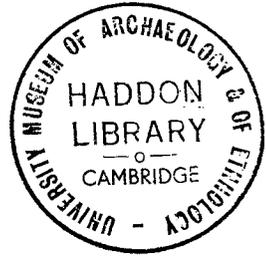


PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

OCTOBER 1934—OCTOBER 1935



VOLUME XXXVI

Edited by W. P. BAKER, M.A.

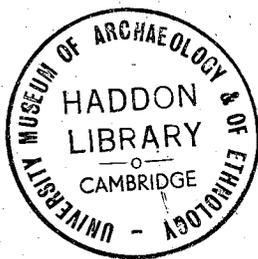
Cambridge:

Published for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

By BOWES & BOWES

1936

Price Twenty-five Shillings net



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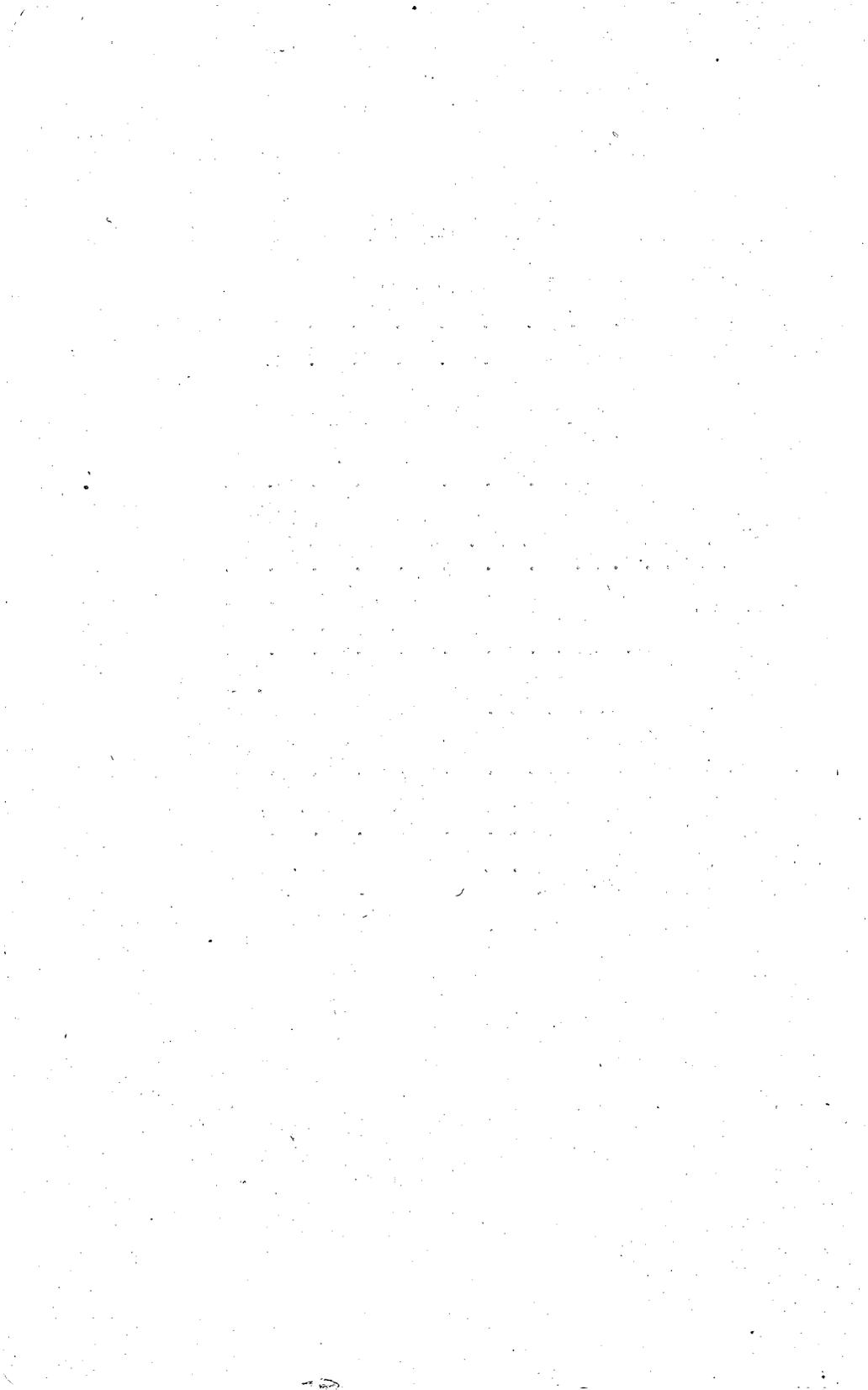
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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

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THE HOSPITALS OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST AND
ST MARY MAGDALENE AT ELY, AND THE RE-
MAINS OF GOTHIC BUILDINGS STILL TO BE
SEEN THERE AT ST JOHN'S FARM

PART I

By L. COBBETT, M.D., F.R.C.S.

(Read 27 May, 1935)¹

There is so much in Ely of greater importance than the remains of these hospitals that little attention has been given to them, and almost all that has been known of their history up to the present time is contained in Canon Bentham's book² which was written more than a century ago. Dr Palmer, however, has recently made further researches, the results of which will follow this paper. I will therefore only briefly refer here to what is recorded by Bentham.

An ancient hospital in Ely is mentioned in the Pipe Roll for 1169, in the reign of Henry II; but, as no name is given, it is uncertain whether St Mary or St John, or some other institution is referred to.³ But I may say in passing that no piece of Norman work has been found among the many reused stones preserved in the buildings I am about to describe.

