritton, N. The existence of barrows is unconfirmed at this site.

Round Hill (SNP020) Snape, S.

Rowhow Hill (6737), Roughton, N. (Rowhow Hill, Clarke 1913, 421).

Rumberry Hill (TL43.2), Langley, E. (Rom-, Rumbergh, -berwe 1387). O.E. rūm 'roomy, spacious' or perhaps O.E. rūn 'a secret, a mystery, a council'.

Seven Hills (5958), Brettenham, N. (Seven Hills, Faden 1797).

Seven Hills (BUC006-7, FXL011, NAC004-013), Bucklesham/Foxhall/Nacton, S. (Seven Hills, Kirby 1764, 85).

Seven Hills (LML002-5, ING004), Little Livermere/Ingham, S. (Seven Hills, Hodkinson 1783).

Soldiers' Hill (6112), Garboldisham, N. (Soldiers' Hill, Clarke 1913, 419). Also known as Boadicea's Grave.

Sparrow Hills (4055), Merton, N. (Sparrow Hills, Clarke 1913, 420).

Sutton Mounts (SUT001, 004-019), Sutton, S. Formerly Howehills. Now popularly known as Sutton Hoo, the name of the locality not the mounds; the Hoo being the dative singular hō(e) of O.E. hōh 'a spur' etc.

Swale's Tumulus (WGN003), Worlington, S. (Swale's Tumulus, Briscoe 1956). The barrow lies in Swale's Plantation.

Thing Houe (BSE004), Bury St. Edmunds, S. (Þinghowe 1042-66, Tingohou, Tinchou, Thingehov 1806, Anderson 1934, 95). O.N. þing 'an assembly, a council, a meeting'. The meeting-place of Thingoe Hundred.

Three Farthing Hill (6203), Salthouse, N. (Three Farthing Hill, Chester 1859, 263).

Three Halfpenny Hill (6202), Salthouse, N. (Three Halfpenny Hill, Chester, 1859, 263).

Three Hills (MNL001), Mildenhall, S. (Three Hills 1870, Prigg 1874a, 287).

Traveller's Hill (WRW001), Wordwell, S.

Tutt Hill (5951), Brettenham, N. (Tut Hill, Blomefield 1739, I, 290). O.E. \*tōt, tōte 'a look out'.

Two Hills (6738-9), Roughton, N. (Two Hills, Clarke 1913, 421).

The Two Hills (4995), Weeting with Broomhill, N.

Undley Barrow (LKH002), Lakenheath, S. Undley is the locality.

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The Viking's Mound - see Boadicea's Grave.

Warborough Hill (1863), Stiffkey, N.  
(Walbury Hill 1797, Warburrow Hill 1826,

Clarke and Apling 1934). ? O.E. waru 'a shelter, defence, guard' or O.E. weard 'a watch(man), guard'.

White's Hill (9788), Caistor St. Edmund, N.

### Place-names which suggest the former presence of barrows

#### 1. Names incorporating howe:

AErnehogo (hundred name), N. (AErnehogo mid-eleventh century, Anderson 1934, 63). O.E. aern 'a house, dwelling' or earn 'eagle'.

Armeld howe, Culford, S. (Armeld howe 1613/1635, Redstone 1903, 283).

Baldgereshowe, Flitcham with Appleton, N. (Baldereshowe medieval, Schram 1957). O.E. personal name Baldgar.

Beeshowe, Herringswell, S. (Beeshowe Way fourteenth century, Livett 1903-4). O.E. bēo 'bee' or \*beos 'bent-grass, rough grass' or O.N. personal name Bōsi.

Blakehowe, Flitcham with Appleton, N. (Blakehowe medieval, Schram 1957). O.E. blaec 'black'.

Blethowe, Barnham St. Martin, S. (Blethowe 1613, Redstone 1903, 279). O.E. blēat 'wretched, miserable' or 'naked, bare'.

Bromehowe, Flitcham with Appleton, N. (Bromehowe medieval, Schram 1957). O.E. brōm 'broom'.

Cadowe, Honington, S. (Cadowe 1638, Redstone 1903, 288). O.E. personal name Cada.

Calkhowe, Flitcham with Appleton, N. (Calkhowe medieval, Schram 1957). O.E. calk 'chalk'.

Coxhowe, Feltwell, N. (Coxhowe sixteenth century, N.R.O. T/CI/10 (a)). O.E. cocc 'cock', often used of wild birds.

Creting Howe Farm, Creting St. Peter, S.

Drakenhowe, Flitcham with Appleton, N. (Drakenhowe 1328, Schram 1957). O.E.

draca 'dragon'.

Galehoges, Dunton, N. (Galehoges 1312-3, Anderson 1934, 67). Possibly the meeting-place of Gallow Hundred (Galgou, Galhou, Gilhov 1806, Anderson op.cit.). O.E. galga, gealga 'gallows'.

Godmundeshowe, Herringswell, S. (Godmundeshowe fourteenth century, Livett 1903-4). O.E. personal name Godmund.

Gravelokehowewent, Culford, S. (Gravelokehowewent 1613/1635, Redstone 1903, 283). Possibly a compound of O.E. grāf 'grove, copse', loca 'enclosure', O.N. haugr 'mound' and M.E. wente '(field by) a path, a way'.

Grenehowhyll, Wighton, N. (Grenehowhyll 1470, Anderson 1934, 67). Possibly the meeting-place of North Greenhoe Hundred (Grenehou, Grenehoga, Grenahoga, Greneov 1086, Anderson op.cit.). O.E. grēne 'green'.

Grethowefeld, Eriswell, S. (Grethowefeld 1307, Munday 1965, 205). O.E. grēat 'thick, stout, big'. Probably the same as Galley Hill (ERL035).

Harthowe, Feltwell, N. (Harthowe sixteenth century, N.R.O. T/CI/10(a)). O.E. heorot 'hart, stag'.

Holhowe, Herringswell, S. (Holhowepathe fourteenth century, Livett 1903-4). O.E. hol(h) 'hole'.

How, Stansfield, S. (How 1686/1813, Redstone 1903, 293).

Howe (parish), N. (Hou, Howa 1086).

the howe (in West Row), Mildenhall, S. (the howe 1590, will of William Childerston of Mildenhall, proved 1590,



Norwich Consistory Court).

The Howe, Stoke by Nayland, S.

Howe Hall and Wood, Littlebury, E. P.H. Reaney (1935) recorded seven names in Essex that incorporated howe, but considered that they were all derived from O.E. hōh rather than O.N. haugr.

Howe Lane, Cockfield, S.

Howe Lane and Plantation, Thornham Parva, S.

Howe Wood, Debden, E.

Howewood, Barrow, S.

Howe Wood, Belstead, S.

Howe Wood, Lindsey, S.

Howe Wood, Polstead, S.

Howe Wood, Rattlesden, S. (? Le Ho 1277, Redstone 1903, 269).

Howe Wood, Withersfield, S.

Howhill, Culford, S. (Howhill 1613/1635, Redstone 1903, 283).

How Meadow, Creeting St. Peter, S. (How Meadow 1837/8 Tithe Map).

How Wood, Hawstead, S. (How Wood 1616, Gage 1838).

Kypeshowe, Flitcham with Appleton, N. (Kypeshowe medieval, Schram 1957). O.E. personal name \*Cyppe.

Little how, Barnham St. Martin, S. (Little how 1613, Redstone 1903, 279).

Littlehow, Thurston, S. (Littlehow 1613, Redstone 1903, 295).

Lytlehowe, Herringswell, S. (Lytlehowe fourteenth century, Livett 1903-4). O.E. lytel 'little'.

Osofhowe, Flitcham with Appleton, N. (Osofhowe medieval, Schram 1957). O.E. personal name Oswulf.

Pirnow, Ditchingham, N. (Pirenhou 1086; Pirno 1196-7, Feet of Fines 8 Ric.I, 63). First element is O.E. \*pirigen 'growing with pear-trees', the final element could be O.E. hōh or O.N. haugr. The barrow group in Broome (10622-4, 10632) and Ditchingham (10611), which includes a long barrow (10597; Wainwright 1972, fig.2) is close-by.

Popenhow House, Walsoken, N. (Popenho 1259-60, Popenhoo sixteenth century, Popenhow Manor 1775, Blomefield 1739, X, 128). The first element may, perhaps, be derived from O.E. popig 'poppy'; the second element is probably O.E. hōh rather than O.N. haugr.

Ranhowe, Flitcham with Appleton, N. (Ranhowe c. 1300, Schram 1957). O.E. hraefn 'raven' or O.N. personal name Hrani.

Rogereshowe, Herringswell, S. (Rogereshowe fourteenth century, Livett 1903-4). Norman personal name Roger.

Scabbehowe, Wetheringsett, S. (Scabbehowe Field 1277, Redstone 1903, 272).

Shordhowe, Flitcham with Appleton, N. (Shordhowe c. 1300, Schram 1957). O.E. sceard 'gap, notch'.

Skatchhowe, Elveden, S. (Skatchhowe 1585, Martin 1779, 60 and 193). ? M.E. scatch, derived from Old North French escache, meaning principally 'a stilt' but also, perhaps, 'a scaffold pole'. Locality probably that now known as Sketchfar Wood (Scatchford Shift 1720, Martin 1779, 60 and 193; Great and Little Scatchford 1841, Tithe Map); last element probably O.E. feorda 'a fourth, quarter'.

Spellow Fields, Tilney All Saints, N. Probably the site of the meeting-place of the mid-eleventh century Spelhoge Hundred (Anderson 1934, 63). O.E. spell 'speech, discourse'.

Thinghou, Holt, N. (Thinghou 1204, Anderson 1934, 67). O.E. þing 'an assembly, a council, a meeting'.

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Probably the meeting-place of Holt Hundred.

Thohowes, Flitcham with Appleton, N. (Thohowes medieval, Schram 1957). ? O.E. ƿōh, ƿo 'clay, loam'.

Threhowes, Herringswell, S. (Threhowes fourteenth century, Livett 1903-4). O.E. ƿrēo 'three'.

Thremel, Mildenhall, S. (Thremowe 1359, Copinger 1904-7, V, 194; Fremhow, Thremhow, Fremill, Gedge 1874). O.E. ƿrēo 'three'. Alteration of final element from howe to hill.

Wafes Howe, Weeting with Broomhill, N. (Wafes Howe sixteenth century, N.R.O. T/CI/10(a)). ? waif 'unowned or abandoned child'.

Westhowe, Flitcham with Appleton, N. (Westhowe medieval, Schram 1957).

Whitthowe, Lackford, S. (Whitthowe 1614, Redstone 1903, 290). O.E. hwīt 'white'.

Wolfhowe, Flitcham with Appleton, N. (Wlfowe 1390, Wolfhowe 1423 and 1434, Wulfoo 1566, Schram 1957). O.E. wulf 'wolf' or personal name Wulf.

### 2. Names incorporating lowe:

Bentloe (field name), E. (Bentloe temp. Henry VIII, Reaney 1935, 581). O.E. beonet 'bent-grass'.

Boblow, Helion Bumpstead, E. (Bo(b)b(e)lowe, temp. Henry II). O.E. personal name Bubba.

Bromley Barn, Widdington, E. (Bromlelowevaley 1529). O.E. brōm, 'broom'.

Buxlow, Knodishall, S. (Buckeslawe 1250). O.E. bucc 'a male deer' or personal name \*Bucc.

Buxlow, Coney Weston, S. (Short Buxlow, Over Buxlowe 1613/1638/1806, Redstone 1903, 282). Meaning as above.

Buxlowe, Knettishall, S. (Buxlowe 1613/

1813, Redstone 1903, 290). Meaning as above. Coney Weston and Knettishall are adjoining parishes, so perhaps the same Buxlow is being referred to.

Cupola Farm, Mildenhall, S. (Coplowe 1566, Coplow 1874, Gedge 1874). O.E. copp 'peaked'.

Harlow Hill, Little Maplestead, E. (le Herlawe fourteenth century, Reaney 1935, 581). O.E. here 'army, host, multitude'.

Lawshall (parish), S. (Lawessela 1086). O.E. (ge)sell 'a hut, a shelter'.

le Lowe (three field names), E. (le Lowe 1306-1410, Reaney 1935, 581).

Lowe Hill Farm, Higham, S. This is adjacent to a ring-ditch (HGM001).

Lubberlow Field, Haughley, S. (Luberlow field 1475, Copinger 1905-11, VI, 205; Lubberlow Field 1844, Tithe Map).

Mutlow Hill (TL53.71), Wendens Ambo, E. (Motelawe 1316). O.E. (ge)mōt 'an assembly, a council, a meeting'. The meeting-place of Uttlesford Hundred.

Stotenloe (field name), E. (Stotenloe temp. Henry VIII, Reaney 1935, 581). O.E. stot 'horse, ox' (see Smith 1956, II, 158).

Thunderlow (hundred name), E. (Thunreslau 1806). Thunor, name of a Saxon god.

Great and Little Thurlow (parishes), S. (Tritlawa, Tridlauua 1086). Possibly O.E. ƿryƿ 'a troop, a host of warriors' or 'strong, noble', or just possibly O.E. \*ƿride 'deliberation', linked to ƿridian 'to deliberate' (Ekwall 1960, 471).

Waploe, Cheveley, S. (Waploe 1638, Redstone 1903, 282). ? O.E. personal name \*Wapa.

Wicklow (franchise name), S. (aet Wichlawan 970, Wychelau 1160, Anderson 1934, 83-4). Wicklow is perhaps to

be identified as Gallows Hill in Hacheston, near Wickham Market (? hence the name) and was presumably the meeting-place and eponym of the franchise of Wicklow, which consisted of five and half hundreds in south-eastern Suffolk.

3. Names incorporating beorg:

Babergh, Great Waldingfield, S. The meeting-place of Babergh Hundred (Babenberg, Baberga 1086, Anderson 1934, 94). O.E. personal name Babba. A ring-ditch (WFG007) lies between Babergh Hall and Babergh Place.

Barrow Field, Kelvedon with Feering, E. A late Roman coffin and Anglo-Saxon inhumations were found here (Meaney 1964, 80).

Barrow Field, Shalford, E. Deverel-Rimbury cremation burials were discovered nearby (TL72.5).

Barrow Field (TQ98.43), Little Wakering, E. Beaker burials are recorded from nearby.

Great and Little Barrow Fields, Rivenhall, E. Finds from this area include a Roman bronze patera and ewer (TL81.7).

Chigborough Farm, Little Totham, E. (Chydeberg 1288). Adjacent to three ring-ditches.

Great and Little Finborough (parishes), S. (Fineberga 1086). O.E. fin 'a heap, pile' or fina 'woodpecker'. Possibly the original name of the mound called Devil's Hill (FNG003) in Great Finborough.

Modberge, Stoke Holy Cross, N. (Modberge 1219, Anderson 1934, 80). O.E. (ge)mōt 'an assembly, a council, a meeting'. The meeting-place of Henstead Hundred.

Mulberry Green, Harlow, E. (Mudbarow temp. Elizabeth I). O.E. (ge)mōt, meaning as above. The meeting-place of Harlow Hundred.

Seaborough Hall, Thurrock, E. (Severbergh(e) 1293). O.E. seofon 'seven'. This

lies immediately to the east of the Orsett cropmark complex, which includes at least four ring-ditches, two of which (TQ.68.36) were proved to be Anglo-Saxon date (Hedges and Buckley 1978, 255).

Seaborough Farm, Great Wigborough, E., appears to be named after the family of a John Saburgh recorded there in 1327.

Spelbeorhge, Littlebury, E. (Spelbeorhge tenth century). O.E. spell 'speech, discourse'.

Great and Little Wigborough (parishes), E. (Wicgeberga 1086). O.E. wicg 'steed, horse' (archaic and poetic) or personal name Wicga. The existence of a small mound near Great Wigborough church was recorded in 1740 (Salmon 1740-1742, 438).

4. Other names possibly implying the former presence of a barrow:

Deadman's Hill (11923), Upper Sheringham, N.

Devil's Hill Wood, Brettenham, S.

Drakenorth, Colkirk, N. (Drakenorth c.1570 and 1617, N.R.O. Bradfer-Lawrence 46/1). Possibly O.E. draca and hord 'dragon-hoard'.

Dragon Hoard Way, Ditchingham/Thwaite boundary, N. (Dragon Hoard Way c.1628-88, N.R.O. BRA 926/114-16). This way passes through two sets of ring-ditches (Fig.19).

Hatchard's Doule, Methwold Warren, N. (Hatchard's Doule sixteenth century, N.R.O. T/CI/10(a)). Shown as a mound on a map of Methwold Warren. Presumably the doule belonging to a Mr. Hatchard. For doule see p.27.

Holmers Doule, Methwold Warren, N. (Holmers Doule sixteenth century, N.R.O. T/CI/10(a)). This is shown as a mound straddling a boundary on a map of Methwold Warren. The first part of the name is perhaps a compound of the



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local dialect words holl 'a ditch, a dry ditch' (Nall 1866, 581) and meer or mere 'a boundary' (Moor 1823, 227), derived, respectively, from O.E. hol 'a hole, a hollow' and (ge)maere 'a boundary'. Alternatively it could mean the doule belonging to a Mr. Holmer. For doule see p.27.

Hulk's Grave, Mendham, S.

## FOLKLORE AND LEGEND

Folklore concerning East Anglian barrows is, unfortunately, not very abundant and most of what does survive is connected with battles. There are, however, a few myths concerning the contents of barrows and one ascribing a non-human agency in barrow building. The origin of the barrow called Hangour or Anker Hill (11531) Beachamwell, N., is said to be due to the Devil, who was cleaning his spade against a tree when a lump of earth fell off the spade, forming the barrow (Grinsell 1953, 7a). Beneath this barrow a pair of silver gates is said to be buried. A golden plough is alleged to be buried in Bell Hill (10484), Fritton, N., and there are accounts of local monks digging for treasure in this mound c. 1530 (Fisher 1939, 505). Three silver bells are held to be buried in the Undley Barrow (LKH022), in Lakenheath, S. (Fowler 1950, 1), and silver bells are also said to be buried in one of the Gazeley, S., barrows (GAZ001; Petersen 1973, 28n). The church bells are supposed to be buried in Bell Hill (5056), Little Cressingham, N. Undefined 'treasure' is alleged to be buried in a barrow (3527) at Harpley, N., and it is further said that rabbits will not burrow into that mound (obviously scared of the dragon guarding the treasure!).

The only case of a spirit linked with a mound concerns Dcadman's Grave (IKL027) in Icklingham, S. 'Here it is said that the spirit of a man, who with his horse met a sudden death near by and lies buried under the mound, still haunts the spot and in retaliation for neglect of Christian burial, frightens all horses and other quadrupeds that pass that way after dusk so that they cannot be induced to keep the track' (Prigg 1901, 4-5).

Fiddler's Hill (1854) in Warham, N., is said to commemorate a fiddler who attempted to follow an underground tunnel leading from Blakeney Guildhall to Binham Priory, the mound being raised as a memorial to him by the town elders at the spot where the sound of his fiddle ceased to be heard.

A mythical battle is associated with the now destroyed mound called the Giant's Grave (2390) in Marshland St. James, N., for this mound was said to contain the body of the ogre that was slain by the equally gigantic Tom Hickathrift, who was the local champion (Miller and Skertchley 1878, 488; for all the legends concerning Tom Hickathrift see Porter 1974, 96-101). The mound lay next to a hollow called Tom Hickathrift's Handbasin and on the summit of the mound there was a 'curious stone' called Hickathrift's Candlestick, which is said to have been removed to the churchyard of Terrington St. John's (Miller and Skertchley 1878, 488). This stone was in fact a medieval cross (Cozens-Hardy 1935, 324-6); the name Hickathrift's Candlestick seems to have been commonly used for medieval crosses in Marshland and there are two of that name in the churchyard of Tilney All Saints (Porter 1974, 96). The name is alleged to have arisen because stumps of the crosses resembled partly burned-down candles (Eastern Daily Press 13 May 1950).

Blood Hill (5655) in Lynford, N., is said to be where 'ancient battles were fought'.

A mound near Great Wigborough church, E., was said to be a battle grave, its small size being graphically accounted for by the wasting of the bodies, which caused the mound to sink to its low level (Salmon 1740, 438). Mounds at Maldon and Great Totham (unlocated) were said to have been Saxon or Danish battle graves (Christy and Dalton 1928, 40-48).

The Rev. Francis Blomefield, in the eighteenth century, connected the Seven Hills (5958), Brettenham, N., with a specific battle: 'There are a rank of ten or eleven tumuli, or mounts of earth, in the field between Rushford, Euston, Barnham and Thetford, where (I verily believe) was fought that dreadful battle between King Edmund and the Danes, in the year 871' (Blomefield 1739, I, 290). This story also appears on a MS map of the Thetford area by Thomas Martin, c. 1740, in the Ancient House Museum, Thetford. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that in the winter of 869-870 the Danish army took up winter quarters at Thetford, 'And that winter King Edmund fought against them and the Danes had the victory and killed the king'. There is no evidence that the battle took place at Thetford or that Edmund was killed in battle. A tenth-century account puts the martyrdom of Edmund at Haegelisdun, which is usually identified with Hellesdon, near Norwich, N. (Whitelock 1969), however, a new contender has arisen in the field name Hellesdon in Bradfield St. Clare, near Bury St. Edmunds, S.

Another legend associated with this battle was recorded by W.G. Clarke (1925, 163) in relation to Tutt Hill (5957), Brettenham, N., which lies near the Seven Hills: 'On one of the occasions when the Danes attacked Thetford they are said to have been unable to find a weak link in the chain of Saxon defences. Several Saxons who were captured refused, even when tortured, to give information as to any unprepared part of the town fortifications, until a shepherd named Tutt told of a way over the marshes to the westward, and an easy ford across the river, which would bring the Danes in on the side of the town where there were no earthworks. Tutt, who had previously asked for a reward, was told that it should be "beyond his highest expectations". It was; for after the town was captured, he is said to have been hanged on what has since been known as Tutt's Hill'.

The Seven Hills, (BUC006-7, FXL011, NAC004-013) Bucklesham/Foxhall/Nacton, S., are said to have been the site of the battle in 1010 between the Danish army of Thorkel the Tall and the East Anglian army of Ulfketel. Contemporary sources site the battle at Ringmere, which is now taken to be either Ringmere Pit on Wretham Heath, N. (Stenton 1971, 383) or possibly Rymer Point, a meeting place of nine parishes to the south of Barnham, S. (Holland 1966; Rymer was apparently Ryngem' graunge in 1320 and Ryngemere Graunge in 1539). The fact that in 1010 the Danes landed initially at Ipswich led some early antiquarians to equate Ringmere with Rushmere St. Andrew, a parish adjoining Ipswich. The placing of the battle at the Seven Hills, not far from Rushmere, seems to stem from the Rev. R. Canning who, in his revision of John Kirby's The Suffolk Traveller, stated that '(In Nacton) is a place called the Seven Hills (though there are more) which seem to have been barrows; and therefore, perhaps it may be more probable, that near this place it was the earl Ulfketel might have fought the Danes and not at Rushmere' (Kirby 1764, 85). This siting of the battle at the Seven Hills was still being repeated in Kelly's Directory of Suffolk for 1937, and even on the Bartholomew Half-Inch Map of Suffolk, published in 1972.

In 1016 a great battle was fought between King Edmund and the Danish army of King Cnut at a place called Assundune, in recent years identified with Ashingdon in Essex. The dead from this battle were said by Holinshed (1586, I, 723) to be buried in the Roman Bartlow Hills (TL54.13), Ashdon, E., presumably on the assumption that Assundune = Ashdon, an identification now favoured by Dr. Cyril Hart. Benton (c. 1885, 280), however, placed the dead in Plumberow Mount, Hockley (TQ89.1), as this parish adjoins Ashingdon. The Romano-British and Early Saxon pottery from Plumberow Mount would,



Photo: Derek Edwards

TF7730/A/ABK 19

Plate I. Early Bronze Age barrows: Bircham, Norfolk (Fig.13), looking from the north.





Plate II. Roman barrows: The Bartlow Hills, Ashdon, Essex (Fig.42), looking from the south-east. (Cambridge University Collection: Copyright Reserved: No.AZ45)

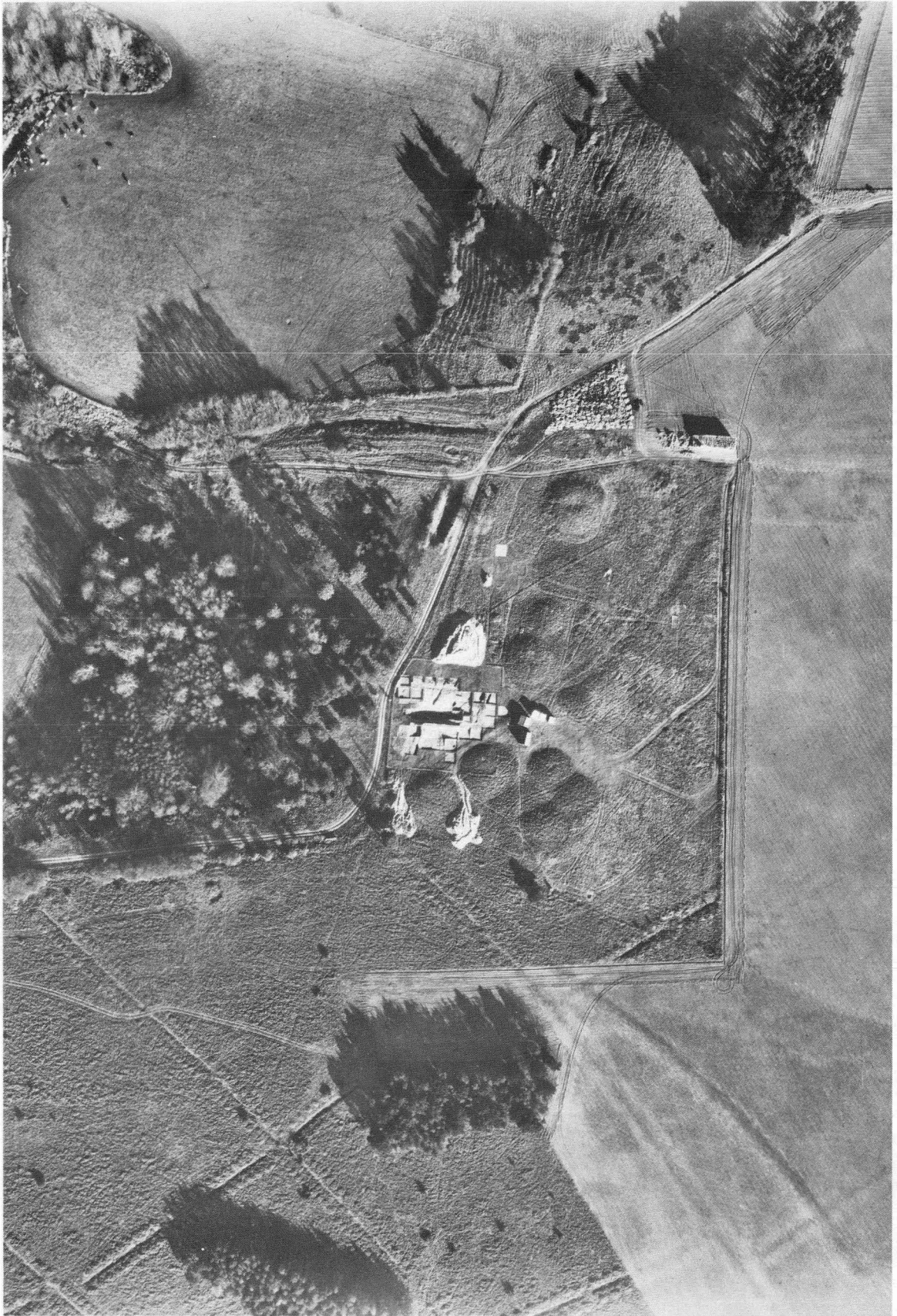


Plate III. Anglo-Saxon barrows: Sutton Hoo, Suffolk (Fig.35), vertical view showing re-excavation of ship barrow in 1967. (Cambridge University Collection: Copyright Reserved: RC8-P119)





Photo: Norfolk Museums Service (Norwich Castle Museum)

Plate IV. (a) A post-mill situated on a mound at Bungay, Suffolk depicted on a Lowestoft porcelain teapot of 1769.

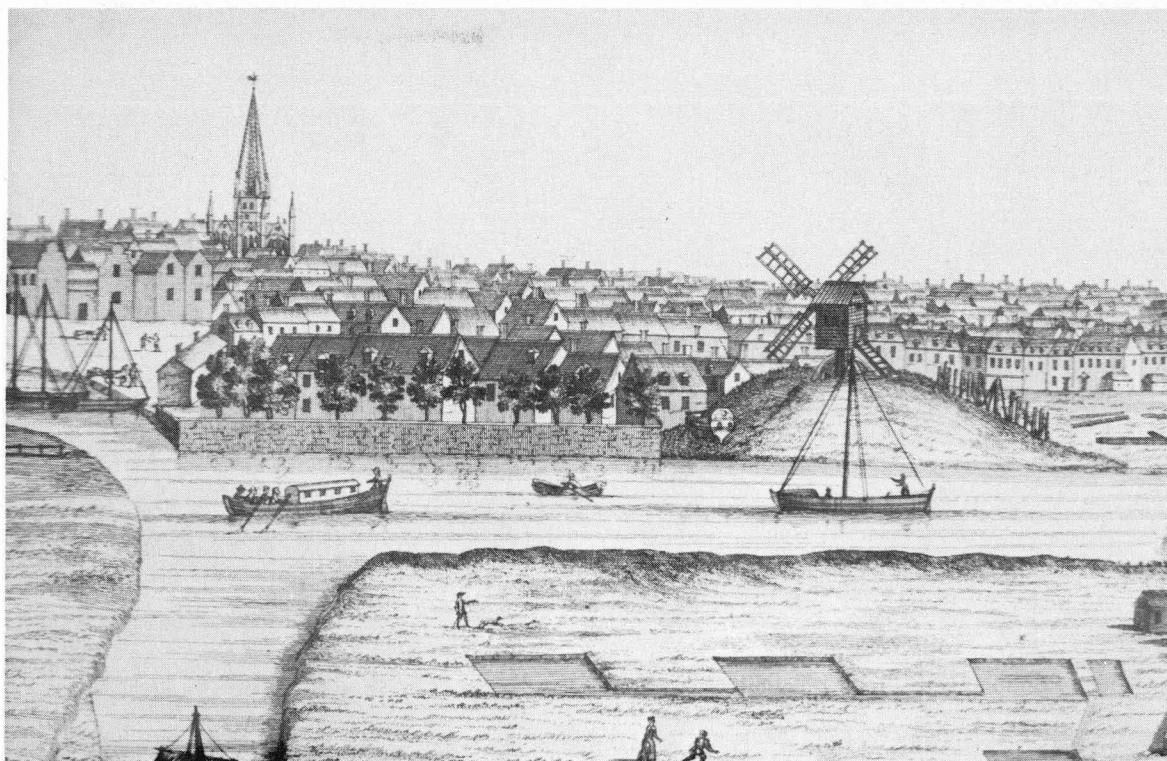


Photo: Andrew J. Lawson

BZE 18

Plate IV. (b) Detail from Corbridge's (c. 1740) prospect of Gt. Yarmouth, Norfolk showing a post-mill at North Quay situated on a purpose built mound of c. 1580.

however, suggest that this mound is earlier than 1016.

The Seven Hills, (LML002-5, ING004) Little Livermere/Ingham, S., were also connected with a battle. The Rev. F. Blomefield, in referring to the Battle of Fornham, 1173, where the Royal forces defeated Robert, Earl of Leicester and his army of Flemings, states that 'all or the most part of which (i.e. Leicester's army) were buried in and around Fornham, anno 1173; their sepulchres are now to be seen near a place called Rymer House, on the right hand of the road leading from Thetford to Bury, and are now called the Seven Hills though there are more; but seven of them being much larger than the rest, are particularly taken notice of by those that pass that way, under which it is most probable that the commanders were buried' (Blomefield 1739, I, 3). It goes without saying that the occurrence of Bronze Age pottery at the Seven Hills makes this explanation of the mounds a little unlikely.

A mound (1705) at Bircham, N., is said to have been 'thrown up by soldiers' (Clarke 1913, 419). The mound (DNT002) at Denston, S., is alleged to be the work of Oliver Cromwell and to contain the dead from a local battle (local information, 1978). Pepper Hill (5616) in Weeting, N., is said to have been used by Cromwell as a gun emplacement to 'pepper' Weeting Castle which lies 1.3 km to the north-west.

## BARROW TYPOLOGY

### 1. Neolithic Barrows

There is, as yet, very little evidence for neolithic round barrows in East Anglia, although Middle and Late Neolithic ring-ditches have been excavated on the Greater London side of the Essex border at Rainham (Smith pers.comm. in Hedges 1980, 28), and West Stow (WSW002), S. respectively.

Only three long barrows had previously been recorded from Norfolk, these being Ditchingham (10597; Wainwright 1972, fig.2); Harpley (3637)<sup>2</sup> and West Rudham (3611; Hogg 1939). To these should be added a fourth example at Felthorpe (7763) and further possible sites identified from air photographs at Roughton (11358) and Marlingford (13357; Edwards 1978, 92-4).

At least seven Norfolk barrows have been recorded as oval in plan: Bawburgh (9290), 88 ft (27 m) long; Brettenham (5956), 40 m by 35 m; Castle Rising (3299), 26 m by 17 m; Horsford (7772), 41 m by 25 m and (7773), 27 m by 21 m; Lynford (5655), 40 m by 30 m, and Tuttington (7545), 26 m by 16 m. As more distinctive long barrows are rare in East Anglia it is possible that these oval barrows are of Neolithic date and similar in form to that excavated at Alfriston, East Sussex (Drewett 1975, 119-152). All the Norfolk barrows, with the exception of West Rudham (3611) are less than 40 m in length and would therefore fit into Drewett's category of oval barrows. Castle Rising (3299) appears to be a two-period structure with a round mound 17 m in diameter placed on an unusually short (26 m) long mound.

Only one long barrow is claimed from Suffolk, that on Sutton Common (SUT020). The earthwork is unusual in only having a ditch on one side and is enclosed within a circular bank. Thus there is some doubt as to its authenticity and it is more likely to be a rabbit warren mound. Two oval barrows, at Foxhall (FXL004) and Wordwell (WRW001), 28 x 23.5 m and 30 x 27 m respectively, have also been recorded in Suffolk.

No long barrows have been confirmed in Essex and a reference to a fourth century A.D. hoard of bronze vessels coming from a long barrow at Sturmer seems to be totally unfounded (V.C.H. 1963, III, 185). However, a number of elongated oval cropmark enclosures which may represent ploughed-out long barrows have been noted (Erith 1971, 35; Hedges 1980, 27). A total of nine have been recorded in Essex, together with two



large oval enclosures at Ashen (TL74.54) and Langham (TL83.5). Twelve similar sites have been recorded in Suffolk. The Suffolk enclosures are approximately the right dimensions for long barrows, although their continuous oval ditches would make them unusual. Long barrow ditches are most commonly two straight sections flanking the long sides of the mound (Ashbee 1970, 47-8). The barrow at West Rudham (3611), N., however, appears to have a continuous sub-rectangular ditch (Hogg 1939, 315-31), and a similar ditch with a causeway at one end was found at the Giants Hill, Skendleby, Lincs. (Phillips 1936). In all cases, however, other interpretations of these oval enclosures are possible: prehistoric long mortuary enclosures, as at Dorchester, Oxon. (Atkinson *et al.* 1951); recent clamps for root-crops (Briscoe 1953, 69 and fig.15); long rabbit-warren mounds: a probable one at Nacton (NAC023), S., has a continuous ditch surrounding it; and glacial features such as the two oval cropmarks at Exning (EXG017 and 020), S.

The existing mounds in Norfolk and the cropmark evidence for all three counties points towards a possible East Anglian long barrow type with a continuous ditch. The juxtaposition of such enclosures with ring-ditches in Essex suggests some sort of mortuary function. Ring-ditches occur in association with oval enclosures at Cavendish (CAV006), Fakenham (FKM014), Stoke by Nayland (SBN013), S. and possible Ashen (TL75.54), E. It is possible some represent twinned round barrows, especially that at Stoke by Nayland (SBN013), S. which is slightly waisted. At Long Melford (LMD014), S., there is a very interesting occurrence of an oval enclosure with a causewayed (?) ring-ditch superimposed. A small oval enclosure at Springfield (TL70.163), E., (now destroyed) was found to lie c.300 m to the east of the recently excavated cursus (Hedges and Buckley 1981, 1-308). However, as none of these enclosures has been excavated, their date and function must remain in doubt.

## 2. Bronze Age Barrows

In general, Bronze Age barrows in East Anglia do not seem to include such a wide variety of forms as those recorded in other areas, notably Wessex. Some forms, however, do seem to be connected with cultural groups, like the bell- and disc-barrows of the 'Wessex Culture', and barrow typologies have been suggested by Thurnham (1869, Grinsell (1936), and Ashbee (1960). In the gazetteers of this survey barrows have not been assigned to a type unless the evidence is unambiguous. In Essex, the classification of surviving barrows is not possible due to their damaged condition. In Suffolk, the rarity of visible ditches makes it difficult to say whether berms existed between mounds and ditches, and most barrows are apparently of simple bowl shapes, although the Devils Ring (BGL001), Brightwell is said to have been a large saucer barrow with an external bank 3 to 4 ft high (Thomas 1960, 199). In Norfolk, it has only been possible to identify with certainty a few bell-barrows (Bircham 1705/c1, c4; Weasenham All Saints (3655, 3658) and disc-barrows (Salthouse 6211; Wellingham 3696) (Plate I). Some low, ditched mounds (for example Anmer 3476; Weasenham All Saints 3654) could be weathered bell-barrows, saucer barrows, or simply ditched bowl barrows.

Barrows which now appear to be unditched could originally have been surrounded by a ditch, now infilled, with or without a berm. This is a problem of identification aggravated by the increased soil movement due to ploughing. Occasionally, the presence of a former ditch is shown by aerial photography, as at Kettlestone, (1050), N. (Edwards 1976, 129). Ditchless barrows have been recorded at Ipswich (IPS031), and Martlesham (MRM011 and 017), S. (Martin 1975a and 1976a), and are an element in the barrow building tradition recorded elsewhere in England (Ashbee 1960, 44).

The questionable status and date of monuments known as pond-barrows has been noted (Fleming 1971, 140; Grinsell 1941, 89). However, they do seem to belong to the same period and culture as the Wessex barrow types, whatever their purpose. In

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Norfolk, two circular, embanked depressions at Weasenham All Saints (11281) and Weeting with Broomhill (11522) may belong to this type of monument. The former 'hollow enclosed by a bank' standing next to 'a mound with a slight depression around it' at Marshland St. James (2390), N. has been called a pond-barrow (Congress of Archaeological Societies 1929, 9). The example at Weasenham All Saints (11281) is associated with a large group of barrows, which includes disc- and bell-barrows, whilst that at Weeting with Broomhill (11522) is adjacent to two well preserved bowl-barrows (4995). It is possible that these structures, if not genuine barrows, may have served as enclosures for funeral rituals, as may various sub-rectangular cropmark enclosures associated with barrows. A number of the latter have been noted in Norfolk: Weasenham All Saints (3661), Great Bircham (1719), Caistor St. Edmund (9583; Clark 1936, pl. II), and Kettlestone (5782; Edwards 1976, pl. 30), and in Suffolk at Nayland with Wissington (004; Fig. 31B). These sites have all been levelled, but that at Weasenham All Saints was partially excavated by F. F. Petersen in 1972 (D. O. E. 1973, 35). Aerial photography has revealed a number of enclosures in Essex which may be functionally associated with ring-ditch groups. At Dedham (TM03.24) a number of ring-ditches are contained within a rectilinear enclosure, although a number of ring-ditches are also found outside it (Fig. 39). None of these enclosures, with the exception of Weasenham All Saints, N. has been excavated so that their date and function cannot be ascertained, but their close proximity to barrows may indicate a relationship between the two types of earthwork.

A number of barrows in Norfolk may possibly fall into a type which has been overlooked. Mounds including those at Anmer (3520), Eaton (9549/C2), Harpley (3540), Lexham (13546), Kimberley (8837/C1), Weasenham All Saints (3688), Weeting with Broomhill (5640) and Weston Longville (7718), are distinctively flat-topped. Whether this is a subsequent modification to form a raised platform, or an original feature is not known.

Natural mounds appear to have been utilised as barrows at Langham (6153), N. and Ipswich (IPS031), S., but because of later ploughing it is now difficult to say whether such mounds were originally artificially heightened.

In Yorkshire a number of small mounds, referred to as 'mini-barrows' c. 4 m in diameter, have been noted in large numbers surrounding larger barrows, although as yet their sepulchral function has to be proven (Ashbee 1960, 85). However, in Essex groups of small ring-ditches have been recorded and excavated at Ardleigh (TM02.15; Erith 1960a, 22; 1960b, 51) and at Great Bromley (TM02.64; Erith 1962b, 120) and were found to contain Bronze Age Bucket Urns. A large number of small mounds has been recorded at Salthouse (6212), N. and those excavated have also produced Bucket Urns. Eleven small ring-ditches adjacent to two larger ones have also been recorded at Nayland with Wissington (NYW005; Fig. 31C), S.

Enlargement and re-use of barrows is attested elsewhere (Donaldson 1977, 197-231) and probably accounts, in most cases, for the number of double ring-ditches which are recorded in all three counties, rather than implying a more sophisticated monument. Double ring-ditches have been excavated at Langham (TM03.5), E. (Erith 1963a, 28-9) and East Tilbury (TQ67.44), E. (Bannister 1961, 19-27); Hadleigh (HAD990), S. and Costessey (11431), N. whilst extant barrows with double ditches have been excavated at Flempton (FMP002), S., Little Cressingham (5053), N. and Witton (6920), N. The only recorded triple ring-ditch, Fornham All Saints (FAS005a), lies at the south-east end of a cursus and is probably more closely related to late Neolithic/early Bronze Age ritual monuments than to the majority of barrows. It can be paralleled by similar monuments close by cursuses at Dorchester, Oxon (Atkinson *et al.* 1961, fig. 2) and Lechlade, Glos. (Smith 1972, 164).

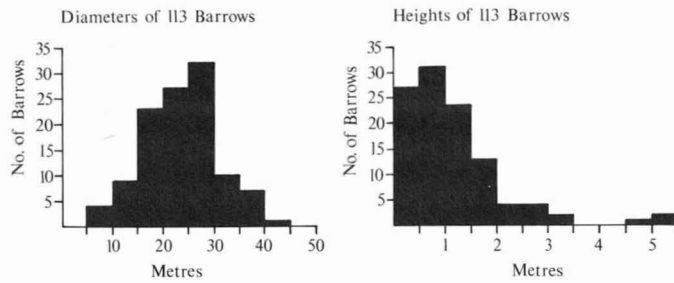


Fig.2. Diameters and heights of surviving Suffolk barrows.

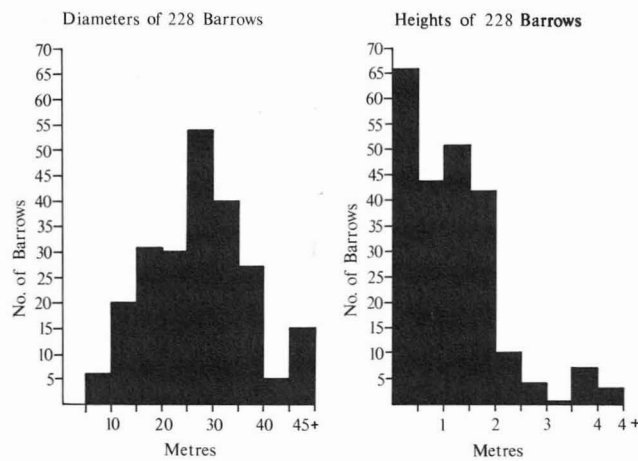


Fig.3. Diameters and heights of surviving Norfolk barrows.

The size of surviving barrow mounds is shown in Figs.2 and 3. A preference in size is clearly indicated as in Suffolk 72% are between 16 m and 30 m in diameter, the histogram peaking at 26 - 30 m (28%). Similarly in Norfolk 50.5% have diameters between 16 m and 30 m, the histogram also peaking at 26 - 30 m (23.7%). However, in Norfolk rather more barrows (17.5% compared with 9% in Suffolk) are greater than 30 m in diameter. Although the histogram for the surviving heights of barrows in Suffolk shows a peak at 0.5 - 1 m, the histogram for Norfolk shows peaks below 0.5 m and at 1 - 1.5 m. It is probable that the latter histogram shows that the preferred height of barrows was greater than 1 m but that subsequent ploughing and erosion has reduced the original height. It is possible that those barrows with diameters in excess of 40 m, or heights more than 4 m are Roman in date. The condition of Essex barrows precludes meaningful comparison, although all mounds over 30 m in diameter have been found to date to the Roman period.

Despite the large number of barrows investigated in Norfolk, it has not been possible to classify their structure, but differences do occur and these may be culturally significant. Among the features recorded in Norfolk are: chalk block walls at Little Cressingham (5051) and Old Hunstanton (1263); masses of stone at Bergh Apton (10308); dry stone wall of flints at Bircham (1705/C4); marl and burnt clay at Harpley (3627); flint and hard gravel at Harpley (3529); and a complete circle of charred earth and ash at Hilborough (5026) and Warham (1854). In Suffolk, a barrow at Barton Mills (BTM004) was capped with clay, and one at Risby (RBV001) by chalk. Sometimes the truncated remains of such a chalk capping have been interpreted as walls or revetting as at Worlington (WGN003; Briscoe 1956, 102) and at Risby (RBV003; Edwardson 1959, 159). The

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barrow at Worlington contained an inner mound which covered a large area of charcoal and black soil 20 x 12 ft and 2 - 2½ ft thick, whilst at Eriswell (ERL036) the pit containing the primary cremation was covered by a spread of chalk (Dymond 1973, 4-5).

The picture of barrow construction is, to a certain extent, augmented by the results of ring-ditch excavations, notably in Essex. The majority of ditches were found to have a 'V'-shaped profile (between 1 and 2 m in depth). Some of the central pits at Ardleigh (TM02.15) Rings 1, 2, 5 and 6 were found to have silted prior to the urn being deposited, and it has, therefore, been suggested that some sites were prepared some time in advance (Erith 1975, 4). However, the experience of the excavators at Mucking (TQ68.15) showed that as much as 30 cm of silt could accumulate in excavated features during overnight rain (Jones 1975, 34). Therefore, silting prior to interment may not necessarily represent the preparation of barrow sites long in advance of burial, but could simply be the result of rapid erosion.

The majority of recorded interments in Essex ring-ditches were cremations. One of the Mucking ring-ditches (TQ68.15) produced an inhumation but no indication of date was found (Jones 1977, 94). At Dedham (TM03.36) and East Tilbury (TQ67.44) primary cremations were placed respectively in or under, urns within shallow pits. Only one possible post-hole structure has been recorded, Dedham (TM03.36), where a semi-circle of post-holes bounded the convoluted central area (Blake 1955-60, 348), although less substantial traces on other sites may often have been ploughed away. Cairns were found at Great Bromley (TM02.64) and East Tilbury (TQ67.44). At Great Bromley a Late Bronze Age urn was inserted into the ditch fill, surrounded by small flints and capped by a piece of ragstone (Holbert 1977, 8). At East Tilbury an inverted urn cremation of Late Bronze Age date was placed on a saddle quern rubber of Lower Greensand and covered by a cairn of flints and gravel (Bannister 1961, 19-27). A small flint cairn was placed over the head and shoulders of an inhumation under a barrow at Risby (RBY001), S. Pairs of post-holes, equidistant from the centre of the ring-ditch were recorded at Great Bromley (TM02.28) and Ardleigh Ring 3 (TM02.15), E. A possible pyre site beneath a barrow was suggested at Mount Bures (TL93.15), E. where the old ground surface was covered in a thick layer of ash and the gravel under it was reddened by fire (Holbert and McMaster 1975, 9). At Flempton (FMP002), S. one inhumation was in a wooden coffin, probably of tree-trunk type, and another appears to have rested on a wooden bier or plank (Vatcher 1976, 267-8, 274). Central post-holes may have held a marker, or else were used to lay out the barrow circumference as at Martlesham (MRM019) and Eriswell (ERL036), S. and at the ring-ditches at Mount Bures (TL93.15) and Great Bromley (TM02.64), E.

### 3. Roman Barrows

Roman barrows are held to be distinct in form from those of the Bronze Age, being high, steep-sided, conical mounds (Collingwood and Richmond 1969, 169). Some of the larger barrows in Norfolk, for example Garboldisham (6112) or Little Cressingham (5056) may be Roman, but it is difficult to date such barrows on their external appearance alone. However, Burnham Thorpe (1788) and Hockwold cum Wilton (5403 and 5455/C4) are certainly of Roman date and were surrounded by square ditches, the former with multiple ditches. The only certain Suffolk examples are the Eastlow Hill group in Rougham (RGH001-2), of which the mutilated Eastlow Hill itself is the sole survivor. It is also possible that large mounds at Culford (CUL004), Norton (NRN001) and Great Finborough (FNG003) are of Roman date (p.27). In Essex, the well known Bartlow Hills (TL54.13), Ashdon, though disturbed, retain much of their characteristic shape and dimensions (Plate II). With the exception of barrow II which contained a tile-built burial chamber, all the cremations were placed in glass jars within wooden chests. Tile-built burial chambers have also been revealed at the West Mersea Barrow (TM01.1), E. and at Rougham (RGH002A and 002B), S. In both instances cremations were contained in

glass vessels, whilst the cremation in a glass vessel from the Belgic Lexden Tumulus (TL92.21), E. was buried in a pit. Eastlow Hill (RGH001), S. contained a chamber built of flint and mortar with tile courses at intervals. Standing on a flint and mortar platform, it had a tiled roof and contained an inhumation in a lead coffin. The barrow at Burnham Thorpe (1788), N. also had a tiled roof structure. A layer of crushed tile and ochre, the significance of which is not clear, was found below the West Mersea barrow (TIM01.1), E.

#### 4. Anglo-Saxon Barrows

Anglo-Saxon barrows, where extant examples have been identified, are similar in size and form to those of Bronze Age date. The most famous are those of the Sutton Hoo cemetery, S. (Plate III) which included at least one ship burial (SUT004) and possibly a second truncated ship burial (SUT005) as well as a cremation on or in a wooden tray or chest (SUT006). Two penannular ring-ditches from within the neolithic causewayed enclosure at Orsett (TQ68.36), E., contained central graves with soil silhouettes of inhumations within wooden coffins. These were accompanied by grave-goods. Various reconstructions of the ring-ditches ranging from a ditched enclosure to different combinations of banks and mounds have been suggested (Hedges and Buckley, in prep.).

