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PROCEEDINGS  
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**Cambridge Antiquarian Society,**

OCTOBER 1935—OCTOBER 1936



VOLUME XXXVII

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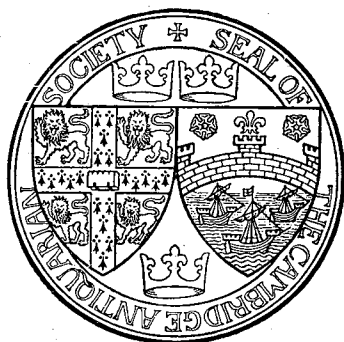
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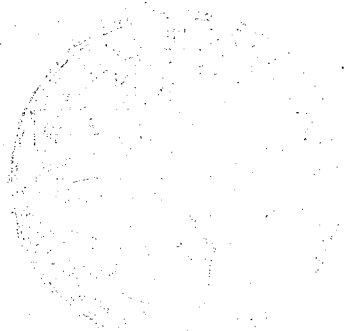


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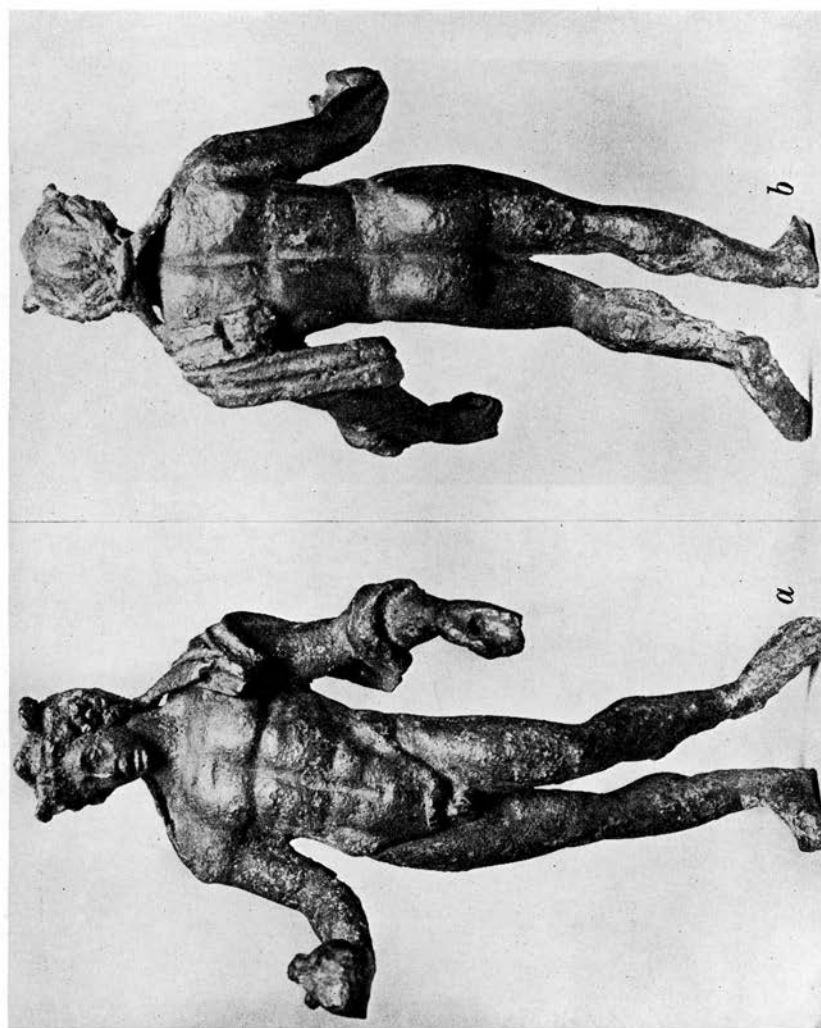
ON SOME UNPUBLISHED ROMAN BRONZE  
STATUETTES IN THE MUSEUM OF ARCHAEO-  
LOGY AND ETHNOLOGY, CAMBRIDGE.

By FRITZ M. HEICHELHEIM, DrPhil.

I. *Mercury* (Museum no. 35.978). Height 16.2 cm. Found some years ago in Manea Fen, Cambs, by a labourer. Purchased in 1935 with part of the C.A.S. grant to the Museum (Pl. Ia and b). The figure is cast solid, as are all the other pieces described in this paper.

The god is represented as a nude young man, standing erect and bearing his weight on the right leg. His only clothing is a wrap draped round the shoulders and wound round the left arm. On his head the god has a winged laurel wreath; his right arm is outstretched and he holds a large purse. The god was holding in his left hand the usual caduceus, which probably reached to the ground, but of which only little pieces remain attached to the hand and the wrap. Cf. similar types, S. Reinach, *Bronzes figurés de la Gaule Romaine*. Description raisonnée du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1894), 64 seq.; E. Babelon and A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (1895), 141 seq.

It is quite probable, though not certain, that the cult of Mercury was regarded not only as the usual common Empire cult in Cambridgeshire and the neighbouring counties but also in some cases as *interpretatio Romana* of Celtic cults. On the other hand, the figure under consideration, and eleven others from this district described in previous publications (1), are characteristic of the genuine classical style of the period. But a chalk statuette from Great Thurlow, Suffolk (2), proves by an unusual representation that the special syncretistic Mercury cult of the Romanized provinces of Gaul penetrated to the Cambridge region also. Two views of this interesting piece, which has not hitherto been illustrated, are shown on Pl. Vc and d. Its nearest stylistic analogy, possibly a unique one, is a stone sculpture from Compiègne (cf. E. Espérandieu,



Mercury, from Manca (front and back).





a. Hercules, Bristol:  
c. Hercules, ?Colchester.

b. Hercules, near Ely.  
d. Hercules, ?Colchester.

*Recueil général des basreliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine*, I-X (1907-28), no. 3852), which is very remarkable from a historical point of view. Since Great Thurlow is situated in a part of Britain subject to Belgic influence we need not be surprised to find in it traces of the special art and beliefs of the Belgae.