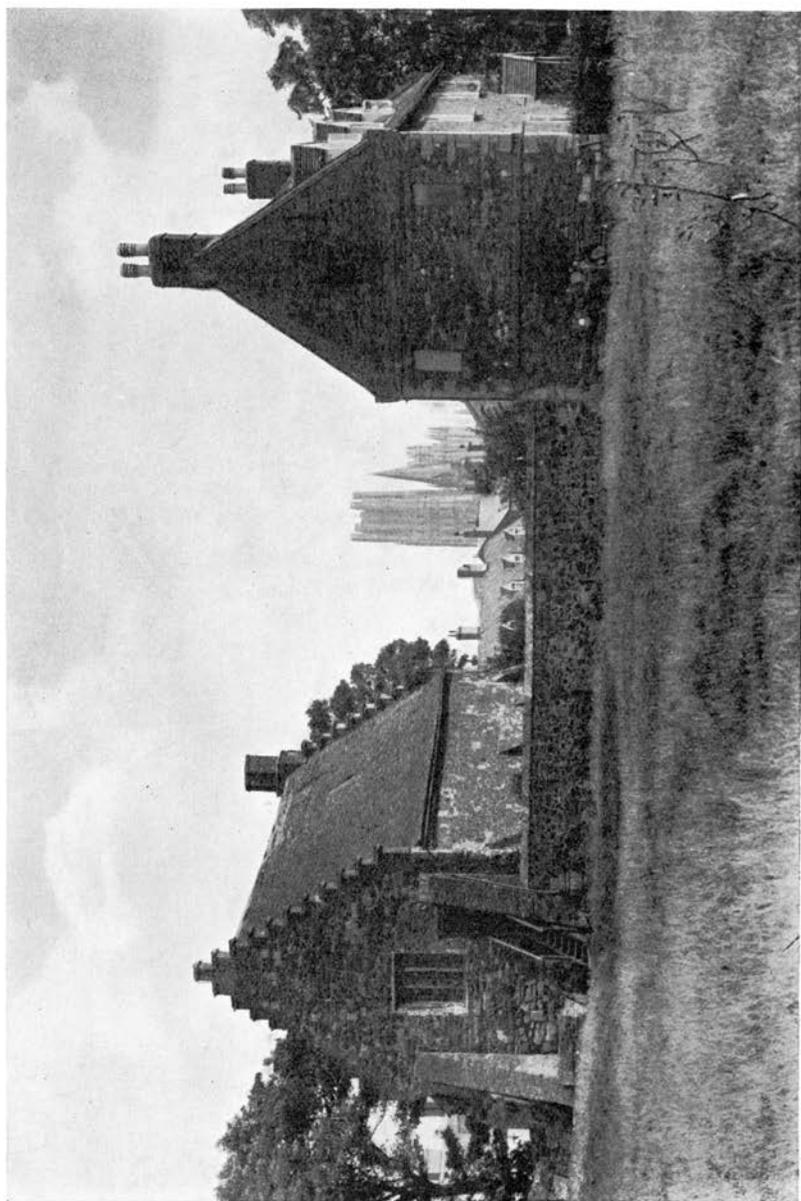
Half a century later the hospital of St Mary Magdalene in Ely was given the rectory of Littleport by Bishop Geoffrey de Burgh, 1225-8.⁴ We therefore know that one of the institutions in which we are now interested was in existence in the early part of the thirteenth century. And, in all probability, the hospital of St John was also; for the next thing we read is

¹ Discoveries in the chapel of St Mary's Hospital made since this paper was read before the Society have rendered it necessary to make some alterations and additions.

² *The Histories and Antiquities of the Cathedral and Conventual Church of Ely*, 1812, by the Rev. James Bentham.

³ *Ibid.* Supplement to the 2nd ed. by William Stevenson, F.S.A., 1817, p. 88.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 146.



St. John's Farm, Ely.

that, in or about the year 1240, Bishop Northwold, who had succeeded de Burgh, "United the two hospitals of St John Baptist and St Mary Magdalene in Ely, gave them Statutes and a Rule, and put them under the immediate government of the Sacrist of Ely, as Bishop's vicar, reserving to himself and his successors the power of admitting and displacing of members. By his ordinance the Hospital was to consist of 13 Chaplains and brethren who were to have a common Refectory and Dormitory and wear a uniform habit."¹

Here then we find about the middle of the thirteenth century an institution consisting of the sacrist and thirteen chaplains and brethren within a stone's throw of the great monastery of Ely. What could have been the purpose of this institution? I have never been able to understand what these medieval hospitals were for. Probably there were several different kinds. One thing seems certain: they were not all, like the Lepers' Hospital at Barnwell, for the relief of the sick and infirm; Dr Palmer's contribution will deal with the purpose of this institution.

Whatever its purpose, it continued in existence during the Middle Ages. Masters were appointed, some of whom at least were, presumably, not resident, and the number of brethren diminished, or became extinct. So it lingered on, escaping the dissolution of the smaller monasteries in 1536, and the chantries in 1547,² until 1561, the third year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when it was given to Clare Hall; Edward Leeds, the last Master of the hospital, being also Master of the Hall. It was then known as the hospital of Saint John Baptist in Ely.

WHERE WERE THESE HOSPITALS SITUATED?

About one of them I think there can be no doubt. For there is on the premises of St John's Farm an old building, partly Gothic and partly Tudor, that, as we shall see when we come

¹ Bentham's *Ely*, I, 147.

² The great monasteries, including Ely, were dissolved in 1539. The lesser ones with an income under £200 a year had already been suppressed in 1536. The chantries were done away with in 1547. Some of the poorer houses that could no longer pay their way had come to an end in Henry VII's reign. St Rhadegund's and the Hospital of St John in Cambridge had been wound up in 1497 and 1511 respectively.

