

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)



VOLUME L

JANUARY 1956 TO DECEMBER 1956

CAMBRIDGE  
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# CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS AND HUNTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1955

Adopted by the Annual General Meeting on 12 March 1956.

**MEMBERSHIP.** The Society gained twenty-five new members and two associates during the year, but lost four members by death, and eleven members and one associate by resignation. There are now 308 ordinary members and twenty-one associates. There are also twenty-nine subscribing institutions. The Society has suffered a sad loss by the deaths of Miss Z. M. Scruby, who did such valuable work for it as Treasurer and Excursion Secretary, and of Mr E. Saville Peck.

**MEETINGS.** There were four council meetings and nine ordinary meetings, at which the following communications were made:

- L. A. S. BUTLER. *Medieval Cross-slabs of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and the Isle of Ely.* 24 January.
- Prof. I. A. RICHMOND, F.B.A. *Agricola's Legionary Fortress at Inchtuthil.* (Joint meeting with the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.) 14 February.
- C. B. M. MCBURNEY, PH.D., F.S.A. *The recent researches at Hoxne, Suffolk, and their bearing on the date of British hand-axes.* 14 March.
- Lady BRISCOE, C. F. TEBBUTT, F.S.A. and Dr C. PARSONS. *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.* 2 May.
- PHILIP CORDER, LITT.D. *The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton, Rutland.* 16 May.
- Rev. H. P. HART, M.A. *Road-screens.* 6 June.
- Prof. J. M. C. TOYNBEE, D.PHIL., F.B.A., F.S.A. *Mithras and his London Shrine.* 17 October.
- Mrs J. VAN LOHUIZEN, M.A., D.LITT. et PHIL. *Symbolism and Romanticism in Indian Painting, with special reference to some Miniatures in the Fitzwilliam Museum.* 7 November.
- PHILIP RAHTZ. *The Chew Valley Lake Excavations.* (Joint Meeting with the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.) 28 November.

The average attendance at these meetings was seventy-one.

By kind permission of the Master and Fellows, some sixty-six members of the Society and their friends visited Trinity Hall, where they were entertained to tea. The thanks of the Society are due to the Master and to Prof. Dean and Mr G. Storey for giving an account of the College history and describing some of the plate and the valuable manuscripts in the Library.

**EXCURSIONS.** On 28 May the Huntingdonshire Advisory Committee arranged for fifty-one members and guests to visit Elton Hall, Barnack and Castor. On 8 July our Vice-President, Mr S. R. Hopkin, organized a half-day visit to Ely. On 23 July thirty-one members and friends visited Tilty Abbey and the Church and Hall at Ingatstone. Once again the thanks of the Society are due to Mr E. B. Haddon for acting as Excursion Secretary.

**PUBLICATIONS.** Vol. XLVIII of the *Proceedings* has been published.

**EXCAVATIONS.** The Director of Excavations reports that the planning and excavation of the Hill-Figures at Wandlebury continued throughout the year. This work was greatly assisted by our members Mr C. F. Tebbutt, F.S.A. and Mr S. R. Hopkin.

**THE PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD.** The thanks of the Society are due to Canon F. J. Bywaters for the gift of 659 photographs, mostly of the interiors of Cambridgeshire churches.

**REPRESENTATIVES.** Dr J. K. St Joseph was reappointed to represent the Society on the Faculty Board of Archaeology and Anthropology for a further period of two years. The Secretary was reappointed to the Museum Committee. The President and the Secretary were reappointed the Society's representatives for the Council of British Archaeology, and Mr C. F. Tebbutt was appointed as the representative to Group VII.



## THE WANDLEBURY IRON AGE HILL-FORT, EXCAVATIONS OF 1955-6

B. R. HARTLEY

THE excavations recorded below were undertaken by the present writer on behalf of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology in the University, under the general direction of Prof. J. G. D. Clark. Wandlebury, and the Gog Magog Estate in which it lies, is now the property of the Cambridge Preservation Society. We are greatly indebted to the Society for permission to excavate and for all the encouragement and help given to us by its Officers, especially its Chairman, the Master of Magdalene. The earthwork is scheduled as an Ancient Monument and we owe thanks to the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments in the Ministry of Works for permission to carry out the investigation.

The work of excavation was largely done by undergraduates of the Department, as an integral part of their archaeological training, but much help was given by local volunteers. Although all the workers cannot be named individually, our thanks are no less real. Finally, we owe much to Dr G. H. S. Bushnell, Curator of the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, and to his staff for help of many sorts. The help of Mr L. Morley, Photographer in the Museum, was invaluable on the site.<sup>1</sup>

### THE SITE

Wandlebury lies 4 miles south-east of Cambridge on the crest of the Gog Magog Hills, some 230 ft. above sea-level. At this point the top of the Gogs is relatively flat, hence the regular outline of the earthwork, and offers an easy approach on all sides, especially on the east. This tactical weakness is clearly reflected in the impressive character of the defences. Nevertheless, the site is an important one strategically, offering control of the line of the Icknield Way to the south and of movement from it into the Cam valley.

The Wandlebury earthwork has long been famous, no doubt because it was an outstandingly impressive one in a region which is largely devoid of hill-forts. Its present name was already in use in the tenth century in the form *Wendlesbiri*.<sup>2</sup> During the Middle Ages the site attracted various legends to itself.<sup>3</sup> From the time

<sup>1</sup> The writer wishes to thank Messrs Ian Stead, Clive Criper and Aidan Macdonald who drew much of the pottery for this report.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey*, Rolls Series, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> For the Wandlebury Legend, recounted by Gervase of Tilbury in *Otia Imperialia*, see A. Gray, *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. xv, pp. 53-62. A recent discussion of the name Wandlebury in medieval literature by Professor R. S. Loomis is published in *Romance Philology*, vol. ix, no. 2 (1955), pp. 162-7.

of Camden accounts of it were regularly included in the topographical works, the remains being described with varying degrees of accuracy. During the early eighteenth century, when the Earl of Godolphin laid out a shooting box and stables on the site, the earthwork was badly mutilated (see p. 8).<sup>1</sup> The house and gardens were elaborated at various times and a lot of tree-planting done,<sup>2</sup> especially round the outer defences which now carry continuous belts of trees, making excavation very difficult at times. An interesting part of the excavations has been the recovery of several details of the arrangement of the estate and the ways in which it affected the Iron Age defences.

#### THE DEFENCES

At the present day the most prominent feature of the site is a circular ditch, 1000 ft. in diameter, which is still open to a depth of up to 8 ft. (Fig. 1). It is bounded on the outside by a rounded bank standing 5 ft. high in places. Although this is only marked in the south-eastern sector on the 25 in. sheet, it may be traced round the whole circuit with only minor gaps. On the inner side of the ditch is another, slighter, bank some 2 ft. high, which is all that remains of the rampart belonging to the ditch. Inside this outer rampart, a broad, shallow hollow, representing the site of an inner ditch may be followed round most of the circuit, but no trace of the rampart associated with this now remains.

