

ST PETER-ON-THE-WALL

LANDSCAPE AND HERITAGE
ON THE ESSEX COAST

EDITED BY JOHANNA DALE

 **UCLPRESS**

St Peter-on-the-Wall

St Peter-on-the-Wall

Landscape and heritage on the Essex coast

Edited by

Johanna Dale

 **UCL**PRESS

First published in 2023 by
UCL Press
University College London
Gower Street
London WC1E 6BT

Available to download free: www.uclpress.co.uk

Collection © Editor, 2023
Text © Contributors, 2023
Images © Contributors and copyright holders named in captions, 2023

The authors have asserted their rights under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 to be identified as the authors of this work.

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from The British Library.



Any third-party material in this book is not covered by the book's Creative Commons licence. Details of the copyright ownership and permitted use of third-party material is given in the image (or extract) credit lines. If you would like to reuse any third-party material not covered by the book's Creative Commons licence, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright owner.

This book is published under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non-commercial Non-derivative 4.0 International licence ([CC BY-NC-ND 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/)). This licence allows you to share, copy, distribute and transmit the work for personal and non-commercial use provided author and publisher attribution is clearly stated. Attribution should include the following information:

Dale, J. (ed). 2023. *St Peter-on-the-Wall: Landscape and heritage on the Essex coast*. London: UCL Press. <https://doi.org/10.14324/111.9781800084353>

Further details about Creative Commons licences are available at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/>

ISBN: 978-1-80008-437-7 (Hbk.)

ISBN: 978-1-80008-436-0 (Pbk.)

ISBN: 978-1-80008-435-3 (PDF)

ISBN: 978-1-80008-438-4 (epub)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14324/111.9781800084353>

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	vii
<i>List of tables</i>	xi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiii
<i>List of contributors</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xix
Introduction: A contested landscape <i>Johanna Dale</i>	1
Part I: St Peter's Chapel and its pre-modern contexts	
1 St Peter's Chapel: What the building has to tell us <i>David Andrews</i>	27
Appendix: The 1978 survey of St Peter's Chapel	41
2 The Roman fort of Othona <i>Andrew Pearson</i>	53
3 Dengie, <i>Ythancæstir</i> and Othona: The early medieval landscape context of St Peter-on-the-Wall <i>Stephen Rippon</i>	78
4 Cedd, Bradwell and the conversion of Anglo-Saxon England <i>Barbara Yorke</i>	110
5 Put to good use: The religious afterlife of the Saxon Shore Forts <i>Richard Hoggett</i>	130
6 Early medieval monasteries on the North Sea coast of Anglo-Saxon England <i>David Petts</i>	159

7	Land, marsh and sea: Transformations in landscape and farming at Bradwell on Sea, c. 1086–c. 1650	177
	<i>Kevin Bruce and Christopher Thornton, assisted by Neil Wiffen</i>	
Part II: St Peter’s Chapel and its modern contexts		
8	‘A building of altogether exceptional interest’: The rediscovery of St Peter’s Chapel in the nineteenth century, and its restoration in the twentieth	217
	<i>James Bettley</i>	
9	‘And withal a great silence’: The spiritual landscape of the Othona Community and St Peter-on-the-Wall	239
	<i>Ken Worpole</i>	
10	A case study in vulnerability: Bradwell A, a trial environment for nuclear power	257
	<i>Gillian Darley</i>	
11	The St Peter’s Way: Leisure, heritage and pilgrimage	286
	<i>Johanna Dale</i>	
12	Maldon and the Blackwater Estuary: Literature, culture and practice where river meets sea	308
	<i>Beth Whalley</i>	
13	The last of Essex: Contemporary architecture and cultural landscape	332
	<i>Charles Holland</i>	
14	Care and maintenance in perpetuity? The nuclear landscape of the Blackwater Estuary	355
	<i>Warren Harper and Nastassja Simensky</i>	
	<i>Index</i>	380

List of figures

0.1	Aerial view of Bradwell Bay Airfield.	9
0.2	The former flower meadow.	13
0.3	Pilgrims approaching the chapel in the mid-1950s.	16
0.4	<i>The Chapel</i> , 2022, by Nabil Ali.	18
1.1	The chapel from the south-west.	27
1.2	Plan of the Roman fort and St Peter's Chapel as revealed by the nineteenth-century excavations.	28
1.3	Plan of Bradwell based on a map of 1583.	29
1.4	Plan of St Peter's Chapel.	31
1.5	Plan of the church at Reculver as originally built.	32
1.6	Elevation of the east wall seen from outside, showing the original masonry only, and reconstructing the two arches of the screen.	33
1.7	Fragment of plaster with red paint probably of thirteenth-century date (arrowed) in the soffit of a probable blocked window arch in the north-east corner of the nave.	36
1.8	Interior of the chapel, showing the blocked screen wall and the butt purlin roof.	39
1.9	Reconstruction of St Peter's Chapel.	40
1.10	West elevation of St Peter's Chapel.	43
1.11	West wall of St Peter's Chapel.	44
1.12	North elevation of St Peter's Chapel.	45
1.13	North wall of St Peter's Chapel.	46
1.14	East elevation of St Peter's Chapel.	47
1.15	East wall of St Peter's Chapel.	48
1.16	South elevation of St Peter's Chapel.	49
1.17	South wall of St Peter's Chapel.	50
2.1	Bradwell Chapel, from a drawing by the Rev. H. Milligan.	56
2.2	The upstanding Roman defences in 1907.	57
2.3	The Roman landscape around Othona.	58

2.4	Reconstruction of the Roman fort at Pevensey (Anderita).	60
2.5	Field investigations of Othona: 1990–present.	62
2.6	Othona: plan of identified Roman features and surface artefact distribution.	62
2.7	Military metalwork recovered during the 1864 investigations of Othona.	73
3.1	The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of eastern England and the boundary zones between them, and the postulated boundaries of the <i>regio</i> called <i>Deningei</i> and its major geology/soil types.	79
3.2	The landscape context of Othona and <i>Ythancaestir</i> .	80
3.3	Evidence used in reconstructing the extent of the <i>regio</i> of <i>Deningei</i> .	84
3.4	The possible extent of the 70 <i>cassati</i> in the <i>regio</i> called <i>Deningei</i> that King Swæfred of the East Saxons granted to Ingwald, bishop of London.	95
3.5	The eighth-century fish weir at Sales Point, near Othona, in the Blackwater Estuary, Essex, and reconstruction drawing by Nick Nethercoat.	96
4.1	The remains of the medieval church of Lindisfarne, on the site of the church founded by Aidan.	112
4.2	The medieval church of Lastingham, probably on the site of the church founded by Cedd.	114
4.3	Aerial view of Lastingham showing its position between Ryedale and the North York Moors.	119
4.4	Statue on Lindisfarne of St Aidan by Kathleen Parbury (1958).	121
4.5	Lastingham 07 and Lastingham 08: two fragments from a possible shrine of Cedd at Lastingham.	125
5.1	The locations of the Saxon Shore Forts, spanning the coast of Britain from The Wash to the Solent.	132
5.2	A map identifying the Saxon Shore Forts, from a fifteenth-century Swiss copy of the <i>Notitia Dignitatum</i> .	133
5.3	Watercolour view of the ruins of Walton Castle, painted by Francis Grose in 1766.	137
5.4	Aerial view of Burgh Castle from the south-west, showing the walls of the Roman fort and the parish church.	140
5.5	‘Interior ruins of Reculver’s church, Kent’, by I. Baynes.	144
6.1	View across the Alde Estuary towards Iken.	162

6.2	Reconstruction of the Saxon settlement at Barber's Point by David Gillingwater.	171
7.1	Reconstruction of probable boundaries of Domesday Estates (1086) in north-east Bradwell on Sea.	178
7.2	Reconstruction of boundaries and location of medieval and Tudor estates (to c. 1650) in north-east Bradwell on Sea.	179
7.3	Map of East Hall Farm in 1768, an estate belonging to New College, Oxford, from 1391 to 1865.	183
7.4	Map of Down Hall and Gardiners Farm in 1753.	187
7.5	Map of Wymarks Farm in 1714.	189
8.1	Interior of St Peter's Chapel, looking west, 1907.	218
8.2	Visit by the Essex Field Club, 6 August 1910.	221
8.3	Survey drawing of St Peter's Chapel by HM Office of Works.	222
8.4	St Peter's Chapel under restoration, c. 1919–20, showing the north and west walls.	223
8.5	St Peter's Chapel from the south, 1925.	224
8.6	St Peter's Chapel from the south, 1942, showing damage to the roof, and barbed wire and other military debris.	226
8.7	Interior of St Peter's Chapel, looking east, 1947.	228
8.8	Laurence King's proposals for restoring St Peter's Chapel to its presumed Saxon appearance, 1948.	230
8.9	Interior of St Peter's Chapel, 2020, showing the hanging crucifix by Francis Stephens, 1949, and altar by Gerald Shenstone, 1985.	234
9.1	Medlar Cottage, the Othona Community.	241
9.2	One of the original wartime Nissen huts, first home of the Othona community.	244
9.3	The permanent sleeping yurts at Othona.	245
9.4	The Solar Building at Othona, made out of compacted clay dug from the ground below and elevated above flood level.	246
10.1	The model of Calder Hall displayed at Bradwell Village Hall, photograph originally published in the <i>Maldon and Burnham Standard</i> , 2 February 1956.	266
10.2	Voting at the Bradwell Parish Council meeting, photograph originally published in the <i>Maldon and Burnham Standard</i> , 22 March 1956.	268
10.3	View of the power station from the west in 1969.	279

11.1	First view of the chapel across the Tillingham and Bradwell marshes.	288
11.2	St Mary's Mundon before and after coming into the care of the Friends of Friendless Churches.	302
12.1	Viking longship at the 1991 millennium celebrations.	317
12.2	Panel 1 of the Maldon Embroidery.	318
12.3	Panel 2 of the Maldon Embroidery.	319
12.4	<i>Byrhtnoth</i> , by John Doubleday, 2006.	321
13.1	<i>A House for Essex</i> , by FAT/ Grayson Perry, external view.	333
13.2	<i>A House for Essex map</i> , by Grayson Perry.	335
13.3	Blackmore Church.	345
13.4	<i>A House for Essex</i> exterior and interior sketches.	347
13.5	<i>A House for Essex</i> by FAT/ Grayson Perry, interior of living room.	349
14.1	Thomson & Craighead, <i>Temporary Index</i> , 2016.	361
14.2	Goldin+Senneby, <i>Spruce Time</i> .	365
14.3	Inas Halabi, WE HAVE ALWAYS KNOWN THE WIND'S DIRECTION, 2019–2020.	369
14.4	<i>Rosa floribunda</i> 'Atom Bomb' displayed in Gabriella Hirst's <i>An English Garden</i> , 2021.	371

List of tables

3.1	Data used in reconstructing the ‘greater Tillingham’ estate (King Swæfred’s grant of 70 <i>cassati</i> in the <i>regio</i> called <i>Deningei</i>).	86
3.2	Concordance of the various references to coins having been found at Othona or Bradwell on Sea.	98
4.1	Timeline for the life of Cedd.	111
7.1	Domesday manors in Bradwell, tenants-in-chief and sub-tenants, 1066 and (1086).	180
7.2	Domesday economic statistics: population, ploughs and value, 1066 and (1086).	190
7.3	Domesday economic statistics: pasture, woodland, animals and fisheries, 1066 and (1086).	195
7.4	Bradwell occupations as indicated by 63 wills, 1565–1604.	205
7.5	Major exports of produce from Bradwell, 1565–1703.	207

List of abbreviations

BL	British Library
BRB	Bradwell Power Generation Company Limited
<i>Cal. Inq. p.m.</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (HMSO, 1904–2004)
<i>Cal. Pat.</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (HMSO, 1891–1986)
<i>DB Ess.</i>	<i>Domesday Book: Essex</i> (Rumble 1983)
ERO	Essex Record Office
<i>Feet of Fines, Essex</i>	<i>Feet of Fines for Essex</i> , Volumes 1–4. Colchester: Essex Archaeological Society, 1899–1910; Volumes 5–6. Oxford: Leopard’s Head Press, 1991, 1993.
HMSO	Her (His) Majesty’s Stationery Office. London.
NCA	New College Archives (Oxford).
NHLE	National Heritage List England: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
<i>Rot. Hund.</i>	<i>Rotuli Hundredorum</i> (Record Commission, 1812).
TNA	The National Archives
VCH	<i>Victoria History of the Counties of England</i>

List of contributors

David Andrews is an independent researcher and consultant who spent 17 years running archaeological projects in Italy and England, and over 20 years working as an archaeologist and conservation officer at Essex County Council, eventually in the role of Historic Buildings Manager.

James Bettley is an architectural historian whose publications include new editions of the Pevsner Architectural Guides to *Essex* (2007), *Suffolk* (2015) and *Hertfordshire* (2019). He has also contributed to successive volumes of the *Victoria County History of Essex*. He was awarded his PhD by the Courtauld Institute of Art in 1999 and was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 2002. He has lived in Essex since 1991.

Kevin Bruce is a local historian who has researched diverse aspects of the local history of the Dengie Hundred area for over 50 years, with particular attention to Bradwell and Tillingham and the coastal marshlands. He shares his knowledge of local and natural history with visiting school groups to the Othona Community at Bradwell and gives talks to local groups and societies. He worked at Bradwell power station for 35 years and produced the booklet celebrating its 40th anniversary. Current projects include researching the impressive, newly discovered medieval walls of what is believed to be one of the bishops of London's palaces in Southminster and the land activities around the Essex coast by the Royal Navy during the Napoleonic Wars.

Johanna Dale is a research fellow in the Department of History at UCL, where she previously held a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship. Her research is focused on the political and cultural history of the medieval period, and her first book, *Inauguration and Liturgical Kingship in the Long Twelfth Century: Male and female accession rituals in England, France and the Empire*, was shortlisted for the Royal Historical Society's Whitfield Prize in 2020. As a resident of Essex, she has a long-standing interest in the medieval heritage of the county.

Gillian Darley was President of the Twentieth Century Society from 2014 to 2021 and a Trustee of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) until 2015. She is a widely published author and biographer, broadcaster and journalist. Her first book was *Villages of Vision* (1975) and the most recent *Excellent Essex* (2019). She co-authored *Ian Nairn: Words in place* (2013) with David McKie.

Warren Harper is a curator and researcher based between Toronto, Canada, and Southend-on-Sea, Essex, UK, where he is Co-Director at The Old Waterworks (TOW), an artist-led charity that provides studios, facilities and research and development opportunities for artists. He is a PhD candidate at Goldsmiths, University of London, where his practice-based curatorial research project investigates the nuclear landscapes of the Blackwater Estuary and Foulness Island, and Essex's role in the UK's nuclear story. Warren has worked with various galleries and institutions, including Arts Catalyst, Focal Point Gallery, South London Gallery, Cement Fields and Goldsmiths, University of London.

Richard Hoggett is a freelance heritage consultant, lecturer and writer with over 20 years' experience in the academic, commercial and local authority heritage sectors. His doctoral research, completed at the University of East Anglia, focused on the historical and archaeological evidence for Christianisation in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of East Anglia, and was subsequently published as *The Archaeology of the East Anglian Conversion* (Boydell, 2010). Since then, he has published extensively on heritage-related subjects in numerous books and journals, and recently authored the *Middle to Late Anglo-Saxon Resource Assessment* for the East of England Regional Research Framework. He is an elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and a member of the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists.

Charles Holland is an architect and a Professor of Architecture at the University of Brighton. He is the principal of Charles Holland Architects, an architecture, design and research practice based in the UK. He is a former director of the architecture and art practice FAT and a Visiting Professor at Yale University and the ABK Stuttgart. Charles writes regularly about architecture- and design-related issues and is currently writing a book – *How to Enjoy Architecture* – for Yale University Press.

Andrew Pearson is Post-Excavation Manager at Cotswold Archaeology. He holds a PhD from the University of Reading, is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and has research associate status at Brunel

University. He is the author of six books, which include *The Roman Shore Forts* (Tempus, 2002) and *The Construction of the Saxon Shore Forts* (BAR, 2003).

David Petts is Associate Professor in the Department of Archaeology, Durham University. He specialises in the archaeology of early medieval Britain, with a particular interest in early Christianity and monasticism. He has been carrying out collaborative fieldwork on the early medieval monastery of Lindisfarne (Holy Island) since 2016, which has led to a wider interest in the early medieval engagement with the islands and maritime cultural landscapes from both an economic and a social perspective. He is also working on the archaeology of the later medieval and post-medieval coast of eastern England.

Stephen Rippon is Professor of Landscape Archaeology at the University of Exeter and a former President of the Society for Medieval Archaeology. His recent books include *The Fields of Britannia* (with Chris Smart and Ben Pears, 2015), *Kingdom, Civitas and County* (2018), *Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape* (with John Blair and Chris Smart, 2020) and *Territoriality and the Early Medieval Landscape: The countryside of the East Saxon kingdom* (2022).

Nastassja Simensky is an artist and lecturer who often works collaboratively with artists and non-artists including fishermen, archaeologists, ham radio operators, composers and musicians to make writings, place-specific performances, events, sound works and videos as a form of ongoing fieldwork. Commissions and residencies include: *SHERDS*, Nottingham Contemporary, 2020; *Zu Gast bei den KunstVereinenRuhr*, Urbane Künste Ruhr, 2019; *Brightspot*, Diaspore Project Space, 2018; *Material Culture Unearthed*, In-situ Brierfield, 2018; *Radiophrenia*, Centre for Contemporary Art Glasgow, 2017; Estuary Festival: Points of Departure, 2016; and *Fictive Dreams*, ICA Singapore, 2016.

Christopher Thornton recently retired as County Editor of the *Victoria County History of Essex*. He remains a volunteer researcher with that project and an Associate Fellow of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. He received his doctorate from the Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester. After holding research posts at the University of Leicester and Hertford College, Oxford, he joined the *Victoria County History* in 1992. He has contributed articles to five volumes in the *VCH Essex* series, and edited three volumes, as well as publishing many articles and edited books on local history and medieval

history. He is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Chairman of the Friends of Historic Essex and a vice-president of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History.

Beth Whalley holds a PhD from King's College London and works at the intersection of early English studies, political ecology and contemporary creative-critical practice. She has authored articles for *Of Mud and Flame: A Penda's Fen sourcebook* (Strange Attractor, 2019), *Yearbook of English Studies* (2022) and *Lost Artefacts from Medieval England and France: Representation, reimagination, recovery* (York Medieval Press, 2022). She is also a project coordinator for two of Historic England's Cultural Programmes in Somerset.

Neil Wiffen is a Broomfield-based historian who has worked at the Essex Record Office since 2000. He was the Honorary Editor of the *Essex Journal* between 2007 and 2020, and he is currently studying for a PhD in Landscape History at the University of East Anglia. His main areas of interest are agricultural and military history.