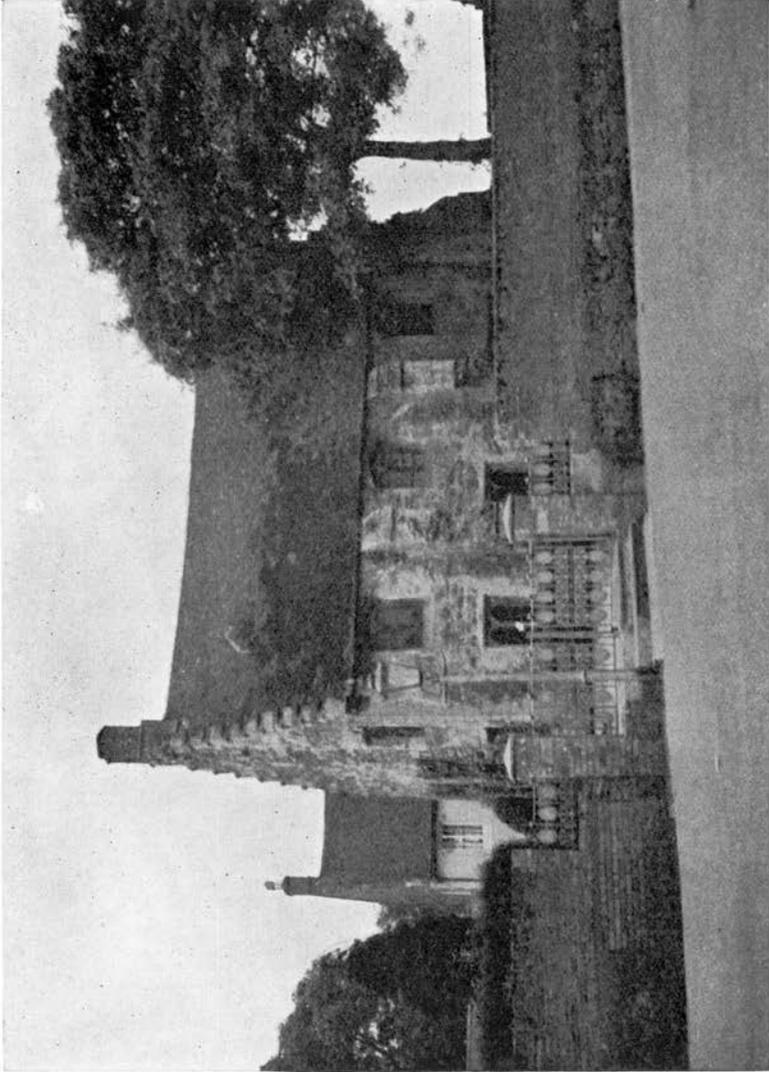
to examine it more closely, must originally have been a chapel, but which was converted at the Reformation into a dwelling. This building is so close to the present residence that it seems almost certain that it must have been the original farm-house of St John's Farm.

Now, if this is so, one would expect the chapel to have belonged to St John's Hospital; and this is the more probable because, after the amalgamation, the name of St John seems to have been commonly used, rather than that of St John and St Mary, for the combined institutions; and in the deed conveying the property to Clare Hall, it is called the hospital of St John Baptist in Ely, the name of St Mary being omitted.

I have for long looked upon this building as incorporating what remains of St John's chapel, but it now appears that that was a mistake, and the building was really the chapel of St Mary. For, as Dr Palmer has shown, in the document dealing with the union of the two hospitals in the thirteenth century, it is expressly laid down that "*the Chapel of the Blessed St John the Baptist should be at the disposition and in the custody of the Sacrist*", and this, as he points out, means that it was no longer wanted as a chapel, and that the sacrist could do what he liked with it. It was therefore the chapel of St John which was first put to secular uses, and the chapel of St Mary which survived as the chapel of the united institutions until the Reformation. Now there can be no doubt which of the two buildings was the one which continued to be used as a chapel; for the easternmost one, namely the one next the farm-house, was not only the more ornate of the two, having, as we shall see, one aisle, if not two, but it shows unmistakable signs of enlargement or reconstruction in the fourteenth century, that is long after the amalgamation of the two hospitals had been brought about. That it was really a chapel in medieval days is shown, not only by the character of its architecture, but also by the basin of its piscina which has survived built into the south wall above the Tudor doorway.

Therefore, unless the words "be at the disposition and in the custody of the sacrist" be capable of some other meaning than that given to it above, or unless the original intention to dispense with the chapel of St John and keep that of St Mary

PLATE II



The Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, north wall, showing the blocked arcade and the Tudor windows inserted at the Reformation. The present farm-house is seen behind the Chapel.

should have been reversed, it seems clear that we must conclude that the old building which now stands close to the present farm-house of St John was the chapel of St Mary.

So much for the Hospital of St Mary Magdalene, the remains of whose chapel are incorporated in the crow-stepped building alongside the farm-house, which is largely a Tudor reconstruction (see Plate I).

The other old building on the site, not 150 yards farther west, is, as we shall see, built in the style of the thirteenth century, and had a triple lancet east window. It is therefore probable that it was the chapel of the hospital of St John, though we have no such certain evidence of its having been a sacred building as we have in the case of the chapel of St Mary.

ST JOHN'S FARM

St John's Farm is situated on the Cambridge side of Ely, close to the city. Those who are familiar with the main road from the south will remember seeing, immediately after passing the garage of the Eastern Counties Omnibus Company, and a few hundred yards away to the left, a curious building of Tudor appearance with "crow-stepped" gables of brick. That is the building which I believe to have been built on the site of the chapel of St Mary's Hospital and to contain parts of the original building. The substantial farm-house is alongside it, and a little farther away hidden among other farm buildings is a large barn which I identify with the chapel of the hospital of St John.

The buildings on St John's Farm include, besides the two chapels, a third ancient structure made of Barnack stone which must belong to monastic days, though it now has a roof like an eighteenth-century dove-house, and is almost devoid of architectural features. It is situated close against the south-east corner of the farm-house.

