



THE EVOLUTION OF SETTLEMENT
IN THREE PARISHES
IN SOUTH-EAST NORFOLK

EAST ANGLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Norfolk Archaeology Unit, Norfolk Museums Service 1990

EAST ANGLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

The Evolution of Settlement in Three Parishes in South- East Norfolk

by Alan Davison

Based on Fieldwalking carried out by Alan Davison and
George Fenner aided, in Hales and Loddon, by other
members of the Hales Hall Archaeological Trust
1980-86

With Documentary Research by Alayne Fenner

East Anglian Archaeology
Report No. 49, 1990

Norfolk Archaeology Unit
Norfolk Museums Service

EAST ANGLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY
REPORT NO. 49

Published by
The Norfolk Archaeological Unit
Union House
Gressenhall
Dereham
Norfolk NR20 4DR

in conjunction with
The Scole Archaeological Committee Ltd.

Editor: Peter Wade-Martins

EAA Managing Editor: Susie West
Scole Editorial Sub-Committee:
David Buckley, County Archaeologist, Essex Planning Department
Peter Wade-Martins, County Field Archaeologist, Norfolk Museums Service
Stanley West, County Archaeological Officer, Suffolk Planning Department

Typeset in Plantin by Spire Origination, Norwich
Printed by

© THE NORFOLK ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT 1990

ISBN 0 905594 02 9

For details of *East Anglian Archaeology*, see last page

Cover Illustration
Heckingham church from the
valley of the Beck.

Contents

List of Contents	v		
List of Plates	vi		
List of Figures	vi		
List of Tables	vi		
Contributors	vii		
Acknowledgements	vii		
I. Summary	i		
II. Introduction	1		
III. South-east Norfolk	1		
IV. Topography and Soils of the Parishes of Hales, Heckingham and Loddon	7		
V. Fieldwalking Methods Adopted in the Survey of the Parishes of Hales and Loddon	7		
VI. Fieldwalking in the Parish of Heckingham	10		
VII. The Definition of a Site	11		
VIII. The Mapping of Sites	12		
IX. The Distribution of Finds by Periods	12		
Prehistoric Finds	12		
Iron Age Finds	15		
The Romano-British Settlement AD 43 c. 410	15		
Early Saxon Settlement c. AD 410 c. 650	16		
Middle Saxon Settlement c. AD 650 c. 850	16		
The Settlement Pattern in Late Saxon and Early Medieval Times c. AD 850 1150	16		
Medieval Settlement, Late Twelfth-Fourteenth Centuries	21		
Late Medieval to Early Post-Medieval Times AD 1400 1600	22		
X. Studies of Selected Sites	22		
A. Site 42	22		
B. Site 14	26		
C. Site 46	28		
D. Green-side Sites	29		
1. Hales Green	29		
2. Stubbs Green	33		
3. Other possibly Green-side settlement	33		
(a) 'Spot Common'	33		
(b) Hall Green	35		
E. Site 109	35		
F. Site 52	35		
G. Site 73	36		
H. Site 104	36		
I. Site 13: Spring Meadow	37		
J. The Chet Valley Sites	37		
Selected Sites in Heckingham:	38		
1. Site H44	38		
2. Sites in the vicinity of Heckingham Church	39		
		XI. A Documentary Study of Hales and Loddon, by Alayne Fenner	41
		The Landscape of Hales and Loddon from the Documents	41
		Population and Prosperity	42
		Land Tenure	45
		Manor Sites and Parks	46
		Roads	49
		Open Fields	52
		Woodland	53
		Greens	54
		Settlement	55
		Heckingham: A Documentary Note, by Alan Davison	57
		St. Margaret's Church, Hales, by Alayne Fenner	60
		Holy Trinity Church, Loddon, by Alayne Fenner	60
		St. Gregory's Church, Heckingham, by Alayne Fenner	60
		XII. The Evidence Compared, by Alan Davison	61
		Settlement	61
		Greens	62
		Fields and Woods	62
		Roadways	63
		Mills	63
		Churches	64
		XIII. The Settlement Patterns: Some Questions Raised, by Alan Davison	64
		Relief and Drainage	64
		Soils and Climate	64
		Changes in Relative Sea Level	65
		Other Contributory Factors	65
		XIV. Some Major Features of the Settlement Sequence: An Analysis of Possible Causes, by Alan Davison	66
		The Long Sequence of Occupation on Sites 14 and 42	66
		The Choice of Sites in Romano-British Times	66
		The Middle Saxon Shift	66
		Routeways and their Influence	66
		(a) Romano-British Times	66
		(b) Post-Roman Times	67
		Medieval Expansion on to the Valley	67
		Floors	
		Medieval Expansion to Sites on the Chet	67
		Terraces	
		The Settlement of the Margins of Greens	67
		Isolated Medieval Sites	68
		The Contraction of Settlement in Late Medieval Times	68
		The Late Settlement of Site 73	69
		The 'Blank Areas' on the Distribution Maps	69
		XV. Conclusions, by Alan Davison	69
		Suggested Further Investigation	72
		Tabulated Gazetteer of Finds	77
		Bibliography	89
		Index	91

List of Plates

Pl. I	Hales Green, Hales Hall with associated features, and the area of the medieval park of ' <i>Loddon iuxta Hales</i> '.	8	Pl. V	The alignments of roads, tracks and field boundaries in the southern part of the parish of Loddon.	34
Pl. II	The town of Loddon before recent expansion and by-pass construction.	9	Pl. VI	Heckingham church in virtual isolation.	40
Pl. III	Soil markings in the vicinity of Transport Lane, and to the west of Hales Green.	27	Pl. VII	Alignments of roads, tracks and field boundaries in the vicinity of Seething airfield.	75
Pl. IV	The isolated Hales church and the moated structure to the south-west.	31	Pl. VIII	Alignments to the north of Hedenham.	76

List of Figures

Fig.1	Map of Norfolk showing places mentioned in this volume.	2	Fig.12	Sites on Hales Green	25
Fig.2	The Location of the Three Parishes.	4	Fig.13	Sites in Heckingham	26
Fig.3	The Three Parishes.	5	Fig.14	Site 46	28
Fig.4	Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age Finds	13	Fig.15	Hales Green: Possible Stages of Encroachment	30
Fig.5	Iron Age Finds	14	Fig.16	The Hundreds of Loddon and Clavering	42
Fig.6	Romano-British Finds	17	Fig.17	Greens, Commons and Parks	47
Fig.7	Early and Middle Saxon Finds	18	Fig.18	Fields, Woods, Roads and Manorial Sites	48
Fig.8	Late Saxon/Early Medieval Finds	19	Fig.19	Possible Roman Road Alignments	50
Fig.9	Medieval Finds	20	Fig.20	Loddon Church and Market Places	56
Fig.10	Late Medieval to Early Post-Medieval Finds	23	Fig.21	Possible Alignments in South-East Norfolk	74
Fig.11	The Location of Sites	24			

List of Tables

Table 1	Hales, Loddon and Ingloss: Domesday statistics	43
Table 2	Comparison of population by households	44

Contributors

Text:-

Alan Davison, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.
Alayne Fenner, B.A.

Fieldwalking:-

Christopher Barringer
Alan Davison
Joan Davison
Bertram Dollin
Alayne Fenner
George Fenner
Geoffrey Leake
Mary Muir
Terence Read

George Fenner compiled Table 2

Acknowledgements

We are grateful for the kindness and interest of the landowners and farmers who allowed us to walk their fields and so made the survey possible.

Throughout the six years of the investigation the fieldwalkers had the never-failing support and encouragement of Dr Peter Wade-Martins and the members of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit. We are particularly indebted to Andrew Rogerson, Tony Gregory, John Wymer and Frances Healy for their skill, patience and tolerance in identifying the recurring collections of finds brought to them. Additional archaeological information about the three parishes has been retrieved from the Sites and Monuments Record of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit. Susan White gave advice, with endless patience, on the techniques necessary to produce the maps, for which the Norfolk Archaeological Unit made materials and facilities available. Hoste Spalding prepared the excellent base map on which the period distributions are displayed.

Phil and Val Williams generously made available information about their finds made within the parish of Loddon.

We are indebted to the Soil Survey of England and Wales for information used in the compilation of the distribution maps. Messrs W.M. Corbett and P. Cambridge gave invaluable help in interpreting the soils and geology of the three parishes. Professor H. Lamb was kind enough to comment upon the possible relationship between apparent changes in the settlement pattern and climatic variations. Dr Tom Williamson frequently listened to and commented upon views on the settlement history of the three parishes. Kenneth Penn discussed linear features in the light of his own research. Miss Bar-

bara Dodwell answered queries about the *Domesday* entries.

It is quite impossible to recall in detail every conversation with interested archaeologists, professional or amateur, and, especially, with other members of the Hales Hall Archaeological Trust. Such exchanges were invaluable in sifting information and developing ideas. Many took place within the hospitable walls of Hales Hall, home of Terry and Judy Read. Their determination to investigate the history of their house led to the formation of a group of people prepared to research the site of Hales Hall and its immediate environment. Much of the survey described in this volume developed from that preliminary exploration of the fields around the Hall. The generosity of Terry and Judy in allowing their home to be used as a store and a lunch-time rendezvous for muddy-booted fieldwalkers cold and often wet from wintry fields had to be experienced to be appreciated.

We are indebted to Canon Peter Green, vicar of Loddon, and Mr G.A.F. Plunkett, Hon. Librarian of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, for their kindness in making sources available for study. The staffs of the Norfolk Record Office, the British Library and Cambridge University Library are thanked for providing documents consulted. Plates III and VI are by Derek A. Edwards. The Ministry of Defence kindly gave permission for the remainder.

Of necessity this report was substantially written by one of the two principal fieldwalkers. He would like to thank the other, George Fenner, for his immense contribution to the work and the many hours of entertaining and constructive conversation on and off the fields of Loddon and Hales.

The Evolution of Settlement in Three Parishes In North-East Norfolk

by Alan Davison

I. Summary

A sequence of settlement patterns from Prehistoric to Late Medieval and Early Post-Medieval times has been established for three parishes in south-east Norfolk: Loddon, Hales and Heckingham. The documentary evidence has also been reviewed. In all periods, settlement favoured the areas of lighter soils though much of the landscape of all three parishes appears to have been exploited.

Fluctuations and changes in the density and distribution of settlement over the centuries are described and analysed.

II. Introduction

(Fig. 1)

Loddon is some 16.5 km to the south-east of Norwich, while Hales and Heckingham border Loddon on its eastern side (fig. 1). Initially, the survey was undertaken to determine the extent of medieval settlement within Hales and Loddon. The importance of settlement patterns in earlier periods and the need to add Heckingham to the area of the survey became clear subsequently.

Fieldwalking, apart from background documentary research, was the sole method employed. Although excavation of a medieval moat at Hales Hall has been in progress for some time and will, it is hoped, be published subsequently, it is not within the scope of this report.

III. South-east Norfolk

(Fig. 1)

South-east Norfolk is a low-lying area drained by the rivers Waveney and Yare which, with the river Bure, enter the sea at Great Yarmouth. Before joining the Bure the two other rivers unite as they enter Breydon Water. Only the Yare has substantial tributaries within the area. The longest of these is the Tas which joins it just to the south of Norwich at Trowse. The slightly smaller Chet flows in a generally easterly direction to reach the main stream near Hardley Cross. The region thus consists of a low 'peninsula' tapering eastwards, separated from neighbouring areas by the floors of the river valleys. These are very low-lying and marshy and have been exploited in more recent times by means of artificial drainage. The 10m contour has been selected to show the boundary between the slightly higher ground of the 'peninsula' and neighbouring areas and the surrounding flood plains (Fig.1).

The highest ground within the region is near Poringland to the south-east of Norwich where a small area is above 60m OD but the bulk of the Yare-Waveney interfluvium is much lower, 20-30m OD being typical; the highest points of the low ridge separating the valleys of the Yare and the Bure are a little over 30m OD.

The former islands of Flegg and Lothingland shield the area from the open sea. The majority of Flegg is little

more than 10 m above OD. Lothingland, part of which remains within the county of Suffolk, is somewhat higher. Substantial parts of the valley floors and of the Acle Marshes are at, or even below, sea level.

Geologically the area is composed of sedimentary rocks. Cretaceous chalk beds dip gently eastwards; they are close to the surface to the south of Norwich where chalk is quarried at Caistor St Edmund. Eastwards the chalk is concealed beneath the Crag deposits which date from the early Pleistocene. They consist of even-bedded laminated sands and clays and were laid down in very shallow marine waters during a time of transgression. The term 'Crag' has been used in the past rather more widely than is now held to be justified. Within the area under consideration the upper surface of the true Crag is at some depth, being, most likely, well below the level of the flood plains.

Much of the surface of the area is composed of glacial sands, gravels and tills. Of these deposits, the product of the Anglian glaciation, the earliest is that of a brown sandy till (The North Sea Drift), brought by the earliest advance of the ice from the north-east. Above them are sands and gravels of the Corton Beds which were laid down in water during the period when the ice was absent. They are 10-15m in thickness. During this time fluvio-glacial deposits such as outwash materials must have been produced. In the final phase of the Anglian glaciation, ice reappeared from the west, re-shaping the surface and depositing an impermeable till over what remained of the preceding deposits. This last, the Lowestoft Till, is responsible for the more prominent relief features within the area.

The remaining advances of the Pleistocene ice sheets — the Wolstonian and the Devensian — did not extend to south-eastern Norfolk. The surface therefore underwent modification, not only during the Hoxnian and Ipswichian interglacials but also with the return of cold conditions when periglacial processes must have been at work. Finally, much sub-aerial erosion of the higher portions and deposition within the valleys must have occurred in the 11,000 years since the close of the Pleistocene.

The heavier, adhesive, impermeable Lowestoft Till caps the highest parts of the 'peninsulas'. The margins of the cappings are not distinct and the lower slopes are characterised by drier, sandier tills and sands of glacial and interglacial origin. They are widely variable and cannot always be differentiated with confidence. Erratics of Scandinavian and North British origin occur on these outcrops of the earlier glacial phases.

The soils which developed on these deposits differ. Those on the Lowestoft Till are of the Beccles 1 Association and are rather heavy clays or clay loams, not always well-drained in winter. The soils on the earlier deposits are of the Burlingham 1 Association, better-drained, and show variations ranging from coarse and fine loams to sands (Hodge *et al.* 1984, 177-118, 132).

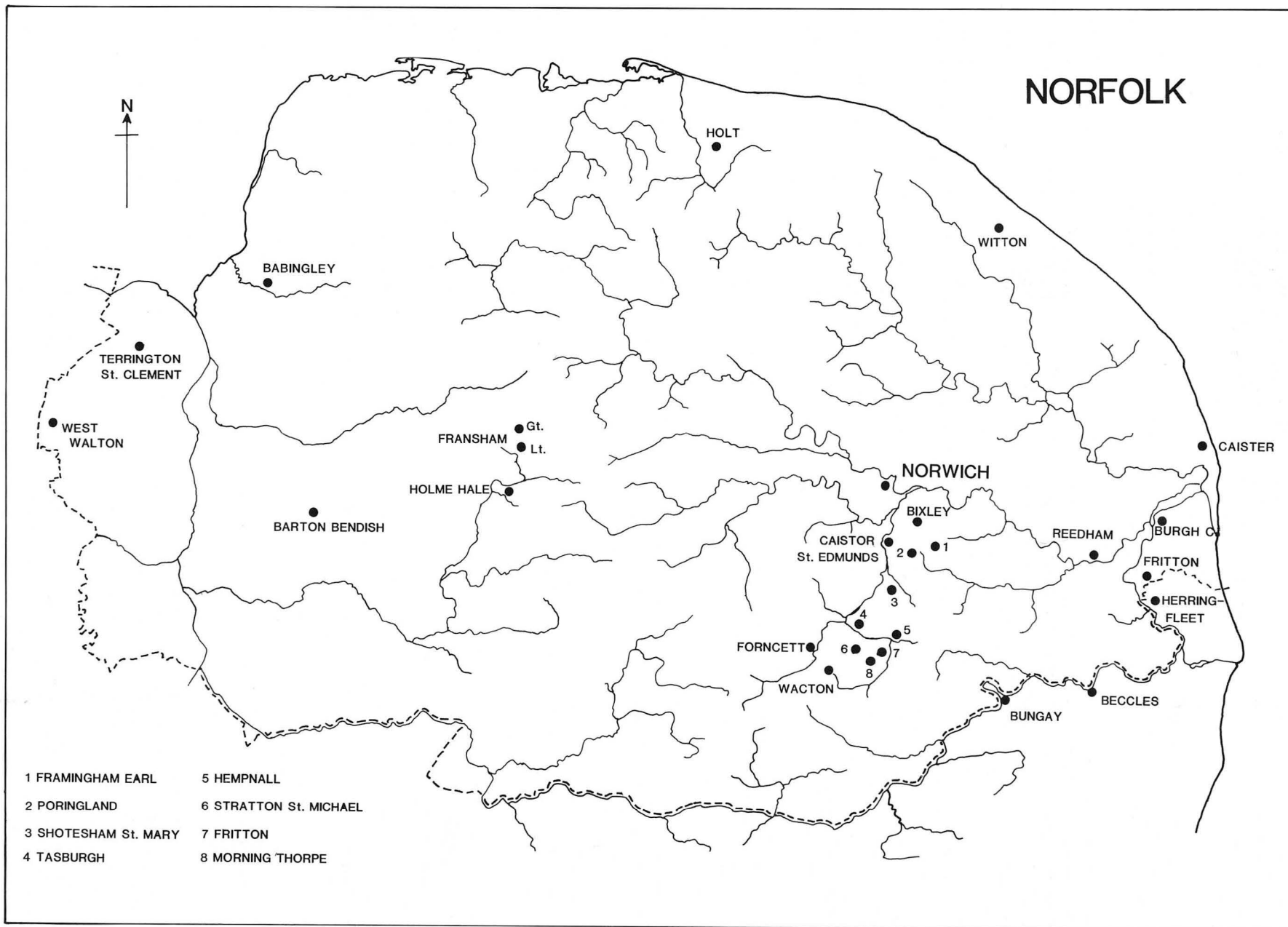


Figure 1. Map of Norfolk showing places mentioned in this volume.

Post-glacial drainage occupies a number of minor valleys which drain into the main streams. Some of these may have a periglacial origin. They contain alluvial and colluvial deposits ranging from gravel spreads to peat.

The main valleys have been influenced by fluctuations in sea-level and also by the development of a spit or sand bank across the mouth of the estuary. Superimposed upon a general background of continuing, slow, subsidence has been a series of shorter-term fluctuations. A small relative fall in sea level bringing a dominance of freshwater conditions would be succeeded by a rise and a re-appearance of estuarine conditions. A fall in sea level resulted in the formation of peat, particularly well-developed in the landward portions of the major valleys.

In Iron Age times the estuary would appear to have been a broad expanse between Flegg and Lothingland, which were almost certainly true islands, and the higher ground to the west. The positions and functions of Caister and Burgh Castle suggest relatively open water during the Roman period, though silting may well have begun. The development of a bar-like feature in the mouth of the estuary, forerunner of the spit on which Great Yarmouth now stands, began the final stage of the development of the marshlands, aided by a fall in relative sea level which reached its lowest point in the eighth century. Breydon Water, on place name evidence, was probably of an extent comparable to that of the present by the ninth century. The name is descriptive of the 'broadening' of a narrow river channel and appears to be of Danish origin (Jennings and Green 1965, 16).

Drier conditions in the valleys brought about by falling sea levels which reached their lowest about AD 700 must have encouraged the exploitation of the deposits of peat which had accumulated (Funnell 1979, 40). Peat extraction was responsible for the appearance of large pits at varying distances from the rivers. Further upstream peat occupied practically the whole of the valley floors, but in the lower reaches the deposits were separated from the river channels by widening expanses of clay and silt and so were confined to the sides of the valleys and to the tributary (side) valleys. The return of a higher sea level, reaching its maximum by about 1300, brought about the flooding of the peat workings and the abandonment of large-scale peat-digging. The old workings became known as Broads. Within the area under consideration most Broads were in the Yare valley (Surlingham, Strumpshaw, Carleton, Rockland, Buckenham and Hassingham Broads, all very much reduced by overgrowth), and in the side valleys in Lothingland (Fritton and Flixton).

Communication by water has long been important. In medieval times boatmen and boats were mentioned in the Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory (Saunders 1930, 82, 99, 141) and there are records of boat-building, the use of manorial boats and the commodities carried in Broadland parishes (Cornford 1982, 4-8, 11-14). Keels and the wherries which replaced them carried substantial cargoes in later centuries, but commercial traffic largely disappeared from the waterways in the early decades of the twentieth century. Sea-going vessels still reach Norwich by way of the Yare but an attempt to link Norwich with Lowestoft by the New Cut, opened in 1833, was not a success. The waterways now carry important holiday traffic.

Not much is known about the pattern of Romano-British settlement apart from the obvious presence of

Venta Icenorum (Caistor St Edmund), Caister-on-Sea and Burgh Castle. Post-Roman settlement in the region has long been dominated by the two Domesday boroughs of Norwich and Yarmouth with a third, Beccles, in neighbouring Suffolk. Bungay, in 1086, was divided into several prosperous holdings, two of them large, and had five churches. Lowestoft grew to importance in later medieval and post-medieval times as a fishing port. In 1086 south-east Norfolk formed part of the more densely-peopled area of the county and this prosperity continued until the fourteenth century when there was a decline. The sequence is mirrored by the rise of markets in many of the smaller settlements within the area; most of these were established in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and no additional markets appeared after 1340. Of these, only two, Acle and Loddon retained something of their status in the twentieth century. The dense pattern of rural settlement respects the 10m contour and most of the villages fringe the major river valleys; the exceptions are related to minor tributary valleys.

The signs of rural decline are exhibited by some deserted villages such as Bixley (TG 2590 0490), West Poringland (TG 2630 0080) and Shotesham St Mary (TM 2370 9880), and many surviving settlements display signs of shrinkage in the form of ruined churches and vacant plots. Some villages, on superficial examination, appear to have dispersed from initial foci.

Previous archaeological records from the parishes of Loddon, Hales and Heckingham were limited to those of finds made along the course of the Loddon by-pass, of stray finds made over the years and, in Heckingham, of discoveries made with a metal-detector, by Mr K. Woodhouse in the years 1983-6. This information, abstracted from the Sites and Monuments Record, is included in this report.

So far, there has been little systematic detailed study of the evolution of settlement within south-east Norfolk. One exception is the work of the late Sylvia Addington (1982, 97-139) in a group of parishes (Fritton, Morning Thorpe, Stratton St. Michael, Tasburgh and part of Hempnall) which straddle the western margin of the area shown on Fig. 1. Her study was based on hedgerow-dating from botanical evidence, and attempted to discover the former pattern of woodland, open fields, early enclosures and settlement within the group. Fieldwalking, earthwork survey, and analysis of placenames and evidence from maps and documents were used in a supporting role.

The first parish survey published within the county as a whole was that of Witton, near North Walsham, in north-east Norfolk (Lawson 1983). There the work was based primarily on collections made over many years by Mr John Owles from the fields of his farm. Fieldwalking of whole parishes was not attempted in a survey of village sites in Launditch Hundred in central Norfolk; it was restricted to those parts which seemed likely to produce settlement evidence (Wade-Martins 1980a, 4). Similarly, studies of village desertion (Cushion *et al.* 1982; Davison *et al.* 1988) made use of fieldwalking solely in a selective manner.

However, a survey of the parish of West Walton in the Silt Fen has recently been published (Silvester 1985) and surveys of total parishes are nearing completion for Barton Bendish and for Fransham (Rogerson forthcoming) in west and central Norfolk. The Norfolk Research Committee has been making an interdisciplinary survey,

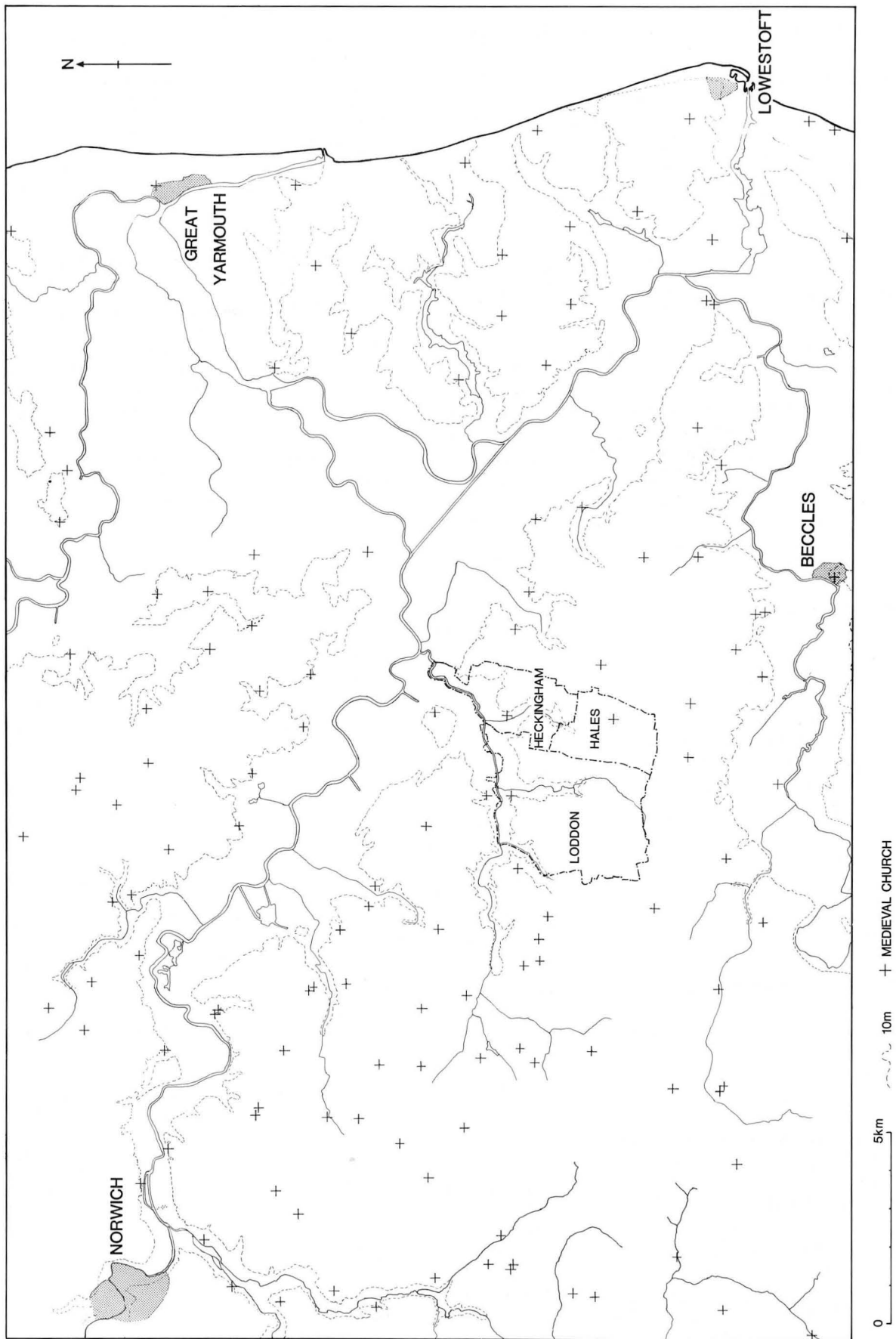


Figure 2. The Location of the Three Parishes. Scale 1:150,000.

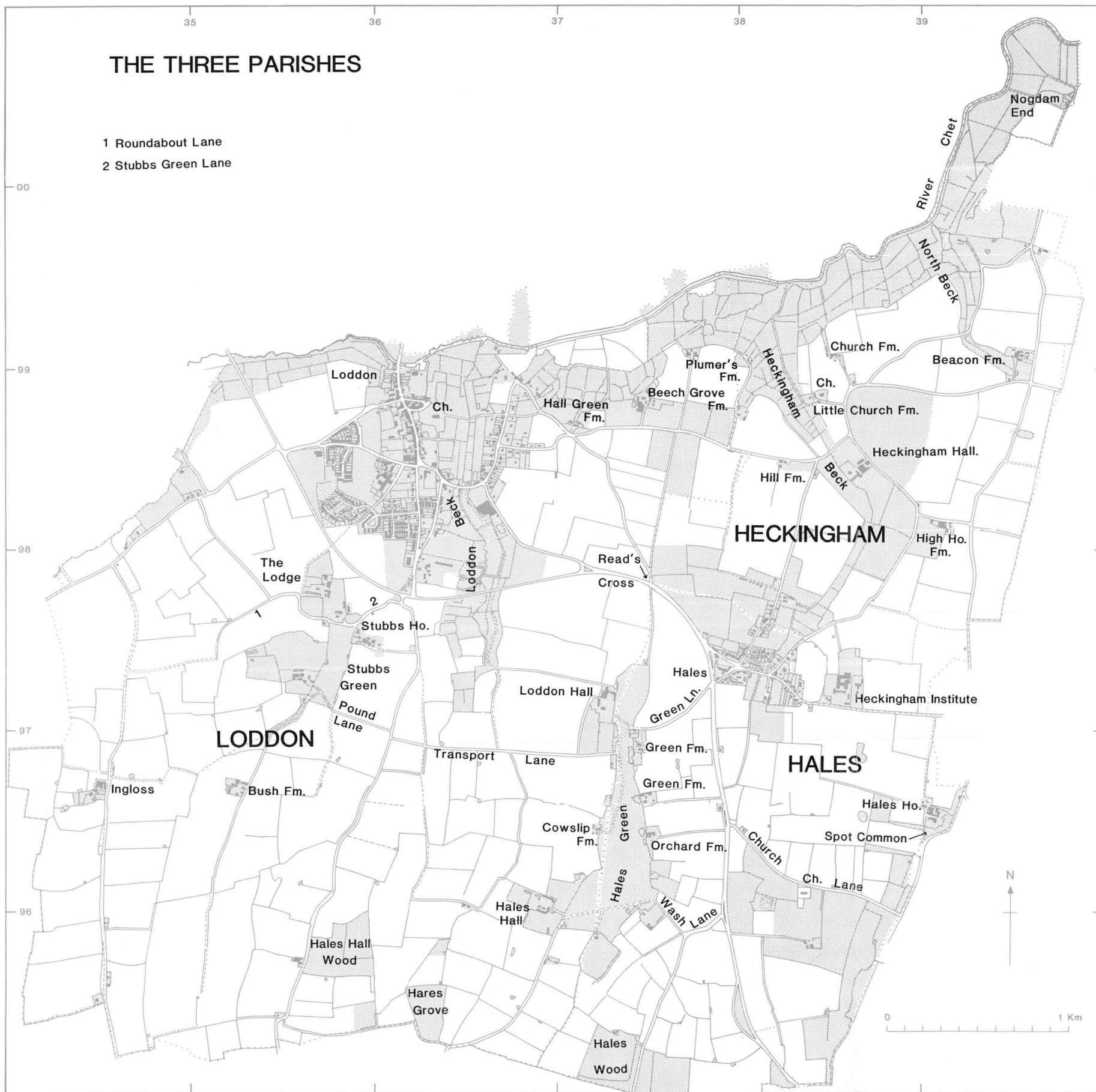


Figure 3. The Three Parishes. Scale 1:25,000

including fieldwalking, of the parish of Wacton in south Norfolk. A field survey of the Norfolk Fenland is nearing completion (Silvester 1989). In East Suffolk the work of M. Hardy (Hardy 1985, 47-8; Hardy and Martin 1987, 233-5), of the South-east Suffolk Field Survey (Newman 1987, 231-4) and of P. Warner (1987) is throwing light on the evolution of rural settlement there. It is hoped that this report will provide a starting-point for further investigations in south-east Norfolk and afford comparison with studies in neighbouring but contrasting areas.

IV. The Topography and Soils of the Parishes of Hales, Heckingham and Loddon (Plates I and II)

These contiguous parishes are of unequal areas: Loddon has 3042 acres (1231.05 hectares), Heckingham has 1099 acres (444.73 hectares) and Hales has 986 acres (399.02 hectares). Loddon and Hales have southern boundaries on the interfluvium separating the valleys of the Chet and the Waveney. These boundaries, in fact, form a considerable section of an east-to-west line which is eventually interrupted by the parish of Thwaite. Loddon, unlike Hales, has the River Chet, for the most part, as its northern boundary. Enclaves of Loddon to the north, and Chedgrave to the south of the Chet must indicate former courses of that river. Hales is separated from the Chet by the parish of Heckingham which has an extensive frontage on the river.

The landscape of the three parishes may be described, in a general sense, as sloping gently from just over 40m in the south-western corner of Loddon to less than 5m on the floor of the Chet valley. The surface is varied by several small valley systems which lead northwards to the Chet valley.

These are occupied by small streams, their courses straightened by improvements to drainage and largely intermittent in their upper reaches. The most significant is the Loddon Beck which, after receiving a substantial tributary valley, enters the Chet just to the east of the town of Loddon. On the western side of the parish of Loddon is another stream which forms the boundary with Sisland. It is, perhaps, appropriate to call it the Sisland Stream. In Heckingham there are two small streams. The western one, called, in past times, The Beck, is the larger; the eastern one was once called the North Beck.

All these small valleys are of a size and form that suggest that they were made by streams larger than those now occupying them, or streams long vanished. The lower sections of the valleys of the Loddon and Heckingham Becks have flat floors dissected by drainage ditches, while the valley sides are surprisingly steep, particularly at Warren Hills in Loddon and to the south of the Hall in Heckingham. It is possible that the valleys owe something of their form to forces at work under periglacial conditions.

There are some notable variations in the soils within the three parishes. The higher portions of the Waveney-Chet interfluvium are capped with a chalky boulder clay, the product of the Lowestoft Advance of the Anglian Glaciation. In winter, especially in rainy periods, this can become very cohesive: on the southern end of Hales Green it is not unusual for pools of water to remain on the surface for days. Beneath this deposit, and out-cropping lower down the slopes, are sandy clays and glacial and

interglacial sands laid down during and after an earlier Anglian advance. The soil developed on this deposit is much better drained though it is variable: there are patches of clay which can become sticky under wet conditions, but there are also sandy areas where the soil may blow when it is very dry. Heckingham differs from the other two parishes in having no extension on to the heavier chalky boulder clay to the south.

In the floors of the valleys soil conditions are again different. Here there are alluvial and colluvial deposits. Silts and peats, drained by small streams and occasionally waterlogged during the winter are fringed by spreads of sands and gravels composed of material washed down the slopes. Some of these fans may owe their origin to events in periglacial times but the process may have continued into later periods. There are some indications of slight gullying on some of the steeper slopes to the north-west of Hales Green. The existence of these spreads of material along the sides of the valley floors can create subtle but important differences in slope and altitude. One of these attracted settlement in two periods (Site 46).

The Chet valley has a wide alluvial floor which is still under permanent pasture and there are significant areas of pasture in the lower sections of the valley of the Sisland stream, the Loddon Beck and the Heckingham Beck. There is carr woodland in the lower valley of the North Beck. Permanent pasture is otherwise limited in the main to the surviving medieval Hales and Stubbs Greens which, paradoxically, are located on the ridges separating minor valleys (Plates I and II). There are several areas of woodland on the heavier soils near the southern borders of Hales and Loddon. The overall proportion of land which is arable in the three parishes is high, though less so in Heckingham. A limited amount of semi-permanent pasture exists; most significant to this study is an area in Hales immediately surrounding the church on three sides.

A substantial area in the northern end of the parish of Loddon is obscured by the streets and buildings of the town. The growth of the town, including recent developments on its southern and south-western margins may well conceal important evidence.

A smaller area covered largely by dwellings is the modern settlement known as Hales which actually extends partly into Heckingham. This development at the junction of the B1136 (Yarmouth Road) with the A146 seems to be of comparatively recent origin as Faden's Map of 1797 shows no settlement apart from the Heckingham House of Industry.

The remainder of the three parishes has no settlement apart from farms and scattered housing; Hales church, and Heckingham church to some extent, are isolated.

V. Field-walking methods adopted in the survey of the parishes of Hales and Loddon

Field-walking was not, initially, begun on a parish basis. Investigation of the moat and standing buildings at Hales Hall led to speculation as to the possibility of earlier buildings on the site and their relationship to Hales Green. This prompted a limited field-walking programme which established the existence of medieval settlement around the Green. In the process other discoveries were made and this led to a decision to extend the survey to cover both parishes (Hales Hall lies within



Plate I. Hales Green, Hales Hall with associated features, and the area of the medieval park of '*Loddon iuxta Hales*'. Transport Lane extends westward from the northern portion of Hales Green and part of Stubbs Green appears in the north-west corner. 106G/UK 930/16 OCT 1945/3074. British Crown copyright/M.O.D.



Plate II. The town of Loddon before recent expansion and by-pass construction. The two crossing-places of the Chet, the pastures of the valley of the Loddon Beck, and Stubbs Green are all visible. Some earthworks still survived at this time at the north-east corner of the Green, corresponding with Sites 63/3 and 63/4. Part of a moat at the Lodge on Stubbs Green can also be seen. 106 G/UK 930/16 OCT 1945/4072. British Crown copyright/M.O.D.

the parish of Loddon, as does a small western portion of Hales Green).

The work was carried out, in the later stages, by two field-walkers, Alan Davison and George Fenner, who were able to spend one day in each week, regularly, throughout the walking season. In the early part of the investigation there were volunteers from members of the Hales Hall Trust and other interested persons who gave assistance. From time to time, even in the later days, it was possible to field three or four walkers though their attendance was not regular.

The scale of the undertaking and the limited time available to the two principals meant that the survey was prolonged over five seasons. Work began in the autumn of 1980 and was, in the main, completed in the spring of 1985.

The principles upon which the survey was conducted are as follows:-

1. Every arable field was examined.
2. The survey was conducted by walking parallel strips at intervals of 5 m. No attempt was made to 'grid' any sites: given the extent of the area to be covered such detailed examination would have taken too long.
3. A sketch plan was made of each field and the nature and extent of any concentrations of finds were noted, together with other relevant details such as variations of soil colouring, the condition of the surface when walking was undertaken and the presence of pits and other inequalities. Copies of these sketch plans were placed with the Norfolk Archaeological Unit.
4. Finds were submitted regularly for identification and recording to the Norfolk Archaeological Unit.
5. It was decided to dispense with the recording of time spent on each site because:-
 - (a) Variations in experience and in ability to 'see' finds among helpers lessened the significance of the numbering of 'person-hours'.
 - (b) Differences in surfaces and soil types introduced similar imponderables. It proved easier to detect sherds on sandier surfaces than on the more adhesive clays. However, patches of gravel which occur among the sandy tills effectively disguise potsherds among the many small stones.
 - (c) It was suspected as time wore on that weather conditions also affected the degree of concentration of the individual from day to day.
 - (d) The expertise of the two principals was much greater in the final seasons thus underlining the inherent problem in maintaining the same standard throughout a survey.

The normal survey method ensured that little of the surface went unseen. Occasionally, a less intensive method was adopted to complete the survey of a field where initial examination had revealed little of note. On these occasions the interval between strips were increased to 10m and, very occasionally, when the shape of the field suggested it, a zig-zag pattern giving comparable coverage was adopted. Use of these methods was not confined to any one soil type. Areas surveyed in this way and subsequently checked showed that this variation of method gave dependable results.

The examination of some fields was much more thorough than the average. The most obvious examples were those which yielded early material; the search for diagnostic evidence — especially in the case of Iron Age/Early Saxon pottery — led to very close, painstaking inspection for which 'walking' is perhaps too clumsy a term for such a slow process. Other sites which deserved similar treatment were those which exhibited signs of interesting sequences of colonisation and those which seemed to have been abandoned quickly. Diametrically opposed to the areas of rich finds were those which appeared to have little beyond relatively modern debris;

sometimes the absence of earlier material from fields where it might reasonably have been expected proved sufficiently intriguing to warrant further search. Where sites were re-examined the resulting finds were added to those of the first examination.

It is important to stress that when opportunities to re-examine fields under superior conditions presented themselves they were frequently taken. Such visits were sometimes used to instruct potential recruits to the field-walking team. There were also occasions when fields already walked had to be crossed in order to reach unexamined areas — these were used as a rough check on work already completed. Further examination of a field would sometimes involve walking the field in a different direction or, indeed, under different surface conditions. Re-examination of some sites brought strikingly disconcerting results. One green-side group of sites (Hales 5-11), an old pasture which had been ploughed for the first time, yielded very large quantities of medieval and early post-medieval sherds, many of large size. A visit made in the following season brought very disappointing results. Two sites, one of medieval date (23) and one of early medieval and medieval date (28), defied detection on subsequent visits. It is not easy to account for these mysterious disappearances or variations of yield. Deeper ploughing for two years might bring previously untouched soil to the surface in one to be buried again in the other and to remain concealed during a subsequent period of shallower cultivation, but this can only be a speculative suggestion. These instances expose some of the drawbacks of the method adopted. A long period of observation — annual inspection of each site for many years — would be an ideal which time and manpower place well beyond the reach of a survey of this kind. Nevertheless, given the size of the area involved, it can be asserted with confidence that the survey has been thorough.

It should be noted that an area bordering the parish of Sisland had been field-walked by Phil and Val Williams as part of a study of the parish of Sisland. It was, therefore, not surveyed by members of the Hales Hall Archaeological Trust; we are grateful for permission to include their findings on the distribution maps and elsewhere in this paper. The method used by them in this small area of Loddon differed from that employed by members of the Trust. Preliminary field-walking by the Sisland Stream had shown an apparent absence of pottery. However, much material began to appear in the 1980s probably as the result of drying-out caused by recent drainage schemes in the Yare valley (Williams 1984). The examination was carried out by dividing the surface into squares and calculating the intensity of finds in each square. The information obtained has had to be portrayed in somewhat different fashion on the distribution maps.

VI. Field-walking in the parish of Heckingham

This parish was walked subsequently and under somewhat different circumstances. The nature of certain finds already made there together with its position in relation to Hales and Loddon led the Norfolk Archaeological Unit to suggest that it too should be examined. Changed circumstances made it possible for the writer to devote much more time to field work and a survey of Heckingham was

carried out by him, with some help on five occasions, in the one season of 1985-6. Although completed as a distinct undertaking, the logic of publishing the findings here is obvious. The parish completes the rectangle formed with the two other parishes and offers contrasts and comparisons. Heckingham and Hales are, roughly, halves of a unit equivalent to that of Loddon, each putative 'half' having a church of similar size and comparable architectural characteristics.

The method used was similar: fields were walked in lines about ten paces (7m) apart. Occasionally the spacing was doubled where circumstances appeared to suggest it was appropriate. A few sites which proved to be of special significance were examined on more than one occasion. Some which had revealed little of archaeological importance were also checked subsequently, such checks confirming earlier findings. As in Loddon and Hales, sketch plans were made.

The chief difference in the method was that Heckingham was walked almost entirely by one person and to a clearly-defined timetable. The standard of consistency is therefore rather greater in this parish. Access to a comparatively small area of farmland near the southern boundary was, unfortunately, denied. It has, therefore, been shown as 'unexamined' on the accompanying maps.

It is, perhaps, not inappropriate to consider other factors which can introduce marked complications which make standardisation difficult. These are the variations in farming practice and the seasons themselves. Certain areas of arable land were open to thorough inspection because their surfaces, ploughed in the autumn, awaited a spring sowing. Autumn-sown cereals grew slowly and gave good opportunities for field-walking when temperatures were a little less than normal, but a mild autumn encouraged growth which obscured the surface too rapidly. The practice of rapid ploughing, cultivation and drilling after harvest favoured by some farmers shortens the time available in this instance. The appearance of oil-seed rape as a popular component of a rotation is a problem as it quickly obscures the entire surface and cannot be walked; it can also be a nuisance as a self-sown crop. On occasion it was apparently drilled directly into stubble thus making it impossible to examine a considerable area for two winters. Stands of maize are sometimes left as feed and cover for game birds throughout the winter, while the cultivation of strips of market garden crops in fields which mature at different stages renders consistent survey of a complete field very difficult.

It is obvious that these are further variables to place with human fallibility and soil differences to make it very hard to establish a consistent standard of inspection over a substantial area and a lengthy period of time.

There are other difficulties inherent in the use of fieldwalking as a mode of archaeological investigation. The problem of dating Iron Age finds in Norfolk will be commented upon elsewhere in this report and it is probable that a proportion of the heavily abraded flint-gritted sherds found among field scatters should be attributed to this period also. Distinguishing between undecorated body sherds of the Iron Age and Early Saxon periods is also very difficult.

Sherds on the surface of the ploughsoil will be exposed to frost action. Acid soils will attack calcareous material in pottery; this is particularly notable with some shelly wares. There may be other chemical reactions

which cause disintegration and the unknown effects of modern chemical fertilisers and sprays adds another possible dimension to this problem. All these processes may result in the rapid reduction of certain types of pottery and thus remove evidence of activity.

Pottery on fields which have been ploughed for centuries becomes abraded, so removing distinctive surface decoration. It is often difficult to distinguish abraded coarse Romano-British greyware from somewhat similar medieval fabrics. This poses a problem on multi-period sites where both may occur and also where both may exist as part of a general manuring scatter over the fields. It is by no means certain as to how far pottery can be moved, by ploughing, from its original place of deposition. This may be quite possible on sloping ground.

Absence or scarcity of finds may be misleading. It may mean that artefacts lie below normal plough depth. Such a situation is most likely to occur at the foot of a slope where soil has drifted downslope and buried potential sites. Pottery thrown into rubbish pits or the bottoms of ditches would also be beyond plough depth. The scarcity of finds might mean that a society used a higher proportion of utensils made from perishable materials so that pottery fragments would be less numerous.

The assumption that a scatter of pottery has been distributed incidentally by manuring and can thus be taken as an indicator of the extent of cultivation at a given time must be treated with reservation. Romano-British pottery lying on the ground surface beneath a medieval manure pile might be re-distributed with the manure. Carts going to collect clay, sand or gravel from pits on common land may be responsible for pottery which occurs near the pits. Soil, rubble, stones or slag can be used as infill at some point (Davison 1980, 303) and may give misleading evidence ranging from worked flints to medieval building materials.

Fieldwalking has been described as, at best, no more than informed guesswork (Foard 1980, 38). Nevertheless, the evidence is sufficient to suggest past patterns of settlement and activity provided that no excessive claims are made.

VII. The definition of a site

During the survey sites in Hales and Loddon were numbered according to the sequence in which they were examined. These were awarded as seemed appropriate at the time of discovery, hence the densely-packed sites 5-12 on the south-east margin of Hales Green were each numbered. On the other hand, a field which gave a mere scatter received one number only. A fresh sequence of numbers was used for Heckingham, each being prefixed with the initial H. Contexts within a site are distinguished by the addition of a further number. The first context within Site 37 would be shown thus: Site 37/1.

This private system of numbering is used for convenience in this report; it should be distinguished from numbers awarded when the site were recorded on the Sites and Monuments Record (henceforward SMR). The SMR numbers for the sites are given in the tables at the end of the report.

It is necessary at this point to consider to what degree a concentration of finds may be deemed to constitute an area of settlement.

A typical field might yield finds from many centuries. Site 81 is an example. It is a large arable field with

rather sandy boulder clay soils and finds consisted of eleven flints, nine medieval unglazed sherds and one glazed sherd, three late medieval/transitional sherds, four sherds of glazed red earthenware, one of glazed grey earthenware, one unglazed oxidised piece of probable post-medieval date, one piece of stoneware, one piece of Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware of eighteenth century date, two pieces of slag and a fragment of vitrified brick or tile. There was no concentration of any kind and this might be fairly regarded as a 'manuring scatter' which merely indicates cultivation at various periods. Another field immediately to the north, Site 122, smaller but with similar soils, gave three flint tools, one sherd of fine sandy Ipswich-type Ware, three sherds of probable Romano-British greyware, two sherds which could be Romano-British or medieval, one damaged rim from either a Thetford-type jar or a medieval one, five medieval unglazed sherds, one jug rim of late medieval/transitional date, two glazed red earthenware sherds, two pieces of stoneware and a few modern pieces. This, again, shows a spread from many periods without concentration but it includes one piece of Ipswich-type Ware, a survivor from a period from which, at the present state of knowledge, pottery is comparatively scarce. Although there is only one sherd its significance is rather greater than that of a sherd of medieval ware found in similar circumstances. Both sites may have suffered some disturbance because of the construction of the Loddon by-pass.