Small circular ditches have been found to surround graves within Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Morningthorpe, N. (1120: 3.4 m and 3.9 m diam.) and Spong Hill, North Elmham, N. (1012: 10 m and 5 m diam; Hills 1977), although it is interesting that the ditches were too slight to appear on aerial photographs.

#### OTHER MOUNDS AND THEIR USES

Mounds which closely resemble barrows have been constructed in the past for a number of purposes other than that of burial. Many have been mistaken for burial mounds, and in the absence of excavation evidence it may be difficult to establish whether a burial mound has been re-used at a later date for any other purpose.

In the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods mounds were often used as meeting places for Hundred and other courts (Jewell 1972). A.H. Smith (1956, I, 235) suggests that many of these meeting-mounds were specially constructed for that purpose, as in Scandinavia and Iceland. There is, however, evidence that some of the East Anglian meeting-mounds were re-used barrows, for instance a possible cremation burial is recorded from a mound (5640) in Weeting with Broomhill, N. (Clarke 1915, 106-112), the meeting-place of the Grimshoe Hundred court; a flexed inhumation with a bronze dagger was found in one (2688) of the two barrows where the Greenhoe Hundred court met in Cockley Cley, N.; and human remains, horns and urns are said to have been found in Thing Houe (BSE004), Bury St. Edmunds, S. (inf. Ordnance Survey 1884). A mound known as Cattishill (BRG001) in Great Barton, S. was used as the meeting-place for a shire court in the thirteenth century (Gransden 1963, 61n). Excavation of this mound in 1957 produced only domestic rubbish including Romano-British pottery, pumice quern fragments and cattle bones (Smedley and Aberg 1957, 178). Unfortunately none of this material now survives. The mound may have been a Roman midden or a later meeting-mound which happened to use Roman material in its make-up. Saxon finds are recorded from Mutlow Hill (TL53.71), Wendens Ambo, E. (Meaney 1964, 89). There is insufficient evidence concerning the other East Anglian meeting-mounds to say whether they utilised pre-existing mounds including barrows.

Stone crosses were occasionally situated on mounds as at Maids Cross Hill (LKH 043), Lakenheath, S., Beachamwell (4550), Titchwell (1379), and the Giants Grave (2390), Marshland St. James, N. Such stone crosses may be contemporary with the mounds, although this is not necessarily the case.



## Introduction

Several East Anglian mounds bear or bore the name 'Gallows Hill' (p.10). This commemorates the former practice of locating gibbets on mounds or other prominent points. In many cases it is unclear whether the gibbet mound was a pre-existing barrow or a specially constructed earthwork. Gibbets are recorded on the summits of the mounds called Gallows Hill (9157) at Quidenham, N. in 1681 and c. 1797 at Thetford (5744), N. The former site is not definitely a barrow. However, it is certain that a mound existed at the latter before the erection of the gallows. The mounds of the same name at Kelling (6201) and Thorpe Market (11287), both in Norfolk, would appear to be genuine bowl barrows, the first being a large mound with an outer bank and ditch. Beneath Gallow Hill (3754), East Walton, N. bodies lay in a circle, the feet to the centre and accompanied by an earthenware jar (Clarke 1939, 94). This form of burial is perhaps Roman (Rowland 1978, 149) or Anglo-Saxon.

Windmill mounds (Plate IV) are a common feature throughout East Anglia, and many, being similar in appearance to barrows (Zeepvat 1980, 377), have been interpreted as such. Here, field and place-names such as Mill Mount and Mill Field may indicate the true nature of a mound, as may the well-marked ditch often interrupted by a causeway. Mills may, however, be placed on pre-existing mounds. Round Hill (SNP020), Snape, S. is alleged to have been a burial mound later crowned by a mill (N..., R.A. 1863) and pre-existing mounds were used at Margaretting (TL60.58), E., and Belton (10479), N.; bones are said to have come from Mill Hill at the latter. A scheduled mound at Beeleigh (TL80.12), Maldon, E., excavated in 1966 was almost certainly constructed as a mill mound although Bronze Age pottery was found on the surface of the field (C.Couchman pers.comm.). A moated mound at Felsted (TL62.47), E., in the past regarded as a barrow or a mill mound, and called Quakers Mount was excavated by Felsted Bury School in 1946-7. No central burial was found but inhumation burials in wooden coffins had been inserted into the mound and parish registers record Quaker burials at Quakers Mount particularly in 1695-8 and 1732. Originally the mound seems to have been a mill mound.

In the eighteenth century and later, features deliberately imitating barrows were constructed in the grounds of some country houses. Their position, generally in direct view of the house, suggests they are not likely to be genuine barrows. The mound in the grounds of Theberton House (THB004), S., is almost certainly 'a prospect mound' with its fine view of Leiston Abbey from the summit, as is the mound in the grounds of Thornodon Hall (TQ68.1), E. Mounds at Aylsham (7485), Litcham (11921), Docking (1643) and Stanford (5154), N., are possible landscape features, but in some instances their interpretation is more problematic. Devil's Hill (FNG003), Gt. Finborough, S., in the grounds of the Hall, is crowned by a brick column. Yet its position away from the direct view of the house, and the place-name do give some support to its identification as a barrow. Romano-British sherds and a single Bronze Age sherd are alleged to have come from a mound at Culford Park (CUL004), S., but no such finds are known from that at Little Haugh Hall (NRN001), Norton, S. whose large size and position make it unlikely to be a genuine barrow.

Mounds erected as boundary markers might be confused with barrows. In the early sixteenth century there is mention of 'certain hills formerly erected for dools, as partition of the foldcourse' in the vicinity of Thetford, N. (Martin 1779, 192-3). Dool or dole is an East Anglian dialect word meaning 'a boundary marker in an unenclosed field' (Forby 1830, I, 96), derived from M.E. dole 'a share in the common field' from O.E. dāl 'a share, a portion' (Smith 1956, I, 126). A sixteenth-century map of Methwold Warren, N., depicts two mounds called Holmers Doule and Hatchard's Doule (N.R.O. T/CI/10(a)). The 1844 Tithe Map of Haughley, S., has the word 'dole' alongside a sharp change of direction of the parish boundary in the middle of a field presumably indicating some sort of boundary marker. Plate VIII shows the word dole being used in its original sense of a share or portion in Thorpe St. Andrew, N.

By 1974 a total of one hundred and seventy-five mounds around the coast of Essex had been confirmed by fieldwork as 'red hills' (de Brisay 1974, 5). These are the mounds of red earth and briquetage formed by the industrial waste from salt making in the Iron Age, Roman and Medieval periods. In the past many of these mounds were locally thought to be barrows, such as those scattered through the parishes of Great Totham and Hullbridge. The name Barrow Marsh Farm, Goldhanger, probably related to nearby red hills (Christy and Dalton 1928, 40-48) although 'Saxon or Danish relics' are rumoured to have come from several shallow mounds in the parish (V.C.H. 1903, I, 328). Mounds in Dersingham (3263), Heacham (1455), North Wootton (2195) and Snettisham (1562-3), N. are also considered to be salt-working sites.

The mounds at Bircham (1705) and Pepper Hill (5616), Weeting-with-Broomhill, N., are said to have been erected during the Civil War as artillery emplacements, although excavation has demonstrated that the former at least were genuine barrows. Many of the Essex coastal mounds have been ascribed to military works dating from the Roman period to the seventeenth century (Christy and Dalton 1928, 40-48). More recent defence works are searchlight stations, such as that at Outwell (11920), N., and the semaphore and signalling mounds on Foulness, E.

A number of other interpretations for barrow-like mounds have been put forward including: house and garden platforms in marshland areas, Foulness, E.; ice houses, Quidenham (10786), N.; water tower mounds, Blickling (7406), N.; eighteenth or nineteenth-century sand heaps, Rougham (RGH011), S. (Owles 1969, 325); spoil heaps from constructing fish tanks, such as the mounds on the north side of the River Crouch, E. (Christy and Dalton 1928, 40-48); heaps of pine needles, Marsham (7491), N.; and coastal marshland and fenland sheep and cattle refuges, Walpole St. Peter (2198), N.

The use of mounds is difficult to resolve if they are in unusual topographical situations, as at Denver (4244), N., on the edge of the fen at only 3 m O.D. The degree to which the fens were inhabited before the Bronze Age cannot be assessed, as both artefacts and monuments of this period have largely been buried beneath successive layers of peat and silts (Churchill 1970). Hence, doubt must be cast on the early date attributed to some mounds in this part of Norfolk, unless they are situated on islands above the level of these deposits. There are, however, early literary references suggesting that treasure hunters had raided some Fenland mounds by A.D. 700 (Peckover 1859), and barrows have recently been identified beneath the peat at Anwick, S. Lincs., and in Cambridgeshire.

Finally, a number of natural features such as glacial kames, Castle Rising (3301); eskers, Old Hunstanton (1142); and islands left by stream convolutions, Holkham (1192), N., have erroneously been reported as barrows.

#### AGENTS OF DESTRUCTION

Very few barrows in East Anglia survive in good condition. Barrows have been and continue to be destroyed in a number of ways (Plates V-VII). Total destruction has been accomplished by large scale earth-moving works such as quarrying, housing developments and by the building of roads and airfields.

A more gradual, but equally effective agent of destruction is ploughing, both when the whole mound is ploughed and when the margins of a mound are continually encroached upon by the plough (Plate VIa and b). Slight outer earthworks are particularly vulnerable to this kind of damage. Ploughing thus not only destroys mounds but it is also prone to change the shape of mounds, making their interpretation very difficult.

Ancient soils buried beneath barrows are often at risk when the mounds are ploughed,





Photo: Andrew J. Lawson

BVB 3

(a) Salthouse (6202), Norfolk.

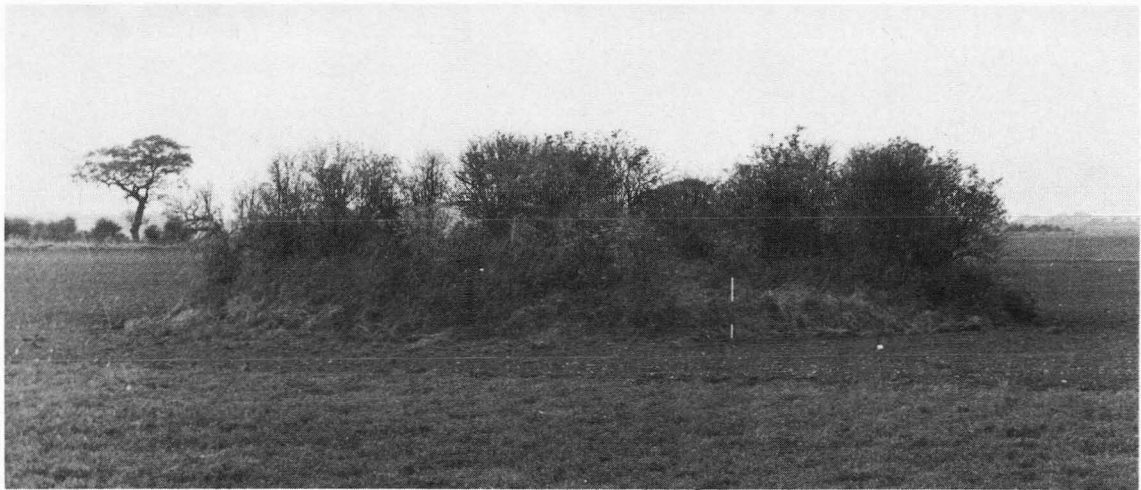


Photo: Andrew J. Lawson

HV 5

(b) Harpley (3531), Norfolk.



Photo: Edward Martin

EC 10

(c) Foxhall (FXL 011A), Suffolk.

Plate V. Examples of the states of preservation of East Anglian barrows.



Photo: John Hedges

(a) Sturmer (TL64.1), Essex.

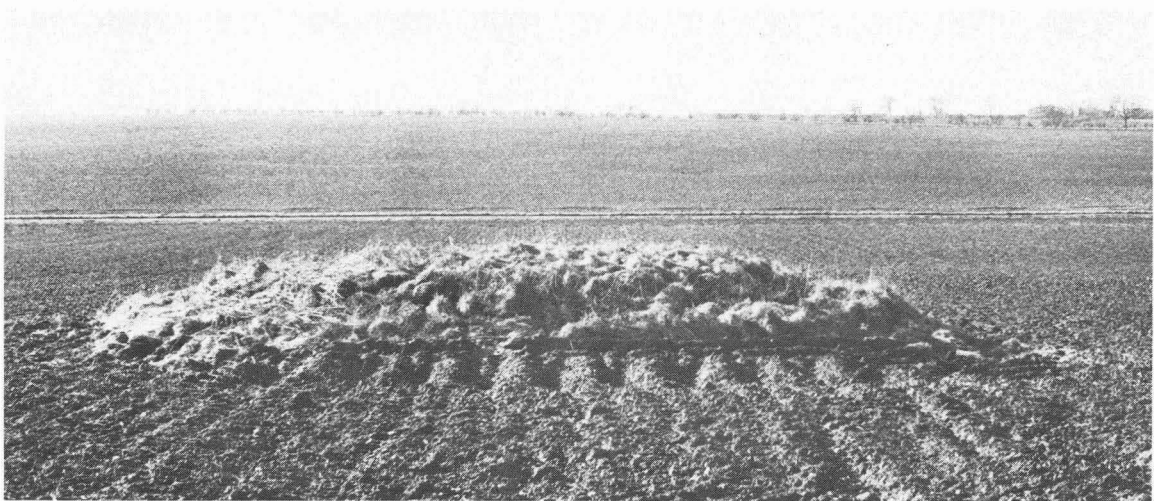


Photo: Andrew J. Lawson

(b) Harpley (3529), Norfolk.

HW 19



Photo: Edward Martin

(c) Eriswell (ERL 035), Suffolk.

EC 3

Plate VI. Examples of the states of preservation of East Anglian barrows.



Photo: John Hedges

(a) West Mersea (TM01.1), Essex.



Photo: John Hedges

(b) Norsey Wood, Basildon (TQ69.4), Essex.

Plate VII. Examples of the states of preservation of East Anglian barrows.



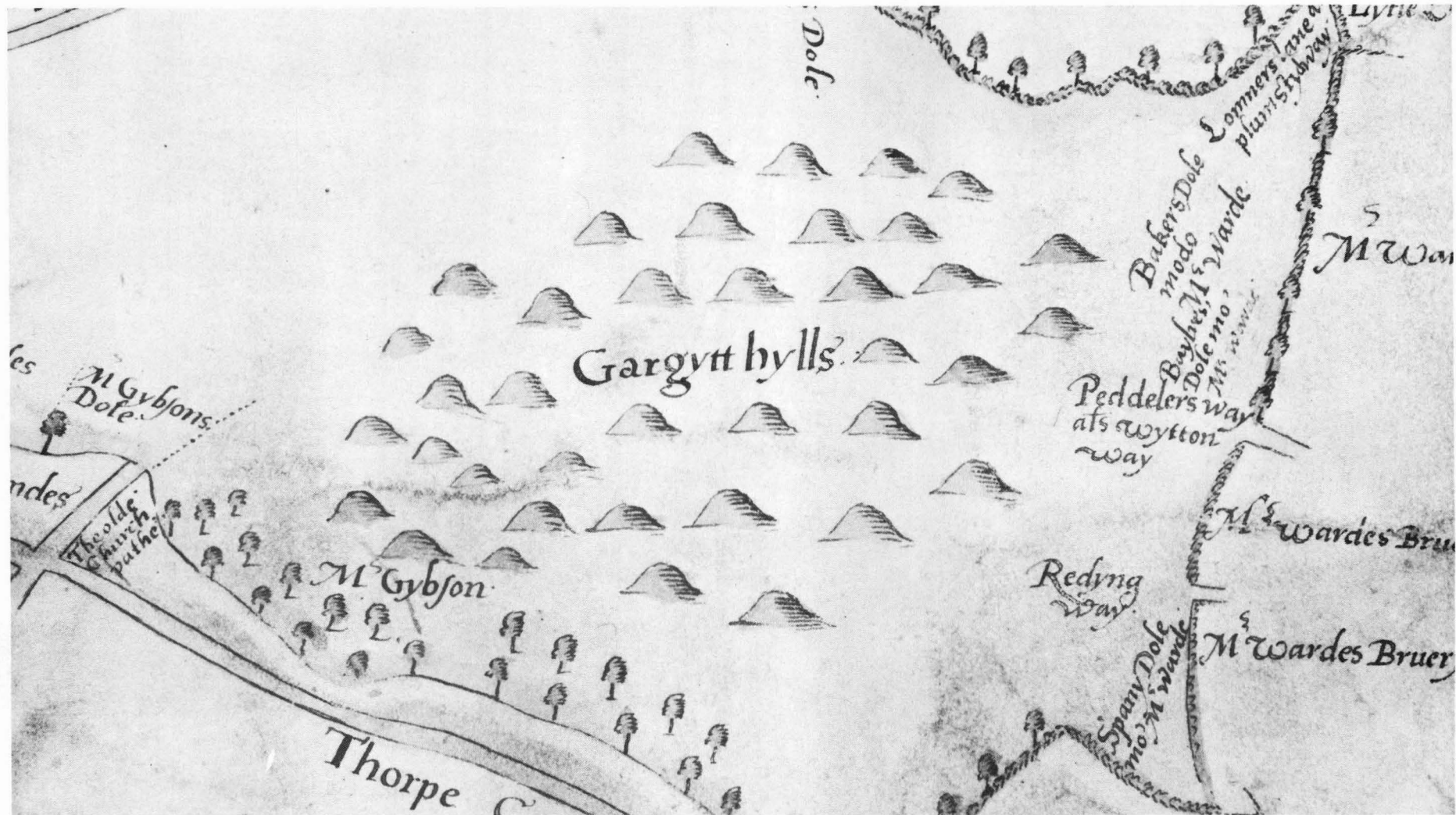


Photo: Andrew J. Lawson

HR 5

Plate VIII. Detail from a 1589 map of Thorpe St. Andrew, Norfolk, depicting the former Gargytt Hills.

## Introduction

for differential erosion has usually resulted in the sub-soil under the barrow being higher than that in the surrounding, more actively eroding, area. Hence, it is probable that an old ground surface, with its possible wealth of environmental evidence, will not survive once ploughing has reduced a mound to 50 cm in height. Graves cut below the old ground surface may offer better protection to interments and grave-goods, but there is no means of assessing the mode of burial purely from surface observation. Sub-soiling has not been taken into account, but this may destroy the contents of a mound to a depth in excess of 50 cm.

In Norfolk it has been possible to show that the mean annual rate of erosion on barrows is nearly 2 cm per annum (p.34). In Suffolk an indication of the rate of destruction and erosion of barrows is provided by a group of fifty-seven barrows that were measured in 1962-5 and again in 1976-8, an interval of about 14 years (Fig.4). By 1976-8 seven of the barrows had completely disappeared, a loss rate of 12%; of the remainder there was only a 4% reduction in those over one metre in height, but a reduction of 18% in those under one metre. This seems to suggest that, as would be expected, the larger mounds, which are nearly all scheduled as Ancient Monuments, are relatively well protected, but the smaller, less obvious mounds, often unscheduled, are more prone to destruction.

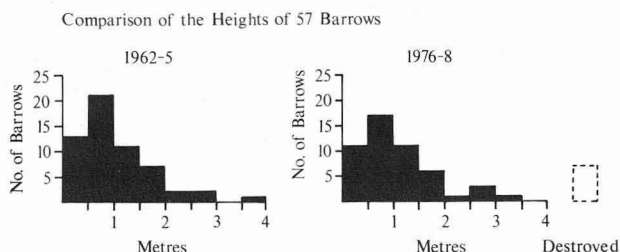


Fig.4. Comparison of the heights of barrows in Suffolk between 1962-5 and 1976-8.

Trees are also less obviously destructive, but modern methods of planting and stump clearance can be very harmful. There seems to have been a deliberate policy in medieval and post-medieval times for planting trees on earthworks, a practice which is occasionally still encountered. The roots of these trees have probably greatly disturbed the contents of barrow mounds. Shallow rooting conifers can be as dangerous as deciduous trees as they may be uprooted during gales, carrying with them large portions of barrow mound.

The Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments recommends that earthworks are kept clear of scrub and bushes (H.M.S.O. 1969, 38) in order to halt the natural succession of plant communities which could result in the establishment of deep-rooting trees.

Burrowing animals, especially rabbits, have caused widespread damage in East Anglia, and most surviving heathland barrows in the region are rabbit infested. Such is the colonisation by rabbits that when describing a mound at Gooderstone (4573), N. A.Q. Watson pronounced 'This is a beautiful rounded mound, but I am not certain of it (as a barrow) as there is very little working by rabbits...' Even worse than the destruction caused by the rabbits, however, is that of the trenches of warreners and rabbit-ers.

Trenching for military purposes has damaged several barrows in the Martlesham area of Suffolk and one at Brightwell (BGL008), has virtually disappeared under a concrete pill-box. More widespread, however, are the trenches cut in search of treasure and/or antiquities by both the well-meaning and the avaricious, for at least four hundred years (Plate VIIb).

## RING-DITCHES

Ring-ditches may represent the ploughed-out remains of many of the types of ditched mounds described above. In some instances their function is clear, as in the case of ploughed-out mill-mounds where the mill cross-tree slots are a prominent cropmark as at Bixley (9585/C1), Tivetshall (12186), and Woodbastwick (11872), N.; and at Wivenhoe (TM02.2) and Little Dunmow (TL62.88), E. Circular moats, such as that at St. Osyth (TM11.58), E., are identifiable by the size and width of their ditches. Old enclosed stands of trees as at Thurrock (TQ57.65) and circular drains at Alresford (TM01.72), E. are among other more recent features which resemble ploughed-out barrows. In the Norfolk fenland many groups of small ring-ditches published by Riley (1945, 1946) have been reinterpreted as medieval or later 'steddles' (dry stands for haycocks made by throwing the upcast from a circular ditch to the centre).

Prehistoric structures other than barrows may be represented by a number of ring-ditches. Circular houses, of a type common in the Iron Age usually appear on aerial photographs as annular or penannular ditches very similar to those of barrows. Adjacent cropmark features may occasionally indicate which is the more likely but any such interpretation is still guesswork since house gullies may be annular, and some barrows, such as those at Orsett (TQ68.36), E., had penannular ditches.

A number of causewayed ring-ditches in Suffolk (p.66) present problems of interpretation owing to their resemblance to small henge monuments. The fact that those ring-ditches at Fornham All Saints (FAS005a and c) and Stratford St. Mary (SSM004) lie in close proximity to cursus monuments may indicate a different type of structure to the more commonly known forms of barrows. Although the term 'henge-barrows' has been applied to such sites (Ashbee 1960, 132), there is little, in most cases, to suggest a significantly different monument. In Essex, a number of multi-causewayed ring-ditches have been recorded, but once more, this is unlikely to represent a separate type of barrow. A large ring-ditch at Caistor St. Edmund (9794), N., was partially excavated with inconclusive results, although post-built structures are said to have been found within it. A date later than the Bronze Age is suggested by its proximity to other enclosures and small square structures.

The majority of excavated ring-ditches in East Anglia bear out the assumption that such cropmarks represent ploughed-out barrows, and a number of features from excavations in Essex attest the presence of a covering mound. Large quantities of Late Bronze Age urn sherds from the ditches of Rings 3 and 6 at Ardleigh (TM02.15) are interpreted as satellite or secondary burials from a higher level in the mound which were pushed into the ditches when the barrows were flattened, leaving only the primary burial, cut into the old ground surface (Erith 1961, 33). Reconstructions of urns found *in situ* in Rings 1 and 2 at Ardleigh and at Levington (LVT025), S. would require a mound to cover them completely.

The relationships of ring-ditches to other cropmark features, field and parish boundaries, suggest the substantial nature of some mounds. At Mucking (TQ68.15), E., Ring 5 was respected by a later field ditch (Jones 1977, 94), and at least forty-seven ring-ditches in Essex are recorded as being on, or adjacent to, field or parish boundaries. In the area of Bucklesham/Foxhall/Nacton, S. the 'Seven Hills' barrow group (Fig.33) form an impressive linear grouping along the parish boundaries. Such mounds clearly provided visible markers from which boundaries could be aligned and fixed (p.27).

## SQUARE-DITCHES

Recent aerial photographs taken by the Air Photographs Unit, National Monuments Record of an area to the west of Great Dunmow (TL62.63), E., have revealed a linear

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group of three small square cropmarks, c. 10 m in size, with central pits, and a ring-ditch of similar diameter immediately to the north. In Yorkshire, such a site might be interpreted as burial monuments of the Arras culture, dated between the fourth and first centuries B.C. whose funerary practices involved the raising of a burial mound within a rectangular or square enclosure (Stead 1979, 29-35). A number of such cemeteries have now been recognised in Yorkshire and possibly beyond (St. Joseph 1978, 138; Stead 1979, 30-31). A non-archaeological explanation cannot be ruled out in the absence of fieldwork. However, if proved to be burials, their occurrence in Essex would be of great importance. Other features of the Arras funerary culture such as cart burials are rare but not unknown outside the Yorkshire area. A burial at Newnham Croft, Cambridgeshire, has produced bridle fittings suggestive of the culture although no evidence for a cart was recovered. A number of other small square enclosures have been noted in Essex (R. Whimster, pers.comm.) as have eight square enclosures in Suffolk, and isolated examples at Caistor St. Edmund (9794), N. However, the maximum size of the Arras type barrows appears to be c. 10 m whilst some of the Essex and Suffolk enclosures are slightly larger.



Barrows at Bircham, N. (Lukis 1843)



### III. The Barrows of Norfolk

by Andrew J. Lawson

#### PURPOSE AND METHOD OF SURVEY

On 29th June 1935 the Norfolk Research Committee set up a group to carry out a survey of Norfolk barrows<sup>3</sup>. The objects of this survey were to check the existence of all known barrows, to measure them, to note their type and the nature of their construction and their condition, to list their contents where recorded, and subsequently derive dates for their use, and to collect local names and folklore concerning these monuments. The group intended to record previously undiscovered barrows and to protect the better examples by scheduling. They were also to excavate a number of mounds whose true identity was in doubt. Finally it was intended to publish a full report of the survey.

The progress of the survey was communicated to a meeting of the Norfolk Research Committee on 31st January 1948<sup>4</sup>. Success was indicated by the discovery of previously unknown long barrows and by the increase in the number of recorded round barrows from 131 to 250. Before the survey the only extensive published list was that of W.G. Clarke (1913), which incorporated the seventy-eight barrows marked on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey maps (c.1840) and the list of Fen tumuli suggested by Miller and Skertchley (1878, 588). W.G. Clarke's manuscript notes listed a further sixty-nine barrows from 'ancient records'<sup>5</sup>.

Although the number of recorded barrows was increased during the survey the description of the monuments and their locations were often inadequate. Occasionally a barrow was listed only as being within a certain parish; fortunately some (mainly recorded by the late R. Rainbird Clarke and L.V. Grinsell) were located by longitude and latitude, an arduous task before the advent of the present National Grid system.

After 1935 thirteen barrows were excavated by members of the Group, although a further thirteen had been investigated by the members before 1935. The results were very varied but the only publication forthcoming was a brief description of barrows in the Breckland (Grinsell 1953, 200-3).

The failure of the survey to complete its task was principally due to the onset of war in 1939. After the war enthusiasm had waned and with the premature death of R. Rainbird Clarke in 1963, the survey lapsed.

The purpose of the present survey, which was started in 1973, is to complete the work begun in 1935 in order to formulate a strategy for the future study and preservation of Norfolk barrows. Excavation has not been undertaken as part of the survey.

This survey is based on the records maintained by the Norfolk Museums Service, copies of which are held by the Norfolk Archaeological Unit at Gressenhall. These contain not only the results of the earlier survey but also the accumulated reports of 'barrows', 'tumuli' and 'mounds' described to the Museums' staff since a card index of sites was initiated by R.R. Clarke in 1930 following a suggestion by O.G.S. Crawford,

then Archaeological Officer of the Ordnance Survey.

Reports include details from unprinted maps and documents, publications, aerial photographs and local legend. All quotations used in this report are taken from the Museums Service records unless otherwise stated. In the preparation of this report all museum records have been checked but no further research has been undertaken other than fieldwork and an examination of the fast growing collection of aerial photographs held by the Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

The sites are listed in a gazetteer (available to researchers at the discretion of the County Field Archaeologist) in alphabetical order of parish; each is identified by its county number <sup>6</sup> and located by an eight-figure grid reference where possible; where applicable the ancient monument schedule number is given (Appendix I).

The gazetteer contains all recorded barrows and possible barrows reported by 30th October 1979. The sites of all barrows or possible barrows have been visited. The majority of these sites were only visited once, though occasionally further visits were necessary to confirm the evidence. Most fieldwork was conducted during the winter months when crops and undergrowth were at their lowest. The six sites which have remained unlocated are situated in dense coniferous plantations. A number of sites (especially those where the observation has been at variance with the earlier record) would doubtless warrant further visits, perhaps when the conditions of vegetation are different.

The horizontal measurements quoted in the gazetteer are paced surface measurements unless otherwise stated. The majority of vertical measurements are estimates, and are hence only accurate to the nearest 10 cm. This is sufficiently accurate to detect where significant differences between new and old measurements occur. The date of recording is quoted. A comparison of recent and early measurements may serve to confirm the record and also indicate the degree of erosion of a mound, although this cannot be completely accurate due to the method of measurement and the often ill-defined limit of the earthworks.

The gazetteer incorporates, with the date of photography, all ring-ditch sites recorded by the Norfolk Museums Service and the Unit up to 31st March 1977. All those in the sites and monuments record prior to 1975 have been visited, but few were identified on the ground. Only five sites were found to have detectable mounds. Due to the small proportion of mounds detectable at ring-ditch sites those recorded after 1975 were not visited unless the site was incidentally passed during other fieldwork.

The majority of the sites are ploughed and the condition of each site, if visited, is noted in the gazetteer <sup>7</sup>, although these recent visits have not been given a separate entry, unless the site is detectable as an earthwork.

#### RESULTS OF SURVEY AND CONDITION OF BARROWS

The existing records show that, rather than the 250 barrows suspected to exist in Norfolk in 1948 there are now 625 recorded examples. Although this total includes the thirty small mounds at Salthouse (6212) and the thirty-eight Gargytt Hills at Thorpe St. Andrew (9619, Plate VIII), it must be treated as a minimum, for whenever an early record refers to the previous existence of 'several barrows', it has been assumed that three monuments were then extant. This total excludes ring-ditches (p. 35) and no consideration has been given to the numerous records of human skeletal remains which may once have been covered by barrows now flattened. These burials have been found as articulated skeletons associated with grave goods, such as Beakers or Food-Vessels (for example Feltwell (5188)), with which a barrow may have been associated. Two inhumations at Hilborough (5040 and 11801, the latter crouched) would appear to continue

the line and spacing of two barrows (5206-7) along a small spur. The above total gives a density of approximately one barrow per 851 hectares<sup>8</sup>, but this varies from one part of the county to another (Fig. 5).

At the time of survey (principally 1974-6) the condition of the 228 surviving round barrows was recorded as follows:

under grass or bracken	72 (31.6%)
under trees and bushes	104 (45.6%)
under plough	52 (22.8%)

Although often mutilated by rabbits and warreners only the barrows in the first category above are not being destroyed, and they alone are 'the grassy barrows of the happier dead' (Tennyson, *Tithonus*). From the records it is possible to show that at least 220 barrows, more than one third of the total number now known, were originally recorded on heaths. Due to the ploughing-up of these heaths only fifty-four barrows are now found in this environment.

Of the fifty-two ploughed barrows only thirteen are more than 50 cm high. Three are dubious identifications and may be natural. The mound at Burnham Thorpe (1788) now 3.5 m high seems to have been reduced by more than 1 m since 1934, and that at Banham (10840) by 40 cm since 1936. Both are scheduled ancient monuments. Those at Beachamwell (4560), Cockley Cley (2716), Longham (7239), Newton by Castle Acre (11706), Ringland (28031), Syderstone (1982/c2) and Wellingham (11592) are 1 m or less in height<sup>9</sup>, leaving Tattersett (1987) 1.5 m high with no record of the rate of its destruction.

By comparing the latest estimates of barrow heights with the earlier records the rate of destruction by ploughing can be roughly calculated for those barrows where the agent of destruction appears to have been ploughing alone. Intermittant spells of fallow of varying duration employed under normal rotation must be assumed. This rate of destruction varies from 1.2 m in fifteen years (or an average of 8 cm/annum) at Kettlestone (5786) and 2 m in fifty-seven years (or 3.51 cm/annum) at Ringland (7803), to 30 cm in forty-one years (73 cm/annum) at Gayton (3778) and 20 cm in fifty-one years (3 cm/annum) at Thetford (5745). This average annual rate of destruction must be a minimum due to the intermittant nature of the ploughing and also because some sites have been completely obliterated before the recent record. However, the annual rate of destruction is usually between one and three centimetres a year, with a mean value of 1.9 cm/annum for the thirty-nine barrows where this form of destruction can be demonstrated (Fig. 6). Although the sample is extremely small, it would appear, from the available evidence, that there is little variation in the rate of erosion in different areas of the county, despite the different soil types and farming methods. However, the rate in the Breckland would appear to be slightly less (c. 1.8 cm per annum), though it must be admitted that the greatest range in the rate occurs in this area. The reduced rate probably reflects how recently many of the 'brecks' have been ploughed-up and how reluctant farmers are to break-up the surface exposing the sandy soil to wind erosion, a hazard in the Breckland.

Earthwork sites are usually protected by scheduling, with, in the past, the Acknowledgement Payment Scheme offering a greater incentive to landowners to respect the monuments (H.M.S.O. 1969, 30, para.89). In some cases this 'protection' has proved to be inadequate as thirty-three of the 162 barrows

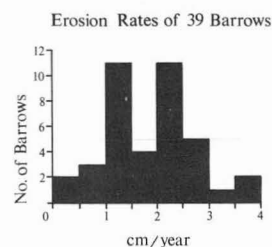


Fig. 6. Minimum rate of erosion by ploughing on barrows in Norfolk.

scheduled in the county have been lost, and a further seven are subjected to regular ploughing: all thirteen scheduled ring-ditches are ploughed. Almost total destruction by ploughing prompted the excavation of two scheduled barrows at Weasenham All Saints (3659-60; H.M.S.O. 1973, 35) in 1972 and a barrow at Harpley (1005) in 1973 (Lawson 1976) and another at Little Cressingham (5053) in 1977 (Lawson in prep.). It was from the Little Cressingham group (5051) that a rich 'Wessex Culture' burial came in 1849 (Barton 1852). Because other barrows in this group may also contain similar burials the best four mounds in the group were protected by a Preservation Order in 1976, and so removed from cultivation; this was the only example of the use of this legislation for barrows in Norfolk <sup>10</sup>. Barrow 5053 was not included in this order as the mound was barely discernible. Excavation revealed that all trace of the mound, surrounded by two ditches, was lost due to ploughing.

Fifty-five scheduled sites have trees either on the barrow mound or its edges; these trees may have already been established at the time of scheduling, but the twenty sites covered with bushes which threaten the barrow structure and contents, would indicate that maintenance is inadequate. Only forty-seven scheduled round barrows are covered with grass or bracken, many on unattended heaths.

#### RING-DITCHES

The number of ring-ditches recorded by 31st March 1977 is shown below. It is an indication of the rate of discovery of this class of site that 196 ring-ditches had been reported by the middle of 1975, but 549 by March 1977. Since 1977 at least a further 350 ring-ditches have been photographed, principally during the flights made by Derek Edwards of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit. A number of the sites listed below have been reported without corroborative evidence and consequently are described as 'unconfirmed'.

Single ring-ditch	451
Double-ditched	17
Penannular	6
Possible Penannular	4
Possible causewayed	4
Double-ditched, causewayed	1
Unconfirmed	<u>66</u>
TOTAL	549

The above total includes at least fifty-eight ring-ditches at Upwell and Welney, and eleven at Blakeney which are probably not barrow sites (p.30). However, the quoted total number must be regarded as a minimum as often a plurality of sites has been recorded but not the exact number.

Of the ten penannular ring-ditches, Bixley (9585) is thought to be a mill site; two rings at Swanton Morley (12296) are enclosures and that at South Wootton (not numbered) is possibly a fungus ring. Hence only six are more probably barrows: Bradwell (12780), Hemsby (11883), Caistor St.Edmund (9789), Gimingham (12805), Hingham (12811), Pentney (11709). None of the causewayed ring-ditches certainly identifies barrow sites; Aylsham (12772) is perhaps a mill-mound with three causeways, while Gt.Yarmouth (11787) is faint and indistinct on available photographs, yet is thought to have two causeways. Marsham (11698) and Narborough (11703) both have two causeways on the same side of the ditch circuit. However, although uncommon it is not unknown for genuine barrows to have penannular encircling ditches (e.g. Poole, Dorset; Case 1952; Crig-a-mennis, Cornwall; Christie 1960); one example is known in Norfolk, Necton (4603).

In the category of double-ditched ring-ditches, three sites, Hoveton (8427), King's

Lynn (5489) and Riddlesworth (6109), are unconfirmed with existing photographs. The site at Aldeby (12137) is adjacent to a possible Romano-British temple (Edwards 1978, 94) and it has been suggested that the inner broad ditch of the double ring-ditch is octagonal rather than circular. The remainder are Beechamwell (13918), Coltishall (5788), Ditchingham (11675), Guestwick (12800), Hanworth (12815), Kilverstone (13493), Scoulton (8809), Somerton (11651), Southrepps (12850), Stiffkey (1867), Trowse with Newton (9589).

The site at Strumpshaw (11285) still preserves a mound and therefore is probably similar to the double-ditched barrow excavated in 1977 at Little Cressingham (5053), although the latter mound had been totally removed by ploughing. Excavation at Costessey (11431) in 1979 showed that the site was surrounded by two concentric ditches, although only the outer was positively identified from aerial photographs (Lawson in prep.).

Finally, Great Witchingham (1018) which consists of two irregular concentric ditches with two possible causeways and encircling a series of pits is possibly a small neolithic henge monument (Edwards 1978, 92-3).

The evidence of long barrows from aerial photographs is scant (above p.21), only two examples having been identified:<sup>11</sup> Marlingford (13351), c. 30 m by 15 m orientated NNE to SSW and Roughton (11358), c. 65 m by 25 m orientated SE to NW.

In addition two sub-rectangular enclosures in association with barrow groups may be 'long mortuary enclosures' (Ashbee 1970, 49): Kettlestone (5782) c. 45 m by 20 m orientated E to W with four entrances and Weasenham All Saints (3661) recorded as 165 ft (50 m) by 81 ft (24.7 m) with two entrances.

Multiple or adjacent small, square-ditched enclosures, which elsewhere have been interpreted as Iron Age burial sites (p.31), have not been identified with certainty, although isolated small square-ditches occur (e.g. Caistor St. Edmund (9794), Fig.18).

#### PREVIOUS EXPLORATION

The possibility that the history of barrow exploration had started in Norfolk as early as the seventh century has already been noticed (p. 28), but 'hill-digging' was certainly established by the fifteenth century. On 23rd November 1465, John Cans and Richard Hikkes were tried at Long Stratton as they 'had been wont to avail themselves of the arts of magic ... By means of which arts and sacrifices they had incited many persons unknown ... to the practice of hill-digging. Especially for the finding of treasures in the said hills'. (Jessopp 1887, 53). The meaning of 'hill-digging' is now somewhat ambiguous as this term apparently includes not only 'excavation' but also the invocation of spirits to assist in the location of treasure. However, through atavistic ceremony and the powers manifest in a certain crystal, the celebrants were apparently able to locate treasure to the value of one hundred shillings in coined money. Despite the prosecution of hill-diggers the practice continued, and by 1521 emissaries of Sir Richard Curzon, licensed to search for treasure, were extorting finds from suspected hill-diggers as 'digging of hills was it appears an amusement not to be indulged in by any but the privileged few' (Jessopp 1887, 51). Due to the records of this activity Jessopp concluded that 'our Norfolk barrows have all been explored and rifled'. It is hoped that this is not the case, although 'hill-digging' continued for at least another century (Turner 1847; Virgoe 1976).

In the late eighteenth century, while Sir Richard Colt Hoare and William Cunnington worked in Wessex, the local Norfolk clergy investigated at least three barrows<sup>12</sup>, two of which appear to have contained cremations beneath inverted Collared Urns.



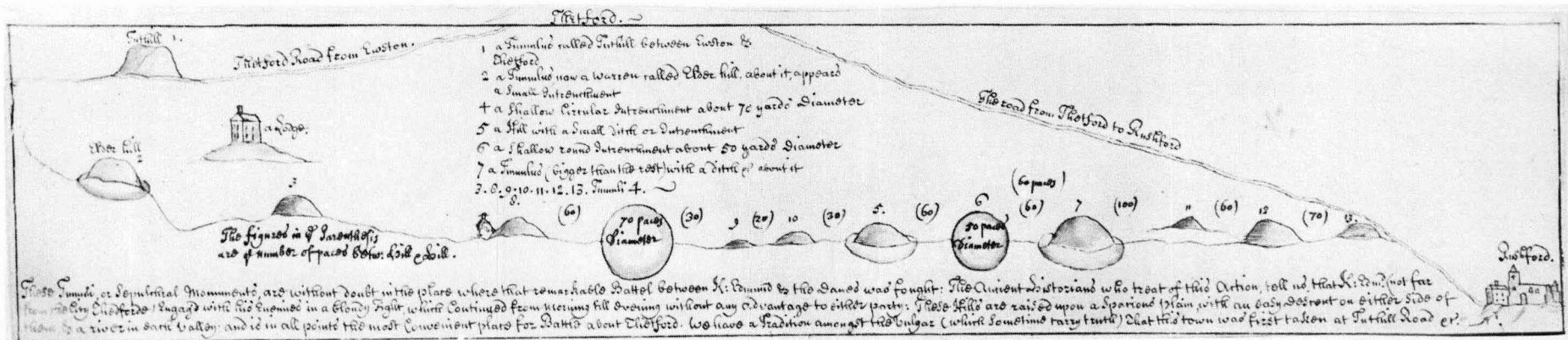


Photo: Norfolk Museums Service (Thetford Museum)

Plate IX. 1740 map of the barrow group at Brettenham (Rushford 'Seven Hills' Fig.10), Norfolk by Thomas Martin.



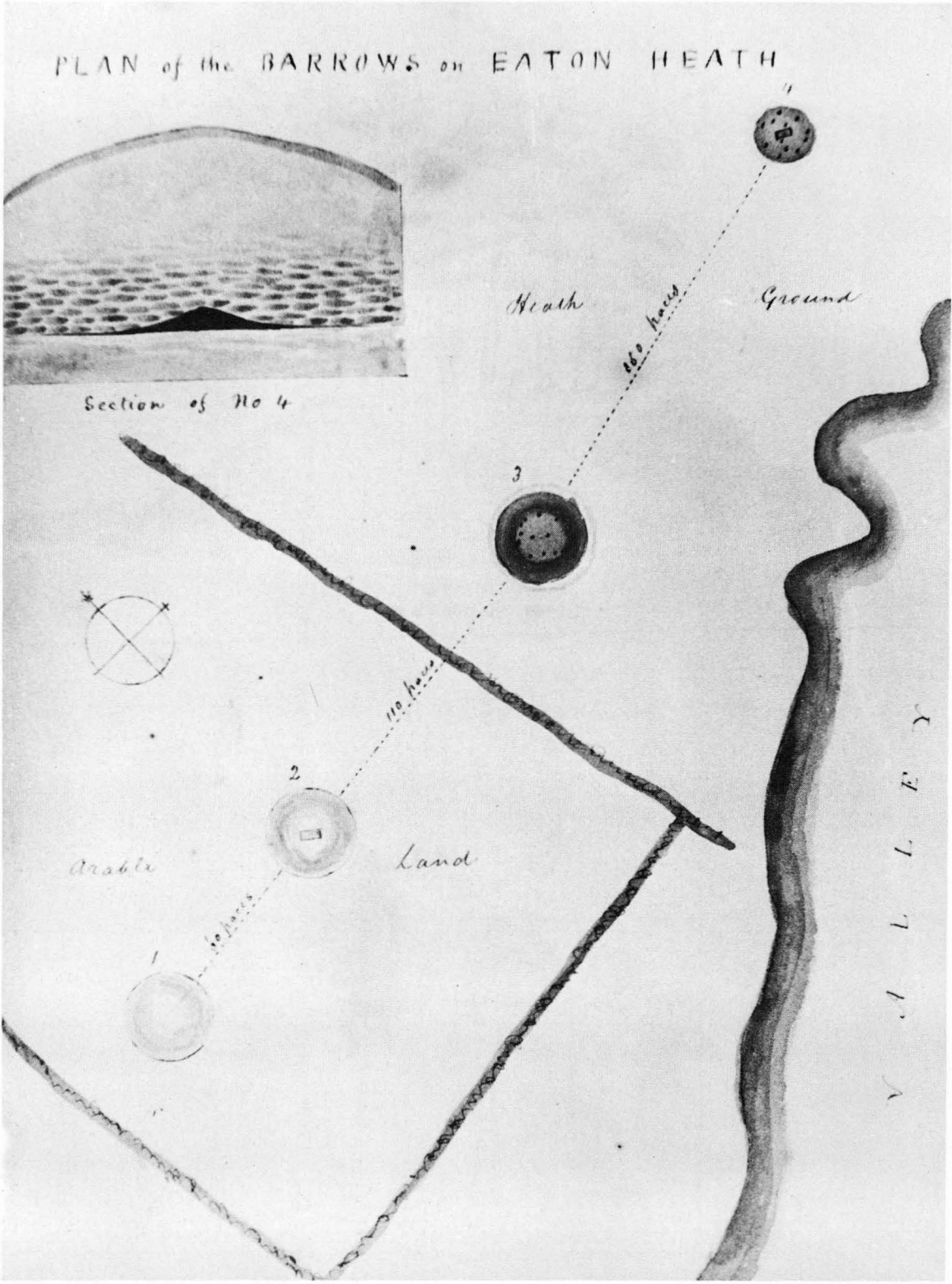


Photo: Andrew J. Lawson

Plate X. 1827 map of barrows at Eaton, Norfolk (Fig. 18), by S. Woodward.

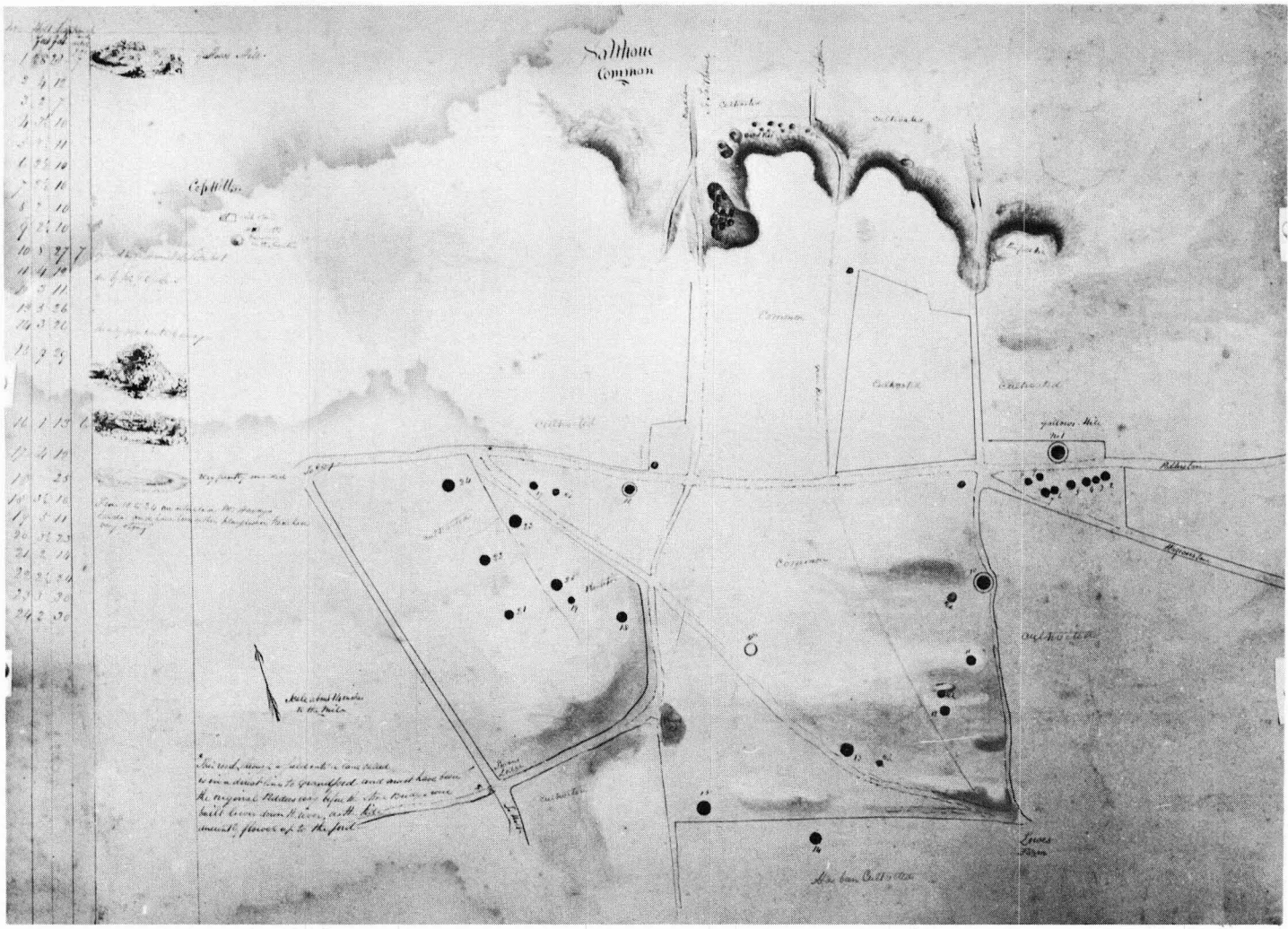


Photo: Norfolk Museums Service (Norwich Castle Museum)

Plate XI. Map of barrows on Salthouse Heath, Norfolk (Fig.15), by W.J.J.Bolding, c. 1850.