The farm is now the property of Mr Runciman, who purchased it from Clare College a few years ago.

THE CHAPEL OF ST MARY MAGDALENE

The building which I believe to have been the chapel of St Mary's Hospital is situated on a road known as West End. It is quite close to that road, 570 yards due west of the cathedral; and immediately behind it is the farm-house. It is now used as a laundry and workshop.

Though, as we shall see, originally a Gothic building, it has undergone a drastic reconstruction in the sixteenth century, and now appears as a Tudor building with Perpendicular windows. The north wall alone contains pre-Reformation work *in situ*, all the other walls having been rebuilt, partly with old stone taken from the chapel.

The ground plan is now a simple rectangle, measuring 41 ft. 6 in. by 25 ft. But there are, as we shall see, signs of the former existence of a north aisle, and perhaps one on the south side also, and it is certain that the chapel extended farther east than the present building. There is no clear evidence of a chancel. The walls were probably higher than they are now.

The windows, door, chimney-stack and stepped gables all date from the Tudor reconstruction when the chapel was turned into a dwelling, and there is no trace of an original doorway or doorways, one of which must have been in the destroyed north aisle.

The building is largely built of rubble and reused Barnack stone. There is some brickwork in the west gable and chimney, and the roof is of tile.

The north wall contains a blocked arcade of three bays (see Plate II). The arches are still visible both from within and without; and one of the piers has recently been found buried in the wall, and is now visible from the interior of the building. Also small portions of the caps of each of the two piers are to be seen on the exterior. This arcade is evidence of the former existence of the aisle already mentioned, the foundations of which have actually been found in the garden, 18 in. below the surface, and 10 ft. 9 in. from the wall of the existing building.

The walls which now block up the openings of the arcade were doubtless built in Tudor times, for they contain two rows

PLATE III



Showing the rebuilt buttresses shaved off at the top because otherwise they would have been too tall for the building.

of mullioned windows such as one sees in so many of our old college buildings, the heads of the lights terminating in depressed arched heads. When the aisle was destroyed massive buttresses of pre-Reformation type were built, or perhaps rebuilt, up against the piers of the arcade.

The arches of the arcade are pointed, and appear at first sight to consist of one chamfered order only, but from the interior of the building portions of a moulded outer order are visible. They reach right up to the roof, a fact which makes it probable that the wall was once higher than it is now. If it were not so the roof of the nave must have been continuous with that of the aisle. Possibly there were round clerestory windows.

The easternmost arch springs from a point so close to the east wall that there is nothing to resist its thrust; and it is clear that the original building must have been longer than the present one; but how much longer cannot be determined. The only hint of a chancel is that some years ago a stone coffin was dug up in the garden a few yards away from the present east wall, so close indeed that it may have been within the church.

Let us return to the north wall. The buttresses, as I have said, are of Gothic type, dating, perhaps, from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Yet they could only have been put where they now are *after* the aisle was destroyed, and this, as the windows in the wall which now fill the archways show, was in the sixteenth century. They do not look a bit like Tudor work. I have therefore been driven to the conclusion that they must be old buttresses rebuilt in their present position. That they were not designed for the building as we now see it seems certain. They are too high, and their upper slopes, or setbacks, have had to be rounded off to fit it (see Plate III). It does not, however, seem possible that they could have come from any part of this old chapel.

The reuse of old ornamental stonework was not unusual in the Middle Ages. At Bartlow Church, for example, there is an east window of Perpendicular tracery placed in a Decorated opening which is much too large for it; and in Ely Cathedral itself, on the west side of the easternmost of the two south

transepts, there is a wall covered with a Norman blind arcading filling the intervals between the columns and so shutting off the vestry. The work of this arcading resembles that *in situ* in the south-west transept, and Mr Wheatstone the verger suggests, and I think rightly, that it came from the destroyed north-west transept, and was rebuilt in the present position.

There is no buttress at the east end of the north wall and only a nondescript one at the west end.

The east wall of the present building has been entirely rebuilt in Tudor times, as its windows and fireplaces, which will

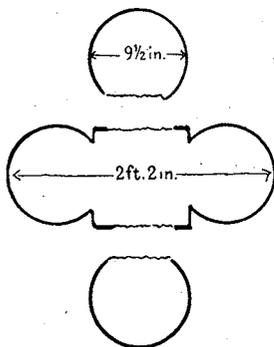


Fig. 1. Drums of the pier of the earlier chapel now built into the east wall.