Obviously, among the factors which must be decisive in defining a site of significance are the quantity of the finds from a particular period and the extent of the area from which they have been collected. A scatter of twenty-to-thirty thirteenth/fourteenth-century pieces derived from the surface of a large field indicates no more than manuring distribution; if twenty-five of those sherds came from a small area, say 100 square metres in one corner of that field, then it might be considered a small site. Seven pieces of Ipswich-type Ware found in close proximity could be deemed, with justification, to indicate an undoubted site of that period, seven pieces of medieval pottery would not. The survival rate of earlier pottery — Late Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age — must mean that finds from those periods have a greater significance even if they are small in quantity.

Precise demarcation of a site gives problems. The existence of a site in a given area may be beyond doubt but its limits may be less distinct and open to debate, especially if the site is on sloping ground where soil creep may be suspected. Greater concentrations within sites which possibly represent buildings can be detected although there are cases where the pattern of finds within a site could be seen in different ways by two field-walkers. Site 37/1 is one where there are vague hints of concentration within a strip of ground by the side of Hales Green.

For the purpose of this report the significance of sites is adjudged with these criteria in mind. Their extent as shown on maps is based on notes and sketch plans made in the field, but it is acknowledged that a subjective element cannot be entirely excluded. Allowance for the undue weighting given by repeated examination of some sites has been made in the interpretation of 'concentrations' on the distribution maps. The presence of pottery as part of a 'manuring scatter' has been shown as it gives some indication of areas of exploitation in successive periods.

VIII. The mapping of sites

(Fig. 11)

As the area studied is substantial a scale of 1:10,000 was chosen as a base for mapping. This enables the complete distribution to be seen at a glance. The problems encountered in plotting are akin to those of defining a site in other ways. Where a significant concentration has been deemed to exist it has been shown by marking in its extent. Minor sites cannot be shown in this way but are recognised as having some importance. A dot is taken as an indication that 1 — 10 finds have been made either:-

1. In a field as a general scatter, in which case the dot is placed centrally within the area of the field.
2. In one particular area: in this case the dot is shown at the point of occurrence.

If a number of distinct minor contexts has been noted within a site, a dot is placed to represent each. Dots can be used to indicate numbers of finds in a given area or at a certain context on the same principles as state in (1) and (2) above:-

- represents 1 — 10 finds
- represents 11 — 20 finds
- represents 21 — 30 finds

For multi-period maps the same principle has been applied using varied symbols. To portray the distribution of Early and Middle Saxon finds, one dot has been taken to show a single find only. Concentrations for this period have been shown in the same way as for other periods.

Previous finds recorded on the SMR have been shown on the maps in accordance with the method adopted for this survey.

The sequence of maps has been selected to show something of the shifts and the ebb and flow of settlement through the ages. It is not intended to imply that the changes portrayed in this fashion were as abrupt as the arbitrary divisions imposed by mapping might suggest.

The sites are shown by their numbers on a map of the same scale as those in the distribution series (Fig.11). Fields from which no finds of archaeological significance were obtained are left blank, land unexamined (buildings, gardens, pasture, woodland and land to which access was not permitted) is shown stippled.

IX. The Distribution of Finds by Periods

Prehistoric Finds

(Fig. 4)

Mesolithic

(Fig. 13)

Mesolithic finds are few, although there is some association with the valley of the Heckingham Beck.

1. **Axe, site 43.** Found by K. Morgan, before survey undertaken.
2. **Micro-blade, site H8** (Heckingham).
3. **Micro-core, site H12d** (Heckingham).

Late Neolithic, Early Bronze Age

Flints

The bulk of the material is cores, flakes and blades. The blade-like element is consistent with the diagnostic or finished pieces, they tend to be fresher than the rest. Many cores and flakes are crude and would not be untypi-

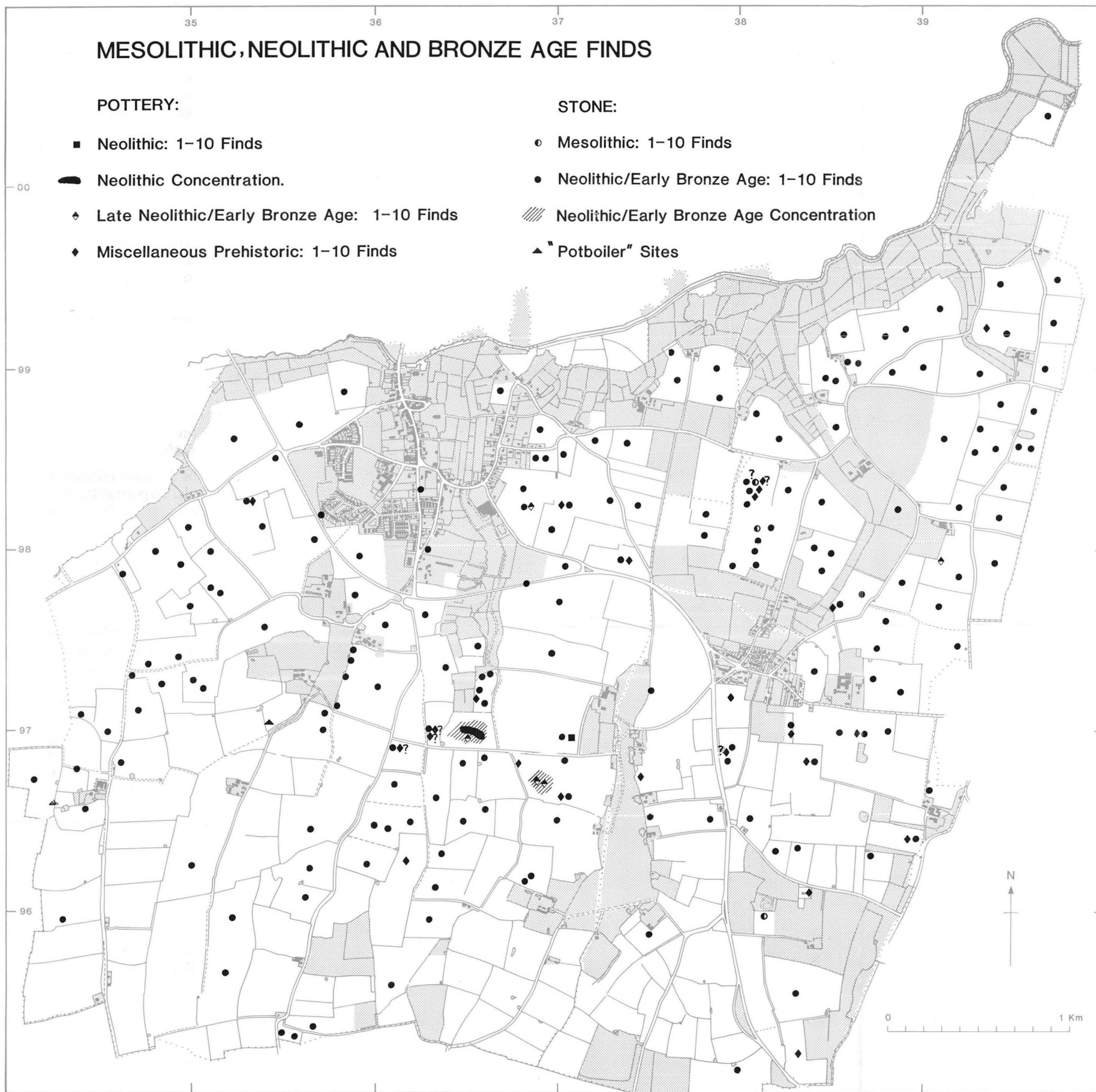


Figure 4. Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age Finds. Scale 1:25,000.



Figure 5. Iron Age Finds. Scale 1:25,000

cal of post-Neolithic work. Some of the cores are on very thin natural pieces: there may have been a shortage of suitable raw material, therefore the cruder pieces could in fact be Neolithic (J. Wymer).

After allowing for current factors in retrieval variations, the density of finds is greater in the northern portions of Hales and Loddon and in Heckingham, particularly at sites 42 and 14, both of which are on higher ground (see discussion pp. 22,26).

Site 42: over 250 worked flints, mainly flakes (some retouched), cores, blades.

Site 14: over 90 worked flints

1. **Neolithic flaked axe**, plano-convex in section. *Site 42.*
2. **Pointed or chisel arrowhead**, late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. *Site 14.*
3. **Stone axe**, countersunk perforation at one end (petrology N253 SMR No. 18379). Found before survey undertaken.
4. **Leaf-shaped flint arrowhead**, (SMR No. 12896). Found before survey undertaken.
5. **Blade** with ground edge, *site 46.*
6. Small **leaf point**, *site 13.*
7. **Chisel** or pick, *site 27.*
8. Various scrapers, *sites 45, 23, 76, 142.*
9. Portion of **sickle-blade** or knife, ripple-flaked, one polished edge, other showing wear also partly polished, one end broken slightly reflaked in antiquity, other shows traces of burning. *Site 150*
10. **Arrowhead**, *site 92.*
11. Seven scrapers, *site H25.*
12. Long retouched **blade**, proximal end, possibly leaf point or sickle blade broken during secondary working. *Site H25.*
13. Two scrapers, *site-H42.*
14. Polished **flint axe**, found 1950 (SMR No. 10510), *sites H5-12.*
15. Rounded **scraper**, well made. *Site H43.*
16. Two scrapers, *site H31.*
17. Well-flaked **slug knife**, *site H31.*
18. Large barbed and tanged **arrowhead**, fresh condition, one barb missing, possibly broken in manufacture. Possible forgery (J. Wymer). *Site 153.*

Pottery

Finds of prehistoric pottery have been more restricted in their distribution. Nothing attributable with confidence has been found (apart from one outlier at Site 93) to the south of Site 72 or to the west of Site 113. Small flint-gritted, heavily abraded body sherds might well be of the Iron age, the Heckingham valley sites showing a substantial Romano-British presence. The broad dispersal is, with one exception, just above or below the 20m contour, and biased towards the two sites that show marked concentrations of worked flints. Site 42 may have acted as a 'central place', see full discussion on p.66.

1. Late Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age grogged fabrics, *Site 14.*
2. Late Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age decorated fragment, *Site 14.*
3. Probable **Grooved Ware** fragment, *Site 14.*
4. Heavily flint-gritted ware, probably Neolithic, *Site 42.*
5. **Mildenhall** ware, *Site 42.*
6. **Beaker** sherds, *Site 42.*
7. **Grooved Ware**, *Site 42.*
8. Late Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age sherds, *Site 42.*
9. Rim, probably Neolithic, *Site 29.*
10. Body sherd, probably Neolithic, *Site 29.*
11. Late Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age sherd, *Site 161.*
12. 'Miscellaneous prehistoric' sherd, *Site 149.*
13. Bronze Age **Collared Urn**, collar sherd, *Site H22.*
14. 'Miscellaneous prehistoric' flint-gritted ware sherds, *Site H44/1, Site H21, Sites H12c/d/e.*

Iron Age c. 750 BC — 1st century AD (Fig.5)

The settlement pattern suggested by the distribution of finds appears limited. To some extent this may be attribu-

table to uncertainties of identification. There are problems in distinguishing possible Early Saxon sherds and, as already noted, some at least of the 'miscellaneous' flint-gritted sherds should be added, especially those found in association with Romano-British material. With these reservations it is still permissible to recognise the importance of the central belt of territory with the converging valleys of the Loddon Beck and the valleys of the Sisland Stream and Heckingham Beck attracting settlement.

Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age.

1. Fine rim. *Site 44.*
2. Sherd, **Harling-type** carination. *Site 18.*
3. Sherd, **Harling-type**. *Site 13.*
4. One rim, one sherd. *Site 90.*
5. Rim from flared-rim bowl, **Cromer-Fengate** style. *Site 121.*
6. One rim, four sherds, suggesting continuity from Collared Urn period. *Site H22.*

Later Iron Age.

1. Rim and sherds of sandy fabric, sherd with finger rustication. A major concentration. *Site 14.*
 2. Rim from straight-sided bowl, two other rims, scored decorated sherd, six other sherds. *Site 65.*
 3. One **grooved** sherd, fifteen possible sherds. *Site 40.*
 4. Base of sandy wheel-thrown fabric, 1st century Iron Age or Romano-British. *Site H11.*
 5. One sherd, four possible sherds. *Site 128.*
- Other sites where nothing diagnostic was found but where Iron Age sherds are probably or possibly present are Sites 17a, 41, 42, 79, 87, H4, H25, and H44.

The Romano-British Settlement AD 43 — c.AD 410 (Fig. 6, plate III)

The continuing importance of the central belt is immediately obvious: not only do the areas of activity evident in earlier periods remain, but they show evidence of growth and additional centres are established. Basic information about each concentration is given in this section, detailed discussion of significant sites will follow below.

The hint of expansion in the area around Sites 14 and 42, evident in the Iron Age, became marked in the Romano-British period. The confluence of the headstreams of the Loddon Beck became the focus of a loosely-nucleated group of occupation areas (although concurrent occupation is difficult to prove).

Site 14. 15m OD, 2800m². Marked signs of occupation, sandy knoll at the end of a ridge, east side of valley leading to the north. Late 1st century — third century, some 4th century finds.

Site 42. 10m OD, c. 10,000m². Loam soil, gentle slope to north, between confluence of two streams. Heavier clay to south, gravelly lower slope before peat of valley floor. 2nd — 4th century pottery; tiles, tegulae, boxtiles, iron slag.

Site 44. 10m OD, c. 6250m². Fan of higher, drier soil. Separated from Site 42 by stream and wetter clay devoid of pottery. No datable finds.

Site 40. 15m OD, c. 13,750m². Separated from Site 44 by marked lynchet, once a road (Faden 1797) now a footpath. Well-drained spur on west side of valley joining Loddon Beck. 4th-century, some earlier finds, rim of Mayen Ware, four boxtiles.

Site 41. 15m OD, c. 3700m². Separated from Site 40 by Transport Lane, probably continuation of 40. Downward sandy slope. 4th-century.

Site 17a. 12m OD, 5000m². Lower western slope of Loddon Beck valley, loamy clay. Bounded by hedge to west, soil mark visible from the air close to earlier alignment of Transport Lane. Concentration coincides with this. Coarse wares, probably some medieval, slag. Site 17 to south, large rectangular system of soil marks, possible building (villa?) outline. Insignificant finds.

Site 29. 10-20m OD, c. 5000m². East side of Loddon Beck, sandy. West of track, possibly extending under this. 3rd-4th century pottery, iron smelting slag, boxtiles, tegulae, an imbrex. Sherd from poppyhead barbotine vessel.

Site 19. 10-20m OD, two concentrations c. 3700m² and c. 7000m². 2nd-3rd centuries, boxtile and tegula in building material.

Site 16. c.15-20m OD, c.6000m². South of Transport Lane, separated from Site 29 by road and large pit (now filled). Dry valley separates it from Sites 14 and 21 but linked with them by scattered finds. 3rd and 4th century; some slag and fragment Hertfordshire puddingstone.

Site 21. 15m OD, c.3600m². On ridge, more or less linked with Site 14. No accurate dating; some medieval sherds may be present.

Site 46. c.5m OD, on gravel spread on valley floor next to stream. Deep ditch to east prolonged in curve to south-west enclosing site. Little pottery but much building material. Detailed discussion follows below.

Site 87. c.25m OD, c.7500m². Sandy soil on flat site sloping gently west. Compact concentration; 2nd to 3rd century, possible Iron Age presence (p.00). Possible fragment building material.

Site 90. 15-20m OD, c.2500m². Sandy soil, site associated with recently-removed hedge line, close to old gravel pits. Nothing datable, possible Iron Age presence (p.15). Much reduced pantile of post-medieval date.

Site 128. c.15+m OD, c.4000m² but vaguely-defined under poor conditions. South-facing side of gentle spur. Does not appear to extend to house or across road. Coin of Carausius (AD 287-293).

Site 48. 25+m OD, c.10,000m². Clay-loam soil, facing north on crest of apex of ridge separating two valleys leading to Heckingham Beck. Separated from Site 49 by a field boundary (p.00). Some medieval coarse, and early post-medieval wares present. Mainly 4th-century with some 2nd-and 3rd-century. Boxtile and tegulae; portion of Hertfordshire puddingstone.

Site 99. Very worn *Sestertius*, early to mid-2nd century. Sole find.

Site 131. c.20m OD, c.5000m². On spur over shallow dry valley. Thin concentration, 2nd-3rd century; tegula, flue tile, probable imbrex.

Sites 113/114. Basically one site, c.20m OD, c.18,750m². North-eastern side of same dry valley as Site 131. Poor conditions, finds suggest strong presence. 2nd-3rd century, building materials include boxtiles.

Site 161. c.15m OD, c.15,000m², west facing side of valley of Loddon Beck. Sandy loam soil. Two WNW-ESE ridges faintly discernible. No precise dating. Possible vitrified tile.

Sites H12 c-f. c.15m OD, c.15,000m², sloping north to Chet valley. 3rd-century date most probable; tegula. Some medieval coarse ware present.

Sites H17a/b and H43. Probably parts of one site, c.10m OD, c.10,000m² known area. Light sandy clay-loam, light sand in places. 2nd-3rd centuries.

Site H25/2. c.12m OD, c.2500m². Brow of west slope of Heckingham Beck valley. Few finds, none datable.

Site H44/2. c.10m OD, c.1300m², top of short steep slope on edge of flood plain of Heckingham Beck. Small number finds, 2nd-3rd centuries.

Early Saxon Settlement c. 410–650

(Fig 7)

Settlement dwindled drastically at the close of the Romano-British period. During this survey only two Early Saxon sites were found in Loddon, one in Heckingham and none in Hales.

Site 42. Twenty-one rims, six grooved decorated sherds, one bossed sherd, a stamped sherd, one grooved sherd with simple circular depressions. Fragments of a spindle whorl and a loom weight. 525 other sherds (some may be Iron Age).

Site 14. Three rims, two bosses, five grooved decorated sherds, four other sherds. 55 probable sherds (some may be Iron Age).

Site H44/1. Twenty sherds (a few possibly Iron Age). A small site closely comparable with Sites 14 and 42.

Site H25. Possible Early Saxon sherds; an Iron Age date is more likely.

Middle Saxon Settlement c. 650–850

(Fig. 7)

This period saw the first marked shift in the settlement pattern. The focus in Loddon, while remaining in the northern areas of the parish, moved away, in general, from the sites chosen in earlier times, and concentrated on lower ground close to the River Chet or its tributaries. In Heckingham finds of the period occurred close to the Chet valley where there appears to have been marked activity on sites close to the church.

Site 46. Eight sherds of Ipswich-type on a former Romano-British site.

Site 42. One sherd of Ipswich-type occurred with Early Saxon sherds, probably the final stage of occupation on this site.

Site 158. Twelve sherds of Ipswich-type, two sherds local sandy Middle Saxon fabric.

Sites 154, 157. A scatter of sherds of Ipswich-type.

Site 161. One sherd of a 'pimply' fabric, one rim of harsh 'pimply' fabric (both non-Ipswich-type) occurred among Romano-British finds.

Sites H34, H43/1, H43/2. Forty-six sherds Ipswich-type, one sherd sandy fabric probably Middle Saxon, from limited area north-east of churchyard.

Sites H36, H37, H38, H38L, H40A, H41. Twenty-one sherds Ipswich-type, two of local Middle Saxon fabrics, from rest of field north of church.

1. **Bronze pin** with faceted head and decoration found in 1948 (Clarke 1952, 158). *SMR 10517*, 76m north-west of Loddon church.

Late Saxon and Early Medieval Settlement

c.850-1150

(Fig.8)

The two types of pottery characteristic of this period and used here to determine the distribution of settlement and other activity are Thetford-type Ware and Early Medieval Ware. The built-over area of Loddon almost certainly accounts for a considerable gap in the distribution of pottery of this period; as with preceding periods, there may well be much evidence concealed beneath roads and buildings. Field-walking finds on the western and southern margins of the town have been scanty but those to the east, from the terraces of the Chet, are more notable. Scattered finds made elsewhere in the parish are few and give an impression of only limited exploitation.

Site 158. Three probable sherds Thetford-type, Early Medieval rims and proportion of 50 medieval sherds probably Thetford-type. Continuity from Middle Saxon.

Site 147/1. Concentration c.5m. OD bordering road leading to former staithe. About 50% finds Thetford-type.

Site 147/2. Slight distribution Thetford-type and Early Medieval bordering road.

Site 104. Ingloss (*Domesday* 'vill' of Golosa). Few Early Medieval sherds.

Sisland valley. Small concentration c.10m OD, Late Saxon/Early Medieval, on valley floor (P. and V. Williams).

Site 18. Isolated Early Medieval concentration, to south of Site 42, associated with former line of Transport Lane.

Site 141. Few Early Medieval sherds near parish boundary. May be related to settlement in Kirby Cane.

1. **Spearhead** with silver zoomorphic inlay on socket found north of river, 1958, at depth of 3.5m. *SMR 10518*. Found before survey undertaken.

In Hales, the area surrounding the church appears blank, possibly because much has been concealed under rotation grass. However, ploughed land close to the church has shown a marked dearth of evidence from this period. Only one piece of Early Medieval pottery has been found close to the church, at the eastern end of the churchyard. A moated site south-west of the church has been planted with trees.

Site 83. Early Medieval sherds in medieval concentration, c.30m+ OD, on ridge north of church.

Sites 56, 58, 59. Similar finds among medieval concentrations further east.

Site 99. Thetford-type rims, flat bases, sherds, late in form and fabric; Early Medieval rims, found near green-side.

Site 28. Three rims of Thetford form in medieval fabrics, Early Medieval rim and sherds, one in shelly, gritty fabric. Found south of green.

Site 10. Proportion Early Medieval fabrics, simple everted rims, probably 12th-century, found on green-side.

Site 36. Few sherds late Thetford-type on green-side.



Figure 6. Romano-British Finds. Scale 1:25,000



Figure 7. Early and Middle Saxon Finds. Scale 1:25,000



Figure 8. Late Saxon/Early Medieval Finds. Scale 1:25,000

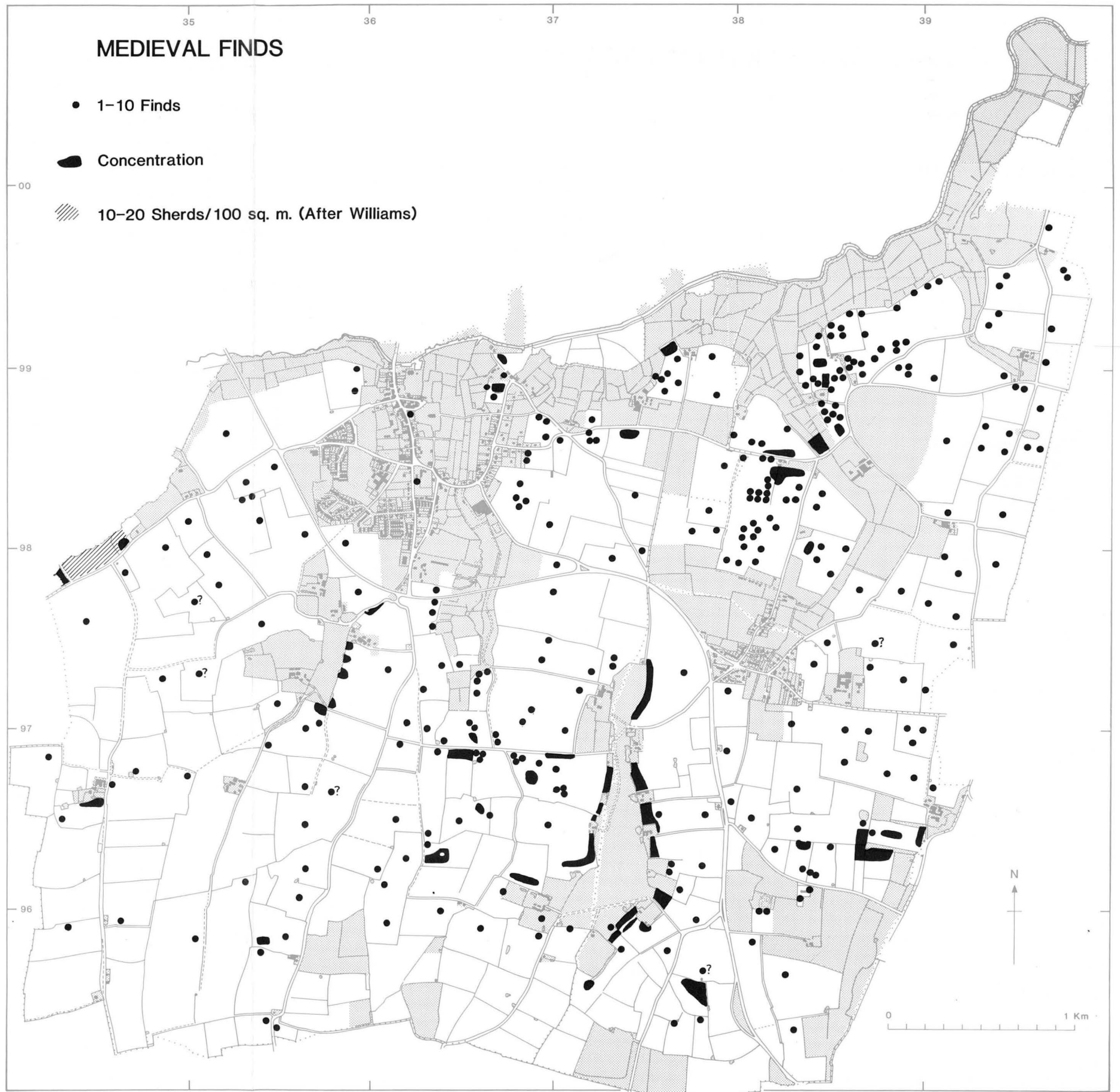


Figure 9. Medieval Finds. Scale 1:25,000

Heckingham is a marked contrast, in this period, to the two other parishes. Pottery is quite widespread as a field scatter and there are concentrations and smaller groups comparatively close to the church and only a little removed from the Middle Saxon focus. The field scatters suggest exploitation of the land comparable with that of Middle Saxon times.

Site H38/1. Fifty-two sherds Thetford-type.

Site H19. One possible Thetford-type (or Romano-British?), substantial proportion Early Medieval among medieval sherds.

Site H18a. Thirty-four Thetford-type, seventy-four Early Medieval sherds (some medieval).

Medieval Settlement Late 12th to 14th centuries

(Fig.9)

In this period the distribution of settlement reached an extent and intensity apparently absent since Romano-British times. Detailed discussion of some more significant sites will follow (p.22) but brief details of these are provided below for basic comparison.

Loddon

Much evidence has been concealed by the buildings, gardens and roads of the expanding town. On the western side of Hales Green some 870m out of a total length of c.1500m are under buildings, gardens, yards or pastures. Fieldwalking has revealed settlement along the remainder of the frontage. There is some evidence to suggest that the margin of the green has been modified, near the site of Hales Hall, possibly in Late Medieval times. In general, activity on this side of the green appears less than on the Hales side. Stubbs Green is much smaller than Hales Green and its associated settlement pattern is less intense; only the eastern margin is available for examination. There are apparent settlement points scattered in isolation in the southern portions of the parish; along the terrace of the Chet valley; and in the Sisland valley.

Site 1. Narrow green-side strip, 20-24m OD, c.7000m², on gentle north-westerly downward slope. Clay-loam soil, sticky when wet, hard when dry.

Site 2. Green-side strip, 18m OD, c.850m², at foot of northward slope, side of shallow dry valley. Soil as for Site 1.

Site 3. Similar, 18m OD, c.1200m², but south-facing.

Site 4. Green-side, 20m OD, c.3500m², upslope from last site, soil sandier.

Site 13. Site on west-facing slope, 18m-25m OD, extent uncertain (c.3800m²). Soil varied by presence of rubble and other infilling, ill-drained, workable only when dry.

Site 16. On Romano-British site(p.16), aligned on road leaving Hales Green.

Site 14. On Romano-British site(p.26), possibly extends more to south.

Site 18. 13-14m OD, c.7800m², near end of ridge separating head valleys of Loddon Beck, extending towards Site 42. Sticky clay-loam with some gravel. Extension of earlier activity.

Site 23. Vaguely-defined site, 20m OD, c.1250m². Clay-loam, sticky when wet. New settlement point.

Site 52. Level site, 20m OD, c.7250m², on ridge near deep pit. Sticky clay-loam with flint patches, stained red with brick-dust in south-east corner. Many bricks, signs of kiln. New settlement point; reviewed below.

Site 109. New settlement point, c.31m OD, c.1824m². Heavy sticky clay.

Site 104. Expansion of earlier settlement, c.25m OD, c.3800m², well-drained loam soil (discussed below).

Site 64/1. Stubbs Green, c.23m OD, c.2500m², sticky clay soil. Strong site (discussed below).

Site 63/1. Possible outlier of Site 64/1, c.23m OD, c.1500m².

Site 63/2. Green-side, near pond, 23m OD, c.2500m². Clay-loam.

Site 63/3. Similar to above, c.22m OD, c.2000m².

Site 63/4. Similar to above, c.20m OD, c.2000m².

Site 79. At side of sunken road into Stubbs Green, c.15m OD, c.2500m². Clay-loam soil, sticky when wet.

Sisland valley floor; two concentrations:(1) c.10m OD, c.2600m² on parish boundary, (2) c.10m OD, slightly smaller, surrounding a modern house on Mundham road. Linked by area where sherds occur 10-20 per 100m² (P. and V. Williams); drainage of Yare valley led to conversion to arable, revealing sites.

Site 158. On possible Chet terrace, below 5m OD, c.2700m², gravelly soil. Only partly accessible when walked, conditions otherwise not ideal so finds represent some degree of activity. Beginning of decline(p.38).

Site 159. Below 5m OD, c.3700m², foot of gentle northerly slope east of Loddon Beck. Gravelly loam darker at foot of slope where finds occur.

Site 162. c. 10m OD, c.3800m² on gentle north-facing slope. Sandy loam soil. Strong at north end west of field entrance.

Site 147: some medieval pottery, quantity indicating decline.

Site 155. On edge of probable terrace, below 5m OD, c.5000m², spills on to wet ground. Sandy soil, darker around impressive concentration.

Site 156, similar to Site 155 but much weaker; together they represent expansion to areas not exploited intensively since Middle Saxon times.

Hales.

Activity appears to have polarised further on the two nuclei incipient in Early Medieval times; Hales Green and the eastern margin of the parish. The eastern side of Hales Green is about 1550m in length. Of this, about 520m are concealed beneath buildings, yards and gardens, and a further 220m are under pasture. There is strong evidence from fringing pottery to suggest that there are settlement points under the concealed portions. The remainder, which is accessible for fieldwalking, reveals almost continuous scatters of pottery, with areas of particular density within them. The plough has rendered precise definition of such areas difficult. A brief summary shows that Sites 99, 28, and 10, which had been established earlier, remained active while settlement extended to the remainder of the green edge. Settlement also expanded on the eastern margin of the parish. This area, known locally as 'Spot Common' will be discussed below as a possible green-side settlement.

Site 28. c. 28m OD, c.2000m² on gentle south-east-facing slope of head-valley of Heckingham Beck. Close to end of bank and double ditch bordering a wood.

Site 10. c.30m OD, c.1875m², facing re-entrant of Hales Green. Soil rather adhesive.

Sites 5-9, 11, 12. c.28m OD, C.7500m², projecting into green, bordering farmyard. Heavy clay with traces of yellow clay subsoil (or traces of clay walling?) with heavy organic content from old grassland. Signs of ditches and platforms which are being ploughed out. Site 12 is surface of green beyond ditch, Sites 5-9 and 11 are marked concentrations.

Site 99. c.26m OD, c.2500m². Lighter soil. Near farmstead.

Site 24. c.26m OD, c.6250m². Clay-loam soil adhesive when wet. At south-eastern entrance to green. Marked concentration.

Site 32. c.25m OD, c.2500m². Sandy clay-loam. Part site only, separated from green by pasture wedge.

Site 31. c.23m OD, c.6000m². Clay-loam soil, adhesive when wet. Level site separated from green by hedge and ditch. Ponds on green before farmhouses which bound site.

Site 36. c.23m OD, c.7500m². Similar to Site 31.

Site 37. c.23m OD, c.7600m². Clay-loam soil weathering into fine particles. Borders north-east edge of green but does not extend along lanes.

Site 83. Above 30m OD, c.2600m². Clay-loam adhesive when wet, some chalk fragments. Compact site on crest of slope intensively occupied; c.300 sherds mainly unglazed, six large fragments of lava querns.

Site 56. c.33m OD, c.5000m². Clay-loam adhesive when wet, crumbles when dry. Faint platform at north end of narrow field now united with larger western neighbour.

Site 57. c.33m OD, c.7500m². Similar to Site 56, boundary between them removed.

Site 58. c.33m OD, c.4500m². Soils similar, separated from Site 56 by field boundary but continuous. Intensity fades northwards to faint scatter near wooded pit; does not extend east.

Site 59/1. c.30m OD, c.3750m². Adhesive loam. Borders parish boundary.

Site 59/2. Similar extent and nature; occupies slightly raised area in middle of field. This and preceding four sites may be part of former green-edge settlement.

Site 49. c.27m OD, c.7000m². Rather sticky clay soil, slight northward slope on crest of ridge between two valleys leading into Heckingham Beck. Separated by ditch from Site 48 (p.16) and remarkably distinct from it. Inequalities in surface suggest hollow way and platforms rendered indistinct by ploughing; access probably by road at north-west corner. Strong concentration, no sign of earlier occupation. Some fragments of lava querns: only post-medieval tile fragments seen.

Site 43. c.25-30m OD, area undefined. Gentle south-facing slope now under grass. Finds made by K.Morgan during farming operations. Coarse wares and very large pieces of lava querns; significantly close to moated site and relatively short distance from church

Heckingham

The movement evident in the previous period seems to have been completed. Medieval pottery is present north of the church but concentrations appear to be small and may point to intensive use rather than occupation to any marked extent. This may also be true of the area immediately to the south of the church. Two sites on the floor of the valley of the Heckingham Beck (H19 and H35) compare with those recorded in the Sisland valley (p.21). The importance of the valley floor may have been greater than the fieldwalking suggests. The vicinity of Heckingham Hall is under permanent pasture, but some of the inequalities in the surface may be the remains of medieval settlement rather than drainage works. To the west of the valley a fairly well-developed area of occupation appeared, focussing on the site of the present Hill Farm. Medieval sherds have been found in almost every field in the parish; the finds made to the south of Hill Farm beyond the actual concentration are such as to suggest quite intensive exploitation.

Site H18a. c.5m OD, c.2700m². Gravelly soil on west-facing side of valley. A continuation of previous activity.

Site H38. c.5m OD, c.6500m². Gravelly loam soil. A continuation of previous activity.

Site H34. c.5m OD, c.3800m². Well-drained loam; site of important Middle Saxon concentration.

Site H19. Below 5m OD, c.2500m². Black peaty silt. Continued occupation but movement to H35 discernible.

Site H35. Below 5m OD, c.4000m². Slightly higher than H19, separated from it by recent shallow ditch. Detailed discussion of both sites follows below.

Sites H39/3, H39/4, H39/5. c.10m OD, c.10,000m². Stony sandy loam with patches of gravel to north of site. Bordering south on to road, partly opposite farm. More detailed discussion follows.

Sites H10, H11, H12b-e. c.12-15m OD, c.10,000m². Sandy loam on gentle north-facing slope. Partly concealed by farm buildings and sown grass. More detailed discussion follows.

Site H25/2. Curious slight resurgence of activity (p.16).

Sites H20a and H20b. Thin distinct scatter in band c.30m wide along edge of Chet valley floor. No sign of concentration near; no finds made from molehills on pasture to north.

Site H50. c.5-10m OD, low on gentle north-westerly slope. Dark damp soil with organic content. Sherds of coarse and glazed wares, together with some possible Late Medieval/Transitional, apparently associated with buildings shown standing in 1797(Faden). Undated documentary evidence (info. D.Cargill) of a carp fishery nearby may explain occurrence.

Site H54. c.20m OD. Clay-loam soils changing to sand and gravel to the north-west. Medieval sherds and one Late Medieval/Transitional sherd found between shallow pits, ploughed over, and road; possibly associated with working of the pits for clay.

Site H23/1 and H23/2. c.10-15m OD. Sticky clay-loam soil on gentle northerly slope, near substantial but shallow pits now ploughed over. Medieval sherds in pits suggest early exploitation. Comparatively dense scatter including Thetford-type and Late Medieval/Transitional, but no real concentration. Metal-detector finds made 1983-4 by K.Woodhouse include:-

1. Part of Late Saxon copper alloy **disc brooch**, faint traces inter-lace, badly worn.

2. 'Several medieval silver coins'.

3. Part of a Late Medieval silver **finger-ring** bearing two clasped hands (SMR 20742).

Apart from this and the previous four vaguely-defined minor sites there were no signs of any isolated settlements comparable with those found in Hales and Loddon.

Late Medieval — Early Post-medieval Settlement 1400-1600

(Fig.10)

The immediate overall impression is of contraction from the high-water mark of thirteenth-to-fourteenth-century settlement.

Loddon

Sites 1-4. On the western margins of Hales Green: pronounced decline. Finds more numerous near present settlement sites.

Sites 13. Almost certainly site of a kiln producing glazed floor tiles, roof tiles and more decorative embellishments.

Sites on Stubbs Green. Comparable decline; Site 63/4 virtually disappeared.

Site 14. Continued activity.

Sites 18 and 23. Apparent virtual abandonment.

Site 52. Persisted mainly as a kiln site producing bricks, including some ornamental forms.

Site 109. Certainly abandoned.

Site 104. Ingloss; very slight activity.

Site 137. Ingloss; kiln, large numbers of sandy, mould-marked bricks, some burnt, many semi-vitrified, with associated pits.

Sisland Valley Sites. Activity continued but contracted to two areas, one newly-developed from a previously marked scatter.

Site 155. Insignificant; possibly shifted to present Plumers Farm site a little further to the east on slightly higher ground.

Site 156. Small extent, but survived.

Site 73. c.23m OD, c.2500m². Heavy, sticky clay soil on a relatively exposed ridge. Entirely new site; anomalous reversal of the general trend. More detailed discussion will follow.

Hales

Sites 5-12. Hales Green-side sites; evidence of retreat to smaller number of contexts.

Site 28. Abandoned.

Sites 24 and 31. Active; particularly Site 24. The remainder of the green-side sites showed restricted activity.

Site 49. Diminished; only 48 sherds compared with 280+ medieval sherds.

Site 57. Apparently the sole significant survivor from another possible green-side group.

Heckingham

Sites on Valley Floor. Largely abandoned.

Sites North and South of Church. Little sign of activity.

Sites near Hill Farm. Persisted in diminished strength.

X. Studies of Selected Sites

(Figs 11-13, 15, Plates I, III)

A. Site 42

This is a particularly significant site because of its unusual multi-period nature. It is on a low promontory slightly above and below the 10m contour, overlooking the confluence of two headstreams of the Loddon Beck and with a commanding view down its valley. The site seems to have been attractive to a succession of cultures but, apart from a limited possible medieval colonisation of its south-eastern margin near the lane (an encroachment from Site 18), appears to have been neglected after Early Saxon times.

The soil on this site varies. Although it is, apparently, formed on sandy glacial clays and interglacial sands laid down in the earlier phase of the Anglian glaciation, there is a distinctly lighter, sandier character to the soils on or near the brow of the slope. Those nearer the road are much heavier and more adhesive in wet weather. At

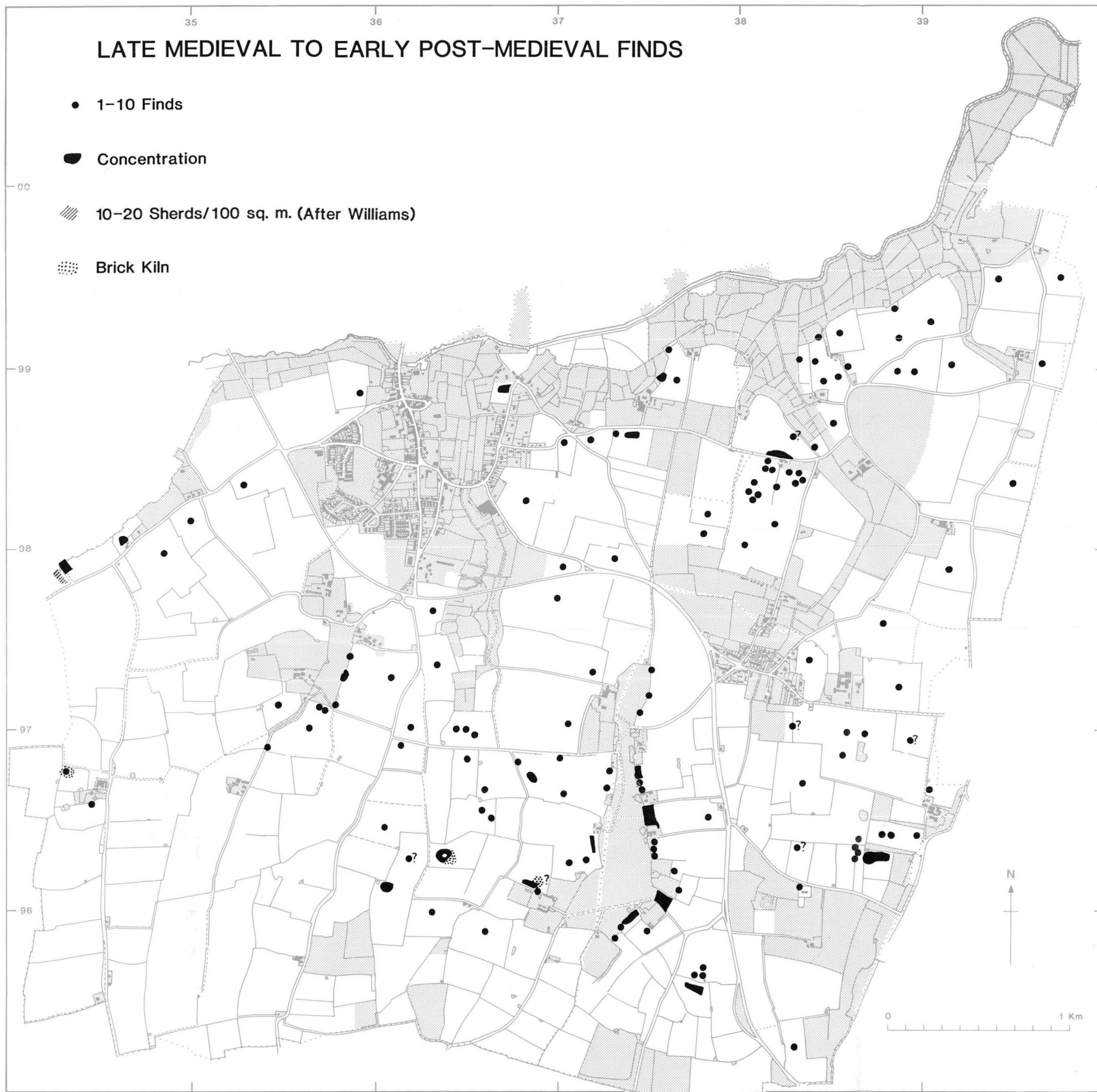


Figure 10. Late Medieval to Early Post-Medieval Finds. Scale 1:25,000



Figure 11. The Location of Sites. Scale 1:25,000

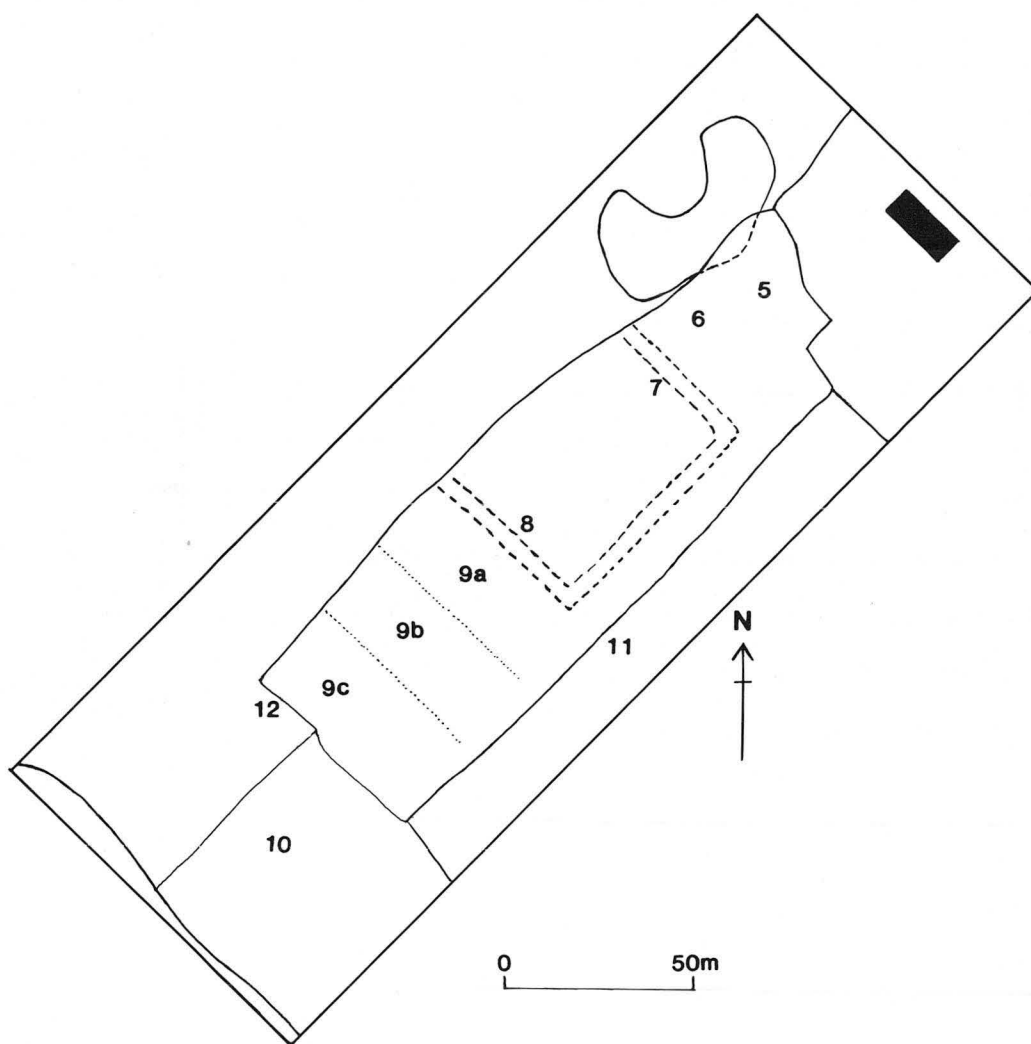


Figure 12. Sites on Hales Green. Scale 1:2000

the foot of the slope there are dark, organic soils where the floor of the valley is reached. A good deal of unworked flint is apparent, particularly on the slopes.

The attraction to early settlement would appear most likely to have been the lighter soil which, even in the wettest of winters, seems to dry out quickly and would offer a more comfortable location for dwellings.

As part of the site is on sloping ground its extent is not easy to judge: the combination of cultivation and the natural processes of soil creep make it likely that some movement downslope of soils and the finds they contain has taken place. Nevertheless the area in which potsherds or worked flints are concentrated is relatively large, amounting to about one third of the field. The area rich in finds is crescent-shaped, with one wing of the crescent almost reaching the road in the south-east. Pottery is largely absent from the south-western third of the field and is not found in the extreme north-western and north-eastern corners or along the western margin. An eighteenth- or nineteenth-century house once stood in the south-western portion, facing onto the lane (context 2); an area of discoloured soil with much modern brick, tile and pottery from the eighteenth century onwards can be discerned, though even here, a few sherds of Romano-British and/or medieval pottery can be found — just as

they may in many other parts of the field outside the crescent-shaped area.