Of the four causeways crossing the open ditch, two, one on the west side and one in the north-east sector (not shown on the 25 in. sheet), are clearly modern. Furthermore, only one of the others could be original, because Gervase of Tilbury specifically mentions, in recounting the Wandlebury Legend, that the earthwork had only one entrance. As the north causeway (Site II, Fig. 1) was readily accessible, two trenches were cut there in 1955. It was found to be filled with nineteenth-century pottery at a depth of 5 ft. The original causeway must, therefore, be that in the south-east sector now carrying the drive leading to the stables.

In order to establish the nature and history of the defences a section was cut through the north-east sector of the earthwork (Site I, Fig. 1). The trench was begun well outside the outer bank and carried into the interior to within 20 ft. of the walled garden. This at once confirmed the evidence of the surface indications, showing that the visible outer bank was indeed the outermost feature of the defences and that inside it were two ditches and two ramparts. As there was no ditch outside the outer bank it cannot be regarded as a rampart and it will, therefore, be termed the 'counterscarp bank'.

#### THE COUNTERSCARP BANK

This was found to be a simple, unrevetted mound of chalk rubble resting on an old ground surface of reddish brown soil. Towards the bottom of the bank were two thin layers of compact, unweathered chalk and two layers of reddish brown soil, the upper

<sup>1</sup> Lysons, *Magna Britannia, Cambridgeshire* (1808), pp. 73, 257.

<sup>2</sup> Britton and Brayley, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. II, p. 131.

darker than the lower. The four layers varied considerably in detail in the two sides of the trench and probably should only be regarded as incidents in the construction of the bank at a time when its builders were dumping chalk and topsoil together and

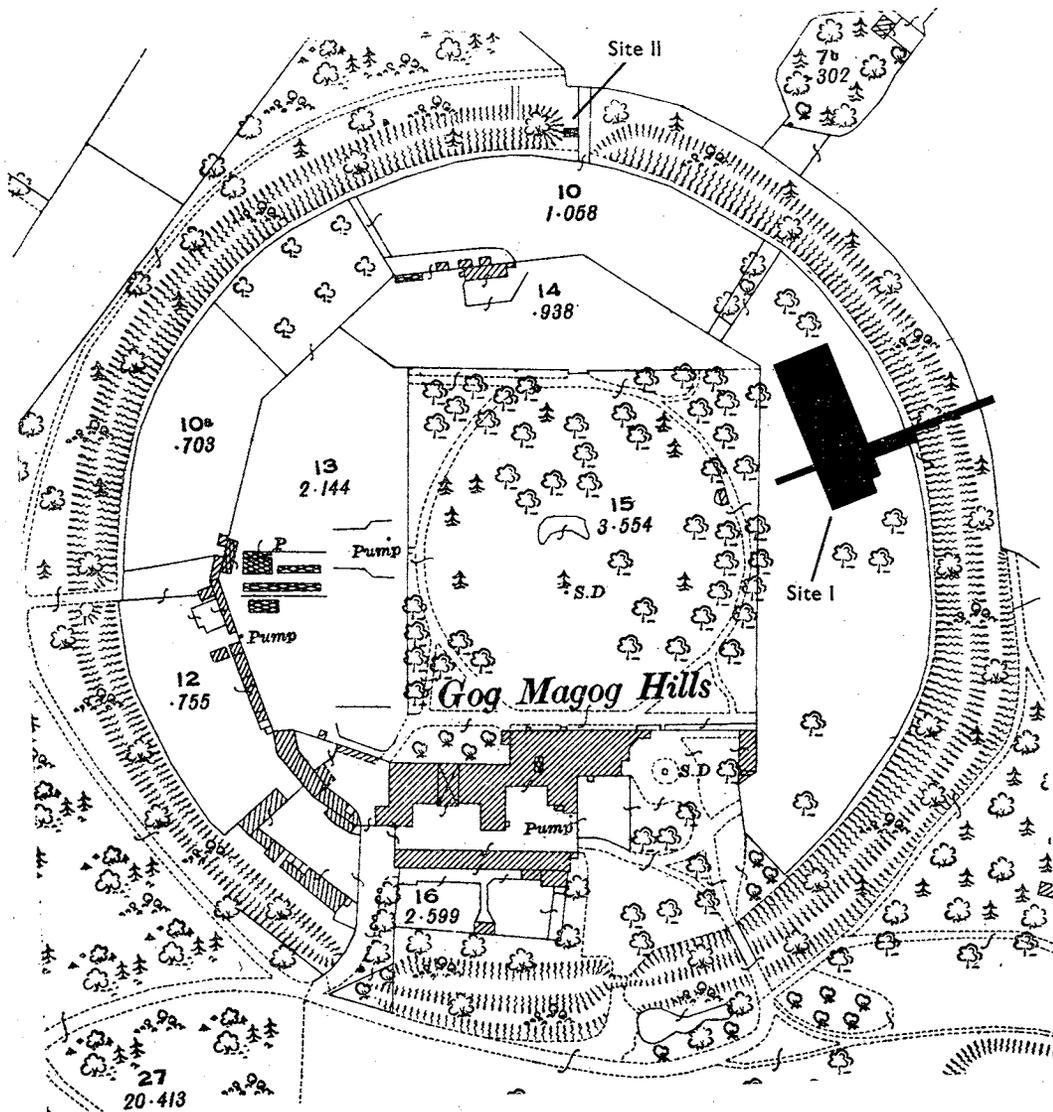


Fig. 1. The Ordnance Survey 25 in. plan of the site showing the excavation. Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, Crown copyright reserved.

trampling them down. It is not impossible, however, that the chalk layers were deliberately rammed to give a firm basis for the bank.

A few Iron Age sherds and several fire-crackled flints were found in the body of the bank and more lay on the ground surface below it.

## THE OUTER DITCH

When emptied, the outer ditch was found to have a stepped profile (Fig. 3 and Pl. 1*b*). Its filling was divided into two distinct parts by a line sloping gently down from its inner edge to the top of the step in its profile, truncating layers in the filling of the lower part of the ditch. Above this division, the filling was largely powdery, weathered chalk riddled by rabbit burrows, though some humus had silted down on to the step from the outer edge of the ditch. The upper layer peeled off easily from the more compact lower filling which was derived mainly from the inner side of the ditch, and consisted of bands of chalk rubble alternating with finer, weathered chalk. These layers were graded, the coarser material having rolled to the bottom of the ditch. The lower filling also had four thin bands of humus, among finely weathered chalk which had come from the outer edge of the ditch. Although the relation was obscured by a large rabbit burrow, there can be no doubt that the layers just described were truncated by the above-mentioned line of division in the filling.