II. *Hercules* (Museum no. 21.103). Height 11.5 cm. Bronze. Found at Bristol in 1890. Pl. II*a*.

III. *Hercules* (Museum no. 22.693). Height 11 cm. Bronze. Found in the neighbourhood of Ely (Cole-Ambrose collection). Pl. II*b*.

IV. *Hercules* (Museum no. 22.691). Height 6.5 cm. Bronze. Probably from near Ely (Cole-Ambrose collection). Pl. III*a*.

V. *Hercules* (Museum no. 1891.R.18). Height 6.5 cm. Bronze. Found at Sutton, Isle of Ely, before 1891. Pl. III*b*.

VI. *Youthful Hercules* (Museum no. 97.81). Height 9 cm. Gilded bronze. Found between Icklingham and Cavenham, Suffolk. Pl. III*d*.

VII. *Hercules* (Museum no. 36.802). Height 7.5 cm. Bronze. Very probably from Colchester. Pl. II*d*.

VIII. *Hercules* (Museum no. 36.801). Height 10 cm. Bronze. Very probably from Colchester. Pl. II*c*.

It will be seen that there is a relatively great number of votive statuettes of Hercules to be noted from Cambridgeshire and the neighbouring counties. All the pieces represent an erect, nude Hercules, in the usual style of the Roman Empire. In nos. II, III, IV, V, VII and VIII, a lion skin is draped over the right arm, and in nos. II and III round the shoulders. Nos. II, III, VI, VII and VIII have a club in the right hand, nos. IV and V in the left (broken away in nos. III and VIII); nos. IV and V have a beard; no. VI is the conventional type of the young Hercules. Cf. similar pieces in S. Reinach, *loc. cit.* 124 seq.; Babelon and Blanchet, *loc. cit.* 224 seq.

A number of these pieces might have had some connection with the Emperor cult of Commodus as Romanus Hercules (3). This cult is not only represented by (a) the famous hoard from Willingham Fen, Cambs (the bronze "civic staff" from which is shown on Pl. IV*b* (4)), but also by (b) the well-known bronze

figure from Cottenham, Cambs, in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Pl. IV *a*) (5), which, though it has sometimes been taken for a Marcus Aurelius, undoubtedly represents the features of Commodus as certainly as the interesting "civic staff" from Willingham Fen. The Cottenham piece may therefore be considered as another representation of this Emperor in the role of Hercules-Mars and of a conqueror of barbarians (6). As a third example of the Commodus cult in the Cambridge region may be mentioned (*c*) the so-called Jupiter Martialis—more probably Mars Ultor—from Bluntisham-cum-Earith, Hunts, now in the British Museum (7). The features of this beautifully modelled bronze figure can in my opinion be identified as those of Commodus almost as certainly as those of the other two pieces; it has a helmet similar to but simpler than that in the Cottenham figure.

It is possible that the hoard from Willingham and the two cult statuettes from Cottenham and Bluntisham, representing the same Emperor, originally stood in the same temple, before the dispersal of that group of monuments after the *damnatio memoriae* of Commodus. The three sites where they were found are comparatively near each other. The bronze figure from Cottenham was found in the bottom of the Car Dyke, a Roman canal; the other two places are in the immediate neighbourhood of the same waterway. The evidence seems to suggest that these figures may have been thrown away, perhaps as a matter of ritual, at short intervals after the end of Commodus' reign (8).

A great number of other representations of Hercules are known from the counties near Cambridgeshire (9). A survey of the distribution of the Hercules cult in Cambridgeshire and the surrounding counties reveals some remarkable differences from the distribution of the Mercury cult in the same districts. Evidences of the Mercury cult are scattered over the whole map of the country like a net of wide but comparatively even mesh (10). The evidences of the Hercules cult, on the other hand, are massed near three centres only, with the exception of a few outlying examples. The first centre of the Hercules finds is situated somewhere north of Cambridge, in the region of the River Nene, with some outposts in Norfolk (cf. nos. *d*,



*a.* Hercules, near Ely. *b.* Hercules, Sutton, Isle of Ely. *c.* Diana, Bassingbourn.  
*d.* Hercules, between Icklingham and Cavenham, Suffolk. *e.* Venus, near Ely.



*e, f, h, i*). The second may have been in the region of Cambridge and Ely (cf. nos. III, IV, V, *a, b, c*). The last is in the south, near Colchester, with outposts reaching into Suffolk (cf. nos. VI, VII, VIII, IX, *k, l, m, n, o, p, q*). We must, in my opinion, assume the existence in all three centres of more or less important temples of Hercules and a more or less intensively practised cult, probably with some degree of Celtic influence at times.

I would like to offer some suggestions and conjectures concerning the sites of the Hercules cults in the immediate neighbourhood of Cambridge and of their special significance. These remain to be substantiated or contradicted by further research and excavation. The whole of the available material can be divided into two groups. Those pieces which are connected with the Emperor cult of Hercules-Commodus (cf. *a-c*) show a syncretistic affinity with other Roman and Gallo-Roman deities, viz. Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Jupiter Taranis, Mars Ultor, Tarvos Trigaranus. It is probable, in my opinion, that there was a temple in Cambridge itself where these, and perhaps all the other important cults of the Roman Empire, were practised simultaneously as θεοὶ πάρεδροι under the patronage of the cult of the governing Emperor and the great Roman Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the Protector of the Empire. This temple would be the most appropriate place for the deposit of the *sceptrum magistratus* from Willingham Fen. I have conjectured elsewhere<sup>(11)</sup> that there may have been such a temple standing near St Peter's Church on Castle Hill, Cambridge, which is within the supposed area of Roman Cambridge, and that this temple was consecrated originally to the Celtic (Jupiter) Taranis.