This site does appear to have been the core of activity in the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age period. The comparatively large number of worked flints are sufficient to be deemed evidence in their own right. Most are flakes, cores or blades of no especial distinction though there are scrapers and the axe already noted above. The really impressive feature of this site at this period is the considerable quantity of sherds of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery which have been found. This includes one rim from a bowl of Neolithic date and eleven pieces from similar bowls as well as fifty-two indeterminate flint-gritted sherds, most of them probably from Neolithic bowls. There are also two sherds of Mildenhall ware, both shoulder pieces, one with oblique grooved decoration. Also from this period are two decorated Beaker sherds, four of probable Grooved ware and two which are possibly of Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age grogged ware.

As already noted, Iron Age material cannot be detected on this site though it seems curious if the site had been deserted entirely in that time. Romano-British finds are quite numerous but are mainly later in character. Greyware predominates, though samian and late colour-coated sherds have also been found along with oxidised

wares and part of an amphora handle. The precise quantity of Romano-British greyware is difficult to determine, some cannot be distinguished from the medieval greyware which also occurs on parts of the site. A few tegulae and a decorated box-tile have been found but there is no real impression of any building of significance on the site. It appears to have been one part — and by no means the most densely settled one — of a very much larger group of associated settlement points which may be considered a village.

In the next phase of occupation the site seems to have become, once again, the most important centre, the largest of three which show signs of Early Saxon settlement. The quantities of pottery found have already been described: it is sufficient to observe that the amounts are so considerable that the site must have been singularly attractive to the newcomers and must have been occupied for some quite considerable time. That this and other, earlier, pottery has not disintegrated at the surface is also remarkable. A possible explanation may lie in deep ploughing which brought hitherto buried horizons to the surface. Over the centuries, downslope drift of surface soil from this site may have helped to bring lower horizons nearer the surface. The presence of one sherd of Ipswich-type Ware is enigmatic: it may be no more than an outlier from Site 46 to the north or it may represent the final phase of Early Saxon occupation on Site 42.

The site remained little used until the High Medieval period; at that time increasing activity on Site 18 may have accounted for some of the pottery of this period as some of it is scattered widely over the field as a whole. There is, however, a hint of a limited expansion from Site 18 which was initially settled in Early Medieval times. From then until the building of the house on Context 2, the site seems to have been used for agriculture, this producing a scatter of miscellaneous post-medieval sherds of various kinds and dates.

B. Site 14

(Plate III)

This site is comparable with Site 42 in physical form, soil and range of finds, though there are some noticeable differences. It is on a knoll at the end of a ridge which is between 15m and 20m in height and which extends, in a north-westerly direction, into the eastern head valley of the Loddon Beck. It slopes quite steeply to the floor of the valley and the upper part of the knoll is capped with very sandy soils which are inclined to blow in dry weather. The northern slope of the knoll has traces of a depression surrounding at least part of it. Aerial photography shows a ring-mark on the knoll with a dark spot at its centre (Plate III).

As with Site 42 occupation seems to have begun in Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age times: substantial quantities of worked flints including a chisel arrowhead have already been noted elsewhere in this account, as have twelve sherds of pottery of various types.

Evidence of Iron Age occupation is provided by eight pieces of pottery, mainly sandy in type; indeterminate prehistoric pottery is found nearby on Sites 15, 16, 17a, 21 and some of this abraded material might be of Iron Age date. If this were so then Site 14 would appear at the centre of an area of activity. Of a further fifty-five sherds from Site 14, most are probably Early Saxon, but some may be of the Iron Age.

Many sherds of Romano-British pottery have also

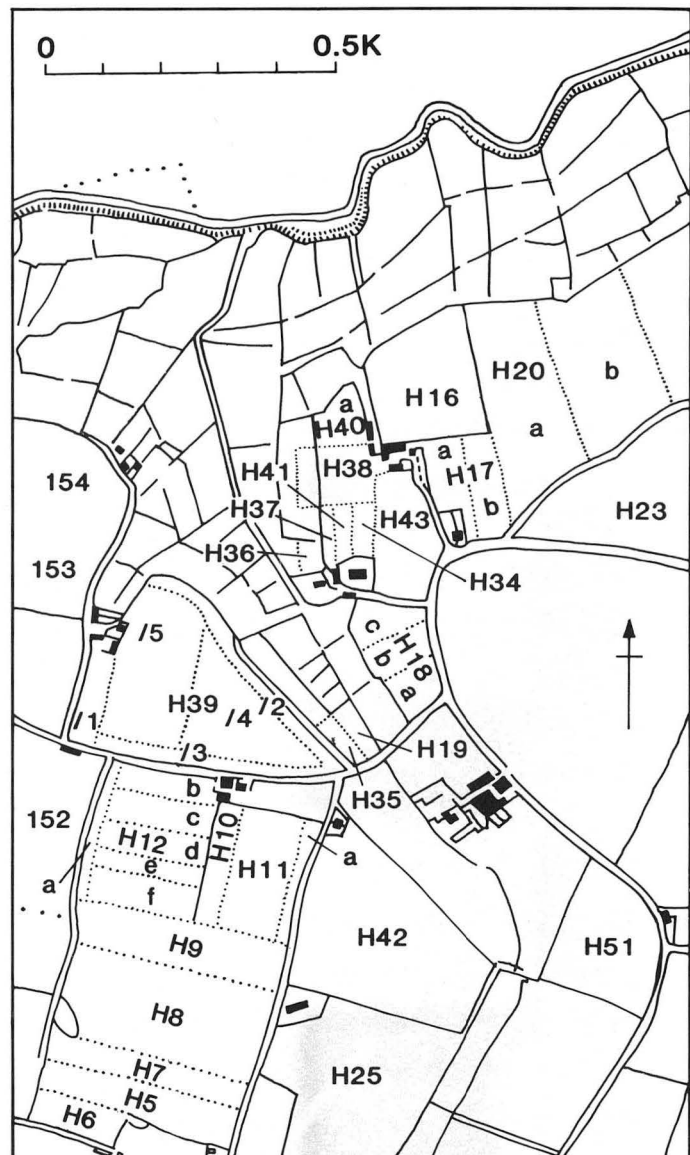


Figure 13. Sites in Heckingham. Scale 1:15,000

been found here, mainly greywares but including late second-century samian and various colour-coated pieces some of which are of Oxfordshire origin. Some of the greyware cannot be distinguished with confidence from equally abraded medieval wares. Like Site 42 this site was only one of a whole cluster of areas of Romano-British occupation forming a village, indeed the rest of the ridge on which the knoll stands carries Romano-British pottery.

This site was the only other place in Loddon settled in Early Saxon times. As already shown above the quantity of finds is less than those found on Site 42, the area is less and it must have been secondary to the bigger settlement.

The site remained unoccupied after Early Saxon times until the medieval period. There are over 700 pieces of pottery of the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries, mainly unglazed. A proportion of the greyware cannot be safely distinguished from coarse abraded wares of the Romano-British period. Activity carried on into Late Medieval and Early Post-Medieval times. During this time the knoll was an isolated centre of settlement, though there was another on Transport Lane at Site 16 as well as the



Plate III. Soil markings in the vicinity of Transport Lane, and to the west of Hales Green. Particularly notable is the ring-marking on Site 14, which, with other sites in the area, has evidence of a long sequence of occupation. TM 3696/K/AHZZ5 19 JULY 1977. *Norfolk Archaeological Unit.*

one at Site 18. The nature of the activity here is open to speculation; marks in the soil shown on an aerial photograph and remains of part of a trench on the north flank of the knoll suggest that a post-mill may have stood here. The occurrence of early pottery, on the other hand, offers an alternative explanation for the origin of the site as the remains of a tumulus: this would not preclude later use as a mill-mound. The presence of prehistoric pottery together with the subdued markings of a ring-like feature on Site 21 further to the east along the ridge lends some support to the thesis of a barrow.

C. Site 46

(Fig.14)

This site is on the floor of the valley of the Loddon Beck and has the rationalised course of the stream on its western boundary. It consists of a low fan of slightly higher ground: it may represent colluvial material washed from higher ground to the east at some past time. The site is slightly higher in the middle and slopes very gently to its eastern margin which is bounded by a curving ditch. From the ditch the ground rises very steeply at the northern end. The ditch appears to have curved away to the south-west and its course can be detected despite infill as it encloses a northern portion of the field. Entry to the enclosed area would appear to have been by way of a short causeway which is still discernible. Within the enclosed area the lower western portions appear darker and contain organic material in the soil — obviously part of the flood plain of the Beck. To the east and north-east there are areas where flints are very numerous and there are also some small patches of a reddish-yellow clay. The area to the south and south-east of the enclosing ditch is sandy and apparently of no great archaeological significance. The southern section and part of the enclosed area has been ploughed for some years; a small part of what must be considered as the total site has remained under grass and appears on limited evidence to contain an unexamined portion of one of the most significant contexts.

A number of worked flints has been recovered from the site including the sandy area south of the ditch (context 3). Most are flakes or blades but there is a side scraper with a steep inverted retouch and a shallow retouch on the dorsal face (context 1) and also a blade with a ground edge (context 2). There were also two sherds of indeterminate flint-gritted pre-historic pottery (contexts 1 and 4). It is possible that contemporary material remains hidden beneath the grass to the north; a blade was recovered from a molehill in pasture a short distance away in that direction at Site 82.

The site was occupied in the Romano-British period. Not much pottery of this date has been recovered — only just over thirty sherds, mainly of greyware. The main evidence from these times lies in the considerable quantities of building materials so obtrusive on context 1. These comprise bricks, tegulae, imbrices, bonding tiles and boxtiles. some of the bricks are virtually intact, most fragments of all types are substantial in size. Some of the more notable finds were two complete tiles, one of 185 x 190 x 35-40mm, the other 190 x 194 x 40-44mm. A further three more or less complete bonding tiles were about 190mm square. A complete brick measured 185 x 195mm, another, almost intact, was 263 x a minimum of 265mm. One fragment of a tile of a corky fabric was 28 mm in thickness. The boxtiles showed a variety of combed patterns and one had unusual crisscross keying

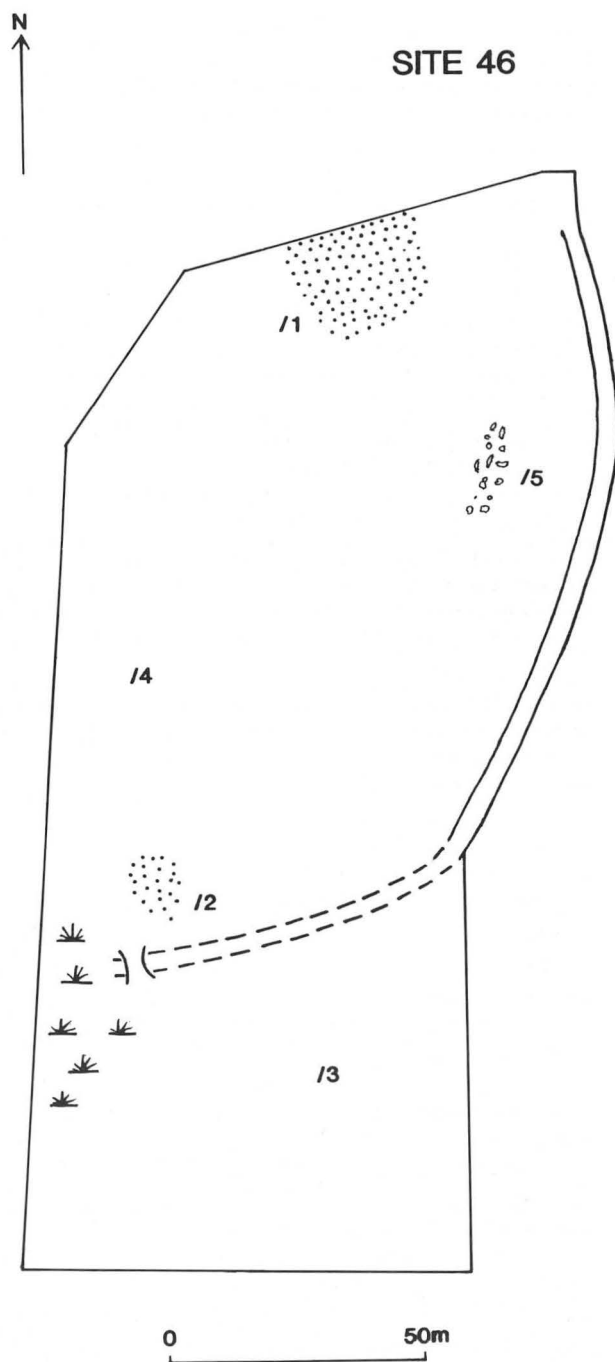


Figure 14. Site 46. Scale 1:150

incisions. Some of the items, including one imbrex, were over-fired, others were distorted and even vitrified. There were three examples of two tiles adhering together with very hard mortar. One fragment of mortar had keying impressions on both sides, two pieces of vitrified bonding tiles were mortared together. There is little doubt that part of this area of building materials extends under the pasture to the north. Mortar and tiny fragments of bricks appear here in ground disturbed by moles and, in the sharp bend of the stream which helps to limit this site to the north, a piece of a tegula was recovered from the bed.

Context 2, close to the northern end of the causeway spanning the encircling ditch also has quantities of building materials, though these are much less in number. Among a collection of bonding tiles, imbrices and box-

tiles were two tile fragments of 55 to 60mm in thickness. Although some pieces of building materials are present elsewhere on Site 46, context 2 has a significant concentration and could be the site of some smaller building. However, context 1 obviously marks the position of some considerable building but its nature is open to debate. The presence of so many vitrified, distorted and over-fired pieces suggests either a kiln or a building destroyed by fire or a bath-house. Of these possibilities, the third seems likely. However, the presence of a bath-house begs the question of the people it was intended to serve. The patch of building materials at context 2 appears hardly sufficient to represent a large building. Could there, perhaps, have been a wooden building, possibly an early villa nearby? Alternatively, it may all have been part of the same building with the bath-house alone being constructed of more substantial materials. Most of the pottery, however, found on neighbouring Romano-British sites seems to be of later times than this would suggest.

The next period in which the site was occupied was Middle Saxon times. The evidence for this is the eight sherds of Ipswich-type Ware which have been found on context 1 (seven pieces) and context 4 (one piece). It is significant that this is, in the main, the portion of the site where the major substantial building stood: it may still have been visible when the later people chose the site. Could there have been buildings sufficient to patch up for some later purpose?

This is, apart from the solitary find on Site 42, the most southerly of the various Ipswich-type Ware sites found in the two parishes, and certainly the southernmost concentration. The others all appear to favour the low terraces of the Chet; this site is comparable — an outlier on a gravel spread in the valley of the Loddon Beck, a tributary of the Chet.

After Middle Saxon times the site does not seem to have appealed to settlers though some thirteenth/fourteenth-century medieval coarse wares were found in small quantities indicating exploitation but nothing more.

Access to the area at present is from two directions. A footpath from Hales Hall to Loddon runs in a general northerly direction along the eastern edge of the field. A track, quite deeply sunken in its westernmost section, approaches the field from Loddon Hall and the northern end of Hales Green. Whether either of these represents the line of some ancient trackway is purely a matter of speculation. The whole area in which the three parishes lie seems to be characterised by north-to-south roads and tracks.

D. Green-side sites

1. Hales Green

(Fig. 15, Plate I)

This large green is mentioned in the thirteenth century when ten acres of land were said to lie between the house of Roger of Ravensingham and the Green of Hales. It seems to have been maintained, with only limited encroachment, ever since. It is very roughly triangular in shape with its base at the southern end and the apex pointing north. It is some 1500m in extent from north to south and about 450m at its greatest width. Its southern edge is at a little more than 30m above sea level, while the northern tip is about 23m. It lies on a low ridge separating two valleys, so that the land falls away on either side of the

green, though there is a 20m re-entrant in the centre of the green on its western side which drains westwards to one of the headwaters of the Loddon Beck.

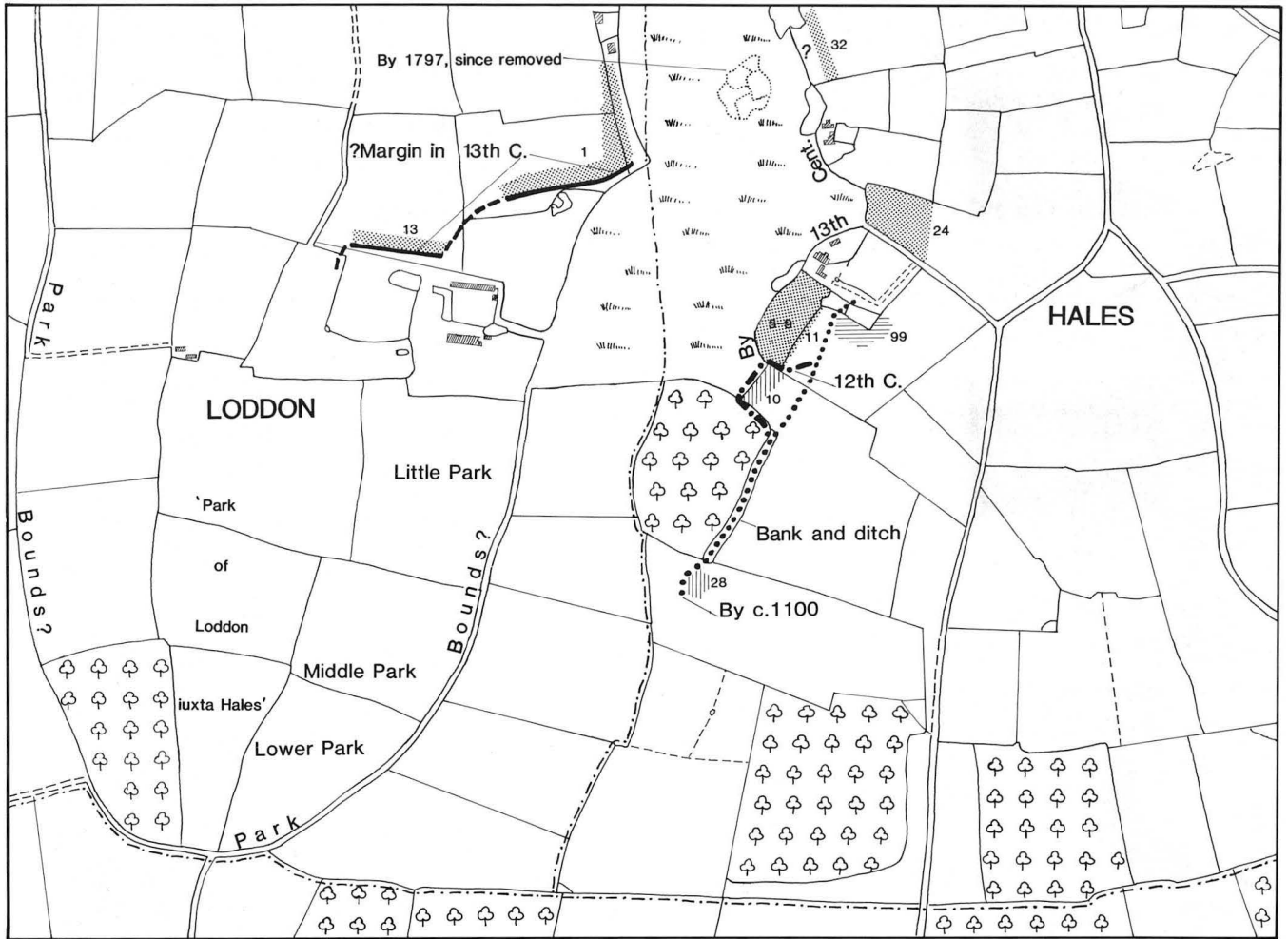
The southern part of the green lies on the higher chalky boulder clay and is rather poorly drained in wet weather. The northern two-thirds of its length, however, are on the lighter, sandier soils. Some attempt was made, during the 1939-45 war, to cultivate the southern portion of the green but, proving intractable, it was soon abandoned and the whole of the green has since remained common grazing. The green is bordered by a deep ditch and bank surmounted by a hedge and hedgerow trees. There is a number of water-filled pits around the margins, often near existing settlement points, while there are dry pits, evidence of former quarrying, in the north and in the south-centre. Some houses which stood in relatively recent times on the southern green itself, just to the south-west of Orchard Farm, have been demolished. Grassland borders the green at several points, but the greater part of the surrounding land is arable.

Settlement of the edge of the green seems to have begun on the eastern side which, like the greater part of the green itself, is in the parish of Hales. The settlement also appears to have been more intensive and prolonged on this side.

The earliest evidence of settlement of any intensity is that of Site 99. Here some Thetford-type Ware occurs among Early Medieval and Medieval unglazed wares; there were three Thetford-type rims, late in form and fabric, and three flat bases, probably of Thetford-type. The site is on the southern corner and side of the yard of the former Hill Farm. This site also provided the only Roman find on the entire margin of the green — a *sestertius*, very worn, of the period before Antoninus Pius — possibly Trajanic or Hadrianic. The site is on the junction of the chalky boulder clay and the lighter, sandier deposit beneath. Late Medieval and Transitional activity would appear, on the evidence of one thorough examination, very slight.

The only comparable site in this quarter of the green is Site 10. This borders a section of the green which is a small salient between a former close to the north and a wood to the south. The presence of a proportion of Early Medieval fabrics and simple everted rims, probably referable to the twelfth century suggests affinity with the preceding site as well as the small site (Early Medieval and medieval) of Site 28. This lies to the south of the wood and close to the end of a curious sinuous boundary to the wood which consists of a bank flanked by ditches. The easternmost ditch has been made very much deeper as it serves as a drain while the innermost one has silted up. It is possible that this may have been, in its original form, part of the boundary of a more extensive green with the original green-side ditch now covered by a woodland and a new ditch being excavated on the edge of the wood. This would explain the presence of Site 28 which could thus be considered as one of three early settlements on the edge of the green; later encroachments by other settlement and by arable having, perhaps, disguised its relationship to the green (Fig.15). All three sites were occupied well into the medieval period, but evidence of Late Medieval activity is negligible — and totally absent from Site 28.

The emphasis in medieval times seems to have shifted on to Sites 5-9c inclusive. Here thirteenth-and fourteenth-century pottery is present in considerable



Settlement: Earliest? 12th Cent. 13th Cent.

0 200m



Figure 15. Hales Green: Possible Stages of Encroachment. Scale 1:10,000



Plate IV. The isolated Hales church and the moated structure to the south-west of it are near the centre of the photograph. Their position in relation to Hales Green and its associated buildings can be seen clearly. The old course of the Norwich to Beccles road is shown. A portion of the alignment forming the Hales-Raveningham boundary and the site of the former Southwood Green (Spot Common) lie close to the left margin of the photograph. 106 G/UK 930/16 OCT 1945/3072. British Crown copyright/M.O.D.

quantities. Until recently this was a small enclosed pasture (Backhouse Meadow — Tithe Map) separated from the land to the south-east by a hedge since removed. Despite ploughing, surface inequalities were still obvious and included what appeared to be the remains of a ditched platform (Sites 7 and 8) from which over 350 sherds of medieval pottery were collected in two examinations. The south-western section of this former pasture (Sites 9, 9a, 9b, 9c) was also rich in medieval unglazed pottery. Because of the very recent nature of the ploughing, many of the pieces were large and unabraded and included an almost complete profile of a small cooking pot or jar (Site 9c). Medieval pottery is present on all the contexts but the Late Medieval and Early Post-Medieval pottery, is there in relatively small quantity. On Site 10 this is especially so. However, Sites 5 and 6 are particularly rich in Post-Medieval glazed wares suggesting that Hill Farm house may conceal similar evidence and that activity had contracted to the northern end of the old close. Post-Medieval glazed wares are present in all the contexts except Site 10 and Site 12, on the green itself. The density of pottery of all periods dies away rapidly from the green although it does extend as far as the former boundary hedge line (Site 11).

To the north of Wash Lane is Site 24 where medieval activity was intense and continued substantially into Post-Medieval times. After the sixteenth century the site seems to have been deserted as there is little evidence from the seventeenth century. The site is more extensive suggesting that the frontage on the north side of the lane may have been developed.

The margin of the green to the north of this site is concealed by pastures and by a house and garden: the garden has been examined but without significant discovery. Of the sites to the east of these areas — Sites 25, 33, 34 and 32 — only the last yielded finds in appreciable quantities, revealing medieval and post-medieval occupation comparable to Site 24. The frequency of finds declined rapidly away from the green; a situation which occurs all along the eastern side of the green.

Between Orchard Farm and The Green Farm lies Site 31 which is rich in pottery. Context 2 is the area immediately to the north of Orchard Farm; it appears to have something of the quality of a rubbish depository from the farm and has a range of finds from the Late Medieval/post-medieval period to modern times. Context 1, the remainder of the site, yields considerable quantities of medieval coarseware and a range of glazed wares from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries and later post-medieval glazed sherds. At about the central point there is some evidence of a former house site with various brick fragments, some of medieval date, and others of crude pinkish-buff silty fabric with adherent mortar, and a fragment of limestone with part of one face dressed. Some post-medieval stonewares came from this point, including one fragment of Langerwehe or Raeren Ware. Two flint cores, one keeled with blade-and-flake-scars, and another with flake-scars, were found on context 1.

Between the two Green Farms is Site 36 where there is a much greater general preponderance of medieval coarse wares together with some medieval glazed wares. Late Medieval, and early and later post-medieval glazed wares are also present. The grounds of the two Green Farms have not been examined; it is therefore not possible to say whether the farms occupy old sites or represent shifts from older sites. Among the medieval coarse wares

are some which could be Early Medieval, a rim of Thetford type and a base and a sherd which were probably of Late Thetford-type Ware. These suggest that there was a point of early colonisation here. The Late Medieval/Transitional finds include a rim of a jar of an orange fabric with occasional red inclusion, with a patchy brown outer surface and an orange glaze on the lower half of the interior. On context 3, the site of a house of quite recent times, finds included recent materials but there was a substantial substratum of medieval unglazed and glazed wares together with Late Medieval and post-medieval glazed wares and post-medieval stonewares. One piece of indeterminate prehistoric pottery was found on context 1. Again, beyond the green-side strip of concentration, some 45 to 50m in width at its greatest, pottery is present as no more than a 'manure scatter' with glazed red earthenware probably the commonest find.

Site 37 lies parallel to the edge of the green to the north of Green Lane. There are hints of Early Medieval settlement here but the majority of coarse wares are medieval and the proportion which is probably Early Medieval is small. Settlement here seems to have fallen away rapidly in Late Medieval times — 372 medieval (including Early Medieval) to thirty Late Medieval/early post-medieval sherds — and there are relatively few post-medieval finds. It is difficult to detect variations in density in the concentrations but there may be four points where the density is greater. Context 2, the remainder of the field, shows little more than the usual 'manure scatter' with an increase in the frequency of the medieval sherds as the green-side strip is approached. The green-side concentration is not prolonged beyond the north-eastern tip of the green.

The western side of the green lies within the parish of Loddon, though at one or two points the boundary does impinge upon the margin and Bottom Cottage does lie within Hales. On this side there is a shallow valley (the 20m re-entrant) and the land on either side slopes gently down to the deep ditch which now drains this little valley. South of the former Cowslip Farm is Site 1, parallel to the green at first, and then to the northern edge of the pasture which lies to the south. Medieval coarsewares predominate, but there is a respectable proportion of Late Medieval or early post-medieval glazed pottery.

The relationship of this strip of pottery (some 30-40m in width) to the green is interesting; the westward change in trend suggests that Backhouse Meadow may have been taken in from the green at some post-medieval date — possibly when the Late Medieval development at Hales Hall took place. Possibly the Medieval Hall stood on the green edge and this was set back during the later period. The Tithe Map (NRO 481) shows a long narrow enclosure with a building at its northern end running the length of the green edge south of Cowslip Farm — possibly the last trace of earlier crofts.

The remaining gaps in the green side — Sites 2, 3 and 4 — show similar traces of settlement. The remaining house sites, Loddon Hall and the pastures surrounding it, may conceal other evidence. Attempts to trace the possible extension of a line of green-side sites northwards by pottery scatters yielded very little evidence: a few pieces of medieval coarse ware are more likely to represent outliers of activity from something on the site of Loddon Hall.

Although there is abundant evidence of settlement on both sides of Hales Green there is little or no sign of

occupation at either the northern end or the much broader southern end; there is some suggestion of possible curtailment and encroachment in the south. The hypothetical progression of the changes at the southern end of Hales Green is illustrated on the accompanying map (Fig.15).

2. *Stubbs Green*

(Plates II, V)

This green is on the subdued ridge which separates the valleys of the Sisland stream and the Loddon Beck. The south-western corner of the green is at about 25m, the north-eastern corner is below the 20m contour. Its interfluvial position compares with that of Hales Green. Stubbs Green is much smaller, being about 500m in extent from north to south and about 120m from east to west. It contrasts with Hales Green in a number of other ways. Only the eastern and southern sides are accessible to the fieldwalker; much of the western side is under pasture and the northern one is flanked by a farm house and grounds and a large pit. There is a moat at the north-west corner at Lodge Farm. Access to the green is by roads at each of the four corners — Roundabout Lane, Stubbs Green Lane, Pound Lane and the road to Bush Farm. Roundabout Lane and Stubbs Green Lane seem to have, in part, some of the outward characteristics of ancient roadways, the latter, especially, is deeply sunken. The way to Bush Farm has something of the quality of a droveway — there is a broad grass verge on either side of the road, ending at a point where a footpath to Ingloss leaves in a south-westerly direction. Its existence and its relationship to the footpath and the Bush Farm site pose a question. As its width is not maintained beyond the divergence of the footpath and the track to the farm, it is possible that it is a relic of some previous landscape (Plate V).

The pottery found on the eastern side of Stubbs Green occurs, not in a continuous band as at Hales Green, but in a number of small concentrations, none of which shows evidence of occupation earlier than the late twelfth century. Context 1 of Site 63 should probably be considered as one with context 1 of Site 64, since only Pound Lane separates them; the latter is a strong site, especially in medieval unglazed and glazed wares, but fades rapidly in Late Medieval/early post-medieval times, and Site 63/1 mirrors this on a smaller scale. Of the other contexts only Site 63/2 seems to have shown vigour in Late Medieval/early post-medieval times and there is a little post-medieval stoneware. Building materials are also apparent here. Sites 63/3 has what may be the remains of clay walling or flooring. Presumably Stubbs House is either a replacement site for context 4 or it conceals another site. Site 79 is comparable in its preponderance of medieval unglazed ware, including a sherd probably from a curfew; there was also a probable developed Stamford Ware sherd. If its similarity to the others discussed here means that it too was a green-side site, Stubbs Green may have extended further north in medieval times. Site 144 shows virtually no medieval presence as if it could have been grazing land or woodland at that time.

As with Hales Green the pottery dies away markedly with distance from the various sites and contexts so that the remainder of the fields carry no more than an all-period scatter. Although, like Hales Green, Stubbs Green has existing farmsteads grouped around it, the extinct sites seem to have vanished a little earlier than some of

those on the eastern side of Hales Green.

Such examination of the western side of Stubbs Green as has been possible throws no light on the possible extension of the green in that direction. The curious course of Roundabout Lane — an apt name — might indicate, in its curved portion, some former periphery of the green. Examination of Site 67 brought no more than a very thin manuring scatter of several periods which included insignificant numbers of medieval sherds. The north-western and northern sides of this lane reveal no traces of any concentration which might be interpreted as former green-side settlement. It would appear from this that, if the pastures existing to the west of the green have been enclosed from it, no settlement existed on its western side. Alternatively, Roundabout Lane may have no connection with the development of Stubbs Green and settlement sites may be concealed beneath the intervening pastures.

To the south and south-west there is little sign of settlement. Apart from context 1, Site 64 to the south of the green has only a few scattered sherds of medieval pottery, and to the south of this the arable fields are void of significant finds. A similar situation exists to the south-west; Site 66 has no more than a manuring scatter which included only a few medieval sherds, and the fields further to the south-west seem empty. No obvious continuation of the medieval green-side settlements appears to exist. A 'moat', partially infilled, exists at Bush Farm and associated with it is a timber-framed house of mid- to late sixteenth-century date. This appears to have been built as a barn, converted to a house, and is now used for storage (inf.G. and A.Fenner).

No pottery, other than modern pieces, has been found around the outer margins of this moat or, indeed, in the vicinity of any of the farm buildings.

3. *Other Possible Green-side Settlements*

(Plate IV)

(a) '**Spot Common**'. This is the name which is given, locally, to a very small open space on the boundary of Hales with Raveningham, immediately to the south of Hales House. A few houses within Raveningham are close to the parish boundary and there are some pastures which lie partly in Hales and partly in Raveningham (Plate IV).

Fieldwalking within Hales has shown that settlement formerly existed near this point. The concentrations are distributed around the margins of a rather small area, partly arable, partly woodland, which is inclined to be damp. This could represent, together with the pastures and the small open space, a portion of a green or common as suggested by the surviving name. The area under consideration is above the 30m contour.

The earliest material from this possible green-side settlement is Early Medieval; at the western end, Sites 56 and 58, and in one patch on the northern side (Site 59/2, a slightly raised area), small quantities of sherds are present — rims, including 'ginger jar' rims, of the twelfth century. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the intensity of the settlement had increased considerably and had expanded, particularly on to Site 57 where well over 300 medieval sherds have been collected, and on to Site 59 context 1 which is against the parish boundary. By Late Medieval/early post-medieval times contraction had begun, though some pottery of that period occurs on all the sites, it is really numerous only on Site 57. Here the



Plate V. The alignments of roads, tracks and field boundaries in the southern part of the parish of Loddon. The two westernmost tracks and roads have drove-like characteristics. Ingloss with its small park immediately to the south are in the north-west corner and the southern end of Stubbs Green can also be seen. 106 G/UK 930/16 OCT 1945/3076. British Crown copyright/M.O.D.

site is rich in glazed wares and stoneware of the period and this may well be the site of a farmstead or house of some consequence. The impression is strengthened by the presence, among the finds, of a green-glazed bodysherd of Scarborough Ware of the thirteenth century. A small pond (relic of a moat?) lies close by on the south-western edge of the wood to the north.

Hales House may stand on the site of a further settlement of the green-edge group — the possible presence of Early Medieval pottery in a faint linear scatter north of the House (Site 69) lends some support to this.

Away from this potential green-side settlement there is a rapid decline in the incidence of finds except for the isolated, small but intensive medieval concentration of Site 83/3.

(b) 'Hall Green' (Loddon Green 1634). The presence of this minor place name in that of Hall Green Farm at TN 3710 9870 coupled with the survival of pasture nearby suggests that a green may have existed in past times on the eastern side of Loddon. Faden's Map (1797) shows a small open area in front of 'Loddon Hall' with a windmill standing within an enclosure immediately to the west. The distribution of the finds which have been made in the vicinity of this point does not give grounds for any firm conclusion for or against the suggestion. The pattern of finds does seem to bear some relationship to the road system which is probably of considerable age. This is particularly evident in Site 147/1 where a range of pottery from Thetford-type Ware to medieval ware occurs in a 50m band parallel to the road which fringes the site on the north and leads down to a crossing of the Chet. Context 2 (much less significant) respects the road which borders the southern edge of the field. However, a tiny concentration of medieval pottery (context 2) near the centre of Site 146 seems to be related to the eastern side of the open space as shown by Faden rather than an existing road.

E. Site 109

This is an isolated medieval site of apparently short duration. It is located at an appreciable distance from contemporary settlements within Loddon at Stubbs Green, at Ingloss and at Site 52. It is above the 30m contour on the higher ground separating the west to east sections of the upper valleys of the Loddon Beck. The nearest traces of Early Medieval/medieval settlement are to be found at Sites 141 and 142 close to the border of Kirby Cane: they are small and near to the floor of the more southerly valley.

The site is limited in extent, probably representing no more than one farmstead (context 1). The concentration is in the south-western corner of the field and is about 48m by 38m in extent.

The bulk of the finds consisted of medieval unglazed wares comprising twenty-two rims of jars and bowls, a rim and a pouring lip from unglazed medieval jugs and 126 bodysherds. There were only six pieces of medieval glazed ware and a bodysherd of a white fabric, no longer glazed, of unknown source and date. Context 2 in the centre of the field, to the east of context 1, yielded one rim from an Early Medieval jar and one medieval unglazed handle, fluted in section.

The Early Medieval rim is most probably a stray find not associated with context 1; there is some evidence of Early Medieval activity on Site 141. The settlement at context 1 seems to have been made during the period of medieval expansion and not to have persisted into Late

Medieval times — in other words it flourished only in the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries and then was abruptly abandoned. The reasons for abandonment are a matter for speculation: the misfortunes associated with bubonic plague are the tempting choice, but the site may well have become unsuitable for some other reason.

F. Site 52

This site is on the low ridge separating the two headwaters of the Loddon Beck just above the 20m contour. The western margin of the site is bounded by a bridleway which marks part of the course of a former road shown on Faden's Map of 1797. At two points on this bridleway there are relics of some kind of boundary feature. The southernmost one consists of a short stretch of bank with ditches on either side, the northern one is marked by a sliver of woodland in which there are remains of a short length of the old road with a ditch on either side. The easternmost of these ditches is bounded by a bank on its outer side. Ploughing may have obliterated, by infilling, a further ditch beyond this bank.

The main concentration of finds lies around a pit, now ploughed overall. Some medieval glazed and unglazed pottery had been found some years previously (context 1) close to the bridleway in the north-west corner of the field. Scattered finds have been made over the area between the main concentration and the old road line.

The earliest pottery found on the site is medieval. The only signs of earlier times found were a few flint flakes and two pieces of Romano-British tegulae. The last occurred, rather oddly, among the pieces of medieval and post-medieval bricks which are numerous to the south-east of the pit. Here there is a distinct reddish discolouring of the soil.

The bulk of the pottery is medieval unglazed wares — well over 300 sherds were found. They were distributed over the whole site, occurring with later pottery; to the north and north-east of the pit this type of pottery seems to be dominant. There is also a substantial, though smaller, amount of glazed medieval and Late Medieval glazed ware, and a quantity of post-medieval pottery. A few finds of interest may be noted: there were four pieces of Late Medieval or early post-medieval stoneware, two sherds of Westerwald stoneware and one sherd of an unknown medieval imported ware with an off-white fabric and green glazing. This piece is probably of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries and could be of Continental origin or, equally, from some other part of England. Other finds included a hone and four fragments of lava querns.

The nature of this settlement is of some interest. If this area lay within the park of 'Loddon iuxta Hales' (the possible remnants of boundary bank and ditch being, hypothetically, that of the park) the preponderance of medieval sherds suggests that activity here began while the park was still in existence (p.46). There may have been a road (Faden's road?) skirting the margins of the park. Could the site, if these assumptions should be correct, be a parker's lodge? It would seem more likely that the settlement, in its later days at least, had become a brick-making site. Among the many fragments lying on the surface some identifiable were collected; these included two medieval straw-marked bricks and some sandy post-medieval ones, some over-fired, some with adherent mortar. The inference here is that there was some brick-built structure and that bricks were being fired (and over-fired) in a kiln. The name of the field on

the Tithe Map (1841, NRO 481) is 'Brick Kiln'. One find was of a large hollow dome-shaped ornamental brick, probably meant as embellishment for some building of considerable standing — possibly the Late Medieval Hales Hall. The pit may have been dug to supply the kilns. The presence of Westerwald ware and a clay pipe suggests that the site may have been active in some diminished degree at a later time (or they may be the result of manuring), but it would appear to have ceased to have been of significance in the sixteenth century.

G. Site 73

This site is on the higher ground between the two head valleys of the Loddon Beck, near the ploughed-out hedge bank dividing two former fields and just below the 25m contour. Just to the west of the site is a small water-filled pit in the angle of a field boundary.

This is an unusual site by comparison with others in Hales and Loddon. Of the eighty-four sherds of pottery collected, seventy-seven were Late Medieval/Transitional to post-medieval glazed wares and of the others, one was a piece of Frechen stoneware (fifteenth-sixteenth century?), three were other stonewares, probably all sixteenth century, one was medieval glazed, one was of medieval unglazed ware and one was a Romano-British bowl rim. There were also two modern china sherds. There were seven fragments of lava querns, two of a curved and grooved form, obviously from one whole quern. There was also a post-medieval iron knife handle. Brick fragments were present and there was also a floor tile with olive-brown glaze which could be Flemish or English in origin. The bulk of the finds suggests that this was a very short-lived site, in fact most could be of the sixteenth century.

The late colonisation and relatively speedy abandonment of this site raise questions. There appears to be no sign of activity beyond the immediate findspot area; only one sherd of medieval pottery, a tiny scrap, was found in the remainder of the field to the south. Much the same holds good for the fields to the west of the little pond and for the field to the north. The short-lived nature of the settlement suggests that the site was, in some way, unsuitable, but it is even more striking in that it appears to have been the only case of colonisation in the Late Medieval/early post-medieval period when settlements elsewhere in the three parishes were contracting. The name of the field on the Tithe Map (1841; NRO 481) is Little White House (Great White House lies immediately to the south) — it is possible that this is a reference to a building which stood here.

H. Site 104

This site is of some interest since Ingloss Manor House is reputed to be the site of 'Golosa', a vill mentioned in *Domesday Book*. It has been regarded as the site of a deserted medieval village. The present Ingloss Manor House appears to be a large nineteenth-century brick building standing within its own grounds, and with a cluster of farm buildings just outside the enclosure at the north-east corner, by the road. A large garden extends westwards from the house and, under the rather luxuriant shrubbery, there are some inequalities in the ground of unknown origin and date. A small pond with an island just south-west of this is reminiscent of a small moated enclosure.

Ingloss Manor House lies at about the 25m contour

on the slope near the head of a small tributary valley of the Sisland Brook. Seen from the higher ground to the south, the site, on this gentle north-facing slope, appears as if tucked into the shelter of a fold in the land surface. The site lies to the south of the Manor House in an arable field and is quite limited in extent, being no more than a band following the edge of the eastern two-thirds of the enclosure surrounding the house. The southern boundary of this field was roughly curved but has been removed so that it is now cultivated together with the much larger field to the south. The field in which the site lies was called The Park on the Tithe Map (1841, NRO 481) and may have been part of a small park attached to the house at some time, possibly in Late Medieval times.

The finds are of the early medieval and medieval periods. Among the fourteen rims of jars is one of the 'ginger' jar type and among the 100 bases and sherds of unglazed wares are two with applied strips and one with an incised wavy line and an unglazed twisted handle. There were only ten sherds (including one handle) of glazed medieval pottery. There were a few later pieces — stonewares and glazed red earthenwares — and two hones and a piece of lava quern.

This suggests a limited medieval expansion from a possible Late Saxon site concealed within the grounds of the Manor House. The total extent must have been very small. Context 2, immediately to the south of the small moat-like feature yielded one unglazed medieval jar rim and two bodysherds, context 3, on the eastern side of the road past the Manor House, was barren of all but one unglazed medieval sherd. To the north-east of Ingloss, on Site 105 (TM 3475 9685 centre) which is bounded by the footpath from Stubbs Green, some eleven sherds of medieval pottery were found, the majority near a small pond in the south-western portion of the field, all seem close to the line of the footpath.

To the west of Ingloss is a salient of Loddon projecting into Mundham suggesting an area exploited from Ingloss in earlier times (Site 106, TM 3415 9675 centre). The only finds here were of a flat base sherd which could be Romano-British or of Thetford-type, and a medieval unglazed base.

A close examination of the field to the north of Ingloss (Site 137, TM 3440 9680 centre) suggests that at no time did the settlement extend beyond the bounds of the present garden, no pottery being so far found there. The main interest here lies in the existence of the site of a kiln at TM 3432 9676. A sample of brick fragments collected, included many which were semi-vitrified and others which were sandy, had mould marks on one face. The average size of the bricks seems to have been 110-115 x 45-48 x ?mm. They are of early post-medieval or very Late Medieval date. A sample of peg tile fragments included two with square holes and one which had been under-fired. There were many burnt bricks found on the edge of a shallow pit though they did not seem to have been used as infill. This and the other pits in the area may well have been the sources of raw materials for the kilns. A few pieces of sixteenth-century or later glazed red earthenware were found at the site.

There were some slight signs of earlier exploitation of the neighbourhood of Ingloss — five worked flints (Site 137), a core (Site 106), a core and two worked flints (Site 105, western end), and one worked flint (Site 104/1). To the immediate north-west of the small moat(?) on Site 104/1 is a concentration of thousands of 'pot-boilers' (cal-

cined flints) of unknown period and significance.

Domesday Golosa and its medieval descendant appear to have been a very small unit of exploitation within a largely empty area. No signs of any contemporary settlement have been discovered on either side of the road leading north to Sisland or south towards Broome. The pottery distribution in the surrounding fields reveals a very limited area of activity linked, perhaps, to Stubbs Green. The significance of the broad drove-like margins to the road leading south from Ingloss and its relationship to the footpath and the similar drove to the south of Stubbs Green is open to speculation (Plate V).

On the evidence presented Ingloss may well have dwindled to a single rather grand farmstead or manor house with an attached park by the sixteenth century; the kiln may have come into existence to make bricks and tiles for some building of that date.

I. Site 13 'Spring Meadow'

This site is on the quite marked west-facing side of the easternmost tributary valley of the Loddon Beck. It slopes gently from its south-eastern corner (25m) to the north-western one (15m). The lower margin, at about 15m, has been considerably modified by a large pit, apparently dug to exploit a local deposit of sand. Much of the remainder of the field, especially on its southern margin, is composed of rather sticky clay soils, adhesive in wet weather and ill-drained in winter. There has also been much infilling and deposition of waste, some of it probably from Hales Hall in earlier times. A pit at the upper end has been filled in recent years. There are abundant remains of a trackway which led northwards across the field from the gateway of Hales Hall. A footpath once crossed the field diagonally from south-east to north-west but has been diverted.

Some caution is therefore necessary in assessing the finds made in this field but those which can be regarded as unlikely to be the result of recent deposition are sufficient to make the site an interesting one.

The finds were made largely in the southern third of the field and within that area there was preponderance close to the wood which lies west of the moated platform of Hales Hall and in the south-eastern corner close to the gateway. The remainder of the field carries only a thin scatter of finds from a variety of periods.

In common with other sites close to the Loddon Beck valleys there is evidence here of early activity. Worked flints include blades, flakes, crude scrapers, cores and a small patinated leaf point which is the only diagnostic Neolithic tool. There are two sherds of early pottery; one is of the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (Harling type), the other possibly of the Iron Age. It is not surprising, given the proximity of Romano-British concentrations to the north, that a greyware rim of that period and a bodysherd of probably the same date were found.

Medieval coarseware is present in some quantity and, from its location in a strip parallel to the side of the wood, would appear to be associated with the medieval 'de Hales' Hall. It thins out downslope to the west. Medieval, Late Medieval, Transitional and early post-medieval glazed wares are found in lesser quantities in the same general area. As the aggrandisement of the site at Hales Hall took place at the end of the medieval period, it is hardly surprising to discover significant quantities of glazed wares of the post-medieval period, balancing in

number the medieval coarsewares. Stoneware of dates ranging from Late Medieval to post-medieval and even later are also present. Among them are sherds of Westwald ware. The continued occupation of, at least, the domestic buildings of the Hall, has probably resulted in the presence of much later material — slipware, china, recent stoneware and glass; a clay pipe bowl of mid-seventeenth-century type was also found.

One interesting find was that of a pedestal base of a fine pale cream fabric with a patch of clear glaze surviving, possibly an import of medieval date: this was found in the south-east corner of the field.

The infilling of the pit, already noted above, which lay some sixty or more metres from the southern edge of the field and about 20m from its eastern edge, is undoubtedly the reason for the presence of more modern debris. Other rubble may also have been brought as hard-core for the trackway which ran northwards along the eastern edge of the field. It is also likely that 'indigenous' material may have been displaced from its true position by filling operations. Among this material are many large flints and fragments of relatively modern pantiles and flat tiles, as well as brick rubble and smelting slag; portions of malting kiln tiles are also found. However, there are building materials present which are of greater significance and they are an intriguing feature of the site. Bricks, some over-fired, and some vitrified, are plentiful; a particular variety, found in some cases with mortar adhering and associated with a rectangular outline visible in the field after ploughing, measured 120mm x 50mm x ? and 118mm x 54mm x ?. The outline probably represents some minor building of more recent vintage. Glazed floor tiles have also been collected in quantity; the glazes are green, brown and yellow and the tiles appear to be of Late Medieval or early post-medieval date. Roof tiles are also numerous, many have yellow-brown clear glaze, some are green-glazed; they are of the peg type. Some are over-fired but no obvious wasters have been found.