Ken Worpole is a writer and social historian, whose work includes books on architecture, landscape and public policy. In recent years he has focused on recovering the social history of communitarian experiments in town and country, writing extensively about the Essex landscape and its twentieth-century social history, in such books as *350 Miles: An Essex journey* and *The New English Landscape*. His most recent book, *No Matter How Many Skies Have Fallen* (2021), is a study of a wartime Christian pacifist community in Frating, Essex. He was a founder member of the Demos think-tank and of openDemocracy, and has served on the Expert Panel of the Heritage Lottery Fund, the UK government's Green Spaces Task Force, and as an adviser to the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment.

Barbara Yorke is Professor Emeritus of Early Medieval History at the University of Winchester and Honorary Professor of the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. Major publications include *Kings and Kingdoms in Early Anglo-Saxon England* (1990), *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (1995), *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (2003), *The Conversion of Britain, 600–800* (2006) and *Power and Place in Early Medieval Europe* (edited with Jayne Carroll and Andrew Reynolds, 2019). She is currently historical adviser to the Winchester Cathedral Mortuary Chest project and to the Leverhulme-funded 'Lordship and Landscape in East Anglia AD 400–800'.

Acknowledgements

This book is a response to the public consultation launched by BRB in early 2020. Although Bradwell had long been designated a potential site for nuclear development, many local people, me included, were shocked by the plans that came through our letterboxes, as they significantly exceed, indeed practically double, the scale of development envisaged in the government's appraisal of sustainability site report (2010). BRB also intend to extend the proposed development site eastwards so that it would come to within 150m of the seventh-century chapel of St Peter-on-the-Wall, which, as the front cover shows, currently sits in splendid isolation close to the shore. As a medieval historian living in the area, I felt a responsibility to highlight the inevitable detrimental impact such an enormous development would have on this wonderfully atmospheric early medieval survival.

My greatest thanks go to the contributors to this volume, who answered my pleas for help and produced outstanding essays in the challenging conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic. In the early months of the pandemic, as I began to think about putting together a book, I sent lots of unsolicited emails, many to people I did not yet know. All were met with supportive and positive responses. It should be mentioned that while all contributors agree on the academic interest and importance of the Roman fort and chapel at Bradwell, the inclusion of their work in this volume does not imply an opinion on the merits of nuclear power in general, or the Bradwell B plans in particular. I am also very grateful to those who reviewed essays for me, including Tim Howson, Eric Cambridge, Andrew Gardner, Maria Medlycott, Adam Chapman, Bob Mills, Clare Price, Rebecca Pinner, Len Scales, Katrina Navickas, Linda Ross and Catherine Clarke. My own chapter on the St Peter's Way would have been much less enjoyable to research without the company of my friend Chesca Douglas, who uncomplainingly tramped through the autumnal mud with me as I droned on about medieval landscapes. Many thanks are also due to Jane Wadham, who kindly agreed that the

previously unpublished drawings from her 1978 thesis on the chapel could be included in the volume. The wonderful cover image was supplied by Jim Pullen of Mersea Island, just across the Blackwater from Bradwell.

Many thanks are also due to Chris Penfold and all the team at UCL Press and Bouchier for guiding this book from its conception to its birth. The Essex Heritage Trust generously provided a grant to cover the cost of indexing. I thank them for supporting this volume and also all the excellent local history and heritage projects their funding makes possible across the county every year.

Essex is a hugely underrated county, which doubtless contributes to its unselfconscious and unpretentious charm. Its rural coast is bewitching. It has certainly bewitched me. We came to Essex purely for the pragmatic reason that it was a cheap place to keep a sailing boat, never expecting to stay long. That was 13½ years ago. I am still amazed by what we found here. The understated beauty of the vast expanses of grazing marsh, saltmarsh, mud, sea and sky, ever shifting with the weather and the rhythm of the tide. The sense of timelessness that obscures a complex historic environment that continually intrigues. The outstanding natural environment, in which it is routine to encounter curlew, avocet, kestrel, marsh harrier, owl, hare, stoat and seal, amongst many other wonders. I have spent so much time on muddy sea walls and up muddy creeks that I have come, to borrow the words of J. A. Baker, to feel 'like a wading bird, happy only at the edges of the world where land and water meet'. For all that I really could have done without the extra pressure of taking on an additional project during the pandemic, my work on this book has been done in gratitude for the happiness, release and friendship we have found on this coast, on land, in the mud and on the water. It is dedicated to my fledgling wading bird, Sebastian, and to all the other children of the Dengie Peninsula, in hope for their futures on this edge of the world.

North Fambridge
December 2022



Dengie, *Ythancæstir* and Othona: The early medieval landscape context of St Peter-on-the-Wall

Stephen Rippon

Introduction

Bede's account of St Cedd's foundation of a church at *Ythancæstir* in 653 records how it lay on the banks of the River *Pant* – the Old English (OE) name for the Blackwater – but tells us nothing else about the landscape within which it lay.¹ We know that *Ythancæstir*, in the later parish of Bradwell on Sea, lay at the eastern tip of a long peninsula of dryland that extended far out into former saltmarshes on what today is a particularly remote part of the Essex coast. In addition to St Peter's Chapel itself, this landscape is of particular interest because of two relatively early Anglo-Saxon charters. The first is clearly a forgery that purports to record that King Æthelbert of Kent gave Tillingham (immediately south of Bradwell on Sea) to Mellitus, bishop of London, in 604x616.² The second – clearly genuine – charter records that a hundred years later King Swæfred of the East Saxons granted 70 *cassati* [hides] in the *regio* called *Deningei* to Ingwald, who was bishop of London some time between 705 and 745 (the date probably being towards the start of that period).³ Together, these charters are the starting point for reconstructing the landscape context of *Ythancæstir*, which appears to have been part of an early folk territory covering around 340km².

The landscape context of *Ythancæstir*

We can say something about the landscape around *Ythancæstir* by mapping its topography, geology and soils, as well as the results of

archaeological surveys.⁴ These show that the fort of Othona and church at *Ythancæstir* lay close to the eastern end of a long, narrow peninsula of sand and gravel overlying London Clay, the eastern end of which has been lost to later erosion (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). It is reported that when a Second World War bomb fell into the intertidal

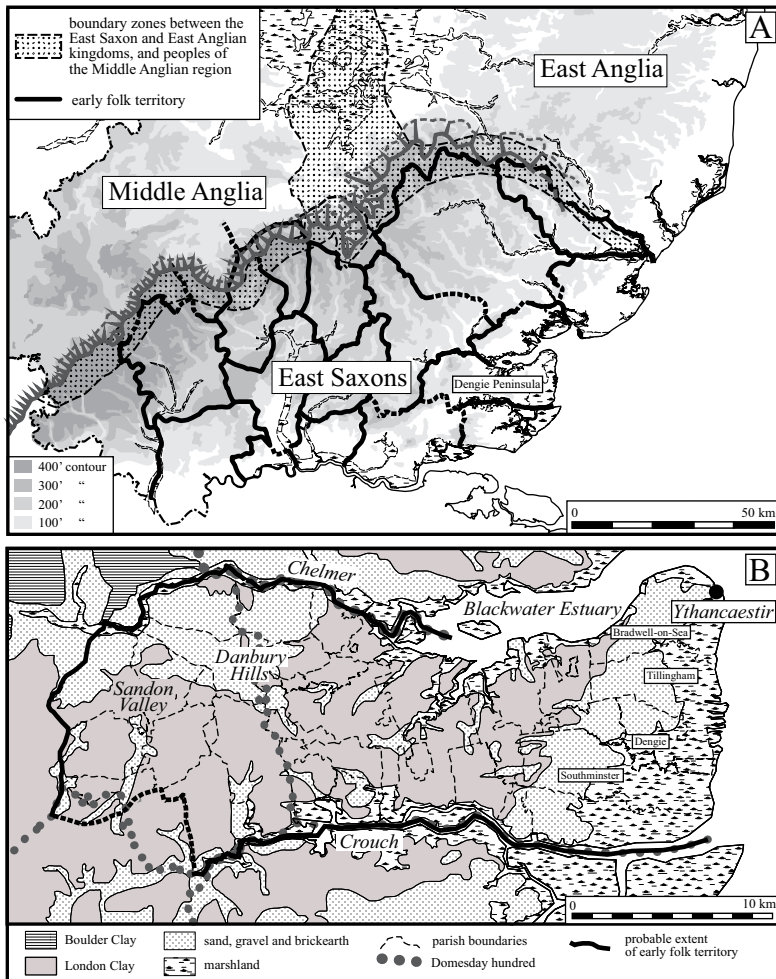


Figure 3.1 (Top) the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of eastern England and the boundary zones between them, with the possible early folk territories within the East Saxon kingdom (after Rippon 2018a); and (bottom) the postulated boundaries of the *regio* called *Deningei* and its major geology/soil types, with places referred to in the early part of this chapter. Drawn by the author.

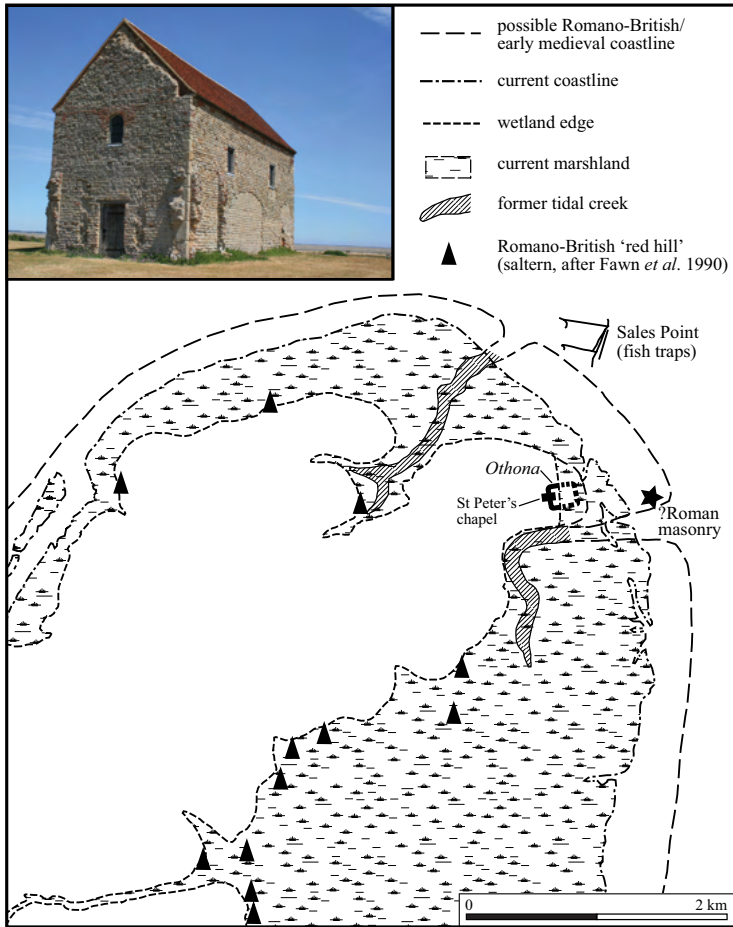


Figure 3.2 The landscape context of Othona and *Ythancæstir*. Drawn by the author.

mud a quarter of a mile east of the fort, the crater revealed a solid mass of masonry which was regarded as Roman. This structure lies too far east to have been the eastern wall of the fort, and it has been suggested that it was a harbour-related structure.⁵ Kevin Bruce, however, suggests (personal communication) that it could be material tipped there during the construction of a new sea wall. The contractors apparently approached Oxley Parker – the owner of Eastlands Farm – for permission to dig soil from his land around St Peter's Chapel, and this is what led to the discovery of the Roman fort and Oxley Parker's subsequent excavations. The reclamation scheme was abandoned, but

this may explain why the Ordnance Survey first-edition six-inch maps of the 1880s show an east–west linear spread of debris at this location called Tip Head.

The peninsula was surrounded by intertidal saltmarshes and mudflats, with substantial tidal creeks both to the north (between East Hall and Weymarks Farm) and directly south of the fort at Othona, which could have provided sheltered landing places for small boats.⁶ These wetlands either side of the peninsula could not have been cultivated – as they would have been regularly flooded by the sea – but will have afforded rich grazing land and the opportunity to extract salt from seawater, while areas lower down the intertidal zone provided the ideal environment for the construction of fish-traps (see below).

The derivation of the name *Ythancæstir* is well known, the OE *Ythan* being derived from the Roman Othona with the OE *cæster* being a common suffix used for Roman sites.⁷ Othona, however, ‘is a very problematic name’,⁸ although Breeze has recently suggested that *Oth-* may be a corruption of *oct-*, derived from the British *oeth*, which means ‘what is difficult to achieve or obtain; something that is hard to find’; if this were extended to ‘a place hard to reach’ then it fits the seventh-century experience of the location of Othona/*Ythancæstir* perfectly, as that was a period when virtually all travel will have been on foot.⁹

The wider context of *Ythancæstir*: the East Saxon kingdom and its *regiones*

The context of Cedd’s foundation of a church at *Ythancæstir* was an East Saxon kingdom that first converted to Christianity under King Sæbert in 604 (when London was chosen as the location for Bishop Mellitus’s church of St Paul), but which then apostatised in 616–17, when Sæbert died and his three sons expelled Mellitus.¹⁰ In 653 the East Saxon King Sigebert appointed Cedd as bishop, who, Bede tells us, ‘established churches in several places’, especially in the city called *Ythancæstir* and also *Tilaburg* (Tilbury, on the north bank of the Thames).¹¹ While Cedd was bishop of the East Saxons he often revisited his home kingdom of Northumbria, where he founded a church at Lastingham in Yorkshire, where he died of the plague in 664.¹² Bede tells us that when the brothers of Cedd’s monastery in the kingdom of the East Saxons heard that their founder had died and been buried in Northumbria, about 30 of them left their monastery and went to Lastingham, where they too died of plague. Note that Bede does not actually say which of Cedd’s churches the

30 brethren came from, or that the entire community of that unnamed church left for Lastingham (an important point when considering whether *Ythancæstir* was deserted in 664: see below).

The extent of the East Saxon kingdom is far from clear, but based upon a wide range of archaeological and documentary evidence it appears to have embraced the later counties of Essex, Middlesex, southern Suffolk and most of Hertfordshire (Figure 3.1).¹³ It was bounded by water on two sides – the North Sea to the east, and the Thames Estuary to the south – and had extensively wooded high ground to the west (the Chiltern Hills) and north (the high Boulder Clay plateau of north-west Essex and south-west Suffolk). Charters such as King Swæfred’s gift of 70 *cassati* in the *regio* called *Deningei* show how Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were divided up into smaller districts sometimes referred to as *regiones* or *pagi*. In 704x709, for example, King Offa of the East Saxons granted Wealdhere, bishop of London, land in the *pagus* of *Hæmele* (Hemel Hempstead, in the Vale of St Albans, Hertfordshire: S.1784).¹⁴ *Pagus* was a term used in the Roman period to refer to small districts (within larger administrative regions known as *civitates*), of which there is a single documented example from Roman Britain: a wooden writing tablet from London referring to an area of woodland in ‘the *pagus Dibussu* in the *civitas* of the *Cantiaci*’.¹⁵

These *regiones* were folk-based territories as is reflected in the small number of examples where we know their original names. The *pagus* of *Hæmele*, for example, is derived from the Old English district name **hamol**, ‘the broken country’,¹⁶ while the two other East Saxon early folk territory names for which we have contemporary references contain place names containing **ingas**: the *regiones* of *Deningei* and *Geddinges* (Yeading, in Middlesex).¹⁷ Of the 22 early folk territories that can be reconstructed in the East Saxon kingdom fifteen have evidence in later sources for folk names containing *-ingas* (such as the Rodings), while another has a cluster of place names that include the personal name element Tolla.¹⁸

In a seminal study Steven Bassett attempted to reconstruct one of these districts whose name survives in the group of eight parishes and sixteen Domesday manors named Roding (OE *Rodinges*, derived from OE personal name *Hrôtha* + **ingas**, giving **Hrôthingas*, ‘the people of Hrotha’).¹⁹ Bassett skilfully used a wide range of documentary sources to show how these parishes once formed a single early medieval territory, but he made a mistake in assuming that its extent was limited to that group of parishes. In contrast, a study of the wider landscape

that looked beyond the cluster of Roding place names reveals a web of territorial connections that extended well to the south and embraced the whole river valley. The result is an early folk territory covering *in the region of* 285km² that was bounded by interfluvial areas with poorly drained soils that as late as the eighteenth century included large areas of unenclosed common land.²⁰

Across the East Saxon kingdom, the 22 early folk territories that can be reconstructed have an average area of around 350km² (the range being 104–692km²).²¹ This suggests that in the average-sized early folk territory most people will have lived no more than around 20 km (12 miles) from its central point. Although it is difficult to know how far someone in the past could have travelled in a day – due to variations in topography, road conditions, what they were carrying and whether they were on foot, on horseback or accompanied by a packhorse, ox- or horse-drawn cart – various strands of evidence suggest a figure of *c.* 20km. The Antonine Itinerary, for example, suggests that many Romano-British *mansiones* – official buildings whose roles included providing overnight accommodation for Imperial officials – were around 12 to 15 Roman miles apart (18–22km), although they will have been linked by well-made roads that were relatively easy to walk on.²² In the nineteenth century it was said that people would travel up to 6 or 7 miles to get to a market town in a day (in other words, a round trip of 12–14 miles [19–23km]).²³ It seems likely, therefore, that in an average-sized early folk territory of around 350km² most people could have walked to a communal gathering at the centre of the territory in one day, although not all would have been able to go home the same day.