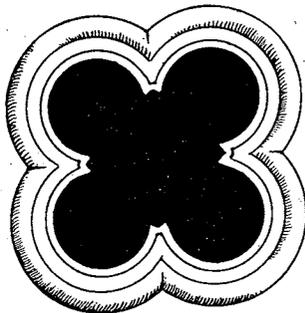
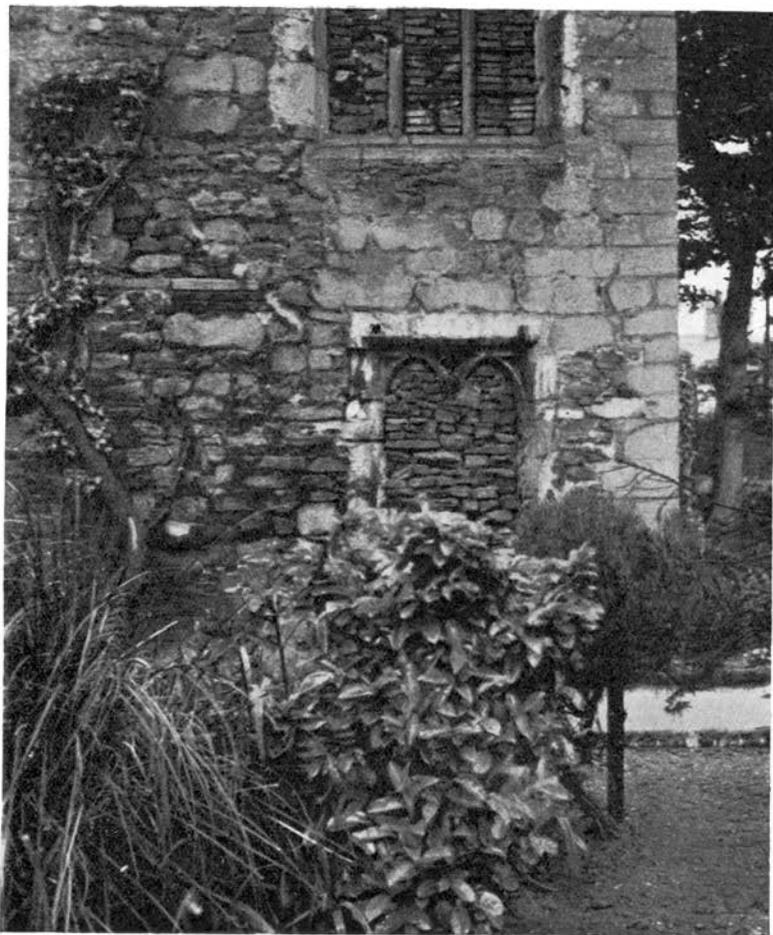


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of base of the earlier chapel.

be described in due course, show. But what is at the moment far more interesting than these features is that it contains many stones which cannot be other than the parts of the piers of an arcade. Some of them are plain drums of Barnack, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, each showing a fracture along about one-quarter of its circumference where it had evidently been broken away from the rest of the pier, probably for the convenience of building into the wall. The others consist of two similar drums united by a cubical block, the free sides of which also show signs of fracture. Thus it is clear that these stones formed part of a pier, or piers which consisted of four attached shafts with a small fillet showing between them. The stones can clearly be seen in the photograph (Plate IV) as they



East wall of St Mary's Chapel rebuilt in the sixteenth century, showing the drums of the columns of the thirteenth century arcade.

appear in the wall, and the accompanying figure shows a reconstruction on a hypothetical base.

In the garden wall, built in upside down, is a beautifully moulded cap of thirteenth-century form (Plate V), which may well have crowned a clustered pier such as has just been described. The dimensions correspond closely, and it seems probable that we have here one of the caps of the original thirteenth-century chapel of which the drums now built into the east wall are portions of the piers.

This part of the investigation took place before the discovery of the pier and the two caps already mentioned, which are still in their original position, buried in the north wall, and at first I was inclined to think that this thirteenth-century arcade was the one which had belonged to the north aisle, and which had lasted down to the time when the aisle was destroyed at the Reformation. But the discovery of a later arcade on this side, with at least one complete pier still *in situ*, showed that this could not have been so, and that the drums now in the east wall together with the cap in the garden, must belong to an earlier aisle on this side or, perhaps, to one on the other side.

At first also I was inclined to believe that the thirteenth-century chapel which existed in Northwold's time when he united the two hospitals must have proved too small for the combined institutions, and have been rebuilt. But it seemed on second thought unlikely that rebuilding rather than enlargement should have been necessary, and I am now inclined to think that a new aisle was added on the north side. This view implies that the thirteenth-century aisle was on the south side, and this is supported by the fact that its remains are now in the Tudor east wall; for it is hardly likely that, if this aisle had stood on the north side and had been replaced in the fourteenth century, its stones would have been still lying about ready to be reused when the place was reconstructed in the sixteenth century. I am therefore inclined to agree with a suggestion made by Sir Cyril Fox, namely that in the original chapel there was only a single aisle and arcade on the south side, and that the north aisle was added later. If this is the right solution the chapel of St Mary in its later

days must have had an aisle on both sides, one built about a century after the other.

I now proceed to describe the discovery of the caps and piers still preserved in the north wall. The reader will remember that, when the north aisle was destroyed in Elizabeth's reign, great buttresses were built up against the piers of the arcade. It seems that these were not placed quite centrally, and, whether by design or accident, a small sector of each of the two caps was left exposed in the re-entrant angle between the east face of each buttress and the new wall which filled the archways (see Plate V). It was the keen eye of Sir Cyril Fox that detected these interesting remains.

A little later, on examining the inner face of the wall of the building, opposite to the position of the westernmost of these caps, at a place where some plaster had accidentally fallen away, there was found one of the bases. And during repairs to this wall Mr Roger Runciman and his brother Owen subsequently found the whole of this pier running right up to the cap, a small portion of which had already been seen on the exterior. Doubtless the fellow pier is hidden in the wall farther east.

The pier, one side of which alone was exposed, seemed to consist of four attached shafts, though, of course, only two were visible, the other pair being presumably behind them still buried in the wall. The shafts, which were separated from each other by a small flat interval (not a fillet) were set square with the axes of the building. Though two shafts only were exposed, by putting one's hand into a hole in the wall where a part of the rubble had fallen away, one could feel the flat surface between the two eastern shafts, just as it appeared between the southern pair which were visible. The shafts were of substantial size, larger than those the drums of which are built into the east wall, being 12 in. in diameter instead of $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.; moreover, they were made of clunch instead of Barnack stone. One of them had a small equal-armed cross incised on it.

The caps and bases were of some stone harder than clunch. The moulded caps were simpler than the one in the garden wall, and did not project so much over their shafts. The two



Cap upside-down in garden wall.
St John's Farm, Ely.