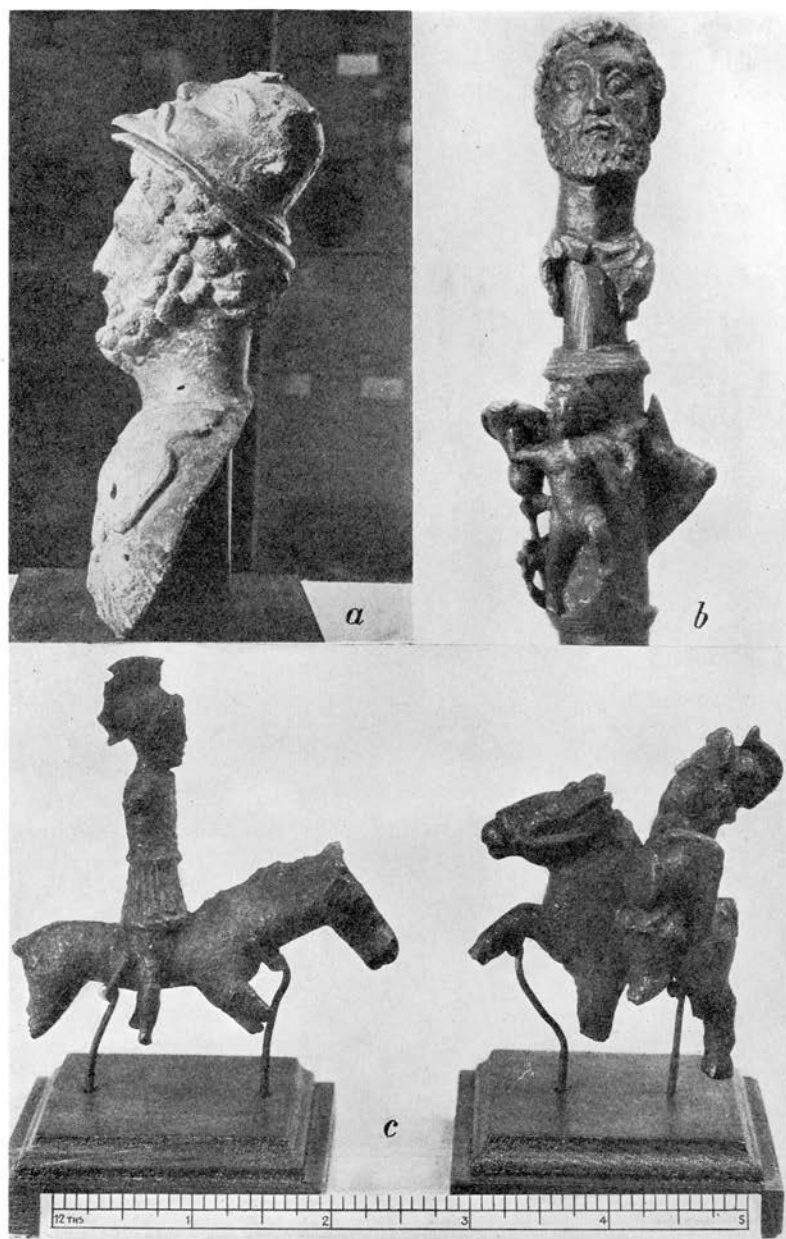
On the other hand, the rest of our material from the region between Cambridge and Ely points rather to a pure Hercules cult (cf. nos. III, IV and V). If we ask where such a centre of veneration might have been situated, we must turn, if I am correct, to the Gogmagog Hills as the most probable place. In earlier times, as we know from accounts written in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries<sup>(12)</sup>, there was a very remarkable figure of a giant cut in the chalk of the Gogmagog Hills. This figure we may assume to have been similar to the

Cerne giant (Dorset) and the two giants, no longer in existence, at Plymouth Hoe (Devon). The two latter held clubs, according to tradition, and not only does the Cerne giant hold the club of Hercules, but his name in the early Middle Ages, *Helith*, or *Helethkin*, implies a definite connection with the Roman god, and his comparatively fine anatomical modelling, impossible in Iron Age or medieval art, clearly indicates, in my opinion, the influence of Roman art (13).

Although the giant of the Gogmagog Hills may have existed in pre-Roman times, as other giants probably did, the *interpretatio Romana* could hardly do other than call him Hercules and make a shrine for the Hercules cult on an ancient site of Celtic worship. The very remarkable representation on the "civic staff" from Willingham Fen, where Jupiter Taranis puts his foot upon the head of a giant emerging from the earth, might conceivably connect symbolically the Taranis of Castle Hill, Cambridge, with the giant of the Gogmagog Hills.

This conjecture may be supported by the so-called Wandlebury legend, which is concerned with the same localities, a well-known medieval legend which has not hitherto been used to interpret the Willingham Fen hoard. The essential details of this tale are as follows: A knight comes as a guest to Cambridge Castle. At nightfall he goes to an enclosed area on the Gogmagog Hills, and, entering it, utters a challenge in a certain formula, whereupon a giant horseman emerges; there is a combat between them, in which the knight is victorious, and takes the giant's horse as booty; at daybreak, however, it escapes and disappears. A wound which the knight has received during the combat bleeds on each anniversary of the combat (14).