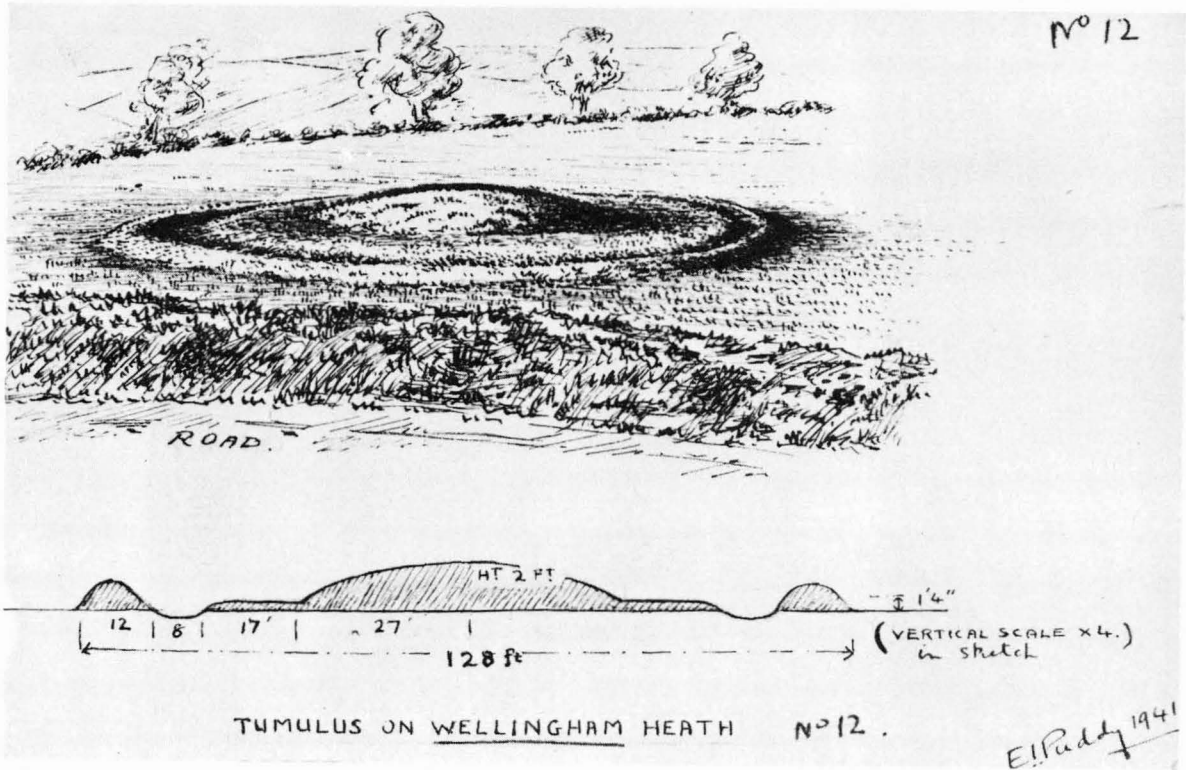


Photo: Andrew J. Lawson

(a) Disc-barrow (3696), Wellingham.

BZE 2

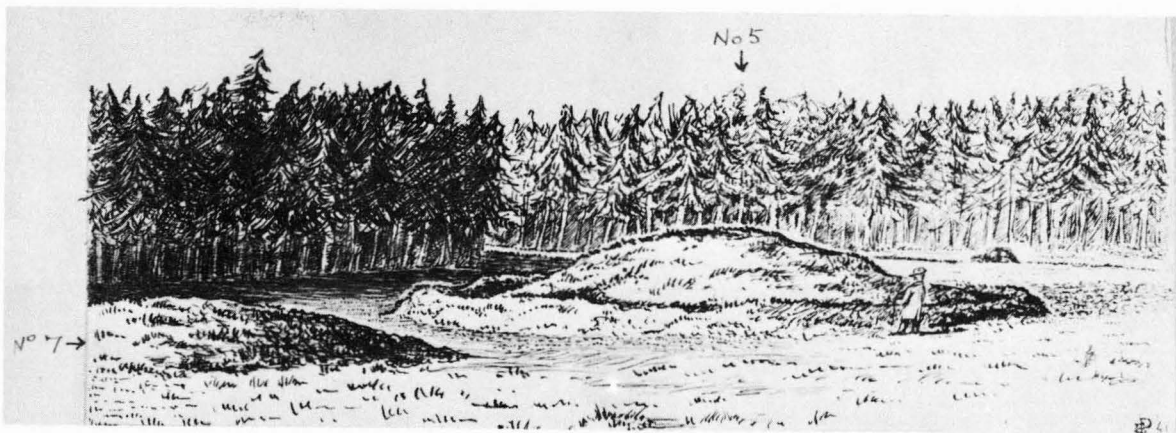


Photo: Andrew J. Lawson

(b) Bell (3658) and bowl (3660) barrows, Weasenhall All Saints.

BZE 1

Plate XII. 1941 drawings of Norfolk barrows by Dr. E. I. Puddy.

The Rev. F. Blomefield was the first to record extensively field monuments in Norfolk, not in a systematic way, but as part of a general topographic description of the county<sup>13</sup>. In 1740 T. Martin compiled a map (Plate IX) of the 'Seven Hills' at Rushford (5958), now in the civil parish of Brettenham, and Faden's map of Norfolk dated 1797 depicts several barrows.

The early nineteenth century was an active time for barrow diggers; the Batemans worked in Derbyshire and Yorkshire, while in Norfolk F. C. Lukis and others conducted over sixty investigations. Although the discovery of objects to fill showcases may have been the principal aim, barrow structure did not go unnoticed and Lukis (1843) even published the results of his work at Bircham. W. Gibson's description of the 1799 opening of a barrow at Colney (9388), published in 1803, includes observations of the stratigraphy. However, these two published works were exceptional.

It is unfortunate that the surviving report and illustrations (Plate X) of S. S. Woodward's<sup>14</sup> excavations at Eaton (9549) in 1827 were never published. Also worthy of comment is the map (Plate XI) of the barrows on Salthouse Common compiled by W. J. J. Bolding probably between 1840 and 1850. The dimensions of each barrow on this map and the name of the excavator are recorded.

By the later nineteenth century the principles of recording stratigraphy had been demonstrated by Lt. General Pitt-Rivers and those of the analysis of grave-goods by John Thurnham. Despite this all the twenty-five barrows or more dug in the second half of the nineteenth century and the forty-six barrows dug between 1900-1950 largely went unrecorded.

It is hoped that reports on some of the twenty unpublished barrow excavations conducted since 1950 will be produced. In total, there have been at least 164 investigations into barrows in Norfolk (Table I), but in the past it was considered adequate merely to report the opening of a barrow, occasionally with a description of the finds. The only published description of a recent Bronze Age round barrow excavation in Norfolk is that for Harpley (1005; Lawson 1976).

TABLE I. DATED BARROW AND RING-DITCH INVESTIGATIONS IN NORFOLK

\* denotes ring-ditch

1465 Forncett (10044)	<u>c.</u> 1829 North Elmham (2892)
	<u>c.</u> 1830 Bergh Apton (10308-11)
1798 Buxton with Lammas (7684)	1830 Thurton (10312)
1798 Hevingham (7500)	1839 Northwold (4811)
1799 Colney (9388)	1839 Pulham Market (10766)
	1842 Bircham (1705/c1-5)
1805 Cawston (7478)	? 1842 Great Massingham (2310)
1808 Felmingham (7538)	1843 Harpley (3527)
1808 Tuttington (7545/c1-3)	1843 Harpley (3528)
<u>c.</u> 1814 Sporle with Palgrave (4598/c1-3)	1843 Harpley (3529)
<u>c.</u> 1814 Sporle with Palgrave (4598/c4)	<u>c.</u> 1844 Carbrooke (8814/c1)
1820 Norwich (333)	<u>c.</u> 1845 Hoe (2789)
<u>c.</u> 1826 Beetley (2784)	<u>c.</u> 1846 Barton Bendish (4496)
1826 Norwich (332)	1846 Brettenham (5958/c1-11)
1827 Eaton (9549/c1)	1846 Ketteringham (9481/c1)
<u>c.</u> 1827 Eaton (9549/c3)	1846 Ketteringham (9482)
1827 Eaton (9549/c3)	<u>c.</u> 1847 Felmingham (7533)
1827 Thetford (5839)	1847 Morley (8905)



TABLE I (cont.)

1849 Little Cressingham (5057)	?	1932 Harling (6105)
1849 Roughton (6735-44)	<u>a.</u>	1933 Edgefield (6502)
1849 Salthouse (6202)		1933 Edgefield (6502)
		1933 Quidenham (9154)
<u>c.</u> 1850 Attleborough (9091)		1933 Quidenham (10833)
<u>c.</u> 1850 Hockwold cum Wilton (5304)		1933 Quidenham (10834)
1850 Salthouse (6203)		1934 Holt (6483)
<u>c.</u> 1854 Bergh Apton ? (10308)		1934 Stiffkey (1863)
<u>c.</u> 1855 Eaton (9549/c2)		1935 Old Buckenham (9204)
1855 Frettenham (7990)		1935 Gayton (3778)
1855 Swannington (7705)		1936 Blakeney (6131)
<u>c.</u> 1855 Weeting with Broomhill (5640/c1)		1936 Langham (6153)
1856 Carbrooke (8814/c3)		1936 Salthouse (6212)
1856 Smallburgh (8277)		1936 Witton (6920)
1858 Broome (10622)		1937 King's Lynn (5489)
? 1858 Ditchingham (10611)		1937 Great Massingham (2305)
<u>c.</u> 1860 Alburgh (11043)		1937 Salthouse (6212)
1860 Earsham (11110)		1938 Caistor St. Edmund (2305)
1862 Burnham Thorpe (1788)		1938 Litcham (3701)
1865 Walsoken (2204)		1938 Salthouse (6212)
<u>c.</u> 1870 Weeting with Broomhill (4995/c1-2)		1939 Ickburgh (5037)
<u>c.</u> 1870 Weeting with Broomhill (5142-6)		1941 Ketteringham (9480)
<u>c.</u> 1872 Thetford (5828)		1946 Witton (6920)
1883 Bintree (2912)		1948 Flitcham with Appleton (3540)
1883 Salthouse (6202)		1949 Snettisham (1668)
1886 East Walton (3754)		
		1950 Felbrigg (6401)
<u>c.</u> 1900 Ashill (4660)		1953 Bridgham (6011)
1900 Hilborough (5026)		1954 Witton (6920)
<u>c.</u> 1908 Beechamwell (4531)		1958 Sparham (3021)
<u>c.</u> 1908 Ketteringham (9483)		1958 Trowse with Newton (9592)
1909 Cringleford (9359)		1961 Witton (7025)*
<u>c.</u> 1910 Anmer (12206)	<u>c.</u>	1962 Witton (1009/c140-1)
? 1913 Cley next the Sea (6186)		1963 Cockley Cley (2688)
<u>c.</u> 1914 Methwold (4885/c2)		1964 Costessey (7887)*
? 1914 Salthouse (6204)		1965 Feltwell (5188)
1914 Weeting with Broomhill (5640/c1)		1967 Trowse with Newton (9592)
<u>c.</u> 1915 Weeting with Broomhill (5649)		1968 Old Hunstanton (1263)
1920 Felbrigg (6401)		1970 Eaton (9549/c3)
1921 Ringland (7803)		1970 Eaton (9549/c4)
? <u>c.</u> 1923 Bawburgh (9290)	<u>c.</u>	1970 Hethersett (9464)
1924 Cley next the Sea (6178)	<u>c.</u>	1970 Weasenham All Saints (3655)
1924 Cley next the Sea (6179)		1972 Weasenham All Saints (3659)
1928 Swannington (7705)		1972 Weasenham All Saints (3660)
1931 Great Massingham (2302)		1973 Harpley (1005)
1931 Quidenham (6006)		1977 Little Cressingham (5053)
<u>c.</u> 1931 Quidenham (6008)		1978 Thetford (5144)
1931 Quidenham (10835)		1979 Costessey (11431)*
1931 Snetterton (9165)		

Total: 164 investigations of  
156 barrows  
plus 38 undated possible investigations

## FINDS RECORDED FROM BARROWS

It is not the purpose of this paper to analyse the previous finds from barrows, whether resulting by accident, excavation or destruction, although finds and their present location where known have been quoted in the gazetteer (see also Table II). Researchers requiring fuller details of finds and details of publication should consult the gazetteer. Frequently, the circumstances of discovery have not been recorded and where finds of several periods are found in a single site their relationships are unclear. A full study of the material could be a lengthy undertaking with uncertain results and as this survey is principally based on surviving field evidence, such a study has not been undertaken. However, where material survives in local museums it has been briefly examined. Previous finds do, however, offer an indication of the duration of the use of this class of monument. Among the reports of urns 'of the most coarse and ordinary pottery imaginable' (Crowe 1800, 404) are more accurate descriptions. Occasionally, where finds have been recently re-interpreted or where material can be identified from illustrations, it is possible to detect burials accompanied, for example by Beakers, Food Vessels and Collared Urns of the Early Bronze Age. 'Wessex Culture' connections are illustrated by the grave-goods from Little Cressingham (5051), King's Lynn (5051) and Great Bircham (1705/c4), and by 'pygmy vessels' at Bridgham (6011), Hevingham (7500), Old Hunstanton (1263) and Quidenham (6006). The coarse Bucket Urns from a number of the barrows at Salthouse (6212) may indicate Middle Bronze Age use, while a Deverel-Rimbury vessel is claimed to have come from Upper Sheringham (6292). Later Bronze Age cremation cemeteries are rare (Lawson 1980, 275) but two are known at Witton (7020/c6 and 6979/c2) and another at Shouldham (4255/c1). A fourth cremation cemetery or barrow has been suggested at Poringland (9895). At Salthouse (6212), over thirty small mounds 30 cm high and 3 m in diameter were located by A.Q. Watson between 1936 and 1938 (Fig. 15). Watson excavated three mounds and Stuart Piggott a fourth. All four contained cremations within vessels described as 'degenerate Bucket Urns in Late Bronze Age tradition' (SMR: also Wake 1942, 26). What may have been a similar urnfield is recorded on a 1589 map of the eastern environs of Norwich (Plate VIII) which includes the parish of Thorpe St. Andrew. Here thirty-eight mounds called the 'Gargytt Hills' (9619) are recorded, though there is no indication of their size, purpose or antiquity (Rye 1907) <sup>15</sup>. Both these sites are now destroyed. At Weeting with Broomhill (5649) the excavator, A.L. Armstrong, concluded that the 'burial' (a dubious cremation) dated 'from the extreme end of the Bronze Age, when Iron Age culture was making itself felt upon Bronze Age folk who had absorbed it, but not become dominated by it'. The published report (Clarke and Apling 1934) of the excavation of Warborough Hill 'Tumulus', Stiffkey (1863) indicates no evidence for burials. However, this site and probably Weeting with Broomhill (5649), produced pottery of Early Iron Age type similar to that from West Harling (6019; Clark and Fell 1953, 14-32).

Despite earlier tendencies to attribute all earthworks to the Romans or Danes, sites such as Burnham Thorpe (1788), appear to be genuinely Roman. The mound appears to have covered a structure some nine feet (3 m) square, the fabric of which contained 'occasional pieces of mortar and many pieces of the well known Roman roofing tile both flanged and circular' <sup>16</sup>. Some of the larger barrows, for example Garboldisham (6112), could also be Roman on analogy with the Bartlow Hills, Ashdon, Essex (p.25). Roman urns certainly came from Hockwold cum Wilton (5455/c2), but it is not known if these were primary deposits. A cremation within a lidded glass urn probably imported from Italy in the late first or early second century, five other pottery vessels and a skeleton are reported from Hockwold cum Wilton (5403) when it was opened in c. 1850.

Due to the extensive Early Anglo-Saxon settlement of East Anglia it is not surprising that at least twenty barrows have produced Early Saxon remains. Most are described by Clarke and Myres (1939-40), Meaney (1964, 169-185) or in the Victoria County History (1901, I). The weight of evidence would suggest that the majority of these are secondary intrusions; at Langham (6153), for example, a shield boss and sword were found at the



TABLE II. DATEABLE FINDS FROM NORFOLK BARROWS

1. BEAKER	7. MIDDLE BRONZE AGE
Blakeney (6128)	Brancaster (1363)
Bridgham (6011)	Upper Sheringham (6292)
Cley next the Sea (6178, 6187)	
Costessey (11431)	8. LATE BRONZE AGE
Eaton (9549/c3-4)	King's Lynn (5489)
Feltwell (5188)	Salthouse (6212)
Kelling (6201)	Witton (7020/c1)
King's Lynn (5489)	
Ringland (7803)	9. BRONZE AGE METALWORK
Salthouse (6203)	Bridgham (6011); Awl
Taverham (7830)	Little Cressingham (5051); Daggers, gold
Trowse (9592)	Cockley Cley (2688); Dagger
Weasenham All Saints (3660)	Eaton (9549/c1); Corroded bronze
Witton (6920)	Frettenham (7990); Socketed axe
	Hevingham (7500); Razor
2. FOOD VESSELS	Old Hunstanton (1263); Awl
Bridgham (6011)	Methwold (4855); Socketed axe
Harpley (3639)	Witton (6920); Awl
Quidenham (10833)	
Swannington (7705)	10. IRON AGE
	Stiffkey (1863)
3. BICONICAL URNS	Weeting with Broomhill (5649)
Bawburgh (9291)	
Bircham (1705/c4)	11. ROMANO-BRITISH
Salthouse (6203)	? Anmer (12206); 'Roman urn'
	? Belton (10480); Pottery
4. COLLARED URNS	? Billingford (7203); 'Roman urn'
Bergh Apton (10308)	Burnham Thorpe (1788); Pottery, tiles
Bridgham (6011)	Caston (8973); Bracelet, beads
Colney (9335)	Felmingham (7533); 'Roman urns' and
Costessey (11431)	'other articles'
Harpley (1005)	Hevingham (7500); Intaglio ?
Hevingham (7500)	Hockwold cum Wilton (5403); Glass vessel,
Old Hunstanton (1263)	urns
King's Lynn (5489)	(5455/c4); Urns
Langham (6153)	Ketteringham (5089); 'Roman pot'
Great Massingham (2301)	(9483); 12 minimi
Roughton (6735-44)	Morley (8905); Coin hoard
Salthouse (6202)	Swannington (7705); Urn
Weasenham All Saints (3659)	
Witton (6920)	12. ANGLO-SAXON
	Barton Bendish (4496); Bones, weapons, etc.
5. WESSEX CULTURE ATTRIBUTES	Beetley (2784); Spearheads, weapons
Bircham (1705/c4)	Bergh Apton (10308); Urns, sword, etc.
Little Cressingham (5051)	Caistor St. Edmund (9788); Mounds on site
King's Lynn (5489)	of cemetery
	Carbrooke (8814/c1-3); Brooch, beads,
6. PYGMY VESSELS	necklace
Bridgham (6011)	Colney (9335); Urns, spearheads
Hevingham (7500)	Earsham (11110); Urns
Old Hunstanton (1263)	Holkham (1780); Bones and pieces of armour
Quidenham (6006)	Langham (6153); Shield boss, spearhead

TABLE II (cont.)

12. ANGLO-SAXON (cont.)	13. UNDEFINED 'URNS'
Merton (4055); Urns and 'things'	Attleborough (9091)
Necton (4603); 'Ornaments and armour'	Beachamwell (4550)
Northwold (4800); Inhumations and beads	Bircham (1705/c1, 1705/c5)
Poringland (9808); Iron spearheads	Brettenham (5958)
Roughton (6735-44); Beads	Buxton with Lammas (7684)
Smallburgh (8277); Pot, beads	Eaton (9549/c2)
Sporle (4598); Shield bosses,	Felmingham (7532)
spearheads, brooches,	Harpley (3527)
buckles etc.	Hevingham (7500)
Thetford (5828); Clasps, urns, pins	Hoe (2789)
(5839); Beads	Norwich (332, 334)
Thurton (10312); Urns, sword	Pulham Market (10766)
East Walton (3754); Shells, urn	Salthouse (6204)
	Strumpshaw (10277 ?)

same time as a Collared Urn. The present state of this site gives the appearance of a purely natural feature, and glacial mounds were certainly utilised for burials during the Early Saxon period as at Hunstanton (1142).

Some of the round barrows on the Sandlings of Suffolk are undoubtedly of Anglo-Saxon construction (e.g. Sutton Hoo), but the only Norfolk examples probably of this date are the four mounds (4598) on Cotes Common, Sporle with Palgrave. One barrow contained a horse skeleton, while another contained seven human skeletons side by side with a round shield of leather and lath over the faces with woollen cloaks round the bodies, brooches on the breast and spears by their sides (Clarke and Myres 1939-40, 230-1). The discovery of circular ditches surrounding sixth-century inhumations at Spong Hill, North Elmham (1012) and Morningthorpe (1120)<sup>17</sup>, with the results of aerial photography elsewhere in the country (St. Joseph 1974, plate XXVIII; Hills 1977, 171-2) suggests that some Anglo-Saxon inhumations were covered by small round mounds. In Kettlestone the Pensthorpe Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery (1050) was situated where 'a large number of small mounds were formerly visible over several fields', but 'cultivation has for the most part reduced these nearly to the level of the surrounding heath' (V.C.H. 1901, I, 335). This does not seem to refer to the large mounds (1050/c1-3) still surviving, but other descriptions imply that some Early Saxon burials were secondary deposits within the larger mounds surviving today.

From this cursory review of finds it would appear that Norfolk barrows have been intermittently constructed and used for two and a half millennia. This takes no account of the possible neolithic origins of round barrows suggested in other parts of the country (Kinnes 1979), although a ring-ditch section at Witton (1009/c140) produced a Peterborough ware sherd (Lawson forthcoming). The possible duration for this single class of monument must cast some doubt on the validity of speculation into palaeodemography and past population. Without proof of contemporaneity or of the degree of survival of barrows it is difficult to substantiate such hypotheses, despite the undoubted need for estimates (Atkinson 1972, 107; p. 62).

#### BARROW DISTRIBUTION

In Norfolk the soils and underlying geological structure altered by glaciation have given rise to a range of habitats which have been modified by man. As a result it is possible to recognise a number of distinct landscape regions (Fig. 7) which are distinguished by subtle changes.

In the extreme west of the county the Fens form the only region with substantial

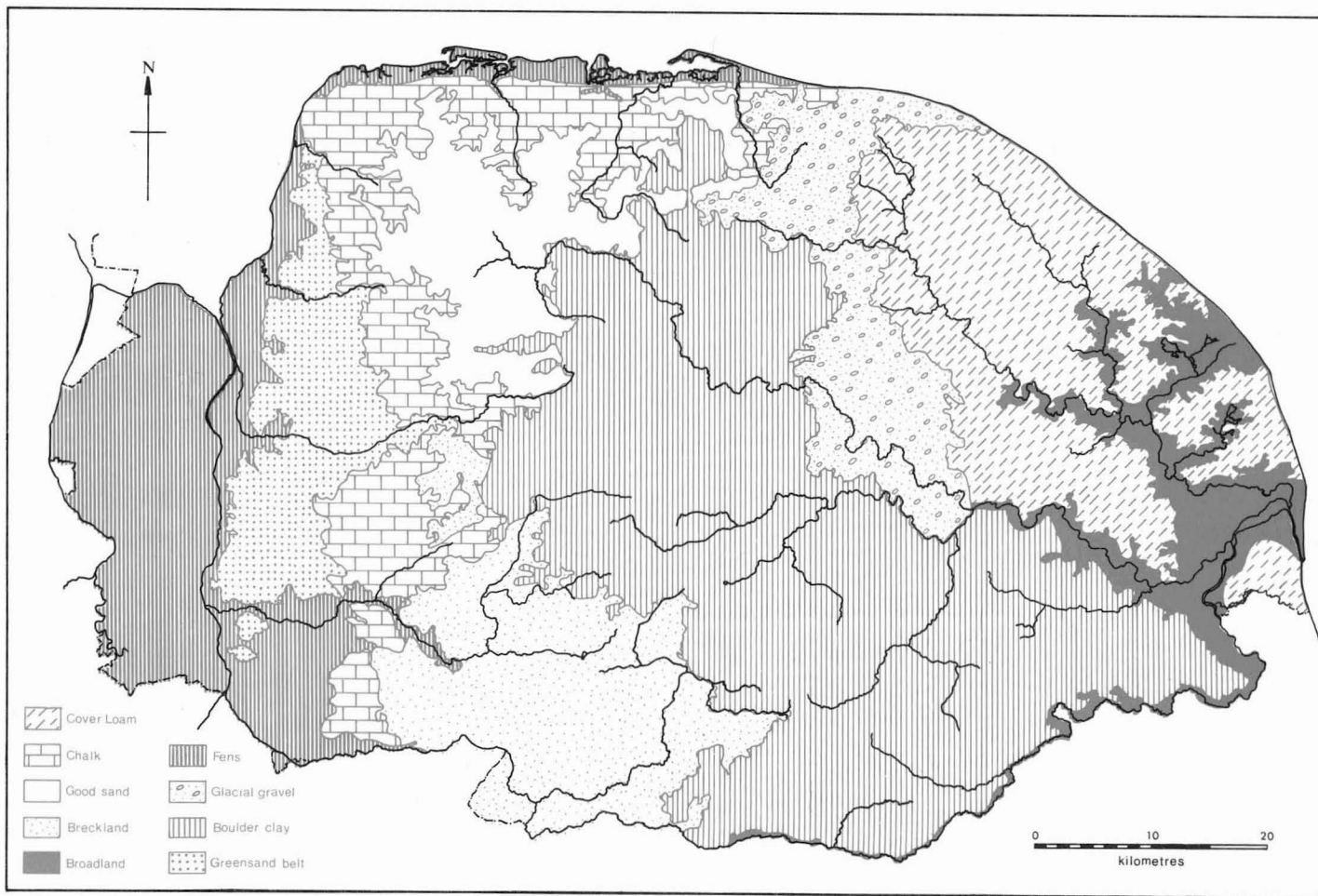


Fig.7. Landscape regions of Norfolk as defined by soil types. Based on information supplied by the Soil Survey of England and Wales. Scale 1:600,000.

tracts of truly flat land. It has already been noted that here post-Neolithic deposits of silt and peat obscure most later prehistoric monuments, except on the few islands of older and harder material. Few barrows are known with certainty from this region (Fig.8), although some, as at Haddenham, Cambs. may survive beneath the peat.

Overlooking the eastern side of the Fens and part of the Wash, the sands and sandstones of the Lower Cretaceous form a low escarpment. This 'Greensand Belt' with sandy soils and patches of clay is not agriculturally rich and today still supports some heathland and birch woods. Barrows are only commonly found in the central part of this region (Fig.8).

A physiographic feature of north and west Norfolk is the ridge of chalkland running southward from the coast. This chalk escarpment is subdued compared with similar escarpments elsewhere in southern England, having been heavily modified by glaciation. The chalk scarp bears normal rendzina soils, but in the north-west of the county the chalk upland is capped by loamy drift (palaeo-argillic brown earth), while both soil types are found in the lowland area of the Wensum headwaters. Even where the loamy drift covers the chalk the soils are light, but clay at depth prevents rapid drainage. After agricultural improvement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this region acquired the name of the 'Good Sands' (Young 1804, 10-11). Formerly this region supported wide tracts of marginal land and it is probably due to this that the largest proportion of recorded barrows is to be found here. At the base of the northern chalk scarp, brown earths form a belt separating the scarp from the recent alluvial soils of the coastal plain. Until recently much of this alluvial plain was saltmarsh, and consequently no barrows have been recorded here. The southern section of the chalk escarpment owes its distinctive character to a rapidly draining layer of sand which overlies the chalk. This region, the well-known 'Breckland' <sup>18</sup> was, until its recent afforestation, mainly covered by heaths, and was used for sheepwalks and warrens throughout the Middle Ages. Much of the Breckland has only been subjected to cultivation in times of agricultural prosperity, but allowed to revert to heath when soil nutrients were exhausted or grain prices fell. Many of the characteristic windbreaks of Scots Pine were only planted during the Napoleonic Wars or as a result of the Enclosure Acts. A large number of barrows survive in this area (Fig.8). However, although a very large number of archaeological sites has been recorded where the un-capped chalk abutts directly with the Fens, only a few barrows occur in this situation.

The undulating plateau of mid and south Norfolk forms a watershed for rivers flowing either to the North Sea or the Wash. Here the soils are mainly poorly drained sandy clay loams developed on the underlying boulder clay, which once supported extensive oak woods and hedgerow timber. Few barrows have been reported in this region and the majority of these lie on stagnogleyic soils where the covering layer of chalky boulder clay is thin and the soils are better drained.

The limit of the boulder clay is marked to the east by a sandy upland flanking the River Wensum, linked to the glacially derived sands and gravels of the Cromer Ridge which dominates that part of the North Norfolk coast forming some of the highest land in the county. The River Glaven, originating south-west of the Cromer Ridge, flows through a complex region of sands, loam and till uplands, which here have been grouped with the Cromer Ridge. This complex region also contains the Norwich brickearth found to the east of gravels which flank the Wensum, separating this glacial deposit from the boulder clay.

A large number of barrows are to be found on the highest ground, many overlooking the sea, but there are fewer to the south except in the central area which supports heathland.

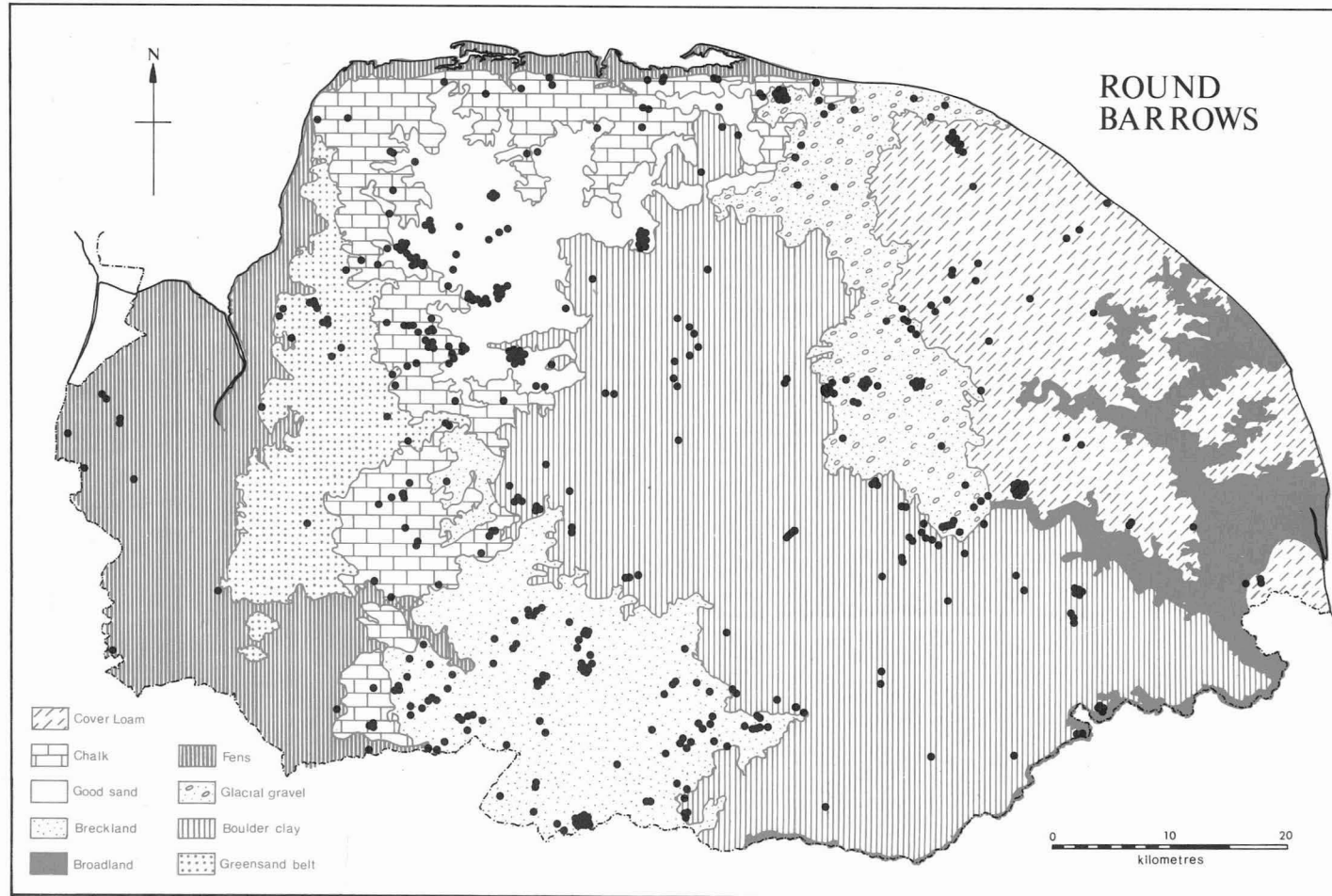


Fig.8. Distribution of round barrows related to soil regions in Norfolk. Based on information supplied by the Soil Survey of England and Wales. Scale 1:600,000.



In the north-east of the county loessic Cover Loam caps the glacial deposits. This 'Loam Region' has few surviving barrows. This is not surprising in view of the importance of Cover Loam to agriculture in an area where the neighbouring soils, directly on gravels, are unproductive under arable agriculture.

Lying between the Cover Loam and the south-easterly extension of the boulder clay and extending into the Waveney Valley is 'Broadland', where grazing marsh covers the silt and peat of a former estuary. This estuary at one time isolated the island of Flegg from the rest of the 'Loam Region'. Until recently the extensive tracts of water known as the Broads were considered natural formations, but the combined evidence of stratigraphy, medieval documents and archaeology has shown conclusively that they are merely vast flooded pits dug during Late Saxon and medieval times to extract peat for fuel (Clarke 1960, 24; Lambert *et al.* 1960). No certain barrows are known in Broadland.

In the extreme south-east of the county part of the peninsula of Lothingland (south of Great Yarmouth) forms the northern extremity of the 'Sandlings' of the Suffolk coast, an area of sandy soils on fluvioglacial deposits dominated by heathland. Only one of the mounds reported in this area is probably a barrow.

Within these broad regions there are more localised barrow clusters, but few 'cemeteries'. The densest concentration of barrows in the county is on and around Salt-

house Heath (Plate XI, Fig.15), where more than thirty monuments are recorded with ten very close together (Fig.9). Brettenham, with thirteen barrows, is the only linear cemetery (Fig.10). Other important groups include Bircham (Fig.13); Little Cressingham (Fig.11); Harpley (Lawson 1976, fig.13); Kettlestone (Fig.12); Great Massingham, Merton, Quidenham, Roughton (Fig.14); Tottington and Weasenham All Saints (Fig.16).

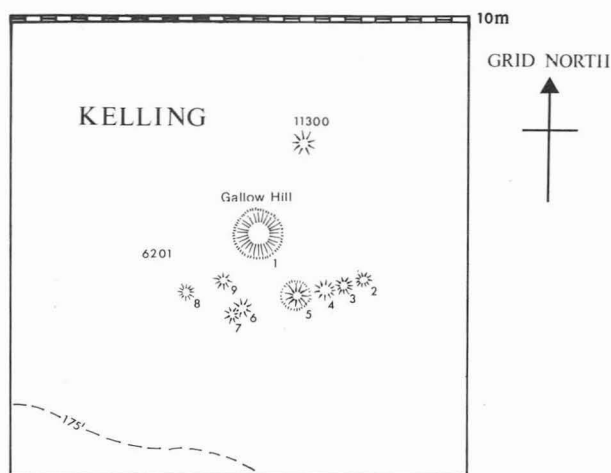


Fig.9. Close-set barrows in Kelling adjoining Salthouse Heath, Norfolk. Scale 1:5,000.

The total number of ring-ditches recorded by 31st March 1977 was 549. The distribution of these is not uniform throughout the county. In the north and west a few have been found in the 'Greensand Belt' and 'Good Sand' regions, but there is a very marked correlation between the

distribution of ring-ditches and the chalk soils, complementing the number of barrows already recorded. Few ring-ditches have been found on the sands and gravels. However, by far the most important group is that on the 'Cover Loam' and in Lothingland, contrasting markedly with the distribution of recorded barrows. Those ring-ditches that have been recorded in the boulder clay area are nearly all near the margins of the plateau and where the cover of impermeable clay is thinner. Few have been recorded in Breckland and an alternative interpretation has already been suggested for those in the Fens and on the north coastal plain (p.30).

The distribution of ring-ditches in part reflects the susceptibility of different soils to produce cropmarks and obscurity by afforestation in Breckland but also the variation in available aerial photographs. Recent aerial reconnaissance by the Unit has been concentrated around Norwich (Fig.18) and in north and east Norfolk to the neglect of the centre and south of the county (Norfolk Archaeological Unit 1974; Edwards 1977, fig.229;

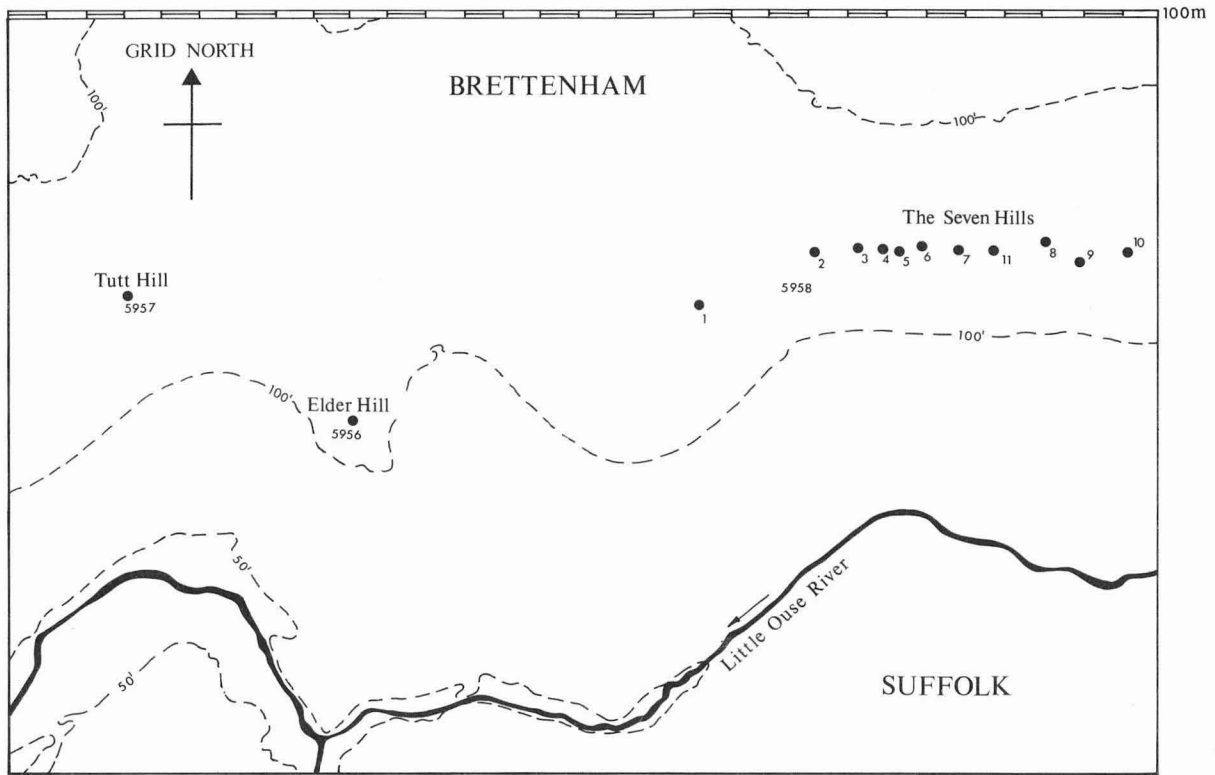


Fig.10. Barrow group at Brettenham (Rushford 'Seven Hills'), Norfolk.  
Scale 1:20,000.

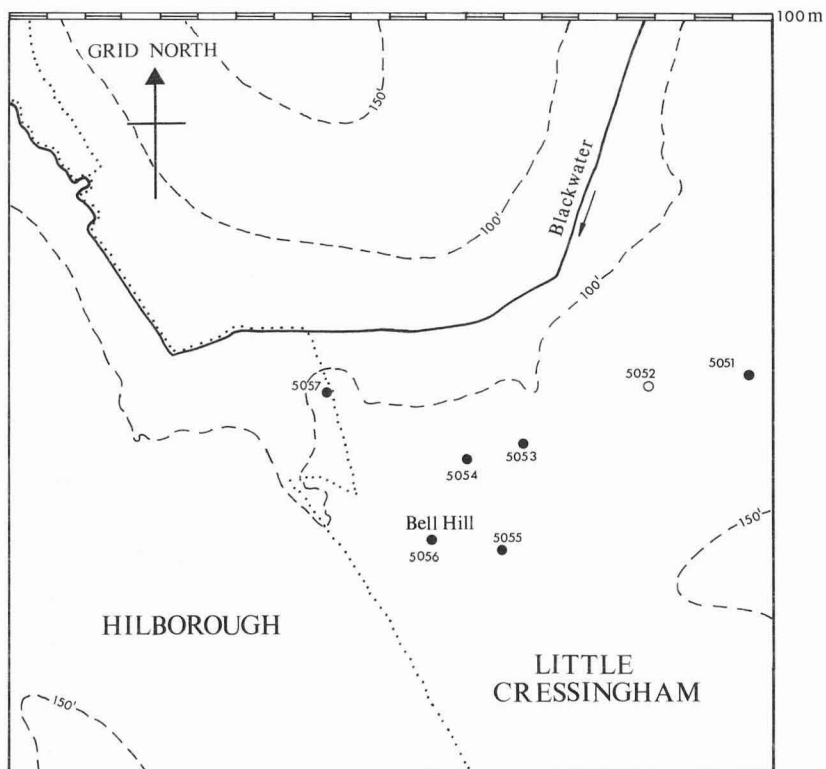


Fig.11. Barrows and ring-ditch at Little Cressingham, Norfolk.  
Scale 1:20,000

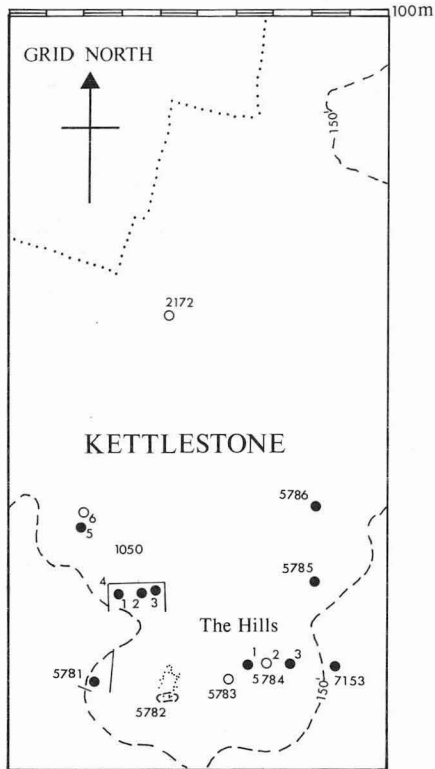


Fig.12. Barrows, ring-ditches and cropmarks at Kettlestone, Norfolk. Scale 1:20,000.

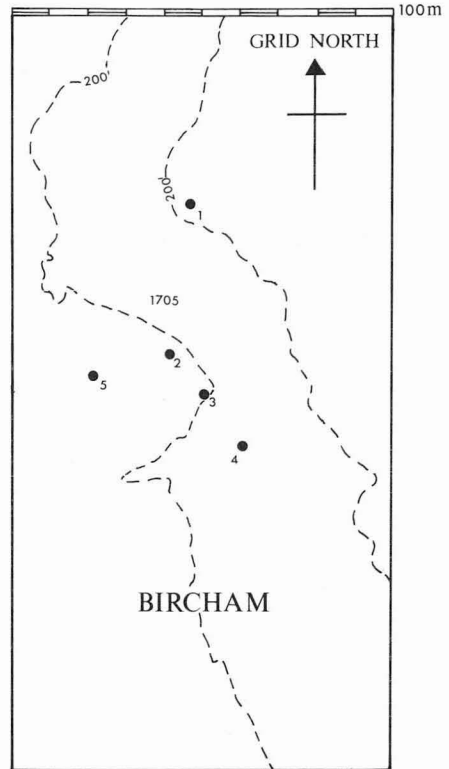


Fig.13. Barrow group at Bircham, Norfolk. Scale 1:20,000.

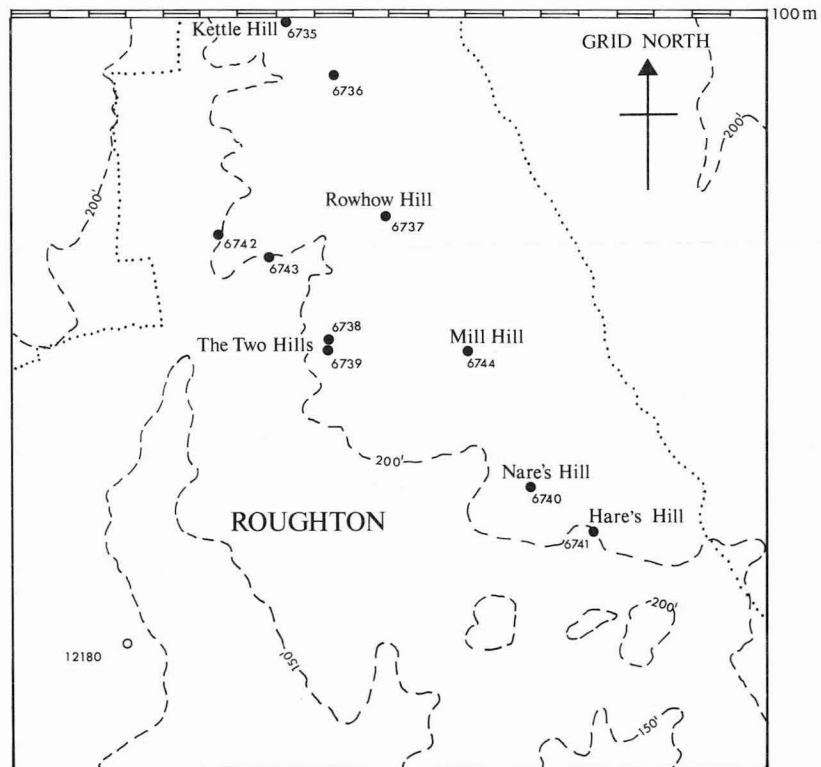


Fig.14. Barrow group at Roughton, Norfolk. Scale 1:20,000.

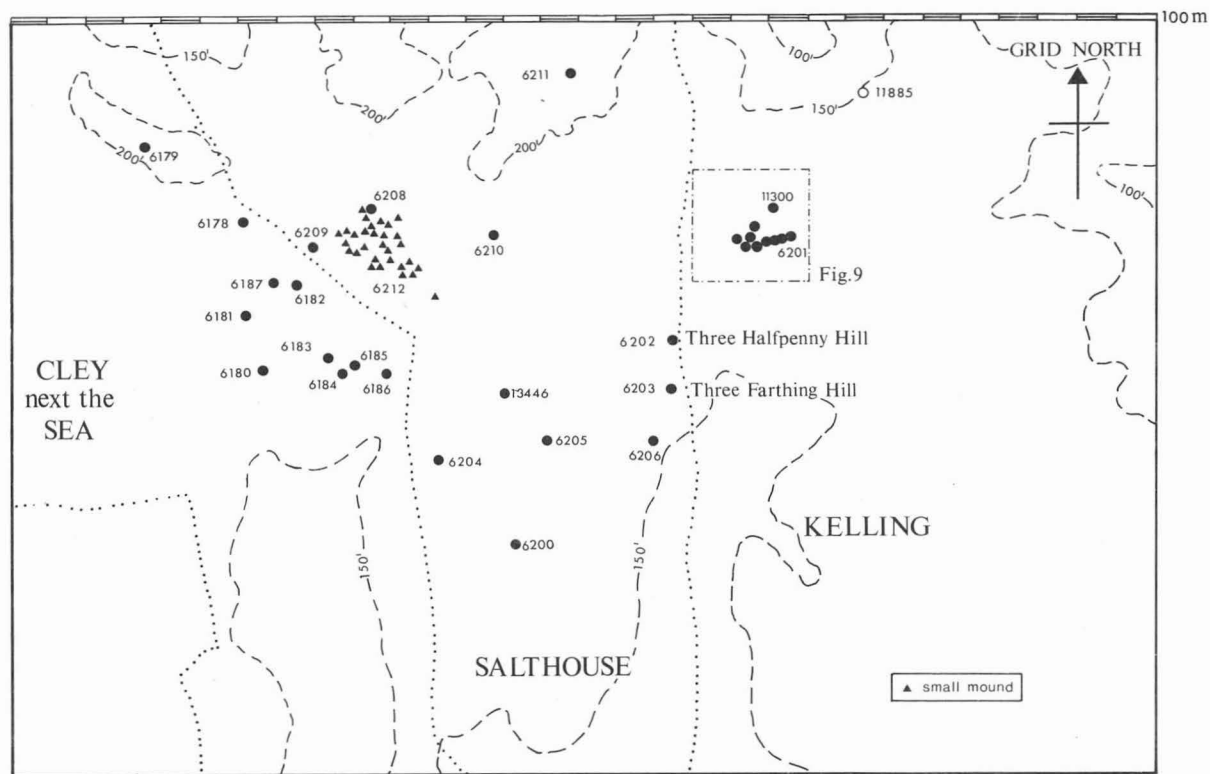


Fig. 15. Barrow group at Salthouse Heath, Norfolk. Scale 1:20,000.

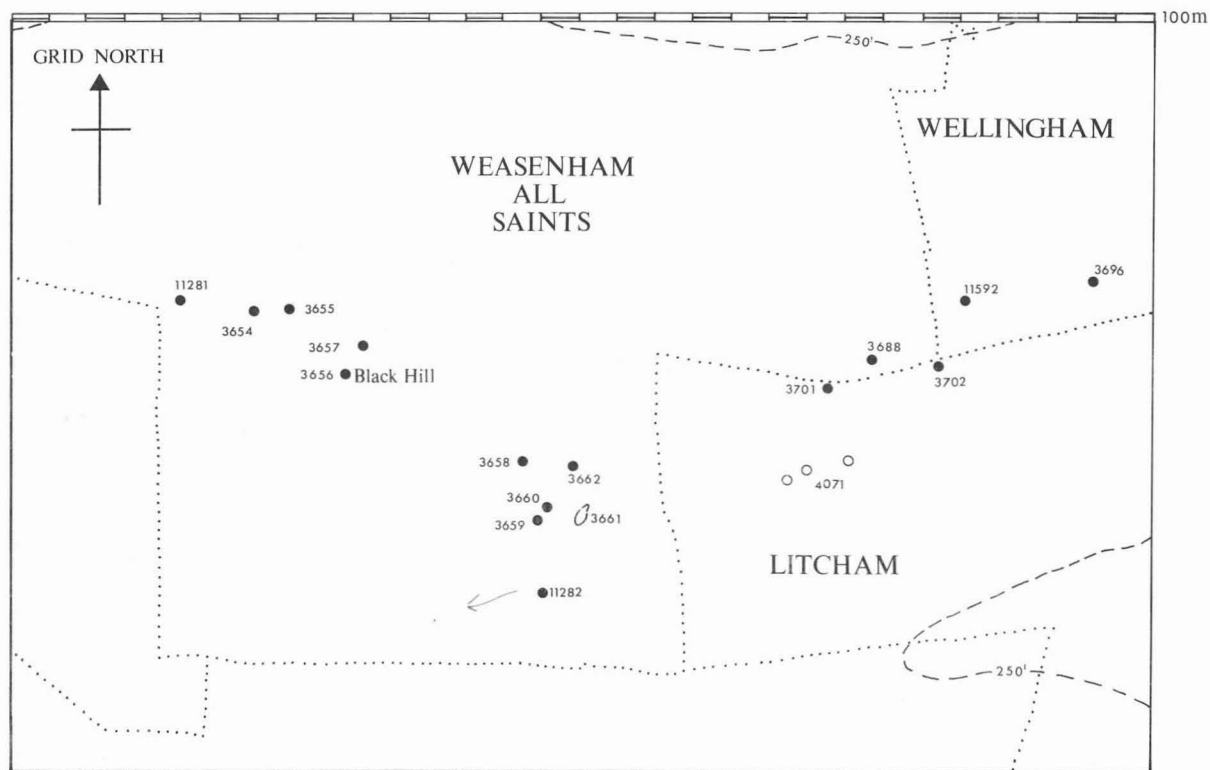


Fig. 16. Barrows and ring-ditches at and adjoining Weasenham All Saints, Norfolk. Scale 1:20,000.