Reconstructing the *regio of Deningei*

Reconstructing the extent of the *regio of Deningei* (Figure 3.3) involves the integration of a wide range of sources within a spatial framework provided by historical maps. We do not know how large the *regio* was, although it was clearly greater than the 70 *cassati* that King Swæfred of the East Saxons granted to Ingwald in the early eighth century. The name *Deningei* is formed from the OE personal name *Dæni* and the place-name element *ēg* (‘island’) suggesting that it meant ‘the island named after Dæni’.²⁴ *Deningei* must have referred to the peninsula of land – which went on to become Dengie Hundred – that was

surrounded by water on three sides, with the Blackwater Estuary to the north, the North Sea to the east and the Crouch Estuary to the south. To the west (in Chelmsford Hundred) lay the high ground of Danbury, whose place name also includes the OE personal name *Dæni*. The earliest form of Danbury is its spelling in Domesday Book – *Danengeberiam* – which is derived from *Dæni* + *ingas* (giving the OE folk name *Dænningas*) and OE *byriġ* (burh, meaning a defended enclosure,

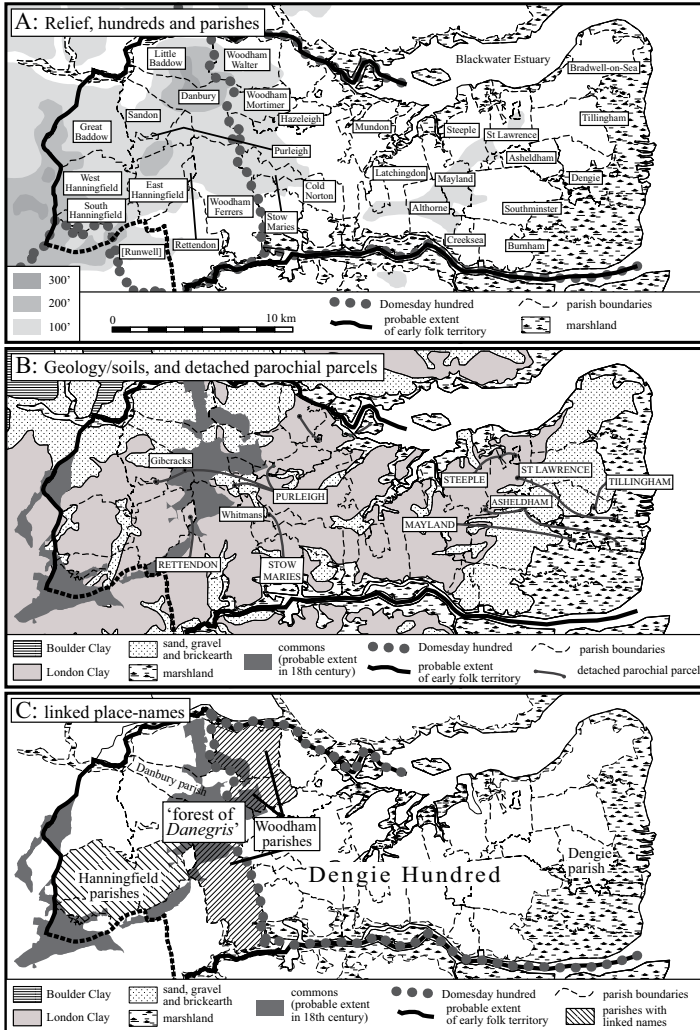


Figure 3.3 Evidence used in reconstructing the extent of the *regio* of *Deningei*. Drawn by the author.

here referring to an Iron Age hill fort), giving ‘the stronghold occupied by the *Dænningas*’.²⁵ In the thirteenth century the Danbury Hills were known as the forest of Danegrís, derived from *Dænningas* + OE *hrís* (shrubs, brushwood).²⁶ Taken altogether, this group of closely related place names suggest that the *regio* (district) called *Deningei* corresponded to the modern Dengie Peninsula at least as far west as the Danbury Hills (the forest of Danegrís), was named after someone called *Dæni*, and was occupied by a community known as the *Dænningas*.

Although this area was known as the *Danesie*, *Denegeia* and finally Dengie Hundred from the late twelfth century, in Domesday it was described as *Witbrictesherna* Hundred. This may be derived from the OE personal name *Wihtbeorht* + *-hyrne*, hence ‘Wihtbeorht’s corner’, although Anderson suggests the second part is derived from the OE *-þyrne* (hence ‘Wihtbeorht’s thorn bush’).²⁷ Presumably, the late twelfth-century name was a reversion to its pre-Domesday form. In addition to the personal name *Dæni*, commemorated in the names of the *regio* and Danbury, a complex web of territorial links connected the lowlands of the Dengie Peninsula with both the coastal marshland to the east and the wooded heaths to the west (Figure 3.3). Asheldham, Dengie, Mayland and St Lawrence parishes, as well as Stansgate manor in Steeple,²⁸ and Bacons manor in Bradwell,²⁹ all had detached parcels down on the coastal marshes. Looking westwards, Purleigh had several detached parcels up on the Danbury Hills (including Gibcracks). These detached parochial parcels presumably resulted from the dividing up of what had been common land, with each community holding rights in the common receiving a parcel of land following its enclosure. Domesday Book makes an oblique reference to this intercommoning of the coastal marshes through a unique feature of the Essex folios: inclusion of ‘pasture for X sheep’.³⁰ The extent of these pastures must have been vast, as Southminster, for example, had ‘pasture for 1,300 sheep’.³¹ It is curious that several manors in eastern parts of the Dengie Peninsula had ‘woodland for pigs’ (Table 3.1). It seems highly unlikely that there was extensive woodland on the light, easily cultivated soils of Bradwell on Sea – an area that was almost devoid of woodland by 1777 – and it is tempting to see this ‘woodland for pigs’ as lying up on the Danbury Hills (a remnant of when lowland parishes held grazing rights in the communal wood-pasture there).

Another feature of the landscape suggesting that the various parishes within the Dengie Peninsula were once part of a single

Table 3.1 Data used in reconstructing the ‘greater Tillingham’ estate (King Swæfred’s grant of 70 *cassati* in the *regio* called *Deningei*). Identifications in square brackets are from Round 1903, 391–2.

Domesday vill [and later ecclesiastical parish]	Domesday			Vill hidage		Notes
	<i>DB Ess.</i>	1066 land-holder	hide assessment	DB	originally	
[TILLINGHAM]						
Tillingham	5,5	St. Paul’s	20 hides + 6 acres	20 hides + 6 acres	20 hides	The additional 6 acres is probably the 6 acres removed from <i>Donā</i> [Bradwell Hall, in Bradwell on Sea]
[BRADWELL ON SEA]						
<i>Hæcġlet</i> [previously identified as Bradwell Quay, but Bruce et al. (this volume) argues it was Hockley Manor]	18,23	Alfward, a freeman	2 hides + 30 acres	2 hides + 30 acres	30 hides + 40 acres = 30 hides	The entry also states that there was ‘1 freeman with 30 acres and he was outlawed’: Bruce et al. (this volume) argue this is the 30 acres in the main entry
	25,8	Moding	2 hides + 20 acres	4 hides + 50 acres		
<i>Donā</i> [Down Hall]	25,9	4 freemen	½ hide + 20 acres	4 hides + 50 acres		Next entry after Down Hall and logically in Bradwell
<i>Landtuna</i> [tentatively identified as Eastlands Farm]	25,10	Moding	1½ hides + 10 acres	19 hides less 6 acres		Next entry after <i>Landtuna</i> and held by Moding, so logically in Bradwell
<i>Donā</i> [Bradwell Hall]	34,23	Siward	14 hides	19 hides less 6 acres		woodland for 50 pigs
	34,25	Siward (8 freemen sub-tenants)	5 hides less 6 acres			
<i>Effcæstra</i> [East Hall in eastern Bradwell on Sea]	14,6	Thorkeil, a freeman	1½ hides + 20 acres			Nearly identical land-holdings that presumably represent the division of an earlier estate into three (Bruce et al. (this volume) argue that all three may actually have been 1½ hides + 20 acres, giving a 5-hide estate)
	27,12	3 freemen	1½ hides	4 hides + 80 acres [5 hides?]		
		Ingulf, a freeman (can be identified as the later manor of Battails]	1½ hides			

[DENGIE]						
Dengie	14,7	Thorkell, a freeman	2½ hides	5 hides	5 hides	Identical land-holdings that presumably represent the division in two of an earlier estate
	18,22	Siric	2½ hides			
[ASHELDHAM]						
<i>Haittuna</i> [Asheldham; had a detached parcel in Steeple]	24,43	Godric, a freeman	½ hide + 37 acres	1 hide + 74 acres	2 hides	
	24,55	1 freeman	½ hide + 37 acres			
[ST. LAWRENCE]						
<i>Niuuelanda</i> [Newland in St Lawrence; had a detached parcel in the marshes of Dengie parish]	2,6	Holy Trinity, Canterbury	3 hides	4 hides + 95 acres	5 hides	
	37,14	Ingvar	1½ hides + 35 acres			
[STEEPLE]						
Steeple [which had two detached parcels in St Lawrence]	1,15	Aelfric, a freeman	1 hide	7 hides + 111 acres	8 hides	woodland for 10 pigs
	25,7	Norman	3 hides + 35 acres			
	29,3	Bondi, a freeman	3½ hides			
	90,81		16 acres			
Stansgate (in Steeple)	34,26	Siward	9½ hides	10 hides + 90 acres	10 hides	woodland for 60 pigs
	90,12	2 freemen	1 hide + 30 acres	80 hides + 50 acres	80 hides	

Source: Compiled by the author.

territory is the way that their boundaries zigzag through fields, suggesting that they were created after the fieldscape. This is in sharp contrast to the long, sinuous watershed boundaries that mark the postulated southern and western edges of the *regio* of *Deningei* (see below) as well as other early folk territories such as the Rodings (see above). The western boundary of Dengie/*Witbrictesherna* Hundred – which lay to the east of the Danbury Hills – also zigzags through the historic landscape, and in some places even cuts diagonally across fields in a way that suggests it was a relatively recent creation.³² The hundred boundary also divides a group of parishes called Woodham, while another curiosity is the way that lowland Purleigh (in Dengie Hundred) had detached parcels up on the Danbury Hills (in the neighbouring Chelmsford Hundred). Along with the sharing of the personal name *Dæni* in *Deningei* and Danbury, this clearly establishes that the *regio* of *Deningei* extended at least as far as the Danbury Hills (embracing part of what in Domesday had become Chelmsford Hundred).

In addition to thirteenth- to sixteenth-century references to the ‘forest of *Danegriss*’,³³ there are various indications that the Danbury Hills were covered in extensive woodland, wood pasture and heathland. The 1777 map of Essex, for example, shows extensive woodland and unenclosed common stretching across the Danbury Hills from Woodham Walter, in the north, through Danbury, Woodham Mortimer, Hazeleigh and Purleigh to Woodham Ferris, to the south. To this concentration of woodland-related place names can be added the OE *lēah* in Rugley Green in Purleigh, Colickey Green in Woodham Walter [*Curlai* in Domesday] and Studly in Woodham Ferris [*Etolleia* in Domesday]. The OE **wuda** in these Woodham parish names is clearly associated with woodland. *Wudham* is documented in two charters of 962x991 and 1000x1002,³⁴ and the three vills in Domesday are simply called *Odeham/Udeham/Wdeham*.³⁵ Birchwood Farm in Purleigh was probably the home of Saier atte Birchwode in 1342,³⁶ birch being a typical heathland tree in this region. The name Gibcrack – one of the detached parcels of Purleigh, which lies immediately west of Bicknacre and Danbury Commons – suggests a ‘flimsily built house’³⁷ as might be expected in a woodland assart.

The earliest maps showing the field boundary patterns across this entire area date to the nineteenth century, by which time some areas that had been common in 1777 were enclosed, with the resulting field boundaries being characterised by long straight lines and exact right-angled corners. Other areas with these carefully planned field boundary

patterns are probably former commons enclosed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even today, the Danbury Hills are cloaked with extensive areas of woodland, wood pasture and heathland, and this makes them a prominent feature looming up above the surrounding low-lying claylands.

The south-western limit of the *regio* of *Deningei* probably lay along a remarkably long, sinuous field boundary between Rettendon and Runwell that clearly pre-dates the adjacent fields. (Rettendon also has a detached parcel between East Hanningfield and Woodham Ferrers to the north.) Although Kemble made a case for the western limit of the *regio* of *Deningei* running across the Danbury Hills, there are a number of territorial links that extend across the Danbury Hills and down into the Sandon Valley.³⁸ Purleigh, to the east of the Danbury Hills, for example, had a large detached parcel in Sandon, while Danbury parish – whose church lay up on the Danbury Hills – extended across the Sandon Brook as far as the River Chelmer (and this large detached parcel divided Little Baddow from Great Baddow).

The Sandon Valley contained seven parishes: Little Baddow, Great Baddow, Sandon and Danbury, as well as East, South and West Hanningfield. The place name Hanningfield – ‘open country of the *Haningas*, the people called after Hana’³⁹ – is consciously drawing a very sharp contrast with the woodland-dominated Danbury Hills to the east. The boundaries between these Sandon Valley parishes all zigzag through the historic landscape and are clearly relatively recent, while the way that Great and Little Baddow are separated by Danbury also suggests these parishes were all once part of the same territory. In contrast to the zigzagging boundaries within this block of parishes, the western edges of Great Baddow, West Hanningfield and South Hanningfield follow a long, sinuous, watershed boundary that runs along a range of hills south of Chelmsford. These hills represent some of the highest ground in southern Essex, which in 1777 was still relatively well wooded and partly unenclosed.⁴⁰

The high ground marking the southern watershed of the Sandon Valley was also covered by a series of commons in 1777.⁴¹ There were also stretches of long, sinuous parish boundary that appear to be relatively early features within the landscape, including the southern boundary of East Hanningfield that ran along the edge of Rettendon Great and Little Commons. Where other parish boundaries zigzag through the landscape it is because they post-date the enclosure of former commons (for example, the southern edge of South Hanningfield). As late as 1777 these hills were also more wooded than the adjacent lower-lying areas, and an analysis of the field boundary patterns suggests that there was

once an almost continuous belt of unenclosed common and woodland stretching from the Danbury Hills across the high ground south of the Hanningfields and then over the hills south of Chelmsford. Overall, while the Sandon Valley was a compact and clearly defined territory – probably occupied by a group identifying themselves as the *Haningas* – it appears to have been part of the *regio* of the *Deningei*. This gives an early folk territory of around 340km², making it very close to the average for the East Saxon kingdom.

Central places within the landscape

Across the East Saxon kingdom, early folk territories contained places with central place functions such as a royal vill, early church and communal meeting place. The development of towns from the tenth century onwards saw these central place functions consolidated into single places, before which they were often in separate locations.⁴² The only excavated royal vill in the East Saxon kingdom is at Bonhunt Farm in Wicken Bonhunt.⁴³ This was part of a polyfocal cluster of central places in the Granta Valley with the meeting place of Uttlesford Hundred being at Mutlow Hill overlooking ‘Uda’s ford’ (now Uttlesford Bridge, in Wendens Ambo), 3km north of Bonhunt Farm.⁴⁴ Nearby Newport – the ‘new town’, 1km north-east of Bonhunt Farm – was a royal manor in Domesday that paid two knights’ service.⁴⁵ Although Newport was once thought to have been the Edwardian *burh* of *Wiginamere*, this has now been rejected,⁴⁶ but it may have been Edward the Confessor’s mint of *Nipeport*.⁴⁷ Although the present structure of Newport church is thirteenth-century, its cruciform plan is suggestive of an early medieval minster,⁴⁸ and a fragment of Late Anglo-Saxon cross-shaft was reused in the north aisle.⁴⁹ A thirteenth-century judgement stated that the chapel at Wicken Bonhunt formerly belonged to the church at Newport.⁵⁰ Overall, there appears to have been a polyfocal royal centre whose various functions were spread across Wicken Bonhunt (the royal vill), Wendens Ambo (the assembly place) and Newport (the minster, and later market town and mint), which were all within 3km of each other.

In the case of the *regio* of *Deningei*, however, it is difficult to identify either the royal vill or the communal meeting place. The only royal landholdings in *Witbrictesherna* Hundred at the time of Domesday Book were several small parcels of land, not all of which had been held by the king in 1066.⁵¹ There was probably an early church at Southminster – presumably so named in relation to the church at

Bradwell to the north – which in Domesday was held by the bishop of London: at 30 hides this was a sizeable estate,⁵² but there is no evidence for a royal vill there.

One contender for an early medieval central place is Maldon. The Half Hundred of Maldon consisted simply of Maldon itself, where Domesday records that the king had a hall, 180 houses held by burgesses and 18 that were derelict.⁵³ The configuration of the boundaries of Maldon Half Hundred and the wider historic landscape suggests that it was carved out of Dengie Hundred, and in Domesday two freemen in Maldon are described as being in Dengie Hundred.⁵⁴ In 1056 Edward the Confessor's chaplain Ingelric granted the church at Maldon (with two hides of land and their tithes) to the church at St Martin le Grand (in London), and a land-holding of this size is suggestive of a minster.⁵⁵ This importance of Maldon could, however, be no older than the early tenth century. King Edward the Elder camped there in 912 as part of his reconquest of Essex from the Danes, and then ordered the construction of a burh in 916. The location of the temporary camp and later burh has seen much discussion, but both appear to lie on the high ground to the west of the later medieval town.⁵⁶ This was a strategic location, at the head of the Blackwater Estuary and mouth of the River Chelmer.

The question is whether the early tenth-century burh was founded close to an existing royal vill. There certainly is some evidence for a high-status settlement in the eighth century on the lower ground at the head of the Blackwater Estuary. Ipswich Ware has been found in various places, with stratified Middle Saxon occupation excavated at the former Croxley Works on Church Street in an area known as the Hythe, on the banks of the Blackwater Estuary just north of St Mary's Church.⁵⁷ The presence of Ipswich Ware – an extremely rare find in Essex – suggests a site of relatively high status, while other finds suggest textile production and iron smithing. Although very little metalwork has been found in the area – a single Series S *sceatta* (a silver penny) of East Saxon manufacture from Maldon itself, and a Series D *sceatta* from nearby Heybridge⁵⁸ – this can be accounted for by extensive urban development leading to few opportunities for metal detecting. Overall, it would appear that Maldon was an important coastal settlement in the eighth century, and the way in which it was chosen as Edward the Elder's camp in 912 might suggest an existing royal vill, as does the way that it was subsequently developed as a burh and town.