The tale is connected with the same site as the hill-figure. Similar tales of combats between knights and giants are recounted over the whole area of Celtic influence in the Middle Ages, and a Celtic mythological origin for the Wandlebury tale seems, therefore, very possible. In addition, we have some indications that an early version of such tales was current in the Gallo-Roman period, and perhaps even earlier. Two local *cognomina* of the Gallo-Roman Hercules, *Ilunnus* and *Andoses*



*a.* Helmet, Cottenham Fen.  
*b.* "Civic Staff," Willingham Fen hoard.  
*c.* Figures of horsemen, Willingham Fen hoard.

and Toleandossus, are usually translated as "warrior of *x*" (*x* being the name of a locality or tribe) (15). The older hill-figures in England usually represent a giant or a horse (cf. note 13), as in the Wandlebury legend, and are often connected with similar myths. More important seems to be the representation already pointed out on the Willingham "civic staff" of the defeat of a giant by a god, which accords with the last scene of the combat in the Wandlebury legend. A second and equally striking connection with the same myth is to be found in the same hoard, in the shape of two bronze figures of horsemen (extremely rare in Romano-British finds) whose significance it has hitherto been impossible to interpret. One of them represents a rider who is much too tall for his mount, which is an unusually long one; this, if it is not due merely to bad craftsmanship, indicates a giant warrior on his horse; the second rider and his horse are on the other hand normally well-proportioned. These two figures might be considered as votive statuettes from a temple representing an early conception of the encounter in the Wandlebury legend (Pl. IV c). The well-known and much-discussed Jupiter giant columns (16) and some very interesting representations on Gaulish and East Celtic coins may have similar connections. On the latter there is usually represented a horse, sometimes with a human head, and a giant; while the former very numerous monuments always represent a mounted Jupiter or Jupiter Taranis, viz. the very god of the scene on the Willingham staff, and of a type quite similar to the normal mounted figure in the same hoard, riding victorious over a giant on the ground. The giant on a recently found column (*Germania*, xx (1936), 256 seq.) has several heads, which again might indicate connection with a Celtic deity, if this remarkable representation is not taken from the Greek Geryoneus myth. Like the hill-figures of England, the Jupiter columns of the western provinces of Rome, which have not been very satisfactorily interpreted from Roman or German or Oriental religion, are usually found in open spaces and not in the larger settlements of the Roman Period.

If we assume an old Celtic origin for the tales of combats between knights and giants in the Middle Ages, which seems

to be justifiable in view of their distribution, and if we assume a form of artistic Romanization of such myths under Roman rule, then we are, I think, in a position to solve at once all these problems which have hitherto been discussed without definite result. A hypothetical myth, telling how the mounted Taranis, the Celtic god of thunderstorms and the heavens, who was called "caelestium deorum maximus" and "praeses bellorum" by Lucan (*Pharsal*, I, 446), and was venerated with human sacrifices<sup>(17)</sup>, defeated a demon of the night and captured his horse, might have influenced all the monuments and tales mentioned above, from Roman times to the Middle Ages. In Roman times we find that it is only the artistic representation of the god which is really Romanized; in Christian times the myth was humanized as far as possible, until it dwindled away. The fact that we have in the Cambridge region a hill-figure, a representation of a combat between Jupiter and a giant, and a medieval legend of an encounter between giant and knight, all probably connected with the same localities, may provide the answer to a number of problems<sup>(18)</sup>.

Nos. III, IV and V of our bronzes may quite possibly belong to the cult-centre on the Gogmagog Hills, and might have been sold there as votive statuettes on some festival day<sup>(19)</sup>. On the other hand, we have to remember that the remains of a so-called *Wochengötterstein* have been found at Great Chesterford, Essex, which must have formed part of a Jupiter column, the most striking symbol of the syncretistic Gallo-Roman Jupiter and Jupiter-Taranis cult<sup>(20)</sup>. A centre for a Hercules-Giant cult, as we have shown before, might well have existed at such a site, a suggestion which needs further archaeological investigation. So far as I know, this piece from Great Chesterford, the inscribed base of a Jupiter column from Chichester, Sussex, an inscription and a capital from Cirencester, Gloucestershire, probably another piece from Irchester, Northamptonshire, and the Willingham Fen staff, are the only monuments in the whole of Roman Britain which can be interpreted as direct or indirect outlying examples of the Jupiter Giant columns, which are found so frequently in the Rhineland and in the east of Gaul<sup>(21)</sup>. This

points, in my opinion, to a strong Belgic influence in Cambridgeshire and the neighbouring counties (as well as in Sussex and Gloucestershire), an influence of which proof has already been brought forward in connection with the local Mercury cult, and further proof will be given in connection with the Diana cult of the Cambridge region.

The Jupiter column from Irchester (if Haverfield is right in his very cautious surmise) might give us the northern centre of the Hercules cult in the region of the River Nene, of which we have spoken earlier. On the other hand, Castor (*Durobrivae*) is more in the centre of the group of finds *d, e, f, h, i*, and might be a more probable site.

The cult centre in the south-east of our map is not surprising. Colchester must have had a temple of Hercules as well as many temples or chapels of other deities. But it is surprising that, according to the finds, Hercules, so far as I can see, was certainly the most intensively venerated god of Colchester, not, for example, Jupiter Optimus Maximus or Mars (*Camulus*). I would like to point out here, as a possible indication for further research, that the god *Camulus*, whose name Roman *Camulodunum* commemorates, was equated with Mars on the Continent, especially by the Remi, but belongs to a group of syncretistic Gallo-Roman deities to which artistic symbols of Hercules were given by some other Celtic tribes (22). Up to the present a "*Hercules Camulus*" has not been found at Colchester, or anywhere else, but such a find in the future would have direct analogies in continental Gaul and would not be exceptional.

The Hercules bronze, no. II, from near Bristol, belongs to a small group of similar local cult finds. Their cult centre might perhaps have been Bath, where, as at Colchester, there must have been a Hercules temple or chapel in addition to the other cults found there (23); or Cirencester, with its Jupiter column, mentioned earlier in this paper.

IX. *Diana* (Museum no. 23.239). Height 10.5 cm. Bronze. Found during coprolite digging near Bassingbourn, Cambs. Pl. III c.

The goddess is standing upright and is wearing the so-called Amazon costume, i.e. the upper part of the body is girdled in

front, allowing the breasts to appear free. The right hand originally held a bow which is now lost, but which she appears to draw with the left hand. An indication of the date is given by the style of hair-dressing, which is of the Antonine period (24).