1978). This is clearly reflected in the results (Fig.17). Future surveillance with the discovery of more ring-ditches may alter the known distribution. If it is assumed that most ring-ditches indicate barrow sites, then they serve to identify both former barrow groups, for example Broome (Fig.19) and Gayton (Fig.20), and also extend known groups (Little Cressingham, Fig.11; Kettlestone Fig.12). Many are isolated. A few have been sectioned, occasionally producing prehistoric burials (for example, Costessey 11431).

Previously it has been thought (Clarke 1960, 24) that the lighter soils of the west, including Breckland, attracted early settlement to such a degree that central Norfolk was relatively unpopulated. The number of known archaeological sites in the west, with a marked concentration on the Fen-skirt, has given rise to this hypothesis. Fewer archaeological sites are recorded from central Norfolk. Here the sandy clay loam soils on boulder clay demand, and probably have demanded since early times, the use of heavier agricultural machinery, which in modern times has been more effective in destroying field monuments. However, the former existence of these monuments has been demonstrated by recent aerial photography. The concentration of sites in the west may in part be a result of localised fieldwork. Here many of the field monuments stand on agriculturally poor soils, previously supporting heaths, and so may have escaped destruction. Knowledge of these sites has attracted fieldworkers to investigate their environs with the subsequent discovery of more sites. Elsewhere in the county localised concentrations of sites are seen to centre on the bases from which fieldworkers have travelled. Hence, there are concentrations of archaeological sites of all periods in parishes such as Witton and Heacham, the results of dedicated fieldworkers. The concentration of sites near Hockwold cum Wilton is, in part, due to the lifelong searches of the late Frank Curtis, although the Fen-edge environment probably played an important role in attracting settlement of all periods to this area. The importance of the Norwich area as a natural focal point at the confluence of several rivers and at the junction of a number of soil regions is demonstrated by the concentration of not only barrows but also other important sites of all periods such as Arminghall Henge (6100; Clark 1936); Eaton Heath (9544; Wainwright 1973), Caistor St.Edmund (Venta Icenorum, 9786) and the Saxon and medieval city itself.

#### BARROW SITING

Three factors possibly governing the siting of barrows have been considered: soil, vegetation and topography. These are closely linked, but each has been assessed to find which was the most significant in site selection (Table III).

In a few areas of the county the Soil Survey of England and Wales has completed the detailed examination of soil types. Unfortunately much of this work has not been published and so cannot be reproduced here<sup>19</sup>. However, the areas usually studied cover ten-kilometre squares of the National Grid and the results are plotted for reproduction at a scale of 1:25,000. Each of the areas so far selected for examination samples more than one of the major soil regions of the county (Fig.7). Four of the areas examined are suitable for this study.

Throughout Norfolk the soils are extremely variable. This is principally due to repeated glacial action with the result that the soils are not necessarily wholly related to the solid geology. The Soil Survey's classification is accompanied by an assessment of 'Land Use Capability' based on the capability and adaptability of the soils for agriculture<sup>20</sup>, using modern criteria of farm management and must be applied with caution when considering ancient land use.

Soil and its 'Land Use Capability' are not only determined by the geology but also by the influence of man. In Norfolk no area has escaped alteration by man, consequently no virgin soil or vegetation exists. Comparison of the location of archaeological sites with



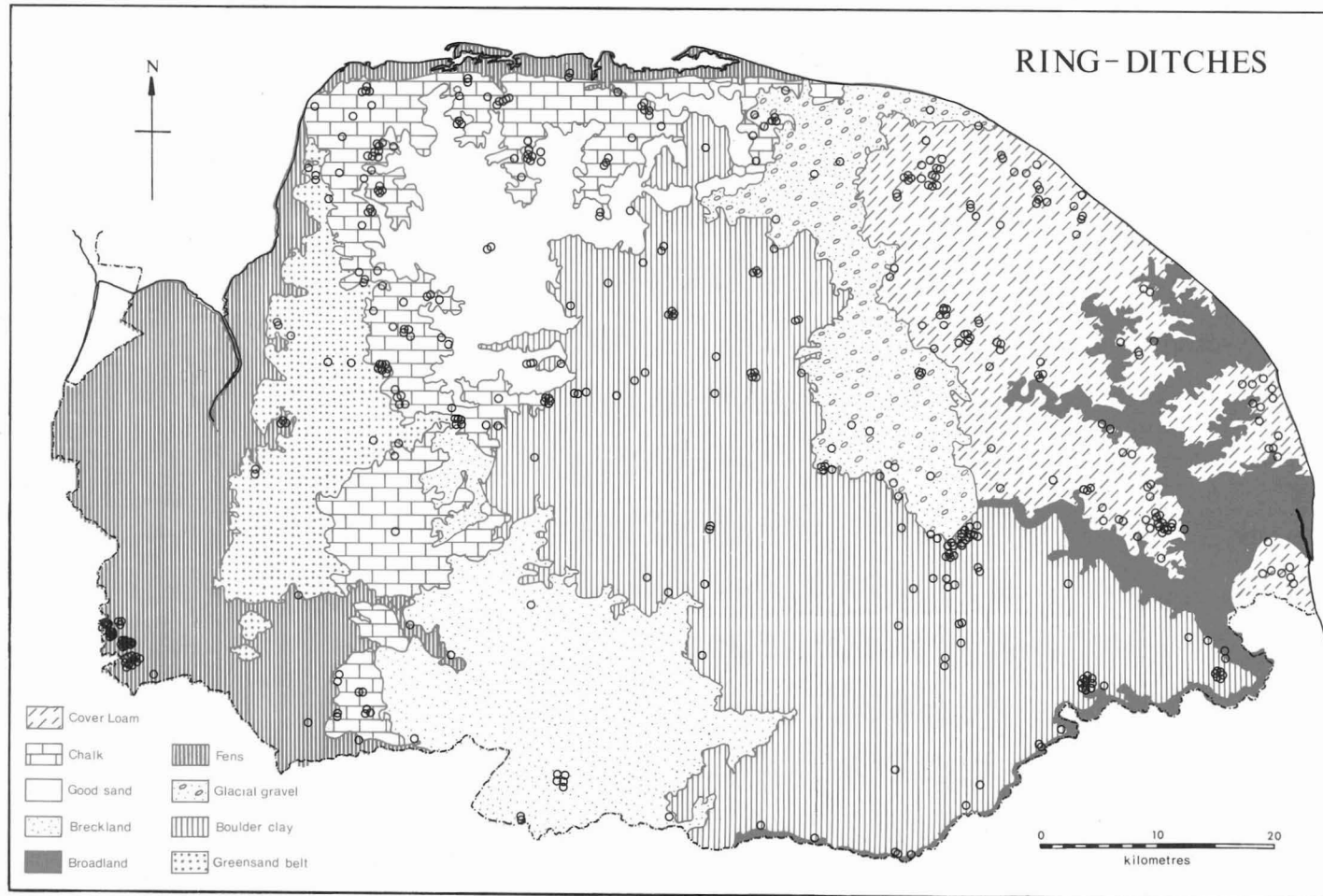


Fig.17. Distribution of ring-ditches related to soil regions in Norfolk. Based on information supplied by the Soil Survey of England and Wales. Scale 1:600,000.

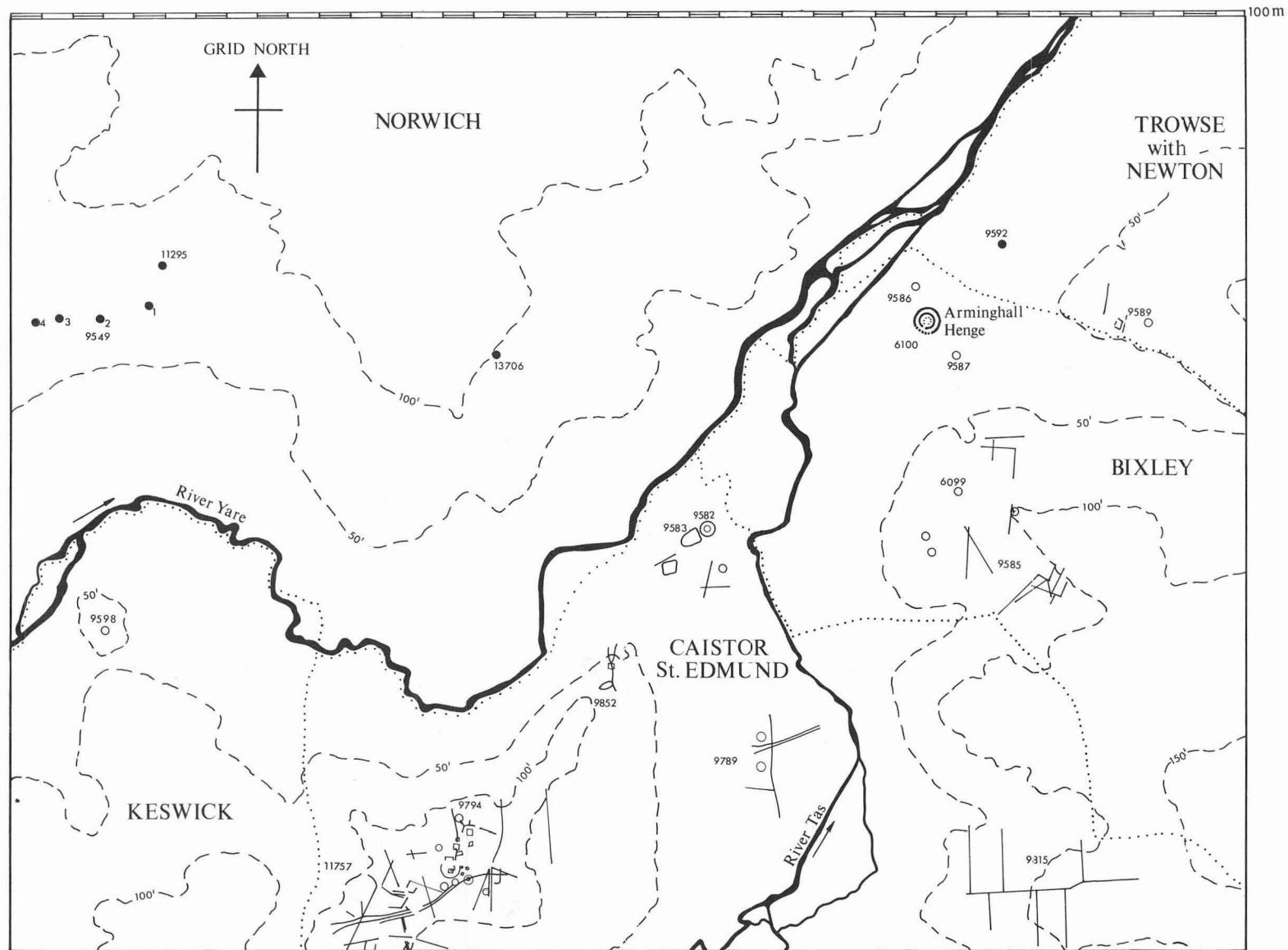


Fig.18. Barrows and cropmarks in and south of Norwich, Norfolk. Scale 1:20,000.

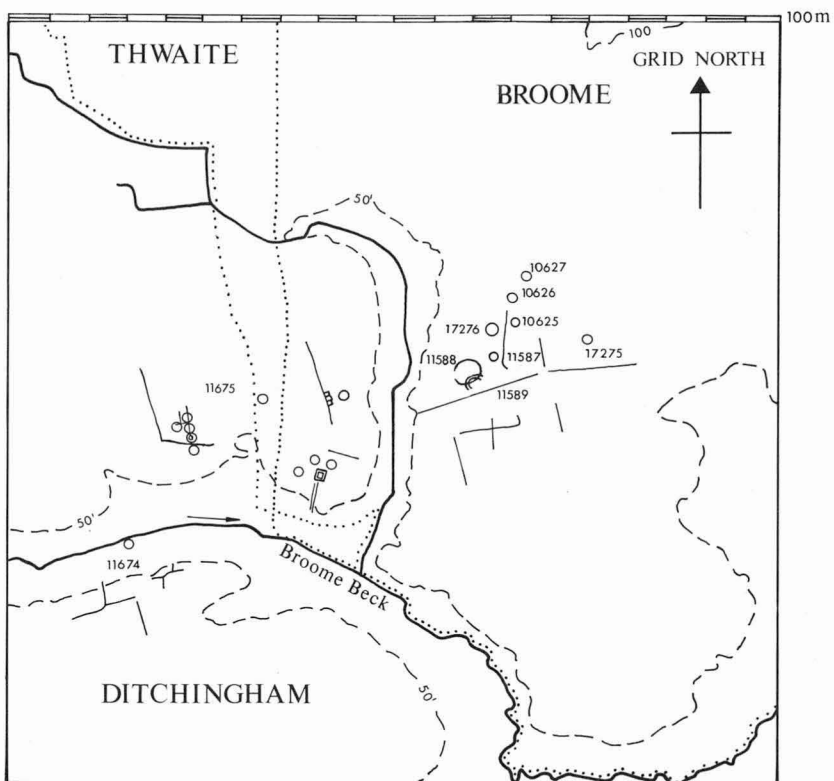


Fig.19. Cropmarks in and near Broome, Norfolk. Scale 1:20,000.

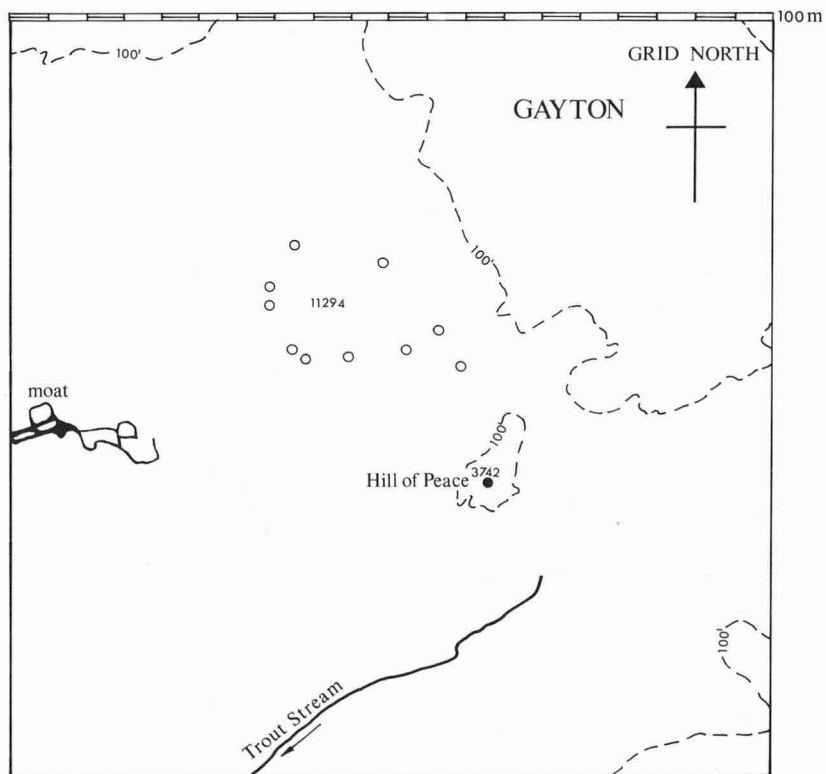


Fig.20. Barrow and ring-ditches at Gayton, Norfolk. Scale 1:20,000.

their environment was pioneered by Sir Cyril Fox (1923, 313) who considered the geology to be the significant factor. Fox later realised that the soil affected the local vegetation and hence man's activities (Fox 1932, 49-58). In a study of Anglesey, Professor W.F. Grimes (1945, 174) concluded that 'the significant factor on the geological side (for the distribution of archaeological sites of the area) is neither the drift nor the solid geology but the soil'.

The location of barrows cannot be wholly interpreted from a study of modern soil and vegetation, as these are clearly different from their former states; for example, the structure of the fertile loessic soils in the north-east of the county would have been rapidly altered by clearance and cultivation (Catt 1978), thus influencing the distribution of population. However, bias is unavoidable due to the lack of evidence of past environments. The original environment of a barrow might best be determined from the analysis of the pollen spectrum preserved in the soil beneath the barrow, but positive results of such analyses do not exist for Norfolk. However, recent work shows that alteration of the environment by interference with the forest edge started in the Mesolithic period (Sims 1973, 224). At Broome Heath, Ditchingham (10602) the Neolithic enclosure was placed in a cleared area but podsolisation had not occurred by the time of the earthwork's construction (Dimbleby and Evans 1972, 86-7).

It is not known to what extent Norfolk was disafforested by the time of barrow construction, but Godwin (1944) showed that Breckland at least was partially, but permanently, cleared by the Neolithic. This suggestion is upheld by recent analysis of the fossil snail assemblage in the silting of the ditches of a barrow (5053) excavated by the writer at Little Cressingham (in prep.). Working from Iverson's conclusions on Denmark, Godwin suggested that such a change was probably due more to man's interference than a general cooling of the climate during the Sub-Boreal (zone VIIb), as might have been postulated earlier (or by later studies of upland areas, e.g. Moore 1972). Clearly the extent of clearance varied in different areas. Parts of the Waveney Valley were cleared in the Neolithic (Dimbleby and Evans 1972, 86-90) and clearance was limited in what is now the eastern Fens (Clark and Godwin 1962, 18). The Breckland was perhaps not as extensively cleared as the chalk downland of southern England (Turner 1970, 100), although more extensive clearance was achieved in the Iron Age (Godwin 1975, 468).

Unfortunately, insufficient pollen analyses exist to outline the vegetational history of the heavier soils of Norfolk (the only analysis is that of Old Buckenham Mere (9143; Godwin 1968) which is situated on the western edge of the boulder clay region). All fall within the loam-terrains thought to be favourable for settlement by early farmers (Wooldrige and Linton 1933, 302-3) and the heavy conditions may only have resulted from human activity increasing waterlogging by the breakdown of the original brown earth soils. There is as yet no evidence of prehistoric farming techniques in Norfolk, but elsewhere in Britain ard-marks indicating ploughing techniques have been found beneath three barrows, the earliest of which is the long mound at South Street, Wilts. (Fowler 1971, 162).

Many barrows have been recorded on commons. By comparing the extent of commons in the late eighteenth century (Faden's 1797 map)<sup>21</sup> with the distribution of barrows in the areas studied for soil it is possible to suggest a common casual factor in soil characteristics. However, it would be unwise to infer that the prehistoric and medieval economies of Norfolk were the same; choice of soil for cultivation may have been governed by ease of clearance and tillage on the one hand, and fertility on the other. Lightness of soil and modern agricultural potential do not always reflect the reasons for the establishment of medieval commons. Common land consisted of meadows, waste land and roadside strips for the grazing of animals, but was privately owned. (Roadside strips are especially prevalent in the Breckland, reflecting the pastoral economy, with a need for drove roads for the long distance movement of stock). Some common

TABLE III. CHARACTERISTICS OF BARROW AND RING-DITCH LOCATIONS IN NORFOLK

Site No.	Local poor soil	Local better soil	Elevated site	Conspicuous siting	Former heath
<b>TG13/14:</b>					
<b>BARROWS</b>	<b>Soil grades 3-5</b>	<b>Soil grades 1-2</b>			
6248	x				x
6249	x				x
6261	x		x		x
6292		x	x		
6300		x	x		x
6372	x		x		x
6401		x	x		
6652	x		x	x	x
<b>RING-DITCHES</b>					
6568	x		x		
11539		x	x		
12814		x	x		
12774		x	x		
12775		x	x		
<b>TG11:</b>					
<b>BARROWS</b>	<b>Soil grades 4-5</b>	<b>Soil grades 2-3</b>			
5006	x		x		
7705	x		x	x	
7718	x				x
7728	x				x
7731	x				x
7762	x		x		x
7772	x		x		x
7773	x		x		x
7774	x		x		x
7775	x		x		x
7803	x		x	x	
<b>RING-DITCHES</b>					
7776	x		x		x
7777		x	x		x
7778	x		x		x
7887		x	x	x	
7888	x		x	x	
11711	x		x	x	
12791		x	x		
12807		x	x		
12808		x	x		
12809		x	x		



TABLE III (cont.)

Site No.	Local poor soil	Local better soil	Elevated site	Conspicuous siting	Former heath
<b>TL99:</b>					
<b>BARROWS</b>	<b>Soil grades 3-4</b>	<b>Soil grade 2</b>			
4055	x		x	x	x
7373	x				x
7374	x				x
7375	x				x
7376	x				x
7377	x				
7378	x				
7380	x		x	x	
7381	x		x		x
8964		x	x		
9028		x	x		
9029		x	x		
9030	x		x		
<b>TF82:</b>					
<b>BARROWS</b>	<b>Soil grades 3-4</b>	<b>Soil grades 1-2</b>			
3622	x		x		x
3623	x		x		x
3624	x		x	x	x
3625	x		x	x	x
3626	x		x		x
3627	x		x		x
3628		x	x		x
3638		x	x		x
3639	x		x		x
3649	x		x		x
3650	x		x		x
3651	x		x		x
3652	x		x		x
3654		x	x		x
3655		x	x		x
3656		x	x		x
3657		x	x		x
3666	x		x	x	x
3667	x		x	x	x
3668	x		x	x	x
3684	x		x	x	x
3688		x	x		x
3696		x	x		x
3701		x	x		x
3702		x	x		x
11281		x	x		x
11592		x	x		x

land also consists of water meadows or stoney gravel terraces flanking streams best suited to pasture.

It has frequently been observed that barrows are often sited on hill tops, knolls, valley crests, or 'false crests'. In a landscape without striking changes in the topography it is difficult to assess to what degree the siting of a mound contributed to its appearance from afar, especially when it is not obvious from which direction the mound would have been observed in former times. As few steep hills are found in the Norfolk landscape it is not surprising that here barrows are rarely situated in elevated places in order to give them greater prominence. Instead, the selection of elevated sites may be due to other factors including the type of soil.

Soil classification is based not only on soil formation processes and lithology but also the relationships between geological deposits and relief. For example, in north-east Norfolk the variation in Cover Loam is important; on the Cromer Ridge one facet of the relief consists of convex west- and south-facing slopes. Here there is a paucity or absence of the loessic deposits. It is in this situation that poor Freckenham Series soils are frequently directly on the underlying sand and gravel. A correlation between these soils and barrows may have been deliberate, or accidental if the topographical situation was of prime importance. Due to this possibility the siting of those barrows reported by June 1978 has been assessed in the same areas studied for soils.

The area covered by the ten kilometre national grid square TG 13 and part of TG 14 (Fig. 21) can be divided into three broad regions; firstly a narrow coastal plain of chalky drift covered with sands and devoid of barrows; secondly the Cromer Ridge with some of the highest land in the county supporting sands and gravel with varying thicknesses of wind-blown sand and loess or Cover Loam. These soils also extend to the south in the western half of the mapped area. To the south and east is the third area, that of the Southern Lowlands, where the low brickearth plateau is dissected by valleys with distinctive soils on their slopes and peats on the floors (Corbett and Tatler 1974, 11). Within the mapped area all recorded barrows and one ring-ditch lie on the Cromer Ridge. These soils are extremely variable, even over very small distances with Land Use Capabilities varying from 1 to 5, but generally poor <sup>20</sup> (Corbett and Hodge 1976). Consequently, it would have been difficult for early farmers to have selected generally good or poor areas of any size, and so soil may not be relevant for barrow siting. However, the barrows are usually situated on freely drained sandy soils of the Freckenham Series (Hodge and Seale 1966, 59), which are differentiated by varying stoney phases, or on podzolised soils of similar structure (Red Lodge Series). The Land Use Capability is valued between 4sg and 3s <sup>20</sup>. Three barrows (6292, 6300, 6401) stand on sandy loams (of the Hall Series) with Land Use Capabilities of 2s. In contrast to the poor soils of the Cromer Ridge, the rich soils of the Southern Lowlands in the south-east of the area are graded between 1 and 2. Here a number of ring-ditches have been detected. The one at Hanworth (12814) and two at Aldborough (12774-5) are situated on sandy loam (Hall Series) with a Land Use Capability of 2s/1. The group at Aldborough (11539) is situated on a patch of sandy soil. The Land Use Capability is high (2) as it caps and is surrounded by soil of grade 1.

From the distribution of barrows and ring-ditches in TG 13/14 it is evident that barrows once existed on the good soils of the Southern Lowlands, but due to the pressure of subsequent agriculture on this very rich soil they have been destroyed. Those at Aldborough (11539) may have been deliberately placed on a poorer soil, but it is probable that they have only been detected here as the well drained sandy soil is far more susceptible to the formation of cropmarks than the surrounding heavier soil.

Waste lands, mainly heaths in TG 13/14, only exist on soils of the Cromer Ridge, where the extreme variability of these generally poor soils renders a Land Use Capability

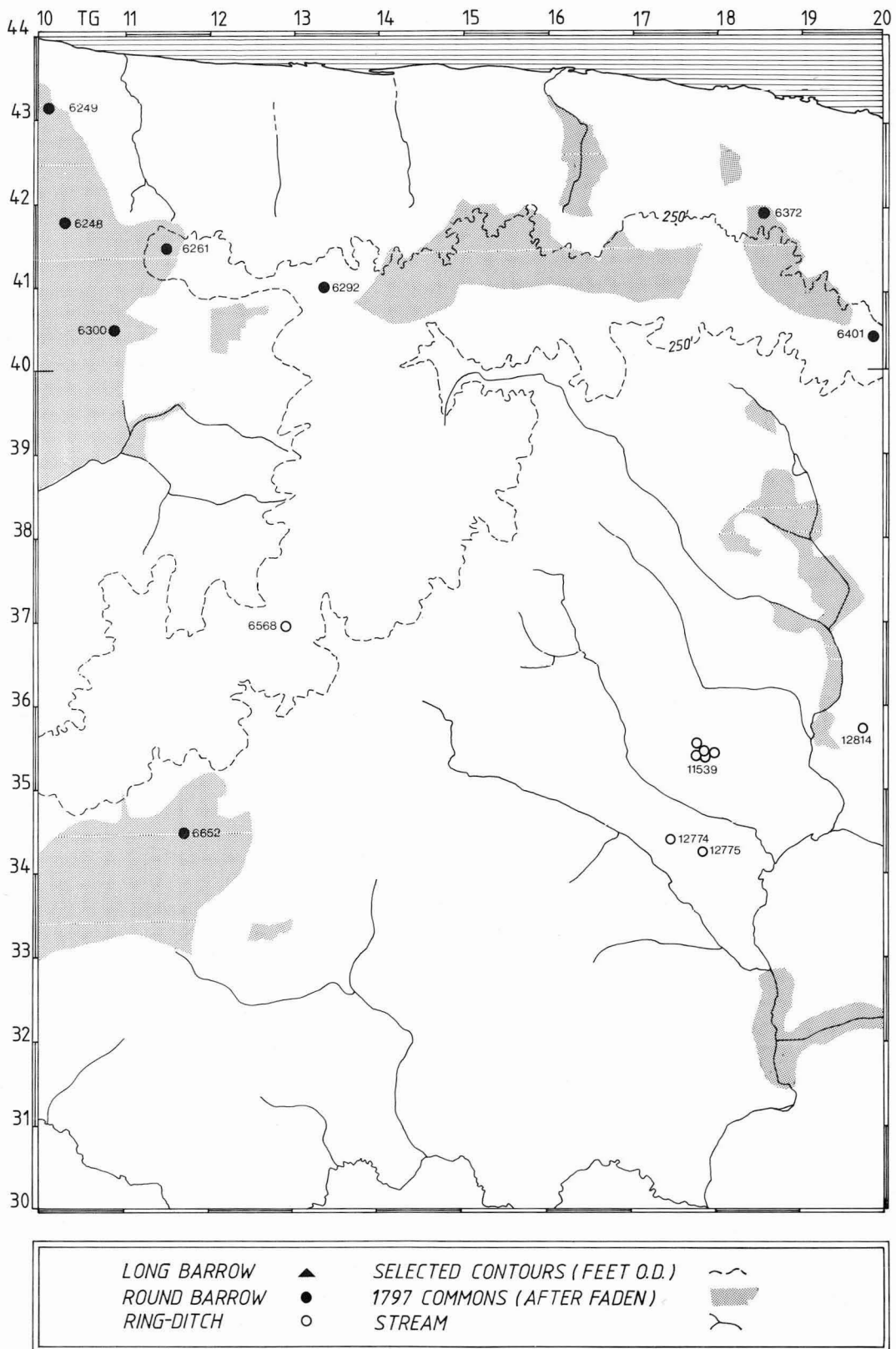


Fig. 21. Barrows and ring-ditches related to 1797 heaths in TG 13/14, Norfolk.  
Scale 1:7,500.

factor insignificant when considering barrow location. A high proportion of the podzolised Red Lodge soils falls within the areas of heathland. Despite the altitude which has been postulated as a causal factor in the formation of these heaths, it is suggested (by comparison with other areas) (Dimbleby 1962) that the podzolisation may result from early exploitation by man of brown-earth soils similar to the Freckenham soils; similar podzolisation of brown-earth type soils is recorded at Ditchingham in South Norfolk, (Dimbleby and Evans 1972, 86-90). In TG 13/14 it is significant that no common land survives on the Southern Lowlands, other than water meadows indicating the preference of modern agriculture for this area. It is possible that some commons and the barrows on them may have disappeared by the late eighteenth century as the result of the Enclosure Acts (especially as a large part of this area is covered by the Wolterton Estate).

If we consider the topographical setting of the sites in TG 13/14 we find, with the exception of Kelling (6249) and Runton (6372), both situated on northerly scarps, that all are on elevated ground on low ridges or plateaux. Two ring-ditches at Aldborough (12774 and 12775) run along a ridge while the remaining group of five (11539) southern slope of a ridge. However, in no case is the site so situated as to exaggerate the appearance of the monument, as most of the ridges and spurs in this area are gentle features. Notwithstanding this it is on the summits of these uplands that poor soils (Freckenham-Hall and Red Lodge Series) are to be found.

The area TG 11 (Fig.22) is mainly a sandy upland with high level river gravels, but boulder clay occurs in the west and extreme south. The region is divided by the River Wensum which, together with the other rivers is flanked by alluvium on the valley floors and sands over chalk on the valley slopes. In the north and east parts of the area acidic Norwich brickearth is found on the valley sides (Hodge and Seale 1966). As in TG 13/14 the majority of the barrows, including the long barrow at Felthorpe (7763), are found on the well-drained sandy soil of the Freckenham Series with varying degrees of podzolisation. The correlation between barrows and soil is so marked at Swannington that the distribution of barrows (5006) defines the local extent of the lightest soil. Most of the ring-ditches are also situated on Freckenham and allied soils, although often where the Land Use Capability is higher at 3. Exceptions to such a situation are two ring-ditches at Costessey (7887, 12791) which are situated on patches of chalky soil, and ring-ditches at Horsford (7777) and Ringland (12807) on well-drained sandy loam covering Norwich brickearth. The Land Use Capability of these ring-ditch sites is 3, while that of the barrow sites ranges between 5se and 4se. Large parts of this region have soils of grade 2 and 3, yet only some of the ring-ditches are on the slightly better soils, further demonstrating that there may be a preference for poor soil in the siting of these monuments.

The only extensive heathlands in TG 11 cover the acidic, agriculturally poor, Norwich brickearths and high level sands and gravels in the north-east. However, as noted above, the location of barrows at Swannington (5006) defines the local extent of the poorest soil, yet this small patch is not recorded as common land. This may seem all the more surprising as this patch is bordered by waste land on three sides. However, the soil of the surrounding waste may be considered marginally better, but consists of podzolised soils, the parent material of which is a glacial outwash gravel producing a very stoney soil unsuitable for ploughing. A similar soil found beneath the small heathland shown in the south of this area (TG 140108) has now been built over as it was of little value for agriculture.

In TG 11 all barrows and ring-ditches, with the exception of those at Morton on the Hill (7718, 7731), are in elevated positions. Those at Horsford (7772-8), Costessey (12791), and Ringland (12807) are on flat plateaux while those at Costessey (7887-8), Honingham (12809), Ringland (11711) and Swannington (5006) are on slopes facing streams. One at Ringland (7803) faces a dry valley. Three ring-ditches at Honingham (12809) run along a low spur. As in TG 13/14 few barrows are made more conspicuous

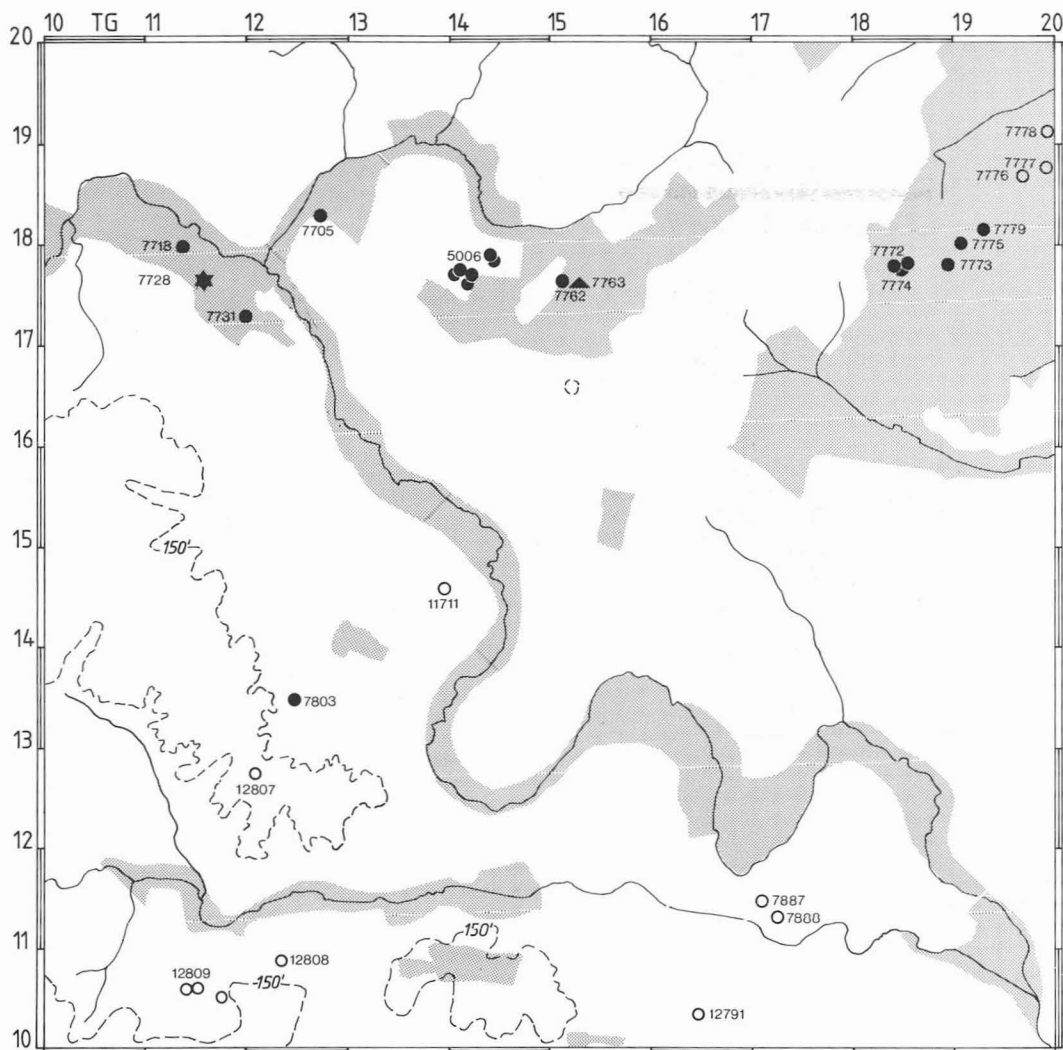


Fig. 22. Barrows and ring-ditches related to 1797 heaths in TG 11, Norfolk. Scale 1:7,500. Key on Fig. 21.

by their elevated situation, but this is the case for Swannington (7705) and Ringland (7803). However, it is in these high areas and slopes in particular, that the poorer soils exist.

TL 99 (Fig. 23) shows the transition from the sandy Breckland in the west to the boulder clay in the north-east. Fen peats are found in the valleys, while numerous kettle-holes and meres in the west provide evidence for former glaciation. The recorded barrows are found on soils graded between 3s and 4se, and few soils within the area are graded higher than this. Again most are Freckenham Series soils, podzolised (Red Lodge Series) or slightly more loamy (Worlington Series).

Large areas of TL 99 were common land in 1797. Those in the west are the wastes of the well drained Breckland. Here, barrow location does not always correspond with the 1797 commons. However, the extent of these wastes is variable. Much of the area depicted as arable is today waste, while much may have been used in the eighteenth century as part of an infield-outfield system. Just such a system has been illustrated at West Wretham (Saltmarsh and Darby 1935), which impinges on the mapped area (TL 9091). Here too the surface geology provides a significant commentary on the arrangement of fields. The settlement and infield is on river gravel and loam and an outcrop of



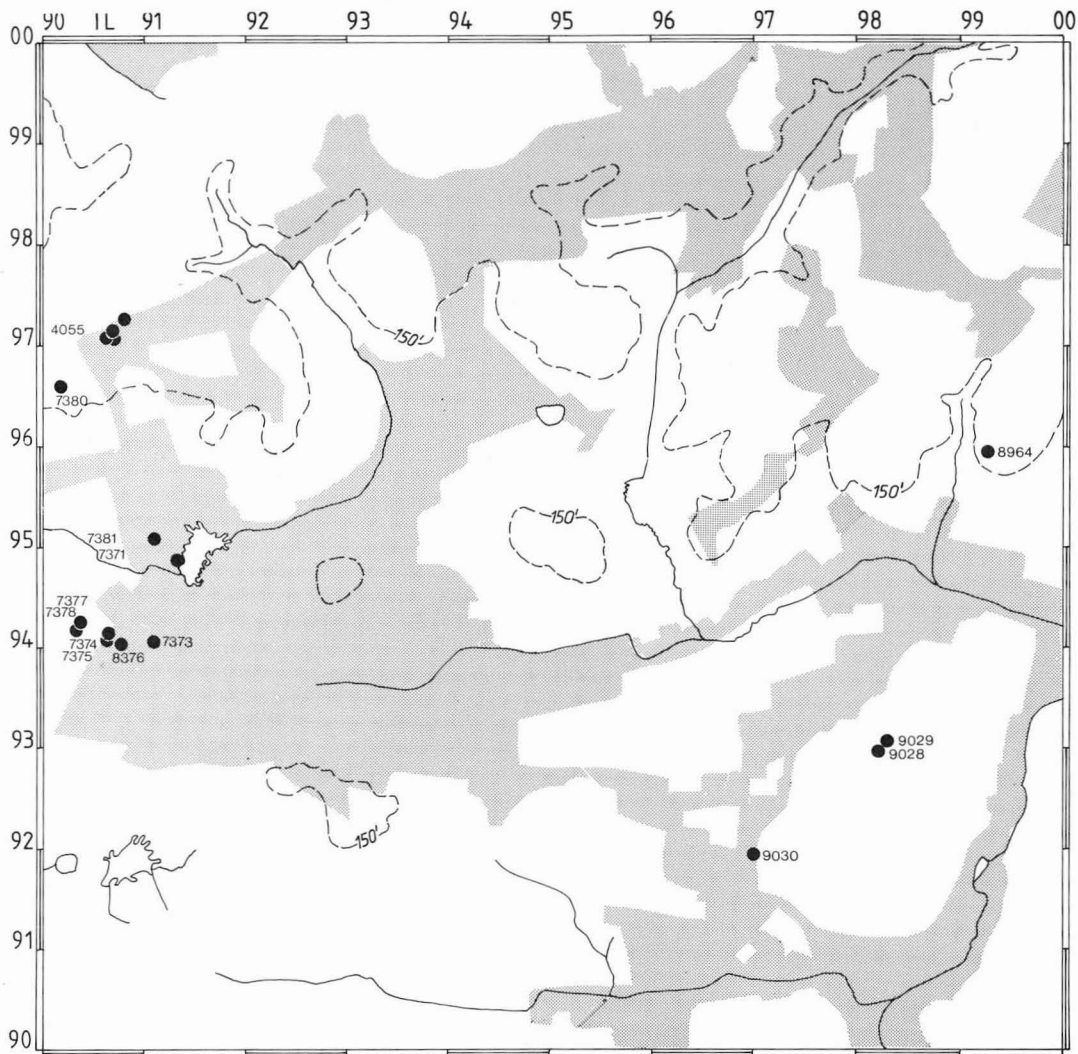


Fig.23. Barrows related to 1797 heaths in TL 99, Norfolk.  
Scale 1:7,500. Key on Fig.21.

water-bearing chalk provides 'an oasis in this region of arid sand'. The brakes of the outfield are mainly on boulder clay, while the whole is surrounded by heath on sandy gravel. For its fertility the outfield depended largely upon sheep, and these in turn depended in part upon the pasture afforded by the waste. To return to barrows, it is probable that for much of their history those in the Breckland have stood on waste land. In the south-east of TL 99 the wastes define the gleyic silts on a chalky drift, whereas the well-drained sandy soils constitute the arable. In the Land Use Capability Classification the soils of the wastes rate higher than the arable. However, the wastes have gleyic soils easily drained by modern farming methods. The correlation of the wastes with the soils demonstrates that the late medieval common lands are situated on the soils which were least suited to the agriculture of the time. Here, two different soil types support common lands; on the one hand, some were too poor for high yields, and on the other, the gleyic soils were too wet. This observation emphasises that 'Land Use Capability' is based on modern criteria and has to be assessed with caution when considering past landscapes.

In TL 99 the barrows at Rocklands (8964); Thompson (4055); Tottington (7380) and Shropham (9028-30) are in elevated situations, much of the mapped area being the flat Breckland. However, only Lowster Hill (7380), Tottington and Linger Hill (9030), Shropham, are prominently situated.

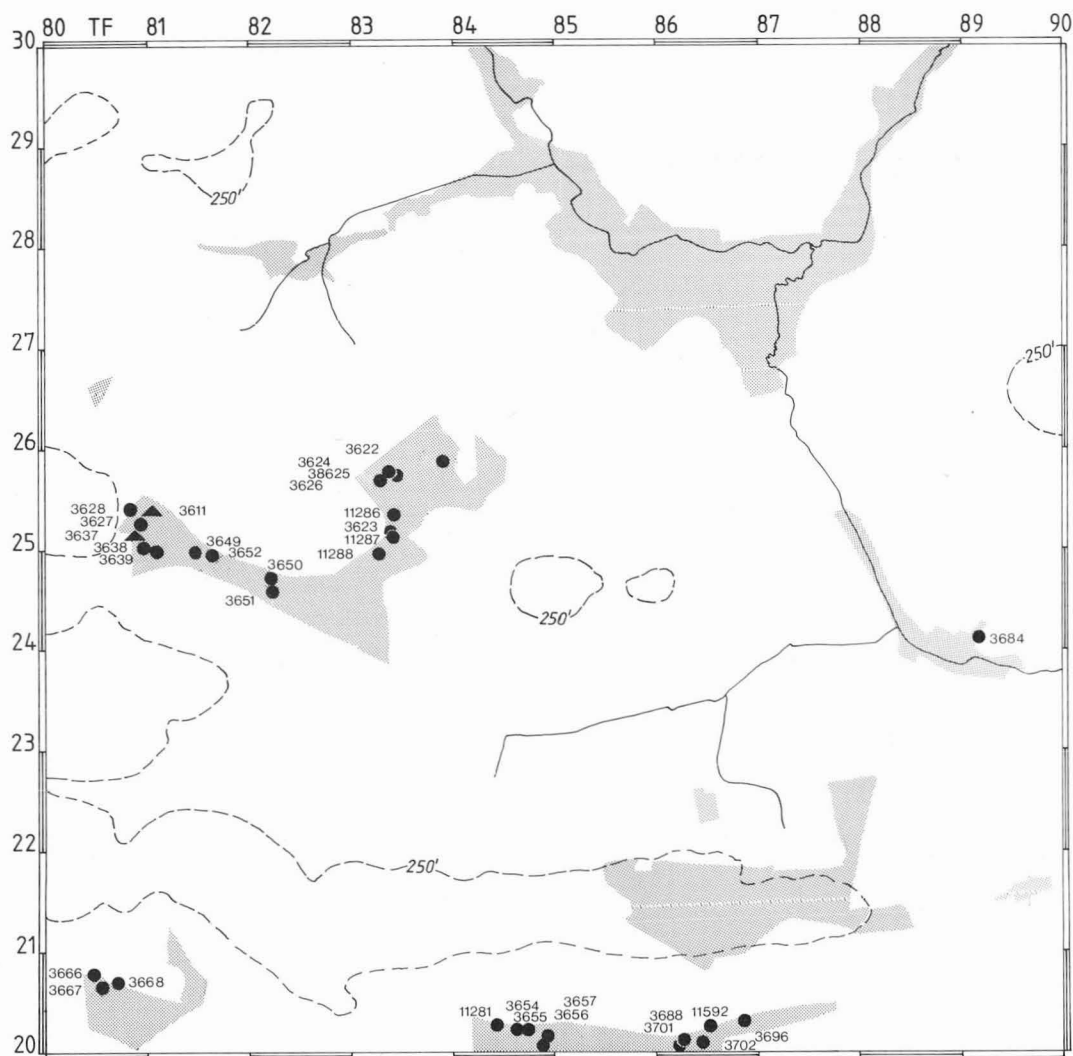


Fig.24. Barrows related to 1797 heaths in TF 82, Norfolk.  
Scale 1:7,500. Key on Fig.21.

In TL 99, soil, being generally poor, may not be a factor governing the selection of sites, but then neither, apparently, is the topography. However, it is noticeable that no barrows are recorded on the boulder clay in the north-east of this area.

The fourth area, TF 82 (Fig.24), is divided into a tract of 'good sand' in the north-west, with well-drained sandy loams (Fincham Series) and a tract of boulder clay in the extreme east and south-east. Recent colluvium covers the valley floors. The majority of the barrows are situated on Freckenham Series soils, though these may be mixed with well-drained colluvial sandy loam (Acle Series). These soils have been graded 3s. Two barrows, Harpley (3638), W.Rudham (3628), are on the margin of the better Fincham soils of grade 2s. In the south the Weasenham All Saints barrow group (TF 8520) is situated on a gleyic sandy clay loam of grade 2w. In TF 82, despite the apparently high grade of soil on which the barrows are to be found, none are on the boulder clay in the south-east, which, with correct farm management, forms today the best wheat producing land in the country despite a relatively high winter water table.

It is in this region that the most dramatic correlation of common land with barrows and soils is seen. Barrow groups at West Rudham (TF 8225), Weasenham All Saints (TF 8520) and Massingham (TF 8020) correspond with heathland waste. In the south-east

Wellingham Common (TF 8621), devoid of recorded barrows, is situated on the rich boulder clay. The inability of medieval farmers to cope with the winter rise of the local water-table and subsequent formation of iron pans meant that this area was not cultivated. During the Bronze Age this area would probably have supported a denser vegetation than the heaths to the north-west with their Freckenham Series sandy soils and surviving barrows.

In TF 82 topography does not seem to be a major factor in the siting of barrows. The large barrow groups at West Rudham and Weasenham All Saints lie on flat land with only the barrows at the north-east end of the Rudham group (3624-6) having an elevated position. The barrows at Massingham (3666-8) lie on a low ridge; that at Raynham (3684) is above the confluence of two streams, although its precise position is unknown.

#### Conclusion

The general conclusion drawn from the evidence at present available is that in the four areas studied the recorded barrows tend to be on the poorest, lightest soil despite the local presence of higher grade soils with better agricultural potential, and always on the soils which would have been easiest to cultivate with a primitive technology. However, the detection of ring-ditches on better soils in TG 13/14 and TG 11 may indicate that the poor soil on which the surviving barrows stand is the factor governing survival rather than site selection. These poor soils were perhaps unprofitable to cultivate at later times, while the barrows on the better soils were destroyed due to the agricultural potential of their sites.

Late medieval commons do not always correspond with the distribution of barrows, but where they do, the shared factor dictating both is poor soil. Soils regarded by medieval farmers as inferior include wet, badly drained soil, stoney untillable soil and infertile, light heath soil. The sites of barrows are almost always on the lightest soil available, but do not occur on the commons on the heavy soils, thus indicating a preference for the light soils (or the impossibility of detecting them as cropmarks).

There remains the possibility that barrows now destroyed once existed on those soils which are not conducive to the production of cropmarks. These sites may never be discovered and consequently the distribution of barrow and ring-ditch sites will be biased towards the lighter soils. Future discoveries of ring-ditches may also change or modify any conclusions based on the present evidence.

From an assessment of the topographical situation of barrows in the four areas studied it seems that barrows are usually on higher ground. This siting is not usually chosen to give the monument a more dramatic position or a 'false crest', although in a small number of cases barrows have been deliberately situated so as to make the mound look more impressive. It seems instead likely that it is the poor soils and once lighter vegetation of the elevated areas that was the determinant. If this was the case, then their ease of clearance and of subsequent tillage is the reason for selection of these sites, rather than an impressive aspect. The latter would suggest that clearance was as widespread, if not greater than today.

#### BRONZE AGE POPULATION

In an attempt to decide if the location of barrows on poor soil was a deliberate procedure, reflecting the demands placed upon that soil due to the needs of that community, it is necessary to consider the size of the Bronze Age population.