The section is clearly a composite one showing two stages in the history of the ditch. In the first stage it was 15 ft. deep, 18 ft. wide and had steep sides and a flat bottom. The difference in the volume and nature of the material derived from the two sides of the original ditch (which is restored in outline in Fig. 3) can only be explained by assuming that the bulk of the material in the filling of the ditch had fallen from a rampart on its inner side. Strictly speaking the original ditch was not re-cut in the second phase. Instead, new material was quarried from the outer side down to a depth of 12 ft. and the top of the filling of the old ditch served as the bottom of the new ditch for its inner two-thirds. The result approximated to the so-called Punic ditch, with a steep outer side and a gently sloping inner one.

There was little archaeological material in the ditch, though a few hand-made Iron Age sherds were found in both parts of the filling.

An interesting feature uncovered in the top of the ditch filling was a path of flint gravel and mortar bounded by small retaining walls of dressed flint (Pl. 1*c*). This was later traced around the whole circuit. Although no dating evidence for it was found, it clearly was a feature of the estate, perhaps one of the improvements known to have been made by Lord Osborne in the early years of the last century.<sup>1</sup>

## THE OUTER RAMPART (Plan, Fig. 2; Sections, Fig. 3)

Like the outer ditch this showed two phases. These were elucidated partly in Section I and partly in a subsidiary one 88 ft. to the north (Section II of Fig. 2, and Fig. 5).

The original rampart was revetted by two rows of posts, 13 ft. apart. The front row was set in neatly cut pits (Pl. II*a*), 11 in. in diameter and 15 in. deep, spaced at 30 in. centres. All retained traces of the post cavities which showed that 5 in. timbers were used. The back row was more closely spaced and had been partly cut

<sup>1</sup> Britton and Brayley, *op. cit.*

away by later modification. A single post-hole of similar character was found between the two rows. It is clear that the basic pattern of the rampart was two vertical timbered faces retaining the chalk dug from the outer ditch. The two faces of the rampart would be tied together by horizontal or diagonal timbers or by both.

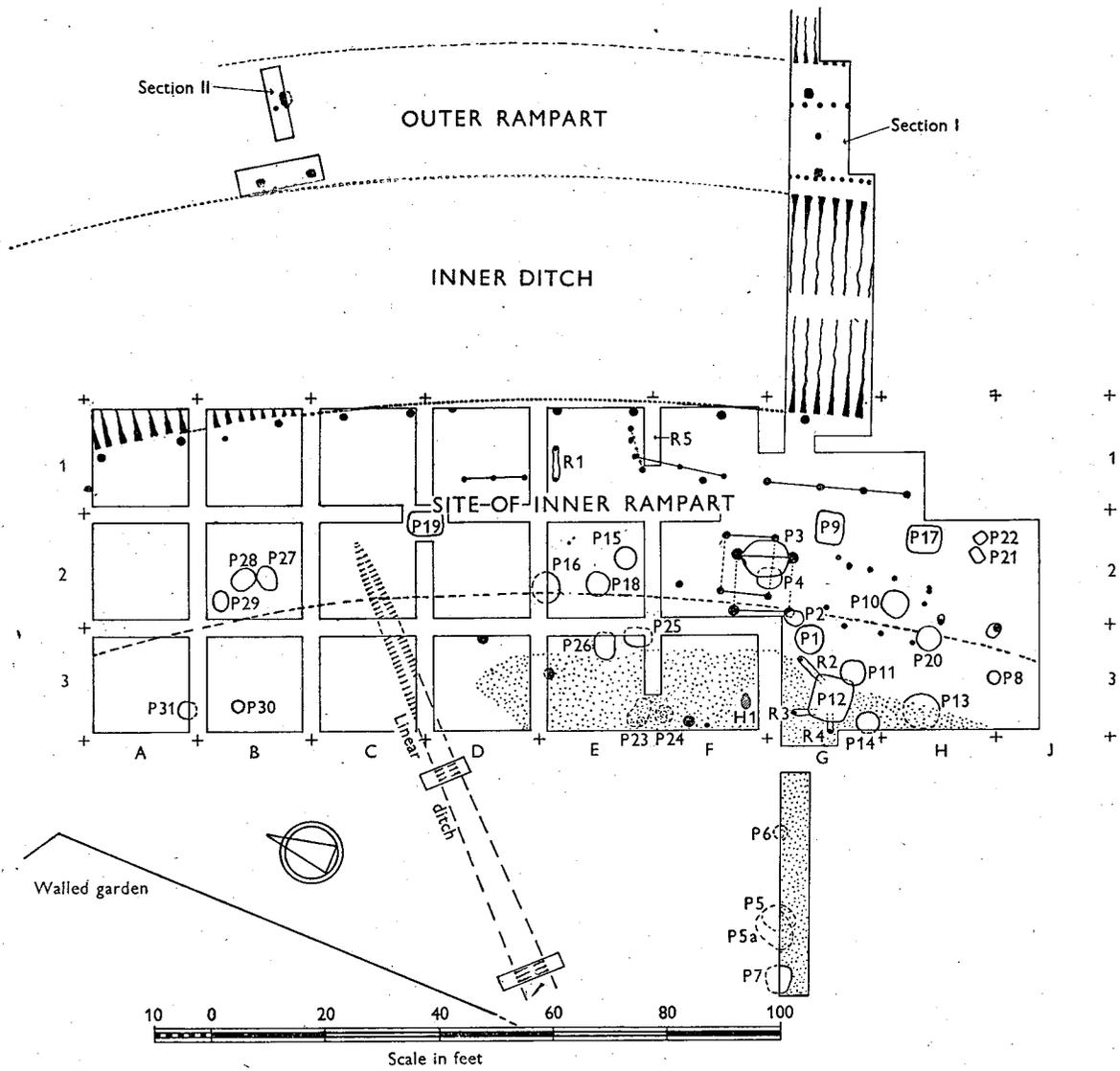


Fig. 2. Plan of Site I.

The single intermediate post-hole is presumably one of a series supporting the cross-timbers. However, the outer side of the rampart was not vertical from its foot, as the bottom layers in the rampart (chalk and topsoil) project beyond it, the chalk one as far as the lip of the ditch. We must, therefore, visualize a small ramp sloping up, at the angle of rest of the material, from the lip of the ditch to the face of the timbering.

This most interesting feature would serve a double purpose. In the first place it would mean that less timber was needed, as horizontal facing timbers would not be needed in the lower part of the rampart. Secondly, by eliminating the level berm between ditch and rampart, it would increase the strength of the defences by making it more difficult for attackers to get a foothold.