A very interesting group of finds, five in number, are of a brick-like fabric with an overall dark greenish-brown glaze and are post-medieval. One resembles a massive handle, another is a curved fragment, a third is a fragment of a roughly oval-sectioned 'handle' of about 25 x 15mm, another, of average thickness 20mm, has one face roughly level and glazed and the other sanded unglazed and slightly curved. The fifth find is a lump with one face missing but which must have been originally at least 50mm thick. It has the scar of a possible rounded handle on its glazed face.

The most likely explanation for these curious fragments is that they are pieces of some high quality and very ornate form of architectural decoration. If this is the case it would infer that the field was the site of a kiln supplying the builder of some place of high status; the most obvious market for the products would have been the elaborate early post-medieval construction or reconstruction of Hales Hall. It is possible that the demolition of the Hall may have been responsible for the presence of at least some of the materials noted.

J. The Chet Valley Sites: 146, 147, 153, 154, 155-7, 158, 159, 160, 162.

These sites are of significance because, due to the existence of a good deal of pasture, some buildings and yards and other lands otherwise inaccessible, it is only here that there is a convincingly large enough area of the Chet

valley from which to form some impression of settlement.

The floor of the river valley is largely occupied by permanent pasture and the majority of the sites are at about 5m or more above sea level. They seem to be sited on a low terrace which offers dry situations. Only one site (158) is distant from the 5m contour and that is characterised by gravelly soil, including a low mound, and is close to an important road and a river crossing.

Some of the sites, 147, 158 and 159, are associated with a road alignment, from Read's Cross (TM 3755 9780) to the Chet past Hall Green Farm, and continued as a lane on the north bank past Chedgrave Church. It is possible that this formed part of a much greater alignment including the Beccles road southwards from Read's Cross, certainly there is some indication of an alternative river crossing to that of Loddon Bridge. There was, according to local witness, a loading point for commercial river traffic until well into the twentieth century.

Apart from a scatter of worked flints, the earliest evidence for settlement here is from the Middle Saxon period. Some comment concerning Middle Saxon sites has already been made and there is no necessity to attempt more than a recapitulatory outline. Site 158 has a concentration of Middle Saxon pottery of some strength and its position close to the road alignment and river crossing or staithe must be of some significance and the persistence of occupation through until the medieval period, unlike other Middle Saxon sites in Loddon, supports this contention.

The scatter of Middle Saxon potsherds on Sites 153, 154 and 157 must, at the very least, signify intensive utilisation of the area and the occurrence of single sherds on 21544(162), 21542(160) and 21541(159) implies that this may have been true of terrace lands further west. There is no concentration, unless the whole assembly of sites could be considered such, given the apparent scarcity of pottery at this time.

The seeming desertion of the more easterly of these sites in Late Saxon/early medieval times is striking. Site 21540(158) continued to be actively occupied and a new site aligned along the road to the crossing appeared at 21531(147); stray sherds of this period occur also on 21541(159) and 21542(160). It seems not improbable that evidence of major activity in the Chet valley at this time is concealed beneath the buildings of Loddon.

Medieval times saw a re-colonisation of the more easterly fields with notable concentration on Site 155. This site would appear to be a farmstead built to exploit the pastures to the north and the arable to the south. It is located on the very edge of the terrace, indeed, under modern conditions, it is waterlogged in winter. Plumer's Farm may be a more modern replacement because of this. Site 156 is comparable though of lesser significance and, presumably, Hall Green Farm and Beech Grove Farm may occupy old sites of a similar type.

Other medieval sites were established at 159 and 162. The latter may have developed either, simply, as a settlement by the side of the road to Heckingham or as a green-side settlement related to a possible 'Hall Green' already discussed.

Contraction is clear in Late Medieval times with the apparent abandonment of Sites 147 and 158 and the shrinking of most others. Settlement in the Chet valley, within the limited area open for examination, had a surprisingly mobile character. It is easy to explain the medieval and Late Medieval position in terms of population

expansion and contraction and the attraction of meadow and grazing land, but the reasons for earlier movements are entirely obscure.

Selected Sites in Heckingham

1. Site H44

This site is examined because it appears to contain positive evidence of Early Saxon settlement within Heckingham. It is in a field on the eastern slope of the valley of the Heckingham Beck, not far from the boundary of the parish of Hales. It is considered here as two contexts.

Context 1 (TM 3852 9765). This is in the extreme south-western corner of the field and lies on a ridge of sandy-gravelly soil which projects towards the edge of the valley floor, ending in a gravel bluff which slopes quite abruptly to the meadow bordering the Heckingham stream; this meadow is dissected by drainage ditches. Deep ploughing on the bluff has brought to the surface lumps of ferruginous hardpan.

The most significant finds in this context were a rim and eighteen bodysherds of sandy or gritty hand-made wares of Early Saxon date, though some could be of the Iron Age. There was also a base of organic tempered Early Saxon pottery. There were some signs of earlier occupation in the form of flakes of worked flint and a bodysherd of 'miscellaneous Prehistoric' pottery. The presence of three Romano-British sherds reflects activity on Context 2.

According to the Tithe Map of 1838 (NRO 147) this field once formed part of Chilpits Pightle; Chilpits is a name carried by two other fields and a small enclosure nearby, as well as a field in the neighbouring portion of Hales. Chilpits (Chil from Chisel or Chesil meaning gravel) is an apt name for the southern part of this field. Quarrying in distant times may have removed further Early Saxon evidence.

Context 2. This consists of the remainder of the field. The most important finds were made on the brow of the slope to the valley floor, immediately to the north of Context 1. The soils here are also sandy and stony. A small, compact Romano-British site yielded twenty-nine pieces of greyware of the second/third century and a piece of samian ware. There were several larger pieces, including a greyware base of 10cm diameter, among the finds, suggesting that deep ploughing recently may have been responsible for the occurrence of some of the material. A lava quern fragment was found with the Romano-British finds. A scraper, a blade and a flake of worked flint were evidence of earlier activity as on Context 1.

Two pieces of Romano-British greyware occurred well away from the main concentration and close to a ploughed-in pit on the eastern side of the field near the road. The excavation of the pit may have removed further Romano-British material but this seems unlikely as only one sherd, of Romano-British pottery, itself of doubtful authenticity, occurred in the neighbouring field to the east of the road, despite thorough search. Two medieval unglazed sherds and some post-medieval glazed red earthenware and stoneware represent the normal field scatter.

The significance of Site H44 lies in the comparison of Context 1 with other known Early Saxon sites in the survey area: a sandy or gravelly eminence or slope overlooking, almost immediately, a valley floor and with evidence of Romano-British occupation on the same site, or

very near to it. The shared quality of these sites must have held some attraction for the first post-Roman settlement.

2. Sites in the vicinity of Heckingham Church

(Fig.13; Plate VI)

This area was examined more closely than other parts of the parish. This was for two reasons:-

- i) The occurrence of Middle Saxon pottery close to the church in some quantity indicated a need to search for signs of earlier Saxon occupation of the area.
- ii) The pattern of land use — planting of strips of vegetable crops successively harvested as the winter progressed necessitated repeated visits to ensure satisfactory total coverage.

Soils in the area are, in general, developed on a sandy glacial drift but there are variations. On the eastern side of Site H43 the soil is very sandy, deep ploughing exposing a yellowish horizon. On the other hand, parts of Sites H38 and H40 have a very gravelly soil which renders the search for sherds quite difficult; there is a pit (now ploughed-in) which indicates past exploitation of the gravel at some time and possible destruction of evidence from H38. To the south of the church Site H18 A-C is comparable with H38 and H40 and is probably on a continuation of the same deposit, forming a slope to the valley floor. The valley bottom differs from the rest of the area under discussion in that its soils are alluvial. Site H36 is on the valley floor and it may be convenient to consider H19 and H35 with it as they are physically comparable and also appear to furnish an important link in the sequence of settlement.

Romano-British Occupation

Although some worked flints, including a well-made rounded scraper and a small end scraper, have been recovered, the earliest obvious settlement of the area was in Romano-British times (second/third century). The focus of this is partly concealed by a pair of cottages with gardens (early twentieth or very late nineteenth century) and a disused pit immediately to the east of them. The drive to the farm also crosses the site. It is possible that the road to the south and, beyond it, sown grassland, may conceal further areas. The Romano-British centre is thus divided between Site H43/2 and Site H17 A-B.

Most of the finds are of greyware; on H17A 140 sherds of greyware including bead and flanged bowl rims were collected. Two pieces of red slipped ware, a piece of colour-coated pottery, three fragments of mortaria and two shell-gritted sherds also occurred. The concentration extends marginally into H17B where some twelve sherds of greyware were found. There were few identifiable remains of building materials; one tegula was, however, found. The western portion of the concentration is covered by Site H43/1, which is an initial general survey of H43, and H43/2 which was a closer examination of the Romano-British portion of the whole. The initial search located the site and yielded six pieces of greyware and one piece of shell-gritted ware. The thorough search which followed provided two more pieces of shell-gritted ware, thirty-two pieces of certain Romano-British greyware and sixty-nine pieces of greyware of which a proportion is not Romano-British but probably of Thetford type. There were two bodysherds of chalk-tempered greyware, probably of Romano-British origin. Beyond this two-site concentration there is a scatter of sherds on Site H16,

H20A, H20B, (possibly H22), H23, H24, H34, H38/1, H38/2, and H43/4 (tegula) indicating the extent of exploitation of the neighbouring land.

There appears to have been no Early Saxon presence on the former Romano-British site and on none of the neighbouring sites.

Middle Saxon Occupation

This new colonisation is centred on Site H34 and the adjacent H43/3. This is a level area of sandy soil end-on to the north-east corner of Heckingham churchyard and was intensively examined on five occasions. In all forty-one sherds of Ipswich-type Ware including five rims and one handle were found on H34. Most were of substantial size. On H43/3 four further sherds were collected together with another bodysherd of a thick sandy dark-grey fabric with an oxidised exterior which could be of Middle Saxon date. One other bodysherd of Ipswich-type Ware was found here under H43/1.

The area of Site H34/43/3 is quite small and compact, being a rectangle of about 45m in width and 110m in north-to-south extent.

Two smaller sites also show some evidence of concentration. One of these is a small gravelly area (H40A) forming the northern apex of the field to the north of the church. It is separated from the marsh pasture by a ditch and a small wood or carr, and, by a drift-way to the marsh, from Site H16. From this small patch one base and three bodysherds of Ipswich-type Ware and one bodysherd of burnished Ipswich-type Ware were recovered. A sixth sherd of 'pimply' ware might be of Ipswich-type but more probably of a local Middle Saxon fabric. Very little pottery of any kind was retrieved from Site H40 so that H40A is, in a sense, unconnected with other sites on which Ipswich-type Ware has occurred except, possibly, Site H16 where there were several finds: one rim and two other sherds of Ipswich-type Ware and a rim of hand-made pimply Middle Saxon form.

The other small site near the church to show something of a concentration (H36) is significant in that it lies on the valley floor and is quite damp in winter, despite recent lowering of the water-table. The soil is darker and the surface was well-covered with secondary growth after the removal of a vegetable crop. The number of finds (nine) of Ipswich-type Ware made is remarkable given the poor conditions. This site was linked to H34 by H37 (one bodysherd) and H41 (one base and one bodysherd). To the north H38/1 (two rims and two bodysherds and one rim, burnt, of probable Middle Saxon local ware) and H38/2 (one base) might be regarded as outliers of the two concentrations.

To the south of the church there is some evidence of Middle Saxon activity. On H18A five sherds of Ipswich-type Ware occurred on the slope and on H18C a rim and a bodysherd were found close to the path leading to the church.

It is clear from the scatter of Ipswich-type Ware sherds found elsewhere that it was at this time that the area near the church became the centre from which exploitation of the lands of the community was carried out. This is, to some extent, confirmed by discoveries made between 1983 and 1986 by Mr. K. Woodhouse, using a metal detector. These consisted of two sceattas of standard type, a sceatta of head-standard type with a runic inscription, and a head-standard sceatta, uninscribed. A silver penny of Offa was also reported (SMR 20581).



Plate VI. Heckingham church in virtual isolation: the fields to the north and north-east, apparently featureless, contain much evidence of former occupation. Church Farm is to the north of the church, Little Church Farmhouse lies to the west of it and is on the medieval moated site of Bucmongers. TM 3898/C/AWY 16/27 APRIL 1984. *Norfolk Archaeological Unit.*

These were all found very close to the area described as Site H34.

Late-Saxon to Medieval Occupation

Late Saxon Thetford-type Ware indicates that although the area remained important, there appears to have been some shift in emphasis. The pottery is concentrated on Site H38/1 where some fifty-two sherds were found in gravel soil in varied conditions before ploughing (after a vegetable crop had been removed) and after spring sowing with cereal. This represents a small northward shift from the old Middle Saxon concentration on H34 where only some sixteen sherds, including a few from H43/1 and H43/3 were to be found. There was a scatter from H43/1 in general and there may be rather more than is shown cartographically on H43/2 as differentiation from coarse grey Romano-British wares is uncertain and there is a definite presence signified by the discovery here of seven sherds of Thetford-type. Thetford-type Ware is present in varying quantities on most of the other sites so far considered here but is not there in any dominant degree and is, indeed, absent from H37 and H17A as well as the virtually sterile H40. The most significant concentration is on H18A where some thirty-five sherds of Thetford-type appear as precursors of later activity.

Early Medieval pottery is found substantially on H18A, some seventy-four pieces of predominantly Early Medieval pottery reinforce the impression of a shift southwards to this site. Early Medieval pottery is present to some extent on Sites H16 and H17A, especially on the latter, and is there, also, on H43/2. As Thetford-type Ware is also present on the last site there may have been some degree of shift to the old Romano-British site. Some Early Medieval sherds were collected over Site H43/1.

An interesting further development is found on Site H19. This is a narrow strip of dark, heavily organic alluvial soil on the immediate west bank of the straightened and deepened main channel of the Heckingham stream. Significantly, the land opposite on the eastern bank is exploited commercially as a reed bed. Site H19 has been reclaimed as a vegetable plot, probably quite recently. Here only one dubious piece of Thetford-type Ware (or Romano-British) has been found despite two thorough searches. Seventy-eight sherds of Early Medieval to medieval unglazed pottery, together with one medieval coarseware piece with internal glaze, were collected. This is a very restricted range of material suggesting a brief period of colonisation in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries which terminated quite sharply. A mill was recorded in Heckingham in 1086 but this site, though its position is suggestive, would appear to be too late for this. A slightly higher plot immediately to the west (H35), similar in soil type but drier because of its up-slope advantage, shows fifty-six unglazed and six glazed pieces, predominantly thirteenth/fourteenth century, only one ginger jar rim hinting at an earlier presence. A number of fragments of lava querns was noted. This seems to be the successor of H19 which appears to have been abandoned in its favour.

Elsewhere, medieval pottery is generally present in quantity on H18A-C but without notable concentration. It is also present on H38/1 and /2 though in a quantity which suggests some decline since Thetford-type Ware times. Site H34 also has some signs of activity: forty-two unglazed and three glazed sherds suggesting something more than a mere scatter, and it is also present on H43/1,

H43/2, H16 and H17A and B in such a way as to suggest that occupation was waning.

The collapse of activity in the whole area immediately around the church after the fourteenth century is graphically illustrated by the scarcity of Late Medieval/Transitional and early post-medieval pottery on all the sites so far discussed. H34 and H35 with four and three sherds respectively were the strongest numerically.

It is clear from an assessment of total finds from Sites H10, H11, H11a and H12B-E, and H39/3, H39/4 and H39/5 (275 sherds south of the road and sixty-one to the north of it) that further migration saw the centre of gravity shift to the western side of the valley in medieval times, close to a site which had been neglected for settlement since the end of the Romano-British period. The most impressive portion of the limited activity of Late Medieval/Transitional and early post-medieval times was centred here also: eighty-one sherds from the group of sites.

XI. A Documentary Study of Hales and Loddon

by Alayne Fenner

For convenience the following abbreviations have been adopted in the ensuing text:

Bacons:	Loddon Bacons Court Book NRO LW(1-5) Quarto p.137B
H.C.:	Hales Cartulary BL Add.Ch.16533 A & B (Translation and genealogical notes in the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society's Library, Garsett House, Norwich, Ref.C2.Sh.2 17 & 18)
CW:	Loddon Churchwardens Accounts
H.H.C.R.:	Hales Hall Court Roll. NRO MS 9380. 8 AG (BRA 155)
Hosp.:	St Giles Hospital Deeds. NRO Norwich Corporation Records Case 25/281/2
L.T.B.:	Loddon Town Book. NRO Loddon Parish Records T26D
Townlands:	In Cooper MSS. NRO MC 78/96 523 x 3
Tanner MSS:	CUL Microfilm 3358 Reel 37
DNB:	Dictionary of National Biography
NRO:	Norfolk Record Office
BL:	British Library
CUL:	Cambridge University Library
Bod:	Bodleian Library
PRO:	Public Record Office

The landscape of Hales and Loddon from the documents

The documentary research for this study has had to be confined to local sources; it has not been possible, for example, to look at the important Langley Abbey documents in the Bodleian Library, and much material which lies in the P.R.O. and elsewhere. Langley Abbey was founded in 1195, by Sir Robert de Clavering, for Canons of the Premonstratensian Order. Its site is in the parish of Langley, 4km to the north of Loddon. It received many benefactions and had considerable property in many parishes in Norfolk and Suffolk. Its register, quoted by Blomefield, has not been consulted. A fortunate discovery was a complete translation of the thirteenth-century *Hales Cartulary* from the British Library, (B.L.Add.

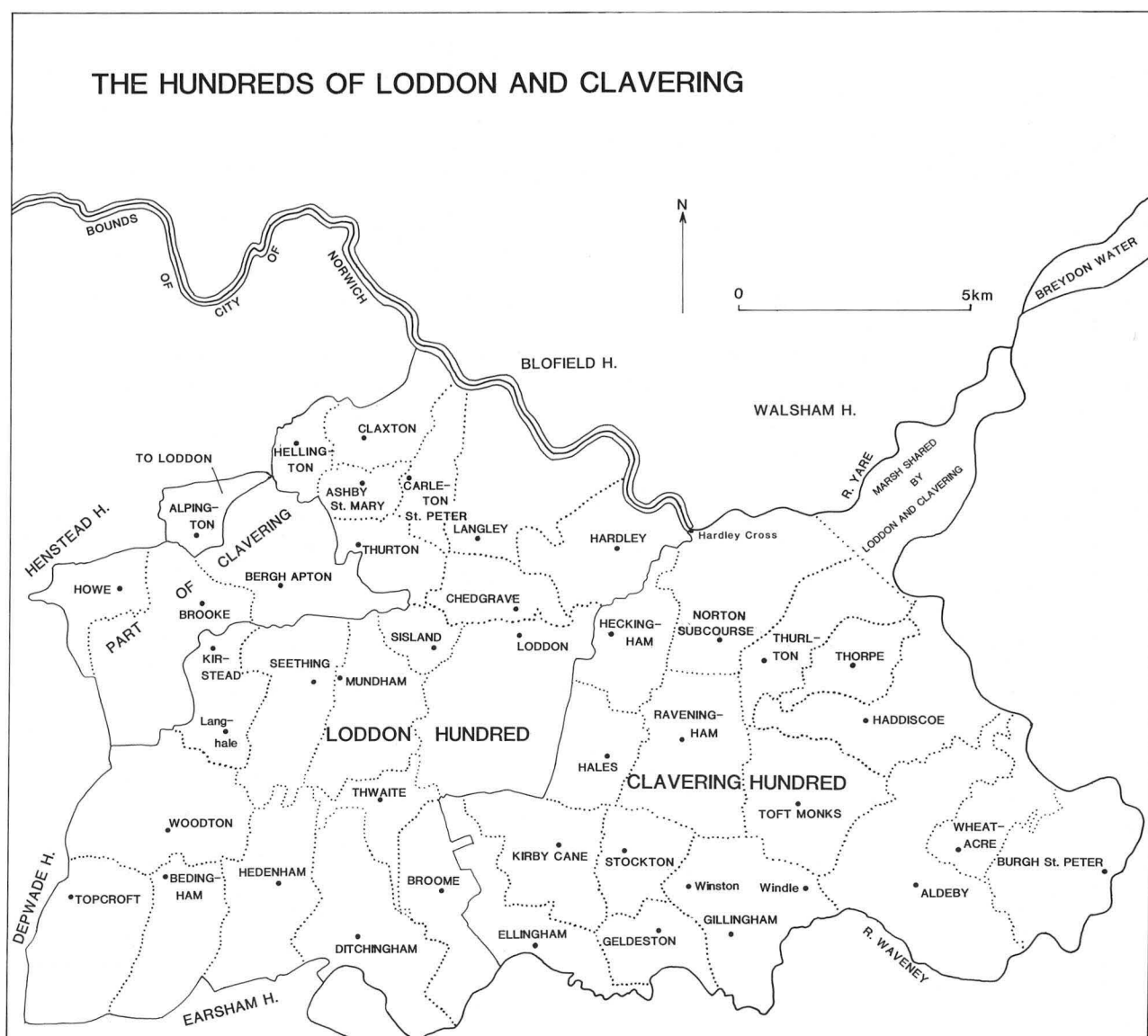


Figure 16. The Hundreds of Loddon and Clavering. Scale 1:150,000

Ch.16533 A and B) together with copious notes relating to it, and the local families involved. These had been made by Mrs Dupuis Browne of Chedgrave Manor in the 1920s and deposited after her death in the library of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society at Garsett House. (*Cupboard C2 Shelf II, parcels 1,17,18*). The cartulary is a record of details of land transactions. However, it is much concerned with rents and services, and significant topographical details, though important, are sparse. The lands recorded were distributed widely over the settlements between Chet and Waveney.

Apart from printed sources such as *Domesday Book*, Charter and other Rolls and certain subsidy rolls, the majority of the documents consulted are Loddon parish records or court rolls, deeds and wills in the Norfolk Record Office. Overall coverage for the post-medieval period is more satisfactory than for earlier times.

The material proved to be so wide and varied that an overall chronological approach was not appropriate, so the landscape of Hales and Loddon is examined under subject headings. There are eight sections:

The first two relate to the population and prosperity of the two parishes, and the pattern of landholding

throughout the medieval period. Then follows a detailed topographical survey of the parishes, beginning with the manor sites and parks, then the roads and tracks, the fields, woods, greens and finally, the settlement pattern. This is followed by a documentary note on Heckingham by Alan Davison and the whole section concludes with notes on the three churches of Hales, Heckingham and Loddon.

Population and prosperity

(Fig. 16, Tables 1, 2, 3, 4)

Interpretation of figures for medieval population and prosperity is notoriously difficult, hedged about as they are with numerous caveats about the multiplier, the frequency of tax evasions, and the shifting basis of taxation itself. In addition there is the problem in the hundreds of Loddon and Clavering of variations in the parishes included. For example, Brooke and Howe are in Henstead Hundred in 1086, but by 1334 they are in Loddon Hundred and Thwaite does not appear in *Domesday Book* at all. Bergh Apton is sometimes one, sometimes two parishes, as are the Gillinghams and the Wheatacres, and Mundham and Sisland are frequently counted together.

All that is possible, therefore, is to place the settlements in numerical order of size and value, to obtain an indication of relative prosperity, increase or decline, in very general terms.

It is usual in an account of this nature to compare the settlement under study with the other parishes within its hundred. However, Hales and Loddon, although adjacent, are in the separate hundreds of Loddon and Clavering. As Hales and Loddon are contiguous parishes divided by a hundred boundary, it seems more appropriate to compare them with their immediate neighbours, irrespective of hundred, than with more distant places in their own hundreds (Fig. 16). The earliest statistical information about Hales and Loddon is that contained in *Domesday Book*, (Doubleday and Page II 1901/6, 125, 133, 178, 181, 182) and the entries for Hales and Loddon, and Ingloss (which became merged into Loddon at an unknown date post 1086) are laid out in table form as Table 1.

From this it can be seen that there was a general increase in the value of the holdings of Hales and Loddon between 1066 and 1086, in three cases of 100%, although the main Ingloss holding was unchanged in value. Population change was slight; Loddon gained eight bordars and lost a slave, Hales lost two freemen and a villain.

In comparing the population of Hales and Loddon with their neighbours at different periods, four sources of information have been employed; *Domesday Book* of 1086, the 1524 Lay Subsidy, the Hearth Tax returns of 1664 and the census of 1801. All the numbers represent households, and the 1801 Census is the only one which can be regarded in any way as accurate; the problems of counting heads in *Domesday Book* with 'half-men' and

duplications are well known. The taxpayers listed in 1524 and 1664 were householders who owned moveable goods worth over ten shillings, and those not in receipt of poor rate who owned houses worth over twenty shillings. Doubtless numerous families existed below the tax threshold who were therefore not included. In spite of these caveats, the results are of interest. The taxation figures are taken from Sheail (1968) and Frankel and Seaman (1983, 8, 63).

The table (Table 2) shows the ranking of the parishes at each date expressed as numbers of households and percentages of total households. Although Sisland and Mundham are separated in *Domesday Book* and in 1801, they are aggregated in 1524 and 1664, and are therefore shown as a total throughout under Mundham. Ingloss is included in Loddon, and Thwaite does not appear in *Domesday Book*.

The spread of population in 1086 is more even than at any other time, with seven settlements in the range 9.6% to 17.2%. At the end of the medieval period only three are above 10% and this pattern continues until 1801, and, although different settlements predominate, Loddon, Broome and Heckingham are constant. Taking townships individually, Raveningham went from the most populous in 1086 to one of the lowest in 1801, with emparking perhaps a contributory factor. Mundham/Sisland was fairly constant, but Loddon more than doubled by 1524, and thereafter maintained its position at the top of the table. Its increase may well have been at the expense of its neighbours. The next four parishes all declined in the medieval period; Chedgrave, Stockton and Heckingham by about two-thirds, and Hales by almost a half. By 1801, Chedgrave had recovered somewhat, but

Table 2 Comparison of population by households

1086	No.	%	1524	No.	%	1664	No.	%	1801	No.	%
Raveningham	97	17.2	Loddon	65	29.8	Loddon	62	25.7	Loddon	169	30.2
Mundham	95	16.8	Mundham	30	13.8	Mundham	34	14.1	Mundham	61	10.9
Loddon	75	13.3	Broome	23	10.6	Broome	27	11.2	Ellingham	60	10.7
Chedgrave	75	13.3	Raveningham	20	9.2	Ellingham	24	10.0	Broome	57	10.2
Stockton	64	11.3	Ellingham	19	8.7	Chedgrave	16	6.6	Chedgrave	54	9.7
Hales	58	10.3	Kirby Cane	14	6.4	Kirby Cane	16	6.6	Kirby Cane	50	8.9
Heckingham	54	9.6	Hales	13	6.0	Raveningham	16	6.6	Raveningham	31	5.6
Kirby Cane	30	5.3	Stockton	9	4.1	Stockton	14	5.8	Hales	25	4.5
Broome	11	2.0	Chedgrave	9	4.1	Hales	14	5.8	Heckingham	19	3.4
Ellingham	5	0.9	Thwaite	9	4.1	Heckingham	9	3.8	Thwaite	17	3.0
Thwaite	—	—	Heckingham	7	3.2	Thwaite	9	3.8	Stockton	16	2.9
	564	100.0		218	100.0		241	100.0		559	100

Table 3 Comparison of prosperity by parish

£	1291		£	1334		£	1449		£	1524		
	s	d		s	d		s	d		s	d	
16	13	4	Loddon	10	9	9	7	9	9	13	3	10 (65)
8	0	0	Stockton	6	5	0	4	5	0	1	0	10 (9)
13	6	8	Mundham	5	10	6	4	6	6	3	5	4 (30)
4	13	4	Sisland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21	6	8	Raveningham	5	8	11	4	15	7	4	6	10 (20)
10	0	0	Kirby Cane	5	8	0	5	0	0	1	2	6 (14)
13	6	8	Ellingham	4	14	0	4	0	0	1	12	4 (19)
6	13	4	Broome	2	17	0	2	10	0	3	15	4 (23)
5	6	8	Heckingham	2	15	0	2	5	0	—	9	4 (7)
7	6	8	Hales	2	10	0	2	0	0	—	10	10 (13)
6	13	4	Chedgrave	2	0	1	1	4	1	—	9	0 (9)
—	—	—	Thwaite	1	10	0	1	10	0	—	10	6 (9)
113	6	8		49	8	3	39	5	11	30	6	8

Hales, Stockton and Heckingham remained in decline. Kirby Cane remained in the lower ranking, but Broome and Ellingham show dramatic increases by 1524, and maintained their position thereafter. From map evidence, the focus of settlement in Broome seems to have shifted from the isolated church and hall in the central, higher part of the parish, to the extensive commons on the bank of the Waveney. Similarly, Kirby Cane developed a second settlement at Kirby Row beside the Geldeston and Ellingham riverside commons.

The relative prosperity of the parishes adjacent to Hales and Loddon is tabulated in Table 3. The sources are the Lay Subsidies of 1334, 1449 and 1524, with all the caveats already referred to. The figures for 1334 are the assessments for the Lay Subsidy which was levied on the parishes as a whole, on the basis of a fifteenth of the value of moveable goods from rural areas, and one tenth from towns. Owners of goods over the value of ten shillings in the country and six shillings in towns were liable for tax. (Hudson 1895, 243-297).

Clerical income or 'Spiritualities', and church property or 'Temporalities' were exempt. However, a clerical subsidy, the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, had already been extracted in 1291, and the valuations for this feature in the first column of Table 3, alongside the later Lay Subsidies for comparison. (Hudson 1910, 46-157).

In 1449, deductions were allowed for parishes whose circumstances had changed for the worse. In 1524, the names of the taxpayers survive, and the number of these for each parish is added in brackets (Sheail 1968).

It is noticeable how the value of church income and property in 1291 is much higher than the lay assessment, and bears no relation to the prosperity of the parish. Raveningham, for example, appears unusually well endowed, which may possibly be connected with its earlier importance. In 1086 it had the highest population in Clavering. Once again Loddon heads the list throughout the lay assessment and Thwaite is at the bottom, although it is the only parish without a deduction in 1449. Not listed in 1291, it was assessed at £4 in 1254. All the parishes except Loddon and Broome declined in prosperity throughout the period, and the gap between Loddon, and Hales and Heckingham widened considerably.

Topographically, *Domesday Book* is of interest in that it gives measurements of the different settlements, together with their liability for geld. These are set out in Table 4. Darby finds the relationship between size and geld an 'unfathomable mystery', and indeed so it seems here. (Darby 1952, 122). The interpretation of the measurements is difficult as they are given in linear dimensions, which have no apparent relationship to shape or area. The sizes given for some places are surprising when compared with the parishes on the OS map, but may not embrace the whole parish. Only the figures for Hales, Heckingham and Stockton are prefixed by the words 'All of...measures...', the rest appear to have the measurements given after a particular manor; for example those for Loddon are after the Bury St Edmunds holding, prefixed by the words 'It has...'. The dimensions for Mundham apparently include more than one holding but not all.

All measurements are given in furlongs, on the basis of 12 furlongs, or 480 perches to a league. (Darby 1952, 121).

Stockton was a berewick of Earsham and was the centre of the Soke of Stockton throughout the medieval

Table 4 Settlement sizes and geld

	<i>Length</i>		<i>Breadth</i>	<i>Geld</i>
Stockton	24f	x	12f	5s 4d
Mundham	20f	x	10f	2s 0d
Loddon	14f	x	9f	16d
Hales	15f 13p	x	6f	8d
Raveningham	12f	x	9 ½f	12d
Heckingham	12f	x	8f	12d
Broome	12f	x	5f	8d
Chedgrave	9f	x	8f	2d
Kirby Cane	9f	x	5f	10 ½d
Sisland	8f	x	7f 11p	8d

period. Its pre-eminence in the table is doubtless due to the measurements and geld liabilities of Gillingham, Geldeston and Ellingham being included with it. The oddly-shaped parish of Thwaite, omitted from *Domesday Book*, may have existed as a hamlet of some neighbouring settlement such as Mundham or Broome. Its church has a late Norman doorway which may serve as a somewhat unreliable indicator of attainment of separate status.

Finally, there are two entries in *Domesday Book* in Clavering which possibly refer to an area in or near Hales, called Southwood, (Doubleday and Page 1901, 127, 172). Both bear editorial footnotes saying 'in Blofield Hundred' where there are indeed two further entries for Southwood (a parish now united with Limpenhoe). However, the thirteenth-century *Hales Cartulary* also mentions a place called Southwood, which was probably in Raveningham (HC.18) and it occurs again in the fourteenth century. (Add.Mss.6275 126).

Land tenure

The earliest reference to Loddon is in the will of Aelfric Modercope, written c. 1043, 'before he went across the sea' (Douglas 1955/1959 II, 836). 'First to St Edmunds, Loddon, woodland, open land and fen, with as full rights as ever I owned it...and I grant Thurwineholm with Loddon...' (the other half was for Bergh Apton which he granted to Ely). Aelfric may have been steward to Emma, mother of Edward the Confessor, who also gave her Kirby Cane lands to Bury. (Barlow 1970, 77; Hart 1966, 90, 94).

In 1086, the holding of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds was the largest of the three estates in Loddon, with a church and a mill — probably on the site of the present Loddon Mill. The local holder was Joscelyn de Loddon, who held of Frodo, brother of Abbot Baldwin. (Blomefield 1805-10, 10, 152-3). His descendants held it for about a hundred years.

The second, Gernon, estate was one of a group of holdings in Norfolk, (the others were in Eynsford and the Erpinghams), held by Osbert, which in the Confessor's time Wulfric had held of Earl Gyrrh. Soon after the Conquest it passed into the possession of the Bacon family, who gave their name to Baconsthorp, near Holt, as well as to this Loddon manor (Blomefield 1805-10, 10, 156). They held the manor in Loddon until the sixteenth century, when it was acquired by Sir Thomas Gresham and later by Elizabeth Berney (see Hobart) who leased it in 1612 to her nephew Anthony Hobart of Hales Hall (Blomefield 1805-10, 10, 156).

The Corbutio estates in Loddon and in Ingloss passed to the D'Albinis of Castle Rising, and the Ingloss family held under them until 1526 (Blomefield 1805-10, 10, 159).

In Hales the Bury holding was valued in Loddon. This might suggest an alternative meaning of the place-name 'Hales', usually given as a 'corner' or 'remote valley', neither of which are particularly apt here. According to Margaret Gelling it can also mean a 'detached estate', which in this case would be part of that originally belonging to Aelfric Modercope, although admittedly it was only 70 acres. (Gelling 1984, 100).

The second Hales estate was held by Ralf Baynard, who also held in Kirby Cane, which became the FitzWalter fee.

The third and largest Hales manor was held by Roger Bigod, in 1086. The descent of this manor is not clear, but in 1302 a manor in Loddon (but listed under 'Clavering'), containing two and one twentieth fees was the property of the last Bigod earl of Norfolk. (*Feudal Aids III* 396-7).

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries many lands changed hands by marriage, by the death of the male heir, or by subinfeudation. This last was the practice of subgranting land, thereby inserting another tier in the feudal pyramid, which was abolished by the Statute of *Quia Emptores* in 1291. Until then the creation of new manors by subinfeudation had led to the fragmentation of many of the major holdings.

A local lawyer, Roger de Hales, and his father Walter, acquired lands in this way in more than fifteen parishes in Loddon and Clavering, and built up the manor of Hales Hall, of which the cartulary survives. (BL Add.Ch.16533 A and B). The lands seem to have been acquired mainly from three local landlords, the lines of two of them having ended in daughters. For example, by the late twelfth century, the main holder of the Loddon Bury lands, another Joscelin, had died leaving five sisters. They, or their heirs, granted most of their lands to Roger de Hales, and in identical fashion, each of them included their share in the park near Hales, and four acres in *Brantishaghe*.

Bartholomew Sanzaver, who held Baynard lands of FitzWalter in Kirby-Hales, had two daughters, and Roger de Hales eventually acquired both halves of that inheritance. Elias Benjamin, who held of the Vernons, also granted him lands in Hales and Loddon, including a chapel.

The Bury fee was thus split by the activities of the de Hales family, and the Charles family, who were lords of Sisland, also acquired lands from Joscelin's family in Loddon and Thwaite (Blomefield, 10, 184).

Langley Abbey was founded in 1195 and received grants of lands from many local landlords (Elliston 1923, 180), which further complicated the tenurial pattern. Much of the de Hales land and the manor of Stubbs, which belonged to the de Charnels family, and was originally part of Joscelin's holding, belonged to the abbey by 1300. (Blomefield, 10, 156). In 1316 the *Nomina Villarum* gives Edward Charles and the Abbot of Langley as lords of Loddon, and the latter was also lord of Hales. (Blake 1951, 284).

Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, much of Loddon was part of the dower lands of successive duchesses of Norfolk. (*Cal.Close Rolls* 1339-41, 39; 1422-29, 204). The last Bigod earl of Norfolk died in 1306, and in 1312 Edward II made his twelve year old halfbrother, Thomas de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, and Earl Marshal in 1315. (Blake 1950, 236). The inheritance passed via Brotherton's daughter and heir Margaret,

Countess Marshal, wife of Lord Segrave, to the Mowbray family, by the marriage of Margaret's daughter. (DNB 39, 220).

The last Mowbray Duke of Norfolk died in 1476 and Sir John Howard succeeded to the title in 1483. (DNB 39, 225).

James Hobart, an able and ambitious Suffolk lawyer, and steward to both the Mowbray and Howard dukes, was doubtless in a good position to acquire Hales Hall manor in 1478 and begin the building of the present Hales Hall soon afterwards. (Gairdner 1904, 5, 926). He became Attorney-General to Henry VII and at his death in 1517 left twenty-eight manors and lands in Norfolk and north Suffolk to his heirs. (PRO Prob 11/19. 256ff).

The Hobart family held Hales Hall for seven generations but were obliged to sell it in the 1640s to a neighbour, Henry Humberstone. The house and estate were separated, the former being acquired c. 1660 by a rich widow, Lady Dionysia Williamson, who, so far as is known, had no family connection with the Hobarts. She later built herself a new house in Loddon and at her death in 1684, Hales Hall was let. (PRO Prob 11/379). It was probably demolished in the eighteenth century, leaving the courtyard service range as a farmhouse.

Manor sites and parks

(Figs 17, 18; Plates I, II, IV, V)

Several manor sites can be identified in Hales and Loddon from three types of evidence: from documentary sources and from the presence of moated sites and earthworks. The modern Hall Green Farm in Loddon is an example of the first category. A deed of 1635 describes the site of Loddon Hall, at TM39 371986, giving Loddon Green and Loddon Wood as abuttals, (NRO MC 12/1 387X6). Faden shows Loddon Hall beside a small green, and Loddon Wood, perpetuated as a field name, is shown on the Tithe map of 1841. Nothing of an obvious medieval date now survives at Hall Green Farm which occupies the same site. For the eighteenth-century Loddon Hall at Hales Green see Settlement.

Bacon's manor house lay to the north of Loddon Church and adjacent to the marketplace; a market charter being granted in 1245 (*Cal.Ch.Rolls* 1, 287). The manor house buildings had presumably gone by 1626, when it was described in a deed as 'the site of the manor of Loddon Bacons alias Bacons Hall in Loddon otherwise called the Manor Yards'. (NRO NCC Enrolled Deeds of Bargain and Sale 1560-1740. File 4 R76b in d). The fields north and east of the church were still 'manor Yards' on the Tithe map, and much 'foundation Work' of buildings was found there in 1878 (*Loddon Town Book* 190). The 1626 deed also included the mill and millhouse as part of the property.

This premier site in the town, in the classic position beside the church and marketplace, might have been expected to belong to the capital manor of Bury St Edmunds, which included the church and the mill, rather than to Bacons. It possibly changed hands when the Bury manor became fragmented during the thirteenth century.

It is clear from the *Hales cartulary* that Joscelin's manor had a park belonging to it '*iuxta Hales*', (*H.C.* 72) and the map shows the distinctive semi-circular boundary of a medieval deer-park to the south of Hales Hall (Plate I) (p.30). In the thirteenth century the park is described as having a ditch (*H.C.* 61) and a few metres of

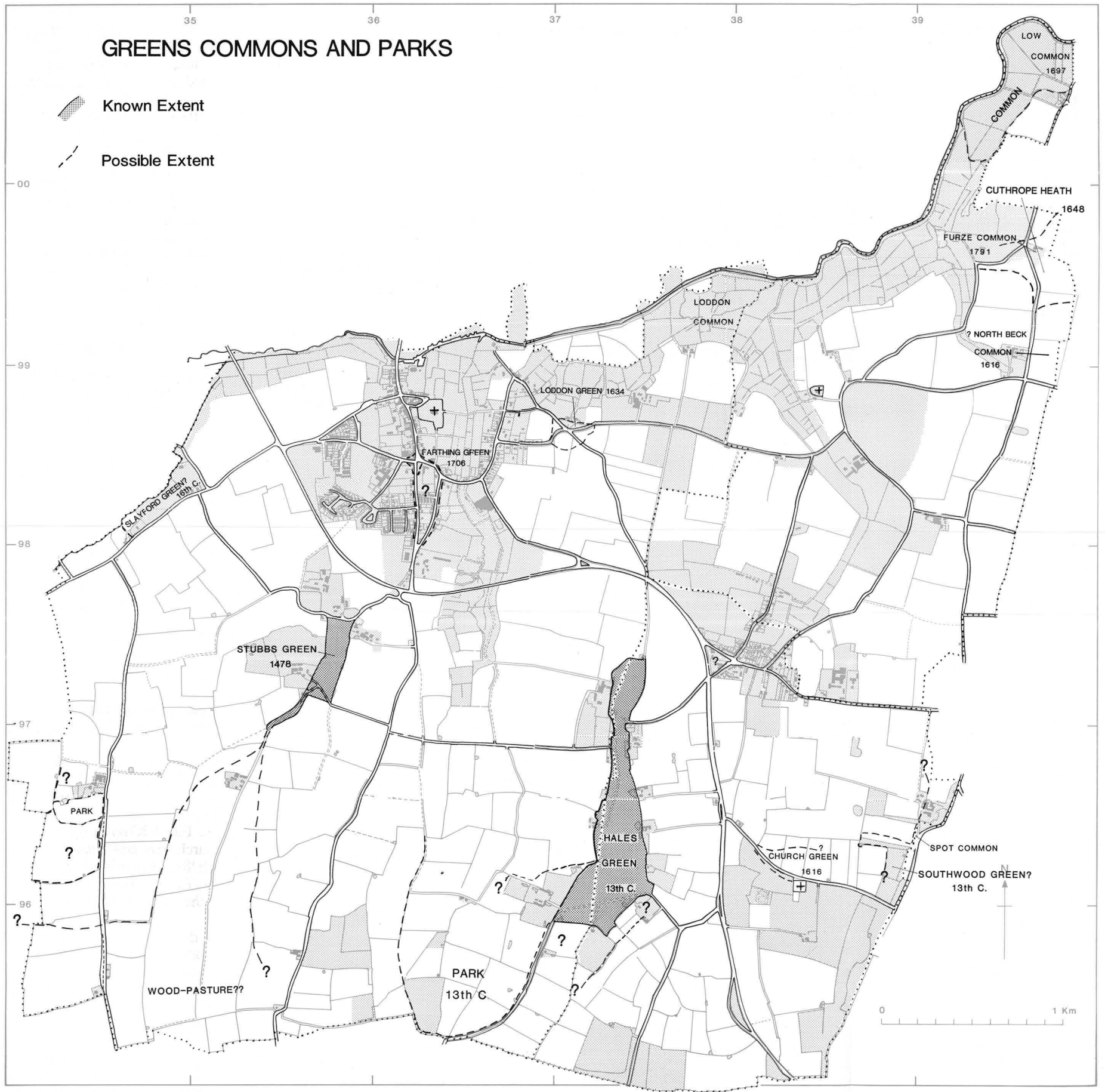


Figure 17. Greens, Commons and Parks. Scale 1:25,000

what is perhaps a park boundary bank, with inner and outer ditches, survives (at TM 362964). The fact that the southern border of Loddon parish, which is also the Hundred boundary, makes a noticeable curve to accommodate it, suggests that the park was established before c. 1180 when the system of parish boundaries became, for the most part, frozen (Rackham 1986, 19).

According to the *Hales cartulary* it seems probable that Roger de Hales had a house on the site of the present Hales Hall, but whether it was built beside or within the park is unclear, because its northern boundary is uncertain. Joscelin's heirs granted their land in the park and land in *Branteshage*, and the latter has been identified as the waterside meadow to the north of Transport Lane (see Fields). This was presumably outside the park, and a possible demarcation line between the two might be the continuous field boundary running from TM 362964 to Hales Green. Parts of the park seem to have been leased to other tenants as well as to Joscelin's heirs (*H.C.* 61/2). By the seventeenth century it had been divided into closes such as 'the home parke' and 'the horse parke' with 'the parke warren' (*Tanner Mss* 95/137), and Little, Lower and Mjiddle Park also appear on the Tithe map of 1841 (NRO 481).

The present Hales Hall is part of an outer courtyard range of a mansion which had disappeared by the nineteenth century. Together with its magnificent barn, it lies within an extensive and complicated moat system, apparently of the late fifteenth century, but overlying earlier work (Fenner, forthcoming). The fifteenth-century complex was built by Sir James Hobart, Attorney General to Henry VII, who came to live there in 1478. (Gairdner 1904, 5, 926).

There are several references to a chapel of St Andrew, variously described as being in Hales or in Loddon, which was probably the chapel of Hales Hall. Two pious donations, of the late twelfth century and 1283, are to the chapel of St Andrew in Loddon (NRO *Phillips Mss* 40035(331); Norfolk no.43(211)) and in the fourteenth century, the Bishop's Register records the names of successive priests who served the chapel of St Andrew in Hales (NRO Reg 30, 431). In 1252 and 1277, the foundation was confirmed and a licence was granted to Sir Roger de Hales for the chapel 'at his manor of *Wrantishage*', (NRO Lib.Instit.Norw.4, a later copyist's error rendering the thirteenth century 'B' as 'W'). In 1288 Robert Vernon, overlord of Roger de Hales, granted to Langley Abbey rents from de Hales' lands held of him, including 'the whole messuage of the chapel of St Andrew of Hales' (Blomefield, 8, 22). In 1613, Anthony Hobart of Hales Hall obtained a licence to use the chapel 'at Hales Hall' as his father and grandfather had done before him. (NRO Reg 15/21 (MF/RD 380/3)). No indication is given as to the actual location of this chapel.

The thirteenth-century *Hales cartulary*, however, also contains references to a chapel. Seven acres are described as lying 'between *Erwellestun* and the chapel of Benjamin de Hales' (*H.C.* 23) whose entire fee, held of the Vernons from John de Clavinging, was subsequently acquired by Roger de Hales. *Erwellestun* was probably in the north-west of Kirby Cane, abutting north on the Hales park boundary (see Settlement). Another entry refers to 'my part in the park next to the chapel of Hales' (*H.C.* 71). These references seem to indicate that this chapel lay within the park, and it may well have been the same as the chapel that was licensed and perhaps rebuilt,

by Sir Roger de Hales, and successive owners of Hales Hall.

What may be the earthworks of the medieval manor of Ingloss lie behind the present house. Like Hales Hall it lay beside, or within, a park which curved round the site, possibly extending into Mundham. The OS map again shows the characteristic boundary and the park name survives on the Tithe map (Plate V). There is, however, no documentary evidence for a medieval park here.

The house called 'The Lodge', north-west of Stubbs Green, is also a moated site. It may be the manor house of Stubbs, for a Langley Abbey rental of Loddon Stubbs, of 1568, begins with John Manclarke's 'capital messuage' at Stubbs Green, giving the Green as the southern abuttal (BL Add Mss 6275, 1) (Plate II).

The Charles family, who were named as overlords in 1316 (Blake 1952, 284) had an estate stretching into Loddon, Sisland, Mundham and Thwaite. Their manor house was probably the moated site lying on the Loddon side of the stream at the crossing into Sisland (at TM 350895) which had a chapel in its court (Bod mss *Lang.Rental* 242 94(a)). The 'White House', apparently of sixteenth-century date, which stands on higher ground across the stream in Sisland, (at TM39 345982) is perhaps its successor. A will of 1539 (NRO NCC 33/4 Cooke) instructs that the road between Loddon and Seething should be repaired 'at Charlys Hall', and a road from Ingloss to Charles Hall is mentioned in an undated, post-medieval deed (private possession).