Another possibility, however, is that the royal vill within the *regio* of *Deningei* was closer to *Ythancæstir*, which was just 7½km north-east of the parish of Dengie, which is assumed to have been the hundred meeting

place.⁵⁹ That *Ythancæstir* housed priests who ministered to the wider community, as well as contemplative monks, is suggested by Bede's statement that Bishop Cedd:

established churches in various places and ordained priests and deacons to assist him in preaching the word of faith and in the administration of baptism, especially in the city called *Ythancæstir* in the Saxon tongue and also in the place called Tilbury ... In these places he gathered together a multitude of Christ's servants [in other words, monks] and taught them to observe the discipline of a Rule.⁶⁰

It is easy to assume that the apparently remote location of *Ythancæstir* – about as far from the geographical centre of the *regio* as it was possible to go – makes it an unlikely location for a minster church let alone a royal vill, but this need not have been the case. It is in fact very common for early churches to have been located in places that were relatively remote from where the vast majority of the population – who will have been subsistence-level farmers – lived, including coastal locations and peninsulas within wetlands.⁶¹ There are various reasons why so many early churches were located in such geographically marginal places. The first is that there was a strong desire to place early churches within sites associated with Britain's Roman – and therefore Christian – past (in this case the ruins of the late Roman fort of Othona that Bede refers to as a *civitas*, or 'city').⁶² This link with *Romanitas* is seen, for example, at St Augustine's Church, which was built immediately outside the Roman walls of Canterbury, and Mellitus's church, which was constructed within the ruins of the former Roman town at London. St Augustine's Church at Canterbury – dedicated to Sts Peter and Paul – was the first of three early seventh-century churches built there in a line, an arrangement that may reflect that seen at Old St Peter's in Rome (this layout being another link with *Romanitas*).⁶³ The reuse of geographically remote Roman forts was also common practice.⁶⁴ King Sigeberht of East Anglia, for example, gave *Dommoc* (probably the Roman coastal fort at Walton⁶⁵) to Felix, and the same king gave *Cnobheresburg* (probably the coastal fort at Burgh Castle) to Fursa, both in the 630s. King Ecgberht of Kent gifted Reculver to Bassa in 669.⁶⁶ This desire on the part of the early Church and Anglo-Saxon kings to connect with *Romanitas* is also seen in the use of sophisticated grid-based planning in many early churches and the reuse of Roman building material.⁶⁷

While *Ythancæstir* is in a very remote location in terms of how we lead our current lives, we should also remember that, in a time when roads will have been little more than muddy tracks, a location on the coast may have meant that it was potentially more accessible for the higher echelons of society who had access to ships. The medieval period has generally been seen as a period when relatively little use was made of water for transport;⁶⁸ however, it has been shown that there was rather more innovation in the period 950–1250 than previously thought. Before the tenth century we have little information as to the extent to which people moved around by boat.⁶⁹ Graveney (*grafon eah*: ‘ditch stream or ‘dug river’), on the northern coast of Kent, is first mentioned in a charter dated 812 and hints that improvements were being made to the navigability of waterways.⁷⁰ It is striking that in addition to the major eighth-century coastal/estuarine emporia – including Southampton, London and Ipswich – there were a number of smaller landing places where eighth-century coinage and pottery imported from outside of the East Saxon Kingdom has been found (for example, Barking, Tilbury and Canvey Island in the Thames Estuary, and Fingringhoe on the Colne Estuary).⁷¹ There are also several Old English place-name elements indicative of the use of inland waterways,⁷² although it is unclear whether these places existed in the seventh century. All in all, while *Ythancæstir* certainly was in a very remote location from the perspective of the vast majority of the population living within its *regio* – who lived inland, well away from navigable watercourses, and will not have had the wealth to access seagoing vessels – for the elite within society it was much easier to reach.

So, could a royal vill have lain somewhere in the vicinity of *Ythancæstir* and the presumed later hundredal meeting place at nearby Dengie? Dengie parish lay within an area of light, sandy soil at the eastern end of the Dengie Peninsula that will have been easier to cultivate than the heavy London Clay further west (Figure 3.1). These light, sandy soils extended from Bradwell on Sea in the north through Tillingham, Dengie and Southminster to Burnham-on-Crouch in the south, and this good agricultural land would have been an obvious choice for a royal vill even though it was not centrally located within the *regio*. With the church at *Ythancæstir* and the probable hundredal meeting place at Dengie, the obvious location for a royal vill is Tillingham, midway between them, which is the name given in the forged charter of 604x616; Tillingham was still an episcopal manor in Domesday. Although the distance between Tillingham and *Ythancæstir* (6km) is further than that between the royal vill at Wicken and the church at Newport, it was comparable to the

distance between the minster at Great Wakering, the presumed royal vill at Prittlewell, and the hundred meeting place at Rochford (c. 7–8km) in the Rochford peninsula early folk territory immediately south of *Deningei*.⁷³

The Tillingham estate and fragmentation of the *regio* called *Deningei*

From the late seventh century onwards early folk territories such as *Deningei* started to fragment as increasingly powerful Anglo-Saxon kings created discrete estates and gifted them to the Church. The charter purporting to record the grant of 'Tillingham' by King Æthelbert of Kent to Mellitus, bishop of London between 604 and 616,⁷⁴ is clearly a forgery for three reasons: the tradition of writing such documents did not start until the late seventh century; Tillingham was not within the kingdom of Kent; and the witness list is late seventh-century.⁷⁵ It may have been written to explain how the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's came to hold Tillingham, and reflects Bede's account of how King Æthelbert of Kent founded Mellitus's church in London and bestowed gifts of land upon it for the maintenance of the bishop's household.⁷⁶ We know that St Paul's held Tillingham in c. 1000, when Bishop Theodred granted it to the church of St Paul's, which still held it at Domesday.⁷⁷ It is, however, unclear whether the estate was already the property of St Paul's and had been held by Theodred *ex officio*, or was his personal property.⁷⁸

Rather than King Æthelbert of Kent giving Tillingham to St Paul's in 604, it is possible that it was included in King Swæfred's grant of 70 *cassati* in the *regio* called *Deningei* to Bishop Ingwald in the early eighth century. The block of parishes in the north-eastern part of the Dengie Peninsula – to the west of Mayland Creek and north of Asheldham Brook – would appear to have once been a single territory. This is reflected in the way that Steeple had two detached parcels in the neighbouring parish of St Lawrence (which were part of Stansgate manor), and Asheldham had a detached parcel in Steeple. The total Domesday hidage for all of these Domesday landholdings is 80 hides and 50 acres (Table 3.1; Figure 3.4).⁷⁹

To the south we can be confident that there was a separate estate, as the bishop of London held Southminster – while the Dean and Chapter held Tillingham – from at least c. 1000,⁸⁰ which in Domesday was assessed as 30 hides.⁸¹ While it is tempting to assume that St Paul's initial endowment in Dengie included Southminster,⁸² and we should not take the 70 *cassati* as being a very precise measure, it is strange that there are no earlier charters referring to Southminster. Including both Steeple and the 30 hides of Southminster in the 70 *cassati* in *Deningei* would bring its assessment in Domesday up to 108 hides, which is far too high. It is therefore suggested here that Southminster was not part of the 70 *cassati* in the *regio* called

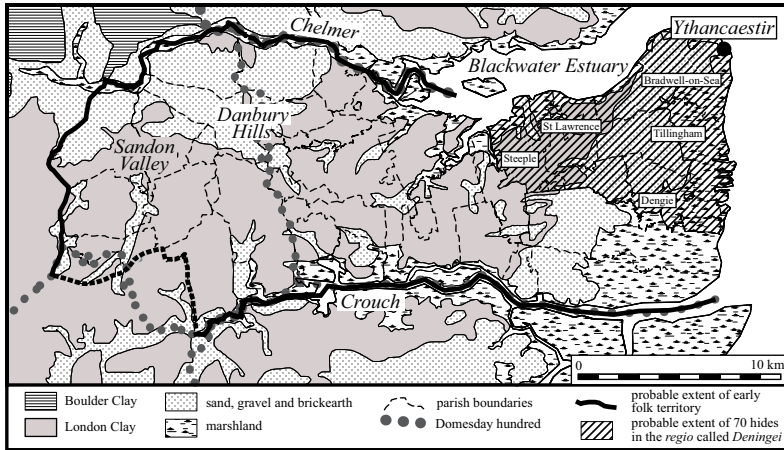


Figure 3.4 The possible extent of the 70 *cassati* in the *regio* called *Deningei* that King Swæfred of the East Saxons granted to Ingwald, Bishop of London in AD 706x709 (S. 1787). Drawn by the author.

Deningei, and that St Paul's held two ancient estates in the Dengie Peninsula: 70 *cassati* at Tillingham (including *Ythancaestir*, which – although not named as such in contemporary sources – was the 'north minster'), and another 30-or-more-hide estate at Southminster.

Seventh-century and later life at *Ythancaestir*

Soon after he founded the church at *Ythancaestir* Cedd left to establish a monastery at Lastingham in Northumbria, where he died in 664.⁸³ Mirrington has argued that 664 marks the abandonment of the monastery at *Ythancaestir*,⁸⁴ but this is not necessarily the case as the 30 or so brethren that left were not necessarily the entire community, and they could have included members of Cedd's other monastery at Tilbury.

There are, in fact, various strands of evidence suggesting that some form of occupation continued at *Ythancaestir*. Sherds of at least two Ipswich Ware vessels from a midden deposit in the upper fill of the fort ditch point to occupation in the eighth century,⁸⁵ since Blinkhorn now argues that its production started c. 720.⁸⁶ Half an Ipswich Ware jar was also found by Kevin Bruce wedged against one of the posts of the east wall of Sales Point fish trap in the 1970s. Ipswich Ware is extremely rare in Essex, being largely restricted to high-status sites such as Barking Abbey, the royal vill at Wicken Bonhunt and the coastal settlement at Maldon. More recent excavations to the north of the Roman fort – at the Othona Community site – produced four sherds of sand-tempered pottery that

can only be dated as fifth- to ninth-century, and two sherds of shell-tempered ware that are probably tenth-century.⁸⁷ The collection of artefacts from excavations at Othona in 1864–5 by J. Oxley Parker included various finds accessioned into Colchester Museum as ‘Saxon’.⁸⁸ These include two styli (one bronze, the other iron) and a circular bronze reliquary mount framing a cross and inlaid with millefiori, which are undated but which are exactly the sort of artefacts we would expect to be associated with an early medieval church.⁸⁹ Crucially, three ninth-century strap-ends, one with Trehiddle style plant ornament,⁹⁰ and

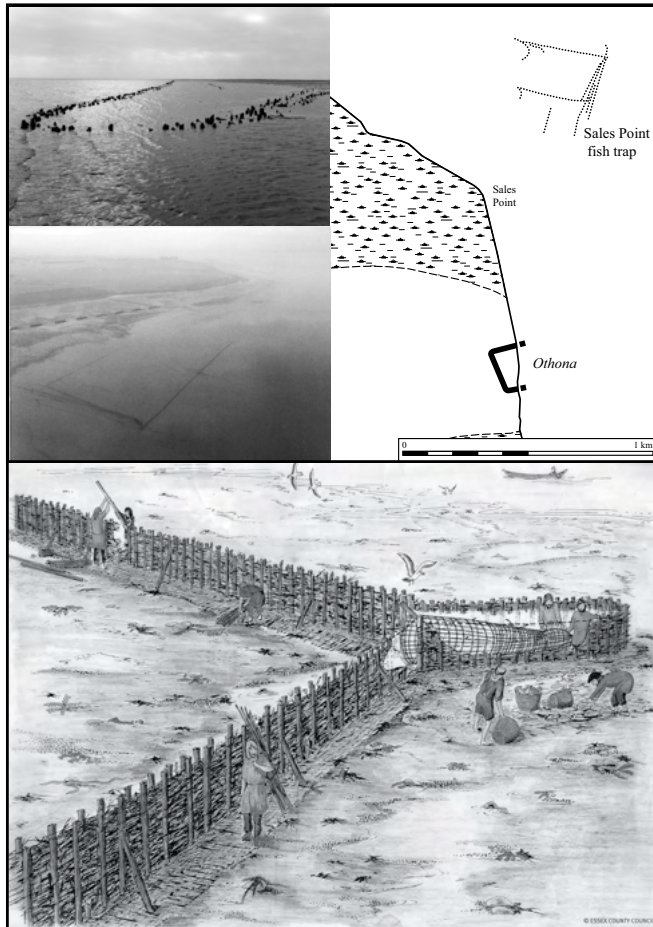


Figure 3.5 The eighth-century fish weir at Sales Point, near Othona, in the Blackwater Estuary, and reconstruction drawing by Nick Nethercoat. Aerial photos © Kevin Bruce; reconstruction © Essex County Council.

a small group of coins (discussed below) point to occupation of the site after 664.

Another strand of evidence that the monastery at Othona – or at least some form of settlement there – continued into the eighth and ninth centuries is the intertidal fish weir constructed off the coast at Sales Point (Figure 3.5).⁹¹ Four radiocarbon determinations suggest that the earliest phase of use was in the mid-seventh to eighth centuries, and that the weirs were maintained into the ninth century.⁹²

There is also numismatic evidence that occupation at *Ythancæstir* continued in some form into the eighth and ninth centuries, although some confusion has been created over the size of this coin assemblage. There are four sources of information on the early medieval coins found in and around *Ythancæstir* (Table 3.2). Colchester Museum's accession records of the Oxley Parker collection refer to seven Anglo-Saxon coins. Two can be identified from their descriptions: a 'silver sceatta on which one side depicts a mythical winged creature, the other an anthropomorphic spiral design' is probably Series S, and the 'silver sceatta depicting a saint or other figure flanked by crosses' is probably a Series U. Two others are listed as having dates in the first half of the eighth century, while another is described as a sceatta on which 'one side bears early crosses'. The remaining two are described as 'penny or sceattas' and are presumably the coins of King Coenwulf of (796–821) and King Æthelwulf of Wessex (839–56) that are described in a contemporary account of the excavations but are now lost.⁹³

The 'Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds' (EMC) lists two silver sceattas of Series E (found in 1865) and S (found by 1986).⁹⁴ The Portable Antiquities Scheme Database⁹⁵ contains two coins: a silver sceatta of Series N (c. 710–60; PAS ESS-B5EB76) and a bronze styca of Æthelred II of Northumbria (c. 858–62; PAS ESS-B5A2F7): as these are recorded as having been found in 2001 and 2000 respectively, they are clearly different from the coins in Colchester Museum and the EMC. As the EMC's Series S sceatta is probably the one in Colchester Museum, we know of nine identifiable coins from *Ythancæstir*: one continental issue of c. 695–c. 740 (Series E), five 'secondary sceattas dating to c. 710–60 (Series N; Series S; Series U; and two other sceattas in the Oxley Parker Collection dated in the catalogue to this period); and three later pennies (King Coenwulf, 796–821; King Æthelwulf of Wessex, 839–56; King Æthelred II, c. 858–62).

A far more problematic source is a thesis by Alexander Mirrington, whose Graphs 12 and 13 suggest there are 14 coins from Bradwell on Sea parish.⁹⁶ His acknowledgements reference the use of Historic Environment Records (HERs), the Corpus of Early Medieval Coins, and the Portable

Table 3.2 Concordance of the various references to coins having been found at Othona or Bradwell on Sea.

No. in this paper	Source	Coin (including description and date in primary source)	Found	Date
1 = 19?	EMC 1977.0003	silver sceatta, Series E	1865	c. 695-c. 740
2 = 13 = 8?	EMC 1986.0418	silver sceatta, Series S (Type 47)	1986	c. 710-c. 760
3	COLEM1905.1009.1	silver sceatta, dating from c. 730-c. 740	1865	c. 710-c. 760
4	COLEM:1905.1009.2	silver sceatta	1865	
5	COLEM:1905.1009.3	silver sceatta	1865	
6	COLEM:1905.1009.4	silver sceatta, dating from c. 710-720	1865	c. 710-c. 760
7	COLEM:1905.1009.11	silver sceatta: one side bears early crosses	1865	
8 = 2? = 13?	COLEM:1905.1009.13	silver sceatta: one side depicts mythical winged creature, the other an anthropomorphic spiral design [Series S: John Naylor pers. comm.].	1865	c. 710-c. 760
9 – 18?	COLEM:1905.1009.14	silver sceatta: depicting a saint or other figure flanked by crosses [Series U?: John Naylor pers. comm.]	1865	c. 710-c. 760
10	Mirrington 2013, Graph 12 shows three coins dating to 650-99		[Southminster,	650-99
11			1980-5?]	650-99
12				650-99
13 = 2 = 8?	Mirrington 2013, NB map 19 and page 188 say one Series S sceatta has been found at Bradwell, but Graph 13 shows two	silver secondary sceatta, Series S (East Saxon)	[Mirrington's second Series S sceatta = Southminster, 1980-5?]	c. 710-c. 760

14	Mirrington 2013, Graph 13 shows two Series S sceattas			[Southminster, 1980–5?]	
15	Mirrington 2013, Graphs 12 and 13	silver secondary sceatta, Series C (Kentish)		[Southminster, 1980–5?]	c. 710–c. 760
16	Mirrington 2013, Graph 13 says that there are single examples of Series L/N and N, but map 21 shows only one	silver secondary sceatta, London (Series L, O/N, K33, K32a, K20/18, N)		[Southminster, 1980–5?]	c. 710–760
17 = 24?		silver secondary sceatta, Series N			
18 = 9?	Mirrington 2013, Graphs 12 and 13 (203 references Challis 1992, 216)	silver secondary sceatta, Series U/23b (Mercian)			c. 710–c. 760
19 = 1	Mirrington 2013, Graphs 12 and 13, 207; NB Graph 13 claims two Series E sceattas have been found	silver secondary sceatta, Series E (Frisian)			c. 710–760
20	Hull 1963, 54; Mirrington 2013, Graph 13 shows two pennies of Coenwulf (which along with the Aethelwulf penny [No. 21 below] accounts for the three coins dating to 800–49 in Graph 12.	penny of Coenwulf (796–821)			800–49
21	Hull 1963, 54; Mirrington 2013, Graphs 12 and 13	penny of King Aethelwulf of Wessex (839–56)			900–49
22 = 24	Mirrington 2013, Graphs 12 and 13	Northumbrian styca, Æthelred c. 760–c. 850			c. 760–c. 850
23 = 16?	PAS ESS-B5EB76	silver sceatta, Series N		2001	c. 710–c. 760
24 = 22	PAS ESS-B5A2F7	bronze 'styca' of Æthelred II of Northumbria		2000	c. 858–862

Source: Compiled by the author.

Antiquities Scheme (PAS), but crucially he does not provide a list of the coins with their primary database numbers (and only six are referred to in the text of the thesis). Graph 12 simply shows there being three coins from 650–99, seven from 700–49, three from 800–49 and one from 850–99. Graph 13 says that there are two Series B and one Series C [presumably the three coins from 650–99], two Series E, one Series L/N, one Series N, two Series S and one Series U [presumably the seven coins from 700–49], pennies of Coenwulf (796–821) and Æthelwulf (839–56) [two of the three coins dating to 800–49] and a styca of Æthelred [the one from 850–99].

Four of these coins can be accounted for in the specimens in the Colchester Museum Collection, EMC and PAS,⁹⁷ while the pennies of Coenwulf (796–821) and Æthelwulf (839–56) are described in a contemporary account of the excavations (see above). This leaves six sceattas that cannot be accounted for in any other sources (three Series B,⁹⁸ one Series C, one Series L/N, one Series S). It is striking that this list of sceattas is identical to a group in the EMC said to have been found in Southminster in 1980–5 – along with a Merovingian gold tremissis (EMC 1986.0201-0207) – which raises the possibility that Mirrington has erroneously attributed this ‘Southminster’ group to Bradwell on Sea. In fact, David Andrews (personal communication) reports Joe Bispham – who was the author of the entry in the *British Numismatic Journal* registering the coins found at ‘Southminster’ – has been able to contact two of the people who found them, and the Merovingian tremissis and the class C sceatta were actually found at Asheldham. We are still left, however, with the question of where the other ‘Southminster’ coins came from!

Overall, we must reject Mirrington’s listing of 14 early medieval coins, leaving the seven identifiable coins from *Ythancæstir* – one continental issue of c. 695–c. 740 (Series E), five ‘secondary sceattas’ dating to c. 710–60 (Series N, Series S, Series U, and two other sceattas in the Oxley Parker Collection dated in the catalogue to this period) and the ‘styca’ of Æthelred II (c. 858–62). Even this small group, however, establishes occupation after 664.