One noteworthy feature of the original rampart demands consideration at this stage. The bottom layer in the main section was unweathered, compact chalk, through which the pits for the rampart posts had been cut. In other words, there was here a primary stage in the construction before the timbers of the rampart were erected, though it should be noted that it was absent in Section II. A possible explanation is that the chalk was material thrown up in cutting a lockspit or marking-out trench for the outer ditch. This would account for the presence of chalk as opposed to topsoil in the bottom layer, as there would be little topsoil from a narrow trench. The chalk was subsequently levelled and apparently rammed, possibly to provide a firm underpinning for the rampart.

We have sufficient evidence to estimate the original height of the rampart with reasonable accuracy as 15 ft., since we know both its width and the quantity of material quarried from the outer ditch.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that from this height the bottom of the ditch would be visible to the defenders.

No artifacts were found in the rampart material or on the ground surface below it.

It has been shown (p. 4 above) that the original outer ditch was largely filled with collapsed material from the rampart. We must, therefore, visualize a stage during which the timbers of the rampart decayed and were not replaced. When this happened the upper part of the rampart material would fall outwards and downwards until the rampart became a mound with sides at the angle of rest of the chalk rubble. A simple calculation shows that this mound would be about 29 ft. wide and 8 ft. 6 in. high. It is clear from the section (Fig. 4*b*) that the volumes of material in this mound and in the filling of the original ditch (apart from that derived from its outer lip) would, when added together, agree closely with the volume of the material in the rampart as restored (Fig. 4*a*).

We do not know how long the rampart remained in a derelict state. We can, however, be certain that it was reconditioned at some stage. In Section II (Fig. 5) a large subrectangular pit, containing a post cavity, had been cut through the old rampart material partly into the subsoil and partly into an original rampart post-hole (Pl. II*c*). The post cavity, which was 8 in. wide, still contained a large piece of wood, identified by Dr H. Godwin as oak. At the rear of the rampart, 14 ft. away, was a similar hole, while in a lateral trench along the line of the rampart another appeared at an interval of 9 ft. Two irregular holes found in the original section (plan,

<sup>1</sup> The only point which is still in doubt is whether there could have been a ramp at the back of the rampart, comparable to that at the front. On balance this does not seem probable, as the lower layers of the rampart do not project beyond the rear row of posts as they do beyond the front row. Tactically, too, a ramp here would be meaningless, while other means of providing access to the rampart walk would be less prodigal of material.

WANDLEBURY SECTION 1-1955

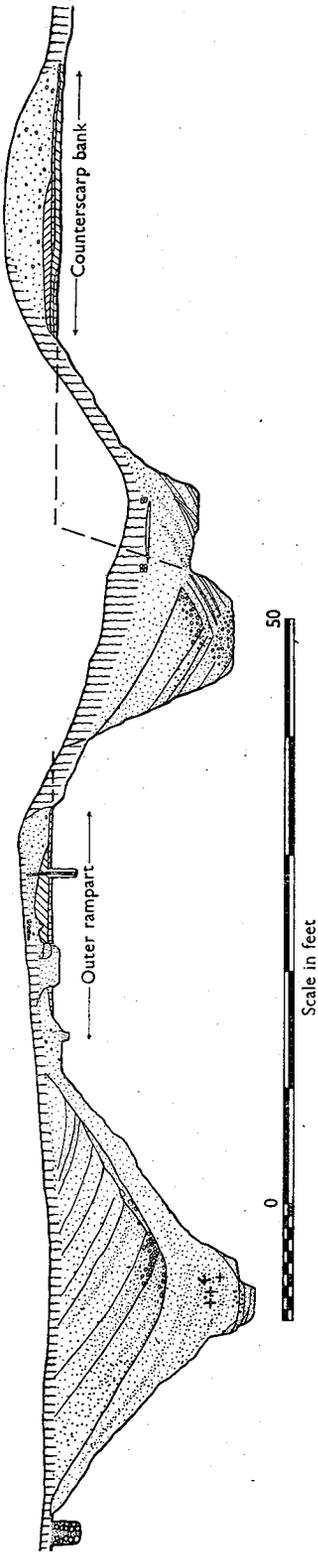


Fig. 3. Wandlebury, Section I, 1955.

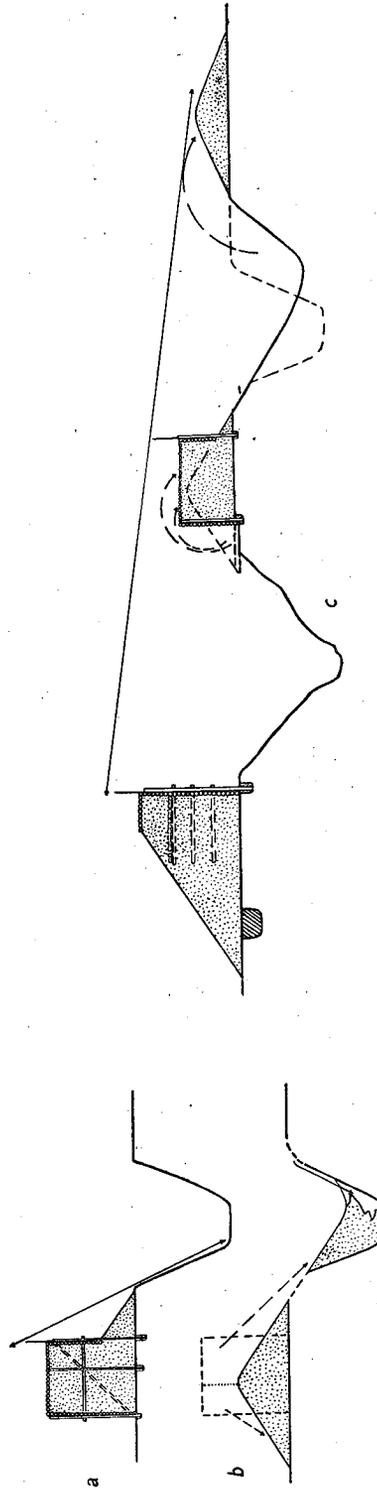


Fig. 4. Hypothetical reconstructions of the defences.

Fig. 2; section, Fig. 3, where they are projected in) may now be clearly explained as secondary post-pits. Again they were 14 ft. apart, but slightly more in advance of the earlier posts. These pits are large because they were driven down from the top of the collapsed early rampart roughly 5 ft. above the old ground surface.

We thus see that in the second phase the rampart again had vertical faces, though the ramp at the front was retained. It was, however, a foot wider and had more massive and more widely spaced timbers. Discussion of its height will be postponed until later.