Near Hales Church, to the south-west, lie the earthworks of another moated site (Plate IV). Although there is no documentary evidence, its position, on 'Bambury Hill' according to the Tithe map of 1838, adjacent to the church, suggests that it was a manor house, possibly of the Vernons, or of the Fitzwalter fee in Hales and Kirby Cane

Bush Farm, to the south-west of Stubbs Green was moated, but there is no documentary evidence to tie it in with a manorial holding.

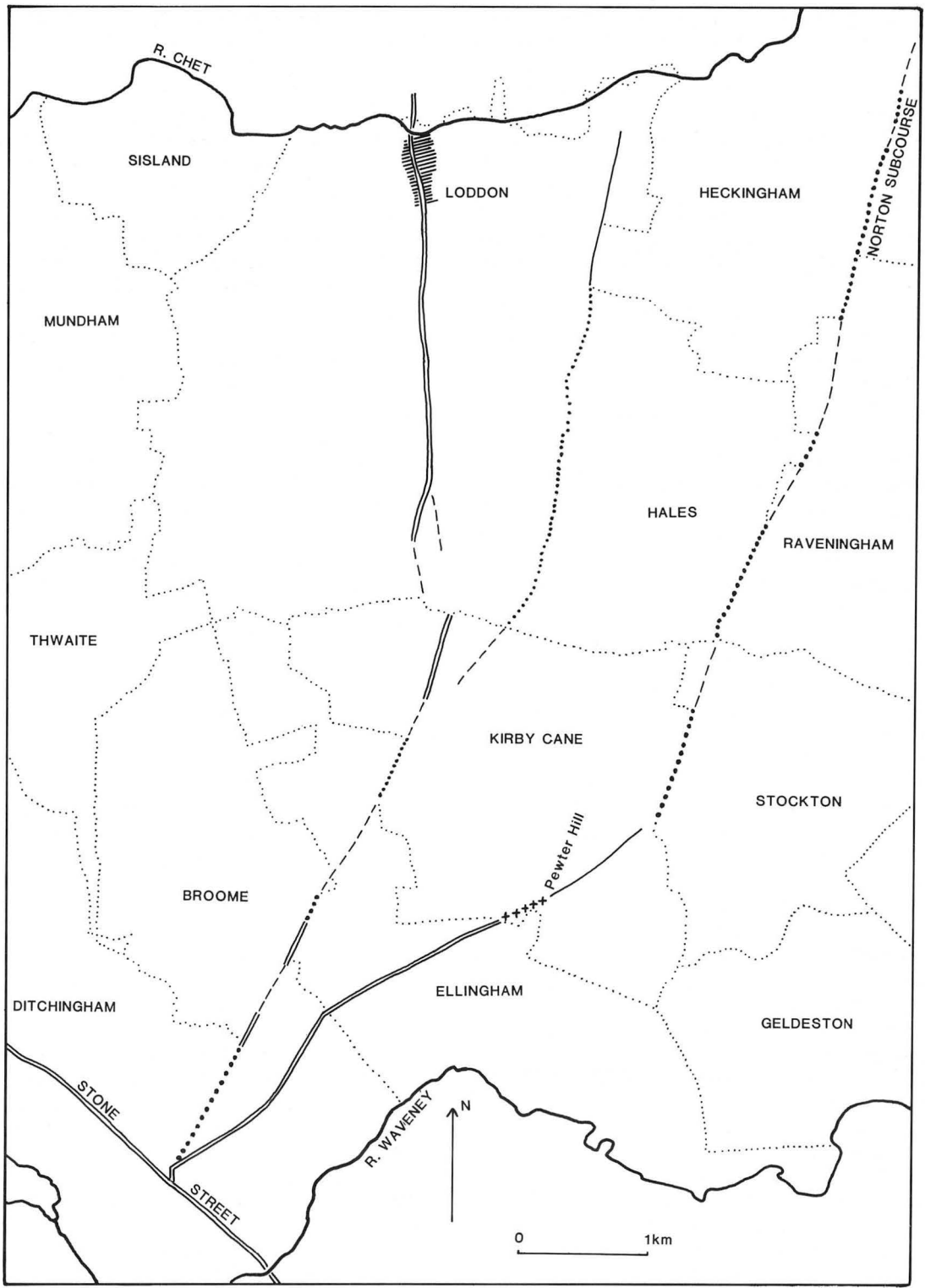
Roads

(Figs.6, 7, 8, 9, 18, 19)

Although many of the references are from post-medieval sources there is a core of evidence from medieval times to suggest that the modern map preserves much of the medieval network of roads and packways which crossed the two parishes. Many have altered in status as the communities which they served have increased in importance or have disappeared, but the modern road pattern bears a close resemblance to that shown on Faden's map of 1797, apart from a couple of anomalies. Perhaps the area south and west of Stubbs Green was omitted from the survey, but there is a blank area where Ingloss manor should be shown, lying beside its straight north-south road.

Faden also omits Transport Lane, which appears on a map of 1755 (private collection). This is a very straight road leading from the north end of Hales Green westwards to the Bungay road. An aerial photograph indicates that a short section east and west of the beck has been slightly re-aligned, probably since the beck has been piped under the road; there must have been an awkward, boggy crossing before this was done.

As fieldwork has shown (Fig.6; p.15), there was a considerable Roman presence in Hales and Loddon, and the main Roman road, Stone Street, crosses the Waveney into Loddon Hundred. Transport Lane passes through



Existing Road ——— Footpath ——— Parish Boundary Soil Mark +++++ Uncertain - - - -

Figure 19. Possible Roman Road Alignments. Scale 1:50,000

several Roman sites, and its straightness has given pause for thought, as indeed have other straight stretches of roads and, more particularly, of parish boundaries. Loddon and Hales and their adjoining parishes lie between the Waveney, the Chet and the Yare, and several roads, paths and parish boundaries can be lined up on the map, suggesting the line of Roman roads converging on river crossings, and connecting with Stone Street (Fig.19).

One line, for example, begins at Ditchingham, at TM39 343909, where the A143 branches north-east from the Roman road (A144), and skirts the marsh edge through Broome and Ellingham. Before the road makes a right angle at Kirby Row (between TM39 368928 and TM39 372931) a shadow of a diagonal continuing line shows on a vertical aerial photograph (RAF 1945 409610G/UK930). The line continues diagonally as a footpath across Pewter Hill (where Roman remains were found (Chester 1855, 313)) to the Kirby Cane/Stockton boundary. This boundary continues in a north-east direction (with two diversions) as the eastern boundary of Hales and Heckingham, straight towards Reedham Ferry, where again there are considerable Roman remains (Chester 1855, 314).

Another line begins at the same spot in Ditchingham, but follows the Bròome/Ditchingham parish boundary across Broome Heath. It then lines up, more tentatively, with straight sections of Ellingham and Kirby Cane boundaries, and goes either across Hales Green, or in a more northerly direction, up the western side of the Hales Hall park boundary, towards a crossing at Loddon. However, only the last of these suggested lines has any obvious potential relationship to the major group of Romano-British settlement in Loddon (Fig.6).

Where medieval trackways followed parish boundaries they would be walked during the Rogation perambulation of parish bounds. Although no 'Procession' or 'Session' Ways are named in documents, the southern and eastern parish boundary of Loddon was also the Hundred Boundary, and the 'Hundredsty' or pathway followed the former from east to west (HHCR m9(d) NRO MS 9380 8AG (BRA 155)).

The modern Norwich-Beccles road crosses the Chet in Loddon town at Loddon Mill, but the medieval crossing was downstream at Pysmill ford, where the Loddon Beck joins the river. The ford is mentioned in the fourteenth century and again in 1649 (BL Add Mss 6275 223; NRO 18386/80x2). Its relationship to settlement sites in the vicinity is obvious (Figs 7-9). The present road crossing at Loddon Mill is of comparatively recent date, although on the Chedgrave side the road leading to it is lined with houses, at least one of which is of sixteenth-century date. It cannot have been an easy crossing here for there was an extensive system of waterways to the mill. The parish boundary and the river part company to the north of it, which indicates a re-alignment of the river. This had certainly taken place before 1626 when reference is made to 'the ould river, with an acre of land between it and the millpool to the south'.

In Hales, the main Beccles road was called '*Selgerysgate*' in 1428 and 1504 (BL Add Ch 57077/8) '*Gata*' being the Scandinavian 'road' or 'street'. '*Bachilers Gate*', a packway from Thwaite to Beccles was mentioned in 1617 and also '*Sledgate*' in 1626, the latter now a track branching south from the south-west end of Stubbs Green past Bush Farm (NRO 18373 80x3; HHCR m3(d)). '*Redfalgate*' however, was not a road, but an actual gate, proba-

bly on a foldcourse (BL Add Mss 6275 98).

The Loddon-Bungay road has been known as Dulls Lane since at least the sixteenth century (*cw* 1597; NRO NCC 156 Corant). It probably perpetuates the name of the Dulle family, one of whom, Roger Dulle, acquired five acres in Kirby Cane in 1203 (Rye 1881(b), 94, 184) and Dulls Farm is just in Ellingham (at TM39 253947).

The Loddon to Sisland and Mundham road is referred to in the fourteenth century (NRO *Hosp Bg* 358).

Litchmere Lane dates from at least the thirteenth century. It could be older since it appears to follow the bounds of the park '*iuxta Hales*'. It was 'the way which goes from the green place to Eruelstun in which site is a moor called lechemore' (H.C.120). The conventional sign for 'rough pasture, heath and moor' is still shown on the OS map at TM39 365952, east of Litchmere Lane, where it crosses the hundred boundary into Kirby Cane.

There are two roads from Hales to Raveningham, the main B1136, which runs along the Hales/Heckingham parish boundary for part of the way, and Church Lane (*Hales Glebe Terrier* 1707). This latter road must once have continued over a crossroads at the parish boundary (at TM39 389960) to Brundish, whereas it now makes a sharp right-angled bend north-east to Spot Common.

Many roads do not have names, merely destinations: ... 'the road from Hales Green to Horscroft' (HHCR m7, fifteenth century,) ... 'the road from Hales Green to Heckingham' (*Hales Glebe Terrier* 1707) ... 'the road from Loddon to Hales Green' (NRO MC 12/1 387x6). This latter probably became the path marked on the Tithe and OS maps, from the Town Farm, over Loddon Field to the back of the present Loddon Hall and the Green. Similarly the present path from Loddon to Hales Hall, shown on a Road Order of 1818 (NRO NRS 4042 (249) Cab I), running up the east side of the Loddon beck, must once have been the main access road to the Hall in the fifteenth century, when the house was a dominant feature in the landscape. The old road from Loddon to Kirby Cane is now the footpath which follows the western park boundary.

The open fields must have been crossed by many access paths, and the OS map shows several surviving in Hales. One of them was described in the 1707 *Hales Terrier* as running 'from Church Lane end to Cockmer Hills'. There was also a Peddersty across Loddon Field in 1509 (*Loddon Town Lands* NRO MC 78/96 523x3).

Sometimes references seem to relate to different sections of the same road or trackway. For example, 'the way from Ingloss to Loddon Church' may, for some of its length, be the same as 'the way from Stubbs Green to Ingloss Mill' and 'the way from Loddon Church to Stubbs Green'.

The name of a road can also change over the years. A packway called Ellymans Lane in 1662, which was the path running west from Dulls Lane at TM 355954, had a field called Ellymans Close to the north, which had been '*Everiemans als Elymans Close*' in 1531. A reference of 1682 calls the road Dimans Lane, and it was Edimans Lane in 1713. The Tithe map of 1841 however, calls it Spurway, although the old name is echoed by a field called Elmers to the north. Most of the lane has now been ploughed out (NRO 18409 80x3 BRA864; 18368 80x2; 18393 80x2 BRA 864).

A feature of the medieval road system was the erection of stone crosses at crossroads. As late as 1533 Richard Smythe of Loddon instructed his executors to set up a

cross 'at the parting of the way from Langley church to Chedgrave church' (NRO NCC 144 Punting), and Branteshaghe Cross stood, in the fifteenth century, to the west of Dulls Lane at approximately TM 362974. The name Reads Cross, at TM 275978, marks a former busy crossroads, but no monument survives.

Open fields

(Fig.18; Table I)

It is regrettable that the *Hales Cartulary*, the earliest post-*Domesday* source, tells almost nothing about the fields. Apart from general references to 'terra', presumably land in open fields and two furlong names, *Burewong* and *Sledeswong*, apparently in Loddon, there are no clues as to the nature of the field system. It is not until post-medieval times that a clearer picture emerges, a period when the form of land use may have been radically altered from the medieval situation.

There are no Enclosure Awards for Hales and Loddon, so the earliest maps so far found of the two parishes which give field names, are the Tithe Award maps of 1838 for Hales (NRO 157) and 1841 for Loddon (NRO 481). These are disappointing, for very few ancient names survive. For example, 'Gosmothurne', an enclosure in 1629 (*HHCR* m.7d. NRO MS9380.8AG (BRA 155)) must be the 'Gossamer Heron' of 1841, and the meadow north of South Ford called 'Darnock' in 1841 belonged to Richard Dannok in 1478 (BL Add Mss 6275 134). The Hales Tithe map contains a few fossilized strips at 'The Bottoms', south of the Raveningham Road junction, but nothing remains on the Loddon map to show where the open fields had been. The process of enclosure, however, can be followed to some extent.

Judging by the many references to 'closes', a great deal of enclosure had already taken place by the sixteenth century. Apart from crofts behind the houses of Loddon Street and round the greens, the south-west quadrant of Loddon parish was completely enclosed, and probably the southern third of Hales. Some of these closes were very large. In 1531, for example, Great and Little Stubbs Closes contained 100 acres, although by 1650 they had become seven closes. They lay south of the present Bush Farm (NRO 18368/80x2; 18377/80x2 BRA864). Others, like Dulls Close, Elymans Close and Great and Little Hellond Closes, were of about twenty acres apiece. The valuable waterside grazing was also enclosed early; there was a three acre close of pasture and marsh called Pyes Close, next to Pyes Mill in the fourteenth century (BL Add Mss 6275 223).

Enclosure was probably by common consent, for references occur to the land of one man lying in the close of another. This process was still in operation in the eighteenth century. The *Loddon Glebe Terrier* of 1709 refers to 'three several pieces lying in the great Inclose of Francis Gardiner called Welstades as the same were lately dooled out with great stakes by the Inhabitants...with the consent of Charles Humberston gent. owner of the Inclose.' The disappearance of strips can be seen in another entry referring to a rood of Town land in Symonds Close (probably a former furlong) which could not be described by abbutals as the meres had been ploughed up by the late owners of the close.

In Hales, the few references to the fields and closes of the parish indicate that Hales Field was the area between the Raveningham road and Church Lane. It contained Cockmer Hills and a pigtle called Callender Hill

(*Hales Glebe Terrier* 1707; NRO ANW 10 Waterladde). An early fourteenth-century deed is of interest for it refers to two acres of arable land in the field of Hales 'in an assart called *Rondecakesrede*'. This is an indication of the pressure on arable land, during the period prior to the Black Death, in this thickly populated region of Norfolk, which presumably resulted in tree-felling, and possibly encroachment on Hales Green (NRO College of Arms 376/65(M12/16)).

There is more information about the open fields of Loddon, but in spite of a good collection of field and furlong names, they are usually very difficult to place precisely. Loddon Field seems to have curved round the town from the Sisland border to the west to Heckingham and the Marsh edge on the east. There were three sections; Loddon Hall Field being the most easterly, Loddon Town Field having the Loddon-Beccles road running through it (although Loddon Field and Loddon Town Field often appear to be co-terminous) and West Field lying to the north-west of Stubbs Green (*Loddon Town Lands*; BL Add Mss 6275 140). There was also Stubbs Field, to the east of Stubbs Green, through which ran the Loddon-Kirby Cane road which followed the Park boundary, and a Hales Hall Field, which from its abutments lay at the north end of Hales Green (*HHCR* m.6d). As yet there are no references to the fields of Ingloss. It is clear from a deed of sale of 1622 of Ingloss manor that all the lands were enclosed. Some furlongs can be placed; Welleslede was south of the Loddon-Beccles road at the point where the present by-pass joins it, and Ryeland was nearby (NRO College of Arms 326/85(X) 25 of the fourteenth century; *Loddon Town Lands*). Charnelcroft was north of Stubbs Green, and Bradelond north-east of it (BL Add Mss 6275 136 of the fourteenth century onwards; *Hosp* Bg 361). Wynneyerd, or le Wynord, had its northern head on the Sisland road (NRO (*Hosp*.Bg 358 of the fourteenth century, Norwich Corporation Records Case 25 (281/2)).

All the documentary evidence, especially wills and inventories, points to a mixed farming pattern in the two parishes. There is a useful collection of documents relating to the administration of the Loddon Beck Lands from 1492 (NRO MC 78/96 523x3). These had been attached to the Guildhall, plus a tenement called 'Wolvis' (after a family called Wulf) and a messuage called 'Davyddes'. The two latter had been bequeathed to the town in 1503 and 1515 (NRO NCC 407 Popy ANW 43 Batman). The rebuilt Davids house is at TM 367982, and called Town Farm, and is now engulfed by the industrial estate. A lease of Davids in 1603 describes the method of cultivation to be observed by the tenant on the sixteen pieces of its land in the open field. The tenant 'shall not sow any of the premises now in tylth lying in Loddon Field but in this order viz: one crop of Wynter corne and one crop of Summer corne and then to Summerley the same according to the Course of Tylth used in Loddon Field and not otherwise'.

There was a great deal of pasture, both in the closes and on the greens, water meadows and marshlands. A particularly valuable piece of land was *Brantishaghe*, first mentioned in the thirteenth century, which was the waterside meadow of Loddon Beck, to the east of Dulls Lane. The name probably means 'steep enclosure' (Ekwall 1960, 61) and the present path to the beck is precipitous at TM 363976. A path ran from Stubbs to *Brantishaghe* in 1326, in 1623 a close called Ives was de-

scribed as 'apud Brantishaw', and by 1651, Brunshawes was a close which survives today (*Hosp Bg* 337 and 364; *HHCR* m.2; *Bacons* I.19, NRO LW(1-5) Quarto p137B). In their grants to Roger de Hales, each of the five heirs of Joscelin de Lodne included 'four acres in *Brantishaghe*' as well as their share in the Park, so it was obviously of particular significance (*H.C.*31, 32, 67, 71, 72). In the seventeenth century it contained alder carr as well as pasture land.

In Hales, north of the Raveningham road, between the two present roads from Hales to Heckingham, a small stream, the Heckingham Beck, flows north from Hales past Heckingham church into the Chet. This little valley was known from the thirteenth century variously as Culmond, Culmer or Culmouth and was an important part of the economy of the parish. Langley Abbey leased a 'pratum' there in 1289, there was a turbarry, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Loddon churchwardens' accounts show that considerable amounts of timber were felled there (NRO *Tanner* Index I, 424; Add Mss 6275 126; CW 1569, 1623).

Cattle were a feature of this post-medieval 'Wood pasture' country, but flocks of sheep had long been part of the economy. Aelfric Modercope left sheep on his Loddon estate to Bury St Edmunds in 1043, and reasonable numbers were recorded in *Domesday Book* (Table 1). In 1504 there was a 'common sheep course called 'le Waterrenne' in Hales Field (BL Add Ch 62789) a feature more usually found further to the north and west in Norfolk, and the lord of the manor of Hales Hall was also a flockmaster, judging from the list of goods and livestock confiscated as punishment for his part in the 'Rising' of 1570 (PRO.E199/30/41).

Horses were also bred at Hales Hall; in 1560 Henry Hobart bequeathed 'one ambling grey gelding on my own breed' to Sir Christopher Heydon, and a Hales Hall rental of c. 1647 mentions the Great Horse Park (NRO NCC 363 Bircham; *Tanner* Mss 95/137). The riverside common of Loddon (at 378993) was also called Horsecroft, and it was probably intercommoned with Hales, judging by the frequency that 'the way from Hales Green to Horsecroft' occurs as an abuttal. The sandy area north of Transport Lane, now Warren Hills, was the rabbit warren of Hales Hall, with another, mentioned in 1647, in the Park (*Tanner* Mss. 95/137).

Field names sometimes hint at other crops; a pightle was called Saffron Panes in 1634, and the early fourteenth-century furlong '*le Wynord*' suggests that vines may once have been grown there (NRO MC 12/1; *Hosp Bg* 358). Hemp features frequently in wills and inventories. There was a 'Retting Meere' by the common beck in 1650, and in 1623 Nicholas Swan was presented at the Hales Hall manor court for erecting a cottage on the Green and putting hemp to ret in a pond there (*Bacons* I.15; *HHCR* m.1).

Ponds and pits remain a common feature of the Hales and Loddon landscape, and while many must be nineteenth century, the ubiquitous 'marl pits', there are references to more ancient features. The lease of Loddon Town House, described above, also mentions the town clay pits, which can still be traced on the north side of the Loddon-Beccles road, at TM 369981, giving their name to the field on the Tithe map. There were also extensive gravel pits at the south end of Loddon street, which are still on the map today, but in 1629 the Loddon-Bungay road went through their western end, and by 1706 there

were cottages built in them. It is noticeable how some of the houses in the triangle between the Loddon-Bungay and the South Ford-Bungay roads still lie in a dip (*HHCR* m.7d; Loddon Glebe Terrier). This triangle may once have been part of Farthing Green.

'Chilpittes', in Hales Field, mentioned in a will of 1563 is still a noticeable hole in the field opposite Heckingham Hospital, and must be a gravel or chalk pit of considerable antiquity, for the derivation of its name is from the Old English '*ceasol*' or pebble (NRO ANW 10 Waterladde; Hoskins 1969, 93).

Woodland

(Fig.18; Table I)

The earliest reference to woodland in the two parishes is in the will of Aelfric Modercope c. 1043 (Douglas 1955/1959 II, 836).

The *Domesday* entries for Norfolk woodland are measured as 'wood for so many swine', however, not all woodland contained sufficient oaks and beeches to feed pigs, and not all pigs were turned out into woods in the autumn, for example Carleton and Hedenham in Loddon Hundred have swine listed as stock, but no woods. The 'swinewood' entries represent not the actual number of foraging pigs that wood could support, but a notional number upon which a tax assessment could be based.

Oliver Rackham suggests that 'swinewood' can also be equated with wood-pasture or rough grazing, and that managed, or 'coppiced' woodland can be inferred when the swinewood entries are small, or omitted altogether (Rackham 1976, 61). This is generally the case in south Norfolk, which nevertheless had numerous coppiced woods in the late medieval period, and Hales and Loddon fall into this category. Their 'swinewood' entries are not large and as no figures are given for the Saxon period no comparisons can be made, but the numbers of pigs kept did increase (Table 1). Many later references to woods in the two parishes, from the sixteenth century onwards, imply a long-established practice of woodland management.

Hales and Loddon seem always to have been well-wooded areas. Both Faden and the OS show much surviving woodland, especially on the southern border with Kirby Cane and the eastern Raveningham boundary. Some of the names have changed since Faden: Hales Hall Wood (TM 358958) was Spitland Wood in the eighteenth century (St Giles' Hospital, in Norwich held much land in this part of Loddon) and Kings Wood has become Hares Grove (TM 363955), the fields to the west of it being known as Hares Closes in the seventeenth century (NRO MS 16137/38 B 4 18368). Several farms today have woodland names, such as Beech Grove, Oakland and Wood Farms, but these are of comparatively recent date. 'Stubbs' in 'Stubbs Green' is, however, of greater antiquity. It comes from the O.E. '*stubb*' or tree-stump, and indicates the 'stubbing-up' and destruction of woodland (Ekwall 1960, 451; Rackham 1976, 56). The name 'Stubbs Green' indicates either that the green itself had been formed by these methods, or that it was a natural clearing inside which arable land was being created from the woodland. There were woods adjacent to Stubbs Green until at least the seventeenth century. 'Charnellys wood', mentioned in 1478, was north of it, and 'le Rowkewod', according to the will of William Smythe in 1625, was at its southern end (BL Add Mss 6275 136; NRO NCC OW 100).

There are many documentary references to medieval and post-medieval woods in Hales and Loddon, and adjoining parishes, nearly all of which present problems of positioning and dating. Many wood names survive as field names, for example the '*cultura*', or furlong, called 'Uphallwode' in 1319 (Hosp Bg 353). It is not clear whether the furlong perpetuates the name of a former wood, which has become arable land, or refers to the position of the furlong next to an existing wood. In some cases the problem can be resolved by a subsequent reference; for example Loddon Wood, referred to in 1634 (NRO MC/12/1) was south of Loddon Green, but by 1841 it had been felled, for the Tithe map shows a group of five fields called 'Loddon Woods', 'First Loddon Wood' (twice), and 'Further Loddon Wood' (twice) in that position.

Another field name indicating former woodland is 'Spring Meadow', next to Hales Hall, first noted in the seventeenth century (*Tanner Mss* 95 137). There is no spring of water there, and 'spring' is the medieval word for the new shoots of a polled or coppiced tree, indicating a coppice wood (Rackham 1976, 109). There is a 'Spring Wood' in Hempnall, about thirteen kilometres south-west of Loddon.

The earliest post-*Domesday* references to woodland are of the thirteenth century and occur in the *Hales Cartulary*. There was a wood at Hales Green by the house of Roger de Hales (*H.C.* 25) and another, belonging to Pricia de Kirby, which from its abutments was just in Kirby Cane near the lost settlement of *Erwellestun* (*H.C.* 93) (see Settlement). The *Hales Cartulary* covers more than one generation, and Pricia's wood is probably the same as another, with similar abutments, belonging to Mary de Caen, who was her daughter or grand-daughter (*H.C.* 120).

The south-western border between Loddon and Kirby Cane was also well-wooded, for there is another thirteenth-century reference to '*Fredeswude*' which also adjoined *Erwellestun* (Rye 1881, 95, 194). The Frede family held a fee of the FitzWalters in Hales and Kirby Cane (*Feudal Aids III*, 386-7). Four hundred years later, in 1612, two woods are mentioned in the same area, the lord's wood 'Westwood', and 'Suthman Wood' (*HHCR* m5; NRO MS 18368/38/B/4) and Faden shows two woods on the Kirby Cane border, one of which survives, as 'Loddon S. Wood' on the OS.

Two other, thirteenth century, woods, which were probably situated on the southern and eastern borders of Hales parish, were '*Jerpstonehage* wood', which seems to have been in Stockton (*H.C.* 8, 109) and Southwood, which was probably in Raveningham (*H.C.* 18; Add Mss 6275, 126). The latter is a common woodland name, and in this case it is also possible that it had given its name to a settlement (see Population and Prosperity). There was also a Southwood Green (see Greens).

A wood of a particular kind is mentioned in a rental of c. 1647 (*Tanner Mss* 95/137). This is 'the Hearnsey Wood', or heronry, which is perpetuated on the Tithe map of 1841 as the arable fields of 'Long Harnser' and 'First Harnser' (at TM 364966 and TM 366967).

Smaller woods or groves also feature, such as 'Kirkbigrove' in 1478 in East Kirby, which must have been part of the wooded Hales/Stockton/Raveningham borders (BL Add Mss 6275 151). An Indenture of 1622 describing the site of the manor of Ingloss and surrounding lands, refers to the 'Cheker Grove', the 'oak gro-

vettes of wood ground' and the 'Inglose Oak', which must have been particularly prominent (NRO NCC Enrolled Deeds of Bargain and Sale 1560-1740 File 4 R30 in d. 31). There are still several majestic oaks growing on the earthworks behind Ingloss manor house.

It is clear from the Loddon churchwardens' accounts and Town Lands documents that woodland management was part of general agricultural practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The tenant of the Town House was forbidden free use of 'the wood, underwood, and timber growing and to be growing on the premises' except for repairs, and he was allowed to 'fell and take thornes and yetherings and stakes' if they were felled at the seasonable time of year, but only for repair of fences 'without spoyle or waste'. He was also allowed 200 faggots of wood (i.e. bundles) 'of the usual assise and scantlyn then used', one hundred of which were to be of alder wood and the other of hard wood. He also 'must save and preserve the young springes which shall come growe or renewe of the pollynges of or where such wood shalbe felled...from bytynge and distruction by cattell from tyme to tyme'. Hedges were important: the tenant 'shall well and sufficiently graft and plante the same with goode and quicke lawer [hawthorn] apt for the same and preserve the same as much as he may' (*Loddon Town Lands*).

Timber may have been a renewable resource, but it was in constant use and was a valuable commodity: an oak felled in 1647 for planks for the Town House cost forty shillings (*Loddon Town Lands*). It may have come from Culmer on the Heckingham border (*CW* 1591) or Heckingham Close, which was probably in the same area, where fifteen trees were felled in 1627, and from where thirteen loads of timber blocks were carted (*CW*). Nothing was wasted. Felled trees were topped, the branches were peeled and trimmed into faggots, and the bark was sold for tanning.

The Loddon churchwardens were not the only landlords to practise prudent woodland conservation. In August 1623 Anthony Hobart of Hales Hall licensed his tenant Matthew Mickleburgh 'to fell out, take, alien and convert to his proper use, six polled oake Timber trees which have not long sythence bine topped...and also therewith twoe other Oake whole timber trees...leaving growing on the same ground some better tres than he do thereby take' (*HHCR* m 2(d)).

Greens

(Fig. 17; Plates I, II, IV)

Much of the woodland of Hales and Loddon was on the parish boundary, as were also most of the greens. This raises questions about the relationship between the settlements, perhaps reflected in the interparochial grazing regulations of later years, and whether the greens themselves were created by overgrazing of former common woodland.

Documentary evidence shows that Hales and Loddon parishes once contained at least seven greens, of which Hales Green and Stubbs Green alone survive. Apart from two greens mentioned in the thirteenth century, the references are mainly post-medieval.

The 60 acre Hales Green, the 'green plain' of the thirteenth century *Hales cartulary*, (*H.C.* 25 and 26) is divided by the Hales-Loddon parish boundary. In the seventeenth century the local trained bands were drilled there (Carthew 1847, 177, 183) and it has been used for

centuries as grazing land. In 1775 an 'Agreement for Hales Common', for eleven years duration, shows that by that time grazing was restricted to cattle and horses, and only from May to March. Of the sixty 'rights' forty-five went to Hales and fifteen to Loddon, reflecting the proportions of the green in each parish (NRO MS 16041/55x6/BRA833).

A will of 1616 indicated that there was a Church Green in Hales. This was presumably where the steep hollow way of Church Lane levels out at the top of the hill beside the churchyard (NRO NCC 136 Sayer).

In the thirteenth century, Southwood Green seems to have been between Hales and Raveningham (PRO Common Plea Roll 121, m309d Mich.25/6 Ed.1) and it is possible that it occupied the area known locally today as 'Spot Common', at TM 390965. There is no green now, just a tiny open space at a sharp bend in the road, but both Faden and the Tithe map shown an un-named Y-shaped area at this point.

There are several references to Slayford Green. There was a Richard Sclayforthe in 1478 (BL Add Mss 6275 133) and other references occur in sixteenth century wills and churchwardens' accounts (NRO NCC 156 Corant; NCC 203 Jerves; *cw* 1555). It was on the Loddon to Mundham road, and must have been a riverside common between Loddon and Sisland. There are two possible positions for the ford itself, at TM 345982 on 'the road from Ingloss to Charles Hall' (private possession) for White House, Sisland is considered locally to be Charles Hall, or further east at TM 350895, where the remains of a moated site are probably the earlier, medieval Charles Hall.

The kite-shaped Stubbs Green is not on a parish boundary now, but must at one time have been near a boundary with Ingloss. It contained 19 acres and 32 perches in 1841 (*Loddon Tithe Map*) and is mentioned in 1478 and 1568 (BL Add Mss 6275 141 and 1).

Loddon Green is mentioned in 1634 (NRO MC 12/1). This was at TM39 372987 where the roads from Beccles and Heckingham joined before crossing the river at Pyes mill. Faden shows an un-named polygonal area at this point.

The latest reference, of 1706, is to Farthing Green (*Loddon Glebe Terrier*). This was a triangular area at the south end of Loddon street at TM 362985. Today it is merely a crossroads, its name perpetuated in Farthing Green House, which was built in 1717 by John Gardiner (*Loddon Town Book* 61) but was called the Pale House in the mid-eighteenth century (*Bacons* 2, 338). The Tithe Map shows a Farthing Green Close to the south-west of the triangle enclosed by the Loddon and Southford to Bungay roads. This triangle might have been the original Farthing Green, which was encroached upon by the gravel pits.

There is a triangular area at a road junction in Hales, that might also have been a small green, where the B1146 joins the A146, and the junction is sliced across by the lane from Hales Green to Heckingham church.

Settlement

(Fig.20)

The modern settlement pattern of Hales and Loddon is typical of the south Norfolk wood-pasture region, and consists of cottages and farms grouped round the small greens at road junctions, and the larger grazing commons (Rackham 1976, 139).

Documentary evidence for the location of medieval settlement of the two parishes is very thin. There are a few references in deeds, and more in post-medieval wills, but rarely can dwellings be pinpointed.

Medieval Loddon town centred on the church, Bacons manor house and marketplace. In 1245 Thomas Bacon obtained a charter for a Tuesday market and an annual fair on the Vigil and Feast of St Martin (November 11th) so the marketplace dates from at least that time. In 1265 a charter was granted to William Charles for a weekly market on Fridays at his manor of Sisland, for an annual fair there on the vigil, feast and morrow of the Feast of the Assumption and for an annual fair at his manor of Loddon on the vigil, feast and morrow of the Nativity of St John the Baptist. The charter was confirmed in 1292 with different dates for the fair at Sisland (*Cal. Charter Rolls*; 1226-57, 287; 1257-1300, 53, 412-13).

In 1626, Anthony Hobart sold the site of Bacons manor with the rights to the market and fair (NRO NCC Enrolled deeds of Bargain and Sale 1560-1740 File 4 R57b in d) and a rough sketch plan of the 'plot of the rectory of Loddon' which shows the manor site, survives from about this time (NRO NRS 12299/27 C 4).

The old marketplace of Loddon is an odd shape, as though it had once been square but had lost its south-east side by encroachment of the churchyard (Fig.20). It is possible that when the present church was built, c. 1496, Sir James Hobart altered the layout of the churchyard round it. This is borne out by the discovery of 'abundant' quantities of bones, and a skeleton in a stone coffin, in the north-east corner of the old market in 1878 (*Loddon Town Book* 190).

The space occupied by the present carpark (at TM39 362987) is the site of the Fairstead, mentioned in 1629 (CW F76d). It had become the 'new markt' by 1736 (*Bacons* 2, 222), and it is called the marketplace on the Tithe map. The 'old marktstead' is referred to in 1654 (*Bacons* 1, 43). It is not known when the changeover occurred; perhaps when Sir James Hobart truncated the older marketplace, some stalls were moved onto the Fairstead.

By the sixteenth century the town had spread south down the 'Street' towards Farthing Green. There are several references to properties on Loddon Street. One of 1587 is of special interest: Gregory Manclarke left his wife 'both my houses in Loddon Street' and instructed her to 'builde uppe a new house of the length of XXX^{ti} foote in and uppon a peece of grounde where a howse was brent att Loddon streete at hir owne proper costes and charge taking uppon any of my landes in Loddon sufficient timber for the making of the said howse' (NRO NCC 79 Homes).

There was a secondary settlement at 'Suthford' where the Loddon beck, now bridged, crosses the road to Beccles and Heckingham at TM 365983. This area was also known as 'Loddon cum Swoythe' in the fourteenth century (*Hosp Bg* 351; BL Add Mss 6275 121).

There is, unfortunately, little or no documentary evidence of settlement to back up the quantities of medieval pottery found round the greens of Hales and Loddon. A path from 'Stubbs to Branteshaghe' is mentioned in 1326, possibly a settlement rather than the green itself is intended here (*Hosp Bf* 337; *Bg* 364). In 1528 a tenement, 'Qwykes', occurs on Stubbs Green, in 1568 the capital message of John Manclarke abutted south onto it, and Nicholas Brame's will of 1622 bequeathes land

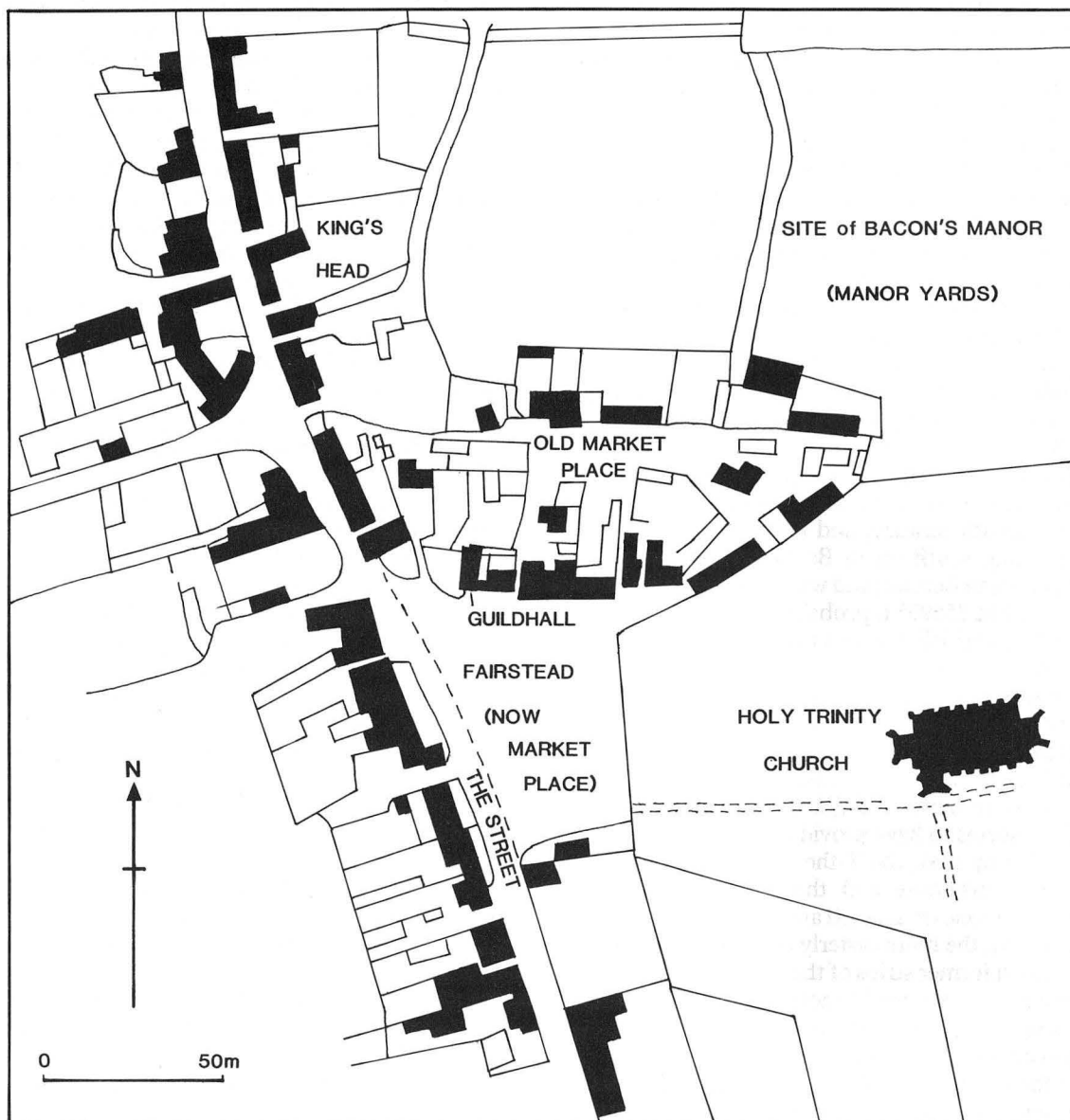


Figure 20. Loddon Church and Market Places. Scale 1:2000

adjoining his capital message, with Stubbs Green to the west. All three sites could well be those still occupied today (NRO ANW 173 Brokehole; BL Add Mss 6275 1; NRO NCC 94 Lawson).

The thirteenth-century *Hales Hall cartulary* describes ten acres of land between the message of Roger de Hales and Hales Green — this message being probably the first Hales Hall (*H.C.25/6*). Two late fifteenth-century rentals describe three messuages in Hales which must have been at the north-western tip of the green at TM39 37459740, for it is given as the eastern abuttal (NRO BEA 207/439x3). There are buildings in this position on the Tithe map.

In his will of 1547, Thomas Clarke refers to his house at Hales Green, and other tenements which were probably nearby (NRO NCC 135 Wymer). The

Mickleborough family were residents in Hales for 300 years, and owned a tenement called Beldrams and another called Barkers. The former is probably the present Green Farm, at TM 374968, for on the Tithe map it is flanked by fields called Great and Little Beldrams (NRO NCC 136 Sayer; Mick.Papers BRA 1/12/80 BRA 2039).

In 1635, Henry Humberstone, who acquired Hales Hall manor from the Hobarts in the 1640s, is described as having a 'newly built' house abutting eastwards onto Hales Green (NRO MC 12/1 387x6). This was probably the predecessor of the present, late eighteenth century, Loddon Hall, where, in an upper floor of one of the barns, there is seventeenth-century moulded woodwork of high quality.

Confusingly, both Faden and the OS map mark two Loddon Halls, and the duplication may date from this

period. Humberstone had also acquired the site of the medieval Loddon Hall on the marsh edge in 1635 (NRO MC 12/1 387x6): the house there had long been a tenanted farmhouse (NRO 336 Bradfield). He may have transferred the name to his new house, which with eight hearths was second only to Hales Hall in the parish (Frankel and Seaman 1983, 63). At all events, many of the lands named in the transaction of 1635 occur again in the sale catalogue of the Loddon Hall estate in 1895 (NRO MC 14/10388x3 (MCI-20)).

This sale catalogue gives a list of several houses at Hales Green; many of them probably occupied old sites, most of them have now gone. There were eight cottages round Loddon Hall and four on the Green 'not now habitable'. Godbold's Farm (TM 373965) shared a well with six cottages called 'Hole Houses' which, as their names imply, were actually situated in one of the many large pits still to be seen on the green (TM 374964). These must originally have been dug for clay to daub the cottages built beside them, for they lie next to surviving houses or former sites, and have mostly become ponds for watering livestock.

Isolated references to non-green settlement include land 'in Southwood by the house of Haldane Pishauke', in the thirteenth century, and in 1617, a cottage and 34 acres abutting south on to Bachilers Gate (a packway from Thwaite to Beccles) and west on to Dulls Lane. The building at TM 356955 is probably its successor (H.C.18; NRO 18373/80x3 BRA 864). On the Tithe map there is a cottage at TM 349957 which is called Godfreys Hall on the first edition of the One Inch OS map and the *Hales Glebe Terrier* of 1706 mentions a parsonage across the road from Hales church.

In 1764 the Clavering Union House of Industry was built, just over the Heckingham border (Pevsner 1962, 183). This seems to have provided another focus for settlement, for by 1841, the Tithe map shows cottages between the workhouse and the junction of the main Norwich to Beccles main road and the Raveningham road (TM 378974), the more easterly of which appear to have been built on former strips of the open field. There was a windmill and, at the road junction itself, a blacksmith's shop. A surviving cottage there today may be of the seventeenth century, indicating earlier settlement. As noted above, the road junction forms a triangle which once might have been a small green. A settlement here would have been conveniently placed beside the main road, with the Hales to Heckingham brook to the east, Hales Green to the south-west, and the Loddon and Heckingham marshes to the north. However all other buildings in this area, which has become the modern Hales village, post-date the workhouse.

In contrast to the paucity of information about the medieval settlement of Hales and Loddon, there are a number of references to two other settlements, *Erwellestun* and *Jerpestun*, which no longer exist. Most of these references are in the *Hales Hall cartulary* (H.C. 9, 12, 23, 93, 95, 98, 32 and 120), although *Jerpestun* has three entries in *Domesday Book*. The main entry is under Stockton with twenty-nine freemen and 132 acres of land and 5 acres of meadow. The other two entries are of single freemen with 30 and 46 acres of land respectively and the first also had half an acre of meadow. There were also two bordars. Both freemen belonged to Bury St Edmunds although Baynard had a moiety of one of them, so the area may well have adjoined the Hales and Kirby Cane lands

of those overlords. An entry in the *Hales cartulary* gives the Beccles to Loddon road as the western abutments of a piece of land and in *Jerpestun* field, so the settlement was probably near the Stockton/Raveningham/Hales boundary (H.C.6).

Erwellestun can be located more precisely. It was in Kirby Cane (H.C.9) a road went from it to Hales Green and it was near the 'Lechemore' (H.C.120). In a fine of 1202/3 concerning 24 acres in *Erwellestun*, one of the many named pieces of land was 'ad caput parchi' (Rye 1881(a) 95 no.194). It would seem therefore that *Erwellestun* was situated immediately to the south of Hales Hall park boundary, in the north-west of Kirby Cane, probably contained within the bulge of the parish boundary to the west of Litchmerc Lane, at approximately TM 360950. There were at least three streets in the settlement, Estgate, Brechegate and Chirchegate, presumably leading to Kirby Cane church. Chirchegate is mentioned again, in the field of 'Erweston' in 1311 (Coll. of Arms 135 NRO 326/42(X/36)).

Heckingham: a Documentary Note

by Alan Davison

(Fig.18)

Domesday entries (Brown 1984, 9/106, 111, 229; 12/42; 14/43) suggest that there was a good deal of fragmentation of land belonging to the settlement. The main manor was the one held by Godric the Steward with four carucates of land, six villeins, six bordars and a serf. The number of ploughs on the demesne had increased from one to two between 1066 and 1086 but the number of ploughs belonging to the men had declined to one, though it was stated two could be there. A small amount of woodland (for four pigs) and ten acres of meadow were recorded. With the manor went a mill, marsh for sixty sheep and one church with eight acres of land. There were also seventeen freemen with one carucate, three ploughs and three acres of meadow. Another eight freemen had been added after 1066, with another carucate and two bordars, and another six freemen with twelve acres of land, three ploughs and seven acres of meadow. The whole was one league in length and eight furlongs in width. From this manor Roger Bigot claimed thirty acres, part of a manor in Hales.

Roger Bigot had lands in Heckingham in 1086. They consisted of:-

1. A piece of twenty-six acres held from him by Thorold. There was one bordar, an acre of meadow and, in 1066, there had been half a plough which could be restored.
2. Thirty acres held by a freeman called Bondi; this was claimed by Godric. There was one plough and two acres of meadow. It was valued at four shillings.
3. Thirty acres held from him by Robert de Vaux. There were two bordars and he had two freemen under him with three and a half acres. There was half a plough. The value was four shillings.

The Abbot of St Edmund had one freeman in Heckingham with eight acres valued at eight pence.

The subsequent tenurial history can be touched upon only briefly. Blomefield (1805-10, 8, 22), quoting the Register of Langley Abbey, states that in the reign of King John, Alan de Heckingham was lord of the principal manor. He mentions transfers of land, in 1198-99 and 1203-4, to the de Heckinghams by members of the de Rochawe (or Rochage or Rokehagh) family. By 1302 (*Feudal Aids III*, 396) the Abbey of Langley is shown as

holding the principal manor (one knight's fee) while Olive de Rokhawe and the tenants of Simon de Balaveneye each held a portion. According to Blomefield the de Rochawes took their name 'from an hamlet in this town'. He states that Simon de Blaveney had acquired the lordship of Heckingham through marriage with Muriel, daughter of Alan de Heckingham. Alan sold the advowson of the church to William Roscelyn whose widow gave it to the Abbey. The date of the gift was c. 1234; the sale took place about 1225 (N. Arch. Soc. C2 Sh2 18 citing Bodley Ms 242). She afterwards married Roger de Thurkelby and he gave the manor to the Abbey. Blomefield quotes an extent of the manor made at this time (1289); the manor 'with the out-ditches, mote etc' contained eleven acres and there were 'a great pond of three acres, coney-garth and a brome-yard'. There were over 182 acres of land in several fields, with pastures, meadows and marsh ground.