No other evidence of the Diana cult in the Cambridge region has yet been found (25). Krueger (26) has shown the strong probability that representations of the Diana of the peculiar type to which our no. IX belongs were especially used for Diana-like local Gallo-Roman deities. Under these circumstances our piece should be included among numerous similar representations from Germania Superior and the continental Belgic districts (27). This simple and not very artistic bronze statuette is, then, another indication of the influence of Belgic religious customs and craftsmanship in the Cambridge region and its neighbourhood. Alföldi has shown that a *Radabweiser*, as he calls it, in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (Pl. Va), an object rare in Britain, is of a type well known among the Rhenish tribes in the Rhineland (28). Numerous pipe-clay statuettes of deities, certainly or very probably imported from Rhenish factories, are also found in this part of England (29); and there is indeed much archaeological evidence to show that pre-Roman and Roman immigrants and traders from the Belgic districts of the Continent must have come here in great numbers. "Belgic" pottery, found in many places in the Cambridge region, shows us the existence of Belgic settlements near Cambridge itself (30). The cults and customs of these and similar settlements in the south of England must certainly have spread beyond the territorial boundaries of the tribes themselves (31).

So far as I can determine, religious affinities between places in Britain and particular parts of continental Gaul are not uncommon—important indications of unrecorded or little-known emigrant movements of larger or smaller groups, mostly of Belgic origin. I may mention in this connection the cult representation of the *Genii Cucullati* in Cirencester and near Hadrian's Wall, whose origin might have been in the Danube region, but whose main centre on the Continent was



*a.* "Radabweiser."

*b.* Venus, Colchester.

*c* and *d.* Mercury (clunch), Gt Thurlow, Suffolk.



among the Belgae and the Germaniae; the cult of the god Mogon, Mogounus, or Mounus in the north of England, who gave his name, strangely enough, to the town of Mogontiacum on the Continent, and was important in the neighbouring parts of the Rhineland, which were originally Belgic, but became Germanized under Ariovistus<sup>(32)</sup>; and numerous other well-known Belgic cults from Trèves to Rheims. Similarly, near Lancaster we find Ialonus, a local god of Nemausus in Provence, near Cirencester Olloudius, a typically southern Gallic god, and near Hadrian's Wall the Mountes, Montes, or Montanae, a Provençal and Pyrenean triad of female deities<sup>(33)</sup>.

X. *Venus* (Museum no. 22.692). Height 11 cm. Bronze. Probably from near Ely (Cole-Ambrose collection). Pl. IIIe.

A type of Venus statuette very common in most parts of the Roman Empire, but less so in Roman Britain, is represented here, the so-called Venus Pudica. Cf. similar examples in S. Reinach, *Bronzes figurés*, 60 seq., particularly nos. 44, 46; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I, 320 seq.; II, 350 seq. and 803 seq.; III, 108 seq., 256 seq.; IV, 200 seq.; V, 146 seq., 154, 157, 498 seq.

XI. *Venus* (Museum no. 36.803). Height 4.75 cm. Bronze. Found at Colchester. Pl. Vb.

This is also a very common Graeco-Roman type, but like the Venus Pudica not very common in Britain, the so-called Venus Anadyomene. The goddess has a diadem on her hair; she is nude, her garment having slipped off and filling only the space between the legs. She is arranging her hair, holding a tress in either hand, in the well-known manner. Cf. similar types in S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I, 334; II, 339 seq., 803 seq.; III, 103 seq., 256 seq.; IV, 200, 202 seq.; V, 149 seq., 497 seq.; E. Babelon and A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques*, nos. 223, 237, 238, 240, and particularly no. 239.

There are very few other representations of Venus in Cambridgeshire and the neighbouring counties. I know only of the *Wochengötterstein* from Great Chesterford, mentioned earlier in this paper, three pipe-clay statuettes from Verulamium, a very fine marble torso of a Venus from Hinxworth (Herts), two pipe-clay statuettes from Hawkedon,

Suffolk, and a bronze statuette from Blyford, Suffolk (34). Only in Colchester do we find, in addition to our no. XI, a remarkable number of monuments which are connected with the cult of Venus. There are in the Castle Museum at Colchester a bronze Cupid with bird, and three pipe-clay statuettes (two unpublished), a nude Venus, standing, a torso fragment of a nude Venus, and a nude Venus, standing, with Cupid (35). The six statuettes from Hawkedon, Verulamium, and Blyford, mentioned above, the Hinxworth torso (?), and an unpublished bronze Cupid from Cotton, Suffolk (now in Ipswich Museum), could be interpreted as outliers of the same centre.

The reason for this remarkable grouping of Venus monuments from Suffolk to Hertfordshire is, in my opinion, that the Venus cult was introduced there as *interpretatio Romana* of an old indigenous cult of the Matres, a phenomenon not unusual in Gallo-Roman districts (36).

Even from the artistic point of view the Romano-British bronze statuettes present their problems, one of which is the question of Belgic or other regional influence of continental artistic schools on Romano-British art and craftsmanship discussed earlier in this paper. In the Cambridge region, as elsewhere in England, we find different regional styles; for example, the local bronze statuettes described in this paper fall in my opinion into two quite distinct stylistic groups, with a few exceptions which cannot be classified with certainty. We find that the craftsmen of the southern group (e.g. Hercules VI, VII, VIII, *k*, *l*, *m*, *p*, *q*, Diana IX, Venus XI and note 35, Mercury notes 1 and 37) whose centre, as we have seen, may have been in or near Colchester, did not care to work in more detail than was absolutely necessary for their purpose. Such pieces often look quite archaic from a Hellenistic-Roman standpoint, but are not without natural dignity, and they might be thought to have been influenced by a latent stylistic La Tène feeling. The bronzes found near Cambridge, on the other hand (e.g. Mercury I and note 1, Hercules III-V, *a*, *b*, *c*, Venus X) abound in well-designed details of anatomy, costume, and symbols, often more than are necessary for the purpose, as if the craftsmen wished to show that they were well versed in the prevalent Roman technique. These pieces are seldom an

artistic unity, and as a rule have rather a flat effect, but the best pieces among them, e.g. Mercury, note 1 (the phalera from Sandy), are almost equal to work from the better factories of Imperial Gaul and Italy.