Three features which belong to the estate period were found in the sections. One was the continuous bedding-trench of an existing iron fence. This was cut into a wider and deeper feature of the same type which contained fragments of bone china. Outside the fence on the space between it and the outer ditch was a chalk and cinder path, evidently supplementary to the one in the ditch.

#### THE INNER DITCH

The inner ditch was V-shaped, 38 ft. wide and 17 ft. deep (Pl. I*a*). Its filling was divided into two distinct parts by a line curving gently down from each side to within 7 ft. 6 in. of the bottom. The lower part was filled with weathered chalk, mostly fine grained, some two-thirds having come from the inner side of the ditch. In the upper part was a series of tip lines at the angle of rest sloping down from the inner edge. The material in these was graded in a most interesting way, the coarser pieces having rolled to the bottom of each tip. Apart from a few of the small tips at the top, which contained humus, all the filling was weathered chalk. The lower filling was clearly natural silting while the upper had been deliberately pushed into the ditch from the inner side in order to level it. Fortunately the upper filling produced abundant dating evidence, including a clay tobacco pipe of the early eighteenth century and bricks similar to those used in the estate walls. Both fillings contained much occupation debris. The pottery was almost all hand-made, but the lower filling also yielded a few Romano-British sherds, the lowest within 4 ft. of the bottom of the ditch (the positions of these are marked by crosses on the section, Fig. 3).

#### THE INNER RAMPART

The inner rampart was entirely levelled in the eighteenth century and pushed into the inner ditch. Nevertheless, we can be sure of its character and size. Close to the lip of the inner ditch it had a series of 8 in. vertical timbers set in carefully cut post-holes all about 20 in. in diameter and 30 in. deep (Fig. 2). The average distance between posts was 14 ft., though one (in C 1) was a long way from its correct position.<sup>1</sup> The longest interval between posts is 18 ft., showing that timbers of this length were available from the horizontal facing of the rampart.

<sup>1</sup> This might perhaps be due to gang-work or merely to a shortage of long timbers for the horizontal facing at a given moment.

Since there were no other posts associated with the rampart, it is clear that it differed from the outer one and had a vertical outer face with a ramp on the inside sloping up at the angle of rest to a level walk on the top. The size of the rampart may be easily determined. Assuming that all the material quarried from the inner ditch was used, and allowing for a 6 ft. walk at the top, the result would be a rampart 16 ft. high and 33 ft. wide. Further, we have proof that all the material from the ditch was used, since a mound 9 ft. high and stretching back 36 ft. from the lip of the inner

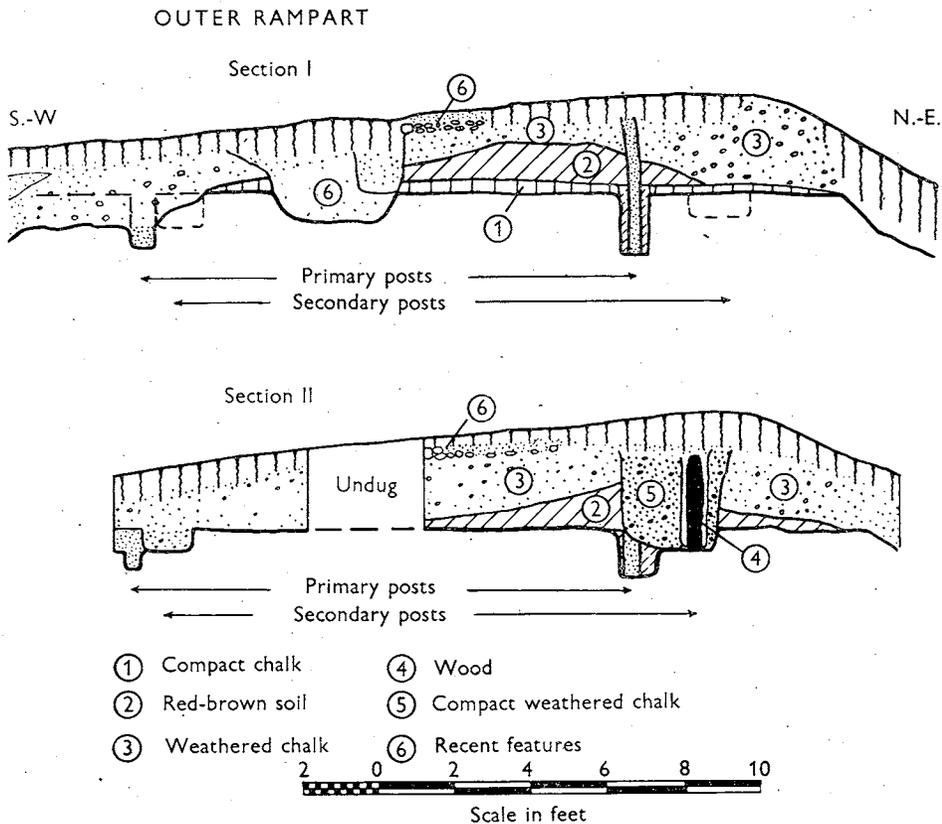


Fig. 5. Sections of the outer rampart. Section II is drawn in reverse.

ditch existed before the eighteenth-century levelling. We can state this with confidence, because we know its volume from the volume of filling pushed into the ditch, and it is clear that it must have been at the profile of rest for the material, which is given by the angle of the tiplines in the ditch filling. It also follows that the back of this mound would coincide with the back of the original rampart, for its rear slope had always been at the angle of rest. If we then add to the volume of the mound, as it was in the eighteenth century, the volume of silting in the inner ditch derived from the inside, we once more arrive at the figure of 16 ft. for the height of the rampart.

One unresolved point remains. The vertical face of the rampart would be subject to considerable outward pressure. The use of massive deeply-set posts clearly reflects this, but it seems probable that some means of relieving the pressure would be used. In default of diagonal anchoring timbers set into the subsoil, a possible method of ensuring stability would be the use of horizontal logs tied to the facing and running back into the body of the rampart. These would have been more effective if there were horizontal timbers laid on them along the length the rampart. These features are hypothetically restored in the section (Fig. 4*c*), but it must be made clear that we have no evidence to guide us. A partial parallel to such treatment was found in the rampart of Eddisbury, though there was a stone facing there.<sup>1</sup>

Under the site of the rampart were numerous pits and post-holes which cannot have been cut when it existed. Furthermore, these do not belong to an ephemeral occupation, as many of them had been filled and cut by others before the rampart was erected. For instance, in E 1 (Fig. 2) a post-hole was partly cut away by a later one which was itself earlier than a post of structure R 5.