Cap *in situ* in wall of Chapel between buttress (right)
and wall filling up archway (left).

caps are shown in outline together in Fig. 3 for comparison. The base consisted of a square plinth, on which was a low double drum surmounted by a triple roll moulding, surround-

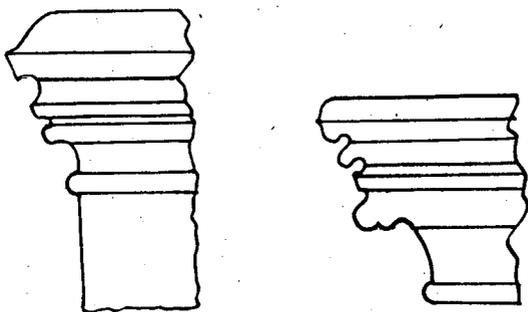
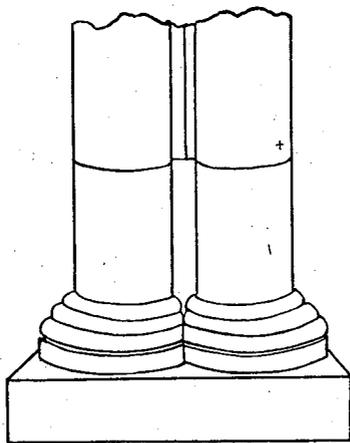


Fig. 3.

Cap *in situ*.

Cap in garden wall.

ing the bottoms of the shaft, the outermost of these rolls being defined by a quirk cut on the edge of the drum.

Fig. 4. Pier *in situ* in north wall.

From its general appearance, the small overhang of the cap and the absence of a "water holding" hollow in the mouldings of the base, it seems probable that this pier was built in the fourteenth century.

Thus we have evidence of two successive arcades on this site, one built in thirteenth-century style with piers consisting of four rather slender attached shafts and richly moulded cap, the other rather clumsier, made of inferior material, and probably dating from a century later. The remains of the earlier arcades are contained in the Tudor north wall, and in that of the garden; those of the latter fourteenth-century arcade are still *in situ* though largely hidden in the reconstructed north wall.

The earlier arcade probably belonged to a south aisle which was in existence in Northwold's time, before the amalgamation took place, while the latter seems to have been added on the north side, perhaps half a century or more after that event.

THE TUDOR RECONSTRUCTION

We now return to the building as we find it at the present time, and proceed to study the Tudor reconstruction. The windows in the walls which now block the arcade of the north wall have already been mentioned. It remains to be said that these have two lights in each, except the westernmost one of the lower row, which is of three lights without any arch at their heads, and is probably of later date than the others. The heads of the upper windows are formed by the arches of the arcade, while those of the lower row are square. In the rebuilt east wall (see Plates II and IV) there are two Tudor windows, one of two lights below, and another of three lights above it. The gable has been carried up in a series of steps of Barnack stone, each capped with a massively moulded tile. At its apex is a double chimney-stack set diamond-wise on a square base. In the interior are still the wide fireplaces corresponding to these chimneys, the upper one surmounted by a wooden beam cut in the form of a depressed arch.

To the right of this fireplace, occupying the space between it and the corner of the room, is a Tudor doorway, now blocked up. It may possibly have opened on to an outside stair, but this seems improbable, and, as the wall below this doorway has been altered and rebuilt with brick, it seems not unlikely that it led into an outside closet.

PLATE VI



Tudor doorway in south wall of the Chapel of St Mary Magdalene
at St John's Farm, Ely.

Note the basin of the piscina above the door.

The south wall, like the east, has been entirely rebuilt, and has now no windows; but at its western end is a vertical row of squared stones which can only have formed the jamb of a window. More of this jamb can be seen from within the building. At first I was inclined to think this might be part of the Gothic chapel, and evidence of its width and of the absence of an aisle from this side; but I am convinced that it is not medieval, the stones are of such poor quality and so variable, some being of clunch, that they could only have belonged to a window of the Tudor reconstruction. We therefore cannot form from this wall any idea of the width of the chapel or whether there was a south aisle and arcade, which, for other reasons already given, seem to have existed on this side.

At the other end of this wall is a rather attractive, though plain, Tudor doorway of oak (see Plate VI); and, above it, the fluted basin of a piscina, good confirmatory evidence, if any were needed, that the building which we now see had been built out of the ruins of a chapel. The lean-to buttresses on either side of this doorway are, of course, later.

The west wall has no pre-Reformation features (see Plate I). Like the east and south walls it has been rebuilt entirely. Again, as in the east wall, we have the crow-steps in the gable, but here they are made entirely of brick instead partly of stone. In the middle of the wall is a good Tudor window of three lights, and by its side a more recent doorway which, until a few years ago, led into the garden down a short flight of wooden steps. On either side of the wall is a later lean-to buttress of brick.

In the thickness of this wall there are two Tudor fireplaces with flues leading up to the apex of the gable. One on the ground floor is central; the other is on the south side of the window, and has been partly destroyed by the later doorway just described. The double chimney-stack which served these fireplaces was doubtless like that on the eastern gable, but it has disappeared, all but a corner just visible above the roof on the south side, and its place is taken by three steps made of a different kind of brick from the others.¹

¹ The apex of this gable has a dangerous lean towards the east, and threatens to fall through the roof at the next south-westerly gale.