At a cursory glance most of the bronze, clay, and stone statuettes of deities in Roman Britain seem to be very insignificant. But a closer critical examination might reveal in many of them interesting indications of the religious life and customs not only of the Romano-Britons but also of the whole Gallo-Roman part of the Empire (37).

## NOTES.

1. Viz. the Mercury from Fenstanton, Hunts (cf. M. V. Taylor, *V. C. H. Huntingdonshire*, I (1926), 265; the Mercury from Castle Hill, Cambridge (cf. Bowtell MSS. II, 191; C. C. Babington, *Ancient Cambridgeshire* (1883), 6); the Mercury from Hail-Weston, Hunts (cf. G. C. Gorham, *Archaeologia*, XXI (1827), 555 and Pl. 27; M. V. Taylor, *V. C. H. Huntingdonshire*, I (1926), 266); the Mercury of Olney, Bucks (cf. S. S. Smith, *V. C. H. Buckinghamshire*, II (1908), 10); the Mercury of Cowlinge, Suffolk (cf. G. I. Fox, *V. C. H. Suffolk*, I (1911), 303-4 and plate); the Mercury from Felixstowe, Suffolk (cf. Fox, *loc. cit.* 306); the Mercury from Brancaster, Norfolk (cf. F. Haverfield, *V. C. H. Norfolk*, I (1901), 304); the stone representing Mars, Mercury, Jupiter and Venus as gods of the week (the remainder missing), from Great Chesterford, Essex (cf. B. M. Guide to the *Antiquities of Roman Britain* (1922), 20 and Fig. 10); two bronze figures from Colchester, unpublished; and the fine head of Mercury on a bronze phalera from Chesterfield, Sandy, Beds (cf. W. Page; Miss Keate, *V. C. H. Bedfordshire*, II (1908), 11 and Pl. II; C. Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1923), 214; W. Ransom, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2nd series, XX (1905), 340).

2. Cf. F. M. Heichelheim, "Genii Cucullati", *Arch. Aeliana*, 4th series, XII (1935), 191, note 1; Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. Art.* "Tierdämonen", 928 and 929 (= Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopaedie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*). G. I. Fox, *V. C. H. Suffolk*, I (1911), 319.

3. Cf. F. Altheim, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, III (1933), 127, on *Hist. Aug. Commodus*, IX, 2; A. Aymard, "À propos de Commode-Hercule", *Compt. Rend. de l'Acad. Inscr.* (1936), 152.

4. Cf. M. Rostovtzeff and M. V. Taylor, "Commodus-Hercules in Britain", *J. Rom. Studies*, XIII (1923), 91 seq.; L. C. G. Clarke, *Ant. J.* VI (1926), 178; F. M. Heichelheim, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. Art.* "Tierdämonen", 925-6.

5. Cf. C. C. Babington, *Ancient Cambridgeshire* (1883), 82; C. Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1923), 214.

6. Cf. a new photograph of the whole piece and of the curious skin helmet with human face, which is, if I am right, a syncretistic mixture of the lion

helmet of Hercules and the so-called chimaera helmet of Mars Ultor, on Pl. IV a.

7. Cf. M. V. Taylor, *V. C. H. Huntingdonshire*, I (1926), 264 and Pl. I; S. S. Lewis, "Remarks on a bronze statuette found at Earith, Hunts" (*C.A.S. Comm.* III (1879), 231, with two plates; S. S. Lewis in *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2nd series, IV (1870), 498; C. C. Babington, *Ancient Cambridgeshire* (1883), 76; S. H. Miller and S. B. J. Skerthley, *The Fenland Past and Present* (1878), 466 and pl.; C. Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1923), 214.

8. Cf. M. V. Taylor, *V. C. H. Huntingdonshire*, I (1926), 264, on the Earith piece ("lost in transit").

9. Cf. the following published pieces: (d) F. Haverfield, *V. C. H. Northamptonshire*, I (1902), 169; M. V. Taylor, *V. C. H. Huntingdonshire*, I (1926), 229, 235 (bas-relief from The Castles); (e) F. Haverfield, *V. C. H. Northamptonshire*, 174; M. V. Taylor, *V. C. H. Huntingdonshire*, 226 (stone sculpture from Sibson); (f) F. Haverfield, *V. C. H. Northamptonshire*, 176 (bronze statuette from near Peterborough); (g) G. I. Fox, *V. C. H. Suffolk*, I (1911), 303 and plate (bronze statuette from Cowlinge); (h) F. Haverfield, *V. C. H. Norfolk*, I (1901), 314 (bronze statuette from Carbrooke; Roman origin is not certain); (i) F. Haverfield, *loc. cit.* 318 (bronze statuette from Hethersett). Further, we have to mention some published and unpublished pieces from Colchester: (k), (l) two bronze statuettes with the same style of hair as nos. 7 and 8, perhaps from the same workshop in Colchester; (m) a comparatively large figure; this piece was bought in London and was said to be from Colchester, but it is of an unusual type; (n) a terra-cotta figure from a child's grave in Beverley Road, Colchester; the date seems to be very early, circa A.D. 45-50, according to coins found in the grave; (o) a terra-cotta figure with lion skin, club, and a cornucopia, which might represent the *interpretatio Romana* of a local epichoric god of Colchester; (p) a Hercules similar to S. Reinach, *Bronzes figurés*, no. 136; (q) bronze statuette of Hercules with the Nemean lion, now in Paris; cf. Babelon and Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques*, no. 584; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, II, 237, 4.