#### THE HISTORY OF THE DEFENCES

We are now in a position to consider the relation between the various elements of the defences. It has been shown (p. 4) that the outer ditch and the outer rampart each embodied two phases of construction. The other three elements had only one phase each. Moreover, the outer rampart was erected on a ground surface with no occupation traces and did not contain any occupation debris. In contrast, the inner rampart was built on a surface riddled with pits and post-holes, while the counterscarp bank contained occupation material and was built on a surface showing traces of occupation. Finally, we cannot neglect the presence of Romano-British pottery within 4 ft. of the bottom of the inner ditch.

This evidence proves conclusively that the outer ditch and rampart together formed the earliest defence of the site (Fig. 4*a*). The timbers of this rampart eventually decayed and the rampart material slumped down, partly filling the ditch (Fig. 4*b*). Some time later the surviving part of the outer ditch was widened and the outer rampart reconditioned. The spoil from the recutting of the ditch was dumped in a bank on the counterscarp which, it will be recalled, continues round the whole circuit of the defences, implying uniform treatment of the ditch. The dumping of spoil on the less accessible counterscarp (Fig. 4*c*) may be taken as proof that no material from the ditch was required for the outer rampart. This rampart, therefore, cannot have been restored to its original height. Instead, the tail of the fallen rampart was removed and dumped on the top and the rampart was given a new revetment of stout oak timbers (Fig. 4*c*). In this process the old ground surface was scraped up from the back of the rampart, the post-holes of the first rampart being

<sup>1</sup> *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. XXIII, fig. 2, facing p. 108.

partly cut away in places. Consideration of the quantity of material available suggests that the reconstructed rampart was 9 ft. high.<sup>1</sup>

There is no proof that the reconditioning of the outer rampart and ditch was contemporary with the construction of the inner defences, nor that the outer rampart and ditch were modified simultaneously. It is possible that the reconstruction of the outer rampart marks an intermediate stage, followed by the recutting of the ditch and the creation of the counterscarp bank. If so, the final version of the outer rampart must have been a rounded mound, though even this would leave dead ground in the outer ditch. The cutting of the additional line of defences inside the old ones is unusual. But it is not difficult to visualize a situation in which this would be the sensible thing to do, as the labour involved would be roughly  $\frac{7}{12}$  of that needed to make defences on the same scale outside the old ones. Then, too, if this had been done, the old defences would have needed much more drastic reconstruction to be of use.

In the reconstruction (Fig. 4c) the outer rampart is shown revetted.<sup>2</sup> If this is correct, the relative heights of the ramparts made it possible for a defender on the inner one to see over the outer one to the counterscarp bank. The latter offered little cover to would-be attackers and at the same time made the outer ditch appear deceptively shallow.

#### THE INTERIOR

Inside the defences an area close to the main section trench, measuring 60 by 180 ft., was marked out in a grid of 20 ft. squares. Within each square of the grid an area 17 ft. square was stripped, baulks being removed to follow features where necessary. In the following account the squares of the grid will be identified by the reference letters and numbers marked on the plan (Fig. 2).

As most of the area stripped was on the site of the levelled inner rampart, the majority of the features found certainly belonged to the first period of the earthwork. The arc marked on the plan by a broken line curving from A3 to J3 represents the probable position of the tail of the inner rampart; the only features which could have belonged to the rampart being the post-holes close to the lip of the ditch between A1 and G1. With the exception of an extensive layer of gravel and a linear ditch, all the Iron Age features uncovered were either pits or post-holes. They were concentrated in the southern half of the excavated area, especially in the vicinity of G3. It will be well, however, to point out that we can know nothing of the large area of the first period fort destroyed when the inner ditch was dug. This is particularly important, for it is in just this area that a concentration of structures, clustered in the shelter afforded by the single rampart then existing, might have been expected.

<sup>1</sup> The horizontal facing timbers at the back of the reconstructed rampart must have been outside the uprights. We have no evidence of the way in which the necessary cross-timbers were inserted into the body of the rampart.

<sup>2</sup> The model at present on view in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, which incorporates criticisms and advice from Messrs T. C. Lethbridge, F.S.A. and C. A. Raleigh Radford, V-P.S.A., F.B.A., shows the outer rampart without revetting in the final phase.

With so little of the inside of the fort excavated, we cannot assess the nature and degree of occupation at more than a preliminary level. Nevertheless, we can state that there were permanent structures, of a kind normally associated with Iron Age agriculture and sheep-rearing, in the first period fort. These structures show signs of renewal and clearly imply occupation over a considerable time. No structure of the second period has been securely identified (though see p. 15, below), and we are therefore not in a position to decide whether there was a break in the occupation at the time the original defences were allowed to decay, or to estimate the character of the occupation in the second period.

#### POST-HOLES

In both periods, the rampart post-holes were carefully cut and well packed. The same is true of the post-holes inside the fort which, with only three exceptions (in D<sub>3</sub>, E<sub>3</sub>, and J<sub>3</sub>), were all circular and had vertical sides and flat bottoms. Two types of packing were used. In the first, chalk and soil were rammed around the post (Pl. III*a*). In the second, the post was packed with chalk rubble only and the filling was not rammed (Pl. III*b*). In both types the cavity left by the decay of the post was frequently plainly visible.

Many of the post-holes uncovered could not be related with certainty to others, but some were grouped in ways which allow us to identify a few minor structures. Nothing which can be claimed as a house was found.<sup>1</sup>

#### MINOR STRUCTURES

In the area uncovered were four examples of a distinctive kind of structure. The only complete one (R<sub>1</sub> in E<sub>1</sub>) had two stone-packed post-holes 5 ft. 6 in. apart, joined by a shallow channel cut through the glacial subsoil to the top of the chalk. There were three similar features cut through the gravel layer in G<sub>3</sub> (R<sub>2-4</sub>), but these had all been partly destroyed by Pit 12 so that only one post-hole and part of the connecting channel of each survived. These double-posted structures were presumably racks for drying corn or hay, similar to those found at many Iron Age sites.<sup>2</sup> The channel between the posts is, however, not known elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

One other structure (R<sub>5</sub> in E<sub>1</sub>) may also be tentatively identified as a drying rack. This had two stone-packed post-holes 8 ft. apart with four small irregularly spaced holes between them. The small holes were only 3 in. deep and can only have held thin stakes. Both this structure and R<sub>1</sub> must have belonged to the first period of the fort.

Attention should also be drawn to three more groups of posts which may belong to racks (in D<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>1</sub> and G<sub>1</sub>). Each group has either three or four equally spaced

<sup>1</sup> The promising-looking concentration of post-holes in G<sub>2</sub> cannot be interpreted as part of a house. The post-holes vary greatly in depth and character and are certainly not all contemporary; nor can any coherent system of replacements be traced.