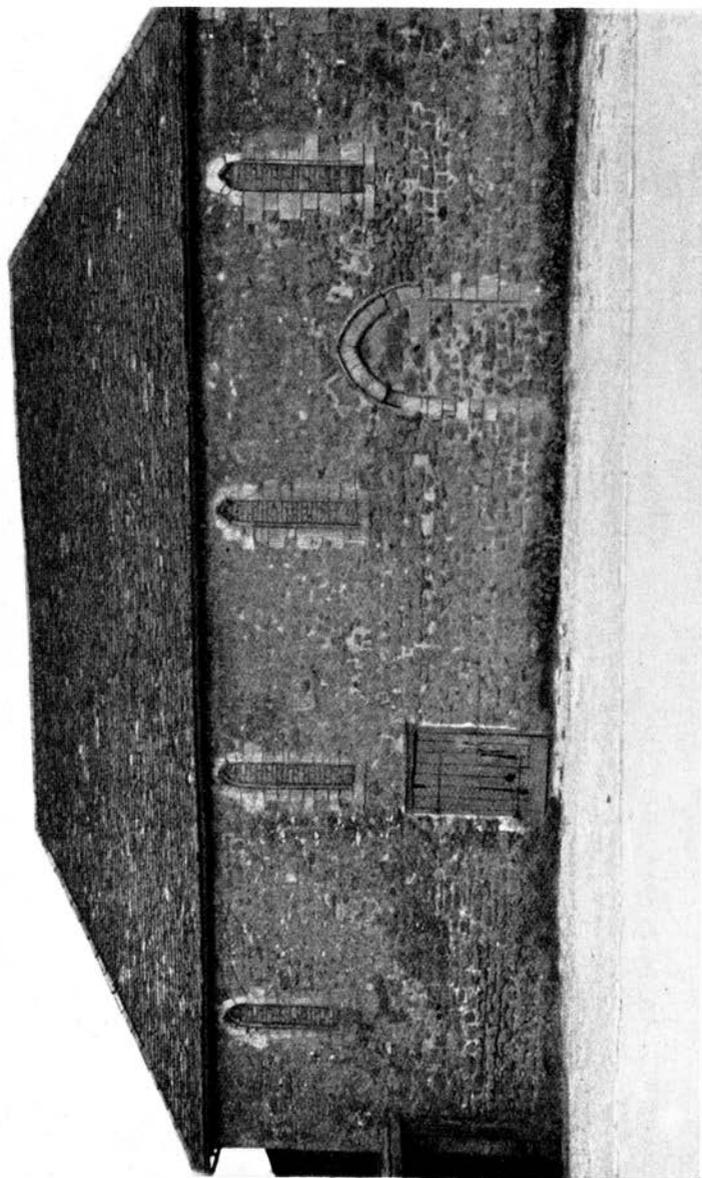
One other relic of the ancient chapel seems worthy of notice, namely a massive oak beam which now runs in two pieces from end to end of the building and supports the upper floor. At each of its ends is a long mortice, cut on the slant through the whole thickness of the beam, evidently for the brace or bracket, which supported it. There are also round holes for pegs to keep the braces in place. The beam is chamfered, but in parts there are signs that it was originally moulded. It has been suggested that this is the old rood beam of the chapel; but if so the chapel must have been very much wider than it is now, for it measures nearly 40 ft. in length.

THE CHAPEL OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

The building which I believe to have been the chapel of the Hospital of St John is 130 paces to the west of St Mary's Chapel, and is situated at the side of St John's Road which leaves West End close to the latter building. Like St Mary's Chapel it is built of rubble with corners of Barnack stone, and is roofed with tile. It is now used as a barn. The roof has a slope at each end so that the east and west walls are flat-topped, but no doubt they were originally gabled.

It is a simpler building than St Mary's Chapel, and its plan seems never to have been anything but a plain rectangle. It measures externally 53×24 ft., exceeding the present length of the other building by 11 ft. 6 in. but being 1 ft. less in width.

In its northern wall (see Plate VII), the whole of which can be seen from the road, are four plain lancet windows situated rather high up, and now blocked. Built mainly of Barnack stone, their arches are of clunch. This probably was because the upper part of the windows was protected by the overhang of the roof, thus making the costly Barnack stone unnecessary. This little evidence of economy shows that the building was of a simple kind, and not built regardless of expense. From the inside one may see the widely splayed internal openings of these windows, each with a beautiful arched head of clunch, set, in the logical thirteenth-century



Chapel of St John the Baptist, north wall. The Saxon carving can just be seen over the apex of the gable.

manner, at a level lower than that of the external openings so that the light might be allowed to shine downwards as far as possible.

Below the interval between the two westernmost windows is a good pointed doorway of Barnack stone. The plain arch is of a single order, chamfered on its edge, and outside it, and in contact with it, is a hood mould, or dripstone, with a deep hollow on its inner side, terminating in masks. In the head of the arch is, not a vertical joint, as was usual in the thirteenth century, but a keystone of very unsymmetrical shape. Immediately above the doorway built into the wall is an ancient stone which will be described later on.

In the south wall, opposite this doorway, is another of similar character, but of simpler design. There are also in this wall parts of windows similar to those on the north side and, like them, blocked. In the middle great barn doors, reaching to the roof, have been inserted for the entrance of waggons.

The west wall is featureless and needs no description.

The east wall deserves closer study, and presents somewhat of a problem. Seen either from within or without, there is, in the middle of it, occupying the greater part of its width, a broad recess, which suggested at first that there may have been here either a great east window, perhaps inserted in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, or a chancel arch. But on closer inspection this idea has to be given up, for the edges of this recess are made roughly of rubble, instead of stone or clunch, as would have been the case had it been an arch or a window. Moreover, there is conclusive evidence that it could not have been an original chancel arch, for one can make out what the original window was like. In the narrow parts of the wall left on each side of the recess are parts of the clunch jambs of openings set on a string course of the same material. It is therefore evident that there was originally a window of three separate lancets, such as we see at the east ends of so many thirteenth-century churches.

The recess therefore must have been made at a later date than that of the chapel, and was probably a large opening, cut in the wall for the admission of waggons when the chapel became a barn; and was blocked by a thin wall when the

great opening which we now see in the south wall was made to replace it.