10. Cf. pp. 52, 53, with notes 1, 37, and *C.I.L.* VII, 87 (Colchester).

11. Cf. F. M. Heichelheim, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. Art.* "Tierdämonen", 925-6. The Taranis temple with which all the deposits seem to be connected must have been noted for its situation near the water, as the symbols on the "civic staff" from Willingham Fen indicate, according to my interpretation (*loc. cit.*). It may not be accidental that the so-called mermen on the well-known font of St Peter's Church, Cambridge, are also symbolic of water, and seem to continue pagan tradition. Cf. p. 49; L. C. G. Clarke, "Roman pewter bowl", *Proc. C.A.S.* XXXI (1931), 70, Pl. III, 1.

12. Cf. *The Cambridge Portfolio* (1840), 196; W. M. Palmer, *William Cole of Milton* (1935), 71; W. M. Palmer, *John Layer*, C.A.S. 8vo. Publ. no. 53 (1935), 110; T. McKenny Hughes, "Dr Dale's Visit to Cambridge, 1722-1738", *Proc. C.A.S.* XX (1915-16), 104; letter from T. C. Lethbridge in *The Times*, 7 June 1936, "Gogmagog Hills".

13. On the hill-figures of England generally cf. Sir Flinders Petrie, *The Hill Figures of England* (1926), 5-6 and *passim*; O. G. S. Crawford, "The

giant of Cerne and other hill figures", *Antiquity*, III (1929), 277, and Pl. II; S. Piggott, "The name of the giant of Cerne", *Antiquity*, VI (1932), 214.

14. Cf. A. Gray, "On the Wandlebury Legend", *Proc. C.A.S.* xv (1911), 531; *The Cambridge Portfolio* (1840), 115 and 196.

15. Cf. A. Haug, J. B. Keune, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* Art. "Hercules, Iunius" (Suppl. III); J. Toutain, *Cultes païens dans l'Empire Romain*, III (1920), 222.

16. Cf. with bibliography: Waser, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* (Suppl. III), Art. "Giganten", 717 seq., 759, 1305-6; A. Haug, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* (Suppl. IV) Art. "Gigantensäulen"; F. M. Heichelheim, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* Art. "Taranis", 2282; "Tierdämonen", 926; Ebert, *R.E.* Art. "Keltisches Münzwesen", 306; F. Oelmann, "Über den Ursprung des Triumphbogens", *Bonn. Jahrb.* 135 (1930), 157 seq.; E. Behrens, *Tagesbericht der deutschen Ges. für Anthropol., Ethnol. und Urgesch.* (1934), 30; G. Rudberg, "Zum antiken Bild der Germanen", *Avhandl. Norske Videnskaps-Akad. Oslo*, II, Hist.-Phil. Kl. 1933, nr. 5, 34-5; *Fundchronik* I. Januar bis 30. Juni 1934, *Germania*, XIX (1935), 70-1, and fig. 16; Schleiermacher, "Studien an Göttertypen der römischen Rheinprovinzen", *Deutsches Archaeol. Inst. Bericht Röm.-Germ. Kom.* 1933, XXIII (1934), 117; F. Koepp, "Römische Bildkunst am Rhein und an der Donau", *loc. cit.* 1921, XIII (1922), 27 seq.; F. Drexel, "Die Götterverehrung im römischen Germanien", *loc. cit.* 1922, XIV (1923), 3, 53 seq.; P. Goessler, "Ein Wochengötterstein mit Gigant", *Germania*, I (1917), 118 seq.; M. Bös, "Reste von Göttersäulen aus der Aachener Gegend", *Germania*, XIV (1930), 153 seq.

17. Cf., with bibliography, F. M. Heichelheim, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* Art. "Taranis", 2274 seq., 2280 seq.; E. Polaschek, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* Art. "Noricum", 1020; *Fundchronik* I. Januar bis 30. Juni 1934, *Germania*, XIX (1935), 70 and fig. 16; A. G. von Hamel, "Aspects of Celtic mythology", *Proc. Brit. Academy* (1934), 236.

18. Cf. also, on a similar connection between medieval Celtic tales and myths and Roman and pre-Roman archaeological and numismatic evidence, M. L. Sioestedt-Jonval, "La légende de Cuchullin et les monnaies gauloises", *Études Celtiques*, I (1936), 1 f.

19. It might be possible to expose and restore the hill-figure of the Gogmagog Hills. The older accounts state its position quite definitely, and there may be indications of the cutting still perceptible underground. It would be a great attraction for the Gogmagog Hills if this famous figure could be brought to light. Our assumed temple on Castle Hill, Cambridge, might also be revealed by excavations in the vicinity of St Peter's Church.

20. Cf. *Britannia Romana* (1732), 331; *J. Brit. Arch. Ass.* III (1848), 173, and IV (1849), 63 seq.; *B.M. Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* (1920), 20-1. If I am correct (*C.I.L.* VII, 1256), the drawing of a lost inscription in Latin cursive script from Great Chesterford might have had a connection with the Jupiter cult of that column too. It seems to be a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the country of the c(ivitas) Ikelorum, a name which might be connected with the modern Ickleton, in the neighbourhood of Great Chesterford. Assuming the general abbreviations of Latin palaeography, I am reading and transcribing the difficult text as follows:

(1) LITEGENUSMACCUSTORLICIIMPPIO

(2) FICIPLIETVLAIVID

(3) FECIGSER

(4) IUBIOMEI CIKELOR

(1) Litegenus Maccus tor(cularius?) Lici(nii) imp(eratoris), Pi(i) o-

(2) fici(alis), p(atrono) li(bertus) e(x) t(estamento)v(ovit). Laivid(ius)

(3) feci. G(aius) Ser(enus)

(4) iub(ebat). I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) e(xsculpsi?) or e(sto?) a(gro).

i(n) e(ivitatis) Ikelor(um).