<sup>2</sup> The classic site is Little Woodbury. For a full discussion of the racks there see *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.* vol. VI, pt. 1, pp. 94 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Its purpose is not clear, though it may have been intended to assist drainage, as the glacial subsoil tends to hold water.



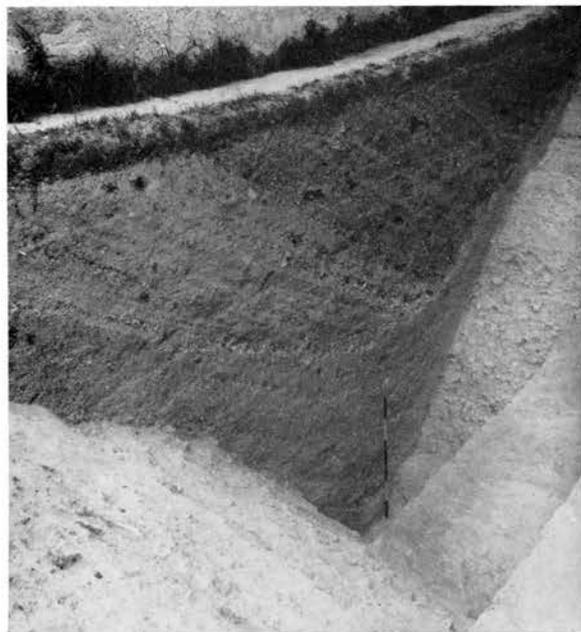
*a.* General view of the defences looking towards the outside from the inner edge of the inner ditch.



*b.* The outer ditch and rampart looking towards the interior.



*c.* The modern path in the outer ditch.



*d.* The inner ditch showing tip lines in the upper filling.

(Facing p. 112)

post-holes set in a row. The character of the post-holes varies from group to group, but within each they are the same.

Finally, two groups of post-holes in F 2 to G 2 must be considered. One is a 10 ft. square with post-holes 2 ft. deep and 22 in. in diameter at the corners; the other a rectangle 8 ft. 6 in. by 10 ft. with corner post-holes 21 in. deep and 17 in. across. Similar structures at Little Woodbury were interpreted as granaries with floors above ground level, used to store the seed-corn which could not be parched and kept in pits. At Little Woodbury the granaries were several times rebuilt on approximately the same site which makes the juxtaposition of the Wandlebury examples all the more interesting. It is clear that both were earlier than the inner rampart. They were also earlier than Pit 3 which is cut into post-holes belonging to both.

#### THE PITS

Thirty-three pits were completely or partly excavated. The variations in size and shape were considerable and will be best represented diagrammatically (Fig. 6, to be studied in conjunction with the plan, Fig. 2). The outstanding characteristic is their comparative shallowness, only three (Pits 12, 23 and 24) being more than 3 ft. deep, and two of these had abnormal features. Even the shallowest pits were clearly defined in plan, however, and all had a characteristic filling including much domestic rubbish. The deeper pits frequently had three or more separate layers in them, but in every instance pieces of the same pot were found in two or more of the layers, suggesting that the pits were filled with any available rubbish when they had served the purpose for which they were dug. The only certain exception to this rule was Pit 12 which was only half filled when a body was dumped into it (p. 15). Pits 2 and 19 were dug specifically for use as graves (pp. 14, 15) and Pits 23 and 24 may have been dug for a special purpose, but the rest were presumably all intended for storage. It is here that the shallowness of so many of them becomes puzzling. Pits believed to have been used as store-chambers are one of the most constant characteristics of Iron Age A sites in this country.<sup>1</sup> Normally, however, the pits are considerably deeper than the Wandlebury ones, many of which could have been of little use for storage unless they held containers projecting above ground level. There was no trace of wattles associated with them, but independent wicker baskets could have been used, though, if so, it is difficult to see why a pit was needed at all.

Two pits, 23 and 24 in E 3 and F 3 respectively, call for special comment. They differed from the usual Wandlebury type in having strongly undercut sides, and each has a smaller, deep pit in its bottom (Fig. 6). The small pits appear never to have held posts—there was no packing, their fillings were homogeneous with the lower fillings of the main pits and they were excessively deep. Nor does it seem likely that they were dug to ensure drainage of the main pits, for if such provision were needed the absence of drainage holes in the other pits would be inexplicable. It is clear that Pits 23 and 24 were used for some special purpose, but what it was cannot be inferred.

<sup>1</sup> For a recent discussion, see *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.* vol. xx, pt. 1, pp. 10 ff.

## THE BURIALS

Fragments of human skeletons were found mixed with domestic rubbish in at least six of the pits. This may only mean that previous burials were disturbed in digging new pits and incorporated in the filling of old ones, since we know that burial inside