In 1316 the *Nomina Villarum* (*Feudal Aids III*, 479) showed the Abbot of Langley as lord of Heckingham with Hales. In 1346 (*Feudal Aids III*, 503) the Abbot held the manor and William de Rokhagh held the portions which Olive de Rokhawe and Simon de Blaveney had held. As late as 1428 a William Rokhagh held a quarter fee in Heckingham from the heirs of Marie de Saint Paul, Countess of Pembroke (*Feudal Aids III*, 566).

Although Blomefield felt that the families of de Loddon and de Hales retained some interests in Heckingham, they seem to have been comparatively small.

At the Dissolution the manor of Langley Abbey passed into lay hands and in the reign of Elizabeth I it was held by the Denny family from whom it passed to the Fiskes and afterwards to William Copping. The names of these together with those of the Mingays and the Crowes appear in various sixteenth and seventeenth-century documents recording land transactions.

It is unfortunate that medieval sources concerning Heckingham are not immediately accessible and it has not been possible so far to pursue this at length. However, some fragmentary information about the landscape of the parish in medieval times can be assembled. From *Domesday* entries it seems that meadowland figured to a greater extent in proportion to area than in the other two parishes and, unlike Loddon, marsh was also recorded. The swine total for woodland was small in comparison with the amount recorded for Loddon and Ingloss combined. This might suggest that the landscape may have been quite extensively cultivated.

At some time in the first half of the thirteenth century William, the son of Adam de Heckingham, granted to Roger de Hales and his wife two pieces of his marsh within the marsh of Heckingham. One of these pieces was described as lying next to the marsh of another man to the east. The other piece was said to lie between the house of Peter del Bicht and marsh belonging to Muriel, daughter of Alan de Heckingham. It abutted on the field of Heckingham at one end and on the river (*ripa*) which runs between Hardley and Heckingham. In this charter there is also reference to a tenement held by Robert de Hales from William which included an acre of marsh lying between another piece of marsh held by Roger de Hales and another piece belonging to Robert and it also refers to two and a half acres of land in the vill of Heckingham between lands of Adam de Bucmonger and Anand le White, to various other small pieces of land lying between those of others, including half an acre at

Derismere, between land of William Rochage and the land of Matilda de la Grene, and half an acre called Bigelhalfacre, and a piece of marsh in Heckingham called le Cappe. A similar charter includes a reference to one and a half acres of land at Wigate which may have been in Heckingham.

It is obvious that Heckingham was within a complicated network of landholdings which extended across the Chet/Waveney interfluvium into Brome, Ellingham, Shelton and Pirenhoe and across the hundred boundary into Loddon as well as on to the north bank of the Chet in Hardley, Langley and Chedgrave (N. Arch. Soc. C2 Sh2 18, trans. Add MS 16533A). The flood plain of the Chet was shared, as marshland, among the landholders of the village and this must be the area mentioned in the *Domesday* entry. The abutment of one piece on the stream separated Heckingham from Hardley and on the field land of Heckingham is decisive in locating the area.

During the period following *Domesday* Heckingham seems to have lost ground. Its recorded population in 1086 was closely comparable to those of Loddon and Hales. The valuation of 1334 (Hudson 1895, 269-70) shows Heckingham to be lower than all its six immediate neighbours apart from Hales:-

	1334	1449	% Decline
Loddon	£10 — 9 — 9	£7 — 9 — 9	28.6
Hardley	£3 — 0 — 0	£2 — 6 — 0	23.4
Langley	£5 — 10 — 2	£4 — 0 — 0	27.4
Heckingham	£2 — 15 — 0	£2 — 5 — 0	18.2
Hales	£2 — 10 — 0	£2 — 0 — 0	20.0
Raveningham	£5 — 8 — 11	£4 — 15 — 7	12.2
Norton	£4 — 4 — 4	£3 — 15 — 8	10.3

The economic deterioration experienced generally in the fourteenth century affected all the settlements with Heckingham showing a moderate decline.

By the end of the medieval period there appears to have been little improvement in the material conditions of the settlement, Heckingham having the lowest number of contributions recorded to the Lay Subsidy of 1524-5 from the places tabled above (Sheail 1968). It seems that only a small number of inhabitants remained — or only a small number sufficiently affluent to be liable to contribute.

It is possible to obtain a much fuller impression of the early post-medieval landscape from surviving sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents.

In 1562 there was reference to lands in Heckingham called Bretenhams and Bugmongers or Wyttons Bretenhams tenement, described as being by the church, moated and abutting on the churchyard to the east. This would appear to be a building on the low-lying site now occupied by Little Church Farmhouse (NRO DS 597(90) 352 x 3). The field north of the churchyard was shown as Buckmongers on the Tithe Map (1838, NRO 147). The curious name must survive from the days of Adam le Bucmonger in the thirteenth century.

An indenture of 1598 (NRO NRS 17983 41 C5) refers to the Manor of Heckingham 'part of the possessions of the formerly dissolved monastery of Langley'. It is clear from another indenture of 1616 (NRO NRS 15330 30F11) that this manor occupied the site of the modern Heckingham Hall and that it must be related to the main *Domesday* holding of Godric the Steward.

In an Exchequer deposition of 1601-03 (Rye 1881(b), 141) a close called the Stray Close, a marsh called the East Fen, and a grange or hamlet called Winckhill were mentioned. The Tithe Map shows a piece called Stray Land in

the south-east of the parish; so far no other reference to Winckhill has come to light.

In 1616 the manor was separated from the present road from Loddon to Heckingham — then known as ‘the highway leading from Yarmouth to Norwich’ — by the Church Meadow of four acres, and was surrounded by other enclosed lands. Another road was recorded as the ‘waie leading from Raveningham to Nockdam’ and seems to have been the present road which runs roughly parallel to the eastern boundary of the parish. Also mentioned in 1616 was a message called Suddixe standing at some distance from the manor, probably not far from the site of the present High House Farmhouse. It was mentioned again in 1634 as Southdicks (NRO NRS 15281 30 F6) when pieces of land to the east and west of this message and yards were said to abut to the north on the way leading from Raveningham to Heckingham church. This description seems to fit the present road past High House Farm. The message was still in being in 1697 when the name was Suddocks (NRO NRS 15295 30 F7).

A third message was recorded in 1697. This was Beans Tenement which, with its outhouses, edifices, buildings, yards and garden, comprised three acres. Next to it were ‘two great fish polles called ‘Beans ponds’ and with it went the right to free fishing in the Fleet running between Heckingham and Hardley. This must refer to the Chet and the pools still to be seen in the portion of Old Hall Carr within Heckingham. The site of Bean’s tenement must be concealed within the wood. A field some distance to the east bordering on Norton Subcourse was still named ‘The Beans’ on the Tithe Map. Two other messages recorded in 1697 remain unidentified. The descriptions do not permit location with any certainty, though one, a group of buildings, yards, and a garden and orchard, had a home meadow and carr grounds next to it suggesting a location near the Chet valley or the lower portion of one of the Becks.

There are records of other buildings in seventeenth-century Heckingham. An indenture of 1648 (NRO NRS 15328 30 F11) records ‘messages, tenements, edifices, barns, stables, yards, gardens, orchards, hemplands, fish ponds, alder carrs, meadowes, pieces of land and pasture amounting to fifteen acres within Heckingham, sometimes called Batemans and Headthoonges’. It was described as lying between a common pasture called Cuthrope Heath and the common way leading from the Heath to Heckingham church on the east and lands on the west ‘wherof part in tymes past have byne reputed for an old way’ and, partly, on the Heath to the north. From another description in this document it is clear that Cuthrope Heath extended to the parish boundary since land in Norton Subcourse abutted west upon this heath. By 1791 the only trace of heathland was a relatively small area called Furze Common (Estate Map of Norton Subcourse with parts of Heckingham and Raveningham in possession T. Read of Hales Hall); this lay just to the south of the site of the present Hill House where there are the remains of a deep gravel pit. Several depressions in the nearby field of The Beans suggest pits which may have been worked in this former heathland and the fields immediately to the north of Hill House and bordering on Old Hall Carr have very gravelly soils. It may be that Batemans message lay also within what is now woodland or on the site of the present Hill House; the way to Heckingham church could well be the existing road leading from Hill House to Heckingham, certainly in exist-

tence and described as the way leading to Norton Staithe in 1692 (NRO NRS 15307 30 F8). The stream crossed by this road is that referred to as the North Beck in 1648. The area appears to have been called, in general North Beck in 1648 when a piece of land at this place was described as lying to the south of the road leading to Yarmouth. In 1616 there was mention of meadow near North Beck Cross (probably near the present Beacon Farm) which had North Beck Common to the east — possibly another name for Cuthrope Heath (NRO NRS 15330 30F11).

One other house was recorded in 1648; that was the parsonage though precise location is not possible from the description.

There are some indications of mill sites. In 1692 (NRO NRS 15307 30 F8) there were two closes of arable land called Lower and Upper Millhill south of the Norwich to Yarmouth road. A piece called Mill Hill is shown in the same position on the Tithe Map (TM 3879 9880). There is no documentary evidence for a mill, though the site is sufficiently prominent for such a structure. However, there is more certain evidence of a windmill in the south-east of the parish. In 1653 (NRO NRS 15283 30 F6) there was a reference to a windmill ‘lately situated’ in the field of Heckingham where the road from Raveningham to Nockdam lay to the west and Mitchers Sty to the east. It is possible that there may have been another mill in earlier times. In 1616 (NRO NRS 15330 30 F 11) a Millfield in Suddixe Went was recorded as having the Raveningham to Nockdam road to the east. In 1697 there was listed a piece called Mill Acre in High Field, also associated with Suddocks.

The general picture of the landscape derived from these documents is one in which the floors of the valleys of the two becks were devoted to meadowland; the names of Cole Meer Long Meadow, Cole Mere Round Meadow, recorded in 1697, are recalled on the Tithe Map as two Culmer Meadows on the boundary with Hales. The floor of the Chet valley must have been similar; the portion near Nockdam (modern Nogdam) formed Low Common adjacent to Norton Common in 1697 (NRO NRS 15295 30 F7). The indenture of 1648 makes it clear that certain sections of this valley were exploited as rush beds — a ‘*junkerye*’ of one acre was recorded as lying between two others and abutting on a third to the east, and the river running from Horsecroft (by the boundary with Loddon according to the Tithe Map) to Hardley Cross to the west. Each message was surrounded by substantial areas of enclosed land. Only the one area already noted seems to have been heathland. One piece of wood ground was recorded in 1634 (NRO NRS 15281 30 F6) as being called Cunnisfurr; from the description it seems to have lain in the southern section of the parish. On the Tithe Map the field immediately to the east of the hospital is named Coney Fer. However, the field name may indicate an earlier form of land use. Coney Fer may be a corruption of coneygar or conynger, meaning a rabbit warren (Field 1972, 51-2). This may have been the coneygarth of 1289 quoted by Blomefield. The south and east of the parish seem to have remained largely open, various portions being referred to as Raveningham Field in Heckingham, Stockdale Went or Stockdale furlong (also Stokedale, Stagdell, Stakedale), the field of Heckingham and Suddixe Went.

The Churches

by Alayne Fenner

(Tables 2, 3)

St Margaret, Hales

Hales church is widely regarded as being a perfect specimen of a Norman village church, with its round tower and its thatched nave and apsed chancel. The fabric contains a good deal of Roman brick and tile of the same dimensions and profile as those found on Site 46, the apse is elegantly arcaded and buttressed, and the north and south doorways are spectacular examples of Norman decorated stonework.

The church does not appear in *Domesday Book*. A possible reference occurs in 1103/4, when Roger Bigod founded Thetford Priory. Blomefield tells us that the earl gave 'all the Right that he had in the churches of his demesns', which included, among others, Forncett, Framingham Earl (Fenner 1987, 87) and 'Haella or Hale'. His son William later confirmed the grant and added two parts of the tithes from Hales (Blomfield 1805-10, 2, 108-9). It is by no means certain that 'Haella' was the Clavinging Hales, for there are others in Norfolk. However neither the church of St Andrew, Hale (now Holme Hale) nor the lands of Hales Manor, Holt, had any connection with the Bigods. A more likely candidate is 'Halas', mentioned in *Domesday Book* as part of the Bigod estate in Forncett, which measured half a league by four furlongs, and paid 4d in geld (Doubleday and Page 1901-06, II, 104). It was probably the lost hamlet of Overhales in Tacolneston (Davenport 1967 9 footnote) and may once have had a church.

At all events, Bigod's rights, if any, in St Margaret's must have been small, or they were released, for in 1270 and 1275 the church was granted to the Priory of St Olave, Herringfleet, by gift of Alan, son of Elias of Heckingham, and Ralph de Chedgrave and his wife Emma (who was a de Heckingham) (*Cal.Ch.Rolls* vol.2 145; Smith Wynne 1914 12; Coll.Dupuis Browne, Garsett House). The prior and convent had tithe of 235 acres of land in Hales parish belonging to Langley Abbey, in exchange for 235 acres in Loddon and Heckingham belonging to St Olave's (Blomefield 1805-10, 8, 20).

There are very few later references to Hales church. In 1397 a court was held there, when a felon appeared before the coroner, accused of breaking into Loddon church through the east window, and stealing books and silver (C.P.R.Henry IV vol.1 229). Surviving wills show merely a few donations for lights, nothing towards the building itself. It is likely that the small population and poverty of the parish preserved the original Norman building from subsequent extensions.

Some windows were inserted in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it has been re-roofed, and Ladbrooke's drawing shows a north porch, which was probably removed during restorations in 1897 (NRO Cal.Norwich Consistory Acts of Court). Otherwise it looks much as it did when it was built, standing isolated in its deeply ditched churchyard.

Holy Trinity, Loddon

Loddon church is a grand Perpendicular building which stands in a large churchyard, on an eminence overlooking Loddon Beck and the Chet. A church is mentioned in *Domesday Book* as part of the Bury St Edmunds manor; however an entry in the Loddon Town Book refers to a

thirteenth-century entry in the *Liber Albus* of Bury St Edmunds (Add.Mss.14847) which tells how 'In the wall of Loddon church a certain inscription was found... 'Felix Bishop and Werned Abbot...he maden ye Kirke at Lodne and ye Kirke at Redham and ye helige Kirke at Babingley'' (*L.T.B.* 24).

In 1209 the heirs of the Bury manor, Reiner de Ho, Ernald de Charnell, William de Ingelose, Reginald de Brokele, Ralph de Bello Campo, Roger Bacun and Walter de Raveningham (the father of Roger de Hales) quitclaimed their three parts of the advowson of Loddon church to the Abbot of Langley, who had the fourth part (Rye 1881 126, 433). There was also a chapel dedicated to St Mary in the churchyard to which belonged a *custos* in 1289 (Blomefield 1805-10, 10, 161) which was finally demolished in the 1590s, having been 'ruinous and veri decayd Longe synce' (PRO E/178/1615). In the 1870s, when removing a heap of ruin stones and foundations, nothing was found 'but a fragment of encaustic tile and an old Abbey token' (*L.T.B.* 51). At the Dissolution, the appropriated rectory and vicarage came to the crown, and later to the see of Ely.

No part of the early church survives, for c. 1478, Sir James Hobart came to live at Hales Hall, where he built a mansion, and he also rebuilt Loddon church. Indeed the same masons must have been used, for a piece of limestone at Hales Hall bears one of the several distinctive masons' marks (a crude 'W') to be seen in Loddon church. There is a picture of Sir James and his second wife hanging in the church, copied in 1614, according to le Neve, from glass then in the east window (NRO 597(90)352x3). An inscription describes how the church had been rebuilt '*a primo fundamento*' in three years, in the eleventh year of the reign of Henry VII (August 1495-6).

The church must have been rebuilt on the same site, for the tower is now part of the overall architectural plan, and seems to be a modified fourteenth-century survival. A similar state of affairs existed some eight miles away, at Shelton, where Sir Ralph Shelton's beautiful brick church which was built at the same time, also retains an older tower (Blomefield 1805-10, 5, 270).

There are several bequests to the fabric of the church in wills from 1464-1504, and they all concern the tower. Repairs are mentioned in 1464, 1487 and 1504, and in 1500, 1501 and 1504, new battlements were obviously being built (NRO ANW 131 Grey, NCC 240 Wolman, NCC 93 Ryxe, NCC 148 Popy, ANW 1 Davy, NCC 572 Popy).

The elaborate south porch, with its armorial flourishes, cuts across the mouldings of the south doorway and may not be part of Sir James' three-year building campaign, though it is not much later. The flushwork initials H and T match those on the battlements.

The erection of such a grand building in so short a time meant taking short cuts. Although the church appears to be built of flint, it is actually built of brick, and faced with flints and flushwork. The churchwarden's accounts eloquently describe the constant major repairs and maintenance it required within a century of its building. The church was heavily restored in the late nineteenth century.

St Gregory, Heckingham

The dedication to St Gregory indicates an early foundation, and the church appears in *Domesday Book*. In the early thirteenth century it belonged to the de

Heckingham family. The advowson was sold to William and Lecia de Roscelyn in 1225, and after his death she gave it to Langley Abbey, the gift being confirmed and quitclaimed by William, son of Adam de Heckingham in 1239 (Blomefield 1805-11, 8, 24; Coll. Dupuis-Browne, Garsett House; Langley Abbey Register 53, 55). At the Dissolution the church went to the Crown.

Heckingham church is generally regarded as being the 'sister' church to Hales, for they are very similar in appearance. St Gregory's is also Norman, with a round tower and apsed chancel, and it too is thatched. The elaborately decorated stonework of the south doorway also uses some of the same motifs as those in the doorways of Hales. It seems that here too the continued poverty of a small population prevented grandiose modifications in later years. Although a north aisle was added in the thirteenth century, the arcade consists of simple un moulded arches cut through the wall.

The top of the round tower is octagonal, of uncertain date. Perhaps it collapsed in the fifteenth century, for in 1486 and 1501 money was left '*ad fabrico campanil*' and 'to the makynge of the Stepille' (NRO ANW Liber 1 85; NCC 42 Spyltumber).

Hales and Heckingham churches are two of a group of twelfth-century parish churches which must have had the same form of nave, chancel and apse, of which other examples are Fritton in Lothingland, and Framingham Earl (Harris 1987, 81-90).

The survival of both these churches in similar form also reflects the similarity of population size and the low prosperity of their parishes, as demonstrated in Tables 2 and 3.

XII. The Evidence Compared

by Alan Davison

The review of the documentary evidence for the three parishes has made an important, though unequal, contribution to the picture of medieval activity, in particular, in the survey area. The information gleaned from a comparison of the two bodies of evidence is summarised here.

Settlement

A number of manorial sites have been identified with varying degrees of certainty. Those in Loddon are all on sites which were not accessible for fieldwalking and so, in effect, could be added to a map showing medieval distribution of settlement. Bacon's Manor lay near what was the commercial centre of the medieval town. Hall Green Farm is on the site of a seventeenth-century Loddon Hall which may, in turn, point back to medieval occupation. Its general proximity to Sites 158, 159 and 147 and the fording-place of the Chet of the old road from Beccles (p.00) is significant. It seems probable that the moat at the north-west corner of Stubbs Green is that of the manor of Stubbs. If the possible moat in grassland near the Sisland stream is the site of Charles Manor then the medieval presence in that valley is strengthened.

The one negative feature, unfortunately, is the absence of any information concerning the site at Ingloss; the problems posed by the fieldwalking finds remain unresolved.

In Hales the presence of an earlier medieval Hales Hall on approximately the same site as the later one is confirmed and the existence of a chapel close to, or within, the neighbouring park is revealed. Finds from

Site 13 (p.37) suggested the former, but fieldwalking has not provided any evidence for the location of the chapel. A less convincing identification is suggested for the moated site south-west of Hales church.

In Heckingham the site of the present Heckingham Hall has been traced back to medieval times and it may well have been occupied in 1086. It stands within a substantial area of grassland.

Of non-manorial sites the evidence from Heckingham, though substantially post-medieval, is probably the most helpful. The identification of one site, Little Church Farmhouse, with the medieval Bucmengers is interesting as it is on the floor of the valley of the Heckingham Beck and thus links with the fieldwalking evidence from Sites H19, H35 and, possibly, H36. With Heckingham Hall, these sites may represent a line of settlement occupying the valley floor.

There is no medieval evidence for Beans Tenement in Heckingham but it seems not unlikely that, with its fish ponds, it was in existence then; the medieval pottery from the north-west corner of H50 may well be associated with it. Suddocks Tenement has not been identified by fieldwalking. Possibly it is concealed beneath the buildings of High House Farm and the pasture to the south-west of it. The few sherds of medieval and later pottery found on H2 and H3 are scarcely sufficient to suggest a settlement point nearby.

The suggested presence of the hamlets of Rochage and Winckhill within Heckingham is, so far, unsupported by other documentary evidence. Rochage presumably refers to a small wood or enclosure (Smith 1956, I, 221, II, 99); the Tithe Map (NRO 147) shows a field called Lower Rookyard near Beacon Farm in the general area of the North Beck (Fig. 3). It is possible that the hamlet of Rochage was a small settlement in the valley of the North Beck.

The absence of documentary evidence for the area around Hales church is a most unfortunate feature. The summary of information from the *Domesday* entries for this settlement is revealing. Fieldwalking finds show little correspondence with the details recorded in 1086. This anomaly must feature in the discussion which follows this summary. However, there are fields immediately to the south, east and west of the church which remain under sown grass: as yet unexamined, they may contain evidence of settlement of the *Domesday* period. The presence of the only dwelling recorded opposite the church, the parsonage of 1706, is certainly not evident from fieldwalking.

The scattered medieval sites which have been discovered in both Hales and Loddon do not appear to be recorded in the documents. Obvious examples are Sites 48, 52 and 109. Fieldwalking suggests a partial explanation for Site 52, but the possible reasons for the existence of the others merits consideration in ensuing discussion. Similarly, no information concerning Site 73 has been found.

One isolated site in Loddon, Godfrey's Hall, seems, on fieldwalking evidence, to have been a late development; Site 97 contains patches of post-medieval and recent pottery as well as building materials which appear to coincide with the position of Godfrey's Hall. The site at TM 356 955 has not yielded material earlier than the nineteenth century. The description of 1617 might refer to Site 142.

Much evidence must be concealed under the build-

ings of Loddon. The information concerning the market and fair picks out one part of the present town where medieval activity must have been considerable. The identification of the secondary medieval centre of Suthford is valuable evidence to place beside the fieldwalking finds made further east at Sites 147, 158 and 159 as some indication of the extent of medieval Loddon.

Greens

(Fig.17)

The absence of definite documentary reference to settlement around Hales Green is disappointing. The ten acres which separated the messuage of Roger de Hales from the green in the thirteenth century (p.56) could represent the area occupied by the two pasture closes and the yard and domestic buildings which lie between the moated platform and the edge of the green. Of later evidence, the references to houses, one of them possibly identified as Green Farm, and to the Loddon Hall site suggested for the 1640's give tantalisingly inadequate glimpses of post-medieval settlement around the green. Like the other existing sites such as Green Farm, Loddon Hall may conceal medieval evidence, possibly the three late medieval messuages at the north-west corner of the green, although a certain faint scatter of medieval pottery is present nearer the suggested grid reference (Site 38).

Perhaps the most interesting documentary evidence concerning Hales Green is that of 1775 when the grazing rights were divided proportionally between the two parishes of Hales and Loddon (p.55). This is the only information we appear to have about the social relationships within what must have been virtually a distinct community sharing a common resource but separated by a parish boundary. That the Hales interest in the green was so markedly large is reflected in the greater intensity of pottery on that side of the grazing area.

The evidence for Stubbs Green is similar in quality to that for Hales Green. Of the post-medieval sites, the one which faced west on to the green may have been that of Site 63/2 (p.33). The absence of any information about the western side of the green is unfortunate.

Of the vanished greens one of the most interesting is Southwood Green. The suggestion (p.55) that it may be equated with the present Spot Common seems plausible. The green may have extended southwards along the boundary between the parishes of Raveningham and Hales and must have lain partly in Raveningham. The presence of Early Medieval pottery at some points along the hypothetical margin of a green at Spot Common may be associated with the *Domesday* settlement of Southwood listed under Clavering (p.33). The thirteenth-century reference to a house in Southwood (p.57) may concern one of the medieval sites discovered by fieldwalking.

Church Green in Hales must be assumed to have existed earlier than 1616. Presumably the position of Hales churchyard in relation to Church Lane is relevant to this since its northern edge does not border the lane. It is separated from the road by a wedge of grassland and a deep ditch, possibly a last remnant of this green. The green may have been no more than a strip of grassland on either side of the lane, possibly linking, at one time, with Southwood (Spot Common) Green. It is also possible that the single concentration of Site 83 (p.21), which stands at a noticeable distance from Church Lane, may have marked one edge of Church Green, but it is unsafe to

speculate on this or on any potential relationship with the other sites discovered near Spot Common.

Loddon Green (p.55) is clearly the green for which Hall Green Farm is named and the incidence of pottery finds in the fields open to examination appears to be associated with the roads radiating from it (p.35). The existence of Farthing Green is an indication that at least one open area may have once lain within medieval Loddon. The presence of Slayford Green as a riverside common between Sisland and Loddon suggests that the pottery finds made in that valley (p.21) may be associated with the edge of this green, but the true significance of the finds made may not become apparent until a full survey of the neighbouring parish of Sisland is made.

Documents reveal the existence of Cuthrope Heath, a common pasture, in north-east Heckingham. Its extent is not known but it appears not to have attracted settlement. This may have been because of the presence of ample riverine pasture nearby. Evidence of quarrying is, however, present there.

The presence of at least seven greens in the parishes of Loddon and Hales (p.54) leaves open the possibility that there may have been other, unrecorded, common grazing areas. The implications of this will be discussed further.

Fields and Woods

(Fig.18; Plate V)

The information about fields and woods derived from documents can be compared with the manure scatters of Late Saxon to medieval times. Especially interesting are the areas which are apparently devoid of pottery. The distribution of named woodland does show some correlation to these. The woods adjacent to Stubbs Green illustrate the point. Charnellys Wood of 1478 was north of the green; fields to the north and north-west of the green yielded very little evidence from medieval or earlier times (Sites 144, 129 and neighbouring areas for which nothing was recorded). 'Le Rowkewood', described as being south of the green in 1625, may have been a remnant of a more extensive wood; the dearth of medieval and late medieval finds from the area of Bush Farm (for the existence of which there is no early documentary evidence) may be related to this. It may be that Stubbs Green was created by the stubbing out of part of the eastern edge of the woodland.

The Loddon Wood group of fields coincides with another area where few finds have been made — the northern end of Site 161 and Sites 149, 145 and 124; the wood may have overlain the old Romano-British site on 161.

The wood at Hales Green by the de Hales house may explain the absence of pottery from a field immediately to the south, south-west and west of the moated platform of the hall; Spring Meadow, however, despite its name, has evidence of medieval settlement.

The evidence for woodland in medieval times in the southern boundary areas of the parishes of Loddon and Hales provides a plausible explanation for the absence of pottery in this area. The relationship of the distribution of finds to the extent of the medieval park has already been noted though the nature of land use within the park can only be surmised. It seems likely that Southwood, probably in Raveningham, was associated with Southwood settlement and Southwood Green.

The reference of 1622 to groves and oaks near the site

of Ingloss manor is also of significance. The virtual absence of finds in quantity from a substantial area to the south and south-east of this place might be explained by the presence of woodland there. However, *Domesday* references to swine totals for woodland suggest that wood-pasture or rough grazing rather than managed wood may be more likely for the blank spaces on the distribution maps (p.69). Though the swine total for Loddon with Ingloss appears small it is higher than those for surrounding settlements and so wood-pasture may have been more extensive in southern Loddon. It is possible thus to regard the fields of Ingloss and the fields to the south and south-east of Stubbs Green and Bush Farm — where, in each case, some few medieval sherds have been found — as encroachments upon the rough grazing or wood-pasture. It is possible that the drift at the southern end of Stubbs Green represents a connecting link allowing access from the green to a larger area of wood-pasture to the south while the Ingloss road also has very broad margins reminiscent of a droveway (Plate V). In this case the curiously isolated concentration of Site 109 might be seen as an attempt to colonise the margin of this hypothetical area. As part of this area appears to have been in large closes by 1531 the concept of a large wood-pasture area in earlier times seems not inappropriate (Fig.18).

Two other areas of land where finds were scanty can be equated with early woodland. The Harnser fields ('Hearnsey' of 1647) — Site 45 and the immediate portions of neighbouring sites) account for an area where medieval finds were few. In Heckingham the approximate site, on Tithes Map evidence, of Cunnisfurr Wood is marked by the virtually empty areas of Sites H32, H33, H47 and H49. However, they could mark the site of a medieval warren (p.59) equally well.

The distribution of open fields within Hales and Loddon, as established by documentary evidence matches well with areas where fieldwalking finds have been of manure scatter dimensions. The virtual absence of finds from the western ends of Sites 39 and 81 reflects the presence of the warren of Hales Hall manor. From the evidence of the map of 1791 the eastern periphery of Heckingham remained in strips quite late and medieval and early post-medieval finds from this area were rare. Perhaps this reflects less intensive agricultural practices.

The absence of significant finds from the southern margins of Loddon and Hales supports the suggestion that *Ierpestuna* and *Erevellstuna* were not within the parishes. However, Sites 141 and 142 may be outliers of the second of these lost settlements.

Roadways

(Fig.18)

There is an absence of a known network of Roman roads against which to consider the distribution of Romano-British finds. The suggestions made are interesting but the matter remains open. One of the north-to-south lines does cross the edge of a major concentration of finds and the form of that cluster does invite the existence of an east-to-west connecting link similar to the line of Transport Lane. The suggestion concerning the line along the eastern boundaries of Hales and Heckingham is not supported by the proximity of any Romano-British concentrations. The whole question of north-to-south linear features is worthy of further consideration.

The firm documentary evidence confirms the impression given by field evidence that the network of roads

is, in the main, of some antiquity. The more significant roadways are:

1. The Norwich to Beccles road, Selgerysgate in Hales, with its older crossing of the Chet at Pysmill.
2. The Loddon to Bungay road (Dulls Lane).
3. The fourteenth-century road from Loddon to Sisland and Mundham.
4. A way leading from Loddon to Ingloss via Stubbs Green (cf. the modern footpath).
5. Litchmere Lane, a thirteenth-century road probably skirting the bounds of the 'park of Loddon *iuxta* Hales'.
6. The old road from Loddon to Kirby Cane which may have followed the western boundary of the same park.
7. Sledgate (1626), a track leading southwards from Stubbs Green, past what is now Bush Farm, to the parish boundary. The name suggests an earlier date than this.
8. The road from Loddon to Heckingham and to Norton Subcourse ('the highway leading from Yarmouth to Norwich').
9. The road which leaves this for Nogdam End.
10. The road from Raveningham to Nogdam End.
11. Church Lane in Hales (1707).

The distribution of settlement in post-Roman times, at least, can be safely viewed in relation to this network.

Mills

The *Domesday Book* records three mills, two in Loddon and one in Heckingham. Loddon mill probably marks the site of one of these. It may be that some of the Early Medieval pottery found near the stream in Heckingham represents the site of the mill there.

Of the mills mentioned in later medieval records or in post-medieval times little trace can be found. A suspicion that medieval and late medieval pottery found on Site 14 marks the site of a post mill cannot be substantiated from documentary evidence though soil marks revealed by aerial photography are suggestive. A tempting reference in the *Hales Cartulary* to Roger de Hales' windmill is embodied in a grant to de Hales by Roger and Alice le Sage of the piece of land on which his mill stood. It was described as being twenty-five feet in length and twenty-four in breadth and was in a furlong (*cultura*) called 'le hoe' (BL Add. Charters 16533A). The term 'hoe' (OE *hoh* -heel) as a place-name signifies a sharply projecting piece of ground (Gelling 1984, 167), a description which fits the knoll at the end of the ridge on which Site 14 is situated. However there is no indication in the charter as to the parish in which the mill stood. Although Site 14 is within sight of Hales Hall it remains only a tantalising possibility for the mill.

The sites of windmills mentioned in Heckingham in 1616 and 1653 cannot be detected from fieldwalking evidence. A natural mound in H1 which would appear to be in a likely position for the mill of 1616 has only Romano-British sherds.

No sign of Ingloss Mill has been seen, the few pieces of pottery in the vicinity of the main concentration amount to no more than a very weak manure scatter.

The mill at the junction of the Yarmouth and Beccles roads in Hales appears to have been of very late construction as is that settlement.

Churches

The growth of Loddon as a market centre and the expansion of medieval settlement from thence to colonise the margins of greens within the parish may be reflected in the changes in the structure of its church. No visible trace of a *Domesday* church remains, wealth having been expended by the Hobarts and, possibly, others before them, on rebuilding.

St Gregory's church, Heckingham, also serves as an indicator of the fortunes of the village, paralleling the evidence of the fieldwalking finds. The very fine surviving Norman doorway betokens a degree of prosperity of which the significant concentrations and field scatters of Late Saxon and Early Medieval pottery within the parish are a reflection. Subsequent stagnation and decline by later medieval times, as revealed by fieldwalking are matched by the absence of major changes to the structure of the church. The thirteenth century northern aisle may be taken to be a humble response to change in a period when population was generally expanding.

In St Margaret's church, Hales, two Norman doorways of outstanding quality indicate early prosperity, but this does not agree with the fieldwalking finds which, accepting that concentrations may be concealed beneath grassland, show nothing to compare with the impressive field scatters of Heckingham. In other respects Hales is similar to Heckingham.

XIII. The Settlement Patterns: Some Questions Raised

(Figs. 4-10; Table 1)

A comparison of the maps in the series showing distributions of finds (Figs 4-10) shows that, alongside the more obvious changes in the patterns of settlement, certain features persist.

In this section an attempt is made to assess factors which may have had some influence on the distribution of settlement as a whole. This is followed by analyses of some of the individual sites or groups of sites which seem worthy of detailed comment. It is appropriate first to examine a number of environmental factors such as relief and drainage, soils and climate, and changes in relative sea level, which may have had some bearing on settlement in this area on the fringe of Broadland. This will be followed by a consideration of some of the other circumstances which may have exerted some influence on the patterns of settlement.

Relief and Drainage

The subdued relief of the three parishes and the very gentle slopes are unlikely to have exerted any notable limiting influence on settlement. The only exception is that of the low ground of the Chet valley and the lower portions of the tributary valleys where conditions have been too wet.

The generally low relief means that the water table is unlikely to be far below the surface at any point. Surface streams are not vital as foci of settlement, though a number of sites are not far from them. Some Romano-British sites such as Sites 87, 90, 113/114, 131 and H12c-f were relatively high above the lowest valley levels, indicating that close proximity to surface water supplies cannot have been a deciding factor in their location. Of isolated medieval sites, only the *Domesday* vill of Golosa (Ingloss) appears to be related to a small spring, one of the headwaters

of the Sisland stream. It is just possible that the very limited early medieval activity at Sites 141/142 was also spring-located.

Small variations in height coupled with a favourable aspect might have been a minor deciding factor in a choice of location. In a relatively flat landscape some sites such as 83, 52 and 73 can be remarkably exposed when there are cold easterly winds or south-westerly gale-borne rain storms. This does not seem to have deterred settlement. However, long periods of more frequent northerly and easterly winds as has been suggested by Professor Lamb (1987, 140) for the later years of the Middle Ages might have influenced minor movements such as the re-orientation of a dwelling during periodic rebuilding, or a relatively small drift to a slightly more sheltered position. Such developments may be postulated but can scarcely be proved.

Soil and Climate

Soil differences are of more obvious potential significance. The importance of the soils developed on the lighter glacial and interglacial deposits is apparent from a study of the distribution of occupied sites from Late Neolithic times onwards. Most of the limited intrusion on to the heavy chalky boulder clay soils comes only at times of great population pressure after the eleventh century, close to the margins of this soil type. No Romano-British occupation sites have been found on the chalky boulder clay.

Even the incidence of 'manure scatters' points to the contrast between the two major soil types. Certainly, on this evidence, little intensive agricultural use seems to have been made of the area of heavy chalky boulder clay soils. Part of it was made into a park in medieval times. The remainder, in the southern and south-western portions of Hales and Loddon, appears substantially blank on the distribution maps of finds.

Some limited penetration of the heavy boulder clay soils by the head valleys of the three tributaries of the Chet does occur and the more favourable alluvial and colluvial soils associated with these may have provided some greater opportunities.

The reasons for the neglect of this soil may well lie in its nature and its properties in the cool damp conditions of winter. The surface becomes very wet and horizons within the soil may give rise to small perched water tables. Water accumulates even more when transpiration by vegetation is at its lowest. Attempts to work such soils under wet conditions produce puddling and even worse surface drainage. A dry autumn would permit ploughing and expose the soil to the action of winter frosts. An alternation of freezing and thawing would break up the soil and improve its structure, so permitting spring cultivation. Wet autumns and relatively mild, damp winters would render farming operations difficult and make spring cultivation in time for successful sowing less likely. Even in a good summer succeeding a wet winter, water can be retained within the capillaries in the clay while the sandy cover which exists bakes hard. The development of cracks in the surface layers may have adverse effects on plants with relatively shallow root structures. Even modern soil drainage techniques have failed to overcome, in some areas, the problems outlined here. In some of the more intransigent places, often the sites of former or existing greens, the surface of the chalky boulder clay, while overlain by a thin layer of wind-blown sand, is much

contorted by seasonal freezing and thawing in periglacial times (cryoturbation). Attempts to remove surface water by laying field drains are unsuccessful because the contortions do not permit the choice of a regular depth for the system (W.M. Corbett 1985 pers. comm.).

All this has to be considered against the now accepted facts of climatic destabilisation after 1300 as supported by patchy documentation. There were some very wet years in the second decade of the fourteenth century and the 1340's were especially wet. After a temporary improvement between 1370 and 1380 there was a further deterioration in the early fifteenth century (Lamb 1987, 140).

It must not be assumed that the lighter soil is of consistent quality throughout. It is, in fact, very variable as field-walking demonstrates. The variations include good loamy soils in many areas but there are patches of rather stark gravels and, at the opposite extreme, cold adhesive clays. Both have been quarried in times past. Both exhibit marked variations in germination and growth of crops, often in the same field.

The influence of the valley soils is not obvious because of present land use, but there are signs that parts of these valleys, gravel spreads in some cases, were inhabited when conditions may have been different. It is possible that, under the pastures of the floors of the valleys of the Loddon Beck and Heckingham Beck, there may be more extensive traces of medieval settlement as revealed by Sites H19 and H35. Further suggestive evidence was found by P. and V. Williams on the floor of the Sisland valley where, after some seasons of fruitless fieldwalking, in the early 1980's medieval pottery began to be found in quantity, probably as a result of changes brought about by a drainage scheme. A small excavation revealed a clay floor, with medieval pottery, overlying an old ploughsoil associated with Thetford-type Ware. Later ditches pointed to difficulties of drainage which probably led to abandonment in favour of higher ground in the fourteenth century (Williams 1984, 11).

Changes in Relative Sea Level

The investigation of the origin of the Broads long ago drew attention to the part played by this and subsequent work has thrown much light on the relative rise and fall of sea levels in this region (Funnell 1979, 38). Upon a general slow subsidence there appear to be superimposed relatively short-term fluctuations. One rise in sea level which climaxed at about AD 1300, significant in the formation of the Broads, was separated from another similar rise in Romano-British times by a period of lower relative sea level which reached its lowest point at about AD 700. The effect of such changes on low-lying settlements in Broadland should be considered. A number of sites which are low-lying were abandoned at about 1300 though it would be unwise to be dogmatic and ascribe such events as entirely due to this factor. Nevertheless, it may have been a powerful influence on decision-making. On the Chet valley flank Site 155 may well have been abandoned, perhaps in favour of the site now occupied by Plumers Farm (Riverside Farm), and Site 158 seems also to have been vacated after an occupation lasting since Middle Saxon times, possibly in favour of Site 159. The abandonment of H19 for, briefly, H35 and then, more permanently, the Hill Farm group of sites has been noted already. Sites in the Sisland valley may have fared better for a time since they are a little further upstream, some

10m above OD, but they, too, were to suffer in due course.

Other Contributory Factors

Domesday records a fairly complex arrangement of holdings within the three vills (Table 1; p. 45). Villages were divided among several lords, lordships extended outside the bounds of the vills and there were large numbers of freemen and sokemen. As a result the inhabitants of these settlements would have experienced less rigorous control over their activities.

It has been shown (p. 46) that holdings were subsequently complicated by marriage, divided inheritance and subinfeudation. However, by 1316, the Abbey of Langley alone held the head lordships of both Hales and Heckingham and one of the two head lordships of Loddon (Blake 1952, 284). Campbell has suggested (1986, 246) that places where manorial control was strong (lordship was less fragmented) showed relative decline in taxable wealth between 1334 and 1524/5 because they were less capable of a flexible response to changing circumstances. Hales and Heckingham, in the strongly manorialised Clavering hundred, both declined markedly in wealth in that period. Campbell also points out that the connection must not be over-stressed as many other influences were at work.

It is difficult to judge how far manorial control may have influenced the development of settlement after 1086. Clearly, the grant of a charter for a market and fair at Loddon initiated the appearance of the market place and the fairstead in the plan of that town. It might be argued that the establishment of Hales Hall on the edge of the green suggests some form of regulation of the growth of settlement there. However, the degree of rigid control exerted by lords over such matters as settlement layout and management is arguable (Williamson and Bellamy 1987, 36-40). In later medieval times, social and economic changes beginning in the fourteenth century tended to weaken such controls still further.

It is unfortunate that there is no clear account of the husbandry of south-east Norfolk before the seventeenth century at which time, according to an undated manuscript description, the county was divided into areas with soils suitable for grain and sheep on the one hand, and for wood and pasture on the other (Allison 1957, 12). The wood-pasture region lay in the south-east of the county, an area favourable for the development of good grassland and sustained by grazing, dairying and cattle rearing. Here it is likely that a system of convertible husbandry became established. Under this, the practice of putting arable land down to fallow was replaced by one by which the land was laid down to grass for some years before coming back under the plough (Williamson and Bellamy 1987, 86). This had taken place in the late medieval and early post-medieval period and must be seen as the activity associated with the smaller distributions of finds of that period.

Alongside the impact of probable change in farming practice on the distribution of pottery over the fields must be placed the general decline of population brought about by the outbreaks of plague in 1349 and, periodically, in subsequent years. These came after a period of variable harvests, mortality of livestock and increasing climatic instability. The percentage of mortality in 1349 among beneficed clergy in deaneries in south-east Norfolk and north-east Suffolk appears to have been high (Shrewsb-

ury 1971, 99). The proportion of relief from their annual subsidy payment given to villages in south-east Norfolk in the years 1352 to 1354 was particularly large. Hales was generously relieved, receiving over two-thirds remission; Loddon received between one and two-thirds and Heckingham less than one-third (Allison 1955, 131; Map 2). This must represent a decline in activity in the mid-fourteenth century.

Finally, sheer chance and the ability of the individual to make personal choice, within the limits allowed by the society in which he lived, must have exerted some influence on the disposition of settlement

XIV. Some Major Features of the Settlement Sequence: an Analysis of Possible Causes

The Long Sequence of Occupation on Sites 14 and 42

The importance of the small river valleys as foci of settlement in Prehistoric times has already been noted. There is a possibility that the decisive factor here may have been access to water supply, but the presence of spreads of gravel as seen in the stream bank at the north end of Site 46 may have been very important, especially in the light of the shortage of suitable raw materials (see p.15) for knapping.

However, Sites 14 and 42 seem to have much greater powers of attraction and maintained their importance for a considerable period. These sites are within the zone of sandy glacial and interglacial soils which, in period after period, appears as the most attractive area for settlement. The doctrine that within an area of advantage any suitable site will do for settlement does not appear to apply in the cases of these two sites, as, apart from a possible Iron Age hiatus on Site 42, they were chosen repeatedly in preference to other potential sites. They even appear to have been centres from which expansion of settlement took place.

The advantage of Site 42, by far the more significant of the two, would appear to lie, in part, in the nature of the soil, a good quality loam which would provide a dry site in a wet winter. A water supply would have been within easy reach, slightly higher ground to the east, west and south would provide some shelter; the only apparent disadvantage is the open frontage to northern influences from along the valley of the Loddon Beck.

Site 14 has a much more limited area. The soil is much sandier and is subject to deflation in dry weather if the vegetation cover is inadequate. However, it is well-drained and is reasonably protected from exposure. Water would have been available in the floor of the valley nearby.

Site H44, though minor by comparison, has similar qualities but the evidence of continuity of settlement is far less.

In no case could these sites be considered strong defensive positions.

The Choice of Sites in Romano-British Times

The expansion of settlement and the nature of the sites involved have already been examined in some detail. It is sufficient at this point to say in summary that all but one appear to have been selected with an eye for good surface drainage away from the valley floors. The solitary exception is the low-lying Site 46 which is, nevertheless, on a dry gravel spread at about 5m. The absence of significant

quantities of pottery and the presence of the building materials, details of which have already been given, might point to some specialist function for this site. All the Romano-British sites avoid positions which are excessively exposed.

The overwhelming concentration on the lighter, sandier soils is notable. It would appear that, in this limited area of three parishes, Romano-British populations avoided the heavier chalky boulder clay for settlement, although some exploitation probably occurred. It would have been relatively easy to reach the areas of heavier soils from the known settlement sites. The emphasis on slightly higher and drier sites related to the minor valleys may be a reflection of the time when estuarine conditions prevailed in the lower Yare, Waveney and Bure valleys.

The Middle Saxon Shift

Sites 42 and 14 were abandoned, after long sequences of occupation, at the close of the Early Saxon period. The less significant H44 was similarly abandoned. It is opportune to consider the possible reasons for the shift of focus in Middle Saxon times. The movement to the low-lying margins of the Chet valley is, apparently, so thorough that there must have been some over-riding factor or factors which caused it. Among the possibilities are:

1. An increased dependence on pastoral farming bringing greater interest in valley pasture; Site 46 faces north on to the pastures of the lower valley of the Loddon Beck.
2. Increased significance of the waterways as a focus of trade and communication.
3. Increased political security which made proximity to navigable waterways less of a hazard.
4. Some change in political or social organisation unknown to us.

The sites are, in general, lower than those of previous periods, some being below 5m OD; Sites 158 and H36 would appear particularly vulnerable to flooding under present conditions. At this period there had been a relative fall in sea level which bottomed out at about AD 700, so that conditions may have been more acceptable in low-lying places (Funnell 1979, 38). There may also have been some benefit derived from the drier climatic conditions which set in after about AD 650. The higher, drier sites favoured in Early Saxon times would have suited the wetter climate of that period (Prof. H.Lamb 1986, pers.comm.).

The apparent absence of Middle Saxon activity from the heavy chalky boulder clay is remarkable since drier, colder weather might equally have made them more tractable. Could this mean that Middle Saxon population was small in numbers?

The return of freshwater conditions to Broadland as a result of the falling sea level may have given a 'drying-out' sufficient to encourage 1. and perhaps 2. There could be some inducement here to reach lower sites, but an entirely determinist answer to the question is unlikely. The changes may have played no more than an auxiliary part, making some desired object more easily attainable.

Routeways and Their Influence

(Figs. 18,19; Plate II)

Romano-British times.

Obviously, a network of roads and tracks must have existed to serve the Romano-British settlements which have been discovered. Some observations have already been made (pp.49) and little can be added since little is known

about the existence of Roman roads other than Stone Street. The distribution of settlements in the three parishes suggests a grid-like pattern of roads.

Post-Roman times

Attention is drawn, at a glance at the map, to two possible routeways (Plate II). Loddon appears to have grown at a bridging or crossing point of the River Chet. It is not certain from the evidence available how soon this crossing came into use, the presence of one Middle Saxon find near Loddon church is scarcely firm evidence, while Late Saxon/Early Medieval finds are also sparse.

The second routeway is represented by a minor road leaving the Beccles road at Read's Cross (TM 375 978) and which leads to a point on the river to the south-east of Chedgrave church. The alignment is resumed on the north bank, passes Chedgrave church and continues almost as far as Langley church. Associated with the crossing is Site 158 where Middle Saxon pottery occurs in a small concentration. This site continued under occupation well into medieval times. It is clear that Late Saxon/Early Medieval settlement has grown along this road, particularly on the linear Site 147 and also on Site 159.

Certain other roads seem to have influenced the siting of settlement. The earlier course of Transport Lane appears to have attracted settlement on Sites 16 and 18; perhaps this represents the remains of a linking trackway between Hales and Stubbs Greens.