If we are to believe Atkinson's (1972) calculation for the size of Bronze Age population, based on the assumption that barrow burial was the principal rite in the south, then

the total population for Norfolk during a single generation would have been less than seventy (or 130 if ring-ditches are included) <sup>22</sup>. Communities would have been small and their needs in terms of cultivable land small. The areas to be cleared first would presumably have been those with the lightest tree cover on the sandy soils (though not of primary consideration where regeneration was slowest). Base status does not seem to have been a preferred factor, as those soils with higher base status were avoided, presumably because they were too heavy. The choice for the lightest soil as the site of a barrow has been demonstrated above, and we must assume that if clearance was minimal the barrows were in the clearances, though these clearances may have been exhausted and abandoned. These areas are precisely those which became heathlands, with the destruction of vegetation accelerating podzolisation, and it was these areas which became the medieval wastes. With the improvement of agricultural methods, with fertilisation and liming, many of these medieval heathlands have been successfully utilised and the podzols destroyed. It is just this 'improvement' that has led to the destruction of many barrows.

It was suggested above that the density of barrows on the heavier soils of central Norfolk may have been greater than the surviving upstanding barrows would suggest. If this is accepted there is still no need to contemplate a very large population, as the time period for barrow construction is lengthy. But if we consider the suggestion that barrows were only built on the summer grazing grounds (Fleming 1971, 159), these would probably have been the waste-lands already unsuitable for the growing of crops (such degradation is suggested for parts of Yorkshire (Evans 1975, 130)) <sup>23</sup>. In such a situation disforested areas must have been much more widespread, supporting the popular view elsewhere in Britain (Pennington 1969, 77) that large scale forest clearance had taken place by the early third millennium B.C. We can thus envisage a much larger population involved in the management of both crops (utilising the better soils of great base status) and livestock (grazed on the poor soils). Should this be the case then we are forced into the conclusion, based on the surviving evidence, that barrow burial was not the usual rite, but reserved for a select proportion of the population. It is impossible to estimate what proportion this may represent, and consequently what the true population may have been. Other modes for the disposal of the dead are occasionally encountered, such as the stratified disarticulated skeletons from waterlogged Bronze Age layers on the Fen edge at Methwold Severalls (2542), but the numbers buried by such alternative methods are impossible to quantify.

Whether the population was large or small, there is thus both evidence and reason to suggest that barrows were deliberately sited on the poorest soil, though such site selection was probably achieved by observation of the vegetation, natural or cultural, rather than a direct examination of the soil. A small population would utilise only the lightest soils, having cleared small areas of woodland; a larger population would utilise light and heavier soils. In both cases the lightest soils would be the most convenient place to locate barrows.

Hence, although poor soil may be a factor conditioning survival of these earthworks, it is probable that the location of barrows on the poorest local soils reflects the agricultural activities of the Bronze Age community. Such selection was either fortuitous when only small clearances were available, or deliberate when the building of the monuments would be marginally wasteful of usable arable land.



Gold covered beads from Bircham, N. (Lukis 1843)

## IV. The Barrows of Suffolk

by Edward A. Martin

### PURPOSE AND METHOD OF SURVEY

The Suffolk barrow survey was initiated in 1975, with the purpose of recording the existing state of these monuments. A primary aim of the survey was to accumulate data for the formulation of a policy for the future study and preservation of barrows in the county, and, in particular, to ensure that all the well preserved mounds were afforded the protection of being scheduled ancient monuments.

This survey is based on the records of the Suffolk Archaeological Unit, which were commenced by S.E. West, the County Archaeological Officer, in 1972. These incorporate information from the indexes maintained by the Ordnance Survey, Ipswich Museum and Moyses Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds, as well as information from other museums, printed sources and private individuals.

No large scale survey of the barrows of Suffolk has been previously attempted. Unpublished and incomplete surveys were, however, produced by H. Dixon Hewitt of Thetford: Notes on Suffolk tumuli (1936), information from which was recorded by the Ordnance Survey; and by Norman Smedley, formerly Curator of Ipswich Museum: Earthworks in West Suffolk inspected in 1954. Information from both these sources has been incorporated in the present survey.

The catalogue on which the present survey is based (available at the discretion of the County Archaeological Officer) contains all the recorded barrows and possible barrows reported by the end of 1979. Also included are all ring-ditches reported by the end of 1978; a manuscript list of additions, is, however, being maintained. These sites are listed in alphabetical order of parish, and each is identified by its parish number and located by an eight-figure grid reference where possible. Where applicable the ancient monument schedule number is also given.

Although the catalogue contains both barrows and ring-ditches, only the barrows or alleged barrows were visited. The reason for this decision was the fact that very few ring-ditch sites have any vestiges of a mound surviving. Thus to have visited them all would have increased the cost and time of the survey without adding very much in the way of useable information.

Most of the fieldwork for the survey was carried out in the winter months, when the undergrowth was at its lowest and when the fields were clear of crops. Only four barrow sites were unlocated: three in woodland (Chillesford 001 and 002, and Knettishall 002) and one in dense undergrowth (Brightwell 009).

The catalogue lists the year that each barrow site was visited and also gives the land use of each at the time and records any evidence of mutilation in the form of trenches or holes cut into the barrow. The mounds were measured for diameter and height, the former measurement being done with a tape and the latter with a dumpy level and staff. One result of these measurements was to demonstrate that it is extremely difficult to



# BARROWS AND RING-DITCHES IN SUFFOLK

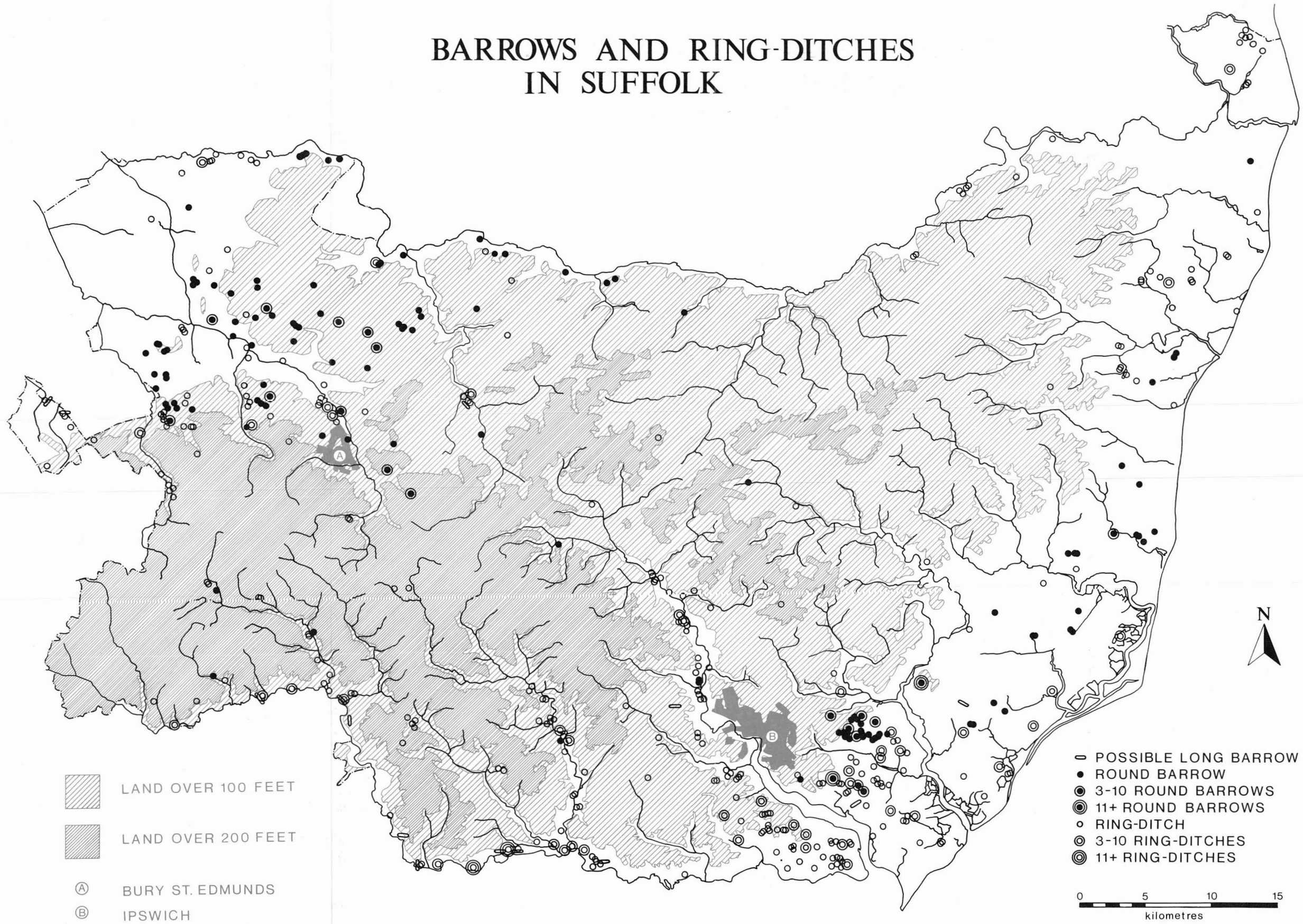


Fig.25. Distribution of barrows and ring-ditches related to topography in Suffolk.  
Scale 1:300,000.

obtain accurate readings from these earthworks. On the badly ploughed examples it is almost impossible to decide where the barrow begins and ends, with the result that diameter readings can vary by 5 m or more. Height measurements can likewise vary, depending upon which side of the barrow one takes the measurements from; very few barrows are on absolutely flat ground, and where the barrow is under 1 m in height and has indistinct edges, the undulations of the surrounding land can make quite a difference to the 'height' of the barrow. As a result barrows can appear to 'grow' between measurements. One is thus forcefully reminded of the barrow called Crug Mawr, near Cardigan in Wales, which, according to the twelfth-century writer Giraldus Cambrensis, 'adjusts itself to the size of anyone who goes there' (Thorpe 1978, 177). Suffolk would appear to have many similar mounds!

RESULTS OF SURVEY AND CONDITION OF BARROWS

The figures for round barrows in Suffolk, upto the end of 1978, are as follows:

Mounds existing	110
Mounds destroyed	113
Mounds unlocated	4
Mounds questionable	<u>22</u>
Total	249

In addition to these, there was an unknown number of mounds on John's Hill, Fornham St. Martin and on Wangford Warren. There are also 474 ring-ditch sites in the county which probably represent destroyed barrows, which would bring the grand total of barrows up to 723 (however one should note the point about ditchless barrows on p.22). These figures suggest that the recorded barrows only represent about 34% of the barrows that once existed, and only about 15% exist today as mounds (18% if the questionable mounds are included).

The condition of the existing 113 mounds (which figure includes the questionable mounds at Great Finborough (FNG 003), Norton (NRN 001) and Theberton (THB 004)) can be summarised as follows:

under bracken	21
under bushes	5
under grass	10
under heath	1
under plough	23
under trees	54

In addition twenty-nine of these 113 mounds had been mutilated by being dug into or by being partially dug away.

Only those barrows that are under shallow rooting plants such as grass, bracken or heather can be regarded as being in a satisfactory condition. Thus in Suffolk only thirty-two barrows could be said to be in this condition; however, eight of these are already mutilated, and of the remaining twenty-four only a further nine are over 1m in height. Thus only nine barrows (five of which are in the Sutton Hoo group) are over a metre high, unmutilated and under favourable vegetational cover.

The surviving heights of the same 113 mounds are given in Fig.2. The majority, 55%, are a metre or less in height, and only 13% are over 2 m in height. The highest barrows are the Roman one at Rougham (RGH 001; 4.8 m) and the two questionable mounds at Norton (NRN 001; 5.1 m) and Theberton (THB 004; 5.3 m).

An indication of the rate of destruction and erosion of barrows in the county is provided by the group of fifty-seven barrows that were measured in 1962-5 and again in 1976-8 (p.29 and Fig.4).

Even the 103 scheduled barrows in the county have suffered some destruction, for 15% of them have either been destroyed (13) or are unlocatable (2).

There are, however, indications that much of this destruction took place prior to 1960.

The figures for ring-ditches in Suffolk, up to the end of 1978, are as follows:

Single ring-ditches	373
Possible ring-ditches	22
Double ring-ditches	32
Possible double ring-ditches	8
Causewayed triple ring-ditch	1
Penannular ring-ditches	7
Possible penannular ring-ditches	5
Multiple causewayed ring-ditches	2
Reported ring-ditches	<u>24</u>
Total	474

Causewayed ring-ditches present a problem to interpretation because of their resemblance to small henge monuments (above p.30). The fifteen causewayed examples in Suffolk are:

Arwarton (ARW010)	- <u>c.</u> 20 m diameter, ? causeway to SW.
Ashbocking (ABK 007)	- <u>c.</u> 20 m diameter, 2 opposed causeways to NW and SE.
Bucklesham (BUC 016)	- ? causeway to SW.
Cockfield (COK 009)	- <u>c.</u> 30 m diameter, causeway to NW.
Fornham All Saints (FAS 005a)	- Triple ditched, causeway in outer ring ( 50 m diameter) to NE, ? large causeway in middle ring (30 m diameter) to S. Adjacent to a cursus.
Fornham All Saints (FAS 005c)	- <u>c.</u> 40 m diameter, causeway to SW. Adjacent to a cursus.
Hadleigh (HAD 023)	- ? causeway to E.
Hadleigh (HAD 025)	- causeway to NE.
Kersey (KSY 004)	- <u>c.</u> 25 m diameter, two opposed causeways to N and S.
Lackford (LKD 022)	- <u>c.</u> 13 m diameter, ? causeway to E.
Lakenheath (LKH 022)	- 40 m diameter, causeway to S.
Layham (LYM 002)	- <u>c.</u> 25 m diameter, causeway to NE.
Long Melford (LMD 014)	- <u>c.</u> 40 m diameter, ? causeway to NW.
Stoke by Nayland (SBN 003)	- causeway to SW.
Stratford St.Mary (SSM 004)	- <u>c.</u> 50 m diameter, causeway to NW. Adjacent to a cursus.

There is only one supposed long barrow in Suffolk, that at Sutton (SUT 020); but this is probably a rabbit warren mound. There are, however, a number of cropmark oval enclosures which may represent ploughed-out long barrows, but other explanations are also possible (p.21). The fifteen oval enclosures in Suffolk are:

Bramford (BRF 019)	- <u>c.</u> 50 m long, orientated E to W.
Bures St.Mary (BSM 002)	- <u>c.</u> 30 m long, 15 m wide, orientated E to W.

Bures St. Mary (BSM 010)	- <u>c.</u> 80 m long, 10 m wide, orientated NNE to SSW.
Cavendish (CAV 006)	- <u>c.</u> 60 m long, 30 m wide, orientated NW to SE, possible entrance at end.
Exning (EXG 017)	- <u>c.</u> 110 m long, 35 m wide, orientated E to W, dubious.
Exning (EXG 020)	- <u>c.</u> 40 m long, orientated NNE to SSW, dubious.
Levington (LVT 014)	- <u>c.</u> 45 m long, 20 m wide, orientated E to W.
Long Melford (LMD 013)	- <u>c.</u> 50 m long, 20 m wide, orientated N to S.
Long Melford (LMD 014)	- <u>c.</u> 60 m long, 25 m wide, orientated NW to SE.
Pakenham (PKM 014)	- <u>c.</u> 55 m long, 15 m wide, orientated NW to SE, possible entrance in long side. Now destroyed.
Stoke by Nayland (SBN 013)	- 20 m long, 10 m wide, orientated WNW to ESE, possibly twinned round barrows.
Stratford St. Mary (SSM 009)	- <u>c.</u> 110 m long, 25 m wide, orientated E to W.
Sudbourne (SUE 002)	- <u>c.</u> 25 m long, orientated N to S.
Thornington (THG 004)	- <u>c.</u> 50 m long, 35 m wide, orientated NE to SW.

#### PREVIOUS EXPLORATION

In popular mythology barrows are store-houses of immense amounts of 'treasure' and as a result have received the unwelcome attention of self-seeking treasure hunters. Treasure hunters were active in Suffolk as early as the reign of Henry VIII, as is shown by a letter written by Thomas Toyser from Brightwell, 30 Sep. 1538, to Thomas Cromwell, in which he complains of 'divers ill doers who have digged for gold and treasure in his lordship of Bryghtwell, Suffolk', he then goes on to ask if he can have the King's licence to do some digging himself, promising that he will 'save such treasures as shall be found there to the King's use'.<sup>24</sup>

The rising interest in British antiquities in the eighteenth century led to a further spate of barrow digging: in 1728 Nathanael Salmon recorded that one of the Three Hills (MNL 001) at Mildenhall 'hath been cut through half-way from the top, as if it were done with a saw, and from the outside to the inside and the piece is wanting' (Salmon 1728, I, 161), and in 1764 an assault was made on the Seven Hills, Bucklesham/Foxhall/Nacton (BUC 006, FXL 011, NAC 004-13; Wodderspoon 1850, 42). At the beginning of the nineteenth century some of the local gentry with antiquarian leanings indulged in a bit of barrow digging, the most energetic being the two contemporary baronets, Sir Thomas Gage of Hengrave and Sir H.E. Bunbury of Mildenhall, who drove trenches through barrows at Risby (Gage 1859, 207-8) and Mildenhall (Prigg 1874a, 288). Neither made very extensive records of their findings. However, a letter from Sir Henry Bunbury, dated 1833, does give a glimpse of what was going on at that time: 'On the low hills to the eastward of Mildenhall, as well as in the neighbouring parishes of Barton Parva, Icklingham, Elveden and Eriswell, are several scattered barrows. In some of these have been found vessels of very coarse pottery, containing ashes and glass beads, and in some the bones of animals, probably those of dogs' (Bunbury 1834).

The first barrow excavations in Suffolk of which any records survive are those of the Rev. Professor J.S. Henslow on the Eastlow Hill group of barrows at Rougham (RGH 001-2) in 1843-4 (Babington 1874). Henslow was professor of botany at Cambridge (where he was the tutor of Charles Darwin) and vicar of Hitcham in Suffolk. His interest in antiquities and education led him to take a leading part in the foundation of Ipswich Museum in 1847 and he was its second President from 1850.

In 1862 a group of antiquarians in the Aldeburgh area, N. Fenwick Hele, Francis Francis and Septimus Davidson, explored the Snape barrows (SNP 007). Their efforts resulted in the discovery of the Snape Anglo-Saxon boat, of which they produced rough plans and sections (Bruce-Mitford 1974). N.F. Hele, who was a local surgeon, went on



to excavate a mound at nearby Knodishall in 1863. He published accounts of his various antiquarian pursuits in a book entitled Notes or jottings about Aldeburgh in 1870.

The Rev. Canon William Greenwell of Durham, a very active barrow digger in many parts of England, <sup>25</sup> made a descent on Suffolk in 1868. Attended by some of the gentlemen of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, he dug into one of the Seven Hills (LML 002), Little Livermere, in May 1868, followed by a barrow at Barton Mills (BTM 004) in June 1868 and finished off with four barrows at Risby (RBY 003-6) in February 1869 (Greenwell 1869).

In 1871, spurred on by Canon Greenwell's exploits and by the discovery of gold in a barrow at Little Cressingham in Norfolk (discovered in 1849 and exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in 1870), a local antiquarian, Henry Prigg of Bury St. Edmunds, explored two barrows at Icklingham (IKL 003-4) and went on to examine a third (IKL 002) in 1872 (Prigg 1874b). He also carried out excavations at Thing Houe, Bury St. Edmunds (BSE 004), in 1880 (notes in *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* XXXVI, 233; XXXVIII, 208). In addition to his own excavations Prigg also observed barrows that were being destroyed by quarrying, etc. at Mildenhall (MNL 001) in 1866 and at Icklingham (IKL 026-7) c. 1874-1890 (Prigg 1901). Another observer of barrows was the Rev. George Cardew (a friend or acquaintance of Canon Greenwell) who recorded the destruction of a barrow at Helmingham (HLM 005) c. 1865 (Cardew 1865).

Barrow excavations restarted in 1914 when Mrs Louisa L.F. Caton, the wife of the rector of Fakenham Magna, dug a barrow at Barnham (BNH 016) and contributed a short note on her findings to the newly formed Prehistoric Society of East Anglia (Caton 1914-5). In 1919 J. Reid Moir, a well known East Anglian archaeologist and an authority on flint tools <sup>26</sup>, excavated four barrows at Brightwell (BLG 014-7; Moir 1921) in conjunction with the Ipswich and District Field Club. In his report Moir included a location plan of his trenches and a rough section drawing of one of the barrows, however his love of flints is reflected by the fact that a third of the report is devoted to them.

The first proper excavation and publication of a barrow in Suffolk was that of the Earl Cawdor and Sir Cyril Fox at Barton Mills (BTM 004) in 1923 (Cawdor and Fox 1925). The first excavation of a ring-ditch was in a quarry at Brantham (BNT 004) in 1925 by Guy Maynard of Ipswich Museum, however only a short note was published of this excavation (Maynard 1925). Considerably longer excavation reports have followed the excavations at Sutton Hoo (SUT 004-7) by Basil Brown and C.W. Phillips in 1938 and 1939 which led to the discovery of the famous Sutton Hoo ship burial (Phillips 1940; Bruce-Mitford 1975).

The building of airfields in the 2nd World War resulted in the excavation of a barrow at Martlesham (MRM 001) by G. Maynard and H.E.P. Spencer of Ipswich Museum in 1942 (Maynard and Spencer 1949) and of one at Fakenham Magna (FKM 006) by Professor W.F. Grimes in 1943 (Grimes 1960, 247).

After the war, in 1948, Gordon Fowler investigated the ring-ditch at Undley in Lakenheath (LKH 022; Fowler 1950). R. Gilyard-Beer, of the Ministry of Works, excavated several barrows in advance of their destruction at Brightwell (BGL 001-3) in 1952-3. He was followed by Basil Brown and others from Ipswich Museum who excavated a ring-ditch at Pakenham (PKM 006) in 1953-4; (Brown *et al.* 1954) and by Grace, Lady Briscoe at Worlington (WGN 003) in 1954 (Briscoe 1956). In 1957 A.R. Edwardson of Moyses Hall Museum in Bury St. Edmunds dug into barrows at Great Barton (BRG 001; Smedley and Aberg 1957) and Barnham (BNH 004; Edwardson 1957), in 1958 he dug into one at Culford (CUL 004; info. from O.S.), in 1959 into two at Risby (RBY 003-4; Edwardson 1959) and in 1961 into one at West Stow (WSW 014; Edwardson 1961).



The modern period of barrow excavation could be said to have begun with the excavation of one at Flempton (FMP 002) by F.de M. and H.L.Vatcher in 1964; (Vatcher 1976) followed in quick succession by David Dymond at Eriswell (ERL 036) in 1965-6 (Dymond 1973); by F.Petersen at Gazeley (GAZ 001) in 1969 (Petersen 1973); by Stanley West at West Stow (ring-ditch; WSW 002) in 1970; by M.J.Corbishley at Hadleigh (ring-ditch; HAD 009) in 1971 (Corbishley 1974); by Edward Martin at Kentford (two ring-ditches; KTD 003-4) in 1973 (Martin 1975b), at Martlesham (one barrow, MRM 012, two flattened barrows, MRM 011, 017 and a ring-ditch, MRM 019) in 1974 (Martin 1975a and 1976a), and at Risby in 1975 (RBY 001; Martin 1976b); by Linden Elmhirst at Levington and Ipswich (three ring-ditches, LVT 023-5 and a mound, IPS 031) in 1978, and finally by Edward Martin at Wherstead in 1980 (three ring-ditches, WHR 008, 027 and 028).

#### FINDS RECORDED FROM BARROWS (Table IV)

Neolithic pottery has been found under a few round barrows in Suffolk: Grimston-Lyles Hill ware from Eriswell (ERL 036; Dymond 1973), and Worlington (WGN 003; Briscoe 1956), and Grooved Ware sherds from Pakenham (PKM 006; Brown *et al.* 1954). These sherds were, however, found on the old land surfaces under the barrows and therefore cannot be said to relate directly to the barrows and are normally considered to be residual. In the case of Worlington the neolithic sherds were believed to belong to a small mound within the larger Bronze Age mound, however there is nothing to prove that this inner mound was not also of the Bronze Age and just happened to overlie some neolithic sherds.

A Late Neolithic ring-ditch has been excavated at West Stow (WSW 002). There a central grave contained a crouched inhumation with a stone bead. In the upper fill of the grave there was an unurned cremation and two flint 'tortoise' cores. There were a further forty-six secondary cremations in or on the inner lip of the ditch, along with a transverse and a leaf-shaped arrowhead and flint fabricator (S.E.West pers.comm.). The 'tortoise' cores are the main dating evidence for this burial, similar cores have been found with Beaker pottery at Flamborough, Yorkshire (Moore 1964) and are thought to be a component of the Grooved Ware assemblage, as are transverse arrowheads (Manby 1974, 83). In the context of West Stow a Grooved Ware ascription would be acceptable as pottery of that tradition has been found there (Martin 1979). Although usually termed 'Late Neolithic', Grooved Ware is synchronous with some other types of pottery that are usually labelled 'Early Bronze Age', therefore the occurrence of a 'Late Neolithic' ring-ditch should occasion no surprise.

Burials under Bronze Age barrows are either in the form of inhumations, usually crouched, or cremations, both urned and unurned. At present no inhumation burials are known from barrows in East Suffolk or the Stour Valley, with the possible exception of a barrow at Knodishall (KND 003) where 'one piece of human leg bone' was found *c.* 1863 (Hele 1863). Inhumation burials are, however, known from West Suffolk, often occurring in the same barrows as cremation burials. Multiple burials under one barrow are common, e.g. at Barton Mills (BTM 004, eleven cremations and three inhumations; Cawdor and Fox 1925), Eriswell (ERL 036, three cremations and one inhumation; Dymond 1973), Flempton (FMP 002, five cremations and eight inhumations; Vatcher 1976), and at Gazeley (GAZ 001, eight cremations and eight inhumations; Petersen 1973). It is sometimes possible to single out a central 'primary' grave, e.g. at Eriswell (ERL 036, cremated male under a collared urn; Dymond 1973) and Risby (RBY 001, inhumed female; Martin 1976b), but in cases like Beacon Hill (BTM 004; Cawdor and Fox 1925) such identification is impossible. Single burials under barrows seem to be recorded from Barnham (BNH 004, inhumation of a female with a pygmy vessel; Edwardson 1957) and West Stow (WSW 014, stain of an unaccompanied inhumation; Edwardson 1961), the latter barrow also contained two hearths associated with Beaker pottery.

TABLE IV. DATEABLE FINDS FROM SUFFOLK BARROWS

1. NEOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE	<u>Biconical Urns</u>
<u>Grimston-Lyles Hill Ware</u>	✓Barton Mills (BTM 004)
Eriswell (ERL 036)	<u>'Cinerary Urns'</u>
Worlington (WGN 003)	✓Brightwell (BGL 014)
<u>Grooved Ware</u>	✓Icklingham (IKL 001)
Pakenham (PKM 006)	✓Icklingham (IKL 002)
<u>'Tortoise' Cores (flint)</u>	✓Risby (RBY 003)
West Stow (WSW 002)	<u>'Pygmy' Vessels</u>
<u>Beakers</u>	✓Barnham (BNH 004)
✓Barnham (BNH 016)	<u>Ardleigh-type Urns</u>
✓Barton Mills (BTM 004)	✓Risby (RBY 001)
✓Brantham (BNT 004)	<u>Open-mouthed Bowls</u>
✓Brightwell (BGL 014)	✓Barton Mills (BTM 004)
✓Eriswell (ERL 036)	Worlington (WGN 003)
✓Flempton (FMP 002)	<u>Sherds</u>
✓Icklingham (IKL 002)	Culford (CUL 004)
✓Icklingham (IKL 026)	<u>Metalwork</u>
✓Ipswich (IPS 031)	Risby (RBY 001); bronze bead and awl
✓Lakenheath (LKH 022)	
✓Levington (LVT 024)	
✓Martlesham (MRM 001)	
✓Martlesham (MRM 011)	
✓Martlesham (MRM 012)	
✓Martlesham (MRM 017)	
✓Martlesham (MRM 019)	
Tuddenham (TDD Misc.)	
West Stow (WSW 014)	
<u>Food-Vessels</u>	
✓Barnham (BNH 016)	
✓Barton Mills (BTM 004)	
✓Flempton (FMP 002)	
✓Kentford (KTP 004)	
✓Mildenhall (MNL 001)	
✓Pakenham (PKM 006)	
<u>Collared Urns</u>	
✓Barnham (BNH 016)	
✓Brightwell (BGL 001, 002 or 003)	
✓Chillesford (CHF 001)	
✓Eriswell (ERL 036)	
✓Flempton (FMP 002)	
✓Gazeley (GAZ 001)	
✓Hadleigh (HAD 009)	
✓Levington (LVT 023)	
✓Levington (LVT 025)	
✓Little Livermere (LML 002)	
✓Risby (RBY 001)	
✓Risby (RBY 004)	
✓Theberton (THB 003)	
	2. IRON AGE
	Barnham (BNH 004); sherds
	Flempton (FMP 002); Belgic urn
	Hadleigh (HAD 009); sherds
	Knodishall (KND 003); small pot
	Levington (LVT 023); sherds
	Levington (LVT 224); large sherd
	Risby (RBY 001); sherds
	Risby (RBY 004); pot
	3. ROMANO-BRITISH
	Great Barton (BRG 001); sherds
	Blaxhall (BXL 001); cremation in an urn
	Culford (CUL 004); sherds
	Flempton (FMP 002); late Roman shell-gritted jar
	Fornham All Saints (FAS 005b); sherds
	Hadleigh (HAD 009); samian sherd
	Helmingham (HLM 005); 'secondary Romano-British cremations'
	Icklingham (IKL 026); Romano-Saxon pot
	Lakenheath (LKH 022); sherds
	Levington (LVT 023); sherds
	Martlesham (MRM 012); sherd
	Mildenhall (MNL 001); bronze toilet set
	Pakenham (PKM 006); secondary cremations
	Risby (RBY 001); sherds
	Rougham (RGH 001); tiled chamber with lead coffin

TABLE IV (cont.)

ROMANO-BRITISH (cont.)	Risby (RBY 005); 'Saxon urn'
Rougham (RGH 002A); chamber with cremation in glass vessel	Snape (SNP 007); boat burial, inhumation ?, urned cremations etc.
Rougham (RGH 002B); chamber with cremation in glass vessel	Sutton (SUT 004); ship burial, inhumation ?
Rougham (RGH 002C); samian sherds under barrow	Sutton (SUT 005); fragment of boat, inhumation, etc.
	Sutton (SUT 006); oak tray/chest, crema- tion ?, etc.
4. ANGLO-SAXON	Sutton (SUT 007); gaming-piece, crema- tion etc.
Barnham (BNM 016); sword, knife, etc.	
Brightwell (BGL 017); cremations in a bronze bowl, bone comb etc.	
Gisleham (GSE 003); inhumation with a gold coin pendant	5. INDETERMINATE
Hadleigh (HAD 009); sherds	Bury St. Edmunds (BSE 004); 'human re- mains, horns, urns'
Icklingham (IKL 026); inhumations, bronze brooches, wrist-clasps etc.	Helmingham (HLM 005); 'black primitive pottery'
Martlesham (MRM 012); sherd ?	Risby (RBY 003); 'urn of ancient British form'
Mildenhall (MNL 001); inhumations, shield-bosses, spearheads etc.	Risby (RBY 006); 'British funeral urn'
Pakenham (PKM 006); pottery, loom- weights	Rougham (RGH 002C); '2 vases of imper- fectly burnt dark earthenware, contain- ing cremations'
Redgrave (RGV 004); urns, comb etc.	Snape (SNP 020); 'curious old earthenware & coloured glass; bits of corroded iron & large numbers of bones'
Risby (RBY 001); spear-heads, inhumation	
Risby (RBY 003); urned cremation, glass bead	

The recorded attitudes of skeletons in Bronze Age graves (Table V) tentatively suggest that males were most commonly buried on their backs or left sides, with their heads to the west or north-west. Females, on the other hand, were usually placed on their right sides, with their heads pointing in a southerly direction. The human remains themselves (Table VI) suggest that the average age at death for males was 34 years, and for females 37.5 years. The female ages, however, do seem to show two groupings, one group aged about 20-30 and the other 40-50, suggesting that deaths in childbirth may have been a factor in lowering the average age of death for women. The mean male height was 5 ft 7½ in (1.70 m) and for females the mean was 5 ft 4 in (1.63 m). The figure for the males compares well with a mean of 5 ft 8 in (1.73 m) computed by D.R. Brothwell for Bronze Age men in Yorkshire (Brothwell 1960).

A male inhumation at Flempton (FMP 002; Vatcher 1976) was buried in what was probably a tree-trunk coffin; and a possible cremation at Worlington (WGN 003; Briscoe 1956) appears to have been associated with some sort of wooden box in a chalk-cut grave, which was overlain by a deposit of animal bones. Animal and human remains in association were also recorded in the nineteenth century from Mildenhall (MNL 001), where a heap of eighteen red deer antlers, tines upwards, 3 ft (0.9 m) in diameter and 2 ft (0.6 m) high, covered the inhumation grave of a woman (Prigg 1874a); and at Icklingham (IKL 068), where a skeleton was found with its feet resting on a stag's skull (Prigg 1874a). These graves are reminiscent of a mesolithic grave, dating from c. 4000 B.C., at Vedbaek in Denmark where the head and shoulders of an extended skeleton were found resting on two antlers (Albrethsen and Petersen 1977, fig.17). The head and chest of a female inhumation at Risby (RBY 001) were covered with a small cairn of natural flints (Martin 1976b, 48-9).

TABLE V. ATTITUDES OF BRONZE AGE SKELETONS IN EIGHT SUFFOLK BARROWS, WITH ADDITIONAL DATA FROM TWO BRONZE AGE GRAVES AT EXNING (EXG 027) AND FROM A CAMBRIDGESHIRE BARROW CLOSE TO THE SUFFOLK BORDER (see also the illustration on p.88)

Site	Adult males	Adult females	Youths	Children
Barnham BNH 004 (Edwardson 1957)		head to E, aged 20-30		
Barton Mills BTM 004 (Cawdor & Fox 1925)		on back, head to S, aged <u>c.</u> 33		
Eriswell ERL 036 (Dymond 1973)		on right side, head to SE, aged 25-30		
Flempton FMP 002 (Vatcher 1976)	a) on right side, head to W, aged 40-50 b) on left side, head to SE, aged 30-35	a) on right side, head to SW, aged 45-55	on left side, head to N, aged 18-20	on left side, head to NE, aged 7
Gazeley GAZ 001 (Petersen 1973)		on back, head to SW, aged 30-45		a) on right side, head to SSW, aged 8 b) on left side, head to SW, aged 8
Pakenham PKM 006 (Brown <i>et. al.</i> 1954)	on back, head to W			
Risby RBY 001 (Martin 1976b)		on right side, head to N, aged 40-45		
Risby RBY 004 (Greenwell 1869)	on left side, head to NW			
Exning EXG 027 (unpublished)	on back, head to N, aged 35-45	on right side, head to S, aged 35-45		a) on back, head to N, aged 9-10 b) on back, head to N, aged 7-8 c) head to N, aged 7-8
Chippenham, Cams. (Martin with Denston 1977)	a) on left side, head to NW, aged 30-35 b) on its knees, head to W, aged 18-20 c) on back, head to S, aged 18-20	a) on left side, head to N, aged 40-50 b) on left side, head to S, aged 25-30		

TABLE VI. AGE (IN YEARS) AND HEIGHT OF BRONZE AGE INDIVIDUALS FROM SIX SUFFOLK BARROWS, WITH ADDITIONAL DATA FROM TWO BRONZE AGE GRAVES AT EXNING, SUFFOLK (EXG 027), AND FROM TWO CAMBRIDGESHIRE BARROWS CLOSE TO THE SUFFOLK BORDER

Site	Adult males	Adult females	Youths	Children
Barnham BNH 004 (Edwardson 1957)		age: 20-30		
Barton Mills BTM 004 (Cawdor & Fox 1925)		age: <u>c.</u> 33 ht: 5 ft 1 in (1.55 m)		
Eriswell ERL 036 (Dymond 1973)		age: 20-30 ht: 5 ft 3½ in (1.61 m)		
Flempton FMP 002 (Vatcher 1976)	a) age: 40-50 ht: 5 ft 4½ in (1.64 m) b) age: 30-35	age: 45-55 ht: 5 ft 2¾ in (1.59 m)	age: 18-20	age: 7
Gazeley GAZ 001 (Petersen 1973)	age: <u>c.</u> 50	a) age: <u>c.</u> 50 ht: 5 ft 6 in (1.68 m) b) age: 30-45 ht: 5 ft 5 in (1.65 m)	age: 12-15	a) age: 8 b) age: 10-12 c) age: 6-12 months
Risby RBY 001 (Martin 1976b)		age: 40-45 ht: 5 ft 4½ in (1.64 m)		
Exning EXG 027 (unpublished)	age: 35-45 ht: 5 ft 7¼ in (1.71 m)	age: 35-45 ht: 4 ft 11½ in (1.51 m)		a) age: 9-10 b) age: 7-8 c) age: few weeks d) age: 7-8 e) age: <u>c.</u> 10 f) age: <u>c.</u> 11
Chippenham, Cambs. (Martin with Denston 1977)	a) age: 30-35 b) age: 18-20 ht: 5 ft 8¼ in (1.73 m) c) age: 18-20 ht: 5 ft 9¼ in (1.76 m)	a) age: 20-30 ht: 5 ft 5¼ in (1.66 m) b) age: 50+ ht: 5 ft 5 in (1.65 m) c) age: 40-50 ht: 5 ft 3 in (1.60 m) d) age: 25-30 ht: 5 ft 4½ in (1.64 m)		a) age: 9 months - 1 year b) age: few weeks c) age: 6-7
Snailwell, Cambs. (Martin with Denston 1977)	a) ht: 5 ft 7 in (1.70 m) b) ht: 5 ft 8 in (1.73 m) c) ht: 5 ft 8 in (1.73 m) d) ht: 5 ft 8¾ in (1.75 m)	a) ht: 5 ft 3½ in (1.61 m) b) ht: 5 ft 4½ in (1.64 m) c) ht: 5 ft 4½ in (1.64 m) d) ht: 5 ft 6 in (1.68 m)		



Beaker pottery and collared urns are widely found in Suffolk barrows, occurring together at Flempton (FMP 002; Vatcher 1976). Beaker sherds, possibly residual, were also found at Barnham (BNH 004; Edwardson 1957, and BNH 016; Caton 1914-5) and Eriswell (ERL 036; Dymond 1973) where collared urns were also found. Food vessels, however, are a minority type of pottery in the county, only occurring at Barnham (BNH 016; Caton 1914-5), Flempton (FMP 002; Vatcher 1976), Kentford (KTD 004; Martin 1975b); Mildenhall (MNL 001; Prigg 1874a) and Pakenham (PKM 006; Brown *et al.* 1954), all in West Suffolk. Food vessels occur in the same barrows at Beakers at Barnham (BNH 016), Barton Mills (BTM 004) and Flempton (FMP 002), and with collared urns at Barnham (BNH 016) and Flempton (FMP 002). All three types of pottery have been found at Barnham (BNH 016) and Flempton (FMP 002).

A Beaker accompanied an inhumation at Flempton (FMP 002; Vatcher 1976). Food vessels were found with inhumations at Flempton (FMP 002), Mildenhall (MNL 001), and probably at Kentford (KTD 004); a food vessel was associated with two collared urns, containing cremations, at Barnham (BNH 106) and another probably accompanied an unurned cremation at Pakenham (PKM 006). Collared urns containing inhumations are recorded from Barnham (BNH 106; Caton 1914-5), Chillesford (CHF 001), Eriswell (ERL 036; Dymond 1973), Gazeley (GAZ 001; Petersen 1973), Hadleigh (HAD 009; Corbishley 1974), Levington (LVT 025), Little Livermere (LML 002), and Risby (RBY 004; Greenwell 1869). An inverted collared urn in the same grave as an inhumation is recorded from Risby (RBY 001; Martin 1976b). Unaccompanied inhumations are known from Barton Mills (BTM 004), Eriswell (ERL 036), Flempton (FMP 002), Gazeley (GAZ 001), Kentford (KTD 003), Pakenham (PKM 006), Risby (RBY 001 and 004), West Stow (WSW 014) and Worlington (WGN 003). Unaccompanied cremations are recorded from Barton Mills (BTM 004), Flempton (FMP 002), Gazeley (GAZ 001), Levington (LVT 023), Little Livermere (LML 002), Martlesham (MRM 002), Risby (RBY 003), West Stow (WSW 002) and Worlington (WGN 003).

A 'Wessex Culture' connection is hinted at by the 'pygmy vessel' found with a female inhumation at Barnham (BNH 004; Edwardson 1957). Links with the jet producing areas of Yorkshire are suggested by the jet necklaces found at Flempton (FMP 002; Vatcher 1976) and Risby (RBY 001; Martin 1976b), though jet is also found around the East Anglian coast. Four bone beads, each with three perforations from Barton Mills (BTM 004; Cawdor and Fox 1925), appear to be copies of the spacer-plate jet beads of the type found at Flempton and Risby. An amber bead was found at Gazeley (GAZ 001; Petersen 1973).

A Middle Bronze Age link is provided by the Ardleigh-type urn fragments from the barrow ditch at Risby (RBY 001; Martin 1976b).

Complete Iron Age pots, unassociated with any known burial, were found at Risby (RBY 003; Hawkes 1940, 119 and fig. 14) and at Knodishall (KND 003; Hele 1863). Sherds of a sizeable fragment of an Iron Age pot were also found within the area of the mound at Levington (LVT 024). Iron Age sherds in barrow ditches are commonly found and are unremarkable; the complete pots, however, imply some sort of deliberate deposition.

Complete Romano-British pots, again without burials, are known from Flempton (FMP 002; Vatcher 1976). Secondary Romano-British cremation burials in Bronze Age barrows are known from Pakenham (PKM 006; Brown *et al.* 1954) and probably from Helmingham (HLM 005; Cardew 1865). A 'Romano-Saxon' pot was found with an inhumation at Icklingham (IKL 026; Fox 1923, 93, pl. XV). A Roman urn containing ashes, two coins and a piece of sword three inches long were found at Blaxhall, *c.* 1820 (BXL 001; Whites Directory of Suffolk 1844, 528). Roman barrows are known at Rougham (RGH 001, 002 A and B; Babington 1874): Eastlow Hill (RGH 001) contained a flint and tile chamber which housed an inhumation in a lead coffin; RGH 002 A and 002 B both con-

tained tiled chambers in which there were cremations in glass vessels. In addition, in view of their size, the large mounds at Culford (CUL 004), Norton (NRN 001) and Great Finborough (FNG 003) may also be Roman in date.

Anglo-Saxon secondary burials in Bronze Age barrows are known from Barnham (BNH 016; Caton 1914-5), Icklingham (IKL 026; V.C.H. 1911, 343), Mildenhall (MNL 001; Prigg 1874a; Prigg & Fenton 1888), Risby (RBY 001, 003, 005; Greenwell 1869; Edwardson 1959, Martin 1976b) and at Snape (SNP 007; Bruce-Mitford 1974). Anglo-Saxon barrows seem to be attested at Brightwell (BGL 017; Moir 1921), Redgrave (RGV 004; Warren 1866, 167-9, 272) and perhaps at Gisleham (GSE 003; Ellis 1848, 65n) and Rougham (RGH 002 C). The Rougham one was adjacent to the Roman barrows of the Eastlow group. In addition there are the Anglo-Saxon barrows at Snape (SNP 007), one of which contained a boat, and the royal barrows at Sutton Hoo (SUT 004-7), including the famous ship burial (Bruce-Mitford 1975, fig.35).

Thus the vast majority of barrows in Suffolk appear to be Bronze Age in date, with only a few Neolithic, Roman or Anglo-Saxon examples.

#### BARROW DISTRIBUTION

The present day distribution of standing round barrows corresponds, almost exactly, with those areas that are, or have been in the last two hundred years heaths, commons or sheep-walks (Hodskinson 1783). Thus the distribution of mounds is directly related to the areas that have not been extensively ploughed. To establish whether this is a true distribution pattern for barrows in Suffolk one has to take into account those destroyed barrows that show as ring-ditches, to see if they follow the same distribution pattern as the mounds, or whether they diverge from it.

Although ring-ditches do indicate some destroyed barrows they do not give a complete record of the vanished barrows. The ring-ditches are only visible as crop or soil-marks and, therefore, will only be seen when geological, vegetational and climatic considerations are favourable for the production of marks (Jones and Evans 1975). In addition, ditchless barrows which leave no trace when destroyed, do exist. However, with the above limitations in mind, it is likely that the combined distributions of mounds and ring-ditches do give us an approximate distribution pattern of barrows in Suffolk.

The distribution map (Fig.25) shows four main concentrations of barrows (mounds and ring-ditches combined) in Suffolk: a) The Breckland of west Suffolk; b) the Sandlings of east Suffolk; c) the Stour, Box, Brett and Glem Valleys of southern Suffolk; and d) the Gipping Valley of central Suffolk.

In the Breckland both mounds and ring-ditches are present, lying almost exclusively on the brown sand soils which overlie chalky glacial deposits (Fig.26), with the exception of ten, possibly eleven, ring-ditches on or near peat soil in a low-lying position, close to the Little Ouse River in Brandon. The majority of the barrows are situated between the 100 ft (31 m) and the 200 ft (62 m) contours, though quite a number are under 100 ft. The paucity of ring-ditches in the central area of the Breckland may partially be accounted for by the presence in those areas of the large air-bases at Mildenhall, Lakenheath and Honington, and the consequent difficulties of access for aerial photography and also by the widespread occurrence of heath and forest cover to the north of the River Lark; all of which factors militate against the easy recognition of ring-ditches.

Mounds and ring-ditches are again present in the Sandlings, corresponding with the brown sand soils on fluvio-glacial deposits or Mesozoic sands, and the stagnogley soils on fluvio-glacial deposits. The largest concentration of barrows is in the Felixstowe peninsula, with a scattering of others along the East Coast to Great Yarmouth, with

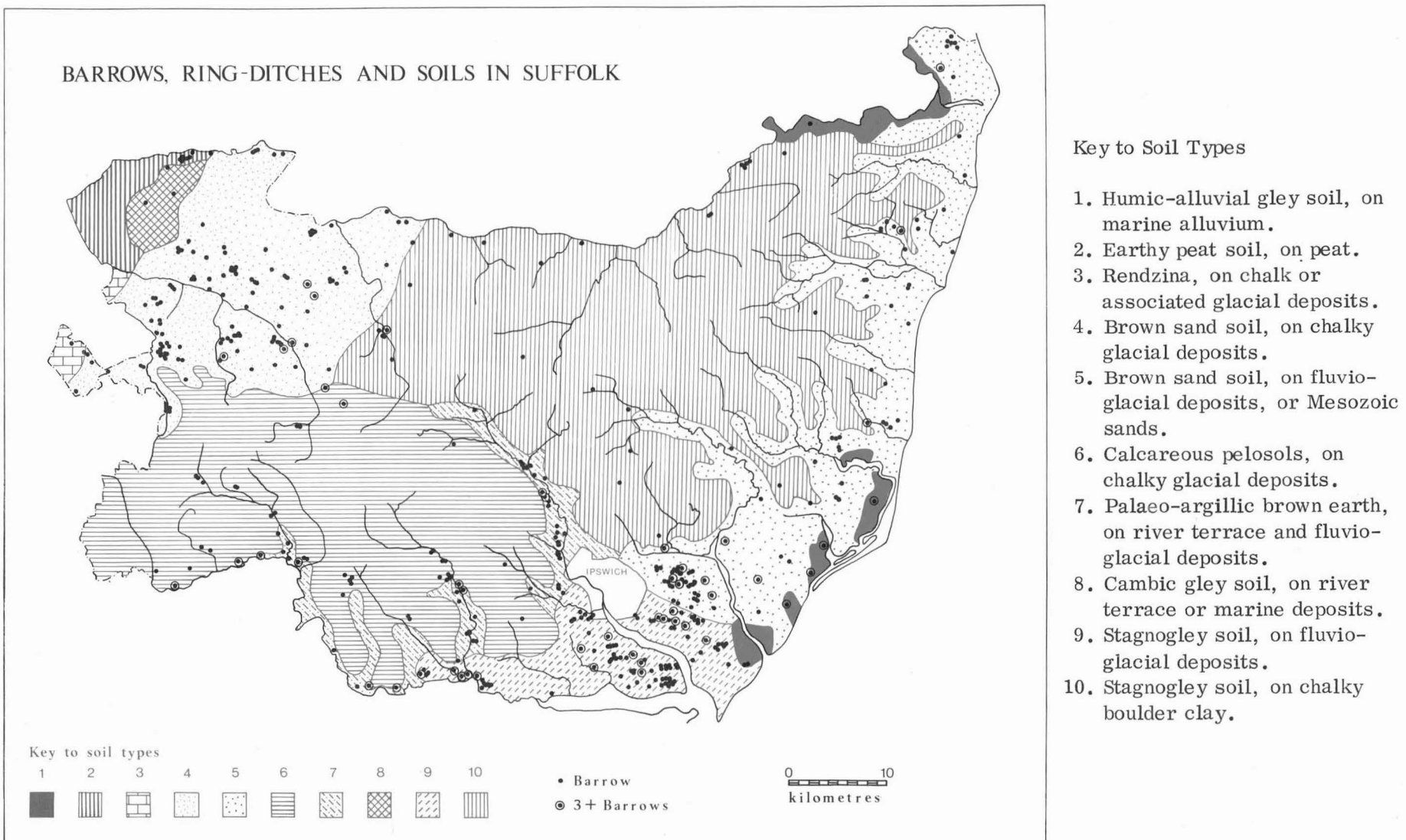


Fig.26. Distribution of barrows and ring-ditches related to soils in Suffolk. Scale 1:600,000. (After soil map in Washbourne 1976 - after Soil Map of England and Wales 1:1,000,000 by Avery, Findlay and Mackney 1975, Soil Survey of England and Wales).

minor groupings around Snape, Uggeshall and in Lothingland. Most of the barrows are situated at under 100 ft O.D.. The concentration of cropmark sites in the southern Sandlings may, in part, be due to the fact that this is an area of high soil moisture deficits (Sturdy and Eldridge 1976), a factor which is very favourable for the production of cropmarks. The stagnogley soil of the Felixstowe peninsula is largely a product of the loess deposits of that area. The loess deposits are liable to structural breakdown which can cause surface waterlogging in otherwise well-drained soils (Catt 1978); as the loess deposits are seldom more than 1 m thick in Suffolk, any cuts made through the loess might affect the drainage and could have an effect on the production of cropmarks.