21. Cf. C. M. White, "A new Roman inscription from Chichester", *Antiq. J.* xv (1935), 461 seq., R. G. Collingwood, *J. Rom. Studies*, xxvi (1936), 264; F. Haverfield, *V. C. H. Northamptonshire*, I (1902), 181; R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (1937)<sup>2</sup>, 273; F. Haverfield, "Roman Cirencester", *Archaeologia*, LXIX (1920), 188 seq.; and 191 with Pl. IX; Sir George Macdonald, "Roman Britain 1914-1928", *Brit. Acad. Suppl. Pap.* 6 (1931), 82-3 = Sir G. Macdonald, "Forschungen im römischen Britannien, 1914-1928", *Deutsch. Archaeol. Inst. Bericht Röm.-Germ. Kom.* 1930, XIX (1929), 60.

22. Cf. F. M. Heichelheim, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. Art.* "Mars", 1943: "Camulus", 1955, "Smertrius"; Art. "Mercurius", 1009.

23. Cf. *V. C. H. Somerset*, I (1906), 231, 241, fig. 32 (Bath), 361 (Compton Dando); and from a much greater distance, *C.I.L.* VII, 6, from Silchester.

24. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. Art.* "Haartracht und Haarschmuck", 2139 seq.; (Suppl. VI), Art. "Haartracht", 98-99.

25. Cf. only *V. C. H. Norfolk*, I, 291 (terra-cotta from Caister-by-Norwich), and from farther away *V. C. H. Herefordshire*, I, 189; *V. C. H. London*, I, 104-5; Royal Comm. on Hist. Monuments, *Roman London* (1928), 43, 120, 177, p. 12.

26. Cf. E. Krueger, "Diana Arduinna", *Germania*, I (1917), 4 seq.

27. Cf. F. M. Heichelheim, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. Art.* "Muttergottheiten", 960, nos. 10-15.

28. Cf. A. Alföldi, "Zoomorphe Bronzeaufsätze als Radabsweiser auf keltisch-römischen Wagen", *Arch. Ertesítő*, XLVIII (1935), 219-20. This interesting piece comes from a local collection; it was in all probability found in England but was perhaps imported originally from the Rhineland. Cf. Pl. V a, a photo which is not given by Alföldi.

29. Cf., for example, notes 9, 25, 34-36. Some unpublished first-century grave statuettes from Colchester (v. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. Art.* "Nymphae") may have been imported from the Allier district of France, like the Venus statuette illustrated by R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, "Verulamium", *Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries*, XI (1936), 203, Pl. LXI, 3.

30. Cf. C. Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1923), see index under "Belgae", "Belgic tribes", "Romano-Belgic pottery", etc.

31. Cf. R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (1937)<sup>2</sup>, 26 seq., 55 seq., 64 seq., 68, 182 seq., 251, 266, 268.

32. Cf. F. M. Heichelheim, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. Arts.* "Grannus", "Mars", "Matres", "Minerva", "Mogon", "Nemetona", "Suleviae", "Parcae", and "Genii Cucullati", *Arch. Ael.* 4th series, xii (1935), 187 seq.; R. G. Collingwood, *loc. cit.* 268.

33. Cf. J. B. Keune, F. M. Heichelheim, E. Linckenheld, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. Art.* "Ialonus", "Mars", "Matres", no. 346, "Montanae", "Muttergottheiten" (976), "Nemausus", "Numidae", "Olludius", "Suleviae", nos. 15, 34, "Tutela"; Sioestedt-Jonval, *loc. cit.* R. G. Collingwood, *loc. cit.* 266.

34. G. E. Fox in *V. C. H. Suffolk*, I (1911), 296-7, 301, 307; *B. M. Guide to Roman Britain* (1922), 21, fig. 10; R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, "Verulamium", *loc. cit.* 203, Pl. LXI, 3-5; W. P. Westell, "Roman and Pre-Roman Antiquities in Letchworth Museum", *Trans. East Herts Arch. Soc.* vii, pt 3 (1926), 270; and, further away, *V. C. H. London*, I (1909), 112, 116; "London in Roman times", *London Museum Catalogues*, III (1930), 48, Pl. XXI, nos. 1-4; *V. C. H. Shropshire*, I (1908), 254, fig. 32; *B. M. Guide to Roman Britain* (1922), 122-3.

35. Cf. *Archaeologia*, LXXVI (1926-7), Pl. LVII, 3; *Colchester Museum Report* (1909), 15, Pl. VIII, 3; Blyford, mentioned above, and an unpublished bronze Cupid from Cotton, Suffolk, now in Ipswich Corporation Museum, could be interpreted as outliers of the same centre near Colchester.

36. Cf. F. M. Heichelheim, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. Art.* "Matres"; and, as evidence for the cult of Matres and other Celtic mother-goddesses in Essex and Hertfordshire, the votive inscription published by Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, no. 4777, from Colchester (it is perhaps not a mere accident that this was found near a church of St Mary, who is so often the Christian successor of the Matres in the west); the unpublished pipe-clay figure (torso) of a seated mother-goddess from Colchester; and the head of a Matrona, from Colchester, imported from the Rhineland and bearing the signature of Servandus, a well-known maker of pipe-clay figures who worked in Cologne in the second century A.D. (cf. J. B. Keune, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. Art.* "Servandus"; *Colchester Museum Report* (1906), 16); the pipe-clay statuette of a mother-goddess from Verulamium and indications of a Magna Mater cult in that town. Cybele may have had a similar connection with the indigenous cult of the Matres in Verulamium as in Pesch (Eifel) (cf. R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, "Verulamium", *loc. cit.* 119-20, 203, Pl. LXI, 6).

37. The photographs on Pls. II-V were taken by Mrs Gerta A. Heichelheim; those on Pl. I were kindly given by the Ashmolean Museum, through whose good offices the Cambridge Museum acquired the figure.

This article does not exhaust all the possible sources, although it takes into consideration all that seemed available in the area in which the writer is working. He would be very grateful for communications concerning any evidence which he has inadvertently omitted.

[Add to note 1 the unpublished bronze statuette of a Mercury from Icklingham (Suffolk) and the very crude and probably very early bronze statuette of a Mercury from Boxmoor (*V. C. H. Hertfordshire*, iv, 155, Pl. XIII, 6), both in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.]

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