That the later medieval parish church of Bradwell on Sea is located 3km inland from *Ythancæstir* suggests that, when it came to establishing the network of parochial churches across Essex, the old site within the remote ruins of Othona was no longer regarded as fit for purpose. The earliest surviving fabric in the parish church is fourteenth-century, although a church at Bradwell with its chapel of ease [at Othona] is referred to in the mid-thirteenth century.⁹⁹ Kevin Bruce has suggested that a possible context for the construction of the new parish church was the period when the lord of the manor, John de la Mare, was investing in

other aspects of the landscape, including obtaining a licence for a new deer park,¹⁰⁰ establishing a weekly market and annual fair (granted in 1283) and possibly building ‘New Hall’ (distinct from the existing farms at Bradwell Hall, East Hall, Hockley and Down Hall).¹⁰¹

Anglo-Saxon settlement?

There has been much debate over the nature and scale of Anglo-Saxon immigration into south-east England, with suggestions varying between mass folk migration and almost complete displacement of the Romano-British population through to the hypothesis that it amounted to little more than an elite takeover by a small group of warriors with their immediate families and retinues. Recent detailed analysis of the distribution of settlements that are most obviously associated with immigrant communities (that is, those containing *Grubenhäuser*), as well as of cemeteries in the Anglo-Saxon tradition (that is, cremations, and burials with Germanic grave goods), shows that they were not evenly distributed across the landscape.¹⁰² Within the East Saxon kingdom, for example, the vast majority of Anglo-Saxon settlements and cemeteries are found in coastal and estuarine districts, with particular concentrations on the gravel terraces overlooking the Thames and Blackwater/Chelmer estuaries.¹⁰³

It is striking, therefore, that the only evidence for fifth- to sixth-century Anglo-Saxon settlement within the putative *regio* of *Deningei* (beyond the immediate hinterland of the Roman settlement at Heybridge) is from the light, sandy soils in the far east of the peninsula. The Oxley Parker Collection of artefacts from excavations at Othona in 1865 includes a range of material whose character suggests a fifth- to sixth-century pagan cemetery. This includes at least two cruciform brooches and an S-shaped brooch, which are illustrated, as well as two buckles – at least one of which was D-shaped – and an iron socketed spearhead that are said to be Saxon, while fragments of a copper alloy handle made of twisted wire cannot be closely dated.¹⁰⁴ ‘Tags to a girdle (Saxon)’ referred to in a list of the finds are likely to be fifth- to sixth-century.¹⁰⁵ Oxley Parker apparently found many east-west-oriented skeletons, and while these were ‘especially around the chapel’,¹⁰⁶ it is possible that some are early Anglo-Saxon and were the source of these probable grave goods. It is curious that the early general overviews of Anglo-Saxon archaeology in Essex (for example, Smith 1903; Jones 1980) overlooked these important finds, as they conform to the well-known pattern of early Anglo-Saxon immigrants having been attracted to the extramural areas of major Roman sites seen so clearly at places such as

Caistor St Edmund and Colchester.¹⁰⁷ It is also striking how all four pieces of fifth- to sixth-century metalwork reported to the PAS more recently are from the far east of the Dengie Peninsula: a small-long brooch and button brooch from Tillingham (PAS ESS-D1E6A7 and ES-830F62), a saucer brooch from ‘the Bradwell-on-Sea area’ (PAS ESS-D02382) and a gold bead from St Lawrence (ESS-01B025). Laver found fragments of an urn within the Iron Age hill fort at Asheldham that he thought ‘correspond very closely with the class of pottery usual in this district of Saxon date’, but there was no reference to decoration or form and so the identification must be regarded as uncertain.¹⁰⁸

In part, the absence of evidence for fifth- to sixth-century Anglo-Saxon *Grubenhäuser* across the central Dengie Peninsula, the Danbury Hills and the Sandon Valley is because these other areas have seen relatively little archaeological survey and excavation, the only major project being the construction of the new A130 through the Sandon Valley. This revealed what was suggested as a single ‘possible’ *Grubenhäuser* at Downhouse Farm in West Hanningfield, but no further details are published.¹⁰⁹ Sherds of ‘Saxon’ pottery were also recovered at several of the sites, although this was usually found within the upper fills of late Roman features.¹¹⁰ ‘Saxon’ pottery was also recovered through field-walking at various other sites, but no features datable to this period were found during the subsequent excavations.¹¹¹

These ‘Saxon’ sherds, from simple, hand-made, globular, undecorated vessels with simple everted rims, are of a type that have been identified on a growing number of sites across Essex, including Asheldham Church and more recently in a ditch at the nearby Dengie Crops Ltd site in Asheldham.¹¹² The ethnic tag these sherds have been given may, however, be misleading. These sherds are from simple, handmade, globular, undecorated ‘simple pots’ that lack distinctive Anglo-Saxon features such as biconical and carinated forms, decoration such as incised lines and stamped motifs, and the application of a gritty slip known as *Schlickung*. In contrast, the universal characteristic of these ‘simple pots’ is that they would have been easy to make, which probably accounts for them being so similar to vessels made during the Iron Age, with the simple globular forms being exactly what we would have expected if farming communities – and unskilled potters – had to make their own vessels. As such we should stop describing these vessels as ‘Saxon’, regard them instead as ‘early medieval’ and have an open mind as to whether they were produced and used by native British or immigrant Anglo-Saxon communities.

Conclusions

Cedd's church at *Ythancæstir* was one of the most remote locations in the East Saxon kingdom. This windswept place was chosen because the ruins of the Roman fort at Othona provided a link with *Romanitas*, a very common factor in determining where early churches were located. We know that *Ythancæstir* lay within the *regio* of *Deningei*, and it is suggested that this covered around 340km², being bounded by the River Chelmer and the Blackwater Estuary (the *Pant*) to the north, the North Sea to the east, the Crouch Estuary to the south and the high ground south of the Chelmsford hills to the west. This appears to have been the territory of a community known as the *Dænningas*, whose name is commemorated in the parish and hundred of Dengie, and the parish and forest of Danbury.

We would expect a *regio* of this type to have had a royal vill, a communal meeting place and a minster church, and while the former cannot be located with certainty there are two possibilities. It may have lain close to the later hundredal centre (also unlocated, though probably in Dengie parish) and church at *Ythancæstir*, or at Maldon (which may have been a royal vill from at least the eighth century). We must remember that the charter purporting to record King Æthelbert of Kent giving Tillingham to Mellitus in 604x616 is clearly a forgery, but the fact that it named Tillingham may reflect a folk memory that this was the most important place in the area whenever the charter was actually written (perhaps in the late seventh century). The clearly genuine charter in which King Swæfred granted 70 *cassati* in the *regio* called *Deningei* to Ingwald, bishop of London, in the early eighth century dates, in contrast, to during the period when the early folk territories were starting to fragment. As such, it comes at a time when the East Saxon kings may well have been disposing of some of their property, particularly in more remote locations. Indeed, this may have been the context for the growth of Maldon as a small port by the sheltered waters at the head of the Blackwater Estuary, in a far more central location within the East Saxon kingdom. If this hypothesis is right, then during the seventh century the *regio* called *Deningei* may have had a royal vill at Tillingham, a church at *Ythancæstir* and a communal meeting place at Dengie. It seems highly likely that some form of occupation continued at *Ythancæstir* into the eighth and possibly the ninth centuries, by which time it was part of an estate belonging to the church of St Paul's in London.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank: Maria Medlycott of Essex County Council Historic Environment Service for supplying various unpublished reports, and for giving permission to reproduce the photographs and reconstruction drawing used in [Figure 3.5](#); Glynn Davies of Colchester Museum for supplying information on the Oxley Parker Collection; and John Naylor of the Ashmolean Museum/Portable Antiquities Scheme for discussing the early medieval coins. I would also like to thank Kevin Bruce and Chris Thornton for discussing some of the medieval documentary sources.

Notes

- 1 Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 282–5 (III, 22).
- 2 Sawyer 1968, no. 5.
- 3 Sawyer 1968, no. 1787; Hart 1971, no. 7; Kelly 2004, no. 6.
- 4 Wilkinson and Murphy 1995, 195, fig. 119.
- 5 Rodwell 1976, 238.
- 6 Wilkinson and Murphy 1987, 1995, fig. 119.
- 7 Watts 2004, 109.
- 8 Rivet and Smith 1979, 434.
- 9 Breeze 2020.
- 10 Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 142–3, 150–1 (II, 3,5); see Yorke 1990, 45–57, for a general history of the East Saxon kingdom.
- 11 Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 282–5 (III, 22); see Yorke, in this volume, for Cedd's life and career.
- 12 Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 288–9 (III, 23).
- 13 Rippon 2018a.
- 14 Sawyer 1968, no. 1784; Gelling 1979, no. 160; Kelly 2004, no. 4.
- 15 Tomlin 1996.
- 16 Watts 2004, 296.
- 17 Sawyer 1968, no. 100; Gelling 1979, no. 198; Brooks and Kelly 2013, no. 13.
- 18 Rippon 2022.
- 19 Bassett 1989b, 1997; Watts 2004, 505.
- 20 Rippon 2018b, 2022.
- 21 Rippon 2022.
- 22 Jones and Mattingly 1990, map 2.8.
- 23 Kowaleski 1995, 49, 54–5.
- 24 Watts 2004, 183.
- 25 Watts 2004, 178, 183.
- 26 Reaney 1935, 249.
- 27 Reaney 1935, 207–8, 213; Anderson 1939, 48.
- 28 The manor of Stansgate owned the southern portion of Tillingham marshes at Midlands and Tillingham Grange, though this was never regarded as part of the parish of Steeple. It is not known if this ownership existed before Domesday, or exactly when Stansgate Abbey acquired the land (rental of the manor of Stansgate, 1540–41 (ERO D/DC fol. M 32); rental of the manor of Stansgate, 1525-6 (TNA E36/164 fols 69–72)); I would like to thank Kevin Bruce for this information.
- 29 The manor of Bacons in Dengie parish owned two parcels of land in Bradwell which contained marshes. Bacons was given to the abbey of St Valery along with East Hall in Bradwell and one of their marshes lay beside the Bacons' portion (Inquisition relating to the Manor of Bacons,

- 1598 (TNA E 367/1193), and dispute re access to Buxsey Marsh, 1583–4 (TNA DL 4/26/75)); I would like to thank Kevin Bruce for this information.
- 30 Darby 1952, 242–4.
- 31 *DB Ess.* 3,9. Althorne and at least the southern part of Mayland were included in the Domesday manor of Southminster Hall. The detached portion of Mayland lies immediately north of Southminster and appears to have been carved out from it. It is curious that of the parishes with detached parcels Asheldham (*DB Ess.* 23,43; 23,55) and St Lawrence (*DB Ess.* 2,6; 37,14) did not have ‘pasture for sheep’ listed.
- 32 This boundary also marked the western edge of Stow Maris, Cold Norton, Whitmans (a detached parcel of Stow Maris), Purleigh and Woodham Mortimer parishes.
- 33 Reaney 1935, 249.
- 34 Hart 1971, nos 18 and 34.
- 35 *DB Ess.* 29,4 (Woodham Ferris), 33,4 (Woodham Walter) and 34,11 (Woodham Mortimer).
- 36 Reaney 1935, 223.
- 37 Reaney 1935, 248–9.
- 38 Kemble 2019.
- 39 Watts 2004, 277.
- 40 Galleywood, Calves, Stock, and Kiln and Ramsden Back Commons.
- 41 Ramsden Heath, Crowsheath, Downham Green, Hanningfield Tye, and Rettendon Great and Little Commons, the latter lying just a short distance south-west of Bicknacre Common up on the Danbury Hills.
- 42 For example, see Reynolds 2013 for how this manifested itself in the administration of justice, and Rippon 2022 for examples across the East Saxon kingdom.
- 43 Wade 1980.
- 44 Christy 1926, 188; Reaney 1935, 516, 543.
- 45 *DB Ess.* 1,28; Watts 2004, 435.
- 46 Haslam 1988, 29.
- 47 Freeman 1985, 214–15.
- 48 RCHME 1916, 198–210; Rodwell and Rodwell 1977, 114; Secker 2013.
- 49 Secker 2013.
- 50 Davis 1974, 17–18.
- 51 For example, half a hide and 30 acres, and another 30 acres, both in Latchingdon that were held by freeman in 1066 (*DB Ess.* 1,6; 1,7).
- 52 *DB Ess.* 3,9.
- 53 *DB Ess.* 1,25.
- 54 *DB Ess.* 1,17.
- 55 Hart 1957, no. 84.
- 56 Haslam 2015; Ennis 2016.
- 57 Ennis 2016.
- 58 Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds CR 1991.100; 1984.0105.
- 59 For example, Anderson 1939, 48; cf. Christy 1926, 183–4, which argued that the hundredal meeting place was at Lawling in Latchingdon simply because of its physical centrality within the Hundred.
- 60 Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 282–5 (III, 22); Blair 2005, 68.
- 61 For example, Blair 2005, 193.
- 62 Pearson this volume; RCHME 1923, 13–16; Rivet and Smith 1979, 435; *VCH Essex* III, 52–5.
- 63 Gittos 2013, 75–6.
- 64 Hoggett, in this volume.
- 65 Pestell 2004, 20; Hoggett 2010, 35–8.
- 66 Blair 2005, 188; Hoggett 2010, 44–5.
- 67 For example, Blair et al. 2020.
- 68 Blair 2007b, 1.
- 69 Blair 2007a.
- 70 Watts 2004, 260; Blair 2007b, 4.
- 71 Mirrington 2013, 308–12, 314, 324.
- 72 Cole 2007, 61.
- 73 Rippon 2022.
- 74 Sawyer 1968, no. 5.
- 75 Sawyer 1968, no. 5; Hart 1971, no. 1; Kelly 2004, no. 1.

- 76 Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 142–3 (II, 3).
- 77 Hart 1971, no. 11; Kelley 2004, appendix 2; *DB Ess.* 5,5.
- 78 Thornton 2020b, 119.
- 79 The villas of *Hacflēt* [Hockley manor], St Peter's Chapel, Down Hall, Tillingham, Dengie, Asheldham, Steeple and Stansgate, and the later parishes of Bradwell on Sea, Tillingham, Dengie, Asheldham, Steeple and St Lawrence.
- 80 Kelly 2004, no. 25.
- 81 *DB Ess.* 3,9.
- 82 For example, Thornton 2020a, 9.
- 86 For Cedd's life and career see Yorke, in this volume.
- 87 Mirrington 2013, 322.
- 88 Rodwell 1976, 236.
- 89 Blinkhorn 2012.
- 87 Medlycott 1994, 67; further excavations in 2009 produced no further early medieval material: Sparrow 2011.
- 88 Colchester Museum Accession Number COLEM:1905.1009. The title of the collection as originally accessioned was 'The Oxley Parker collection of Roman and Saxon remains found within the Roman Fort of Othona, including the Bradwell mount, inlaid with millefiori' (COLEM:1947.328), but unfortunately the mount is now unlocatable. The surviving collection appears to have been re-accessioned in 1947 as COLEM:1905.1009. Also see: Essex HER Site no. 32; Roach Smith 1865; Chancellor 1877; Borough of Colchester 1947/48; Hull 1963, 53.
- 89 This accounts of the finds is from Mirrington 2013, 355, which cites two unpublished sources (a 1992 MPhil dissertation by K. D. Challis and a typescript report by Paul Barford for which no source is given).
- 90 COLEM:1905.1009.7–8; Borough of Colchester 1947/48, plate IX nos 4–6.
- 91 Hall and Clarke 2000; Heppell 2011; Ingle and Saunders 2011.
- 92 Hall and Clarke 2000, fig. 9.
- 93 Anon. 1878; Hull 1963, 54; presumably these are the two ninth-century coins mentioned in Smith 1903, 328.
- 94 EMC 1977.0003; EMC 1986.0418; <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/> [accessed 8 March 2022].
- 95 <https://finds.org.uk> [accessed 8 March 2022].
- 96 Mirrington 2013.
- 97 Presumably his Series E sceatta is EMC 1977.0003; his S sceatta is EMC 1986.0418; his Series N sceatta is PAS ESS-B5EB76 (although he claims that this is Series B); and the Northumbrian styca is PAS ESS-B5A2F7. Mirrington 2013, 188.
- 98 That Graph 12 shows three coins from 650–99 contrasts with Graph 13, which shows only two: this might be accounted for by Mirrington (2013, 187) saying that PAS ESS-B5EB76 is a Series B sceatta whereas in fact it is Series N.
- 99 RCHME 1923, 14. The Register of Fulk Basset, bishop of London (1244–59), refers to Bradewelle with the chapel of la Vale. The prior of St Valery holds in the same parish one acre of land and a certain marsh, from which he retains all the tithes. The prior of Hatfield Peverel receives *alias(? duas) partes* of all tithes from the demesne which was of Roger de Hakeny to an estimate of 40s. (Kevin Bruce personal communication).
- 100 *Cal. Pat.* 1292–1301, 145; Cantor 1983, 29.
- 101 *Cal. Pat.* 1257–1300, 265; Letter 2013; Howson 2014, 67.
- 102 Rippon 2018a.
- 103 For the Thames, examples include Mucking (Hamerow 1993; Hirst and Clark 2009), North Shoebury (Wymer and Brown 1995) and Orsett Cock (Carter 1998). For the Blackwater/Chelmer, examples are Heybridge (Drury and Wickenden 1982) and Springfield Lyons (Tyler and Major 2005).
- 104 COLEM:1905.1009.15–16; COLEM:1947.328 photographs; Borough of Colchester 1947/48, 28, Plate IX, nos 1–3.
- 105 Anon. 1878.
- 106 Hull 1963, 54.
- 107 Myres and Green 1973; Crummy 1981.

- 108 Laver 1928, 181.
- 109 Dale et al. 2005, 19.
- 110 Shotgate Farm, Windmill Hill, Monument Borrow Pit: Dale et al. 2005.
- 111 Shangri-La Culvert and Bonvilles Farm: Dale et al. 2005.
- 112 For Asheldham Church see Drury and Rodwell 1978; Andrews and Smoothey 1990. For Dengie Crops Ltd see Hanson 2013.