In the Stour and associated valleys the barrows are situated on stagnogley soils overlying fluvio-glacial deposits, and on palaeo-argillic brown earths on river terrace and fluvio-glacial deposits. With the exception of three mounds in the upper reaches of the Stour and Glem, all the sites in this area are ring-ditches. These are densely concentrated in the Shotley peninsula and in the river valleys. Those in the Stour Valley show a break in the area of the town of Sudbury and then continue up-stream as far as Kedington. The ring-ditches are mainly sited at under 100 ft O.D., except in the Stour Valley, from Long Melford up-stream, and in the Box Valley where they are sited between 100 and 200 ft O.D.. The concentration of sites in the Shotley peninsula, as in the neighbouring Felixstowe peninsula, is probably, in part, due to the area having high soil moisture deficits and also to the presence of loess deposits (the latter continuing up-stream as far as Stoke by Nayland), factors which enhance the production of cropmarks.

The Gipping Valley is again an area of ring-ditches, all situated on palaeo-argillic brown earths on river terrace and fluvio-glacial deposits, and all sited at under 100 ft O.D..

The major fact to be observed from the above is that the barrows are nearly all sited on areas of relatively light soil, the areas with heavy clay soils are virtually empty, except for straggling barrows following the lighter soil overlying gravels in the river valleys. That it was the light soils that were being followed rather than the waterways is made clear by the fact that in the Breckland and the Sandlings, where the light soils are extensive, the barrows are not closely clustered around the rivers, it is only in the Gipping and Stour valleys, where the light soils are confined to the valleys themselves, that the barrows are tightly grouped about the rivers. The major exception to this rule are the Roman barrows at Rougham (RGH 001-2) and the two possible Roman barrows at Norton and Great Finborough (NRN 001 and FNG 003), which are situated in clay soil areas. Of the possible Roman barrows, only that at Culford (CUL 004) is on light soil. This suggests that the discernable pattern is basically a Bronze Age one.

Thus although mounds are now mostly restricted to the brown sand soils of the Breckland and the Sandlings, the ring-ditch evidence demonstrates that barrows were once more widely distributed on other light soils, but have been destroyed because the soils on which they stand were agriculturally more productive than the brown sand soils. The date at which these barrows were destroyed is difficult to ascertain, many may have been levelled as early as the Iron Age, others however survived to affect a possible Roman road (Fig.31E, Barking 005) and recently existing land boundaries (Fig.31A, Stoke by Nayland SBN 009).

The overall distribution of barrows and ring-ditches in Suffolk gives the impression of two major groups: one in the north-west (the Breckland) and the other in the south and east (the Sandlings and the Stour and Gipping Valleys), with the boulder clay area of central Suffolk forming an empty corridor between them. This east to west division can also be seen to a certain extent, in cultural matters, principally the virtual absence of Bronze Age inhumation burials and Food Vessels in the south-east and their presence in the north-west (though there is a stray find of some Food Vessel sherds

from Dales Road, Ipswich (Smedley and Owles 1963, 355-6)) and there are records of some non-barrow inhumation burials, accompanied by Beakers, from Brantham (BNT 004, near but apparently unconnected with a ring-ditch; Gilmour 1974, 119), Felixstowe (FEX 008 and 009) and Wherstead (WHR 002)). This divide can also be seen on a larger scale in the general distribution of barrows in East Anglia (Fig. 1), where the tightly clustered barrows of the south-east contrast with the looser concentrations in the north-west. The most likely explanation for this division is that the boulder clay areas were probably extensively and thickly wooded, thus providing a barrier between the two areas and limiting communication.

#### BARROW SITING

Four different areas were chosen in order to study the siting of barrows more closely - a) the Breckland, b) the Felixstowe peninsula, c) the Shotley peninsula, d) the Box/Brett/Stour valleys.

In the four sample areas (Figs. 27-9) barrows occur in the following proportions, relative to height above Ordnance Datum:-

	Breckland	Felixstowe	Shotley	Box/Brett/Stour
0.15 m 0.50 ft	6 = 5.2%	4 = 3.3%	1 = 2.4%	40 = 42.6%
15-30 m 50-100 ft	34 = 29.3%	108 = 87.8%	32 = 76.2%	41 = 43.6%
30-46 m 100-150 ft	45 = 38.8%	11 = 8.9%	9 = 21.4%	3 = 3.2%
46-61 m 150-200 ft	29 = 25.0%	0	0	8 = 8.5%
61-76 m 200-250 ft	2 = 1.7%	0	0	2 = 2.1%
	<u>116</u>	<u>123</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>94</u>

From the above it can be seen that, except for the Felixstowe and Shotley peninsulas, the regions differ as to the height at which most barrows occur. This difference seems to be linked to the occurrence of light soils and, to a lesser extent, to reasonable proximity to a water supply. In the Breckland, where the light soils are widespread, the limiting factor seems to be the absence of water on the high parts of the Breck and the change to heavier clay soils as the land rises to the south of the area. In this area the barrows appear to be sited within 3 km of a stream or river. In the Shotley and Felixstowe peninsulas the limiting factor for barrows seems, once again, to be the light soils, the change to heavier clay soils to the north of the region coincides with the cessation of the barrows. In this area barrows appear to be sited within 1 km of a stream or river. In the Box/Brett/Stour Valleys the light soils are confined to the valleys themselves and therefore the barrows also occur in the valleys.

The light soil areas embrace two types of agricultural land. On the one hand there are the river terraces where there would have been sufficient water for arable farming, on the other hand, however, there are areas like the slopes and uplands of the Breckland, where there was probably a summer soil moisture deficit, which would only have been suitable for pastoral farming. This theory is supported by environmental evidence from a barrow at Risby (RBY 001), situated on a slope site in the Breckland, which indicates that the barrow was built in an open grassland environment (Murphy 1978). The limiting factor in the utilisation of the higher ground would have been the distance from a suitable watering spot for the animals.

Many barrows in the Breckland and in the Felixstowe and Shotley peninsulas are situated on slope or high-ground sites, suggesting that they were sited on pastoral lands, a supposition which is supported by the fact that many of the barrows in the Breckland and in the Felixstowe peninsula lie on land that was used for sheep-walks in the last century.





Fig.27. Barrows, ring-ditches and selected cropmarks in the Breckland of Suffolk. Scale 1:100,000.

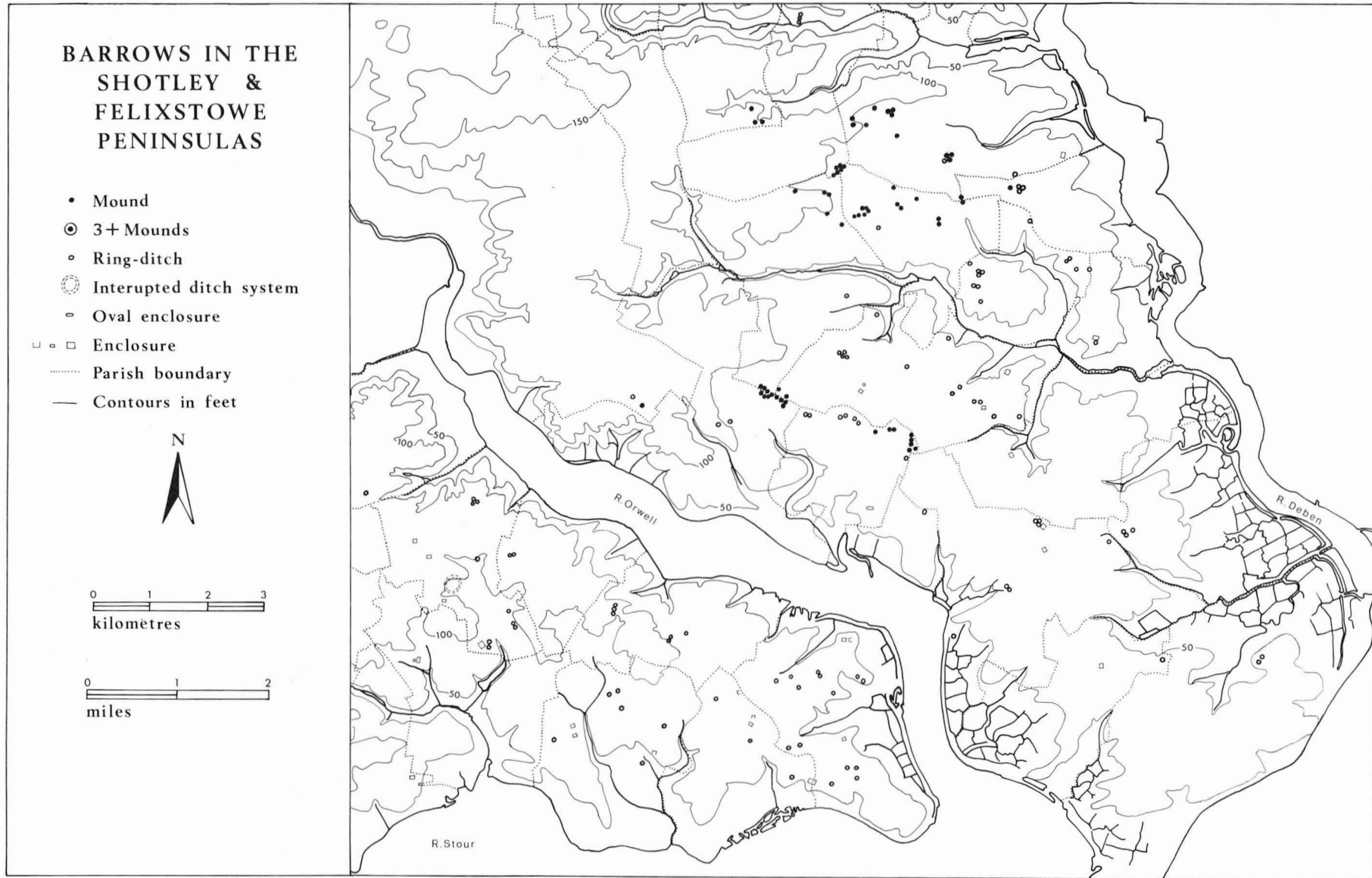


Fig.28. Barrows, ring-ditches and selected cropmarks in the Shotley and Felixstowe Peninsulas, Suffolk. Scale 1:100,000.

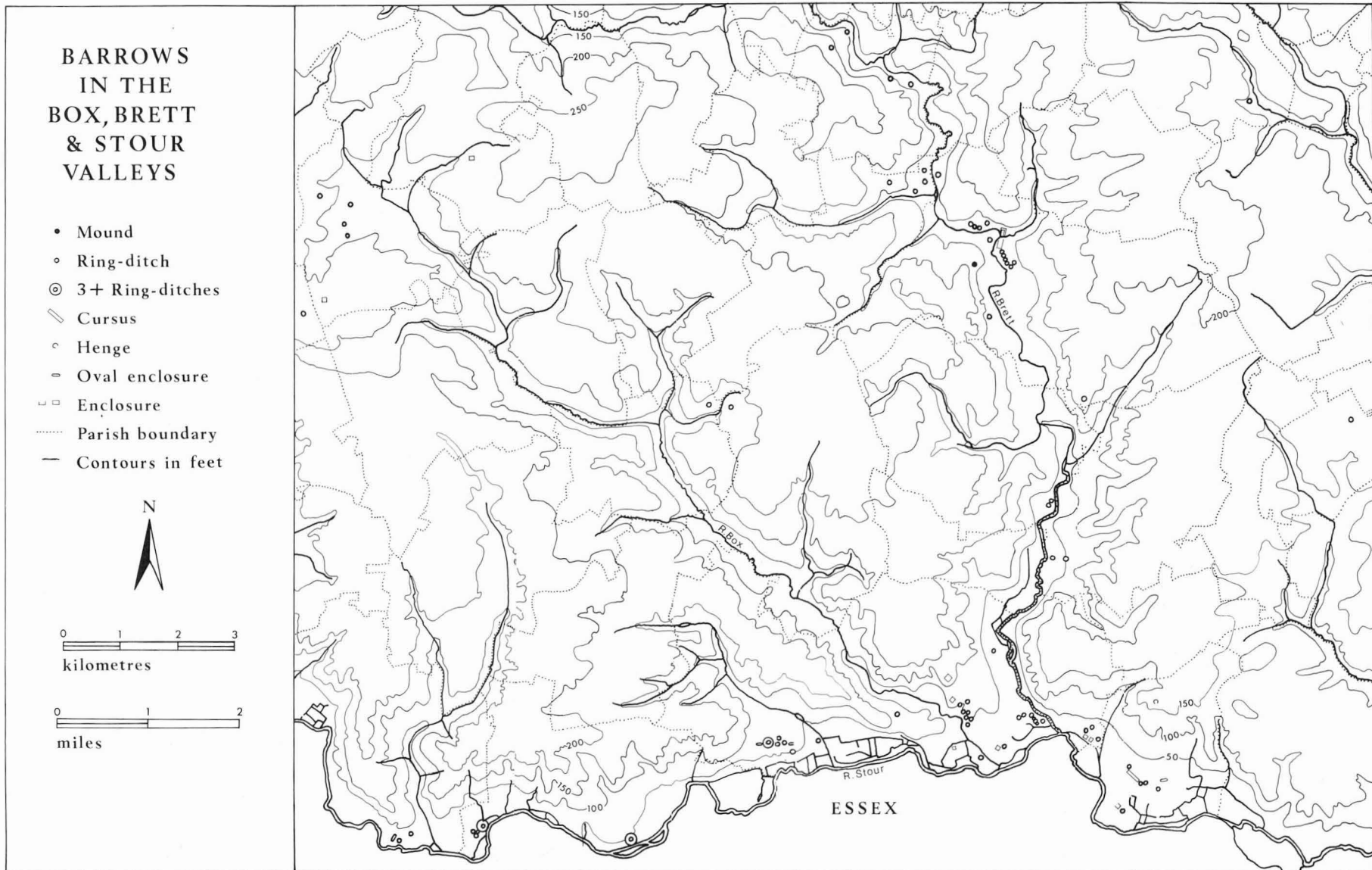


Fig. 29. Barrows, ring-ditches and selected cropmarks in the Box, Brett and Stour Valleys, Suffolk. Scale 1:100,000.

In the Felixstowe and Shotley peninsulas and in the Stour Valley cropmarks of rectangular enclosures (? for stock), of unknown date (but probably Bronze Age or Iron Age), occur in the area of the barrows, sometimes in close proximity to them (Figs.31-3). In Martlesham a Beaker domestic site (MRM 002; Clarke 1970, II, 408) lies about 200 m from a group of barrows and about 1 km from a barrow which is known to have produced Beaker pottery (MRM 017; Martin 1975a). Also in Martlesham, excavations on a barrow site (MRM 011) have produced results which seem to indicate that the barrow was, perhaps, actually built over a Beaker domestic site (Martin 1976a, 40).

Not all Bronze Age settlements, however, occur near barrows. The area around West Row in Mildenhall, which lies on the edge of the Fens, is very rich in Bronze Age domestic remains, but there are no known barrows in the vicinity: the nearest being over 6 km away to the south and east, on higher ground. The Bronze Age occupation of the Fen edge seems to be related to a series of sandy ridges surrounding circular or elongated hollows filled with peat. In the Bronze Age the ridges supported woodland and alder carr flourished in the hollows, both, however, were locally cleared. The inhabitants of those clearings did possess cattle, sheep and pigs as well as barley and wheat, but as yet there is no firm evidence as to whether the cereals were actually grown out in the Fens or not (Murphy 1980, 33-9; Martin in prep.). There is, however, a strong possibility that the occupation of the Fens may have been seasonal.

Andrew Fleming (1971, 163) has suggested that the barrows of Wessex were built on the distinct summer or autumn grazing grounds of pastoralists. In Suffolk, it seems more likely that the arable lands on the river terraces and the pastoral lands on the slopes were part of one economic system, and that the barrows were placed on the edges of the arable or on the neighbouring pastoral land, where they would have been least inconvenient. In the one area where a special summer grazing ground could be postulated, the Fens, there are no known barrows. The barrows seem, therefore, to have been built in the same general areas as the permanent settlements.

The ritual monuments of the Neolithic and Bronze Age in Suffolk appear to have affected barrow distribution patterns in differing ways. The interrupted-ditch systems at Fornham All Saints (FAS 002), Freston (FRT 005) and Kedington (KDG 006) do not appear to have acted as foci for barrow groups (Figs.27-8). The cursus monuments at Fornham All Saints (FAS 004) and Stratford St.Mary (SSM 003) do, however, seem to have acted as minor foci (Figs.27 and 32), with the main concentrations at the ends of the cursuses. At both Stratford St.Mary and Fornham All Saints several of the ring-ditches are unusual in size and shape, some being causewayed or 'hengiform', e.g. FAS 005c and SSM 004. This grouping of barrows around cursuses, especially at the ends, can also be seen in the case of the Stonehenge Cursus in Wiltshire (Ashbee 1960, fig.6), where the cursus appears to have attracted more barrows than Stonehenge itself. The 'henge' at Stratford St.Mary (SSM 011) is now thought to be a medieval mill-mound (Martin, forthcoming).

Barrows occur in groups or cemeteries in several places (Figs.30-5). In form the cemeteries can be linear, nuclear or a hybrid of the two. The number of barrows in any one group is usually under ten, though the following large groups are recorded:

Stoke by Nayland (Stour Valley; Fig.31D)	11
Hadleigh (Brett Valley; Fig.31F)	11
Nayland with Wissington (Stour Valley; Fig.31C)	13
Barking/Baylham (Gipping Valley; Fig.31E)	14
'Seven Hills', Bucklesham/Foxhall/Nacton (Felixstowe peninsula; Fig.33)	14
Sutton Mounts, Sutton ('Sutton Hoo'; SUT 004-019; Fig.35)	16

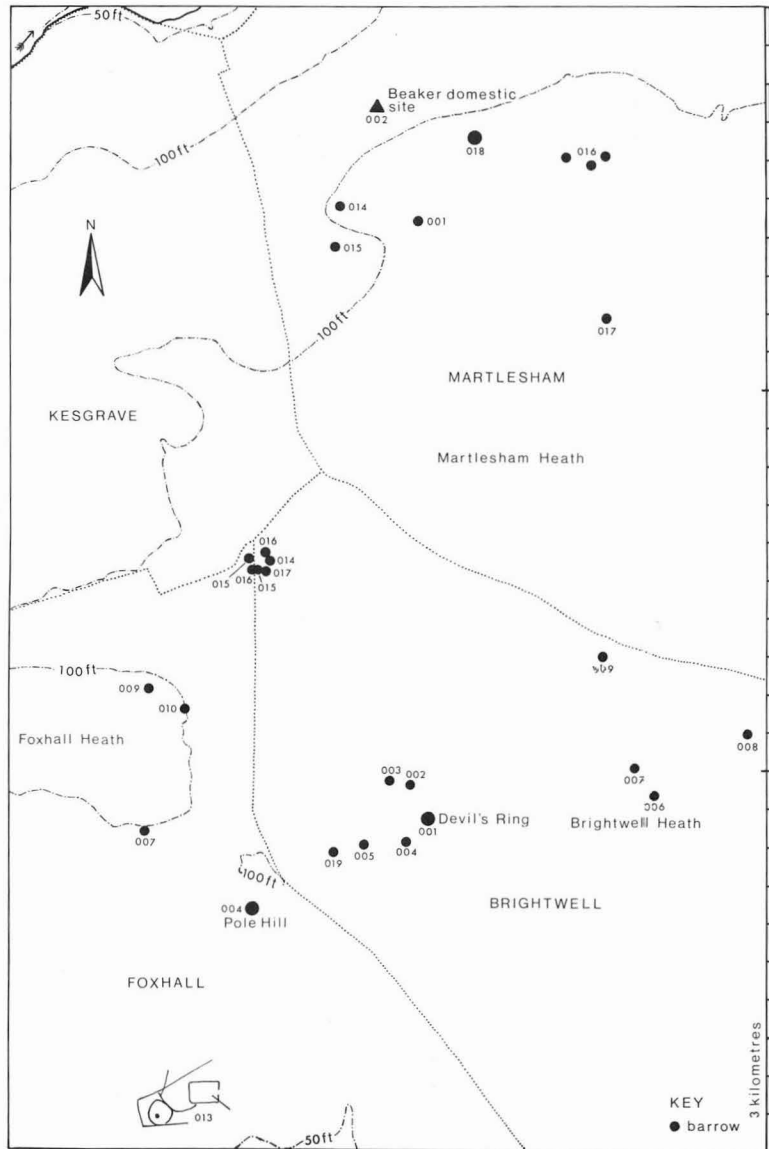


Fig.30. Barrow groups in the Brightwell/Martlesham area (Felixstowe peninsula), Suffolk. Scale 1:20,000.

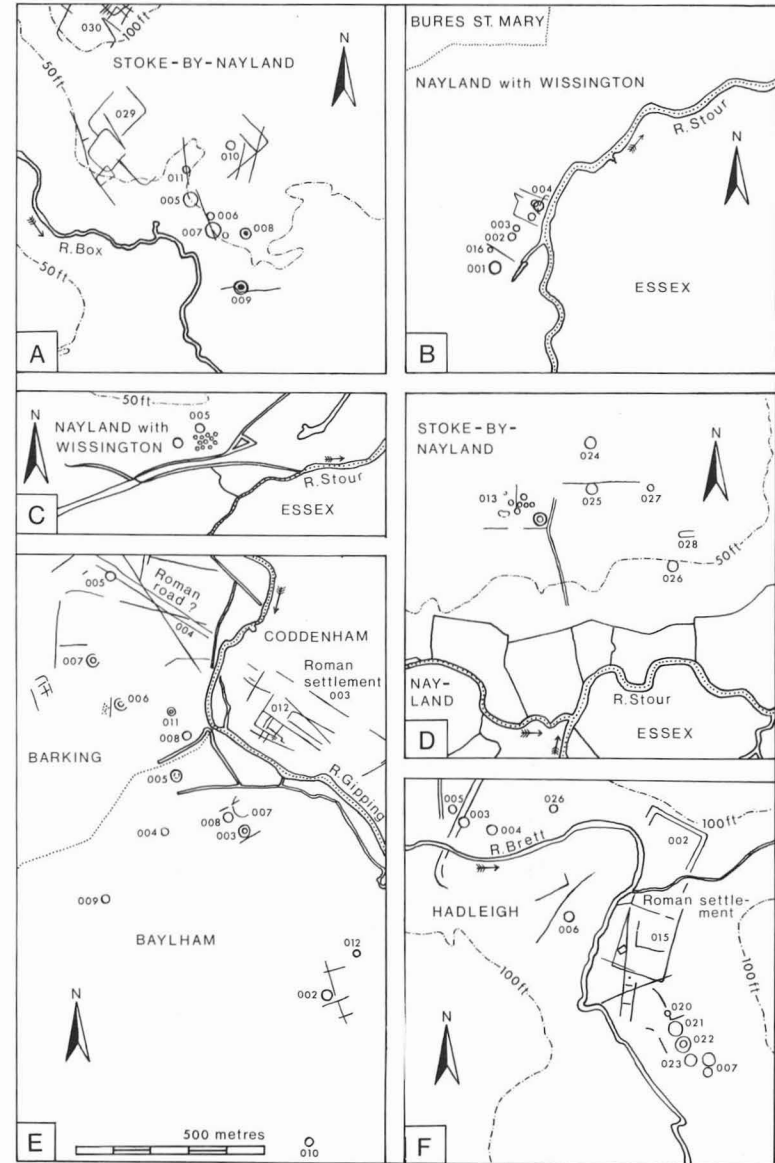


Fig.31. Ring-ditch groups in the Box, Brett, Gipping and Stour Valleys, Suffolk. Scale 1:20,000.



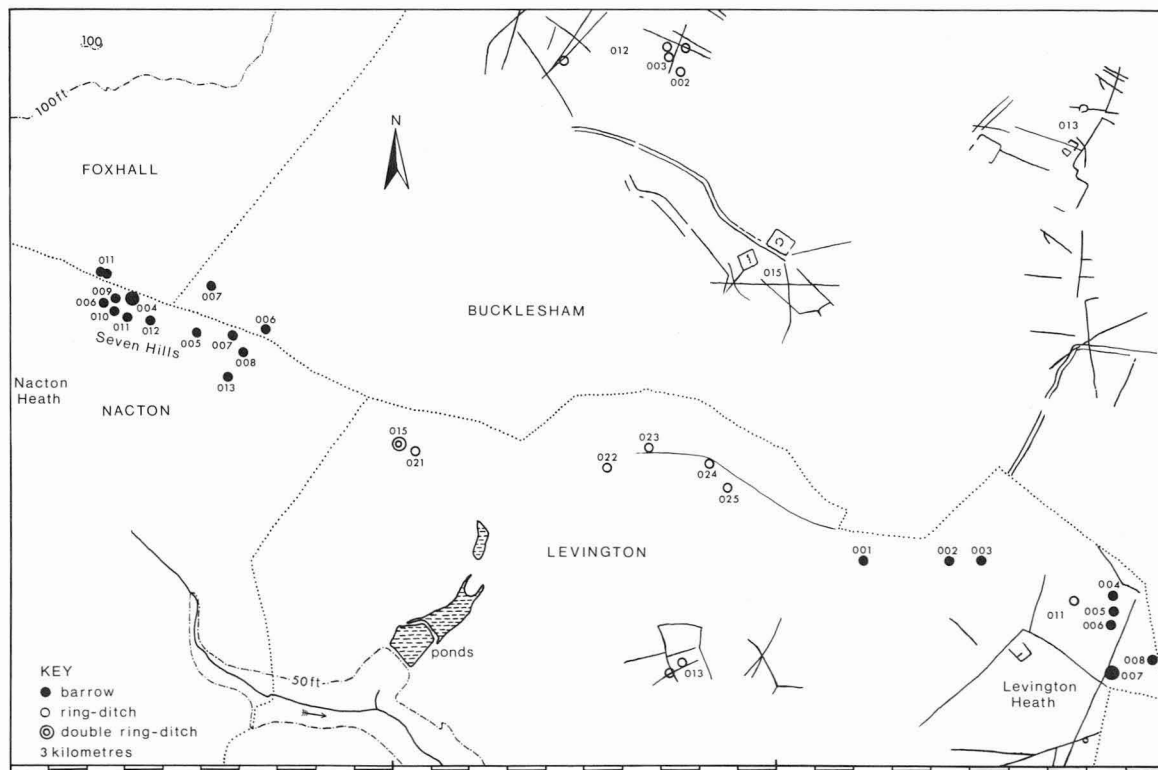


Fig.32. Ring-ditches and other cropmarks in the Higham/Stratford St.Mary area (Stour Valley), Suffolk. Scale 1:20,000.

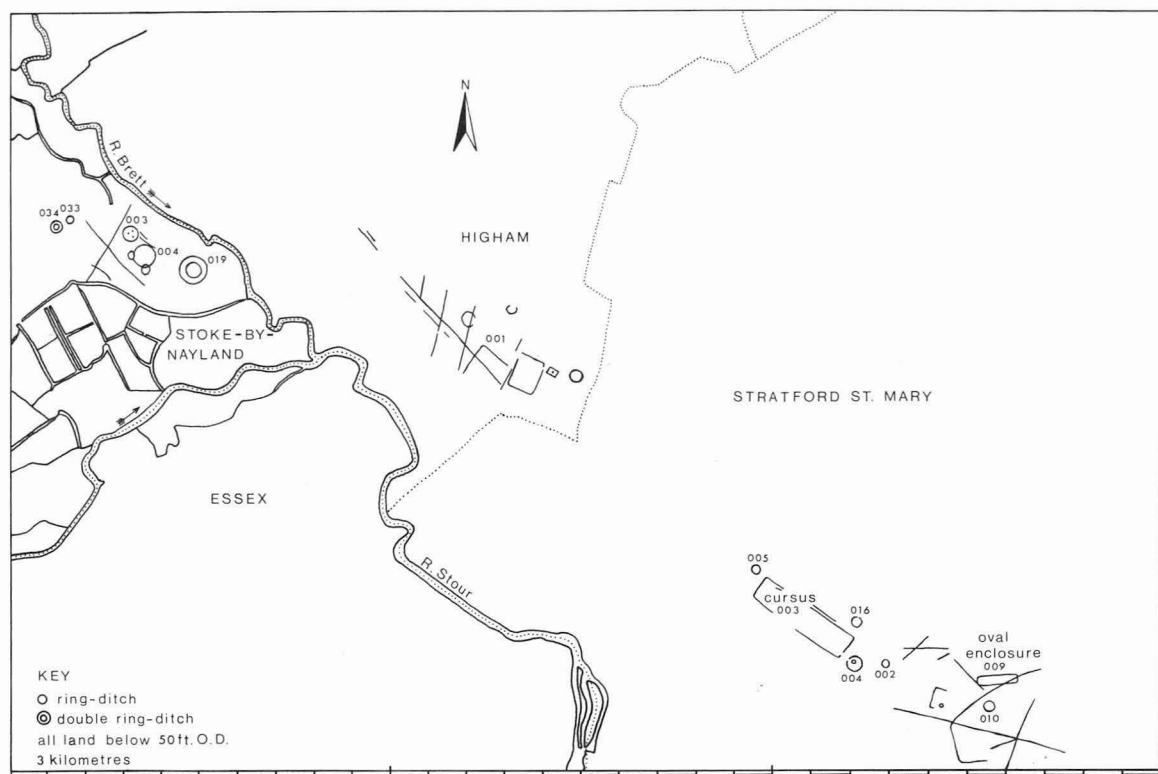


Fig.33. Barrow groups and other cropmarks in the Nacton/Levington area (Felixstowe Peninsula), Suffolk. Scale 1:20,000.

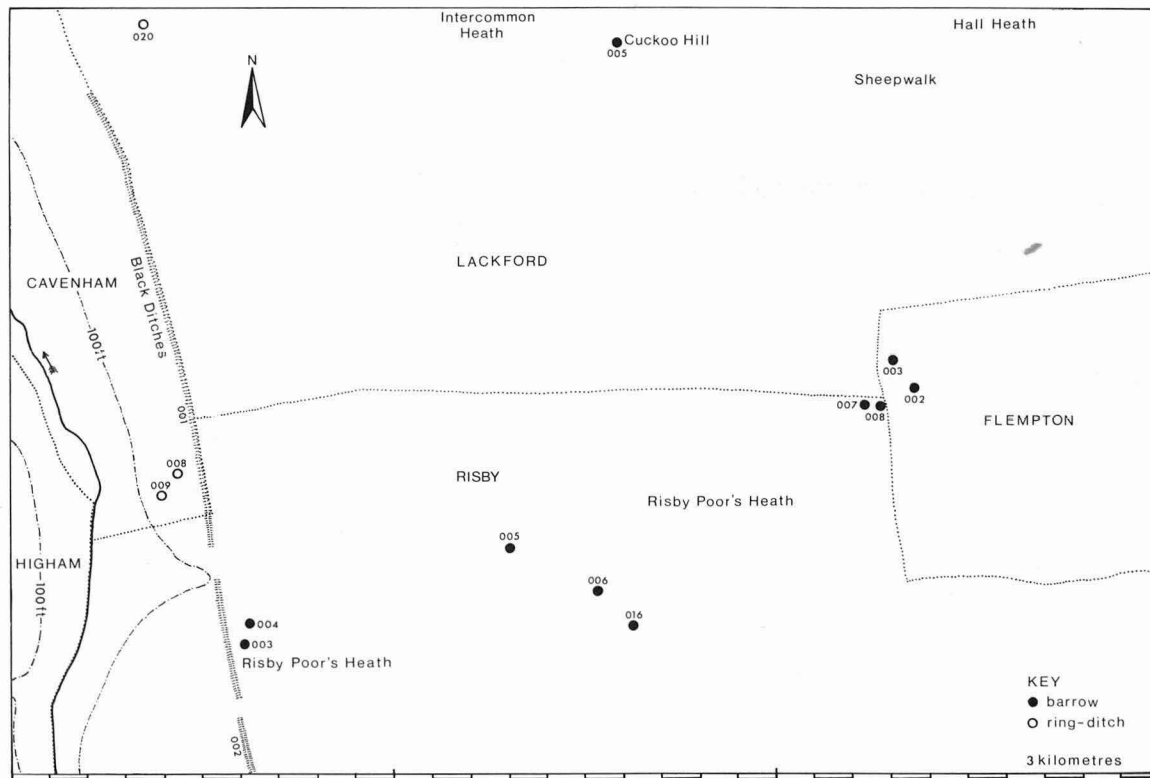


Fig.34. Barrow groups and ring-ditches in the Risby/Lackford area (Breckland), Suffolk. Scale 1:20,000.

The penultimate group is of especial interest because it consists of standing barrows, whilst the other groups, with the exception of Sutton Mounts, are composed of ring-ditches. Also the same group could be extended by including some neighbouring ring-ditches and barrows to make a linear group of twenty-nine, a group which, interestingly, seems to lie along parish boundaries.

Recent work in Wessex has suggested that in some cases parish boundaries are probably pre-Roman in date (Bonney 1972) and some embody linear ditch systems which may date back as far as the Middle Bronze Age (Bowen 1978). In view of the alignment of the large group of barrows referred to above along the parish boundaries of Bucklesham, Foxhall, Levington and Nacton, an attempt was made, in the four study areas, to quantify the number of barrows that occurred within approximately 100 metres of a parish boundary:- 27

	Breckland	Felixstowe	Shotley	Box/Brett/Stour
Within 100 m	37 = 32%	55 = 45%	3 = 7%	22 = 23%
More than 100 m	<u>79</u> = 68%	<u>68</u> = 55%	<u>39</u> = 93%	<u>72</u> = 77%
	116	123	42	94

From the above it can be seen that there is quite a considerable correlation between barrows and parish boundaries in the Felixstowe peninsula and, to a lesser extent, in the Breckland. In the Shotley peninsula and the Brett/Box/Stour valleys, however, there is very little correspondence between the two (the figure for the Box/Brett/Stour valleys is probably as high as it is due to the fact that in that area the barrows occur near the rivers which are also used as parish boundaries).

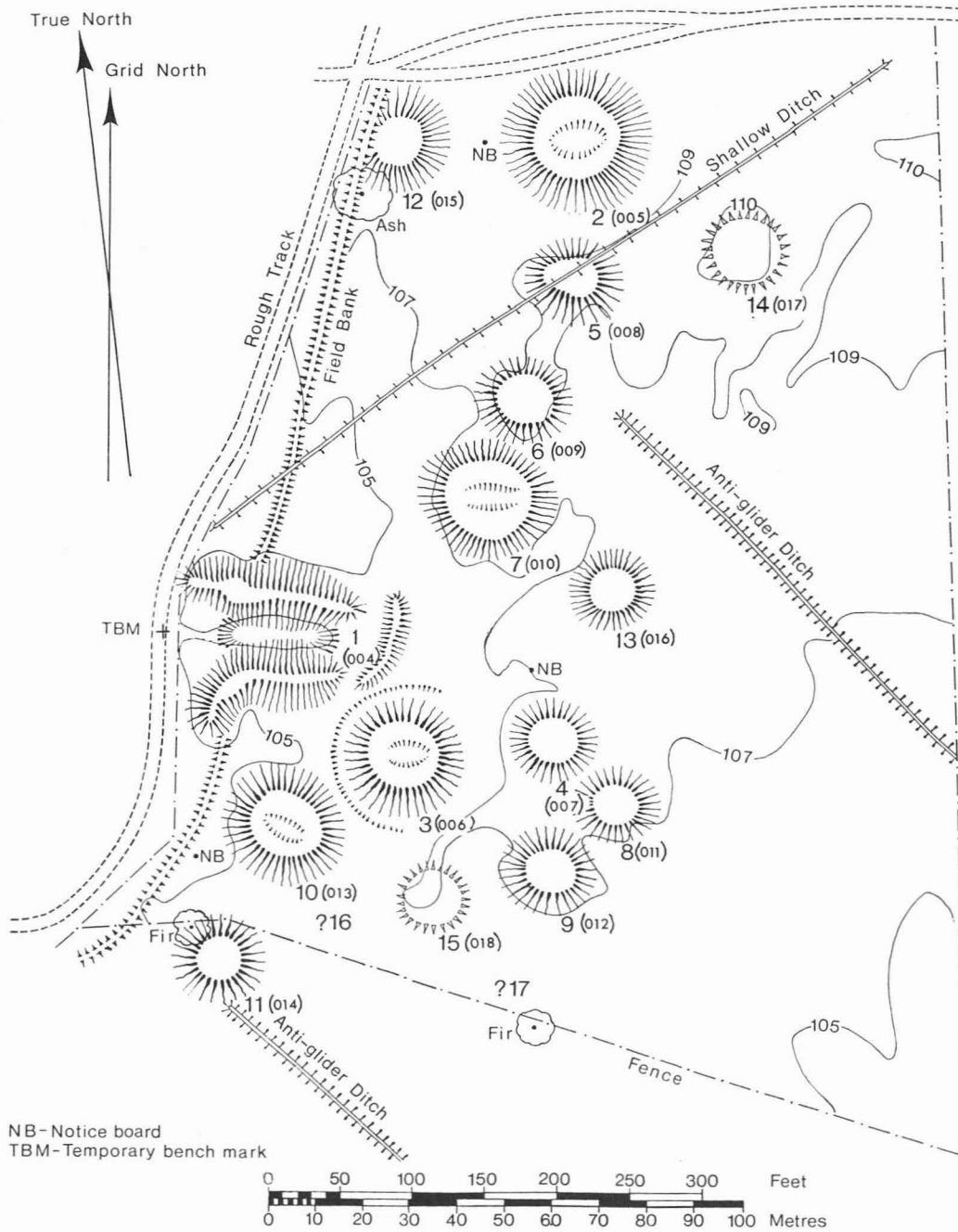


Fig.35. Barrow group at Sutton Hoo, Sutton, Suffolk based on surveys carried out in 1965 and 1966. Scale 1:1500. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The subject of barrows and boundaries in Suffolk is complicated to an unknown extent by the medieval boundary markers known as dools or doles (p.27). Until a dool is unmistakably identified it is uncertain to what extent they resembled barrows in shape and size. Dools are present in the Breckland, but their presence elsewhere in the county is, as yet, unestablished.

Circular arguments can arise as to which came first, the barrows or the boundaries. The strong correlation of barrows and boundaries in the Felixstowe peninsula, however, needs to be explained (especially as it is not limited to standing barrows or to parish boundaries which lie on obvious natural features such as rivers), as does the definite non-correlation of the two in the nearby Shotley peninsula.

The most likely explanation is probably connected with the soils of the various regions. The two areas of high correspondence, the Felixstowe peninsula and the Breckland, are both areas which, until the last century, supported extensive heathlands and therefore were areas of poor soils. The two areas of low correspondence, the Shotley peninsula and the Box/Brett/Stour Valleys, however, were not areas of extensive heathlands but have remained agricultural land. The possibility, therefore, exists that because the Felixstowe peninsula and the Breckland were largely heathland, land boundaries became fossilised at an early period and did not undergo the changes that the agriculturally more productive regions might have experienced<sup>28</sup>. It is therefore a possibility that where barrows appear to follow a parish boundary, that boundary in general terms may have its origins in the Bronze Age. As barrows seem to occur in the vicinity of Bronze Age settlements, it is a possibility that some, at least, of these settlements or the agricultural units associated with them, had distinct boundaries and that the barrows were placed along them. The idea of a Bronze Age landscape which was carefully divided up and provided with complex land boundaries has gained much support in recent years by the work of A. Fleming on Dartmoor (Fleming 1978) and that of F. Pryor at Fen- gate, Cambs. (Pryor 1976).

Correlation between Early Saxon burials and boundaries is known (Bonney 1972, 171), and it is therefore of interest to list the Roman and/or Anglo-Saxon barrows or secondary burials in earlier barrows, and their proximity to a parish boundary:-

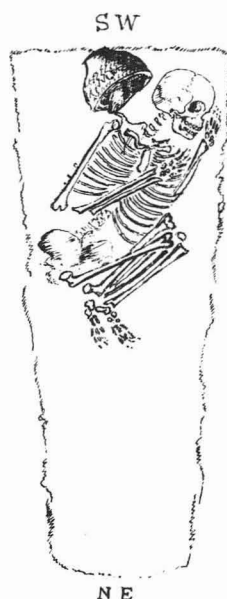
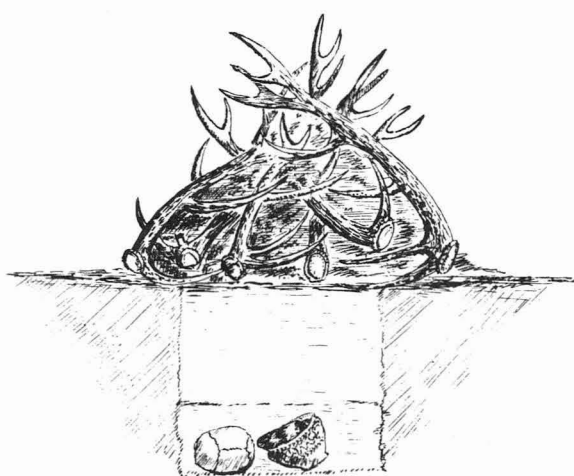
Roman:	Flempton (FMP 002)	- ? secondary burials	80 m	from a boundary
	Icklingham (IKL 026)	- secondary burials	300 m	" "
	Pakenham (PKM 006)	- secondary burials	300 m	" "
	Rougham (RGH 001 and 002)	- Roman barrows	20 m	" "
Anglo-Saxon:	Barnham (BNH 016)	- secondary burials	170 m	" "
	Brightwell (BGL 017)	- Saxon barrow	10 m	" "
	Gisleham (GSE 003)	- ?? Saxon barrow	80 m	" "
	Icklingham (IKL 026)	- secondary burials	300 m	" "
	Mildenhall (MNL 001)	- secondary burials	150 m	" "
	Redgrave (RGV 004)	- ? Saxon barrow	600 m	" "
	Risby (RBY 001)	- secondary burials	on a boundary	
	Risby (RBY 003)	- secondary burials	400 m	from a boundary
	Risby (RBY 005)	- secondary burials	400 m	" "
	Rougham (RGH 002C)	- ?? Saxon barrow	20 m	" "
	Snape (SNP 007)	- Saxon barrows and secondary burials	650 m	" "
	Sutton (SUT 004-019)	- Saxon barrows,	400 m	" "
		Sutton Hoo		

Of these fifteen cases (IKL 026 occurs twice), six (40%) are within 100 m of a boundary; ten (67%) are within 300 m of a boundary, and none are more than 650 m (0.4 mile) from a boundary. This seems to suggest that in these later periods there was a slight tendency to site or use barrows located on or near boundaries.

The question of prominent siting is difficult to assess as many barrows are now situated in wooded or otherwise obscured areas, where it is often impossible to appreciate the setting of the barrows. The East Anglian landscape, however, is not one of dramatic rises and slopes, so that although many barrows are situated on high ground, the slope is often very gentle and sometimes imperceptible, with the result that impressive sitings are rare. Commonly, advantage is taken of localised rises in the ground, but not necessarily the highest ground in the vicinity, for example a ring-ditch at Wherstead (WHR 008). One suspects that this was done in order to make the barrow look bigger without too much work. Examples of dramatic sitings can, of course, be found, e.g. Beacon

Hill (BTM 004) in Barton Mills and Risby (RBY 001); the latter being 'false-crested', suggesting that it was meant to be seen from the valley below, in addition the mound appears to have had a chalk casing (Martin 1976b), which would have made it even more impressive. Some ring-ditch groups are, however, in very low lying positions near rivers, for example the one at Cavendish (CAV 006).

Thus, in conclusion, the siting of any individual barrow is likely to be a combination of the factors that have been discussed above. Differences in date may also be a factor influencing distribution patterns, as has been suggested in the case of the Roman barrows, but as yet not enough reliable dates are known to enable detailed deductions to be made.



Grave of a woman beneath red deer antlers at Mildenhall, S.  
(Prigg 1874a, 289)



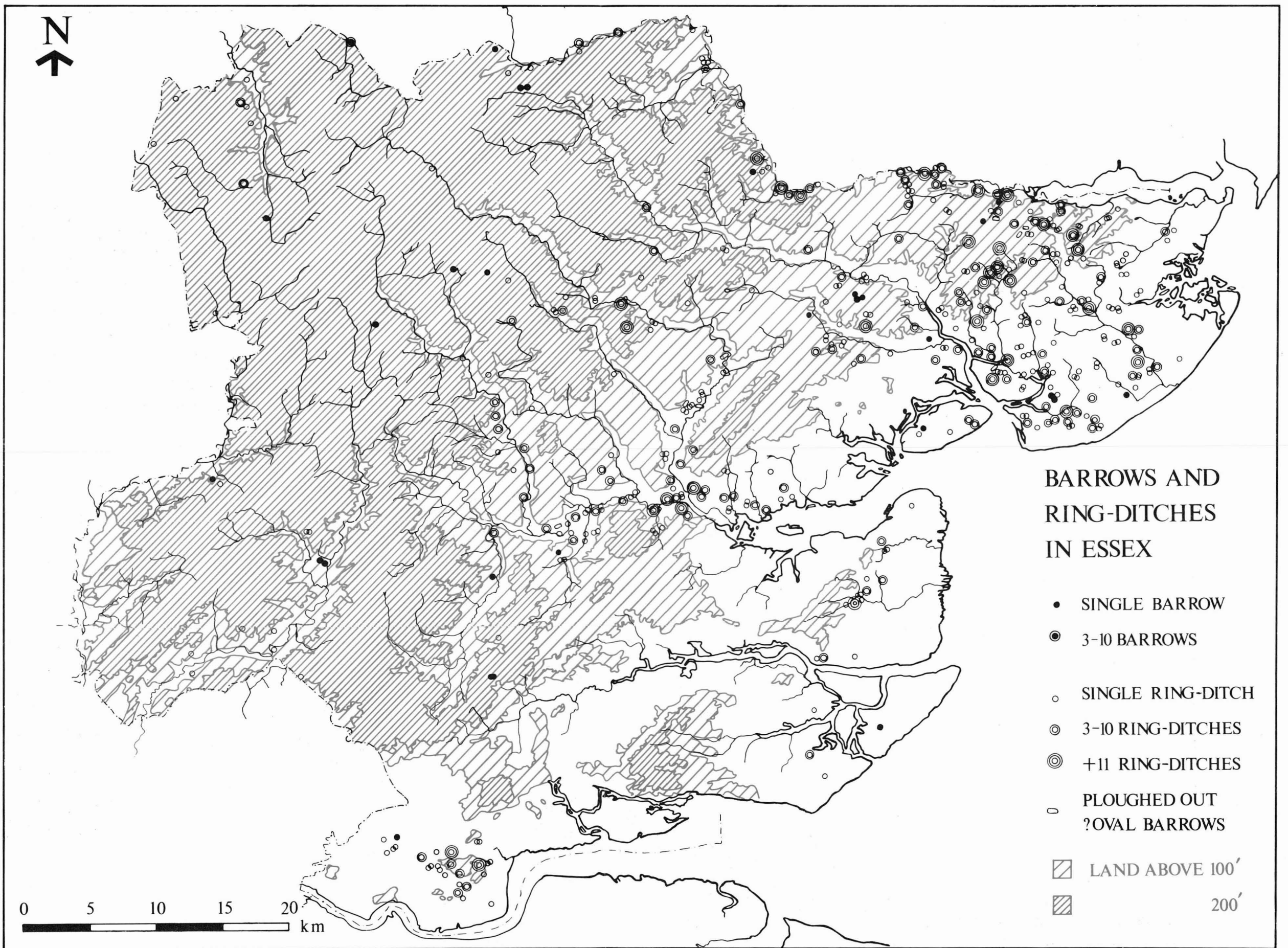


Fig.36. Distribution of barrows and ring-ditches related to topography in Essex.  
Scale 1:300,000.

# V. The Barrows of Essex

by Deborah Priddy

## PURPOSE AND METHOD OF SURVEY

The Essex survey was initiated in early 1979 to assess the evidence for the tradition of barrow construction in the county, and in order to complement the Norfolk and Suffolk surveys in producing a more complete regional study. Little work has been done on Essex barrows in the past and only twenty-seven mounds remain. However, aerial photography of cropmark features has revealed numerous ring-ditches of which over 1500 may be interpreted as ploughed-out round barrows.

The gazetteer is based upon information contained in the Sites and Monuments Record maintained by Essex County Council Planning Department, Archaeology Section, and is available for consultation at the discretion of the County Archaeological Officer. This comprises data from maps, drawings, photographs, documents, articles and other published material, together with descriptions of chance finds, field observations and excavation accounts. In addition there is a large and expanding collection of aerial photographs, presently numbering around 5000. Photographs are supplied primarily by the Committee for Aerial Photography, University of Cambridge and the Air Photographs Unit, National Monuments Record of the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments (England). These are augmented by various government and commercial air photographs as well as a substantial contribution by local archaeological air photographers.

Sites are listed according to civil parishes, and the gazetteer includes all barrows and ring-ditches recorded up to the 31st July 1979. The ancient monuments number has been recorded in the case of scheduled monuments, as has the condition of extant barrows, dimensions where available, and details of past excavations. Location in the gazetteer is by eight-figure grid reference for single barrows/ring-ditches; whilst a six-figure reference is given for barrow/ring-ditch groups.

## RESULTS OF SURVEY AND CONDITION OF BARROWS

The very small number of barrows recorded in Essex is immediately apparent, especially compared to those for Norfolk and Suffolk (Fig.36). Twenty-seven much denuded barrows are all that survive of the forty-nine noted in the sites and monuments record. A number have survived in wooded areas or parkland: Norsey Wood (TQ 69.4; Pl.VIIIb), Lawford (TM 03.1); and most have some covering of trees, whose roots are ultimately destructive. Twelve of the twenty-one mounds scheduled as ancient monuments are thought to be barrows, but most are now eroded and have at sometime in the past been explored. It is unlikely that many further standing barrows will come to light, although during examination of a scheduled barrow at Shelley Common (TL 50.3) at least two other possible barrows were noted. However, it is possible that some features not interpreted as burial mounds may subsequently prove to be barrows. Badly eroded mounds which have been dug into may only provide limited information concerning barrow construction and use. This is not to say, however, that such extant barrows as there are should not be preserved, since they form the only visible evidence of what must have been a common feature in the ancient landscape. The best preserved group of barrows in Essex are the

Bartlow Hills (TL 54.13) Ashdon, on the Essex-Cambridgeshire border. All except one mound are on the Essex side, and have recently been taken into guardianship by Essex County Council. Work is currently being undertaken to consolidate, fence and improve public access to what are most impressive monuments (Plate II; Fig.42).