It is possible that the road linking Loddon, Heckingham and, eventually, Norton Subcourse, may have had some influence on settlement distribution. It links the crossing near Site 158 with the Middle Saxon focus near Heckingham church, passing lands where there was substantial activity in that period. Later settlement in Loddon (Suthford and 162) and in Heckingham (H10-12, H39 and H18) seems to be related to this line.

Some isolated medieval clusters appear to have little relation to modern roads, especially in Loddon and Hales. It may be assumed therefore that the road pattern has changed since the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries, or that it is essentially the same now as it was then but that short linking tracks have disappeared: Sites 73, 49, 109 and 83 are examples of settlements now at some distance from roads.

It should be remembered, however, that it is a matter of debate as to whether the routeways brought about settlement or whether the roads developed to serve settlement already established.

Medieval Expansion on to the Valley Floors

This took place in Heckingham (H19 and H35) and in the Sisland valley. There are a few slight indications of possible activity in the valley of the Loddon Beck. This invasion must have been possible when the sea level was relatively low and the water table correspondingly lower than at present. When the rise in sea level reached its climax about 1300, it seems likely that these sites became untenable and were abandoned. This probably occurred earlier in Heckingham which is lower down the Chet valley.

Medieval Expansion to Sites on the Chet Terraces

This colonisation seems to have been taken at the time of high population pressure. There may be other sites concealed by existing farms or under grassland. The purpose of the colonisation would seem likely to be the need to

exploit the alluvial grazing land of the Chet valley floor. No such development has been detected in Heckingham; possibly existing settlements were sufficiently close to the riverside pastures and to the mouth of the Heckingham valley to make such movement out unnecessary. The climax of the rise in sea level may have brought some small-scale shifting of sites to higher ground (Site 155).

The Settlement of the Margins of Greens

(Figs. 15, 17)

Beginning in Early Medieval times on the Hales side of that green, the movement reached its climax by the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries. Loddon, more distant, colonised its margin later and less intensively, though a medieval Hales Hall with a chapel of St Andrew probably nearby, was established just inside what is now Loddon. The most intensive points of settlement, Sites 24, 36, 37 and the group 5-12, are close to points of entry on the Hales side. Some encroachment may have occurred at the southern end of Hales Green as has already been suggested (Fig.15).

Stubbs Green seems to have been less intensively colonised despite its proximity to Loddon itself. It is possible that this is more a reflection of the relative importance of manorial lords than any great natural advantages attached to Hales Green. The comparatively small size of Stubbs Green may be misleading, it could have been more extensive in the past.

The cause of the movement out to greens and commons has been discussed elsewhere (Wade-Martins 1980, 88). This feature seems to be characteristic of East Anglia and is not notable in the neighbouring East Midlands. This may be an outcome of the differences in tenurial organisation. As population pressure increased so the uses of the dwindling amounts of pasture and common grazing were carefully regulated by manorial custom within the open field system. In East Anglia the much less clearly defined regulation of such lands would have forced the small peasant farmers to ensure access to the remaining sources of grazing by removal to green-edge sites (Williamson and Bellamy 1987, 84-5). That this was more intense in Hales, as population grew (if population grew there at all), than in Loddon may be explained by the presence of alternative valley pasture for Loddon in the Chet valley and the low ground bordering the Loddon Beck. In Heckingham green-side settlements appear to have been absent, presumably the broad riverine pastures would have supplied all needs.

Something of the pressure of population at the height of the medieval expansion can be judged by the way that, on the Hales side, occupation sites have spread over onto wetter chalky boulder clay (Sites 5-12 and 28). Hales Hall seems to be sited on a similar deposit on the far side of the green, possibly an advantage for water retention in a moated site. Similar movement onto the heavier boulder clay appears to have taken place around the possible ('Spot') common near the Raveningham boundary (Sites 56-59) and also at the southern end of Stubbs Green (Sites 63/1 and 2, 64/1). These are, however, only marginal invasions of the less attractive soil.

At this point it may be convenient to speculate on the origin of the greens. That they were in existence in some form in Early Medieval times is made obvious by the discovery of some late Thetford-type Ware and Early Medieval Ware at four points along the Hales side of that green on site which saw marked medieval settlement.

Since the High Medieval period little alteration in the shapes of the eastern and western sides of Hales Green has taken place; the same is true of the eastern margin of Stubbs Green. The question of how long they had been in existence when the first medieval colonists came there is an intriguing one.

The two existing greens are not, as might be expected, located entirely on the heavy less well-drained chalky boulder clay. Hales Green has only its southern broad base on the heavier soil. Stubbs Green lies across the boundary between the two soil types so that approximately half of the green is on each. They cannot, on that evidence, be seen as relics of the uncultivated heavy boulder clay areas of the distant past.

The question as to whether the existing greens conceal any early occupation sites must remain open. The name of Stubbs Green does suggest that at some time before the time of green-side colonisation it may have been wooded. If the Spot Common group of settlements was a green-side community, the area enclosed by the group, so far as it can be examined, shows no sign of previous occupation.

As has already been noted both existing greens occupy parts of the crests of ridges separating minor valleys draining to the Chet while Spot Common appears to have lain on part of the Chet-Waveney interfluvium at about 30m. When compared with the distribution of Romano-British settlement within the parishes they seem to separate areas of settlement and activity. Stubbs Green appears rather insignificant in size but it is possible that it is merely a northern remnant of a considerably larger feature extending southwards onto the heavy chalky boulder clay (Fig.17). Such a southward extension would also have separated the *Domesday* vill of Golosa (Ingloss) from the area presumably worked from Loddon proper.

The riverine pastures of the lower Loddon Beck, Heckingham and, possibly, the Sisland valleys may have played a similar dividing role between the more northerly Romano-British settlements. If the true greens were in existence in Romano-British times they might, perhaps, have been barriers of 'unexploited territory': waste, scrub, secondary woodland or wildwood. This is reminiscent, in general terms, of the situation suggested for some East Suffolk parishes (Warner 1983, 42-44).

It is unwise to speculate further on what is very limited evidence; an examination of similar neighbouring parishes might throw light on this possible relationship.

Isolated Medieval Sites

It is difficult to explain the choice of sites of this type made during the medieval expansion. Most are confined to the sandier glacial and interglacial soils, but it is surprising that, with the exception of Site 14, so many of the most obvious of the old Romano-British sites were not re-occupied, but remained empty; most notably the group with its centre on Site 42 but the higher Site 113/114 (20m) and Site 87 (25m) were also neglected.

Site 14 was possibly a special case, chosen for the singularity of its position near the green and a manorial site; it may have been the site of a post mill.

Site 49 almost coincides with the Romano-British site 48, presumably the advantage here was the quality of surface drainage. It is possible that Thetford-type Ware on H43/2 may indicate a partial overlap on a Romano-British site.

Of the new isolated sites, 23, 52 and 83 were located

on the lighter soils though, in each case, they can be considered as exposed in inclement conditions. Site 52 has already been discussed and may be something of a special case. Site 109 is unusual as it lies well inside the boundary of the chalky boulder clay, quite distant from the alluvial/colluvial deposits of the Loddon Beck headwaters. That this was chosen in preference to many former sites on the sandier soils suggest that it was a settlement made in response to increasing pressure on land resources. Probably other potential sites such as the former Romano-British ones were now within the arable fields and were not available for settlement. If there was once a large green extending south from Stubbs or connected to it, Site 109 may have been located on its margin. It may be that Site 49, and its Romano-British counterpart (48), were similar settlements in their respective periods, established to exploit the heavier soils to the immediate south. It is possible also, as already suggested here for Site 109 and for Site 83 (p.62), that some of these isolated medieval sites may have developed on the edges of greens which have long since vanished.

The apparent absence of outlying settlement and the distribution of 'manuring' scatter in Heckingham suggest that all the arable there was in use and that adequate resources may have been available within easy working distance of the nucleus of this small village so that there was neither need nor room for new ventures.

The Contraction of Settlement in Late Medieval Times

Only the contraction at the close of Romano-British times is comparable to the decline in Late Medieval times and that must be associated with the decline of Imperial control and the obscure ills attendant upon or coincidental with it. Though documentary and other evidence for this later decline is available, its exact cause or causes in any one district is or are arguable. Whatever the reasons for the contraction in the three parishes the effect is visible on the landscape.

Of the green-side settlements there is a marked contrast between Hales and Loddon. Although there was contraction on the Hales side of Hales Green, some concentrations remained impressive. This may well be an expression of the limited alternatives to agriculture available in the parish. The Spot Common focus declined to one centre of comparatively high quality. On the Loddon side of Hales Green contraction was much greater despite the stimulus injected by the Late Medieval Hales Hall with the possibly resultant activity on Site 13. Also in Loddon, Stubbs Green showed marked decline to virtually one concentration.

The greater signs of contraction in Loddon may be a reflection of the different role of that place where market functions offered an alternative and valley pastures were available as adequate grazing for a reduced population.

The isolated settlements show the same pattern of contraction. In Hales some reduced activity continued on Site 49, but in Loddon only two survived. Site 52 remained active, possibly because of the kiln on that site and occupation of Site 14 also continued, understandably, if it was the site of a manorial windmill. Not surprisingly Site 109 was abandoned; whatever the true cause of this, the very wet years after 1400 would have made agriculture on the heavy clays very difficult. However, there is no evidence to support this as a cause for desertion; others might detect the influence of the Black Death and subse-

quent outbreaks of pestilence.

Ingloss, as a *Domesday* vill, is in a somewhat different category to other isolated medieval settlement. On the margin of the empty clay-land area of south-western Loddon, it had shown little sign of expansion and eventually declined to a manor house.

The Late Settlement of Site 73

This extraordinary reversal of the trend towards a contracting human landscape is all the more remarkable in that a site was chosen, not on the desirable sandier glacial soils, not on, or close to, a site previously tried, but an entirely new site on the heavy boulder clay. The position, noticeable in inclement weather, is exposed on the crest of the ridge separating the two headwaters of the Loddon Beck. In a wet winter under present conditions the soil becomes quite glutinous and the surface is very wet. Under drier conditions, such as those of the late summer of 1986, the chalky boulder clay soil can bind and become difficult to cultivate.

The period of occupation was brief as already noted. It might coincide with a time of rather warmer conditions, with summer temperatures somewhat above the twentieth century norm, lasting for some fifty years from c.1500 (Prof. H.Lamb 1986, pers.comm.). This does not explain why this particular site was chosen, it merely makes such a choice more acceptable. Contraction of settlement had left a number of ostensibly suitable medieval sites vacant. That one was not chosen suggests that settlement choice was not a simple straightforward matter and that other factors were behind the selection of Site 73. It may well be that the real guiding principle in the choice of this settlement point is an expression of some forgotten facet of land tenure or even of purely personal decision for which there is no recorded evidence.

The 'Blank Areas' on the Distribution Maps

The questions of the surviving greens and of the pastures of the floors of the minor valleys have already been touched upon. The floor of the Chet valley itself may, in parts, conceal areas of former settlement.

Disregarding the portions of unexamined land under woods and sown pastures, there remains a large arable area in the south and south-west from which little or no pottery was recovered. This area coincides, broadly, with the main mass of the heavy chalky boulder clay. The qualities of the soil have been discussed and it would appear that exploitation took place from settlement bases outside, or on the very margins of this soil type. Of the nature of the exploitation only speculation on the negative evidence of field-walking is possible. It cannot have been intensive agriculture, because 'manure' scatters are largely absent. However little is as yet known about the pattern of agriculture in this area in the earlier medieval period. As a general principle, intensity of land use will decline as the distance from the farmstead or settlement increases (Chisholm 1968, 31). Less intensive land use would mean little manuring and therefore less domestic debris distributed over the arable fields. The scarcity of pottery in fields close to Ingloss and to Site 109 suggests that this is too simplistic a solution. Other reasons than distance must be sought for the scarcity. Arable open fields may not have been manured so intensively as closes or lands held in severalty. Nevertheless, woodland and rough grazing may have been the dominant form of land use in this area. The description of the area around In-

gloss in 1622 (p.00) lends support to this. One large section of this 'empty' area may also be accounted for by the park of 'Loddon *iuxta* Hales' which probably dates from the late twelfth century. There may have been a medieval park in the vicinity of Ingloss.

The rural landscape was to see no further attempts to establish isolated settlements until comparatively modern times. Post-medieval times saw the removal of much of the remaining activity on the east side of Stubbs Green, of Site 52, Site 73, Site 14 and further decay on the west side of Hales Green. In Hales there was continued contraction; Site 49 disappeared, Site 57 on Spot Common vanished as did, no later than the seventeenth century, Site 24 near the green. In Heckingham there had been no discernible outlying settlement and dwindling activity was centred on the site west of the stream near the present Hill Farm, leaving only farmsteads near the church.

Not until the nineteenth century (unless the Bush Farm site, of obscure origin, is an exception) did settlement, in the shape of new farmhouses, scattered cottages and out-buildings, return to the outlying portions of the parishes. Now, with farm amalgamation and with changes in manpower requirements, some of these are being, or have been removed, and their sites returned to cultivation under cereals, sugar-beet or oil-seed rape.

XV. Conclusions

by Alan Davison

The foregoing account sets out the results of as detailed a survey as time and resources permitted to the researchers. It was confined to three parishes, and certain areas within them were not accessible during the course of the survey. Comments about the efficiency of recovery have been made above and should be recalled here. Any conclusions which can be drawn from the findings are subject to these reservations.

It is obvious that the distribution patterns are in general accord with the picture that has been recognised as a result of relatively recent fieldwork described elsewhere (Taylor 1983). There are, however, some differences.

Of earlier periods the scatter of worked flints shows that much of the landscape seems to have been exploited in some fashion in Late Neolithic times. A number of settlement sites of Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age times can be located with some confidence. However, the concept of a countryside 'tightly packed' in Later Bronze Age times or 'crowded' during the Iron Age and even 'over-exploited and on the verge of collapse' by AD 43 (Taylor 1983, 62, 63, 82) does not seem to be borne out by the patterns of finds. Even with the additional 'miscellaneous prehistoric' finds, the scatters are very slight and the concentrations limited. Difficulties of identification and a low survival rate for sherds may account in part for this. Poor firing and a chemical composition prone to destruction by weathering, by humic acids and, possibly, the effects of chemical fertilisers and sprays may be responsible for the disappearance of sherds exposed on the surface. Physical changes to the landscape such as those brought about by erosion and deposition occurring over a long period of time may have removed or concealed evidence. Nevertheless there remains significant variation from the suggested picture. Was there substantial settle-

ment in nearby areas? Could evidence be sealed beneath grassland or built-up areas? It may simply be that the area was not densely populated at this time.

For Romano-British times findings indicate a denser pattern of settlement than might have been anticipated in the light of the knowledge of some years ago but they are in keeping with what is becoming increasingly clear elsewhere (Taylor 1983, 83). The precise dating of many finds has not been possible, but there appear to be indications of mounting activity in the second century which was expanded and prolonged into the third and fourth centuries. The very limited evidence for the first century seems to be a projection of the Iron Age situation. The concentrations of settlement do seem to have a certain regularity, to such an extent that the approximate locations of Romano-British settlement within Heckingham, surveyed last, were predictable. They appear to be arranged, very roughly, in two ranks, one closer to the Chet, the other further south. Whether this reflects exploitation of the riverine lands by the settlements of the northern rank and of the resources of the higher, heavier clay lands by the other is a matter of pure speculation. The absence of settlement from the heavier land contrasts with the findings of Williamson (1984, 226) in north-west Essex where there may have been 1.5 Romano-British settlements to the square kilometre on soils of the Hanslope (chalky boulder clay) series, with stray sherds occurring almost everywhere.

The presence of building materials on many of the sites is interesting and suggests that these were structures of some quality rather than simple thatched buildings. This contrasts with the evidence from Witton (Lawson 1983, 44), where the main area of Romano-British finds had no building material indicative of substantial structures, and from Suffolk where many of the small rural sites have no building material at all (S. West pers. comm., 1988).

Former Romano-British sites seem to have been favoured for Early Saxon settlement in these parishes. Apart from Site 42 (if all the possible Early Saxon material is of that period) the settlement appears to have been light and to bear little or no relation to the patterns of more recent times. By Middle Saxon times fresh sites had been chosen in a generally lower environment.

On the evidence available Middle Saxon settlement here appears to have been nucleated. This is particularly clear in Heckingham where the concentration is next to the site of the church and is surrounded by a clear and quite widespread aureole of isolated finds. There may have been a similar site near the church in Loddon, but one find from this built-over area is scarcely definite evidence. A more certain nucleus is that at Site 158 near the Chet ford to the east. It is possible that much is hidden under buildings and pasture nearby and that it is the source of the scatter to the east and south. Site 46 is a detached nucleus, possibly a later subsidiary of the main groupings to the north.

Middle Saxon sherds are not plentiful but whether this should be taken as evidence of a population decline there is open to question (Taylor 1983, 121). Could it be that vessels made of wood or leather were in use for many ordinary purposes? The remarkable shortage of pottery and metalwork from the excavated site at North Elmham makes a notable comparison since that was a site with more apparent importance than any in the survey area (Wade-Martins 1980b, 120, 477, 628). Fieldwalked sites

give contrasting evidence. At Witton in north-east Norfolk (Lawson 1983, 70-71) only twenty-eight sherds of Ipswich-type Ware have been found. They occurred in several thin scatters, only one of which is close to the church, suggesting, if anything, a dispersed pattern. At Hay Green, Terrington St Clement in the Silt Fen area of Norfolk, on the other hand, almost 1000 sherds of Ipswich-type Ware were found from only a single examination. They were associated with spreads of animal bone concentrated in a linear pattern of *c.* 1.5 km related to a system of roddons (Rogerson and Silvester 1986, 320-22). Elsewhere in Norfolk, at West Walton (Silvester 1985, 107), and in the Launditch hundred (Wade-Martins 1980a), most of the concentrations of Middle Saxon pottery have been close to church sites. In Suffolk fieldwalking in the South Elmham parishes has not produced many Middle Saxon sites: of four so far found, the two largest are near South Elmham Hall and the Minster (Hardy with Martin 1987, 233-4). Elsewhere, in south-east Suffolk, a pattern is emerging of larger and possibly earlier sites near to parish churches with smaller and probably later scatters near to parish boundaries (Newman 1987, 231-3). Seen in relation to other sites the nucleus at Heckingham appears to be a typical Middle Saxon site, while Site 158 seems to be more related to a river crossing.

The imprudence of equating *Domesday* land holdings with the village of later medieval times has been a subject of comment (Taylor 1983, 126-8). It is clear from an examination of the visible parts of the landscape that some shifting from Middle Saxon locations was accomplished in Late Saxon/Early Medieval times. A surprising result of the survey has been the paucity of finds of this period (p.16). Inaccessibility of key areas in Loddon (covered by buildings) and Hales (grassland near the church) can be invoked to account for this. However, Heckingham also has substantial areas of potential significance under grass yet Thetford-type Ware has been found (after a less intensive search) as a quite widespread manure scatter. The *Domesday* populations recorded for the three larger villas are closely comparable, so that Hales church, by this measure of activity, should have been surrounded by a scatter as extensive as that of Heckingham. The recorded quantity of arable land in Heckingham and Loddon is similar, yet the known medieval fields of Loddon carry little Late Saxon or Early Medieval Ware. In 1086 the area was one of those with a high density of recorded population and of plough teams. The hundreds of Loddon and Clavering had recorded populations of twenty-two and sixteen per square mile respectively. The density of plough teams per square mile was four in each case. These figures were among the highest in Norfolk (Darby 1952, 113, 117). The fieldwalking evidence is incomplete but the low returns of finds from two of the three parishes would appear to warrant further investigation; with densities of population and ploughteams as high as those for south-east Norfolk more evidence of field scatters of the period could have been expected. Search in other parishes in this quarter of south-east Norfolk would throw further light on the distribution of Thetford-type Ware in the area and show how far the situation revealed in Loddon and Hales is unusual.

The dense pattern of medieval settlement is far more irregular and rather more intense than that of Romano-British times. Though largely confined to the same gen-

eral territory, the two patterns are not coincidental to any notable extent. Although settlement around greens, together with settlement related to physically distinct but, perhaps, functionally similar riverine pastures, had become a marked feature of High Medieval times, it was not the only element present. Certain other, persistent, features remained: some, such as those related to routeways, had altered little, others, such as the loosened nucleus of Heckingham or the market centre of Loddon, revealed evolutionary change. In addition, new, apparently isolated, centres appeared in Loddon and Hales.

Unlike the other two parishes, Hales is largely dominated by settlement around greens. There may, of course, be medieval and earlier sites concealed near the church but, apart from Site 43 and the moat at some distance to the south-west, there is little indication of this. D.P. Dymond (1968, 28-9) in discussing the somewhat similar landscape of High Suffolk, offered four theoretical explanations for the problem of the isolated church. They were: abandonment of the church site for a new location; selection of a church site at a point central to a dispersed parish; choice of a pre-existing pagan site, or a site determined by the position of the manor house. The first of these has an obvious attraction as an explanation for Hales as the pottery around the greens is substantially medieval. However, the church is roughly central to the two major green-side concentrations which have some Late Saxon/Early Medieval pottery and there is also a manorial site not far from the church.

Warner has recently described (1987, 15) Wrentham, on the East Suffolk claylands, which has an isolated church with no sign of significant medieval settlement near it. The church was central to its wasteland (greens) where settlement had developed, apparently, no later than 1086. The similarity to Hales, in some respects, is apparent, although only a limited proportion of that parish is on the heavier clay soils. A comparison of the total fieldwalking evidence from the two parishes would be interesting. The churches of Loddon and Heckingham, in contrast to that of Hales, are near crossing places of the Loddon Beck (and Chet) and Heckingham Beck respectively. Heckingham and Loddon both have Middle Saxon settlements and that of Heckingham, particularly, is close to the church. Warner has distinguished, in East Suffolk (1987, 12-15), earlier settlements than those developed on the common edges in late Saxon or early medieval times. They were established on valley gravels, often focused on road-river crossings. It would appear that there are comparable features of settlement to the north and south of the Waveney.

The reduced level of activity in late medieval or early post-medieval times is quite marked and undoubtedly owes much to the difficulties of the fourteenth century. However, the field scatters of finds may also have been reduced as a result of the changes in farming practices characteristic of the later wood-pasture region. In the landscape of south-east Norfolk the true deserted village is not commonly recognisable in the pattern of dispersed settlement; it is the relatively minor units and limbs of settlement which have disappeared. This is mirrored further south in East Suffolk where the same period of population decline saw the abandonment of many small hamlets and isolated farmsteads, as well as the diminution of larger places (Dymond and Virgoe 1986, 80-81).

There are several issues which arise from the survey which invoke comment.

It is clear that physical and pedological conditions are of significance. While accepting that there is no great influence exerted by proximity of springs or of shallow wells in valley gravels on Romano-British settlement and that it is to be found on what passes for higher ground, it is clear from the distribution maps that concentrations avoid the heavy chalky boulder clay soils on the higher ground of southern Loddon and Hales. In this the Romano-British were continuing a practice evident in earlier periods when it was clearly the central belt of relatively sandy glacial and interglacial soils which were acceptable as settlement points. This seems to be a contradiction of the assertion that Romano-British rural settlements were not apparently controlled by simple geographical factors to any marked degree (Taylor 1983, 83). However, exploitation as opposed to settlement of the heavier soils of Hales and Loddon, did occur. Only in the period of early medieval to medieval expansion did some settlement penetrate the heavier soils and then it was very much an invasion of the margins where the capping of chalky boulder clay was relatively shallow and, possibly, fissured, rather than a penetration to the heart of the area.

There is evidence of the comparatively brief occupation of some sites. Obvious examples are provided by certain green-side sites which had a life-span which may have amounted to some 300 to 400 years. Others, such as Site 109, Site 87 or Site 131, had an even more limited timespan. There is ample evidence of marked shift and less marked drift. However, there was clearly some attraction or attractions which drew successive peoples to Sites 14 and 42 and it is difficult to see how geographical factors can be excluded.

Of ill-drained sites there are several which lie very close to the present water table (H19, H36, H35, 155, 158) and are, in winter months, partly water-logged. The conclusion that our view of 'what constitutes a suitable site to occupy is plainly not always the same as that of people at certain times in the past' (Taylor 1982, 2) seems appropriate at first glance but it is clear that the physical conditions have changed since the sites were settled during the period of relatively low sea levels.

The movement in early medieval and medieval times to greens has been noted elsewhere in Norfolk (Wade-Martins 1980a, 88), especially in the Launditch hundred but it is clear that this may not apply to those parishes which had access to substantial riverine pasture as is the case with Heckingham. What must also be noted in Norfolk is the appearance at about the same time of isolated clusters for which some other explanation than a desire for pasture may have to be found. Sites 109, 52, 49, 18 and 14 are examples though in some instances a specialist function may be the explanation: a mill or a kiln.

The movement to greens in Hales seems to have begun in the first half of the twelfth century at the latest when the first colonies on the eastern side of Hales Green and the western side of the probable Southwood Green were established. This would imply that by 1086 there was not much waste left to exploit and that the need for access to remaining common pastures was already becoming acute. This, in turn, seems to conflict with the evidence of very thin manure scatters of Late Saxon/Early Medieval pottery from Hales and Loddon. It seems difficult to support the thesis of pressure on resources in Loddon and, especially, Hales, unless it was the practice for domestic rubbish to be buried in pits rather than to be added to the manure piles.

In discussing settlement around clayland greens in East Suffolk, Warner (1987, 2; 17) questions the wisdom of relying on the dating of pottery scatters. He states that early medieval pottery is difficult to date accurately and draws attention to the scarcity of Ipswich-type Ware and Thetford-type Ware on upland clays. He refers to early shell-tempered wares found on one or two green-side sites in the Blyth valley and suggests that they might prove to be Late Saxon. He also draws attention to a few finds of Late Saxon metalwork on green-side sites. All this appears to express a belief in an earlier date than the twelfth century for the establishment of green-side settlement as has been suggested for the Launditch Hundred in Norfolk (Wade-Martins 1980a, 86). Close examination of the two existing greens and one probable former green on clayland margins in Hales and Loddon tends to support a late eleventh or twelfth century initiation of settlement. The overwhelming bulk of the pottery found is undoubtedly medieval or later, while Thetford-type Ware and Early Medieval Ware are present in limited quantities only on two of the three greens. Scattered or even single finds of other periods cannot be taken as evidence of settlement.

The persistence through successive ages of basic land units has received some notice in recent years (Taylor 1983, 62, 64, 104-05). Within these units, modified with the passage of time, settlement waxed or waned, shifted, drifted or was periodically reorganised. It is unfortunate that no documentary evidence survives for Saxon boundaries in this area. All that is possible is a very tentative hypothesis in which the greens may represent persistent boundaries between units of land. The relationship of the greens to known Romano-British settlement has been suggested (p.68). It may be significant that Hales Green extends along the parish boundary between Hales and Loddon and that the probable Southwood Green is similarly located on the border between Hales and Raveningham. This boundary seems to be part of a north-north-easterly alignment which includes portions of the boundaries between Stockton and Kirby Cane and between Heckingham and Norton Subcourse. The Hales and Loddon and Heckingham boundary alignment is comparable. These have already been suggested as possible early road alignments (p.51). An alternative suggestion could be that they represent parts of ancient 'estate' boundaries. Carrying this suggestion further it may be possible to see portions of the Broome-Thwaite, Thwaite-Loddon, Loddon-Mundham and Loddon-Sisland boundaries as one of other potential alignments. This alignment appears to have passed through Slayford Green. Stubbs Green which seems to separate areas of known Romano-British settlement appears, at first sight, not to fit this pattern. In 1086 Golosa (Ingloss) had the status of a separate vill and it may be that Stubbs Green represents a portion of a boundary between Ingloss and Loddon.

If these, and others, are in fact ancient boundaries it is possible to see Early Saxon occupation (Sites 14, 42 and H44) of former Romano-British estates. Middle Saxon and Late Saxon occupations followed and the medieval parishes succeeded them. It is not safe to draw conclusions about pre-Roman settlement and its relationship to the 'estate' boundaries. Although Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age and Iron Age concentrations have been identified at a number of points they may offer only a fraction of the true distributions at those times for reasons already

outlined above.

Examination of the results of this prolonged survey makes clear that while there is much which conforms to general patterns observed elsewhere there are significant differences. It is necessary to be wary in making comparisons. Distributions in each parish represent individual responses to the interplay of local factors. They may produce marked variations from trends in the district or region as a whole. The survey has also brought to light a number of questions which, pending further investigation, remain unanswered.

Suggested further investigation

Within the parishes.

- i) To maintain a watching brief on all known sites.
- ii) To re-examine crucial sites using close grid techniques.
- iii) In the fullness of time it may be possible to add new sites as changes in land use occur. The most pressing example is the area to the south, east and west of Hales church.

Within the immediate area.

- i) To survey, using the technique developed in the later stages of the work, a block of parishes abutting northwards on Hales and Loddon and extending southwards to the Waveney — Broome, Ellingham and Kirby Cane. This would verify the assumption that similar relationships of settlement and soils are to be found on the flank of the Waveney valley and provide a surveyed section across the 'peninsula'.
- ii) To conduct investigations into the settlement geography of 1086:
 - a) to locate more precisely 'lost' vills — Ierpstuna, Southwood, Thurketeliart, Narvestuna, Alcmuntuna, Torp and Brant. In addition, Thwaite St Mary is not mentioned in *Domesday Book* and is located on the interfluvium with a long narrow corridor of territory extending south to a tributary of the Waveney. Erwellestun or Erewellestun, recorded in the thirteenth century, also requires precise location. Do these settlements still exist as un-named portions of surviving villages? Alternatively, are their sites totally deserted? If so, do they represent attempts to colonise the heavier soils? Some of the details of these shadowy settlements are interesting. Southwood and Torp were both one league in length and half a league in breadth. Thurketeliart had a church with twenty acres of land. Torp, according to the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, also had a church.
 - b) to extend the survey to throw additional light on the relationship between densities of fieldwalking finds, recorded population and plough teams where some discrepancies have become apparent.

Further afield

- i) As the three parishes are located on the north flank of a narrow peninsula of higher ground it is possible that the relationship between settlement and soils may be atypical. This is because it might be argued that the areas of heavier soils would be within economic daily working distance of settlement points on the better-drained soils to the north (or south) and so actual colonisation would not be needed. It might be desirable to examine the situation in other areas for comparison:-

- a) Further to the west in parishes more distant from major valleys and where heavier clay soils are extensive — Brooke, Howe, Kirstead, Seething and Bergh Apton.
- b) In south Norfolk: a block of parishes of similar areal extent abutting south on the Waveney.
- ii) The extent to which relative changes in sea level influenced changes in settlement patterns could be investigated in some other areas of Broadland:-
- a) The Yare valley
- b) Flegg
- iii) Further investigation into the suggested relationship of greens, parish boundaries and other sub-parallel alignments is necessary. Extended documentary study and fieldwalking may reveal the positions of other former greens and commons. From the 1:25000 map it is possible to plot alignments of sections of parish boundaries, roads, tracks and footpaths and field boundaries which are sub-parallel, curvilinear and related to one another (Fig.21). Most have a general, curving south-south-east to north-north-east alignment though there are a few which appear aberrant. The known Roman road which crosses the Waveney at Wainford is discordant to the suggested system. The medieval park of 'Loddon *iuxta* Hales' clearly interrupts the pattern suggesting that it is a later intrusion. It has been suggested (p.00, Figs 19, 21) that some of the eastern alignments may be those of Roman roads. There is a discernible difference in trend between the eastern-most features and the system further west. The eastern group has an alignment which is more south-south-west to north-north-east. It is possible that this may represent a different organisation or some degree of modification of the predominant trend. Some alteration of the system to accord with the establishment of Roman roads could be considered. Generally, however, it is tempting to see parallels with the patterns of reaves noted in western areas of the British Isles (Fleming 1978, 17-21; Fowler 1983, 128-144) and the patterns suggested for Essex (Drury and Rodwell 1978, 133-151; Rodwell 1978, 89-98), for south Norfolk by Dr T. Williamson (1986, 241-48) and by D.Dymond (1985, 46-47), and for 'The Saints' near Bungay (Rackham 1986, 156-158). If the alignments in south-east Norfolk are indeed real and not merely a cartographic fancy then their age and relationship to distributions of settlement must be determined (Plates VII and VIII). However interesting the results of the three-parish survey it may be acknowledged that the area covered

provides an intriguing sample study rather than an explanation of the settlement and landscape history of south-east Norfolk.

The Finds

In the following tables the site numbers given in the course of the survey are used. Norfolk Sites and Monuments Record numbers are given in brackets for reference. Sites investigated by P. and V. Williams are not numbered on Fig.11 and are not listed here. Details of finds other than those made during the course of this survey have been extracted from the Sites and Monuments Record and are numbered accordingly.

Abbreviations

Flints/Stones	Worked flints and other stone tools
Neo	Neolithic
Meso	Mesolithic
LANEBA	Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age
P.Hist	Prehistoric
LBA	Late Bronze Age
EIA	Early Iron Age
IA	Iron Age
R-B	Romano-British
ES	Early Saxon
MS	Middle Saxon
LS	Late Saxon
EMed	Early Medieval
Med U/G	Medieval Unglazed
Med G	Medieval Glazed
LMT/EPM	Late Medieval-Transitional — Early post-medieval
PM	Post-medieval
StW	Stoneware
Rec	Recent
Oxid	Oxidised
Oxf	Oxfordshire Ware
Col Ctd	Colour-coated ware
Sam	Samian
M.Hadham	Much Hadham
Vit	Vitrified
Teg	Tegula
Mort	Mortarium
Colch	Colchester
Calc Grit	Calcite-gritted
Amph	Amphora
Flag	Flagon
Imb	Imbex
B.Tile	Boxtile
MSL	Middle Saxon Local
Tin Gl	Tin Glaze
W'wald	Westerwald

- * Indicates sites which were examined more than twice.
- N.B. The Romano-British finds numbered but not otherwise described are of grey-wares.

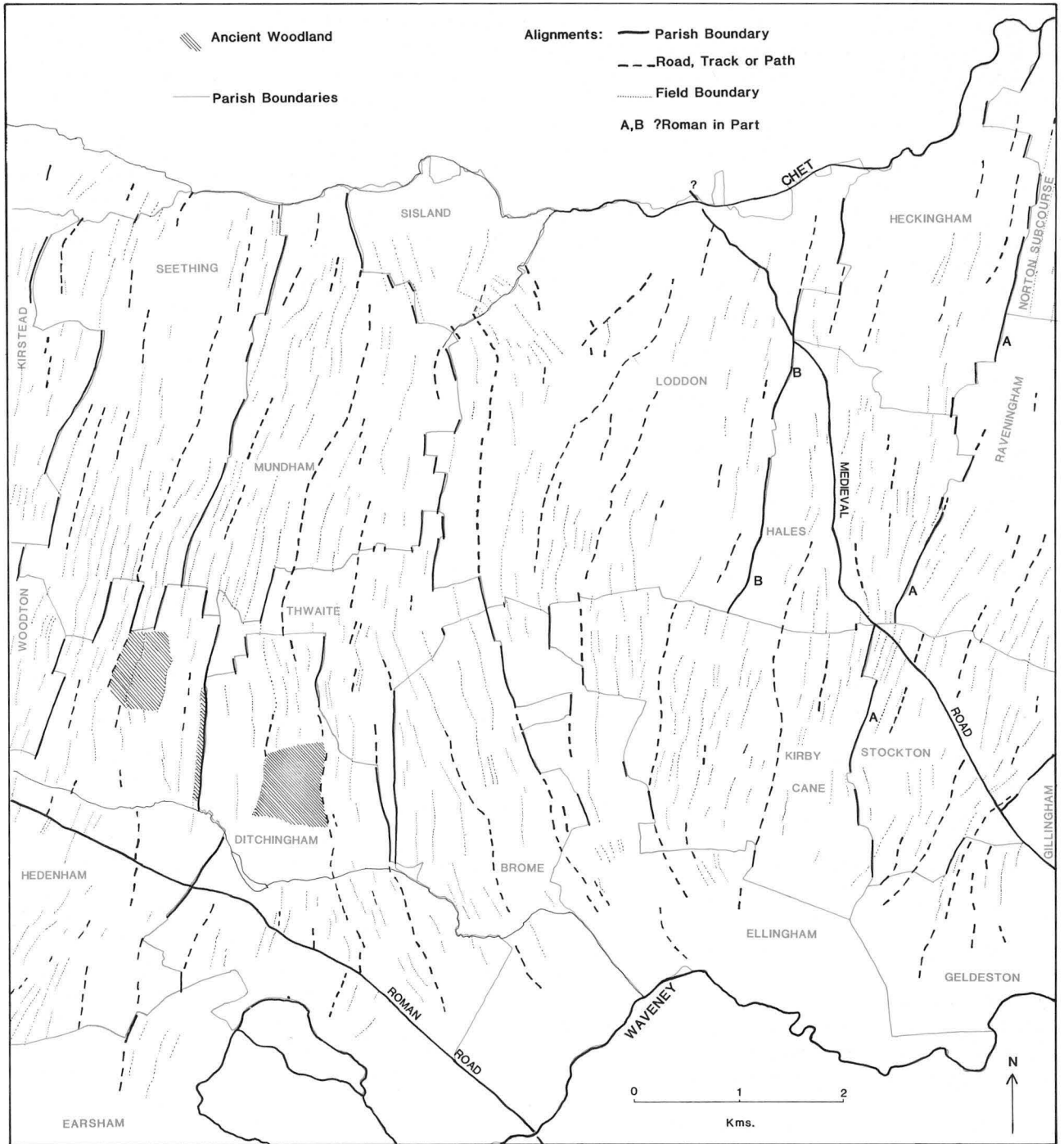


Figure 21. Possible Alignments in South-East Norfolk. Scale 1:60,000

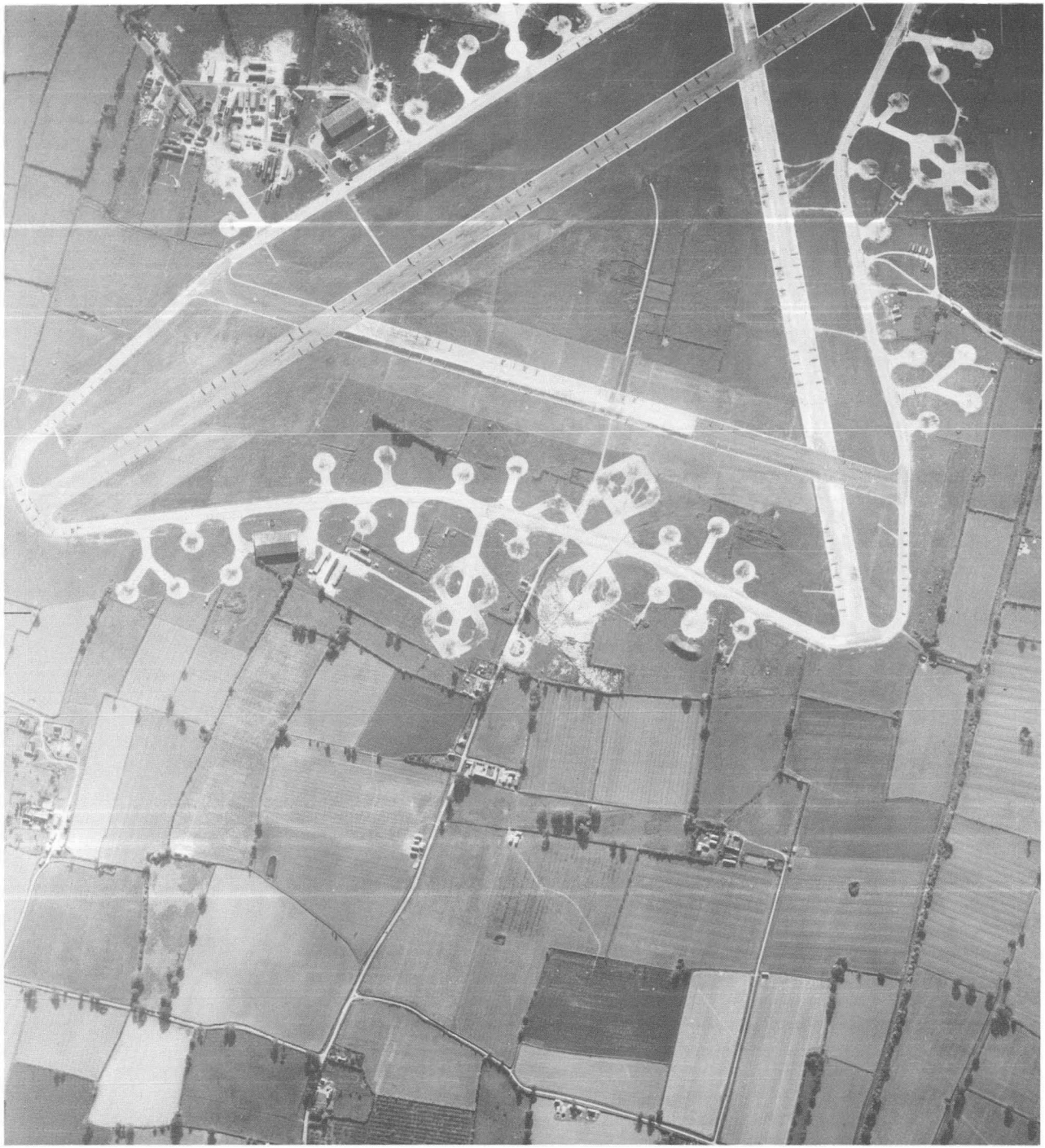


Plate VII. Alignments of roads, tracks and field boundaries in the vicinity of Seething airfield: the pattern can still be distinguished beneath the levelled areas. 106 G/UK 930/16 OCT 1945/3081. British Crown copyright/M.O.D.



Plate VIII. Alignments to the north of Hedenham. Seething airfield appears on the northern margin. The ancient Hedenham Wood and Long Row seem to accord with the pattern. 106 G/UK 930/16 OCT 1945/3092. British Crown copyright/M.O.D.

Tabulated Account of Finds

A) The Hales Green Group of Sites

Site No.	Flints/	P.Hist.	IA	R-B	ES	MS	LS	E Med	Med U/G	Med G	LMT/ EPM	PM	StWare	Rec
4 (16854)									44	7	16			
3 (16853)									18	4		2?		
2 (16852)									10	1		1?	2	
1 (16851)									238	4	11	8	9	
*13 (16856)	20		1 (LBA/ EIA) 1?	4?					157	26	50	140	64	42
*28 (17807)								50 →				1	6	
5 (16855/1)									26	8	17 9 LM-PM Stoneware	17		
6 (16855/2)									129	6	14	38	5	
6 (16855/3)									40		5	3	1	
7 (16855/4)									264		48	29		12
8 (16855/5)									96	9	18	18		
9 (16855/6)									165	7	16	5		1
9A (16855/7)									35	2	1 1 Stamford or import			
9B (16855/8)									45	10		5		
														1 Stamford Dev or import
9C (16855/9)									23	2				
10 (16855/10)								113 →			3			
11 (16855/11)									49	1		5		
12 (16855/12)									7					
10A (16855/13)									2					
47 (17981)									2	2		5		
35 (17815)									2			5		
99 (20365)	3			1			6	3 74 →		2	2	8	2	
100 (20366)									4		1			
24 (17188)									585	54	131	50	13	13 (some 15C)
														+1 pale cream fine fabric — import?
25 (17189)									8	2	4	8	4	
26 (17190)									1					
33 (17815)									11		9		1	2
32 (17812)									78		29	43	5	1
34 (17814)				1?					5			1		
31 (17809/1)	2								78	15	89 +1 Langerwehe or Raeren	63	13	23 (some 16C)
31 (17809/2)											23	26	10	5
53 (18247)	3								8	2	8	30		
*36 (17816/1)		1						3 →	296 (few EMed)	4	72	42	18	3
*36 (17816/2)												3		
*36 (17816/3)									38	3	12	15	13	8
37 (18132/1)	2								371 (few EMed?) + 2 imports	1	30	17	4	
37 (18132/2)									20			6	4	6

Site No.	Flints/	P.Hist.	IA	R-B	ES	MS	LS	E Med	Med U/G	Med G	LMT/ EPM	PM	StWare	Rec
39 (18134/1)									6		1	1		
39 (18134/2)	1								15	1		1	2	1
38 (18133)									12			1	2	
B) Stubbs Green Sites														
63/1 (19314/1)	4								21		9	8	3	
63/2 (19314/2)	2								78	7	58 (+2 StW)	22	5	
63/3 (19314/3)	2								43	4	8			
63/4 (19314/4)	2								51	3				
63/5 (19314/5)	1								6		2	1		2
64/1 (19315/1)	1								100	8	13	3	3	2
64/2 (19315/2)	1								5			2	1	
64/3 (19315/3)									3		1 StW			
64/4 (19315/4)												1?		
64/5 (19315/5)									1		1	4		
79 (19488)	4		1						38	1		14	6	1 StW
144 (21528)	5								1					
67 (19318)	6									3		5		3
66 (19317/2)									4	2?	1	12	4	
(Context 1, near an existing house, had much nineteenth and twentieth century china)														
C) Spot Common sites														
57 (18250)	2								313	16	239 (+10 StW)	9	4	
56 (18249)				1?					226 (some E.Med)					
58 (18251)									103 (some E.Med)	7	2	1		
59/1 (18174/1)		1							52	8	2 StW	10	6	
59/2 (18174/2)	1								55 (incl.E.Med)		20	1	3	
69 (19320)	2								10 (some E.Med)		5	1		
70 (19321)									12	4		10	2	2
D) Other Sites in Hales														
43 (17817)	1								12					
48 (18135)					347+						25		2	4
					37 Oxid++									
					2 Oxfd									
					1 Col Ctd									
					8 Sam									
					+ May include some Med.									
49 (18136)					1?				259	22	48		2	1
50 (18137)									9			4		
51 (18138)								2?	2			2		
55 (10523/1)	1							1	9		1 (context 2)			
54 (18248)										1				
83 (13677/2)									36			3	1	1
83 (13677/3)	2				2?				281 → (some E.Med)	18	2	1		2
83 (13677/4)									2					
84 (19492)	1								4			1		1

Site No.	Flints/	P.Hist.	IA	R-B	ES	MS	LS	E Med	Med U/G	Med G	LMT/ EPM	PM	StWare	Rec
85 (19493)				1					3			1	1	
86 (19494)									28	3	(?1 import?)	7 (+2?)	2	1
87 (19495)	9		16?	332 1 Samian 1 Storage Jar neck 6 Oxid				1?	2		6	9		
88 (19496)	1			5 3 Oxid?					8 (some R-B?) 7		1	3	2	1
89 (19497)				4					4	1	4	3+3 StW	3	
90 (19498)	1	4	2 (LBA/ EIA)	74 1 Sam 1 Oxid 1 M. Hadham					3	1	2	9 +1 TinGl	4	1
92 (19500)	1	1							5		4	4		1
93 (19501)		2		1? (or Med)					2		1	6		
														+1 Oxidised sherd — date?
95 (20360)	1			1? (or Thet type)					1	1		2	1	
96 (20361)														Much later GRE, China - eighteenth century on. Site of demol. Carpenter's Arms
101 (20367)	1									1				
102 (20368)									1			1	1	
108 (20372)	1											1	4	1
111 (20375)	1								3			2	2	1
112 (20376)		4							3	2			2	2
128 (21515)	12		1 +4?	14 +1 Anton- inianus					2	1		1	1	
E) Sites in Loddon North of the By-Pass Road (including the Chet Valley sites)														
98 (20364)	1													Much nineteenth/ twentieth century pot and rubble not collected -E. corner.
151 (21535)	2						1 +1 miscellaneous rim		15	1	2	2		4
125 (21512)	2					1	1 greyware sherd					4		
91 (19499)							2	5				4	1	4
122 (20386)	3			3?		1	1 (or Med?)		5		1	2	2	3
115 (20379)									2				1 (W'wald)	Much noted
116 (20380)	3	1							5		2/2	9	1	1
124 (21510)												3		
123 (21509)	2								6	2		14 (incl.recent)		
143 (21545)	7								1			5+1 gun flint		
145 (21529)	5											3		
149 (21533)	11	1							7		2	2	1	2
161 (21543/1)	2			6					1			6		

Site No.	Flints/	P.Hist.	IA	R-B	ES	MS	LS	E Med	Med U/G	Med G	LMT/ EPM	PM	StWare	Rec
161a (21543/2)	6	1 (L/Neo/ EBA)		114 2 Oxid 1 Vit.tile?		1 +1?			22	4	3	46		some 18/19th
148 (21532)	17								16			7		
152 (21536)									1					
162 (21544)	5			1? (St jar?) +1 Teg		1			91	1	41	37 (to modern)		
146 (21530/1)	2								2	1?	1	2	1	
146 (21530/2)									10	1				
147 (21531/1)							8	4	4			14		
														+33 of which 50% Thet type
147 (21531/2)							2	2	2			1		
														+1?
147 (21531/3)	4			+1 unidentifiable									9 (to 19th cent)	
153 (21537)	2			1		1			1				16 (to modern)	
154 (21538)	4					5			3	1		10		
157 (21539/1)	4					6 +1?			40		2/1	10		
157 (21539/2)	1								73	8	2	5		
157 (21539/3)									16	1 (import)	13	19	3	
160 (21542)				1 Bonding Tile frag.		1		1	4				6 (to modern)	
159 (21541)	1			1 +3? 1 Teg.		1		1	107	8	46	18	6 +3 late	3
158 (21540)						14	3		50 (some EMed and Thet probable)	1	1	9		2 StW
F) Sites in Loddon previously recorded														
18379														1 axe (Petr N253)
1051		Flakes				2?								
1052		1												
10518														Spearhd (Viking Per)
12896		Leaf arrowhd												
10517														Bronze Pin
10519														1
10516														Coin of Magnentius
13857+														Iron Spearhd (R-B or ES)
														+May have been brought in rubble
10515		Arrowhd, barbed and tanged				Many sherds reported						Many sherds reported		
G) Sites Associated with the Valley System of the Loddon Beck (South of the By-Pass)														
141 (21526)						2								2
														12 (incl. E. Med)
142 (21527)		10 1 round scraper (Neo)												8
														9
126 (21513)		1												1
														1
130 (21517)														2
76 (19485)		1 scraper												19th/20th C. Demol.house site – many sherds.