Bibliography

- Anderson, O. S. 1939. *The Hundred Names of the South-Eastern Counties*. Lund: Lunds Universitets årsskrift.
- Andrews, D. and Smoothey, M. 1990. 'Asheldam Church revisited'. *Essex Archaeology and History* 21, 146–51.
- Anon. 1878. 'Annual general meeting at Maldon, 1st August, 1878'. *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, V, 318–19.
- Bassett, S. (ed.) 1989a. *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Bassett, S. 1989b. 'In search of the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms'. In *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, edited by S. Bassett. 1–27. London: Leicester University Press.
- Bassett, S. 1997. 'Continuity and fission in the Anglo-Saxon landscape: the origins of the Rodings (Essex)'. *Landscape History* 19: 24–42.
- Blair, J. 2005. *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blair, J. 2007a. *Waterways and Canal Building in Medieval England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blair, J. 2007b. 'Introduction'. In *Waterways and Canal Building in Medieval England*, edited by J. Blair. 1–18. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blair, J., S. Rippon and C. Smart. 2020. *Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Blinkhorn, P. 2012. *The Ipswich Ware Project: Ceramics, trade and society in middle Saxon England*. Medieval Pottery Research Group Occasional Paper 7.
- Borough of Colchester 1947/48. *Report of the Museum and Muniment Committee for the Period April 1st 1947 to March 31st 1948*. 20–31. Colchester: Colchester Borough Council.
- Breeze, A. 2020. 'A Celtic-Roman mystery: the name Othona'. *Essex Journal* 55(1): 11–15.
- Cantor, L. 1983. *The Medieval Parks of England: A gazetteer*. Loughborough: Department of Education, Loughborough University of Technology.
- Carter, G. 1998. *Excavations at the Orsett 'Cock' Enclosure, Essex, 1976*. East Anglian Archaeology 86.
- Chancellor, F. 1877. 'St Peter's on the Wall, Bradwell Juxta Mare'. *Archaeological Journal* 34: 212–18.
- Christy, M. 1926. 'The Essex hundred moots: an attempt to identify their meeting-places'. *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* (new ser.) 18(3): 172–97.
- Cole, A. 2007. 'The place-name evidence for water transport in early medieval England'. In *Waterways and Canal Building in Medieval England*, edited by J. Blair. 55–84. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Colgrave, B., and R. A. B. Mynors (ed. and trans.). 1969. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Crummy, P. 1981. *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Colchester*. Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Report 1.
- Dale, R., D. Maynard and J. Compton. 2005. 'Archaeology on the mid-Essex clay. Investigations on the A130 by-pass: A12 Chelmsford by-pass to the A127 Southend Arterial Road, 1991–4 and 1999–2002'. *Essex Archaeology and History* 36: 10–54.
- Darby, H. C. 1952. *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davis, R. H. C. 1974. 'The college of St Martin-le-Grand and the anarchy, 1135–54'. *London Topographical Record* 23: 9–26.
- Drury, P. J., and W. J. Rodwell. 1978. 'Investigations at Asheldham, Essex: an interim report on the church and the historic landscape'. *Antiquaries Journal* 58(1): 133–51.

- Drury, P., and N. Wickenden. 1982. 'An early Saxon settlement within the Romano-British small town at Heybridge, Essex'. *Medieval Archaeology* 26: 1–40.
- Ennis, T. 2016. 'Middle Saxon and later occupation at the former Croxley Works, Church Street, Maldon'. *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* (4th ser.) 7: 163–78.
- Fawn, A. J., K. A. Evans, I. McMaster and G. M. R. Davies. 1990. *The Red Hills of Essex: Salt-making in antiquity*. Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Group.
- Freeman, A. 1985. *The Moneyer and the Mint in the Reign of Edward the Confessor*. Oxford: BAR (British Series), 145.
- Gelling, M. 1979. *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley*. Leicester: Leicester University Press
- Gittos, H. 2013. *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, R. L., and C. P. Clarke. 2000. 'A Saxon intertidal fish weir at Collins Creek in the Blackwater Estuary'. *Essex Archaeology and History* 31: 125–46.
- Hamerow, H. 1993. *Excavations at Mucking*, vol. 2, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement*. London: English Heritage.
- Hanson, K. 2013. 'Archaeological groundworks monitoring at Dengie Crops Ltd, Hall Road, Asheldham, Essex'. Unpublished report: Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.5284/1038801> [accessed 8 March 2022].
- Hart, C. 1957. *The Early Charters of Essex: the Norman period*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Hart, C. 1971. *The Early Charters of Essex*. Leicester: Department of English Local History, University of Leicester, Occasional Papers (1st ser.) 10 (rev. ed.).
- Haslam, J. 1988. 'The Anglo-Saxon burh at Wiginamere'. *Landscape History* 10: 25–36.
- Haslam, J. 2015. 'The two burhs of Maldon, Essex, and their antecedents'. *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* (4th ser.) 6: 289–311.
- Heppell, E. M. 2011. 'Saxon fishtraps in the Blackwater Estuary, Essex: monitoring survey at Collin's Creek, Pewet Island and The Nass 2003–2007'. *Transactions of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History* (4th ser.) 2: 76–97.
- Hirst, S., and D. Clark. 2009. *Excavations at Mucking*, vol. 3, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries*. London: English Heritage.
- Hoggett, R. 2010. *The Archaeology of the East Anglian Conversion*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Howson, T. 2014. 'A pair of late medieval two-cell houses in an Essex village, and a regional context for the building type'. *Vernacular Architecture* 45: 67–80.
- Hull, M. R. 1963. 'Roman gazetteer', in *Victoria County History of Essex III*. 35–203 London: University of London.
- Ingle, C., and H. Saunders, H. 2011. *Aerial Archaeology in Essex: The role of the national mapping programme in interpreting landscape*. East Anglian Archaeology 136. Chelmsford: Essex County Council.
- Jones, B., and D. Mattingly. 1990. *An Atlas of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kelly, S. E. 2004. *Charters of St Paul's, London*. London: British Academy.
- Kemble, J. 2019. 'The early medieval place-name – Ingas'. *Essex Journal* 54 (2): 55–61.
- Kowaleski, M. 1995. *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lavender, N. J. 2000. 'Othona, Bradwell-on-Sea, Essex. Archaeological Survey: Synthesis of results'. Unpublished report: Essex County Council Field Archaeology Unit.
- Laver, P. G. 1928. 'Sunecastre, or the camp at Asheldham'. *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 29: 180–85.
- Letters, S. 2013. *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*. <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html> [accessed 8 March 2022].
- Lyte, H. C. M. 1906. *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1257–1300*. London: Public Record Office.
- Medlycott, M. 1994. 'The Othona Community site, Bradwell-on-Sea, Essex: the extra-mural settlement'. *Essex Archaeology and History* 25: 60–71.
- Mirrington, A. 2013. 'Transformations of Identity and Society in Essex, c. AD 400–1066'. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham.
- Mustchin, A. R. R., J. R. Summers, J. E. M. Cussans, A. Peachey and C. McClean. 2016. 'A Romano-British ladder system at Asheldham Quarry, Essex'. *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* (4th ser.) 7: 129–41.
- Myres, J. H. L., and B. Green. 1973. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall, Norfolk*. London: Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 30.

- Orzechowski, K. 2014. 'Land at Asheldham Quarry, Essex: Archaeological trench evaluation'. Unpublished report: Archaeological Solutions Report 4521.
- Pestell, T. 2004. *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- RCHME 1916. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, vol. I. London: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, HMSO.
- RCHME 1923. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, vol. IV. London: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, HMSO.
- Reaney, P. H. 1935. *The Place-Names of Essex*. Cambridge: English Place-Name Society.
- Reynolds, A. 2013. 'Judicial culture and social complexity: a general model from Anglo-Saxon England'. *World Archaeology* 45(5): 699–713.
- Rippon, S. 2018a. *Kingdom, Civitas, and County*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rippon, S. 2018b. 'Changing landscapes? Land, people and environment in England AD 350–600'. In *Interpreting Transformations of Landscapes and People in Antiquity*, edited by N. Christie and P. D. Blasco. 95–112. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Rippon, S. 2022. *Territoriality and the Early Medieval Landscape: The countryside of the East Saxon kingdom*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer.
- Rivet, A. L. F., and C. Smith. 1979. *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*. London: Batsford.
- Roach Smith, C. 1865. 'Antiquarian researches at Bradwell juxta Mare'. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1865: 403–8.
- Rodwell, W. 1976. 'Some unrecorded archaeological discoveries in Essex, 1946–76'. *Essex Archaeology and History* 8: 234–48.
- Rodwell, W., and K. Rodwell. 1977. *Historic Churches: A wasting asset*. London: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 19.
- Round, J. H. 1903. 'Introduction to the Essex Domesday'. In *VCH Essex I*. 333–426. London: Archibald Constable.
- Rumble, A. 1983. *Domesday Book: Essex*, Chichester: Phillimore.
- Sawyer, P. H. 1968. *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An annotated list and bibliography*. London: Royal Historical Society. <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html> [accessed 8 March 2022].
- Secker, D. 2013. 'A re-used Anglo-Saxon cross shaft fragment from St Mary's Church, Newport'. *Transactions of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History* (4th ser.) 4: 222–3.
- Smith, R. A. 1903. 'Anglo-Saxon remains'. In *VCH Essex I*. 35–203. London: Archibald Constable.
- Sparrow, P. 2011. 'Othona: Roman extra-mural activity at the Othona Community site, Bradwell-on-Sea'. *Transactions of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History* (4th ser.) 2: 69–75.
- Thornton, C. 2020a. 'Introduction'. In *VCH Essex XII*, part I, *St Osyth to the Naze: North-east Essex coastal parishes*. 1–58. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer.
- Thornton, C. 2020b. 'St Osyth'. In *VCH Essex XII*, part I, *St Osyth to the Naze: North-east Essex coastal parishes*. 59–225. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer.
- Tomlin, R. 1996. 'A five-acre wood in Roman Kent'. In *Interpreting Roman London: Papers in memory of Hugh Chapman*, edited by J. Bird, M. W. C. Hassall and H. Sheldon. 209–15. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Tyler, S., and H. Major. 2005. *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemetery and Later Saxon Settlement at Springfield Lyons, Essex*. East Anglian Archaeology 111.
- Wade, K. 1980. 'A settlement site at Bonhunt Farm, Wicken Bonhunt, Essex'. In *Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500*, edited by D. Buckley. 96–102. London: Council of British Archaeology Research Report 34.
- Watts, V. 2004. *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilkinson, T. J., and P. L. Murphy. 1987. *The Hullbridge Basin Survey: Interim report no. 8*. 3–19. Chelmsford: Archaeology Section, Planning Department, Essex County Council [unpublished report in Essex Historic Environment Record].
- Wilkinson, T. J., and P. L. Murphy. 1995. *The Archaeology of the Essex Coast*, vol. 1, *The Hullbridge Survey*. East Anglian Archaeology 71.
- Wymer, J., and N. Brown. 1995. *Excavations at North Shoebury: Settlement and economy in South-east Essex 1500 BC–AD 1500*. East Anglian Archaeology 75.
- Yorke, B. 1990. *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*. London: Seaby.

Index

- A House for Essex*, 17, 332–51
A Perfect Match, 338, 339–40, 348–9
appearance, 347–50
Ballad of Julie Cope, The, 337–8
Basildon, 338–40, 350–1
commissioning, 333
Canvey Island, 337–8, 350–1
In Its Familiarity, Golden, 341, 348–9
inspiration, 344–6, 350–1
landscape setting, 346–7, 350–1
Maldon, 341, 350–1
relationship with St Peter-on-the-Wall, 346
South Woodham Ferrers, 340–1, 350–1
University of Essex, 342–3, 350–1
Wrabness, 343, 350–1
See also Perry, Grayson
- Abercrombie, Patrick, 271
- Ackroyd, Peter
Thames: Sacred River, 309, 314, 323, 327
- Admiralty, 4–5
- Ælflæd, widow of Byrhtnoth, 319, 320
- Æthelbert, king of Kent
Christian wife, 115, 149
forged charter, 78, 94, 103
grant of Tillingham, 94, 103, 116
- Æthelburh, sister of Eorcenwald, 124
- Æthelred II, king of Northumbria, 322
coinage of, 97, 100, 169
- Æthelwald, king of Deira, 112, 114–15, 117, 118
- Æthelwalh, king of the South Saxons, 113–14
- Æthelwold, king of East Anglia, 113–14, 135
- Æthelwulf, king of Wessex
coinage of, 97, 100
- Allfrey, Francesca, 325
- Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, 111, 112, 120, 121, 122, 234–5
airport, proposed, 3, 5–8, 19–20, 259
See also Maplin Sands
- Alhflæd, daughter of Oswiu, 113
- Alhfrith, son of Oswiu, 123
- Ali, Nabil, 18
Along the Saltmarsh, 18
The Chapel, 18
- Angell, Norman, 240, 255
- Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 144, 311, 313, 317
- artistic responses to
Battle of Maldon, 310–23
Bradwell A power station, 356–61
'complexity of place', 325–7
Essex coastline, 249–51, 355, 362–3
Essex landscape, 249–51, 289, 309, 332–51
nuclear landscape, 17–18, 356–60, 369–70, 374–6
St-Peter-on-the-Wall, 17–18, 18
- Arts Council England, 18
- Asheldham (Essex), 85, 87, 94, 100, 101–2, 185
- Atomic Energy Authority Act, 261
- Atomic Weapons Research Establishment, 7, 10, 11, 371
- Augustine, missionary and archbishop of Canterbury
burial in a *porticus*, 37
Gregorian mission, 30, 116, 135, 147, 148–9, 150, 152
Richborough relic, 147
- AWRE, *see* Atomic Weapons Research Establishment
- Babingley (Norfolk), 170
- Baillie Reynolds, Paul, 231
- Baker, J. A., 6–7, 19–20, 277, 294
The Peregrine, 258–9, 277
- Baldwin Brown, G., 232, 274,
- Bamburgh (Northumberland), 165, 294
- Banyard, James, 251
- Barber's Point (Suffolk), 171
- Barking (Essex), 93, 280, 308
bishop of, 221, 226
monastery, 95, 120, 124, 162, 221, 226
- Bassa, priest, 31, 92, 144
- Basset, Fulk, bishop of London, 37–8
- Bassett, Steven, 82–3
- Bataille (Batayl) family, 183, 192, 197–8, 247
See also Battels
- Battels, manor, 177–9, 178, 179, 180–1, 182, 183–4, 185, 187, 191–2, 194, 197–201, 207–8
See also *Effecestrā, La Waule*
- Battle of Ashingdon, 7
- Battle of Maldon (historical event), 7, 315–23
millennial celebrations, 316–20, 317
role in modern politics, 324–5
statue of Byrhtnoth, 316, 320–3, 321
See also Byrhtnoth, Maldon Embroidery
- Battle of Maldon* (poem), 7, 17, 310–14
symbolism of estuary, 313–14
symbolism of topography, 313
symbolism of water, 312–14
See also Byrhtnoth, Maldon Embroidery
- Bawsey (Norfolk), 170

- Bayeux Tapestry, 319
Beagle, The, 250
 Bede, monk of Jarrow
 on Augustine, 37
 on Bertha, 149
 on Bradwell, 19, 117–20
 on Cedd, 19, 27, 78, 81–2, 92, 110–26,
 134–5, 161, 179, 219, 294
 on *Cnobheresburg*, 139, 161–2
 on Cuthbert, 293, 310
 on *Dommoc*, 137–8, 161–2
 on Lastingham, 81–2, 117–20, 294
 Letter to Egbert, 170
 on Lichfield, 119
 on Mellitus's church, 81, 94, 116–17
 on Rædwald, 136–7
 on Sigebert, 137–8
 on Tilbury, 19, 81, 326
 on *Ythancaestir*, 27, 78, 81–2, 92, 110,
 118–19, 161, 219, 293
Beowulf, 165
 Berden (Essex)
 church of St Nicholas, 297
 Bergvall, Caroline, 310, 326–7
 Ragadawn, 326–7
 Berhtwald, abbot of Reculver, 144–5
 Bertha, wife of Æthelbert, 115, 149
 Betjeman, John, 259, 260, 265, 273, 275,
 276
 Bicknacre (Essex), 88
 Augustinian priory, 301
 Bigod, Roger, 138
 Binchester (County Durham), 71
 Bitten, Harry, 289
 Blackmore (Essex)
 church of St Laurence, 299, 301, 303, 334,
 337, 345, 345
 Blackwater, river, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 17, 28, 78, 84,
 91, 101, 103, 159, 162, 163, 167,
 184, 187, 194, 201, 204, 217, 239,
 240, 242, 255, 258, 260, 265, 266,
 270, 278, 291, 308, 309, 310, 311,
 313, 315, 316, 317, 319, 320, 323,
 325, 327, 341, 346, 355, 356, 357,
 360, 361, 362, 362, 368, 372, 373,
 374, 375
 Pant(e), old name for, 78, 103,
 311–13, 317
 Blackwater Estuary, 7, 17, 28, 84, 91, 103,
 167, 184, 187, 194, 201, 204, 206,
 239, 240, 242, 258, 266, 278, 308,
 313, 315, 320, 323, 341, 346, 355,
 356, 360, 361, 362, 364, 368, 372,
 373, 374, 375
 Blackwater and Dengie Peninsula Protection
 Association, 267
 Blythburgh (Suffolk), 162
 Booth, William, 242
 Bosham (West Sussex), 161
 Botolph, abbot of Iken, 171
 Botton, Alain de, 333
 BPT, *see* British Pilgrimage Trust
 Bradwell A power station
 climate change, 362–3
 decommissioning, 280–1, 356–61, 364–8
 design, 266–7
 development of, 1, 3, 18, 257–64, 359–60,
 367–8
 environmental impact, 10–11, 13, 16–17,
 280–1
 justification for, 261–5, 270–1
 landscape setting, 258–9, 265, 269–72,
 278–80.
 See also Crowe, Sylvia
 opposition to, 259, 267–78, 372–3
 public inquiry, 16–17, 257–60, 263–81
 relationship with Othona, 257, 272
 relationship with St Peter-on-the-Wall, 257,
 272, 368
 See also Central Electricity Authority,
 nuclear power programme
 Bradwell B power station, 1–2, 9, 19–20,
 257–8, 361–5, 367, 374
 Bradwell Bay, RAF airfield, 8–9, 9, 187, 258,
 272
 Bradwell Hall (Essex), 86, 100, 180, 184,
 191–2, 194
 Bradwell on Sea (Essex)
 agricultural economy, 193–201, 207, 207
 Black Death, 192–3, 194–9
 church of St Thomas, 28–9, 37–8
 customs and excise, 204
 dairying, 199–200, 206–8
 Domesday Book, 177–91, 180–1, 190,
 191–2, 195
 fishing, 201–3, 207–8
 land drainage, 198–9, 200, 208
 See also 'inning', land reclamation
 manorial history, 177–91, 178, 179
 See also Battels, Down Hall, East Hall,
 Effecestrā, *La Waule*, Tanyes, Tomlyns
 Wick, New Wick, Wymarks
 market and fair, 203
 medieval land ownership, 177–91
 military activity, 7–8, 9–10, 56–7, 258
 population figures, 191–3, 197
 population occupations, 200–4
 sheep, 194–7, 208
 shipping, 203–7, 207
 soils, 193–4
 trade, 203–7, 207
 wealth, 191–7, 203–7
 wills and probate inventories, 200–1,
 202–3, 204–5, 205
 woodland, 195, 199
 Bradwell Power Generation Company Ltd, 1
 Brancaster (Norfolk)
 Roman fort, 56, 60, 67, 70, 72, 131, 132,
 136, 143
 Brandon (Suffolk), 169, 170
 BRB, *see* Bradwell Power Generation
 Company Ltd
 Brexit, 324
 Brinson, Major J., 57, 59
 British Archaeological Association, 232
 British Pilgrimage Trust, 286, 295–7, 299–300,
 303, 337
 Sanctuary project, 296–7
 Brittain, Vera, 252
 Brooke family, 184–6, 188, 191, 193, 208
 See also Battels, Down Hall, West Wick
 Brown, Nigel, 12, 293