A curious feature of the jambs of this blocked opening is that, although only roughly built of rubble, they nevertheless have a broad splay externally. I cannot believe that any Elizabethan, or other sixteenth-century builder, would have troubled to have built them so, and it rather looks as if the chapel may have become a barn even as early as the amalgamation of the hospitals by Northwold when it was no longer necessary to maintain two chapels.

If this was the case, the chapel of the Hospital of St Mary, having now become the chapel of the combined hospitals, survived as an ecclesiastical building long after that of St John had been put to secular uses. When it was converted into a farm-house, whether at the Dissolution in 1536, or not until 1561 when it was given to Clare, cannot be exactly determined.

A point of some little interest concerning the orientation of these chapels is that they differ considerably from one another. That of St John follows St Mary's Church, Ely, which is nearly due east and west, while that of St Mary follows the cathedral which is directed to a point a good deal south of east.

Just by the Tudor doorway at St Mary's is a hand quern of pudding stone from Hertfordshire, while built into a wall close to St John's Chapel is a piece of a Roman millstone of Niëdermendig lava.

THE THIRD ANCIENT STRUCTURE ON ST JOHN'S FARM

This is the small building built of Barnack stone with a tiled roof like an eighteenth-century dove-house. It measures 20 by 19 ft. On the inner face of the east wall very low down are visible two simple arches of clunch now blocked up. One of these rests at one end on a stone, apparently the base of a column, consisting of a round drum converted into an octagon above, like some of the fourteenth-century bases in the south aisle of the choir of the cathedral. It certainly is not *in situ*.

PLATE VIII



The Saxon carving built into St John's Chapel.

There is also along the inner face of parts of the south and west walls a projection as if for a seat; but I do not think this is part of the original structure.

A REMNANT OF ETHELDREDA'S ABBEY

Above the apex of the north doorway of St John's Chapel, built into the wall, is an old carving of Saxon character (see Plate VIII). It is on a piece of Barnack stone which measures 11 by 10 in. On it is cut in deep relief a design, which, in spite of much weathering, seems to represent some animal with a man on its back, surrounded by a sort of frame rounded above.

I have made a drawing of what I believe it to represent, namely a heavy animal like an ox with crossed horns, and a man on its back turning his head backwards and blowing a great horn like a trumpet made out of an elephant's tusk. The crossing of the horns, one pointing forward and the other backward,

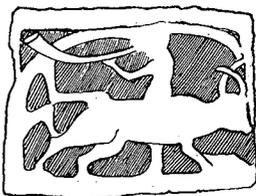


Fig. 5.

has suggested that the animal may be meant for a yale.

The photograph of this stone has been shown to experts, who do not entirely agree about it. Sir Cyril Fox and Mr A. W. Clapham believe it to be of eighth-century date, but Dr Freyhan, of the Courtauld Institute of Art, inclines to the opinion, that it is late Norman work. I can only say that to me it seems to stand midway between the realistic work of the seventh century, introduced from the continent and following classical traditions, and the highly stylised art of the period of the Danish wars and later, where the animals are reduced to a design, and their limbs tied up in inextricable interlacements. It is, I suggest, a typical Anglian beast, with a human figure.

I do not claim that this stone formed part of Etheldreda's original monastery, and is of seventh-century date, though this is just possible; but rather that it belonged to the monastery which she founded in 673 and was carried on by her royal sisters after her death, and which was certainly enlarged

and added to during the two centuries of its existence, before it was burnt by the Vikings in 870. Such a carving could not have been made in the time of King Edgar, when the monastery was restored in 970, and it does not look to me like Norman work.

If this contention is correct this is the only stone which can be identified with Etheldreda's foundation; the famous Ovin stone now in the cathedral, commemorating her principal thane Ovinus, having been erected as a memorial to him in Haddenham and removed from there to Ely.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We have seen that, in the grounds of St John's Farm at West End, Ely, there are three ancient buildings, two of which appear to have been chapels. One of these latter is considered to have been the chapel of St Mary's Hospital and the other that of the Hospital of St John. Both of them we know to have been in existence in the thirteenth century in Bishop Northwold's time.

These two institutions were united in, or about, 1240. One of the chapels was turned to secular use, and the other remained the chapel of the combined institutions until the Dissolution. In 1561 the hospital was given to Clare College.

In the building which I have identified as the chapel of St Mary, remains of thirteenth-century piers are now incorporated in the east wall which was rebuilt in Tudor times. A corresponding moulded cap is built into the garden wall. This is all that remains of this chapel as it existed when Northwold combined the Hospital of St John with that of St Mary.

In the north wall of the present building, however, are the arches of an arcade, and portions of the caps of the two piers are visible. Moreover, in this wall, in the course of some repairs the whole of one of these piers was discovered. As this pier has fourteenth-century characters it is concluded that within a century of the amalgamation an aisle was either added or rebuilt on this side. But seeing that the stones of the piers of the earlier aisle are incorporated in the east wall

built in the sixteenth century, it seems more likely that this aisle continued in existence down to the Dissolution, and if so it must have been on the south side. The chapel therefore in its latest phase had an aisle on either side.

At or about the time of the Dissolution this sacred building was put to secular use and largely rebuilt as a dwelling, an upper floor and fireplaces being constructed and windows of Tudor type put in. This was, probably, the first farmhouse of St John's Farm.

The other ecclesiastical building is now a barn. It has thirteenth-century characters; and some reasons are given for thinking that it may have been turned to secular use, shortly after the amalgamation of the two hospitals, when one of the chapels was no longer required for divine service.

Above the doorway of this chapel a carved stone has been found built into the thirteenth-century wall. This stone has, I think, Anglian characters, and is believed to have formed part of the monastery founded by Etheldreda in 673 and which lasted until it was destroyed by the Vikings in 870.

There is little or nothing to show what was the purpose of the third ancient building on St John's Farm.

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