Site No.	Flints/	P.Hist.	IA	R-B	ES	MS	LS	E Med	Med U/G	Med G	LMT/ EPM	PM	StWare	Rec
27 (17780)	1 Neo chisel/pick													
62 (19313)														
60 (19311)	1													
Slag found in some quantity at E.end of field														
61 (19312)	1			2					2 (or R-B?)		1	3	3	
+ 1 jeton														
*73 (19324/1)				1					1	1	77		3	2
Other finds — lava quern frags, 1 floortile, olive-brown glaze — Flemish or Engl.														
73 (19324/2)	1													
72 (19323)		1							2		1		1	
71 (19322)	1			1										
52 (13496/1+)	6 Med U/G & /G													
+site previously recorded														
*52 (13496/2)	9			2 teg					313	11	69	35	4	
+ 1 13/14th cent. import (Eng. or Cont)														
+ 26 coarse (hard) + 4 StW														
22 (17186)	1								1 (+2?)					
23 (17187/1)	2			1 Sam.					48		4			
+ 1 scraper														
23 (17187/2)	1								1			5	1	
Some slag noted														
23 (17187/3)									1		3	1		
21 (17185)	6	3		31							7	16		
2 Sam. 25 Oxid. 70 (incl. some Med.) 1 Oxfld.Mort.														
Some slag noted, also 9 coarse dark grey, oxid surfaces date?														
14 (16857)	77		8	53	14				113	41	27	54	7	4
+ 1 arrowhd														
1 Dec LANEBA 6 Col Ctd														
10 Prob LANEBA 1 Calc Grit														
1 Prob Grooved 1 Oxid.														
14a (16858)	3													
1 (Med?)														
15 (16859)	2	1		1 Sam					36		9	4	1	
15														
(some R-B)														
16 (16860)	2	1		85			1		165	1	10		5	
4 Oxid.														
1 Mt Flange														
3 Col Ctd														
1 Teg (+smelting slag)														
3 B.Tile														
17 (13009/1)	+ 1 oxidised coarse — date?													
7														
2														
4														
18 (13009/2)	6								147	1		1		
(c. 1/2 + 1? E.Med-12C?)														
17 (13009/3)	1?													
2														
1														
1														
1														

Site No.	Flints/	P.Hist.	IA	R-B	ES	MS	LS	E Med	Med U/G	Med G	LMT/ EPM	PM	StWare	Rec
17a (13009/4)	2	2	1?	25 1 Oxfd (+frags of slag) 144 (some Med)					2	5		3		
18 (13009/5)	5				(+slag)				145 (some E.Med)	6	8	2	3	
18 (13009/6)			1 (LBA/ EIA)	1 Sam 1 Amph frag										
97 (20363)								1	1			21 (+PM StW mainly on site rec. demol.building)		2
103 (20362)	2			+1 sherd greyware — date?								3	6	1
127 (21514)	2								1				1	
109 (20373/1)									149	6				
									+1 bodysherd, white fabric, now u/glazed — source? date?					
109 (20373/2)								1	1					
94 (20559/1)	4						1		2			6	1	1
94a (20559/2)	2								5			1 1?	1	
74 (19325)	1								2				2	
80 (19489/1)	3			+2 oxidised — date?					5			2	2	3
80 (19489/2)				1 (or Med?)									1	
80 (19489/3)									2					
110 (20374)	26				1 (or Med?)				1		1	1		1
78 (19487)	13			1 Sam. 1								6		2
45 (17980)	1			1? 2? Oxid					7			2		
41 (17978)	2		4?	115 (some Med?) 1 Sam. 1 Col Ctd 1 Mort. 1 Oxf Mort. 2 Calc Grit 6 Oxid. 1 Stor.Jar (Linear Dec) 1 Amph Frag?					1		1	9 +bowl of PM bronze spoon with stamp	4	9
44 (17979)	1	3 (1 Grogged)	1 (LBA/ EIA)	149 (some Med?) 9 Oxid. 1 Calc Grit? 1 Oxid Col Ctd 1 Mort 2 Buff Flag 3 Oxon (1 stamped)					1	2		3		1
40 (17976/1)			1 Grooved 15?	287 (few Med.) 1 Sam 7 Col Ctd 4 Mort 1 Amph frag. 7 Oxid 1 Corky Stor.Jar 1 Mayen ware 4 B.Tiles 1 Tile with paw impression						3	8	15	7	6

Site No.	Flints/	P.Hist.	IA	R-B	ES	MS	LS	E Med	Med U/G	Med G	LMT/ EPM	PM	StWare	Rec
40 (17976/2)				+ slag frags.					2	1	3 +1?			
*42 (17977/1)	251 (incl. 1 flaked Neo axe, 7 scrapers, 9 cores)	12 Neo 2 Milden- hall 52 Neo? 2 Beaker 4 Grooved 2 LANEBA? (grogged)	143 3 Sam. Col Ctd (late IA?) 1-Amph frag 10 Oxid. 2 B. Tiles 3 Teg	32 525 (some IA?)		1			161 (some RB?)	14	7	13	7	4
42 (17977/2)				1 1 Oxid.					1					30 (18th C. on, site of demol. house)
*19 (17184/1)	3			75 126 (some Med.) 2 Sam. 1 Stor. Jar 1 Amph. frag. 12 Oxid. 1 Colch Col Ctd 1 Teg. 1 B. Tile					3	3		8	3	1
19 (17184/2)				2 1? Oxid.					1					
19a (17806)									18				1 1 Rec.	2
*29 (17806/1)	9	2 Neo?		488 7 Sam. 62 Oxid. 1 Colch Col Ctd 1 Mort. 7 B. Tiles 1 Imb. 11 Teg. + several examples of smelting slag					18	3	10	16		2
*(17808/2)				2 + much smelting slag & RB tile frags.										
*46 (17982/1)	15	1		33 1 Oxid. 35 B. Tiles 13 Imb. 26 Teg. + many tiles some complete, some over-fired, some distorted		7			4 (R-B?) 1 4					
*46 (17982/2)	2			+ slag					2					
*46 (17982/3)	2 + 1 core													
*46 (17982/4)	2	1		4		1			4					
*46 (17982/5)	5													
75 (19484)									2					
*65 (19316)	8		10	1					9			18	4	4
82 (19491)	1													
68 (19319)									1					
77 (19486)	4			+1 white fabric, no glaze left					16 +1?	2		23	6	2
H) Sites in the Vicinity of Ingloss and in the Sisland Valley														
107 (20371)	1								1					
138 (21524)										1			1	3
104 (10453/1)	1								116 (some E. Med characteristics)	10	1	3	2	
104 (10453/2)									3					

Site No.	Flints/	P.Hist.	IA	R-B	ES	MS	LS	E Med	Med U/G	Med G	LMT/ EPM	PM	StWare	Rec
104 (10453/3)									1					Much rec. rubble
105 (20369)	3								11					
106 (20370)	1						1 (or R-B)		1					
137 (21523)	5									2	1	1		
										Late Med/Early Post Med. bricks and tiles in quantity — kiln site				
136 (21522)	3													
139 (21525)	2			1?										
135 (21521)	1													
133 (21520)	2											1		
132 (21519)	17								1?					1
134 (21534) & 150	8 (incl. Neo sickle blade)									1		1		
120 (20384)	9								1?			3		1 (W/Wald)
131 (21518)	18						16 2 Sam. 1 Teg. 1 Imb. 1 Flue tile		5			1		1
118 (20382)	7						+1 unidentified greyware, 1 rim frag. oxidised, uncertain date		1	1?				1
117 (20381)	3								1		1 1?	1	1	1
119 (20383)	14								6		2	9	3	1
121 (20385)	4			1 (EIA)			+1 unidentified greyware		1					
113 (20377/1)	7								1	1				12
113 (20377/2)	5	1					45 8 Oxid. 2 B. Tiles 2 Tiles		9	3		16		1
113 (20377/3)														19th C
114 (20378/1)							46 2 Tiles		5		7	15		4
114 (20378/2)							1 2?		3			7		
129 (21516)	1								1					
<i>Sites in Heckingham</i>														
H1/1 (22654/1)	2						3 1 Oxid. +1 unident. very thick, gritty		1			2		2
H1/2 (22654/2)							7		1?					
H2/1 (22655/1)	1 core 1 scraper 7						4		2 +4 (or RB?)	4	4	9		
H2/2 (22655/2)		1 (Coll Urn)	5? (LBA/ EIA)				1	1 +4?	2?			1		
H3 (22656)	3						2?		4			16		
H4 (22657)				1?			+Misc sherd — date?		2			6		3
H5 (10510/2)							1 Sam. 5		1			14		
H6 (10510/1)	1 core 2 scrapers 5								4+?			20 (some Thet type?)	13	1

Site No.	Flints/	P.Hist.	IA	R-B	ES	MS	LS	E Med	Med U/G	Med G	LMT/ EPM	PM	StWare	Rec
H7 (10510/3)	2 cores 5 1 PM?			10 1 Amph					16	1	2	9		
H8 (10510/4a) (S 2/3)	9			7 1 Oxid.			7		32	4		40 (up to 19th C)		
H8 (10510/4b) (N 1/3)	1 Meso 6			2 Sam. 1 Oxid. 6?		1			15	1		9 +1?		
H9 (10510/5)		+1 unident.oxidised					3		8		1	5		19th/ 20th C. present
H10 (10510/6)				4		1			50 (some RB?) (some Thet?)	1	6	15		
H11 (10510/7a) (E)	3		1 (or RB 1st C)	1 2?					42		12	11		
(10510/7b) (W)	1 core 2						1?		42		6	15		
H11a (10510/8)	1?			1			3		14		1	10	1 Med	
(10510/9) Previous find area embracing 10-15	1' Polished flint axe (1950)													
H12a (10510/10) part within Loddon				6					8	2		7		
H12b (10510/11)							5		13	3	5	9		
H12c (10510/12)		1 Misc?		15					53 1 Dutch?		12 (some Med)	11	3	
H12d (10510/13)	1 Micro- core Meso? 1 core/hammer 1	1 Misc		2 Sam. 1 Oxid. 100 1 Teg.					15		10	7		
H12e (10510/14)	2	1 Misc		71 1 Mort 1 Sam. 1 Oxid. + 1 u/glazed handle? Unidentified					31		12	12		
H12f (10510/15)	1 Borer 1 Blade 5			3 Sam. 1 Span. Gl.Amph 1 E.Aug Mort. 1 Oxid. 107			1		24		5	9		
H13 (22658)	7										1	11		
H14 (22659)										1			1	Mod. debris near farm
H15 (22660)	2								11		2?	4	1	Mod. build. mat. near f/path
H16 (22661)	1 blade 2 1?			2		3 1 MSL	10		45 (some E.Med)		1	4	1	

Site No.	Flints/ P.Hist.	IA	R-B	ES	MS	LS	E Med	Med U/G	Med G	LMT/ EPM	PM	StWare	Rec
H17a (22662/1)	1 end scraper 5		1 Col Ctd 2 red slip 3 Mort. 2 Shell grit 140 1 Teg.		1			33 (some E.Med)	4	1	6		
H17b (22662/2)	1 scraper 3		12 +1 unident.Oxid.		1	1		19 (some Thet?)					
H18a (22663/1)					5	34 1? (some Med)	74	9			6		
H18b (22663/2)	1		+2 unident.			6 2		20	1	1	5	3	
H18c (22663/3)			+1 unident.		2	7		24 + bronze cauldron rim with AE repair rivet			11	2	
H19 (22664)						1 (or RB?)		76 (late 12th- early 13th C) 2	1		1		
H20a (22666/1)	1 borer? +6		9		3			6	1?		6		
H20b (22666/2)	3		16		4	1		40 (some Thet?)		13	14		
H21 (22667)	2	1	2		1			13	2? 1		11		
H22 (22668)	1 blade 3		2?			1		10		4	13		
H23/1 (20724/1)	1 core 1 scraper 9		2 1?		2	23		30	1	10	20		
H23/2 (20724/2) (found pre- viously by met.detector) K.Woodhouse						1 copper alloy disc brooch		'several' silver coins		LM silver finger ring (part)			
H24 (22669)	1 core 2 blades 7		12					29	2	3	15		
H25/1 (22670/1)	5 scrapers 1 part of long blade 12		1 late red slip 1 flagon 18		5 (or IA)			22 (some RB?)				18 G II 1/2d coin	
H25/2 (22670/2)	2 scrapers 5		23		1 (or IA)			33 (some RB?)			4	2 W'Wald	
H25/3 (22670/3)			4		+1 unident.			2					
H26 (22671)	4		1? +1 unident.Oxid.			1		17	3		8		
H27c (22672/1)	3		2?					6					
H27a (22672/2)	6		1? +1 unident.					1	1?		1		
H27b (22672/3)	1 scraper 3		1			1		2					
H28 (22673)	2							5		1	5		
H29 (22674)	4		1					3	1		10		
H30 (22675)	2							3			7		

Site No.	Flints/	P.Hist.	IA	R-B	ES	MS	LS	E Med	Med U/G	Med G	LMT/ EPM	PM	StWare	Rec
H31 (22676)	2 scrapers 1 core 1 slug knife 21			6?					25	1		18		
H32 (22677)	1 core 3 scrapers 1		+2 reduced unident. Many reduced pantile sherds						2 1?			17 PM to recent (recent from house site)		
H33 (22678)	1 scraper 3								3		3		9 as above	
H34* (22679/1)	1 core 1			2		41	13		42	3	4	11	2	
H37* (22679/2)						1			4			3		
H41* (22679/3)						2	2		1					
H36* (22680)						9			6			1	1	
H40* (22681/1)									3			2	1	
H40a* (22681/2)						5 1 MS pimply	2	1?	4		1			
H38/1* (22681/3) 2				5		4 1 MS Local	52		26	1 3?	1	15	3	
H38/2* (22681/4)				2		1	1 1?		10	1	1	1		
(20581/1)	<i>Metal detector finds made by K. Woodhouse</i>													
(20581/2)														
(20581/3)														
(20581/4)														
(20581/5)														
(20581/6)														
H43/1 (20581/7)	1 scraper 2			6 1 shell-gritted		1	29		22 (some Med)		1	5	2	
H43/2 (20581/8)				2 shell-gritted 32 ?2 chalk tempered gray			7 69 (incl.RB)		20			2	2	
H43/3 (20581/9)						4 1 Sandy MS?	3 13 (some Med)	3						
H43/4 (20581/10)				1 Teg.			4?						1	
H35 (22665)								1	55	6	3	3		
H39/1 (22682/1)				+1 reduced unident.					3			7	1	
H39/2 (22682/2)									3	1	1?		3	
H39/3 (22682/3)									24 (some Thet?)		28	13		
H39/4 (22682/4) 1							4		15 (some Thet?)	3	13	5	3	

Site No.	Flints/	P.Hist.	IA	R-B	ES	MS	LS	E Med	Med U/G	Med G	LMT/ EPM	PM	StWare	Rec
H39/5 (22682/5)	2 scrapers 1 core 3 blades 3								19			7		
H42 (22683)	2 scrapers 3						9		17	1?		14 (some modern)		
H44/1* (22684/1)	3		1 (Misc)	3	20 (some IA?)									
H44/2* (22684/2)	1 scraper 1 blade 1			31 1 Sam.					2			5	2	
H45 (22685)	1 core 1 blade			1?		+1 reduced unident.			1			4	1	
H47 (22686/1)	1 scraper 1								4	1		14		
H46 (22686/2)									3			1	1	
H48 (22687)	2 scrapers 1 blade								4			8 PM to recent		
H49 (22688/1) (S.part)	1 core 1			2					1?			5		
H49 (22688/2)	3			+1 dark grey sandy unident.							3	4	1	
H50 (22689)	1 end scraper 2								17	9 (some LMT?)		11 PM to recent		
H51 (22690)	1											7 PM to recent		
H52 (22691)	1								8	2	2	8		
H53 (22692)	5								8			18		
H54 (22693)	2 scrapers 4			4				1?	11	6	1	7		
				3?					+1 roof tile					
H55 (22695)	3			1					1 (or RB) 3		1	4		Much near gardens
H56 (22695)	2 1 blade end			Tile?		+bronze cauldron rim						1		

Bibliography

- Addington, S., 1982 'Landscape and Settlement in South Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeol.* XXXVIII, 97-139
- Allison, K.J., 1955 'The Lost Villages of Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeol.* XXXI, 116-162
- Allison, K.J., 1957 'The Sheep-Corn Husbandry of Norfolk in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Agr.Hist.Rev.* 5, 12-30
- Barlow, F., 1970 *Edward the Confessor*, (London)
- Blake, W., 1952 'Norfolk Manorial Lords in 1316', *Norfolk Archaeol.* XXX, 235-261, 263-286
- Blomefield, F., 1805-10 *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, contd. by C.Parkin (2nd Edition), (London)
- Calendar of Charter Rolls*, (London)
- Calendar of Close Rolls*, (London)
- Calendar of Patent Rolls*, (London)
- Campbell, B.M.S., 1986 'The Complexity of Manorial Structure in Medieval Norfolk: A Case Study', *Norfolk Archaeol.* XXXIX, 225-61 Carthew, G.A., 1847 'Extracts from the town book of the Parish of Stockton', *Norfolk Archaeol.* I, 167-192
- Chester, G.J., 1855 'A Brief Sketch of the Antiquities of the Waveney and the Yare', *Norfolk Archaeol.* IV, 310-316
- Chisholm, M., 1968 *Rural Settlement and Land Use* (2nd edition), (London)
- Clarke, R.R., 1952 'Archaeological Discoveries in Norfolk 1943-8', *Norfolk Archaeol.* 30, 158
- Cornford, B., 1982 'Water Transport on the Broads in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', Parts 1 and 2, *Norfolk Arch. Res. Group News* 29, 31, 4-8, 11-14
- Cushion, B., Davison, A., Fenner, G., Goldsmith, R., Knight, J., Virgoe, N., Wade, K. and Wade-Martins, P., 1982 'Some Deserted Village Sites in Norfolk', *E. Anglian Archaeol.* 14, 40-101
- Darby, H.C., 1952 *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England*, (Cambridge)
- Davenport, F.G., 1906 *The Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor 1086-1565*, (Cambridge)
- Davison, A. J., 1980 'West Harling; A Village and Its Disappearance', *Norfolk Archaeol.* 37, 295-306 *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1921-22, (Oxford)
- Doubleday, H.A. and Page, W. (eds), 1901-06 *Victoria History of the County of Norfolk* vols I and II (1901) and II (1906) (London)
- Douglas, D.C. (ed.), 1955/59 *English Historical Documents*, Vol.I Whitelock, D. (ed.) 1955; Vol.II Douglas, D.C. and Greenaway, G.W. (eds) 1959, (London)
- Drury, P.J. and Rodwell, W.J., 1978 'Investigations at Asheldham, Essex. An Interim Report on the Church and the Historic Landscape', *Antiq. J.* LVIII, 133-51
- Dymond, D.P., 1968 'The Suffolk Landscape' in Munby, L.M. (ed.), *East Anglian Studies*, 17-47, (Cambridge)
- Dymond, D.P., 1985 *The Norfolk Landscape*, (London)
- Ekwall, E., 1960 *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names*, (Oxford)
- Elliston, F.C.E., 1923 'The Premonstratensian Abbey of Langley', *Norfolk Archaeol.* XXI, 175-234
- Faden, W., 1797 'Map of Norfolk', *Norfolk Record Society* XLII (reprinted 1975)
- Fenner, A.V., 1987 'The Documentary Background (to St Andrew, Framingham Earl) in "Three Norman Churches in Norfolk" by Rogerson, A., Ashley, S.J., Williams, P. and Harris, A.', *E. Anglian Archaeol.* 32
- Feudal Aids*, (London)
- Field, J., 1972 *English Field Names*, (London)
- Fleming, A., 1978 'The Dartmoor Reaves' in Bowen, H.C. and Fowler, P.J. (eds), 'Early Land Allotment', *Brit. Archaeol. Rep.* 48, 17-21
- Foard, G., 1980 'The Recovery of Archaeological Information by Systematic Fieldwalking: Research in Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire' in Hayfield, C. (ed.), *Fieldwalking as a Method of Archaeological Research*, 34-40, (London)
- Fowler, P., 1983 *The Farming of Prehistoric Britain*, (Cambridge)
- Frankel, M.S. and Seaman, P.J. (trans.), 1983 'The Norfolk Hearth Tax Assessment Michaelmas 1664', *Norfolk Genealogy*, 15
- Funnell, B., 1979 'History and Prognosis of Subsidence and Sea-Level Change in the Lower Yare Valley, Norfolk', *Bull. Geol. Soc. of Norfolk* 31, 35-44
- Gairdner, J. (ed.), 1904 *The Paston Letters*, (London)
- Gelling, M., 1984 *Place-names in the Landscape*, (London)
- Hardy, M.J., 1985 'Mendham', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.* 36, 47-8
- Hardy, M.J. with Martin, E., 1987 'South Elmham St Margaret, All Saints and St Nicholas', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.* 36, 233-5
- Harris, A.P., 1987 'The Twelfth Century Church of St Andrew, Framingham Earl' in Rogerson, A., Ashley, S.J., Williams, P. and Harris, A.P., 'Three Norman Churches in Norfolk', *E. Anglian Archaeol.* 32
- Hart, C.R., 1966 *The Early Charters of Eastern England*, (Leicester)
- Hodge, C.A.H., Burton, R.G.O., Corbett, W.M., Evans, R. and Seale, R.S., 1984 *Soils and their Use in Eastern England: Soil Survey of England and Wales*, (Harpenden)

- Hudson, W., 1895 'The assessment of the townships of the county of Norfolk for the King's tenths and fifteenths, as settled in 1334', *Norfolk Archaeol.* XII, 243-297
- Hudson, W., 1910 'The Norwich Taxation of 1254 so far as relates to the diocese of Norfolk and Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeol.* XVII, 46-158
- Jennings, J.N. and Green, C., 1965 'The Physiographical Evolution of the East Norfolk River Valleys since the Ice Age', in Ellis, E.A., *The Broads*, (London)
- Lamb, H.H., 1987 'What can Historical Records tell us About the Breakdown of the Medieval Warm Climate in Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries - An Experiment' Contributions to Atmospheric Physics (*Beitrage zur Physik der Atmosphere*) 60, 131-43
- Lawson, A., 1983 'The Archaeology of Witton, near North Walsham', *E.Anglian Archaeol.* 18
- Newman, J., 1987 'South-East Suffolk Field Survey', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.* 36, 231-33 (for Suffolk County Council and Sutton Hoo Research Trust)
- Pevsner, N., 1962 *The Buildings of England: North-west and South Norfolk*, (Harmondsworth)
- Rackham, O., 1976 *Trees and Woods in the British Landscape*, (London)
- Rackham, O., 1985 'The Ancient Woods of Norfolk', *Trans.Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Soc.* 27, 161-177
- Rackham, O., 1986 *The History of the Countryside*, (London)
- Rodwell, W.J., 1978 'Relict Landscapes in Essex', in Bowen, H.C. and Fowler, P.J. (eds), 'Early Land Allotment', *Brit. Archaeol. Rep.* 48, 89-98
- Rogerson, A. and Silvester, R.J., 1986 'Middle Saxon Occupation at Hay Green, Terrington St Clement', *Norfolk Archaeol.* XXXIX, 320-22
- Rye, W., 1881(a) *Pedes finium, or Fines Relating to the County of Norfolk*, *Norfolk Archaeol.*, IX, Report for 1881
- Rye, W., 1881(b) *An Index to Norfolk Topography*, (London)
- Saunders, H.W. 1930 *An Introduction to the Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, (Norwich)
- Sheail, J., 1968 *The Regional Distribution of Wealth in England as indicated in the Lay Subsidy Returns in 1524-25*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London
- Shrewsbury, J.F.D., 1971 *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles*, (Cambridge)
- Silvester, R.J., 1985 'West Walton: The Development of a Siltland Parish', *Norfolk Archaeol.* XXXIX, 101-17
- Wynne, W.A.S., 1914 *St Olaves Bridge and Priory*, (Norwich)
- Taylor, C., 1982 'The Nature of Romano-British Settlement Studies - What are the Boundaries?' in Miles, D. (ed) *The Romano-British Countryside, Studies in Rural Settlement and Economy*, *Brit.Archaeol.Rep.* (B Series) 103(i)
- Taylor, C., 1983 *Village and Farmstead*, (London)
- Wade-Martins, P., 1980a *Village Sites in Launditch Hundred*, *E.Anglian Archaeol.* 10
- Wade-Martins, P., 1980b 'Excavations in North Elmham Park, 1967-1972', *E.Anglian Archaeol.* 9
- Warner, P., 1983 'Origins: the Example of Green-side Settlement in East Suffolk', in 'Dispersed Settlement' with Fox, H.S.A. and Roberts, B.K., *Medieval Village Research Group Annual Report* 31
- Warner, P., 1987 *Greens, Commons and Clayland Colonisation: The Origins and Development of Green-side Settlement in East Suffolk*, (Leicester)
- Williams, P., 1984 'Excavation at Sisland', *Norfolk Research Committee Bulletin* No.32, 11-12
- Williamson, T., 1984 'The Roman Countryside: Settlement and Agriculture in North-West Essex', *Britannia* XV, 225-30
- Williamson, T., 1986 'Parish Boundaries and early fields, continuity and Discontinuity', *J.Hist.Geog.* 12, 3, 241-48
- Williamson, T. and Bellamy, L., 1987 *Property and Landscape*, (London)

Index

Placenames are followed by the abbreviated county name.
In addition, (N)=Norfolk, (S)=Suffolk.

- Acle (N), 1, 3.
 Alcumuntona (N), 72.
 alignments, 72, 73 (Fig. 19; Plates IV, V, VII, VIII).
- Babingley (N), 60.
 Barton Bendish (N), 3, (Fig. 1).
 Beccles (S), 3, 38, 51, 55, 57, 61, 63 (Fig. 1).
 Bergh Apton (N), 42, 45, 73.
 Bigod, Roger, 46, 57, 60.
 Bixley (N), 3 (Fig. 1).
 Blyth Valley (S), 72.
 Brant (N), 72.
 Breydon Water (N), 1, 3.
 Broads, Broadland (N), 3, 64, 65, 73.
 Brooke (N), 42, 73.
 Broome (N), 37, 44, 45, 51, 58, 72, (Tables 2, 3, 4)
 Brundish (N), 51.
 building materials, 15, 16, 21, 25, 26, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 46,
 61, 66.
 Bungay (S), 3, 49, 53, 55, 63, 73, (Fig. 1).
 Bure, river, 1, 66.
 Burgh Castle (N), 3, (Fig. 1).
 Bury St Edmunds Abbey (S), 45, 46, 53, 57, 60.
- Caister (N), 3, (Fig. 1).
 Caistor St Edmund (*Venta Icenorum*) (N), 1, 3, (Fig. 1).
 Carleton St Peter (N), 53.
 Castle Rising (N), 45.
 chapels, 46-49, 60, 67.
 Charles family, 46, 55.
 Chedgrave (N), 38, 44, 51, 52, 58, 67, (Tables 2, 3, 4)
 Chet, river, 1, 7, 16, 21, 22, 29, 35, 37, 38, 42, 51, 58, 59, 61, 63, 64,
 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, (Plate II).
 climatic change, 64-65, 66, 69.
 coins, 16, 22, 29, 39.
 crosses, 51-52, 59.
- de Hales (Raveningham), Roger, 29, 46, 49, 53, 56, 58, 60, 62, 63.
 de Heckingham family, 57, 58, 60, 61.
 de Loddon, Joscelin, 45, 46, 49, 53.
 de Rochage family, 57, 58.
 Ditchingham (Pirenhoe) (N), 51, 58.
Domesday Book, 16, 36, 37, 42, 44, 45, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63,
 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 72, (Table 1).
- earthworks, 21, 22, 28, 35, 49, (Figs 12, 14; Plate II).
 Earsham (N), 45.
 Ellingham (N), 45, 52, 72, (Tables 2, 3).
 Elmham, North (N), 70
 South (S), 70.
 Erwellestun (N), 49, 51, 54, 57, 63, 72.
 Essex, 70, 73.
- fairs, 55, 65.
 Faden's map of Norfolk, 7, 22, 35, 49, 53, 54, 55.
 Fenland, 3, 7.
 fields, 51, 52-3, 58-9, 62-3, (Fig. 18).
 fisheries, 22, 59, 61.
 Fitzwalter fee, 46, 49, 54.
 Flegg (N), 1, 73.
 flints, worked, 12-15, 25, 26, 28, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 69, (Fig. 4).
 Forncett (N), 60, (Fig. 1).
 Framlingham Earl (N), 60, 61, (Fig. 1).
 Fransham (N), 3, (Fig. 1).
 Fritton (N), 3, (Fig. 1).
- Geldeston (N), 45.
 Gillingham (N), 42, 45.
 Godric the Steward, 57, 58.
- Hales (N), 1, 3, 7, 11, 15, 16, 21, 22, 29, 33, 36, 38, 42, 44, 45, 46, 49,
 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, (Figs
 2, 3; Tables 1-4; Plate IV).
 Backhouse Meadow, 32.
 Bamberry Hill, 49.
 Callendar Hill, 52.
 Chilpits, 53.
 Church Green, 55, 62.
 Field, 52, 53.
 Green, 7, 10, 11, 21, 22, 25, 29, 32-33, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 62,
 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, (Figs 12, 15; Plates I, IV).
 Green Farm, 32, 56, 62.
 Green Lane, 32.
 Hales House, 33, 35.
 Hill Farm, 29, 32.
 Orchard Farm, 29, 32.
 Read's Cross, 38, 67.
 St Margaret's church, 16, 55, 57, 60, 61, 62, 64, 70, 71,
 72, (Plate IV).
 Selgerysgate, 51, 63.
 Spot Common, 21, 33-5, 51, 55, 62, 67, 68, 69, (Plate IV).
 Wash Lane, 32.
- Hales Hall (N), 1, 7, 21, 29, 32, 36, 37, 45, 46, 49, 51, 53, 54,
 56, 60, 61, 63, 65, 67, 68, (Plate I).
 Hardley (N), 58.
 Hardley Cross (N), 1.
 Heckingham (N), 1, 3, 7, 10-11, 12, 16, 22, 38, 42, 44, 45, 51, 52, 55,
 57-9, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, (Figs 2, 3; Tables
 1-4).
 Beacon Farm, 59, 61.
 Beans, 59, 61.
 Beck, 7, 12, 15, 21, 22, 38, 61, 65, 71.
 Bucmongers, 58, 61 (Plate VI).
 Chilpits, 38.
 Church Farm, (Plate VI).
 Culmer Meadow, 53, 54, 59.
 Cunnisfurr (Coney Fer) Wood, 59, 63.
 Cuthrope Heath, 59, 62.
 Field, 59.
 Furze Common, 59.
 Hall, 7, 22, 58, 61.
 High Field, 59.
 High House Farm, 59, 61.
 Hill Farm, 22, 65, 69.
 Hill House, 59.
 Horsecroft, 59.
 House of Industry (Hospital), 7, 53, 57.
 Little Church Farm, 58, 61, (Plate VI).
 Low Common, 59.
 Lower Rookyard, 61.
 Mill Hill, 59.
 North Beck, 7, 61.
 Raveningham Field, 59.
 Rochage, 58, 61.
 St Gregory's church, 22, 39, 59, 60-61, 64, 69, 70, 71, (Plate VI).
 Southdicks, 59, 61.
 Stockdale furlong, 59.
 Suddix Went, 59.
 Winckhill, 58, 61.
- Hedenham (N), 53, (Plate VIII).
 Hempton (N), 54.
 Herringfleet (S), 60, (Fig. 1).
 Hobart family, 45, 46, 49, 53, 54, 55, 60.
 Holme Hale (N), 60 (Fig. 1).
 Holt (N), 60, (Fig. 1).
 Howe (N), 42, 73.
 Humberstone family, 46, 52, 56, 57.
 Hundreds: Blofield, 45.
 Clavering, 42, 44, 45, 46, 60, 62, 65, (Fig. 16).
 Erpingham, North and South, 45.
 Eynesford, 45.
 Henstead, 42.
 Launditch, 3, 70, 71, 72.
 Loddon, 42, 44, 46, 49, (Fig. 16).
- Ingloss (*Golosa*) (N), 16, 22, 35, 36, 37, 44, 45, 49, 51, 52, 54,
 55, 58, 61, 63, 64, 68, 69, 72, (Plate V; Table 1).

- Jerpeston (N), 57, 63, 72.
Jerpestonehage Wood (N), 54.
- kilns, 21, 22, 29, 35-6, 37, 68, 71.
Kirby Cane (N), 16, 35, 45, 46, 49, 51, 52, 54, 57, 63, 72, (Tables 2-4).
Kirstead (N), 73.
- Langley (N), 41, 52, 58, 67.
 Abbey, 41, 46, 53, 57, 60, 61, 65.
Lay subsidies, 44, 45, 58, 66.
Limpenhoe (N), 45.
Loddon (N), 1, 3, 7, 15, 16, 21, 22, 29, 35, 36, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, (Fig. 3; Plates I, V; Tables 1-4).
 Bachelers Gate, 51, 57.
 Backhouse Meadow, 32.
 Bacon's Manor, 46, 55, 61, (Fig. 20).
 Beck, 7, 15, 22, 26, 28, 29, 33, 35, 36, 37, 51, 52, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, (Plate IV).
 Beech Grove Farm, 38, 53.
 Bradelond, 52.
 Brantishaghe, 46, 49, 52, 53, 55.
 Brick Kiln, 36.
 Bridge, 38.
 Bush Farm, 33, 49, 51, 62, 63.
 Charles Hall, 49, 55, 61.
 Charnelscroft, 52.
 Charnellys Wood, 53, 62.
 Cheker Grove, 54.
 Darnock, 52.
 Dulls Lane, 51, 52, 57, 63; Close, 51, 52.
 Ellyman's Lane, 51; Close, 51, 52.
 Fairstead, 55.
 Farthing Green, 53, 55, 62.
 Field, 51, 52.
 Godfrey's Hall, 57, 61.
 Gossamer Heron, 52.
 Green, 35, 55, 62.
 Hales Hall Wood, 53.
 Hall, 29, 32, 35, 46, 51, 56, 57, 61, 62.
 Hall Field, 52.
 Hall Green Farm, 35, 38, 46, 61, 62.
 Hares Closes, 53; Grove, 53.
 Hearnsey (Harnser) Wood, 54, 63.
 Hellond Closes, 52.
 Holy Trinity church, 16, 46, 51, 55, 60, 66, 70, 71, (Fig. 20).
 Horsecroft, 51, 53.
 Hundredsty, 51.
 King's Wood, 53.
 Litchmere Lane, 51, 57, 63.
 Lodge, The, 33, 49, (Plate II).
 Market Places, 55, (Fig. 20).
 Mill, 45, 51.
 Peddersty, 51.
 Pyes Close, 53; Mill, 51, 52, 55, 63.
 Plumer's Farm, 22, 38, 65.
 Pound Lane, 32.
 Roundabout Lane, 33.
 Rowkewood, le, 53, 62.
 Ryeland, 52.
 Slayford Green, 55, 62, 72.
 Sledgate, 51, 63.
 Southford, 52, 53, 55, 62, 67.
 South Wood, 54.
 Spitland Wood, 53.
 Spring Meadow, 37, 54, 62.
 Street, 52, 53, 55.
 Stubbs Closes, 52; Field, 52.
 Stubbs Green, 7, 21, 22, 33, 35, 36, 37, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 61, 63, 67, 68, 69, 72, (Plates I, II, V).
 Stubbs Green Lane, 33.
 Stubbs Manor, 46, 49, 61.
 Town Farm, 52; Field, 52; House, 44, 53.
 Transport Lane, 15, 26, 49, 63, 67, (Plate III).
 Uphall Wode, 54.
 Warren Hills, 7, 53.
 Welleslede, 52.
 West Field, 52.
 Wood, 46, 54, 62.
 Wynneyerd, 52, 53.
- Lothingland (S), 1.
Lowestoft (S), 3.
- markets, 46, 55, 64, 65, 68, 71.
metalwork, 16, 22, 36, 72.
mills, 28, 35, 41, 45, 46, 51, 52, 55, 57, 59, 63, 68, 71, (Plate IV).
moats, 1, 7, 22, 33, 35, 36, 37, 49, 55, 58, 61, 67, (Plates II, VI).
Modercope, Aelfric, 45, 46, 53.
Morningthorpe (N), 3, (Fig. 1).
- Narvestuna (N), 72.
North Walsham (N), 3.
Norwich (N), 1, 3, 51, 53, 57, 59, 63, (Figs 1, 2).
- parish boundaries, 7, 32, 33, 38, 51, 53, 54, 55, 62, 63, 67, 72, 73, (Plate IV).
parks, 35, 36, 37, 46-49, 51, 53, 57, 63, 64, 69, 73, (Figs 15, 17; Plates I, V).
plague, 35, 52, 65-66, 68-69.
pot-boilers, 36.
pottery, 11-12.
 Beaker, 15, 25.
 Bronze Age, 12, 25, 26, (Fig. 4).
 Collared Urn, 15.
 Cromer-Fengate Ware, 15.
 Early Medieval, 16, 21, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 441, 63, 67, 70, 71, 72, (Fig. 8).
 Early Saxon, 10, 11, 16, 26, 38, (Fig. 7).
 Frechen stoneware, 36.
 Glazed Red Earthenware, 12, 32, 36, 38.
 Grooved Ware, 15, 25.
 Harling-type, 15, 37.
 Ipswich-type Ware, 12, 16, 26, 29, 39, 70, 72.
 Iron Age, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 25, 26, 37, 38, (Fig. 5).
 Langerwehe stoneware, 32.
 Late Medieval/Transitional-Early post-medieval, 12, 22, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 41, (Fig. 10).
 Late Neolithic, 12, 25, 26, (Fig. 4).
 Late Saxon, 63, 70, 71, 72, (Fig. 8).
 Mayen Ware, 15.
 medieval, 11, 12, 15-16, 21-22, 25, 26, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 63, (Fig. 9).
 Middle Saxon, 16, 38, 39, (Fig. 7).
 Mildenhall Ware, 15, 25.
 Oxfordshire Ware, 26.
 Prehistoric, 11, 15, 26, 28, 32, 38.
 Raeren stoneware, 32.
 Romano-British, 11, 12, 15-16, 25, 26, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, (Fig. 6).
 samian, 25, 26, 38.
 Scarborough Ware, 35.
 Staffordshire stoneware, 12.
 Stamford ware, 33.
 Thetford-type Ware, 12, 16, 21, 22, 29, 32, 35, 36, 41, 65, 67, 68, 70, 72.
 Westerwald stoneware, 35, 36, 37.
- Poringland (N), 1; West (N), 3.
- querns, 16, 21, 22, 35, 36, 41.
- Raveningham (N), 33, 44, 45, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 62, 63, 67, 72, (Plate IV; Tables 2-4).
Reedham (N), 60; Ferry (N), 51.
roads, 29, 33, 35, 37, 38, 49-52, 53, 55, 59, 61, 63, 66-67, 73, (Figs. 18-19).
- sea level changes, 65, 66, 67.
Seething (N), 73, (Plates VII, VIII).
Shelton (N), 58, 60.
Shotesham St Mary (N), 3, (Fig. 1).
Sisland (N), 7, 10, 15, 16, 21, 22, 33, 37, 42, 44, 49, 51, 52, 55, 62, 63, 65, 67, 72, (Tables 3, 4); Stream, 3, 10, 15, 36, 61, 64, 68.
slag, 12, 15, 16, 37.
soils, 1, 7, 16-22, 22-24, 25, 28, 29, 37, 38, 39, 41, 64-5, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, (Fig. 3).
soilmarkings, 15, 28, (Plate III).
Southwood (N), (Blofield Hundred) 45; (Clavering Hundred), 45, 54, 57, 62, 72
 Green, 54, 55, 62, 71, 72.
Stockton (N), 44, 45, 51, 54, 57, 72, (Tables 2-4).
Stone Street, 49, 51, 67.
Stratton St Michael (N), 3, (Fig. 1).

Suffolk, 7, 41, 65, 68, 70, 71, 72.

Talconeston (N), 60.

Tas, river, 1.

Tasburgh (N), 3, (Fig. 1).

Terrington St Clement (N), 70 (Fig. 1).

Thetford Priory (N), 60.

Thwaite (N), 7, 42, 44, 45, 46, 49, 51, 72, (Tables 2-3).

Thurketeliart (N), 72.

Tithe Award maps, 32, 36, 38, 46, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59,
61, 63.

Torp (N), 72.

Trowse (N), 1.

Wacton (N), 7, (Fig. 1).

Walton, West (N), 3, 70, (Fig. 1).

Warrens, 49, 53, 59, 63.

Waveney, river, 1, 42, 45, 49, 51, 66, 71, 72, 73.

Wheatacre (N), 42.

Witton (N), 3, 70, (Fig. 1).

East Anglian Archaeology

is a serial publication sponsored by the Scole Archaeological Committee Ltd. The Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex Units, the Norwich Survey and the Fenland Project will all be contributing volumes to the series. It will be the main vehicle for publishing final reports on archaeological excavations and surveys in the region.

Copies and information about the contents of all volumes can be obtained from:

Centre of East Anglian Studies,
University of East Anglia,
Norwich, NR4 7TJ

or directly from the Archaeology Unit publishing a particular volume.

Reports available so far:

- | | | | | | |
|---------------|------|---|---------------|------|---|
| Report No.1, | 1975 | Suffolk: various papers | Report No.27, | 1985 | Cambridgeshire: The Fenland Project No.1; Archaeology and Environment in the lower Welland valley |
| Report No.2, | 1976 | Norfolk: various papers | Report No.28, | 1985 | Norwich: Excavations within the north-east bailey of Norwich Castle, 1978 |
| Report No.3, | 1977 | Suffolk: various papers | Report No.29, | 1986 | Norfolk: Barrow excavations in Norfolk, 1950-82 |
| Report No.4, | 1976 | Norfolk: Late Saxon town of Thetford | Report No.30, | 1986 | Norfolk: Excavations at Thornham, Warham, Wighton and Caistor St. Edmund, Norfolk |
| Report No.5, | 1977 | Norfolk: various papers on Roman sites | Report No.31, | 1986 | Norfolk: Settlement, religion and industry on the Fen-edge; three Romano-British sites in Norfolk |
| Report No.6, | 1977 | Norfolk: Spong Hill Anglo-Saxon cemetery | Report No.32, | 1987 | Norfolk: Three Norman Churches in Norfolk |
| Report No.7, | 1978 | Norfolk: Bergh Apton Anglo-Saxon cemetery | Report No.33, | 1987 | Essex: Excavation of a Cropmark Enclosure Complex at Woodham Walter, Essex, 1976 and An Assessment of Excavated Enclosures in Essex |
| Report No.8, | 1978 | Norfolk: various papers | Report No.34, | 1987 | Norfolk: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham, Part IV: Catalogue of Cremations |
| Report No.9, | 1980 | Norfolk: North Elmham Park | Report No.35, | 1987 | Cambridgeshire: The Fenland Project No.2: Fenland Landscapes and Settlement between Peterborough and March |
| Report No.10, | 1980 | Norfolk: village sites in Launditch Hundred | Report No.36, | 1987 | Norfolk: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Morning Thorpe, Norfolk: Catalogue |
| Report No.11, | 1981 | Norfolk Spong Hill, Part II | Report No.37, | 1987 | Norwich: Excavations at St Martin-at-Palace Plain, Norwich, 1981 |
| Report No.12, | 1981 | The barrows of East Anglia | Report No.38, | 1987 | Suffolk: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Westgarth Gardens, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk: Catalogue |
| Report No.13, | 1981 | Norwich: Eighteen centuries of pottery from Norwich | Report No.39, | 1988 | Norfolk: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham, Norfolk, Part VI; Occupation during the 7th-2nd millennia BC |
| Report No.14, | 1982 | Norfolk: various papers | Report No.40, | 1988 | Suffolk: Burgh: The Iron Age and Roman Enclosure |
| Report No.15, | 1982 | Norwich: Excavations in Norwich 1971-1978; Part I | Report No.41, | 1988 | Essex: Excavations at Great Dunmow, Essex: a Romano-British small town in the Trinovantian <i>Civitas</i> |
| Report No.16, | 1982 | Norfolk: Beaker domestic sites in the Fen-edge and East Anglia | Report No.42, | 1988 | Essex: Archaeology and Environment in South Essex, Rescue Archaeology along the Gray's By-pass 1979/80 |
| Report No.17, | 1983 | Norwich: Waterfront excavations and Thetford-type Ware production, Norwich | Report No.43, | 1988 | Essex: Excavation at the North Ring, Mucking, Essex: A Late Bronze Age Enclosure |
| Report No.18, | 1983 | Norfolk: The archaeology of Witton | Report No.44, | 1988 | Norfolk: Six Deserted Villages in Norfolk |
| Report No.19, | 1983 | Norfolk: Two post-medieval earthenware pottery groups from Fulmodeston | Report No.45, | 1988 | Norfolk: The Fenland Project No. 3: Marshland and the Nar Valley, Norfolk |
| Report No.20, | 1983 | Norfolk: Burgh Castle: excavation by Charles Green, 1958-61 | Report No.46, | 1989 | Norfolk: The Deserted Medieval Village of Thuxton, Norfolk |
| Report No.21, | 1984 | Norfolk: Spong Hill, Part III | Report No.47, | 1989 | Suffolk: West Stow, Suffolk: Early Anglo-Saxon Animal Husbandry |
| Report No.22, | 1984 | Norfolk: Excavations in Thetford, 1948-59 and 1973-80 | Report No.48, | 1990 | Suffolk: West Stow, Suffolk: Prehistoric and Romano-British Occupation |
| Report No.23, | 1985 | Norfolk: Excavations at Brancaster 1974 and 1977 | Report No.49, | 1990 | Norfolk: The Evolution of Settlement in Three Parishes in South-East Norfolk |
| Report No.24, | 1985 | Suffolk: West Stow, the Anglo-Saxon village | | | |
| Report No.25, | 1985 | Essex: Excavations by Mr H.P. Cooper on the Roman site at Hill Farm, Gestingthorpe, Essex | | | |
| Report No.26, | 1985 | Norwich: Excavations in Norwich 1971-78; Part II | | | |

ISBN 0 905 594 029