- Bryan, Guy, 219
- Buchanan, Colin, 5–6
- Burgh Castle (Norfolk)
- cemetery, 140, 151
 - church, 140–1, 140, 150
 - Roman fort, 67, 69, 70, 74, 92, 131–4, 132, 136, 139–141, 140, 162
- See also Cnobheresburg; Fursa*
- burials, Anglo-Saxon
- associated with Roman forts, 55, 57, 61, 101–2, 140–2, 151
 - boat burials, 166
 - See also Sutton Hoo; Snape*
 - in *emporia*, 166–7
 - near water, 166–7
- Bushe-Fox, J. P., 146–7
- Bushnell, G. H. S., 233–4
- Butley (Suffolk), 170–2
- Byrhtnoth, ealdorman of Essex, 7, 311–23, 327
- statue by John Doubleday, 321, 324–5
 - statue by Nathaniel Hitch, 316
- See also Battle of Maldon*
- Cælin, brother of Cedd, 111, 114
- Caister-on-Sea (Norfolk)
- cemeteries, 141–2, 151
 - church, 142, 150
 - Roman fort, 60, 69, 70, 72, 131–4, 132, 136, 141–2, 162
- Caistor St Edmund (Norfolk), 101, 139
- Calder Hall power station (Cumbria), 261, 263, 264, 266–7, 266
- Camden, William, 53–4, 55, 68
- Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 264
- Canterbury (Kent)
- church of St Mary, 32–3, 149, 220
 - church of St Pancras, 30, 32–3, 38, 149, 220
 - church of SS Peter and Paul, 30, 32–3, 37, 92, 149
- Canute, *see* Cnut
- Canvey Island (Essex), 17, 93, 290, 334, 337–9, 344, 351
- Capon, Kenneth, 342
- Carausius, Roman emperor, 66–9
- Carter, H. Malcolm, 30, 32, 232–5
- Carter, Henry, 184
- See also Battels*
- Cash, Lee, 317, 320
- Causton (Cawston), John, 182
- CBA, *see* Council for British Archaeology
- CEA, *see* Central Electricity Authority
- Cedd, bishop of the East Saxons
- background, 110–12
 - baptism of Swithhelm, 113
 - behaviour as bishop, 120–3
 - burial at Lastingham, 81–2, 118, 123–5
 - conversion of the East Saxons, 14–15, 113–14, 115–20, 124, 135
 - conversion of the Middle Angles, 112, 135
 - death, 31, 81–2, 111, 118, 123–5
 - family, 111–12
 - foundation of Lastingham, 114–20
 - foundation of *Ythancæstir*, 14, 81–2, 92, 110, 118, 135, 161
 - leaving *Ythancæstir*, 95
 - Lindisfarne, 111–12
 - relationship with Oswiu of Northumbria, 113–15
 - relics, 124–6
 - role at Synod of Whitby, 111, 115, 122–3
 - timeline of life, 111
 - translation to Lichfield, 125–6
- central places, 90–3
- Central Electricity Authority, 261, 265–9, 271, 276–7
- Central Electricity Generating Board, 261
- CGN, *see* China General Nuclear Power Group
- Chad, brother of Cedd and bishop of Lichfield, 111, 115, 118–26, 294
- Challenge Running, 290
- Chancellor, Frederic, 219–20
- Chancellor, Wykeham, 223–4, 227
- Chapelle, Count de la, 56–7
- Chapman and André's map of Essex (1777), 30, 85, 88, 89–90, 193, 204
- charters
- grants to Reculver church, 144–5
 - of Æthelbert, king of Kent, 78, 94, 103
 - of Offa, king of the East Saxons, 82
 - of Swæfred, king of the East Saxons, 78, 82, 83, 86–7, 94, 103
- Chelmsford, diocese of, 16, 41, 220–1, 235, 274, 290
- Chertsey (Surrey), 124
- Chillingworth, John, 57
- China General Nuclear Power Group, 1, 372
- Chipping Ongar (Essex), 17, 286, 287, 290, 300
- Christian Pacifist Forestry and Land Units, 252
- Christianisation
- of the East Angles, 136–42, 150–1
 - of the East Saxons, 81–2, 115–17, 124
 - of Kent, 149–50
 - of the Middle Angles, 112, 135,
 - as reclamation of *Britannia*, 116, 148, 152
 - reuse of Roman buildings, 15, 92, 102–3, 116, 119, 130–1, 147–51, 152
- Christmas family, 185–6, 188, 208
- See also* Down Hall, New Wick
- Churches Conservation Trust, 297
- Clark, Douglas, 265, 267, 270–1
- Clarke, Polly, 240
- coastal erosion, 12, 54, 58, 59, 63, 79, 131–2, 134, 143, 146, 161, 163, 250–1
- coastal landscapes, 163–5, 239–42, 247–51, 254–5, 257–9, 362–3
- Coenwulf, king of Mercia, 99, 145
- coinage of, 97, 100
- Colchester (Essex), 3–4, 17, 35, 101, 193, 204, 207, 221, 229, 290, 342–3
- Coleman, John, 186, 188, 200
- See also* Down Hall, New Wick
- Columba, bishop of Iona, 112, 118, 120, 122–3, 160, 161, 325
- Colm Cille's Spiral*, 325, 327
- See also* Iona
- Colvin, Brenda, 280
- Common Ground, 239
- Commons Preservation Society, 271–2, 273
- conversion, *see* Christianisation

- Council for British Archaeology, 231–2, 274
 Council for the Preservation of Rural England, 262, 264, 271–3, 275, 278
 Countryside Stewardship scheme, 12–13
Cnobheresburg, 92, 139, 161–2
 See also *Burgh Castle*
 Cnut, king of England, 7, 311, 323
 Colchester Museum, 72, 95, 97, 100, 103
 Cope, Julie, 17, 334, 336, 337–9, 341–2, 344, 348, 350–1
 See also *A House for Essex*
 Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds, 97–100, 98–9
 Cottrell, Stephen, archbishop of York, 290
 Council of *Clovesho*, 138
 COVID-19 pandemic, 2, 289, 303
 Cox, J. Charles, 220
 CPRE, *see* *Council for the Preservation of Rural England*
 Crawford, Lord, 232–3
 Crouch, river, 2, 4–5, 7–8, 84, 103, 159, 163, 167, 225, 250, 258, 340
 Crowe, Sylvia, 259, 278–81
 The Landscape of Power, 278–9
 Crowland (Lincolnshire), 165–6
 Cublington (Buckinghamshire), 5, 19
 Cultural Engine, 18
 Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, 165, 291–2, 293–4, 301, 310
 Cynebill, brother of Cedd, 111, 114, 118
- Danbury (Essex), 84–5, 88–9, 103
 Danbury Hills (Essex), 14, 85, 88, 89–90, 102
 Dance, Moira, 274–5
 Darwin, Charles, 250
 Defence Evaluation and Research Agency, 8
 Defenders of Essex, 6
 Dengie Flats (Essex), 8–9, 258, 275
 Dengie Peninsula, 2, 3, 5, 14, 15, 19, 20, 242, 245, 250, 259–60, 277, 294, 309, 335
 Anglo-Saxon settlement of, 101–2
 documentary history, 15
 ecological designations, 366–7
 medieval occupation, 82–90, 84, 94–103, 159, 167, 199, 251, 258, 308, 332
 military use of, 8–10, 257
 Roman occupation, 53–4, 58, 63, 65–6, 69–70
 See also *Deningei*
Deningei, folk territory
 Anglo-Saxon settlement of, 101–2
 central places, 90–3, 103
 Domesday survey, 85
 extent of, 78, 82–90, 84, 103
 field / parish boundaries, 85, 88–9
 medieval landholdings, 90–4
 royal vill, 90–4, 103, woodland, 85, 88–9
 See also *Dengie Peninsula*, *Tillingham*, *Ythanæstir*
 DERA, *see* *Defence Evaluation and Research Agency*
 Dicul, Irish monk, 161
 Difference Exchange, 325
 Colm Cille's Spiral, 325, 327
 DISCLOSURE: Old Words Made New, 325
- Doggerland, 363, 367
Dommoc, diocese of, 92, 137–8, 150, 161–2
 See also *Dunwich*, *Walton Castle*
 Doune (Downe) family, 184–5, 187, 198–9
 See also *Down Hall*, *Taynes*
 Dounreay power station (Caithness), 262, 263–4, 280, 360
- Dover (Kent)
 Roman fort, 54, 131, 132, 142–3
 Down Hall, manor, 8, 38, 86, 100, 177–9, 178, 179, 184–7, 187, 193–4, 198–200, 202, 204, 207–8
 Dowsett, H. W., 225, 227, 260
 Driberg, Tom, 240, 265–6, 268, 270–3, 276–7, 280
- Dungeness power station (Kent), 264, 372
 Dunwich (Suffolk), 138, 161–2, 163
 Durham (County Durham), 291–2, 294
- Eadbald, king of Kent, 116
 Eadred, king of the English, 145
 Ealhmund, king of Kent, 145
 Eardwulf, king of west Kent, 145
 EAS, *see* *Essex Archaeological Society*
 East Hall, manor, 81, 87, 100, 177–83, 178, 179, 180, 183, 184, 188, 191–2, 194–8, 201, 202, 204, 207–8.
 See also *Effcestrā*, *La Waule*
 East Saxon kingdom
 Anglo-Saxon migration, 101, 300
 boundaries of, 82–3,
 central places, 90–3
 conversion of, 81–2, 115–17, 300–1
 folk territories, 82–90, 300
 Eastlands Farm, 80, 86, 180, 185, 191, 196–7, 225
- EDF, *see* *Électricité de France*
 Edmund Ironside, 7
 Edward the Elder, 91
 Edwin, king of Northumbria, 137
Effcestrā, manor, 28, 179–82, 180, 190, 194, 195
 See also *East Hall*, *La Waule*
 Egbert, king of Kent
 granting of *Reculver*, 31, 92, 144
 Électricité de France, 1, 372
 Elmham (Norfolk), 137–8, 150
 Ely (Cambridgeshire), 164, 319
emporia, trading ports, 93, 166–8, 172
 Eorcenwald, bishop of London, 124
 Eorpwald, king of East Anglia, 137
 Epping Forest Holiday Fellowship, 286, 303
 Essex Archaeological Society, 217, 219
 Essex Cultural Diversity Project, 18, 326
 Essex Design Guide, 340–1
 Essex Way, 343–4
 Evetts, L. C., 234
- Fairbrother, Nan, 269
 Farocki, Harun, 358–9, 375
 FAT Architecture, 333
 Felix, bishop of East Anglia, 92, 123, 136–8, 161
 Finán, bishop of Lindisfarne, 111, 112, 113
 Finch, Alan, 7–8
 fish traps, 28–29, 80, 96, 96–7, 201–3
 Fitch, Marc, 274
 Fletcher, Eric, 231–2

- Flintham, Matthew, 10
 Flixborough (Lincolnshire), 169
 Foulness Island, 2–3, 5, 7–8, 259, 309
 military use of, 2–3, 7–8, 10–11, 364, 368,
 371, 375
 See also Maplin Sands
 Francis-Dehqani, Guli, bishop of Chelmsford,
 290
 Fry, T. M., 259, 269
 Furnee, Bettina, 250–1
 Lines of Defence, 251
 Fursa, Irish missionary, 92, 139–41, 161
 See also Burgh Castle; *Cnobheresburg*
- Galpin, F. W., 225
 Garrett, Marc, 325
 Goldin + Senneby, 365–6, 375
 Spruce Time, 365–6, 365, 375
 Gordon, Eric, 233
 Gordon, Lewis, 4–5
 Great Chesterford (Cambridgeshire), 69
 Great Wakering (Essex), 93
 Green, Charles, 139, 141
 Greensted (Essex)
 St Andrew's church, 286, 299, 301, 337
 Gregory the Great, pope, 116, 148, 152
 letter to Augustine, 148
 Grimmitt, H. W., 268
 Guthlac of Crowland, 165–6, 310–11
 Life of Saint Guthlac, 165–6
- Halabi, Inas, 369–70, 372, 375
 We Have Always Known the Wind's Direction,
 369–70, 369, 375
- Harden, D. B., 231
 Harrison, B., 270
 Heasman, Arthur, 222
 Hecht, Gabrielle, 357–8
 Herbert, J. B., 270–1
 Higham family, 184, 191
 See also Battels
 Hillier, Meg, 281
 Hinton, Christopher, 262, 281
 Hirst, Gabriella, 370–2, 375
 'Atom Bomb' rose, 370–1, 371
 How to Make a Bomb, 370–2, 375
- Hlothhere, king of Kent, 144–5
 HMT *Empire Windrush*, 326–7
 Hoggston (Buckinghamshire), 19
 Honorius, emperor of Rome, 67, 132
 Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, 137
 Hoskins, W. G., 259
- Iken (Suffolk), 162, 162, 171, 172
 Ingelric, chaplain of Edward the Confessor, 91
 Ingwald, bishop of London, 78, 83, 94, 95, 103
 'Inning', 3, 11, 194, 200, 208
 See also land reclamation
 Iona (Argyll and Bute), 112, 115, 118, 120,
 122–3, 126, 160, 234–5, 242
 See also Columba
 Ipswich Ware, pottery, 35, 91, 95, 168–9
- Jellicoe, Geoffrey, 280
 Jenkins, Simon, 295
 Johnson, Stephen, 68, 139
- Kears, Carl, 325
 'Kentish' churches, 30–1, 32–3, 36–37, 38,
 135–6, 149–50, 300–1
 King, H. W., 219
 King, Laurence, 41, 225–35, 230, 274–5
 See also St Peter-on-the-Wall restoration
 (proposed)
 Knapp, W. T., 223
- Lake, H. A., 221
 land reclamation, 2–3, 4–5, 11, 15, 55,
 80, 163–5, 177, 194, 200,
 208, 258
 See also 'inning'
 Land Settlement Association, 253–4
 Lansbury, George, 242–3
 Lastingham (North Yorkshire)
 burial of Cedd, 124–5
 carved stone, 125, 125
 foundation of, 81–2, 95, 110, 114–20, 114,
 119, 119–20, 165, 235, 294
La Waule/Walle, manor, 28, 179–82, 183
 See also East Hall, *Effcecestrā*
- Lees, Clare, 292–3, 325
 Leland, John, 144
 Lewin, Thomas, 39, 55–6, 61, 67–8, 70, 217,
 219–20, 230
 Lichfield (Staffordshire), 119, 120, 122,
 124–6, 294
 liminality, 159, 240–2, 247–50, 259–60,
 292–3, 308–9
- Lindisfarne (Northumberland), 100, 110, 112,
 112, 115, 123, 126, 161, 242, 291–4,
 310
- Lindstrøm, Bjarne, 322
 Linnets Cottage, 7, 241
 literary responses, *see* artistic responses
 Liudhard, Frankish bishop, 115
 Living Architecture, 333–4, 346
 Lloyd, G., 265
 Loftus, E. A., 231
 long-distance walking routes, 17, 286–304,
 336–7
 See also Old Way, St Chad's Way,
 St Cuthbert's Way, St Peter's Way,
 St Thomas Way
- Luckin, Bill, 263
 Luckin, William, 184
 See also Battels
 Lyminge (Kent), 168–9, 220
 Lymyne (Kent)
 Roman fort, 54–5, 64, 72, 131–4, 132,
 142–3
- Macfarlane, Robert, 249, 289, 294
 Magnox, 259, 261, 265, 266, 270, 280–1
 Malcolm Carter, H., 232, 234
 Maldon (Essex)
 A House for Essex, 341–2
 archaeological excavations, 91, 95
 as central place, 91, 103, 192–3, 314
 Congregational Chapel, 269, 273
 port, 202, 205–7
 salt production, 355
 See also Battle of Maldon

- Maldon District Council, 17, 289, 303, 310, 315
- Maldon Embroidery, 317–20, 318, 319, 323, 341
- See also *Byrthnoth, Battle of Maldon*
- Maplin Sands Airport, 3, 5, 7, 19, 259
- mappa mundi*, 308
- Mare, John de la, 100, 196, 198, 203
- Marshall, Richard, 243–4
- Martello towers, 7
- Matthews, Fred, 287–90, 304
- May, Theresa, 327
- McLeod, George, 242
- Mellitus, bishop of London, 78, 81, 92, 94, 103, 116–17, 148, 300, 316
- Melrose (Scottish Borders), 291–2
- Metropolis Sewage and Essex Reclamation Company, 5
- Micklethwaite, J. T., 220–1
- Middleton Murry, John, 252
- Mildmay family, 186, 188, 200, 208.
- See also *Down Hall*
- Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, 30, 40, 42, 57, 221–2, 224, 227, 229, 231–3, 274
- Ministry of Works, see *Ministry of Public Buildings and Works*
- Minster-in-Sheppey (Kent), 162
- Minster-in-Thanel (Kent), 162, 308
- Mirrington, Alexander, 95, 97, 98–9, 100
- Misler, Andrea-Renee, 242, 243
- mission stations, 15, 110, 151
- missionaries, 2, 14–15, 100, 110–12, 120, 123, 147–8, 151–2, 270
- See also *Augustine, Christianisation, Romanitas*
- Moll, Herman, 54
- monasteries, Anglo-Saxon
- archaeological character, 163, 168–70
 - association with Roman sites, 15, 92, 102–3, 116, 119, 147–51
 - coastal locations of, 159–72
 - hermitages, 165–6
 - isolated locations, 165–6, 171–2
 - landscape setting of, 159–72
 - liminality, 159, 171–2
- See also *Cnobheresburg, Ely, Iken, Iona, Lastingham, Lindisfarne, Romanitas, Saxon Shore Forts, Tilbury, Ythancaestir*
- Morant, Philip, 30, 40, 177–8, 217, 219, 230
- Morpurgo, Michael, 11–12, 260–1
- Mortimer, Cromwell, 54
- Motley, Norman, 16, 240, 242–5, 251, 255, 373
- See also *Much Ado About Something*, 242
- Mucking (Essex), 308–9
- Mundon (Essex), 191, 290
- church of St Mary, 299, 301–3, 302, 337
- 'My Bradwell' website, 1
- Nairn, Ian, 259
- National Farmers' Union, 270
- Nature Conservancy, 264
- NDA, see *Nuclear Decommissioning Agency*
- Newport (Essex), 90, 93
- New Wick, estate, 7–8, 177–9, 178, 179, 186, 188, 200, 207
- Nicholson, Charles, 225–6
- Nicholson, Max, 264
- Nirex, 374
- Northey Island (Essex), 313–15, 322–3
- Notitia Dignitatum*, 54, 67–8, 131–4, 133, 136
- Nuclear Decommissioning Agency, 281
- nuclear power programme, 1–3, 9–11, 16–20, 261–7, 270, 278–81, 368, 372–3
- See also *Bradwell A power station*
- Nucleus Archive (Highland), 360–1
- Nursling (Hampshire), 162
- Nuthampstead (Hertfordshire), 5
- Oda, archbishop of Canterbury, 145
- Offa, king of the East Saxons, 82
- Offa, king of Mercia, 126
- Office of Works, see *Ministry of Public Buildings and Works*
- Old St Peter's (Rome), 92
- Old Way, 295–7
- Oldbury power station (South Gloucestershire), 270
- Oliver, Stuart, 240
- O'Neil, Bryan, 231
- Orford Ness (Suffolk), 11
- See also *Atomic Weapons Research Establishment*
- Osmond, Mervyn, 271–3
- Oswald, king of Northumbria, 114, 160, 294, 311, 313
- Oswine, king of Deira, 122
- Oswiu, king of Northumbria, 112, 113–15, 123
- Othona, Roman fort
- abandonment, 71–2, 134–5
 - Anglo-Saxon re-occupation, 13, 15, 55, 101–2
 - aerial photographic assessment, 57–8, 61–2
 - approach road, 63
 - archaeological excavations, 27–28, 54–7, 56, 60–2, 62, 64–5, 73, 80–1, 95–6, 101–2
 - brooches, 72–3, 73
 - burials, 55, 57, 61, 101–2
 - coin sequence, 66–7, 71–2
 - construction, 66, 70, 134–5
 - Counterside Stewardship scheme, 12–13
 - date, 66, 70–2
 - discovery and identification, 5, 54–56, 68, 217
 - economic role, 69–72
 - erosion of ruins, 54, 58–9
 - evidence for animal butchery, 69–71
 - external ditch, 57, 59
 - extramural settlement, 14, 57–8, 61–5, 73
 - field-walking, 57–8, 61–2, 62, 63–5, 73
 - First World War activity, 56–7, 252
 - form and layout, 58–61, 62, 63–4
 - function, 14, 67–72
 - garrison, 67
 - geophysical survey, 57–8, 60–2, 62, 63–5, 73
 - heritage designations, 275