The large number of ring-ditches contrasts markedly with the few standing barrows. By summer 1979, 1542 ring-ditches had been recorded. As with mounds, there exist a number of ring-ditches for which alternative interpretations seem more likely. Unlike the barrows, the number of identified sites is increasing with each season of aerial reconnaissance. However, less than a dozen cropmark sites, including ring-ditches, have been scheduled. Virtually all of those are being eroded by ploughing and some have already been completely destroyed by other agents. High agricultural land values, together with the limitations of the ancient monuments legislation make the preservation of large numbers of cropmark complexes difficult. Cropmarks worthy of scheduling include the large multi-period site at Ardleigh (TM 02.15) with its barrow and flat cemetery (Fig. 37). Sites of comparable size and complexity are found throughout the Tendring plateau, notably in the adjacent parishes of Little/Great Bromley (TM 02.67/69) to the east (Fig. 38) and at Elmstead (TM 02.48) to the south. Along the Stour valley to the north is the scheduled riverside cemetery at Lawford (TM 03.14; Fig.39). Further notable groups exist at Wormingford (TL 93.10), perhaps associated with a possible cursus; Mount Bures (TL 93.15/17) and Bures Hamlet (TL 93.13/14; Fig.40). At Belchamp St. Paul (TL 74.56) and Ashen (TL 74.54; Fig.38) further up the Stour valley, ring-ditches appear to be associated with a possible henge and a complex of circular and oval enclosures respectively. Neither of the two latter groups form large ring-ditch cemeteries. Nevertheless, they may illustrate relationships between barrow cemeteries and other types of ceremonial/religious sites, thus providing an opportunity to see such monuments in a wider context. Ring-ditch groups at Alresford (TM 01.127) and Brightlingsea (TM 01.21/94) on the Colne estuary, form part of what appear to be multi-period cropmark complexes (Fig.41).

The superimposition of these and other ring-ditch groups on other cropmark features suggests the very early destruction of some barrow groups. The barrow cemeteries at Chitts Hill, Colchester (TL 92.13) may have been flattened for agricultural reasons in the Bronze Age/Early-Middle Iron Age (Crummy 1977, 15), whereas at Mucking, Thurrock (TQ 68.15) the presence of barrow 3 influenced the later Bronze Age land allotment (Jones, M.U. 1977, 101).

Small elongated oval cropmark enclosures have been noted at a number of sites in the county, and it is thought may represent ploughed-out examples of an East Anglian form of long barrow (p.21):

- Springfield (TL 70.163), c. 37 m x 20 m, orientated NE/SW, single entrance in S long side.
- Thorrington (TM 01.73), c. 50 m x 20 m, orientated NE/SW, possible entrance in NE end.
- Rivenhall (TL 81.138), c. 70 m x 20 m, orientated E/W, single entrance in W end of N long side.
- Lawford (TM 03.22), estimated c. 60 m x 14 m (only part visible), orientated E/W.
- Lawford (TM 03.52), length indeterminate (part visible), c. 27 m wide, orientated E/W, entrance in E end.
- Lawford (TM 02.61), c. 50 m x 30 m, orientated NE/SW, two entrances in NE end.
- Great Braxted (TL 81.61), c. 50 m x 20 m, orientated NE/SW, one entrance in NE end, possibly a second in centre of NW long side.
- Feering (TL 82.90), length indeterminate (part visible), c. 25 m wide, orientated NE/SW, entrance in SW end.
- Tollesbury (TL 90.95), c. 35 m x 10 m, orientated NE/SW, entrance in the SW end of the N long side.

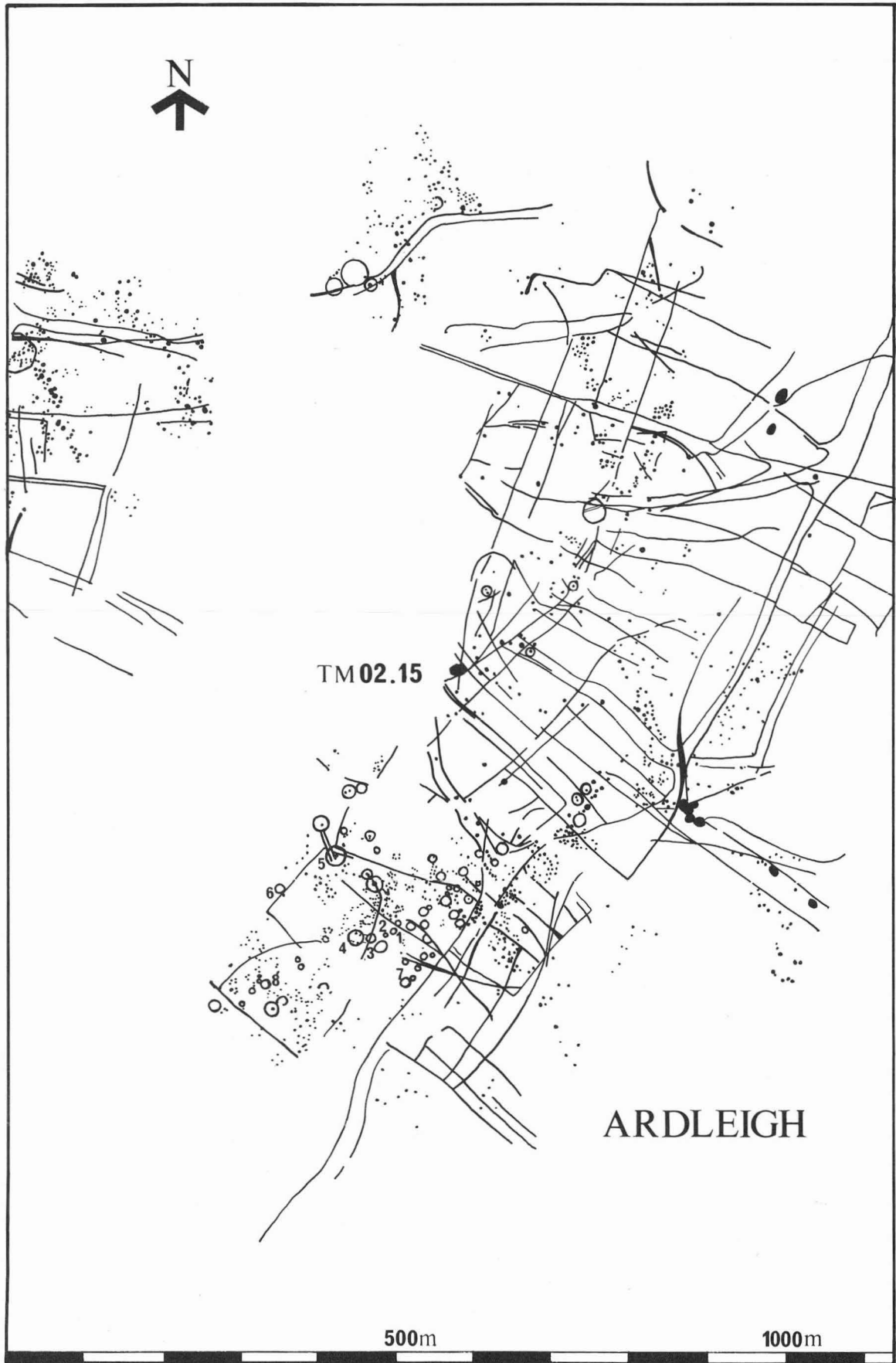


Fig.37. The Ardleigh cropmark complex, Essex. Scale 1:7,500.



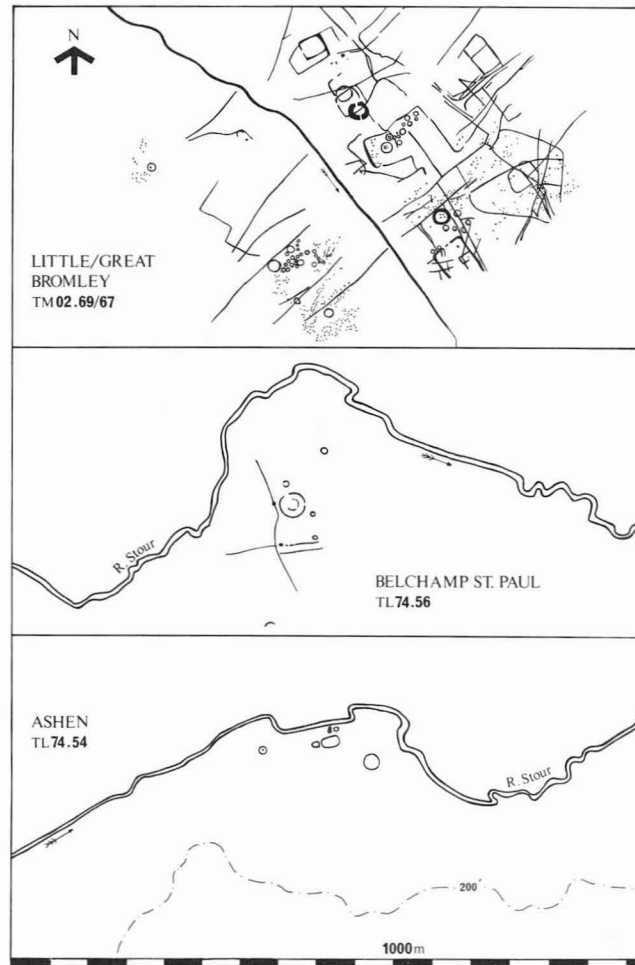


Fig.38. Ring-ditches and other cropmarks at Great Bromley, Belchamp St. Paul and Ashen, Essex. Scale 1:20,000.

It has also been suggested that certain small square cropmark enclosures resemble the class of square-ditched barrow burials recorded and excavated in Yorkshire (p.30). Of those noted in Essex the linear group at Great Dunmow (TL 62.63) are closest in size to the Yorkshire barrows, although a number of other slightly larger examples have also been recorded.

The destruction of barrows during the prehistoric period suggests an early need for additional agricultural land, and this pressure has continued unabated to the present day. Many barrows which survived until the nineteenth century were levelled as part of agricultural or estate improvements, such as three barrows of the Bartlow Hills group (TL 54.13), and mounds at Colchester (Laver and Reader, 1913, 186), Foulness (V.C.H. III, 132) and Wormingford (Jenkins 1842, 250). Modern agricultural practices and development threaten the few standing barrows and the vast number of ring-ditches with either total destruction or continual erosion. This survey has shown that the prehistoric and later tradition of barrow building must have been as widespread in Essex as in adjoining areas, and formed an important feature in the rural landscape.

#### PREVIOUS EXPLORATION

The paucity of references to barrow exploration in Essex is remarkable considering the large numbers which appear to have been deliberately levelled. It suggests that their



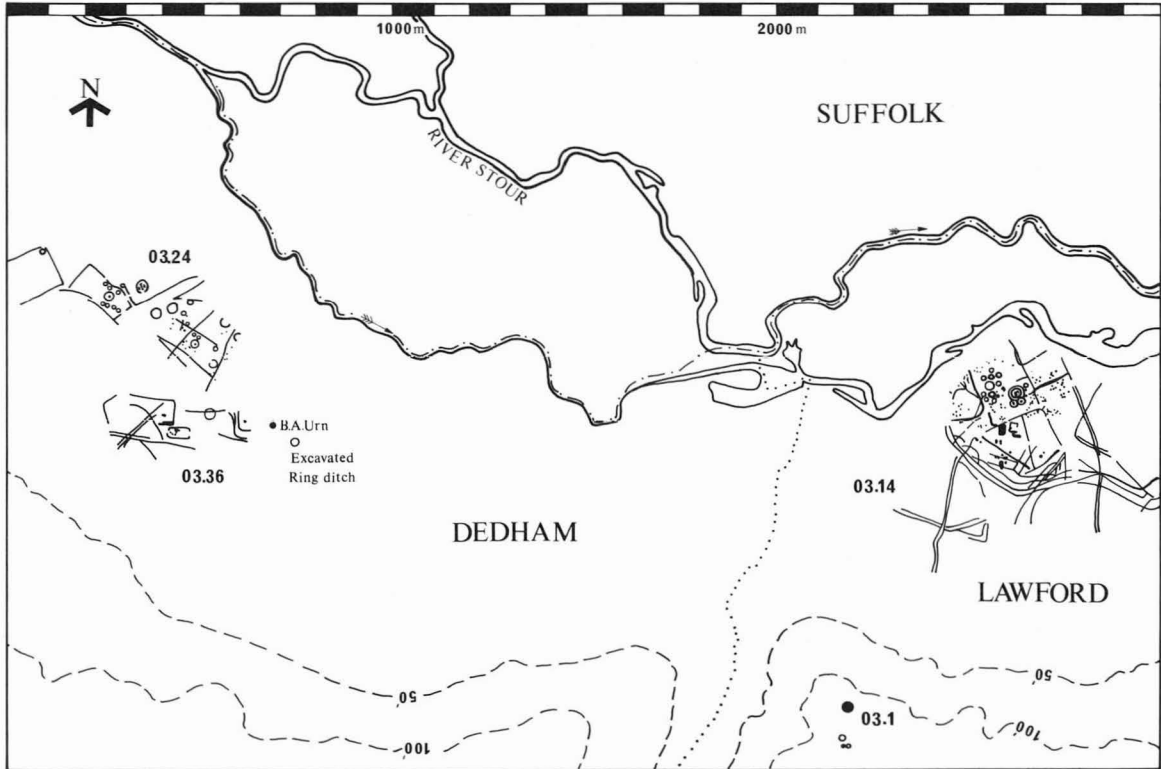


Fig.39. Ring-ditches and other cropmarks in the Lawford/Dedham area (Stour Valley), Essex. Scale 1:20,000.

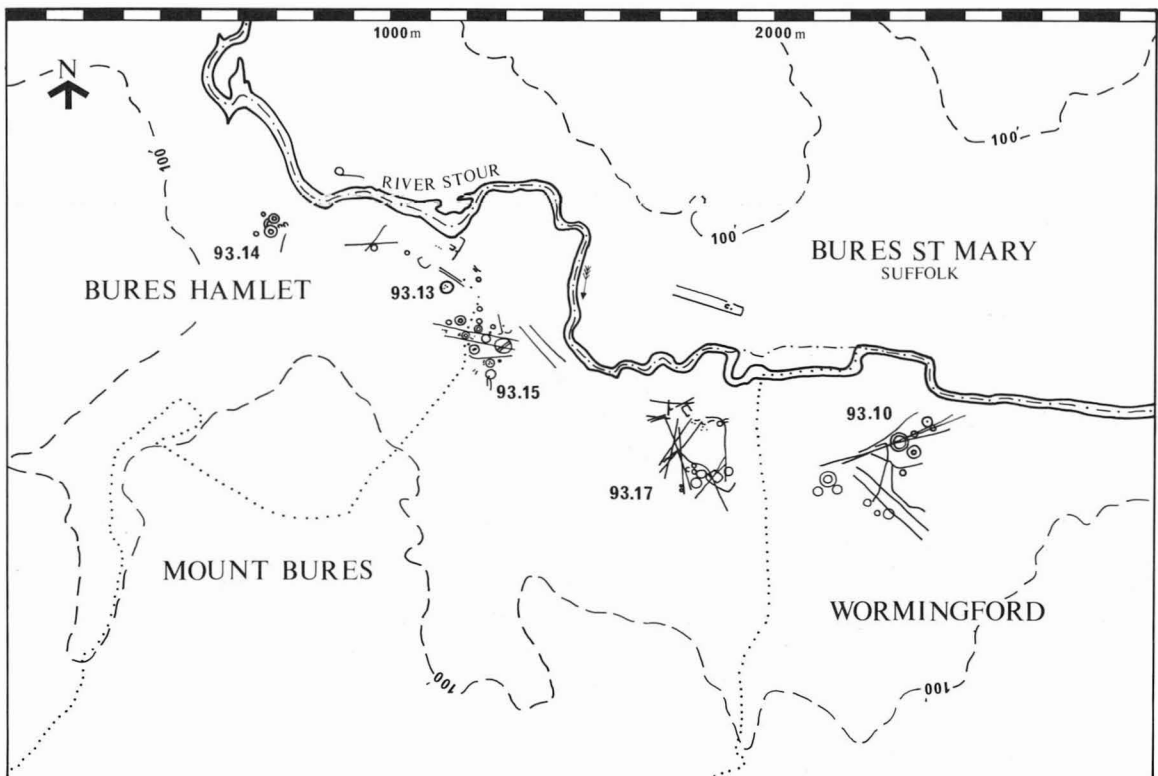


Fig.40. Ring-ditches and other cropmarks in the Wormingford/Mount Bures area (Stour Valley), Essex. Scale 1:20,000.

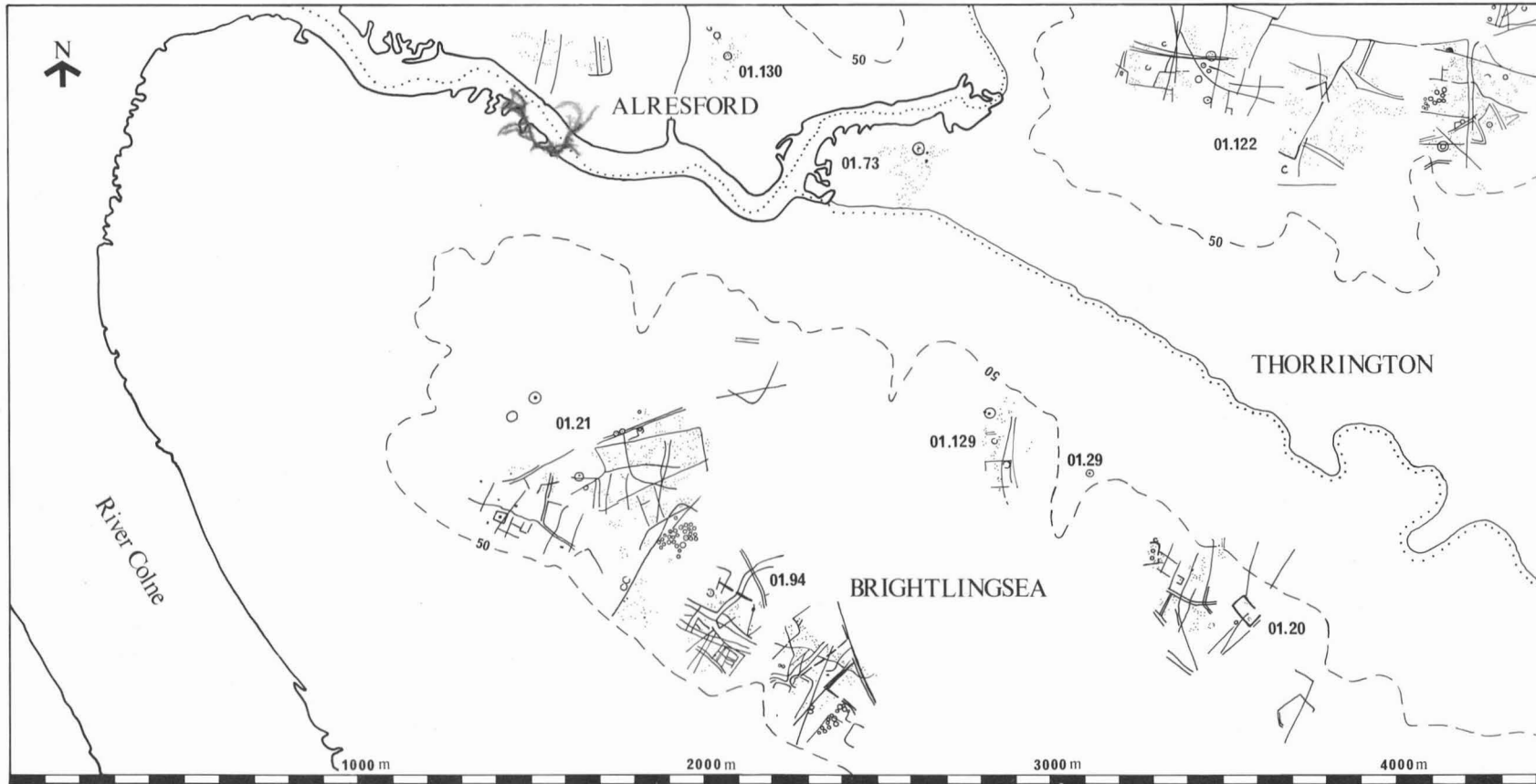


Fig.41. Ring-ditches and other cropmarks in the Alresford/Brightlingsea area (Colne Valley), Essex. Scale 1:20,000.

widespread destruction may have commenced prior to the growth of antiquarianism, or before the need to record any such work became accepted. Unlike Norfolk (p.36), there are no known records of medieval exploration, and there is only one early record of barrow digging, dating to the late sixteenth century. According to Holinshed, inhumations and iron chains were dug out of one of the Bartlow Hills (Holinshed 1586, 723), whilst Camden (Gough 1789, 46) claimed that two mounds had been opened. There are several instances where disturbance and scanty fragmentary finds suggest that the barrows had been opened and the burial disturbed prior to recorded excavations (Laver and Reader 1913, 190-192; Thompson 1955-60, 271), and it is possible that such disturbances may account for the large dark mark central to a number of ring-ditches such as those at Lawford (TM 03.14) and Tendring (TM 12.64).

The only recorded excavations of extant Bronze Age barrows were carried out in the nineteenth century. A bell-barrow at Lawford Hall (TM 03.1) was opened in the early nineteenth century (Jones 1907, 3) and two barrows in Norsey Wood, Basildon (TQ 69.4) were excavated in 1865 (Cutts 1873, 208-218; Pl. VIIb). Other barrows, excavated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries proved to be of a later date.

Between 1815 and 1840 the Roman barrow group at Bartlow Hills (TL 54.13), Ashdon was excavated. Sir Busick Harwood's excavation of Barrow VI in 1815 went unrecorded and the burial group was dispersed. Fortunately, the investigation of the remaining mounds was undertaken by John Gage (later Rokewode), then director of the Society of Antiquaries and resulted in the production of detailed illustrated reports (Gage 1834, 1-23; 1836, 300-317; 1840, 1-6; Rokewode, J.Gage 1842, 1-4; Fig.42).

The investigation of barrows became one of the major field projects of the newly formed Morant Club in the early twentieth century. West Mersea Mount (TM 01.1; Pl. VIIa) was positively proven to be a Roman barrow (Warren 1915, 116-139), as was one

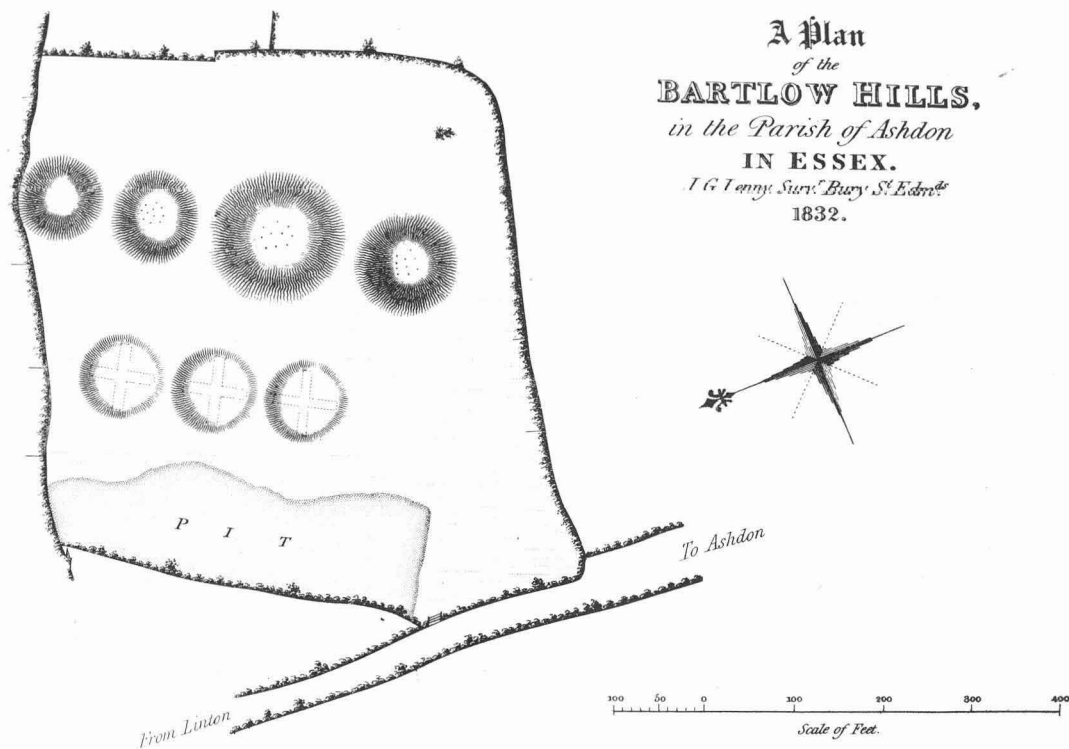


Fig.42. 1832 plan of the Bartlow Hills, Ashdon, Essex. Scale 1:2300 approx. Reproduced by permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

of the mounds at South Ockendon, Thurrock (TQ 68.3; Thompson 1955-60, 271-2), whilst the barrow at Lexden, Colchester (TL 92.20; Laver and Reader 1913, 186-192) proved to be of Belgic date. Limited examination in this century of the second of the mounds recorded at South Ockendon (TQ 68.27) also suggested a Roman date (Barton 1961, 54-6). Modern excavation techniques might have resolved the date and function of some mounds. The recent excavation of a mound at Beeleigh, Maldon (TL 80.12) proved it to be of post-medieval date (Couchman, pers.comm.) although Bronze Age pottery had been found on the surface of the field. A mill mound at Felsted (TL 62.47), excavated in 1946-7 was found to contain Quaker burials of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century date.

In recent years, however, some twenty-nine ring-ditches have been excavated. The majority of these are from a small number of cemetery groups, seven at Mucking, Thurrock (TQ 68.15; Jones 1977, 101), six at Chitts Hill, Colchester (TL 92.13; Crummy 1977, 1-16) and eight at Ardleigh (TM 02.15; Erith 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1966, 1972, 1975). Further work at Ardleigh is now in progress (Hinchliffe in Eddy (ed.) 1980, 39). A number of individual ring-ditch excavations have been carried out in the north-east of the county by members of the Colchester Archaeological Group.

#### FINDS RECORDED FROM BARROWS (Table VII)

With the exception of Roman burials, finds from Essex barrows are meagre, the majority of prehistoric mounds containing cinerary urns alone. As much of the evidence for the Bronze Age comes from ring-ditch excavations the scanty nature of the grave goods may, to a limited extent, be due to dispersal and destruction by the plough, with the recovery of single objects as chance finds (Alresford, TM 02.166; TM 02.56). The few extant Bronze Age barrows examined contained little in the way of grave goods. Cinerary urns, where recovered from a stratified context, do indicate the date of burials, although their often fragmentary nature and inadequate publication may frustrate precise dating.

Round barrow burial is considered to be primarily a Bronze Age rite although its occurrence in the Neolithic is gradually being demonstrated (Kinnes 1979). The shape of two barrows at Birdbrook (TL 74.9) which produced 'rubbishy pots' when dug into, were described as 'suggestive of the Neolithic period' (V.C.H. 1903, I, 264). Ring-ditches in the vicinity of cropmarks interpreted as henges, Great Bromley, (TM 02.67); or cursuses, Springfield, (TL 70.163); Wormingford, (TL 93.10) may prove to be contemporary. Although two of those excavated within the circuit of the Neolithic causewayed enclosure at Orsett, Thurrock (TQ 68.36) proved to be of Saxon date (Hedges and Buckley 1978, 255). A number of small oval cropmarks have been preliminary interpreted as barrows of Neolithic date (p.90).

The majority of Bronze Age barrows have produced cremations, although R.C. Neville found a primary inhumation, possibly associated with a beaker, in a barrow at Chrishall (Neville 1848, 27-30). Two of the Mucking ring-ditches enclosed inhumations, one of uncertain date and a radiocarbon date from the ditch of the other of  $3100 \pm 90$  b.c. (Jones and Bond forthcoming). Collared Urns of the Early Bronze Age were recovered from a ring-ditch at Great Bromley (TM 02.67; Erith 1964, 37-8) and from a grave pit adjacent to a group of ring-ditches at Dedham (TM 03.24; Erith 1967a, 29). Subsequent excavation of one of the ring-ditches at Dedham (TM 03.36) revealed primary and secondary cremations in collared urns, and a small food vessel (Abercromby, type 6) in the ditch (Blake 1955-60, 344-357). Only a few sherds of pottery were found during excavations of a ring-ditch at Bures Hamlet (TL 93.14), but a barbed and tanged arrowhead was recovered from the central area (McMaster 1967, 47). Few double ring-ditches have been excavated, but that at East Tilbury, Thurrock (TQ 67.44), produced a cairn burial consisting of an urn, which from its description may have been a bucket urn (Couchman 1980, 40), inverted over a saddle quern-stone (Bannister 1961, 24-26) and containing a double cremation and a faience bead.

TABLE VII. DATEABLE FINDS FROM ESSEX BARROWS AND RING-DITCHES

1. NEOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE

Beakers

Chrishall (Neville 1848, 27-30)

Collared Urns

Great Bromley (TM 02.67)

Dedham (TM 03.36)

Bucket Urns

East Tilbury, Thurrock (TQ 67.44); possible urn not surviving

Food Vessels

Dedham (TM 03.36)

Barbed and Tanged Arrowheads

Bures Hamlet (TL 93.14)

Ardleigh Type Urns

Ardleigh Ring 1 (TM 02.15)

Ring 2

Ring 3

Ring 4

Ring 6

Ring 7

Ring 8

Ring 10

Norsey Wood, Basildon (TQ 69.4)

Chitts Hill, Colchester (TL 93.13)

Mucking, Thurrock (TQ 68.15)

Beads

East Tilbury, Thurrock (TQ 67.44); faience bead

Metalwork

Ardleigh Ring 3 (TM 02.15); fragment of bracelet

2. EARLY IRON AGE

Ardleigh Ring 5 (TM 02.15)

3. BELGIC

Lexden Tumulus (TL 92.21), Colchester

Lexden Mount (TL 92.20), Colchester

4. ROMAN

Bartlow Hills (TL 54.13), Ashdon; rich burials, pottery, glass, metalwork

West Mersea Mount (TM 01.1)

Rumberry Hill (TL 43.2), Langley; glass, tile, Samian

Lexden Park, Colchester (reported, Laver and Reader 1913, 186); 'Roman pot and other relics'

Foulness (TQ 99.2); 7-8 earthen vessels including 2 of Samian

Harlow (TL 41.6); pottery, coin

Plumberow Mount (TQ 89.1), Hockley; pottery, coin cf. Domitian

South Ockenden, Thurrock (TQ 68.5); pottery



TABLE VII (cont.)

## 4. ROMAN (cont.)

South Ockenden, Thurrock (TQ 68.27); pottery  
 Stebbing (TL 62.71); pottery, glass, coins  
 Chrishall (Neville 1848, 27); 'Roman internment'

## 5. ANGLO-SAXON

Plumberow Mount (TQ 89.1), Hockley; pottery  
 Orsett, Thurrock (TQ 68.36); iron objects  
 Great Clacton (V.C.H. III, 29); glass cup  
 Mutlow Hill (TL 53.71), Wendens Ambo; 3-4 spears, shield boss, pottery

## 6. INDETERMINATE

Great Bromley (TM 02.28); sherds  
 Great Clacton (TM 11.67); sherds  
 Lawford (TM 03.1); 2 urns  
 Chrishall (Neville 1848, 27); 'British internment'

Excavation of ring-ditches at Ardeigh identified a significant regional group within the Deverel-Rimbury Culture (Erith and Longworth 1960, 178-192; Couchman 1975, 14-32; Hinchliffe in Eddy (ed.) 1980, 39). An urn in Ring 3 of this cemetery contained a fragment of a plain bronze bracelet (the only metal fragment found with a Deverel-Rimbury urn in the eastern counties). In the light of corrected radiocarbon dates Professor Hawkes' dating of the find (Hawkes 1965, 50) *c.* 1200-1000 BC would now be recalibrated at *c.* 1400-1200 BC, and analysis of the metal content suggests it belongs to the Middle and Middle-Late Bronze Age transition (Couchman 1975, 27). Recent excavations by the Department of the Environment Central Excavation Unit have examined a number of ring-ditches including an apparently isolated ring-ditch with a centrally placed unaccompanied cremation resting on a bed of charcoal. The barrow ditches had been virtually filled by the first century A.D. and a low mound probably survived (Hinchliffe in Eddy (ed.) 1980, 39). Urns from the Norsey Wood, Basildon barrows (TQ 69.4) and from a number of other ring-ditches are also of the Ardeigh group. At Mucking, Thurrock, in addition to pottery, charcoal from the ditches produced radiocarbon dates of  $1150 \pm 90$  and  $1340 \pm 80$  b.c. (Jones and Bond 1980, 471). The Chitts Hill barrow cemetery (TL 93.13) may also belong to the Ardeigh group (Crummy 1977, 1-17).

Iron Age pottery has been recovered from the ditches of Ardeigh Ring 3 and the central area of Ring 5. A broken situla urn from the latter is considered by the excavator as not earlier than *c.* 700 BC (Erith 1975, 2-4). Roman burials appear to have been dug into a ring-ditch surviving as a very low mound, recently excavated by the Department of the Environment Central Excavation Unit at Ardeigh (Hinchliffe in Eddy (ed.) 1980, 39).

Barrows of the Late Iron Age and Roman periods are far more prolific in their grave-goods. Lexden Tumulus (TL 92.21) Colchester, represents one element of the rich late La Tène burials of south-east England. A wide range of finds including gold, silver and bronze objects, accompanied the cremation in this large barrow (Laver 1927, 241-254). Analysis of the pottery suggests a date within the last few years of the first century BC (Peacock 1971, 161-88), and it has been suggested that it represents the burial of Cunobelin himself (Dunnett 1975, 18), or possibly his predecessor Addedomarus. The nature of the fragmentary finds remaining in the disturbed Lexden Mount (TL 92.20) Colchester, suggests this may well have been a burial of similar wealth (Laver and Reader 1913, 186-192).

The West Mersea barrow (TM 01.1) belongs to the end of the first century AD

(Warren 1915, 33; V.C.H. 1963, III, 160; Pl. VIIa). The mound was raised over a brick-built chamber in which a lead casket containing the cremation in a glass vessel was found. A similar structure was uncovered in Barrow II of the Bartlow Hills (TL 54.13) whilst the other rich burial deposits at Bartlow were placed in wooden chests. The quantity and wealth of the Bartlow grave-goods was fully described by the excavator (Gage 1834, 1838, 1840; Rokewode 1842) and included glass, pottery and bronze objects. The bronzes can be dated to the second century AD, and of special note is an enamelled bronze urn, probably imported from Gaul (Dunning and Jessup 1936, 44). A 'second brass' of Hadrian (117-138 AD) came from Barrow II. Mounds at Sturmer (TL 64.1; Pl. VIa) and Rumberry Hill (TL 43.2) Langley, may be among further robbed Roman barrows, whilst chance finds of bronzes from Stebbing (TL 62.71) and Rivenhall (TL 81.7) may be from levelled barrows (Rodwell 1978, 15).

There is very little evidence for Anglo-Saxon barrow burials in Essex. Two ring-ditches within the area of the Neolithic causewayed enclosure at Orsett (TQ 68.36) enclosed inhumations accompanied by iron objects (Hedges and Buckley 1978, 255; and in prep.). During the destruction of a barrow at Great Clacton (TM 11.43) a glass cup was recovered of Harden's Type X (Harden 1956, 165), whilst at Wendens Ambo three or four spears, a shield boss and other metal objects, together with pottery, were dug out of Mutlow Hill (TL 53.71) although no burial was found (Jones W.T. 1980, 89). Similar objects, including brooches and buckles (one with garnet inlay) were found with an inhumation in Barrow Field, Kelvedon/Feering (Meaney 1964, 86). The rich seventh-century grave-goods from Broomfield (TL 70.3) have many similarities with the Taplow Barrow (Bucks), but no indication of any such structure was found, although only the immediate burial area itself was examined.

#### BARROW DISTRIBUTION AND SITING

Barrow distribution, as shown primarily by ring-ditches, appears to be concentrated in three main areas: 1) The Thames terrace, 2) The Chelmer-Blackwater Valley, and 3) The Colne and Stour Valleys, including the area between them in the north-east of the county called the Tendring plateau. This known distribution is clearly subject to limitations imposed by factors unfavourable to the production of cropmarks. No check against a biased distribution can be made by comparing this with standing barrows, since so few remain, and their survival does not seem to be dependent on any common factor, although over half are situated in areas for which there are no or few cropmarks. The overall distribution in relation to relief and geology has been plotted (Figs. 36 and 43). Detailed soil mapping is as yet unavailable for most of the county. However, a general outline of the types of soils developed on the underlying drift deposits is given, based on that by Allen and Sturdy (1980, 1-7) and those by the M.A.F.F.<sup>29</sup>. With the exception of two barrows at South Ockenden (TQ 68.5 and TQ 68.27), all the barrows on the north bank of the Thames estuary merely survive as ring-ditches. The majority lie on or below the 100 ft (31 m) contour on the sandy loam soils of the valley gravel and brick-earths. Soils are sandier in the area of Grays Thurrock and Low Street, where the Thanet beds outcrop on relatively steep slopes to the north-east. There are few reported barrows on the Rochford-Dengie coastal plain and marshes. A barrow at Little Shelford, Foulness, produced a Roman urn in 1848 when it was levelled (V.C.H. 1963, III, 132). Soils of the Wallasea series are widespread along the Thames and Crouch estuaries. They consist of heavy, silty clay loams. Sandy-loams/silt-loams of the Romney series are also found and much land is reclaimed from marshland. No barrows are known on the free-draining and fertile brown loams/silt loams in the Southend area, but widespread building development may be responsible for destroying cropmark evidence in this area which seems to have been one of substantial activity throughout the prehistoric period (Essex County Council 1980)<sup>30</sup>. The same soils, of the Hamble and Hook series, extend across the Dengie peninsula where a few groups of ring-ditches are situated just above the marshes.

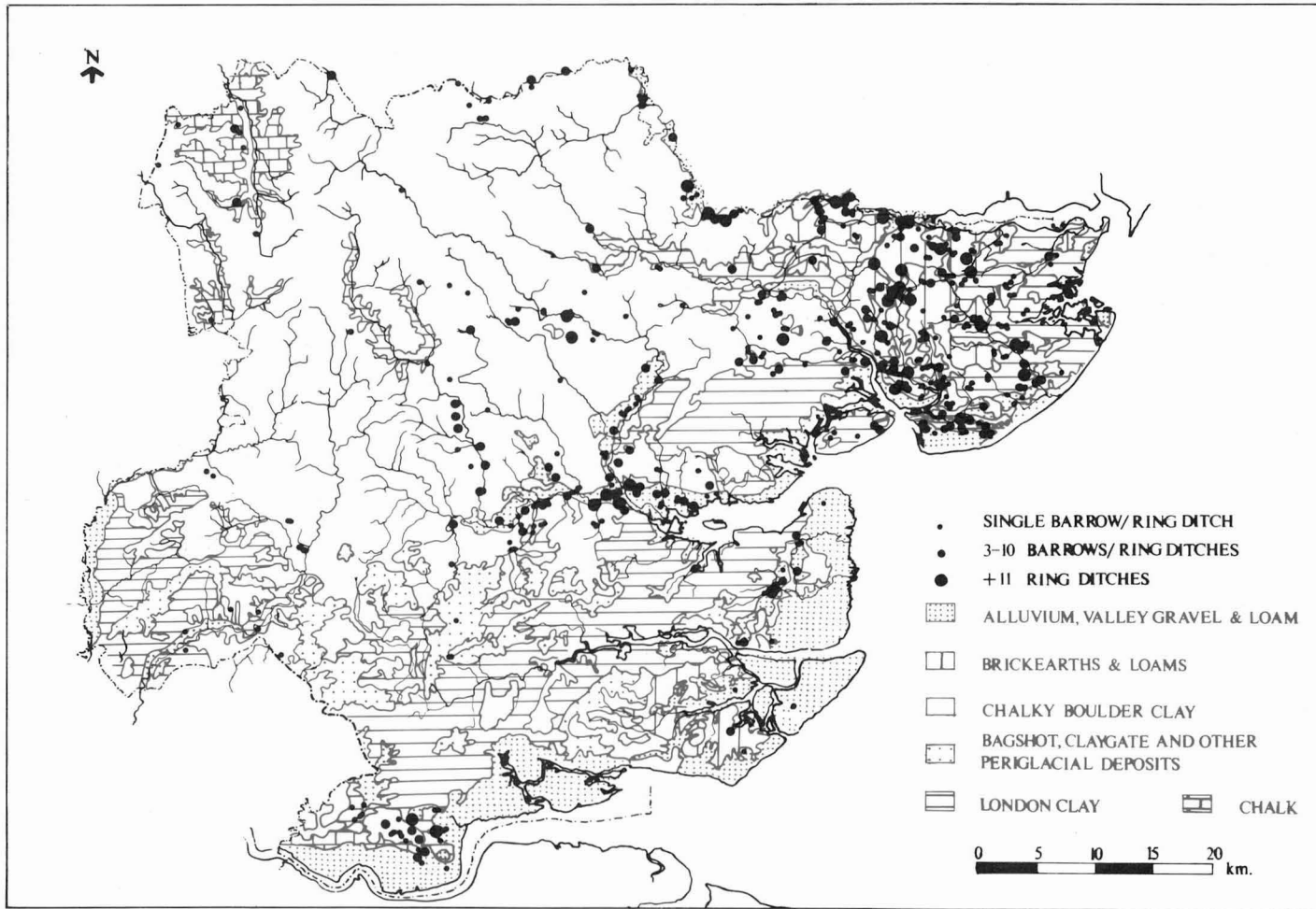


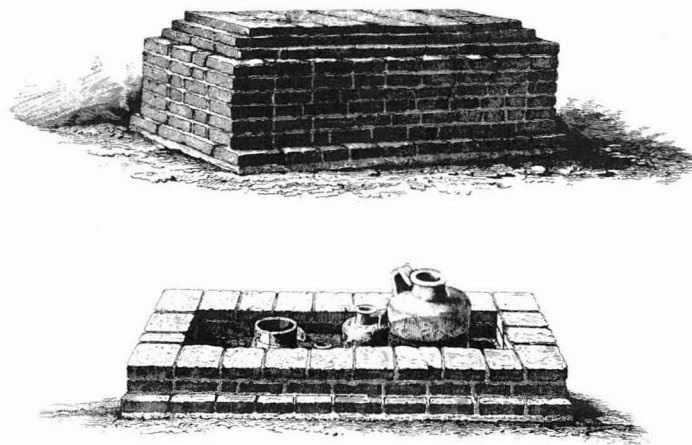
Fig.43. Distribution of barrows and ring-ditches related to drift geology in Essex. Scale 1:600,000.

The second concentration of barrows is that in the Chelmer and Blackwater valley systems. A considerable number of ring-ditch groups are found here, with one mound at Great Baddow (TL 70.70). These lie mostly on or below the 100 ft (31 m) contour, on the narrow deposits of glacial gravels which flank the rivers of the Chelmer Valley system, which give rise to soils of the Chelmer series. These are variable, including flinty loams, sandy clay loams or clay loams. A number of sites are situated on the well-drained silt-loams of the Lower Chelmer-Blackwater valley. In the upland areas of the Chelmer-Blackwater valley systems few barrows are found on the poorly draining soils of the Dunmow series overlying the London clay. On the southern part of the boulder clay plateau there are a number of ring-ditch groups, especially in the Cam valley, where light silt-loams, loams and fine sandy clay loams are developed. Over 50% of the standing barrows are found on the chalky boulder clay in contrast to Norfolk and Suffolk.

The largest concentration of barrows is that of the Tendring plateau bounded by the Colne and Stour valleys. Out of ten known barrow mounds in this area, six are still extant. Ring-ditches situated on the valley sides lie on the free draining and drought prone loamy coarse sands/coarse sandy loams or the finer textured soils on gentler slopes. However, the best soils are those of the Tendring plateau developed over the boulder loam which is peculiar to this part of East Anglia. Soils on the level plateau and gentler slopes are deep loams and fine sandy loams, heavier where the boulder loam thins out over the sands and gravels. This distribution attests substantial settlement although its degree of pre-eminence may be overstated since other areas are less conducive to the formation of cropmarks (Jones and Evans 1975, 1-11).

Only a few ring-ditches have been recorded in the north-west of the county in the Cam Valley. These have been found on the valley soils and those soils developed over the chalk which are gleyed brown earths and brown earths respectively.

The distribution of barrows can be seen to echo that in Suffolk (p.75) with the great majority of barrows situated on the lighter soils, those in the heavier soil area appearing to follow river valleys and their flanking gravel deposits. The concentrations along the river valleys seem to be related to the presence of the lighter soils and water, those in the river valleys dissecting the chalky boulder clay plateau also being on relatively lighter soils. Pressure on land throughout the county from a very early date may have removed barrows in areas with few recorded cropmarks with which to compare the ring-ditch evidence.



Roman vault and its contents from the Bartlow Hills, Ashdon, E.  
(Gage 1834, pl.III)

## REFERENCES

1. In this section the following abbreviations are employed: O.E. = Old English; O.N. = Old Norse; M.E. = Middle English; O. Fr. = Old French. An asterisk is used for hypothetical words and personal names inferred from place-name evidence. Underlining is used for non-current or dated forms of place-names and for words from languages other than modern English. The author is grateful to Mr. J. McN. Dodgson for reading and commenting on an earlier draft of this section.

Since the completion of this section the following additional barrow names have been found:

Fourhowefeld, Brandon, S. Forhowefeld, Fouthoufeld 1251 (Munday 1972), ffourhowefeld 1356-6 and 1385-6, fouthehowfeld 1388-9 (Univ. Chicago Lib., Bacon Coll., Brandon Computus Rolls 649, 652, 654). By 1566 this had become ffurrowe (fforhowe) ffield alias Twoohill ffield and it is again recorded under the name Two Hill Field in 1703 (West Suffolk Record Office P592: Munday 1972, 5). In both 1251 and 1386-7 this is recorded as a seventy-six acre arable field. The 1838 Tithe Apportionment for Brandon records a seventy-seven acre arable field, called Hiss Upland Breck, which, by chance, contains four ring-ditches (BRD 004, 006, 028 and 030). The name Fourhowefeld implies a field with four howes or mounds, which seem to be accounted for by the four ring-ditches. By 1566 it would seem that two of the mounds had disappeared and hence the name Two Hill Field, and by 1838 all the mounds seem to have disappeared, a sequence which vividly illustrates the progressive erosion of field monuments by agriculture over the centuries. An interesting side-light to this is that the field seems otherwise to have remained largely unchanged from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century; the twentieth century, however, has seen its truncation by a river floodwater relief canal (The Cut-Off Channel).

Madyschawe or Ryngedhowe (3658), Weasenham All Saints, N. Madyschawe or Ryngedhowe 1426. Mr. Alan Davison has translated part of a deed (NRS 6549) in the North family documents (NRO MS 21483/1 315x4) dated 6th April 1426: "...in 18 acres of several heath lying in one piece in the heath of Wesenham ... there is in the same a certain rounded raised feature ('livanus rotundus') which is called Madyschawe or Ryngedhowe virtually in the middle of the said piece ...'. Madyschawe first element perhaps O.E. personal name \*Mada or perhaps a medieval diminutive of the names Mathew or Maud (cf. the surname Maddison).

Pristhowe, Brandon, S. Pristhowe 1251 (Munday 1972). Possibly 'the priest's howe' as it is named as a boundary marker of an area where the Bishop of Ely and the parson of Brandon had exclusive rights to dig peat and collect brushwood.

2. Incorrectly cited as West Rudham 2 by Ashbee (1970, 170).
3. The group consisted of:- H. Apling, B. Cozens-Hardy, H. Dixon Hewitt, L. V. Grin-sell, H. F. Low, E. I. Puddy, R. Rainbird Clarke, J. E. Sainty, P. K. L. Schwabe, Rev. H. Tyrell-Green, A. Q. Watson.
4. Manuscript notes by R. R. Clarke (N. C. M.).
5. Norfolk Record Office Ms. 129.
6. Each site in the county is identified by a unique 'county number'. Occasionally a complex of earthworks of different dates may be regarded as a single site; barrow groups are occasionally classified in this way. In such cases context numbers suffixed to the site number identify different parts of the site. For example 1705/c4 is one of the barrows in the Bircham group. These context numbers contain the letter



c to distinguish them from 'observable phenomena' numbers used on excavation sites to identify archaeological features. This numbering system is outlined in the editorial of East Anglian Archaeology II, 1976, xv-xvi. The parishes are those within the boundaries approved under the Local Government Act 1972, effective from 1st April, 1974.

7. In the gazetteer ring-ditches are only described as destroyed (D) if they have been quarried away or built-upon. In the case of barrows destruction refers to the leveling of the mound or earthworks, although the site may still be detectable as a ring-ditch.
8. Or one barrow per 387 hectares if ring-ditches are included. The area of Norfolk is 531,910 hectares.
9. 'Crabb's Castle' (2009), Wighton is not considered, by the author, to be a barrow.
10. The only other Preservation Order in Norfolk is placed on the Roman town of Venta Icenorum (9786, Caistor St.Edmund).
11. Other sites at West Rudham (3641 and 3652) reported as long barrows seem to be misinterpretations of aerial photographs.
12. Colney (9335), Hevingham (7500), Horstead (7684).
13. Francis Blomefield's original work was never completed as he died in 1752. The work from page 678 of Volume III was continued by Rev.Charles Parkin who also died before the final publication. The first edition in five volumes was printed between 1739 and 1775 in Fersfield, Lynn and Norwich. Another edition in eleven volumes was published between 1805 and 1810 in London (Rye 1887).
14. S.S.Woodward correspondence, 1827, 90 (N.C.M.).
15. The 1589 map (N.C.M. Cat. 24.03) also depicts two other groups of mounds. The Black Hills (eight mounds; Site 11924) are unknown today; The Brenta Hills (fourteen mounds) are now known as the 'Black Hills' (1076, 8479, 8480) and are thought to be medieval, deriving from industrial activities, possibly potting. Both groups are in Woodbastwick.
16. Extracted from a letter of 2nd January 1863 from James Lee-Warner, Thorpeland, Fakenham, to the editor of the Norfolk Chronicle.
17. I am grateful to Catherine Hills and Andrew Rogerson for information on their recent excavations at these sites.
18. A mass of literature describes the Breckland, but perhaps two of the better introductions to this region are Clarke (1925) and Duffey (1976).
19. I am grateful to the Soil Survey of England and Wales and its officers W.M. Corbett and D.Eldridge for their advice and for permitting me access to unpublished information on Norfolk soils.
20. Land Use Capability is described by Bibby and Mackney (1969). Land is graded into seven classes numbered from 1 (the best) to 7 (the poorest) on the basis of its capability when defects such as poor drainage, which can be economically rectified, have been corrected. In assessing the capability attention is paid to limiting physical properties such as texture, slope and climate, but less importance is attached

to easily remedied chemical properties. Capability subclasses are formed by the kinds of limitation affecting land use. These are shown by a symbol suffixed on the capability class; wetness (w), soil limitation (s), gradient and soil pattern limitation (g), liability to erosion (e), climatic limitation (c) (Eagle, D.J., in Corbett and Tatler 1974, 106). In terms of yield a grade 1 soil may produce almost three times the tonnage of barley from a grade 3 soil (Corbett and Tatler 1974, 124).