- landscape context, 58, 58, 78–83, 79, 80
 perimeter walls, 57, 58–61
 ramparts, 57, 59
 reconstruction, 60
 relationship with Bradwell A power station, 257
 relationship with other Saxon Shore Forts, 59, 60, 67, 69–72, 130–4
 research potential, 72–3
 Roman occupation, 13–14, 66–72
 Second World War activity, 58, 64, 79–80, 252
 as source of stone, 34, 54, 71, 130–1
 types of stone used, 59–60, 71
See also Bradwell on Sea, Saxon Shore Forts, St-Peter-on-the-Wall, *Ythancaestir*
- Othona Community
 archaeological excavations, 57, 64–5, 67, 70–2, 95–6
 Burton Bradstock (Dorset), 243
 ethos, 239–44, 247–55, 355, 373–4
 expansion, 243–5
 farming, 252–4
 foundation, 16, 240–4, 251, 373
 infrastructure, 245–7, 373–4
 landscape setting, 239–42, 247–8, 254–5
 Nissen huts, 239, 243, 244, 245
 pacifism, 252–3
 relationship with Bradwell A power station, 246, 374
 relationship with St Peter-on-the-Wall, 240–1, 247, 255
 ‘spirit of place’, 239–41, 247–51, 269–70
See also Bradwell on Sea, Motley, Norman, Othona, St Peter-on-the-Wall
- Our Lady of Walsingham (Norfolk), 335, 351
 Owen, J. R. B., 221, 225
 Owens, Susan, 249
- pacifism, 251–3
 Pant(e), river, *see* Blackwater
 Paris, Matthew, 298
 Parker, Christopher William, 220–1, 222, 226
 Parker, Clement W., 224
 Parker, Dorcas, 225
 Parker, Dorothy, 201
 Parker, John Oxley, 55–6, 60–1, 72, 80, 95, 97, 100–2, 217, 221, 226–7
 Parker, Oxley Durant, 224–5
 PAS, *see* Portable Antiquities Scheme
 Peace Pledge Union, 252
 Peada, king of the Middle Angles, 113, 135
 Peculiar People, 251–2
 Peers, Charles, 30, 40–1, 57, 220–5, 230, 233, 235
 Penda, king of Mercia, 114
 Perry, Grayson, 17, 332–3, 338–9
See also A House for Essex
 Perry, Sarah, 249, 309
The Essex Serpent, 309
 Petre, John, 322
 Pevensey (Sussex)
 Roman fort, 60, 69, 131–4, 132
 Peverel, Ranulf de, 38, 180, 184–5
- See also* Down Hall
 Pewet Island, 28, 200, 204
 fish traps, 28–9
 pilgrimage, 290–8, 303–4, 332–3
 contemporary, 336–7
 maps, 298
 Santiago de Compostela, 295, 335
 wayside chapels, 334–6
See also British Pilgrimage Trust
 Pilgrim’s Way, 335–6
 Pincheon (Pynchon) family, 182, 184, 189–91, 189, 199, 208
See also Battels, East Hall, *Effecestrā*, *La Waule*, Wymarks
 Plowden, E., 261
 Portable Antiquities Scheme, 97, 100–2
 Portchester (Hampshire)
 Roman fort, 56, 61, 67, 72, 131, 132, 133–4
 Portmahomack (Highlands), 169
 Prittlewell, Southend (Essex)
 church of St Mary, 167
 princely burial, 115, 167, 301, 309
 royal vill, 93
- Qinetiq, 8
 Quakers, *see* Society of Friends
- Rædwald, king of East Anglia, 136–7
 railway, proposed, 1, 3–4
 Ramblers’ Association, 287–8, 337
 Raymant, Alan, 1
 Reculver (Kent)
 archaeological excavations, 143–4
 carved cross, 144
 Chapel House, 145
 church of St Mary, 30, 31–2, 32, 37, 143–5, 144, 162, 232–3, 274, 346
 demolition, 143–4, 144, 145
 fort gifted to Bassa, 31, 92, 144–5
 Roman fort, 72, 131–4, 132, 142–5
- Reedham (Norfolk), 69
 Rendlesham (Suffolk), 113, 135, 138, 166
 Richborough (Kent)
 archaeological excavations, 145–6
 burials, 147
 chapel of St Augustine, 146–7
 religious reuse, 146–7, 162
 Roman church, 146
 Roman fort, 61, 69, 72, 131–4, 132, 145–6
- Ricule, sister of Æthelbert, 115–16
 Rigold, Stuart, 134, 138, 142–3, 147
 Roach Smith, Charles, 55–6, 61, 68, 70, 217
 Rochester (Kent), 138, 162, 220
 Rodings (Essex), 82–3, 88
 Rogers, Richard and Su, 317
 Rogibus, 12
Romanitas, 15, 92, 102–3, 116, 119, 147–51
 Roskill Commission, 5
 Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, 223–4
 Royal Fine Art Commission, 232, 274, 276
 Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, 6, 258, 259, 273, 278, 369

- RSPB, *see* Royal Society for the Protection of Birds
- Ruskin, John, 248
- Sæbbi, sub-king of the East Saxons, 124
- Sæbert, king of the East Saxons, 81, 116, 300–1
- St Cuthbert's Way
creation, 291–2
relationship with Cuthbert, 291–3
- St Mary's Stadium, Southampton (Hampshire), 166–7, 168
- St Osyth (Essex), 7, 188, 204, 205
- St Peter-on-the-Wall,
altar, 223–4, 233–5, 234
approach road, 293
apse, 28, 37
archaeological excavations, 35–6, 38, 39, 57, 168–9, 230
bell tower/belfry, 29, 38, 230
burials, 55, 57, 61, 101–2, 135
chancel arches, 32, 33, 36, 39, 42, 232–3
coastal location, 15, 159–72
coin sequence, 97–100, 98–9, 169
construction phases, 34–7, 41–2, 135
Countryside Stewardship scheme, 12–13
date, 35–6, 55
entrance door, 38, 41–2, 227
fire, 29–30
floor, 228–9
foundation by Cedd, 13, 14, 27, 78, 81–2, 92, 110, 118–19, 124, 126, 152, 219
furniture, 224–5, 229, 233–4
groundplan, 31, 32, 135
heritage designations, 275
landscape setting, 2, 14, 15, 27, 28–29, 29, 159–60, 178–91, 221, 293–4, 332
medieval decline, 13, 15
medieval landholdings, 28–9, 179–84, *see also* Battels, East Hall, *Effecestrā*, *La Waule/Walle*
military use of, 8, 227, 235, 275
mortar, 35, 37, 41–2
nave, 32, 37, 230
ownership, 220–1, 226–7
pilgrimage (annual), 16, 224–5, 229, 233, 235
pilgrimage (Brentwood), 225
place of worship, 16
porch, 28, 32, 38, 41–2, 230
porticus, 28, 37, 42, 230
recognition of, 14, 15, 217–24, 235
rededication service, 14, 15, 224, 235
relationship with Bradwell A power station, 257
relationship with church of St Thomas, Bradwell on Sea, 28–9, 37–8, 100, 217
relationship with Kentish churches; 30–1, 32–3, 36–37, 38, 135–6, 220, 231
relationship with Roman fort, 27–8, 34–6, 130, 135
restoration (carried out), 14, 15, 29–30, 40, 40–2, 220–3, 225–9
- restoration (proposed by King), 228–35, 230, 274–5
- reused Roman masonry, 34, 54, 59, 71, 135
- rood (crucifix), 229–31, 234, 234, *see also* Stephens, Francis
- roof, 38–9, 41, 225–6, 227–9
- second-generation church, 30–1, 119–20, 124, 126, 135–6
- Second World War damage, 41, 227, 235, 275
- soundscape, 298–9
- stone-by-stone survey, 14, 30, 32, 33, 41–2, 43, 45, 47, 49
- structural history, 30–8, 41–2
- tower, 38, 230
- trustees, 220–1, 226–7
- types of stone used, 33–5, 37, 38, 39–40, 42, 71, 223
- use as barn, 13–14, 30, 35, 37, 39–40, 42, 218
- vestry, 233
- windows, 36, 37, 41–2, 227
- See also* Cedd, Othona, Othona Community, Saxon Shore Forts, *Romanitas*, *Ythancaestir*
- St Peter's Way, 17, 291, 337
creation, 286–9, 299
ethos, 287–9
ideas for improvement, 299–300, 303–4
infrastructure, 290, 299
pilgrimage, 290–1
usage, 290, 295
- St Thomas Way, 295–6, 297–8, 301
- St Valery-sur-Somme (Somme), 180, 182–3, 194, 195–6
- St Werburgh, 294
- Sales Point (Essex), 7
fish traps, 28–9, 80, 95–7, 96, 201–2, 208
- salt production, 59, 69–71, 81, 200, 206, 242, 258, 277, 355
- saltmarsh, 20, 78, 81, 194, 198–200, 208, 241–2, 249, 260, 301, 362–3, 367, 374
- Sanders, Henry, 224
- Sandys, Duncan, 272
- Saxon Shore Forts, 7, 14, 15, 55, 130–52
as sites for later churches, 130–52
See also Brancaster, Burgh Castle, Caister-on-Sea, Dover, Lympne, *Notitia Dignitatum*, Othona, Pevensey, Portchester, Reculver, Richborough, Walton Castle
- Schuppli, Susan, 356–9, 370
- Scourti, Erica, 325–6
- Seafarer*, *The*, 325
- Seaxbald, king of the East Saxons, 135
- Selsey (West Sussex), 161–2
- Seven Years Association, 225
- Shaw, Ron, 291
- Shenstone, Gerald, 234–5, 234
- Sheppard, Dick, 252
- Shoreline Management Plan, 3, 19, 367–8

- Sigebert, king of East Anglia, 92, 137, 139, 161
- Sigebert 'Sanctus', king of the East Saxons, 81, 111, 113, 121–2, 125, 135, 161
- Sigehere, sub-king of East Saxons, 124
- Sizewell power station (Suffolk), 11, 265, 372
- Slodd, king of the East Saxons, 115
- Sloman, Albert, 342
- Smith, J. R., 8
- Smith, Roger, 291
- Snape (Suffolk)
- boat burials, 166–7, 171, 309
 - Snape Maltings, 251
- Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 273–6
- Society of Friends, 252–3
- Society of Friends of St Peter and St Cedd, 225
- South Elmham (Suffolk)
- Old Minster, 220
- South Essex Estuary and Reclamation Act (1852), 4
- South Essex Estuary and Reclamation Company, 4–5, 9, 54, 217
- Southminster (Essex), 85, 90, 93, 94, 98–9, 100, 192–3, 203, 206, 223, 260
- SPAB, *see* Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
- Spender, Humphrey, 317, 341
- Spurrell, Frederick, 55, 218–19
- Staffordshire Hoard, 301
- Stansted Mountfitchet (Essex)
- church of St Mary, 297
- Steadman, George, 225
- Steeple (Essex), 85, 87, 94, 251, 290–1
- Stephens, Francis, 229, 234
- Stoke Quay, Ipswich (Suffolk), 166–8
- Strood Channel, 4
- Strutt & Parker, 12
- Stukeley, William, 54
- Stutton (Suffolk), 162
- Sutton Hoo (Suffolk), 135, 137–8, 166–7, 171, 309
- Swæfred, king of the East Saxons, 78, 82, 83, 86–7, 94, 103
- Swithelm, king of the East Saxons, 113–14, 135
- Synod of Whitby, 30–1, 111, 115, 122–3, 124, 291, 362
- Tanyes, manor, 177–9, 178, 179, 185–6, 187–9, 191, 194, 198–200
- See also* New Wick
- Thabayneh, Khalil, 369–70
- Thackeray Turner, Hugh, 274
- Thanet (Kent), 143, 147, 346
- Thatcher, Margaret, 341, 344
- Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, 124, 136, 137
- Theodred, bishop of London, 94, 116
- Thomson & Craighead, 360–1, 375
- Temporary Index*, 360, 361, 375
- Thurleigh (Bedfordshire), 5
- Tilbury (Essex), 19, 81, 92–3, 95, 110, 117–18, 161, 231, 267, 294, 301, 308, 326–7
- See also* Bede, Cedd
- Tillingham (Essex)
- forged charter of Æthelbert, 78, 94, 103, 116–17
 - fragmentation of estate, 86–7, 94
 - placename, 117
 - possible royal vill, 86–7, 93–4, 103
 - reconstruction of estate, 86–7, 94, 95, 116–17, 159, 184–5, 192, 201, 204, 206, 251, 287
 - See also* Mellitus
- Tolkien, J. R. R., 316, 340
- Tomlyns Wick, manor, 177–9, 178, 179, 185–6, 187–8, 199–200
- See also* New Wick
- Trawsfynydd power station (Gwynedd), 262
- Tredsall family, 205–6
- Two Saints' Way, 294, 301
- UK Atomic Energy Authority, 261–5, 267, 269
- UKAEA, *see* UK Atomic Energy Authority
- Underwood, Eric, 269
- Via Francigena Trail, 335
- Viking raids, 2, 7, 138, 145, 150, 291–2, 310–14, 317–18
- Wade, Robert, 186, 188, 191.
- See also* Down Hall, New Wick
- Wadham, Jane, 14, 30, 32, 38, 41–2, 43, 45, 47, 49
- Wakering (Essex), 93, 162, 308
- Walsham, Alexandra, 239–40, 251
- Walton Castle (Suffolk)
- church, 138–9, 150
 - Roman fort, 92, 131–4, 132, 137, 136–8, 142, 149, 162, 163
 - See also* *Dommoc*
- WARA, *see* Wing Airport Resistance Association
- Warner, John, 219
- Wealdhere, bishop of London, 82
- Wells, H. G., 309
- War of the Worlds*, 309
- Wentworth Day, J., 270
- West Essex Ramblers, 286, 303–4
- Whithorn (Wigtownshire), 169
- Whittingdale, John, 324–5, 327
- Wicken Bonhunt (Essex), 90, 93, 95
- Wilfrid, bishop of York, 161–2
- Willis, Harold, QC, 268–71, 276–8
- Wine, bishop of London, 117, 124
- Wing Airport Resistance Association, 19
- Winwæd, battle of, 114
- Woodcock, George, 253
- Wormegay (Norfolk), 168, 170
- Wrabness (Essex), 17, 334, 337, 343–4, 351
- Wulfhere, king of Mercia, 113, 117, 124
- Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, 145

- Wymarks, estate, 7, 8, 177–9, 178, 179, 182, 184, 188–91, 189, 199–200, 204
- Wynfrith (Boniface), archbishop of Mainz, 162
- Youth Hostels Association, 273
- Ythancæstir*
- abandonment, 81–2, 95, 103
 - Domesday survey, 28
 - fish traps, 96–7
 - foundation by Cedd, 14, 27, 78, 81–2, 92, 110, 118–19, 135, 219, 224, 293
 - identification of, 53–4
 - landscape context, 78–83, 79, 80, 83–93, 94, 100, 102–3, 179
 - placename, 81, 135, 179
- possible royal vill, 91–2
- relationship with church of St Thomas, Bradwell on Sea, 100
- relationship with Lastingham, 117–18
- trade networks, 167–9
- See also Bradwell on Sea, Othona, St Peter-on-the-Wall

The Chapel of St Peter-on-the-Wall, built on the ruins of a Roman fort, dates from the mid-seventh century and is one of the oldest largely intact churches in England. It stands in splendid isolation on the shoreline at the mouth of the Blackwater Estuary in Essex, where the land meets and interpenetrates with the sea and the sky. This book brings together contributors from across the arts, humanities and social sciences to uncover the pre-modern contexts and modern resonances of this medieval building and its landscape setting.

The impetus for this collection was the recently published designs for a new nuclear power station at Bradwell on Sea, which, if built, would have a significant impact on the chapel and its landscape setting. *St Peter-on-the-Wall* highlights the multiple ways in which the chapel and landscape are historically and archaeologically significant, while also drawing attention to the modern importance of Bradwell as a place of Christian worship, of sanctuary and of cultural production. In analysing the significance of the chapel and surrounding landscape over more than a thousand years, this collection additionally contributes to wider debates about the relationship between space and place, and particularly the interfaces between both medieval and modern cultures and also heritage and the natural environment.

Johanna Dale is Research Fellow in the Department of History at UCL, where she previously held a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship. Her research is focused on the political and cultural history of the medieval period and her first book, *Inauguration and Liturgical Kingship in the Long Twelfth Century*, was shortlisted for the Royal Historical Society's Whitfield Prize in 2020.



Free open access
version available from
www.uclpress.co.uk

UCLPRESS

Photo credit:
© James Pullen

Cover design:
www.hayesdesign.co.uk