21. For a general critique of Faden's map Barringer (1973) should be consulted.
22. Following Atkinson (1972, 114), the size of population during any one generation in the Bronze Age is:-

the multiple of the number of barrows and the average number of burials in each barrow divided by the number of generations during which barrows were built. The denominator is calculated as the period of barrow building divided by the estimated time taken for the population to renew itself.

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Size of population from barrows} \\ \text{in Norfolk} \end{array} = \frac{625 \times 3}{(900 \div 33 = 27)} = 69.4$$

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Size of population from barrows} \\ \text{and ring-ditches in Norfolk} \end{array} = \frac{1173 \times 3}{27} = 130.3$$

In Norfolk such estimates that might vary by a factor of ten (by comparison with other areas: Green 1974, 135), could only be based on evidence that is shown to be all too incomplete by the number of ring-ditches recorded in the last two seasons alone (p.35). Consequently such estimates can only offer the crudest idea of the magnitude of the population.

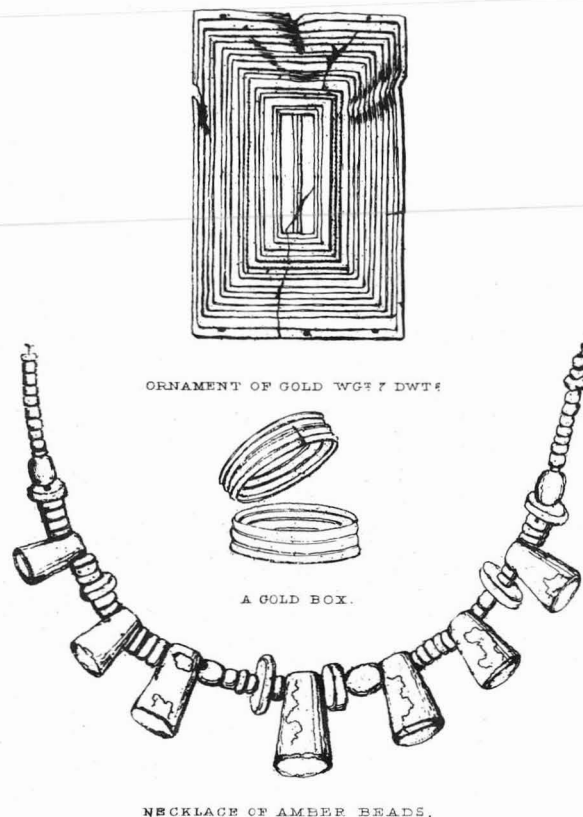
23. The situation is not unlike the medieval infield-outfield system though we must ignore the differences in wealth distribution. Fleming (1971) postulates that the stock owners control the wealth as manuring controls soil fertility. However, in the medieval system the owners of the pasture are the wealthy as the animals cannot survive without grazing. This dichotomy presumably reflects a difference in land ownership, the Bronze Age grazing presumably being for common use.
24. Letters & Papers Foreign & Domestic, Henry VIII, vol.XIII pt.2, 555.
25. See his British Barrows, published in 1877.
26. Author, amongst other things, of The Antiquity of Man in East Anglia, 1927.
27. Parish boundaries have undergone most changes in the vicinity of Ipswich and Bury St.Edmunds, none of the known changes, however, affect the barrow-boundary figures. The boundaries of the nineteenth-century parishes of Higham in Breckland and Purdis Farm and Stratton Hall in the Felixstowe peninsula are shown because these do seem to have some antiquity. Higham was a hamlet in Gazeley parish, but whilst Gazeley lay in Risbridge Hundred, Higham lay in Lackford Hundred. Purdis Farm was an extra-parochial part of Nacton and Stratton Hall was an extra-parochial part of Levington, but was originally a separate parish with its own church. The boundary between the parishes of Icklingham All Saints and Icklingham St.James has also been included.
28. Estimates of the population in the Suffolk hundreds at the time of Domesday, however, seem to show a high figure for Colness Hundred (which comprises a large part

of the Felixstowe peninsula) of 17.6 people/sq.mile, as opposed to 12.0 people/sq. mile in Samford Hundred (which includes the Shotley peninsula, 11.9 people/sq. mile in Cosford Hundred (the area on the Brett around Hadleigh) and 5.4 and 8 people/sq.mile for areas in the Breckland (Darby 1971, 173), likewise the figure for plough teams for the same areas show a similar pattern: Colness 3.7/sq.mile, Samford 3.0/sq.mile, Cosford 11.9/sq.mile and 1.7 and 2.1/sq.mile in Breckland (Darby 1971, 167). Thus though the Breckland figures are in keeping with the hypothesis that that area was not highly developed, the figures for Colness seem to imply the opposite for the Felixstowe peninsula. When, however, the population of Colness is broken down into vills (Darby 1971, 166) it can be seen that the weight of the population in Colness was concentrated at the southern tip, around Felixstowe, and on the east side, near Falkenham. Thus it is possible that the difference between Colness Hundred and Breckland may be more apparent than real, and that the known heathland areas of both shared a low population.

29. Agricultural land is classified by the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (M.A.F.F.) with the assistance of the Soil Survey of England and Wales. The results are plotted, with permission, on Ordnance Survey maps at a scale of 1:63,360. The following sheets are relevant for Essex:

148 Saffron Walden  
 149 Colchester  
 150 Ipswich  
 161 East London  
 162 Southend-on-Sea

30. A report entitled Archaeological Potential of the North Shoebury Development Area was prepared by the Archaeology Section of the Planning Department, Essex County Council, and was submitted to the Department of the Environment in support of a request for excavation funds.



Part of the grave-group from Little Cressingham, N. (Barton 1852, 1)

## VI. Acknowledgements

### Norfolk

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### Suffolk

This author is grateful to the many farmers and landowners who allowed me access to the barrows on their land; to Alan Armer who helped with the measurement of most of the barrows; and to Peter Murphy for his advice on soils. Thanks are also due to my co-authors and my colleagues in the Suffolk Archaeological Unit for much help and advice.

### Essex

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The Index was compiled by Mrs. Susan Yaxley.

The illustrations from Archaeologia on pages v, xv, 3, 95 and 101 are reproduced with the kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

# Appendix I: Example of Norfolk Gazetteer Format

Parish	County No.	Ancient Mon. No.	Grid Reference	Date of Record	Condition	Mound			Ditch		Add. feature	Excavation Date	Details	1
						Diam.	Height	Width	Depth					
Acle	10282		TG39400940	1972	NV								Ring-ditch: OS 72.055.010	
	10283		TG39500907	1972	NV								Ring-ditch: OS 72.055.010	
	10284		TG39490881	1972	NV								Ring-ditch: OS 72.055.010	
	11043		TM270872	1860								c.1860	Human bones found; Antiquary XLIX, 1913, 418; VCH, 275.	
Aldborough	11539		TG178354	1974	NV								4, possibly 5 ring-ditches; N.A.U. TG1735/A-D.	
	12774		TG175344	1976	NV							?	Ring-ditch, assoc. with linear features; indication of excavation; N.A.U. TG1734/B	
	12775		TG177342	1976	NV								Ring-ditch; N.A.U. TG1734/A	
Aldeby	12137		TM452938	1975	NV								6 ring-ditches, possibly 7, 1 in square enclosure, 1 double concentric with linear features; N.A.U. TM4593/C-Z; EAA, 8, 1978, 94.	
	12139		TM460954	a.1975	NV								Ring-ditch; reported by C.U.C.	
Anmer	12140		TM460958	a.1975	NV								Ring-ditch; reported by C.U.C.	
	3476	162a	TF74872941	1938	T, M	30m	1.8m	8m	1.0m	*			Trace of berm, broad low outer bank c.8m wide, 0.3m high. Flake on surface 1935; Antiquary XLIX, 1913, 418 - '4 barrows'.	
	3518		TF75242938	1935	H	37m	0.8m						Natural?; flint flake on surface.	
	3519		TF75092968	1951	H								No positive identification.	
Antingham	3520	362	TF75082909	1955		19m	1.2m	12m	2m	*			Flat topped; in 'Osier Carr'.	
	12206		c. TF736295	1975	T	19m	0.5m	12m	1.5m			c.1910	In Anmer Park; 'Roman urn, bones and ashes' found. Bol.Col.NCM.	
	12142		TG242332	1976	NV								2 ring-ditches; next to Suffield 12142; N.A.U. TG2433/A-B.	
Ashby St. Mary	12143		TG245323	a.1975	NV								Ring-ditch; reported by C.U.C.	
	10325		TG323016	1943	NV								Ring-ditches reported 1943.	
Ashill	1082/c1		TF89300543	mid C19									'Pummon Hill'; Goddard Johnson Ms. 2, 153; part of Panworth Dyke (A.M.No.44)?	
	1082/c2		TF89330519	mid C19	D								'Robin Hood's Hill' near Cutbush House - Goddard Johnson Ms. 2, 153; part of Panworth Dyke?	
4660				1913	D		c.3m				c.1900		2 polished axes, pottery, human skeleton found; 'several barrows' nearby; Antiquary XLIX, 1913, 413; W.G.Clarke Ms.129.1(NNRO).	
4661				mid C19	D								Goddard Johnson Ms. 2, 153.	



# Appendix II: The Barrows of Cambridgeshire

by Alison Taylor

## PURPOSE AND METHOD OF SURVEY

A survey of barrows and ring-ditches was started early in 1980 as part of an overall policy of assessing sites for scheduling and excavation. When the significance of work in neighbouring counties became apparent it was thought desirable that Cambridgeshire's results should be included, and therefore these have been prepared as an Appendix to the main survey.

The aims of the survey are to show the distribution of reported barrows and ring-ditches and their relationship with the County's geology; to describe the present condition of all sites; to note where possible the typology and to assess the burials and artefacts from within burial mounds of all periods. A date of record was noted where site visits had been made. Normally this was the most recent visit, but where the condition or height had changed between visits, both descriptions and dates were included.

Round barrows were considered as destroyed if they had been totally levelled and left no trace of a ditch as crop or soil-mark or earthwork. If a site had been partially excavated but substantially remained, both these categories were noted in the Gazetteer and in Tables IX and X, as there are many barrows that are visibly well-preserved from which burials and finds have been reported (e.g. Mutlow Hill (TL 547544), Great Wilbraham). Groups of circles in the Fens which are less than 10 m in diameter have been omitted as they are almost certainly not the sites of barrows (Riley 1946; Wilson 1978).

The Gazetteer quotes the diameter and height of each mound, and the width and depth of the ditch if such survives. In practice it was rarely possible to note more than the height and diameter of barrows and the diameter of ring-ditches, except in well-excavated or well-preserved examples. Barrow diameters were measured by pacing and their heights estimated by eye. Where they had been measured by the Ordnance Survey their measurements were normally adopted, after checking. The results for the Fens have been taken from the Cambridgeshire Fenland Survey currently being carried out by D.N.Hall. Associated cropmarks and finds were noted in the Gazetteer, although contemporaneity is not assumed. These are most commonly settlement cropmarks occurring in the same fields as ring-ditches but include other prehistoric features such as pit-alignments, linear features, henges etc. A summary of details discovered by excavation or field-walking or apparent from aerial photographs is included.

## RESULTS OF SURVEY AND CONDITION OF BARROWS

The results of the survey are shown in Figs.44 and 45. By November 1980, 1469 sites had been recorded, of which 1207 were ring-ditches. Ten of the latter have been excavated, forty-six destroyed without excavation and the remainder are under plough. Seventy-one ring-ditches are scheduled, of which two have been excavated.

Total reported barrows	262	
Visible barrows	113	43.1%

# BARROWS AND RING-DITCHES IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE

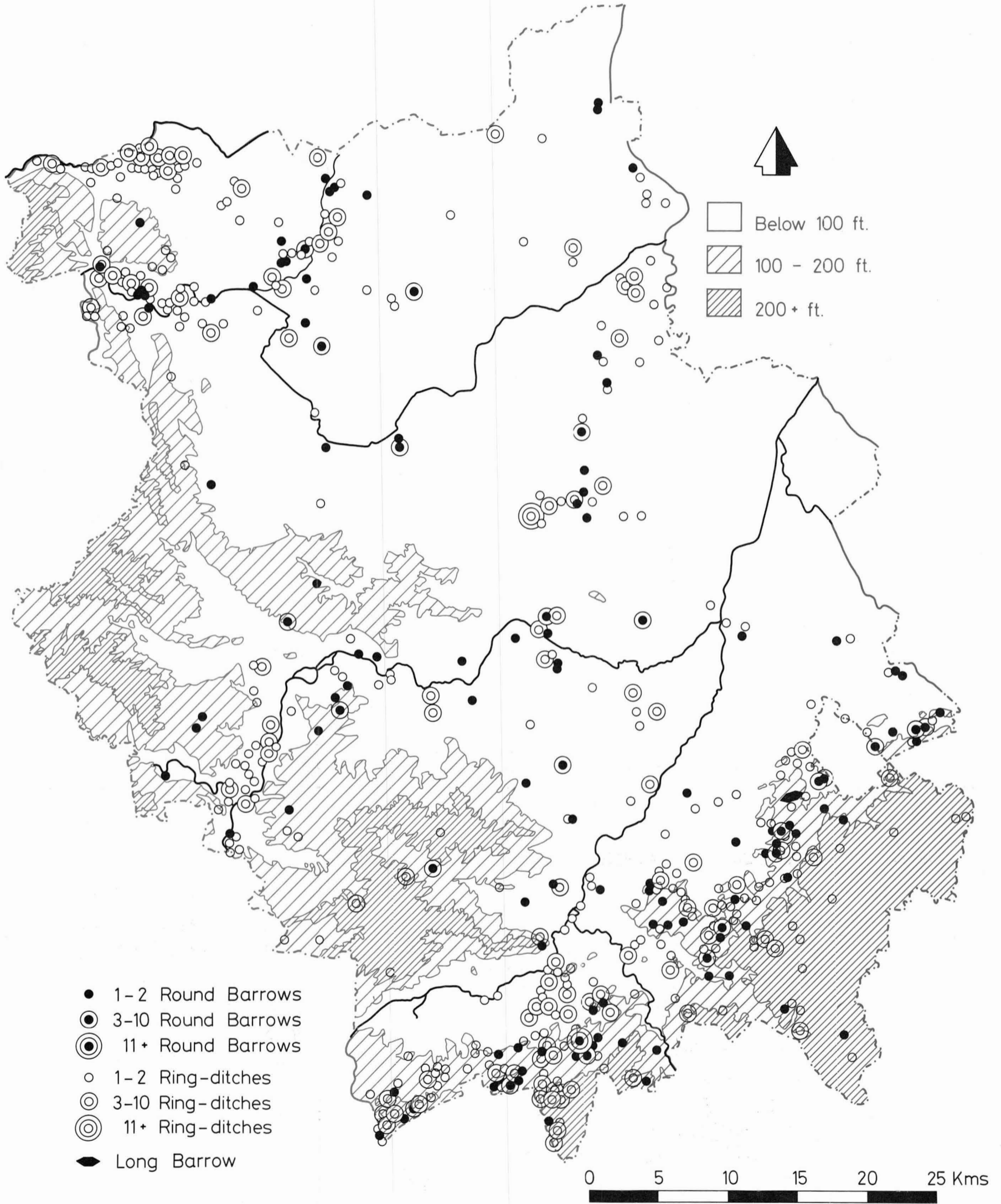


Fig.44. Distribution of barrows and ring-ditches related to topography in Cambridgeshire. Scale 1:300,000.

## Appendix II

The condition of the barrows and barrow-sites is as follows (a barrow may appear in more than one category):-

		<u>% of total barrows</u>
Ploughed (without excavation)	131	50%
Grass	12	4.6%
Trees or bushes	26	9.5%
Scheduled barrows (total)	35	13.4%
Scheduled and excavated	20	7.6%
Scheduled and ploughed	9	3.4%
Scheduled and destroyed	0	
Excavated barrows	73	27.9%
Intact barrows	28	10.6%
Destroyed barrows	30	11.5%

There are just twenty-eight sites where no serious disturbance has been recorded nor is apparent. Furthermore, this figure excludes damage by unrecorded explorations, tree roots, animals and limited encroachment by ploughing or quarrying, and inevitably includes mounds which may not be barrows.

### BARROW TYPOLOGY

#### 1. Neolithic Barrows

There are no long-barrows surviving as earthworks in Cambridgeshire. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (1972, 134) has recorded a long mound at Swaffham Prior (TL 590620) 50 m x 15 m and less than 25 cm high. It is orientated approximately ENE to WSW, and is now surrounded by a ditch 8 m wide and up to 25 cm deep. One of the barrows which D.N.Hall has found at Haddenham (TL 420768) following peat erosion may also be a long, rather than a round barrow, but this needs to be confirmed by further investigation.

The following oval ring-ditches have been noted, but there is no evidence so far to suggest their date.

Buckden	TL 205664	c.40 x 60 m	N - S
Eynesbury Hardwicke	TL 181577	c.40 x 65 m	NE - SW
Gt.Chishill	TL 405404	c.35 x 60 m	N - S) possibly not
		c.40 x 20 m	E - W) archaeological

In addition, there are about forty slightly oval ring-ditches. The only definitely neolithic barrow in Cambridgeshire is a round-barrow covering a neolithic penannular mortuary enclosure at Orton Longueville (TL 163970). Excavations on this site are in progress and the results are described below.

#### 2. Bronze Age Barrows

Possible pond-barrows have been photographed from the air at Wansford (TL 087 997) and Peterborough (TL 216983), and two disc-barrows were excavated at Chippenham (TL 66167105, TL 66187135) by C.S.Leaf (1935). A barrow at Swaffham Bulbeck (TL 582594; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments 1972, 112) and another at Chippenham (TL 66187135; Leaf 1940) had outer banks. The excavator at Thriplow (TL 447468; Trump 1956) considered the site to have been a bell-barrow. Two beakers and fragments of a third have been found in a partly excavated barrow at Orton Longueville adjacent to a neolithic site (D.Mackreth, pers.comm.). Other round-barrows are not sufficiently well preserved or excavated for their types to be determined.

A natural mound at Chippenham (TL 662667; Martin with Denston 1977) contained

Bronze Age burials. Extremely large mounds at Babraham (TL 510531) and Stapleford (TL 497529), near Wandlebury hill-fort are probably also entirely natural but nevertheless could well have been used for burial. Barrows and ring-ditches often take advantage of slight rises in the ground and obviously their builders were quite happy to use suitable natural features if these were available. In any case, there does not seem to be much significance attached to the height of a mound, the richest Cambridgeshire burials being found in barrows which were probably never much more than one metre high, such as Barnack (TF 050069; Donaldson 1977), Brampton (TL 204713; White 1969), Chippenham (TL 66167105, 66167111; Leaf 1935) and Wimblington (TL 451932; Potter 1975). The diameters and heights of round barrows are shown on Fig.45. The diameters vary between 10 m and 70 m but the majority (forty-seven out of eighty-four) were between 16 m and 30 m. There are five high mounds (over 3 m) but these include some that are

probably natural, such as Babraham (TL 510531) and Stapleford (TL 497529), or are rather dubious as barrow sites such as Leverington (TF 448107). The great majority of surviving barrows are less than one metre high.

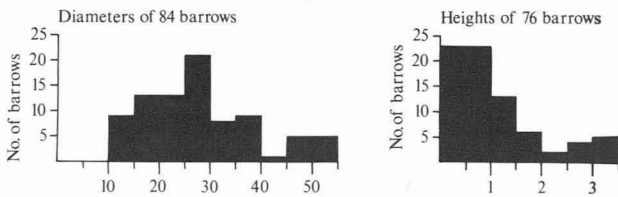


Fig.45. Diameters and heights of surviving Cambridgeshire barrows.

Very little is known about the constructional details of Cambridgeshire barrows because so few sites have been both reasonably well-preserved and adequately excavated. Those that do satisfy these conditions tend to have more than one construction phase and all contain more than one burial. Barnack (TF 0500691; Donaldson 1977) with three phases and about twenty-four burials is the most complicated yet

identified, but it seems likely that we should expect all sites to be complex and to contain a variety of burials and burial rites.

Bronze Age structures excavated within barrows and ring-ditches were as follows:-

Balsham	TL 537528	2 cists
Barnack	TF 050069	Double circle of stake-holes, post-holes
Brampton	TL 204713	Stake-circle
Chippenham	TL 662711	Horse-shoe of post-holes
Chippenham	TL 662713	Rings of post-holes
Chippenham	TL 683668	Stake-circle
Snailwell	TL 651657	Post-holes
Thriplow	TL 444468	Rough circle of chalk and irregular belt of sandstone and flint

Ring-ditch types were identified as follows:-

Annular	800
Penannular	181
Multiple causewayed	7
Double-ditched	100
Double-ditched and causewayed	21
Triple-ditched	5

Slightly oval	—
"Oval-long"	47
Unconfirmed	46
TOTAL	1207

The proportion of unusual ring-ditches is strikingly higher than in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. Not all sites discussed above are necessarily Bronze Age but it is convenient to describe them in this section as the majority are assumed date to this period.

### 3. Iron Age barrows

Three possible square barrows have been recognised as cropmarks at Hemingford Grey (TL 303700; R.Whimster, pers.com.). These were very small, about 10 m square, but might be comparable with Yorkshire examples. Other possible examples in the Hemingford Grey area are confused with settlement cropmarks and are too dubious for inclusion.

Excavations at Whittlesford (TL 4547; Babington 1883, 63), Castor (TL 117977; Artis 1828) and Thriplow Heath (Fox 1923, 78-80) produced probable Iron Age primary burials.

### 4. Roman barrows

Roman barrows have been excavated at Emmanuel Knoll (TL 266701) Godmanchester, (R.C.H.M. 1926, 116; V.C.H. 1926, 217; Ladds 1915; Green 1973) and Barton (TL 394545; Walker 1908). Emmanuel Knoll, Godmanchester is recorded as 10 m diameter and 2 m high, with flattened top and a central vault 1.75 m deep. Walker only excavated the centre of the site at Barton and the mound is now rather mutilated but survives 32 m long x 10 m wide and 2.5 m high, with no visible ditch. Both are situated next to Roman roads.

The following sites are possible Roman barrows:-

Barton	TL 416558	Roman sherds and nails reported (Fox 1923, 196)
Bourn (I)	TL 326571	Roman finds (Walker 1911)
Bourn (II)	"	Roman and medieval finds
Bourn (III)	"	" " " "
Chesterton	TL 122967	Roman sherds and 20 inhumations lying haphazardly (R.C.H.M. 1926, 56)
Elm	TL 472067	Roman coins said to come from near the mound (Stukeley 1724, 11, 13)
Fowlmere	TL 4442	Burial accompanied by Roman coin (Fox 1923, 326)
Godmanchester	TL 256690	Low ditchless mound in 1926 (R.C.H.M. 1926, 116). No longer visible
Godmanchester	TL 258685	Low mound in 1926. No longer visible (V.C.H.) 1926, 258).
Godmanchester	TL 260683	Low mound in 1926. No longer visible (R.C.H.M. 1926, 116)
Great Stukeley	TL 220746	Large conical mound
Great Stukeley	TL 219747	" " "



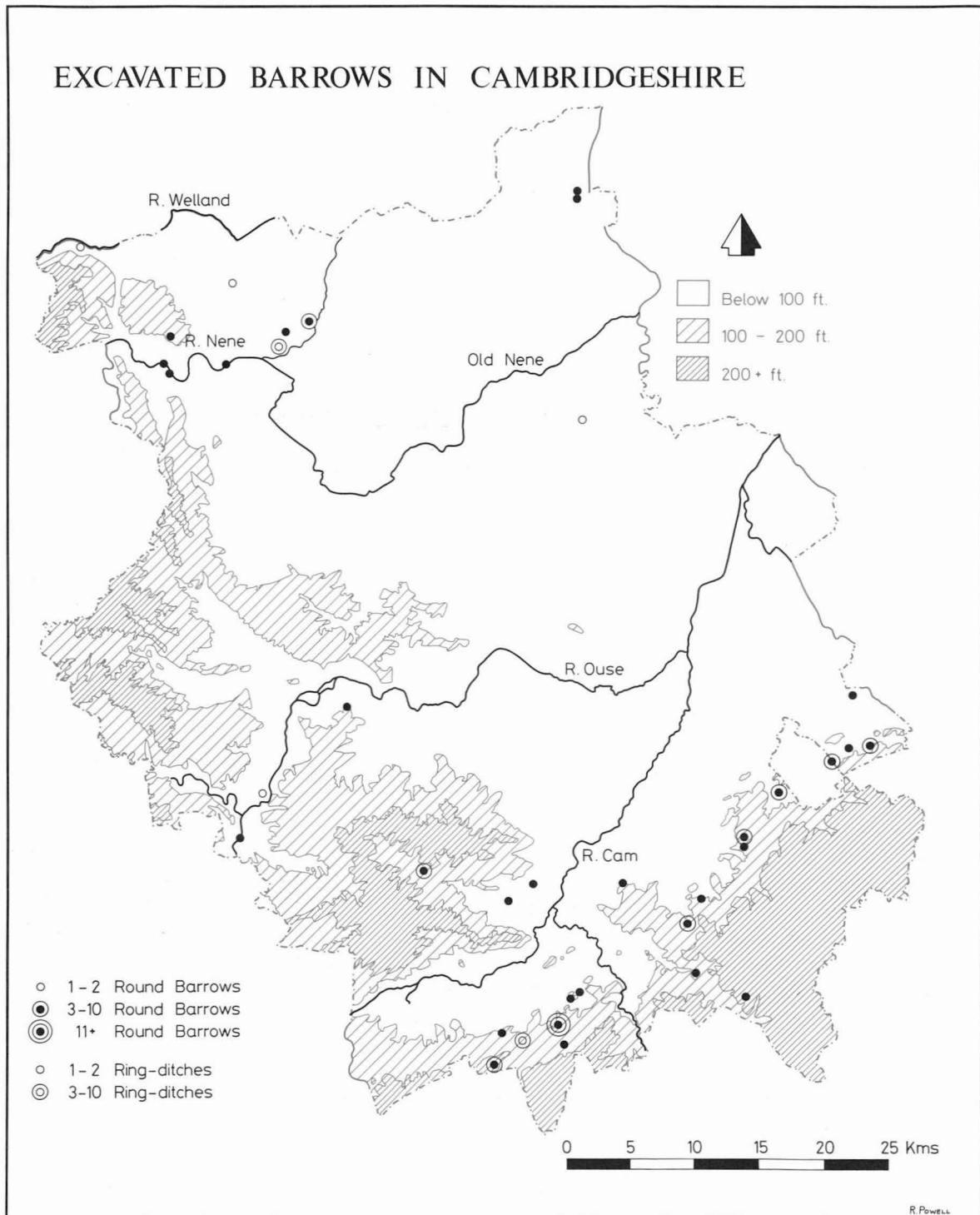


Fig.46. Distribution of excavated barrows in Cambridgeshire. Scale 1:500,000.

Hildersham	TL 543488	Already robbed, but Roman sherds found in central pit (Fox 1923, 195-6)
Melbourn	TL 284414	Cremations of men and animals with Roman coin and sherds (Neville 1847)

The above sites, except Elm, Fowlmere, Hildersham and Melbourn are next to Roman roads. Eleven of the barrows are on clay soils where no definitely pre-Roman or Anglo-Saxon barrows have been identified.

#### 5. Anglo-Saxon barrows

One Anglo-Saxon barrow was excavated at Bottisham in 1860 and 1876 (TL 580588; R.C.H.M. 1972, 13; Meaney 1964, 60). Surviving accounts of the excavation do not mention that the barrow was different from the neighbouring Bronze Age barrows. The site at Linton (?TL 583468; Neville 1865, 107) however, which is thought to have contained a Bronze Age primary burial, must have been, in its final form, a Saxon monument as it contained 104 inhumations plus many other disturbed bodies. It was a large oblong mound, approximately 53 m x 28 m.

#### PREVIOUS EXPLORATION

The distribution of excavated sites is shown on Fig.46. The approximate total is eighty-four, including ring-ditches, but there is some uncertainty about the number of nineteenth-century excavations as the accounts of these are sometimes confused. No records of earlier excavations have been located. The majority of excavations were on the chalk uplands (fifty-six), but only five of these have been excavated in the last thirty years. Five barrows were excavated on the river gravels before 1912 and the information from them is inadequate, but since 1960 there have been eight excavations on gravels and one in the Fens, all recorded in a more complete and scientific manner.

During the nineteenth century Richard Neville, later Lord Braybrooke of Audley End, excavated approximately twenty-two barrows in Cambridgeshire. His recording seems to have been a little more reliable than some of his contemporaries when he found burials that interested him, but the information is rather minimal. The artefacts he collected, however, were kept in labelled groups in the Audley End museum and were removed to the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, in 1947. All of his work was on the chalk uplands of south Cambridgeshire.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries E.T.Artis, G.W.Abbott and E.T.Leeds worked in the Peterborough area, but their results are difficult to interpret.

In the early twentieth century T.Mck.Hughes conducted barrow excavations at Bottisham and Swaffham Bulbeck but his sketchy reports lack the enthusiasm and expertise he showed for archaeology within Cambridge (Allix and Hughes 1906-8, R.C.H.M. 1972, 11, 112). His successor in local archaeology was the Rev.F.G.Walker who published detailed but confused and sometimes improbable accounts. For example, three barrows at Bourn (Walker 1911) apparently contained Roman material over medieval hearths and at Barton (Walker 1908) he thought that Iron Age fire-dogs and burials had been found above a Roman stone coffin.

In the 1930's Cambridgeshire archaeology was of a high standard, with J.G.D. Clark, C.Fox, T.C.Lethbridge and C.S.Leaf all working in the area. C.S.Leaf was the principal barrow excavator and published accounts of his important sites at Chippenham (Leaf 1935, 1940). T.C.Lethbridge dug a group of ten low barrows at Snailwell in 1939 (Lethbridge 1950).

Apart from C.F. Tebbutt's work at Little Paxton in 1944 (Greenfield 1969) there was no further exploration until the University Field Club investigated barrows at Thriplow (Trump 1956) and Melbourn (Wilkerson *et al.* 1960) and ring-ditches in Cambridge (R.C.H.M. 1959, 1). One independent excavation was carried out by T.W.J. Potter at Stonea, Wimblington in 1960-1 (Potter 1975).

In the last fifteen years ring-ditches have been investigated at Brampton (White 1969), Peterborough (Fengate) (Pryor 1974), Barnack (Donaldson 1977, and Mackreth and O'Neill 1979), Werrington (Mackreth and O'Neill 1980) and Orton Longueville (two sites, excavations in progress under D. Mackreth). Another of the Chippenham barrows has been excavated (Martin with Denston 1977).

#### DATEABLE FINDS AND BURIALS

A three-phase neolithic mortuary enclosure, with a penannular ditch and very low mound which covered post-holes, a stone platform, a metalled path (second phase) and an internal bank (third phase), is currently being excavated at Orton Longueville (TL 164970) (D. Mackreth, pers. comm.). Three inhumations and parts of several disturbed bodies, associated with four or five plain neolithic bowls, belong to the first two phases, and in the third phase there were five inhumations and four pots in a Food Vessel tradition buried near the centre of the mound. Neolithic finds have occurred on other sites, but these are probably residual.

Primary burials with Beakers or Beaker sherds and Wessex-style attributes (bronze daggers, a green schist and gold wrist-guard, amber and jet objects, flint arrow-heads, and axe-hammers) have been found at Barnack (Donaldson 1977), Brampton (White 1969), and Peterborough (R.C.H.M. 1969, 8), on the river gravels; Snailwell (Lethbridge 1950), Chippenham (two sites) (Leaf 1935; Martin with Denston 1977), on the southern chalk, and Ramsey (V.C.H. 1926, 218) in the Fens. Beakers have also been found at Fowlmere (Neville 1848, 27-30) and possibly at Burwell (Fox 1923, 326).

TABLE VIII. DATEABLE FINDS FROM CAMBRIDGESHIRE BARROWS AND RING-DITCHES

1. NEOLITHIC		
Cambridge	TL 485558	Residual
Chippenham	TL 662713	"
Melbourn	TL 408433	"
Orton Longueville	TL 164970	5 inhumations with pottery
Peterborough	TL 213989	Residual
Thriplow	TL 444482	"
Wimblington	TL 451932	"
2. BEAKERS		
Barnack	TF 050070	With primary and satellite inhumations
Brampton	TL 204713	With primary cremation
Burwell	TL 609630	Possibly found with 2 primary inhumations
Chippenham	TL 662711	With primary inhumation (one sherd)
Chippenham	TL 662667	With primary inhumation (sherds)
Chippenham	TL 662713	Residual
Fowlmere	TL 439431	Possibly with primary inhumation
Orton Longueville	TL 163970	2 beakers and parts of a third, 4 secondary inhumations, one with beaker
Ramsey	TL 2587	With primary inhumation
Snailwell	TL 649656	" " "

## Appendix II

### 3. FOOD VESSELS

Barnack	TF 051070	Secondary inhumation
Eye	TL 233013	With inhumation
Orton Longueville	TL 164970	4 Food vessels with inhumations

### 4. COLLARED URNS

Chippenham	TL 661711	Primary cremation
Snailwell	TL 649656	4 secondary cremations
Swaffham Bulbeck	TL 584601	-
Swaffham Bulbeck	TL 579596	-

### 5. OTHER AND UNIDENTIFIED URNS

Balsham	TL 537528 (2 sites)	With primary cremations
Brampton	TL 204713	Secondary cremation
Bottisham	TL 580588	Fragments with cremations
Chippenham	TL 685669	OHR sherds with primary cremation
Gt Wilbraham	TL 547544	c. 8 urns with cremations
Linton	TL 583468	Disturbed urn
Manea	TL 4790	Sherds ploughed-out
Melbourn	TL 384414	"cinerary urns"
Peterborough (Fengate)	TL 213989	With secondary cremation
Swaffham Bulbeck	TL 580594	-
Swaffham Bulbeck	TL 581598	With cremations
Swaffham Bulbeck	TL 582594	"various urns" with cremations
Thorncy	TF 251050	2 urns
Wimblington	TL 435917	Sherds ploughed-out
Wimblington	TL 451932	Satellite cremation

### 6. WESSEX CULTURE ATTRIBUTES

Barnack	TF 051070	Bone pendant, green schist and gold wristguard, bronze dagger
Brampton	TL 204713	Amber bead
Chippenham	TL 662711	Perforated axe-hammer, bronze dagger
Chippenham	TL 662713	Shale stud
Chippenham	TL 662667	Jet bead
Gt Wilbraham	TL 547544	Faience beads, pins
Peterborough	TL 216003	2 flint daggers and axe-hammer
Snailwell	TL 649656	Jet necklace
Wimblington	TL 451932	Amber and jet beads

### 7. PYGMY VESSELS

Chatteris	TL 435892	Sherds ploughed-out
Melbourn	TL 384414	-

### 8. LATE BRONZE AGE

Chippenham	TL 662713	Secondary cremations
Melbourn	TL 389440	" "
Peterborough	TL 209991	Sherds with secondary cremation
Thriplow	TL 444468	With 3 cremations

### 9. BRONZE AGE METALWORK

Balsham	TL 537528	Pin
Barnack	TF 051070	Dagger
Chippenham	TL 662711	"
Chippenham	TL 672667	Cylinder

## 9. BRONZE AGE METALWORK (cont.)

Gt Wilbraham	TL 547544	Pin
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## 10. IRON AGE

Castor	TL 117977	? Primary
Chippenham	TL 661711	Unaccompanied secondary cremation (?)
Fowlmere	TL 439431	Secondary deposits?
Little Paxton	TL 198631	Residual
Thriplow	TL 444468	Later occupation
Whittlesford	TL 4547 (2 sites)	Inhumations with grave-goods

## 11. ROMAN

Barton	TL 394545	Primary
Barton	TL 416558	Finds only
Bourn	TL 326571 (3 sites)	" "
Burwell	TL 6162	" "
Chesterton	TL 122967	Dubious site
Elm	EL 472067	Coins found nearby
Eynesbury	TL 180594	Finds only
Fowlmere	TL 4442	" "
Godmanchester	TL 266701	Primary cremation
Hildersham	TL 543488	Finds only
Linton	TL 583468	Urn ?
Melbourn	TL 384414	Finds only
Little Paxton	TL 198631	Primary cremation (? date)

## 12. ANGLO-SAXON

Bottisham	TL 580588	Primary inhumation
Cambridge	TL 485558	9 secondary inhumations
Chippenham	TL 662713	Stray find
Dry Drayton	TL 395630	Glass beaker with burial ?
Linton	TL 583468	104 inhumations with rich grave-goods, thought to be secondary

Eleven excavated sites, all on the southern chalk uplands, contained primary urned cremations. None of them had any other grave-goods, apart from flint flakes, cattle bones, bronze fragments and clunch pebbles. Seven sites, also on the southern chalk, contained cremations without urns or grave-goods. The barrow at Wimblington (TL 451932; Potter 1975) in the Fens, however, had a central cremation accompanied by amber and jet beads. The precise number of sites excavated is unrecorded but there were about ten primary inhumations in excavated barrows on the chalk, all without grave-goods.

About twenty-four excavated sites contained secondary burials. At Barnack there were at least twenty-two inhumations and one cremation (Donaldson 1977) and there were about ten cremations at Great Wilbraham (Neville 1852). At least fifty-one inhumations and fifty-eight cremations are recorded as secondary burials, not including a site at Peterborough (Fengate) (TL 209991; Hawkes and Fell 1943) from which twenty inhumations and 130 cremations were reported. Apart from urns the only grave-goods are a bone point and flint tools at Barnack (Donaldson 1977); a shale stud at Chippenham (Leaf 1940) a bronze and a bone pin and faience beads at Great Wilbraham (Neville 1852; Fox and Palmer 1923; Beck and Stone 1935); bone and flint tools and a jet necklace at Snailwell (Lethbridge 1950); and a bronze fragment at Swaffham Bulbeck (Allix and Hughes 1906).



A possible Iron Age primary burial was excavated at Castor by E.T. Artis (1828) and a Hallstatt brooch and bronze bangles found. At Whittlesford, (Babington 1883), when the Chronicle Hills were levelled in the early nineteenth century it was recorded that each contained pebble vaults with two inhumations, a knife, iron nails and oak planks in one, and two inhumations, an iron spear and nails in the other. Fox (1923, 79-80) suggests that three of Neville's barrows on Thriplow Heath may be Iron Age; in one there was 'typical Iron Age pot apparently associated with a cremated burial; another yielded a bone pin... and a piece of black pottery' with a slightly cremated skeleton and the jaw-bone of a horse; and in another was a cremation with a horse skeleton. A cremation at Chippenham (TL 661711; Leaf 1935) associated with the enlargement of the mound was a possible secondary Iron Age burial and reputed secondary Iron Age deposits came from a nineteenth-century excavation at Fowlmere (TL 439431; Neville 1848, 27-30). A Roman primary inhumation was found at Barton (TL 394545; Walker 1908) in a stone coffin and at Godmanchester (TL 266701; Ladds 1915; Green 1973) a cremation within a box, containing a poppyhead beaker, an amethyst and a coin of Commodus was deposited in a deep shaft. An inhumation in the central grave of a ring-ditch at Little Paxton (TL 198631; Greenfield 1969) was thought to be Roman, similarly the round barrows at Melbourn (Neville 1854), Hildersham (Fox 1923, 195-6), Barton (Fox 1923, 196) and Fowlmere (Neville 1854, 95-115) produced finds of only Roman date. The most impressive Roman burial mound is one of the four remaining Bartlow Hills which now lies in Cambridgeshire, but this has been ceded to Essex for the purpose of this Survey. A sole Roman secondary burial is suggested by a Roman urn found in the Linton barrow (Neville 1854, 95-115).

A Saxon primary inhumation was found in a barrow at Bottisham (TL 580588; R.C.H.M. 1972, 13) with a pair of gilded bronze brooches with shell and garnet bosses in a grave 1.5 m deep. At Dry Drayton (Taylor, forthcoming) an Anglo-Saxon glass beaker was recovered during road-works and subsequent investigations showed that there had been a medieval gallows here, with the bodies of the condemned having been buried near the gibbet. Presumably the glass beaker was deposited with a burial and it seems possible that this burial might have been covered by a barrow, which, because it stood on a main road by a parish boundary, was later used as a gallows mound.

Nine inhumations with sixth to seventh-century grave-goods were found as secondary burials in an undated ring-ditch in Cambridge (TL 485558; R.C.H.M. 1959, 1) and a secondary inhumation at Burwell (TL 609630; Fox 1923, 326) was said to be possibly Anglo-Saxon. At Linton (TL 583468; Neville 1854) there were 104 inhumations as well as many disturbed graves. There was also one Roman and two Bronze Age urns in the mound. The Anglo-Saxon graves are said to be secondary, but they must have been accompanied by a complete re-building of the mound, which in its final form, was large and oval (above). The grave-goods were very rich and included several large gilt square-headed brooches with red and yellow enamelled plaques, three pairs of applied or saucer brooches, eight or nine pairs of clasps, several small decorated pots, a green glass vase, a sea shell (*Cypraea*), swords, spears, buckets and ten Roman coins (Kennett 1971).

Burial mounds therefore were being erected in every period from the neolithic to the Anglo-Saxon periods and covered both the most elaborate and also the most simple graves of each date with no particular preference for the rites of inhumation or cremation. In each period there are contemporary graves with comparable burials, but having no marking mound. However, the great majority of barrow burials, whether primary or secondary, are dated to the Bronze Age. It is particularly significant that there are no noticeable differences between the nature or richness of burials excavated beneath round-barrows and those in ring-ditches and the finds from the two classes of monument can be confidently discussed together. The only geographical bias that we can distinguish is that no barrows on the clay can be dated to periods other than Roman, although Roman

barrows do occur on other soils. Barrows on the chalk, the gravels and the Fens all share the same characteristics and dimensions.

#### DISTRIBUTION

The present pattern of barrow and ring-ditch distribution is as follows (Fig.47):- the majority of ring-ditches are found on the river gravels (436) and chalk uplands (523), with a fairly high concentration in the Fens (222) and a few on other light soils (25). There are a few (probably Roman) barrows on clay soils. The greatest number of surviving mounds is in the Fens.

Non-archaeological factors obviously play a large part in this distribution pattern. Later land-use in particular is largely responsible for creating a false distinction between barrows and ring-ditches. Chronologically, the first factors reducing round-barrows to ring-ditches were ploughing near river-gravel sites in the Iron Age and Roman periods and the subsequent rapid weathering of gravel mounds once their turf cover was disturbed. A high proportion of ring-ditches are accompanied by cropmarks interpreted as evidence for early settlement and agriculture (gravels 56%; Fens 47.6%; chalk uplands 30.6%), and modern ring-ditch excavations on gravel sites normally include accounts of later settlement. For example at Roxton, Beds, it is clear that the field containing five mounds was farmed in the Iron Age, and that the mounds were ploughed down in about the third century AD (Taylor and Woodward 1981). This early commencement of plough-damage has resulted in there being very few visible barrows on the gravels (11), but a large number of ring-ditches (465).

The chalk uplands traditionally contained much grass-land that was principally used for sheep grazing, thus many barrow mounds survived into the nineteenth century. These attracted the attention of the Hon.R.C.Neville, who excavated a number of them. However, after the Enclosure Acts of the late nineteenth century, the majority were ploughed level without record and are normally recognised only as soil-marks. There are no barrows surviving under grass and the majority of sites under plough are no longer visible. This illustrates the increase in arable farming over the last two centuries. Seventeen barrows remain, generally because they are situated within narrow belts of woodland which are still fairly common in this area.

Arable farming only became normal practice in the Fens after the last war. Prior to this, earthworks had been well preserved due to natural factors, especially the build-up of peat. The masking effect of the peat and lack of archaeological work in this area has meant that hardly any sites were excavated. It has now been shown that nearly all surviving mounds are being ploughed.

Current field-work by D.N.Hall demonstrates that there is a high proportion of barrows still standing between half and one metre high, some with lower levels preserved by the peat; these barrows form just part of the prehistoric landscape that is preserved in the Fens. However, constant intensive ploughing and peat shrinkage will no doubt change this picture to that of other geological areas in the next few years.

The geological regions discussed so far are responsive to cropmark production and therefore a reasonably accurate picture of the original ditched-barrow distribution is known. On clay soils, however, where much of the land was ploughed in the Middle Ages, cropmark sites are rarely recognised. Hence recorded or upstanding barrows are our only guide to their existence. It has been suggested (above), that these barrows on the claylands are in all probability Roman.

While accepting that there are still limitations to our knowledge it seems unlikely that we have totally lost large numbers of sites, and the pattern shown on Fig.47 is

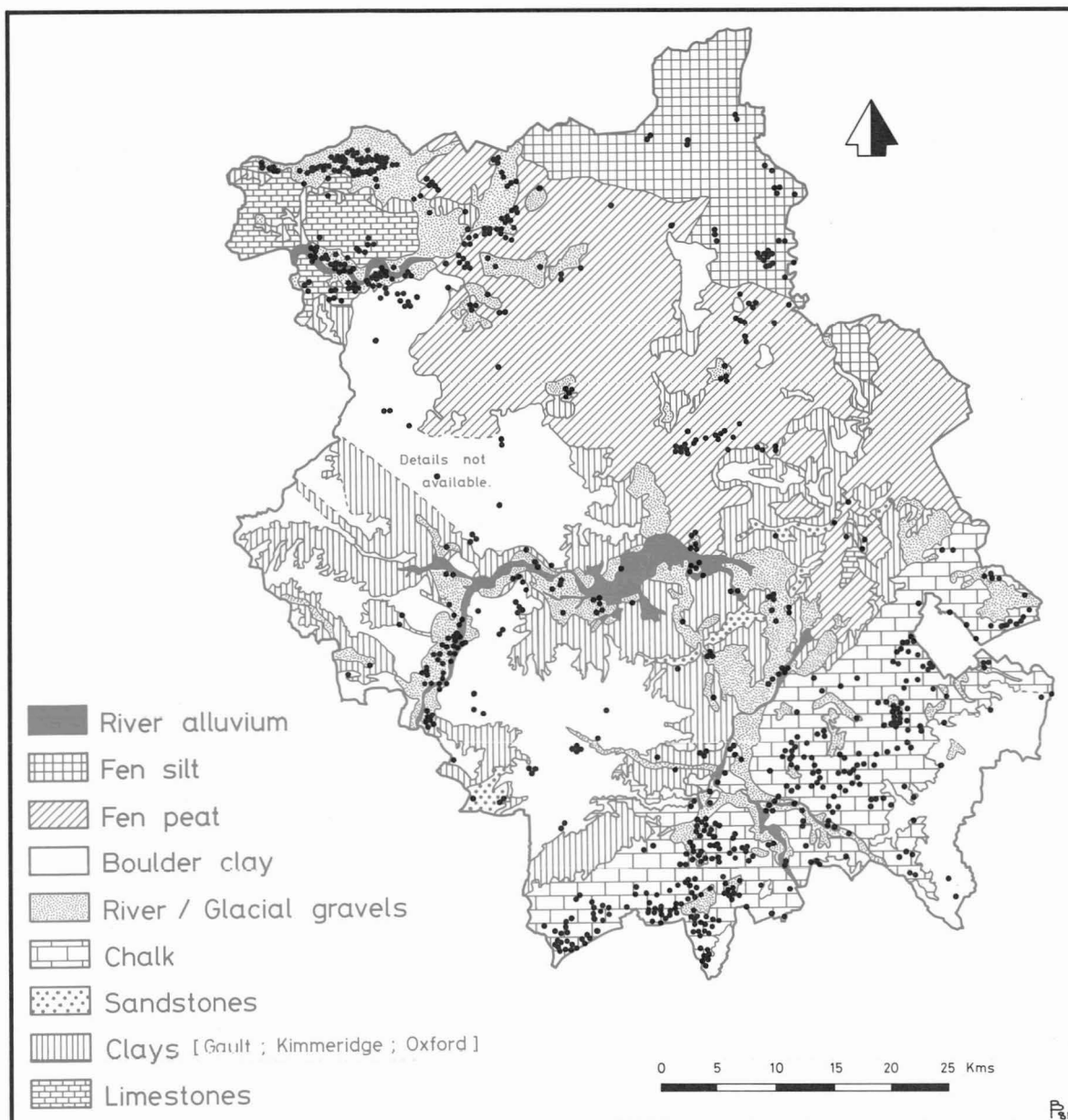


Fig.47. Distribution of barrows and ring-ditches related to drift geology in Cambridgeshire. Scale 1:600,000.

probably a good general guide to the distribution of Bronze Age barrow burials. The most obvious feature of this distribution is the determined preference for lighter soils, even where these could only be occupied seasonally. This preference is also demonstrated by the distribution of finds of Neolithic and Bronze Age date. Possibly differentiation of land-use was applied by individual settlements to the extent that there might be a preference for siting burial mounds on land liable to flooding or far from water, but this was not necessarily to the exclusion of other activities, and the distances were in any case very small. Such fine distinctions could not be investigated in a survey of this kind as they require a detailed field-walking programme.

If there had been a serious intent to use only land unsuitable for cultivation, then we would expect to find most barrows on clay lands which, as we have seen, does not seem to be so in prehistoric times. The only other land in Cambridgeshire that was probably

TABLE IX. CONDITION AND LOCATION OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE BARROWS

	River valley	Chalk upland	Fen	Other	Scheduled Monument
Grass	2	-	5	5	5
Trees/bushes	3	17	1	5	13
Ploughed (without excav)	6	58	64	3	9
Destroyed (without excav)	8	9	6	7	-
Excavated	6	57	4	6	20

Total: 262

TABLE X. CONDITION AND LOCATION OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE RING-DITCHES

	River valley	Chalk upland	Fen	Other	Scheduled Monument
Ploughed (without excav)	387	519	219	26	69
Destroyed (without excav)	43	-	3	-	-
Excavated	6	4	-	-	2

Total: 1207

marginal in prehistoric times was the deepest parts of the Fens, where information is not yet available. The Fen-edge and islands, of course, where barrows are fairly common, were favourable areas for settlement.

The most likely pattern of overall land-use in Bronze Age Cambridgeshire, therefore, is similar to that in the rest of East Anglia: all soils except the heavy clay and the deep peats were used for agriculture, settlement and burial, and the survival of the burial mounds depended on the land remaining unploughed, an increasingly rare phenomenon in East Anglia.

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