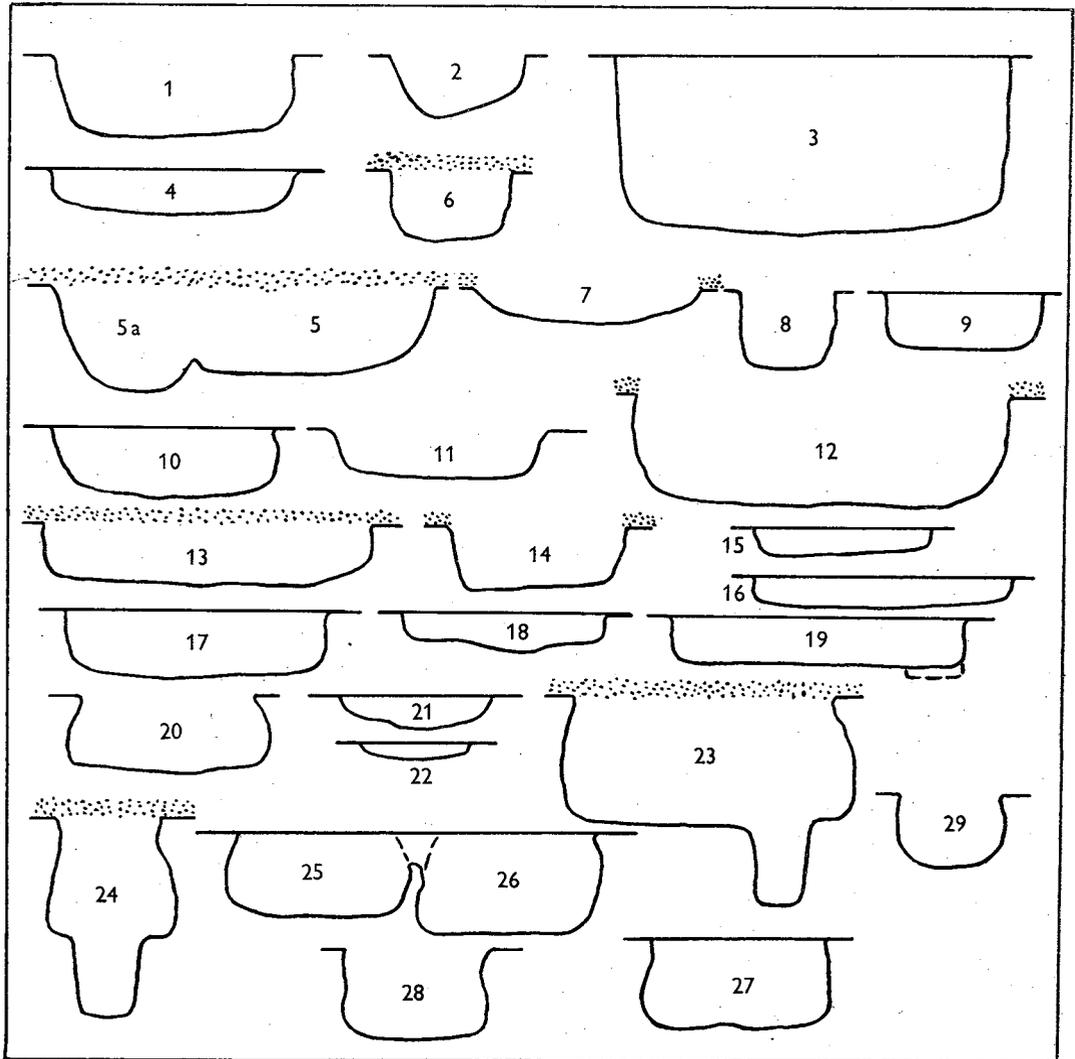
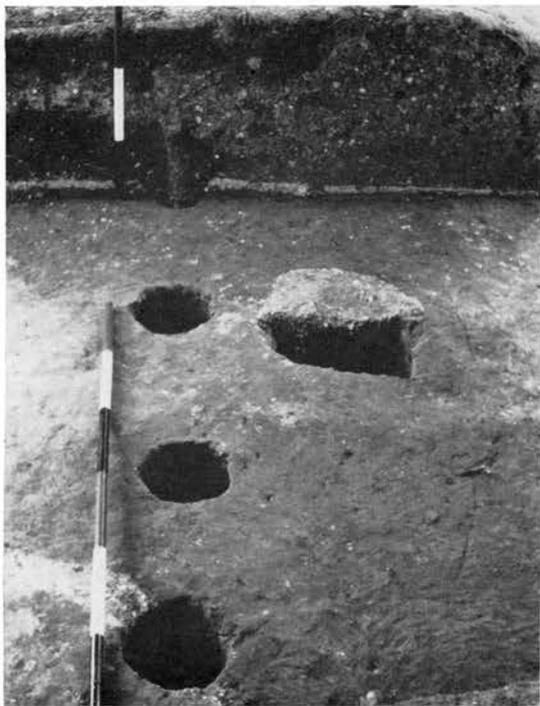


Fig. 6. Pit sections. A line across the top of a pit indicates that it was sealed by the inner rampart, stippling that it was sealed by the gravel layer. Stippling at the sides denotes pits cut through the gravel. The numbering corresponds with Fig. 2. (1 in. = 4 ft.)

the fort was practised. Pits 2, 19 and 12 each contained an inhumation burial, the first two having been dug especially for that purpose. Pit 2 contained the upper half of the skeleton of an infant six years old (Appendix, no. 1). The lower limbs were



*a.* The front post-holes of the outer rampart in Section I. Note the post-cavity in the section and a secondary post-hole to the right of the early row.



*b.* Post-holes at the back of the outer rampart in Section I. Note a secondary post-hole cut through the chalk layer.



*c.* A secondary post-hole in Section II cut through the original bank. The limits of the post-hole are shown by the arrows.



*a.* Post-hole with packing of rammed chalk and soil.



*b.* Post-hole with packing of chalk blocks.



*c.* The burial in Pit 2 (see p. 14), showing the partly exposed skull and traces of the wrapping round the body.



*d.* The burial in Pit 2 completely exposed.



*e.* Burial in Pit 12 (see p. 14).

entirely absent and there can be no doubt at all that the burial was made after they had been removed, but before the flesh of the upper half of the body had decayed. The mutilated remains were buried in a sack or shroud, clear traces of which survived (Pl. III*c*). This had been tied together by a single bronze needle (Fig. 9, no. 8) which rather suggests the use of a sack. The body lay front downwards, the head turned to the left (Pl. III*d*). There were no grave-goods and only a little domestic rubbish in the filling.

The skeleton in Pit 19, an adult female (Appendix, no. 2), was more drastically mutilated, so much so, that it might appear at first sight that it was not a burial at all. There can, however, be little doubt that it was. The pit itself was almost certainly dug specifically for it, as it was the only one on the site which had not been cut completely through the glacial subsoil. Furthermore, the pit was shallow in proportion to its size, and its filling of compact brown soil with chalk rubble was different from that of any other pit and did not contain the usual domestic debris. The presence of a shallow, circular basin cut into the chalk in one corner while the pit was open was a unique feature. The skull lay apart from the rest of the skeleton including the lower jaw which were in the west half of the pit. The femora were still socketed into the pelvis, but had been broken off a few inches below it; the pelvis had been crushed by a large block of chalk thrown in on top of it. Eighteen vertebrae remained in position, showing that some flesh or ligament was left at the time of burial; some of the ribs may also have been in position, but the rest of the bones were scattered in chaotic fashion. It would be unwise to speculate on the significance of this burial at present.

The third burial, another adult woman (Appendix, no. 3), was made in a partly filled storage pit (Pit 12). The skeleton lay on its back (Pl. III*e*) fully extended, with the left arm, which was also extended, partly under the pelvis. The right arm was flexed at right angles and lay across the top of the abdomen. The skull was lying on its right side, but the top vertebrae were not in their proper relationship to it or to each other. There is no evidence, however, to show whether they had already been displaced at the time of the burial. After the body was deposited, the pit was filled with grey chalky earth containing refuse (including two penannular brooches, Fig. 9, nos. 3 and 4, and pottery, Fig. 8, 64-71), but there were no grave-goods.

#### THE GRAVEL LAYER

A layer of flint gravel and small chalk rubble, in places as much as 8 in. thick, was found in D3 to H3. It also occurred in the original section trench where it extended for 60 ft. into the interior of the fort with no signs of ending. (The extent of the layer is indicated by stippling on Fig. 2.) Unfortunately it could not be related with certainty to the defences, though it will be noticed that its eastern edge approximately coincides with the back of the inner rampart. The layer sealed several pits and deposits of occupation material and had been cut through by other pits and features. Its purpose will become more apparent when its full extent is known, at

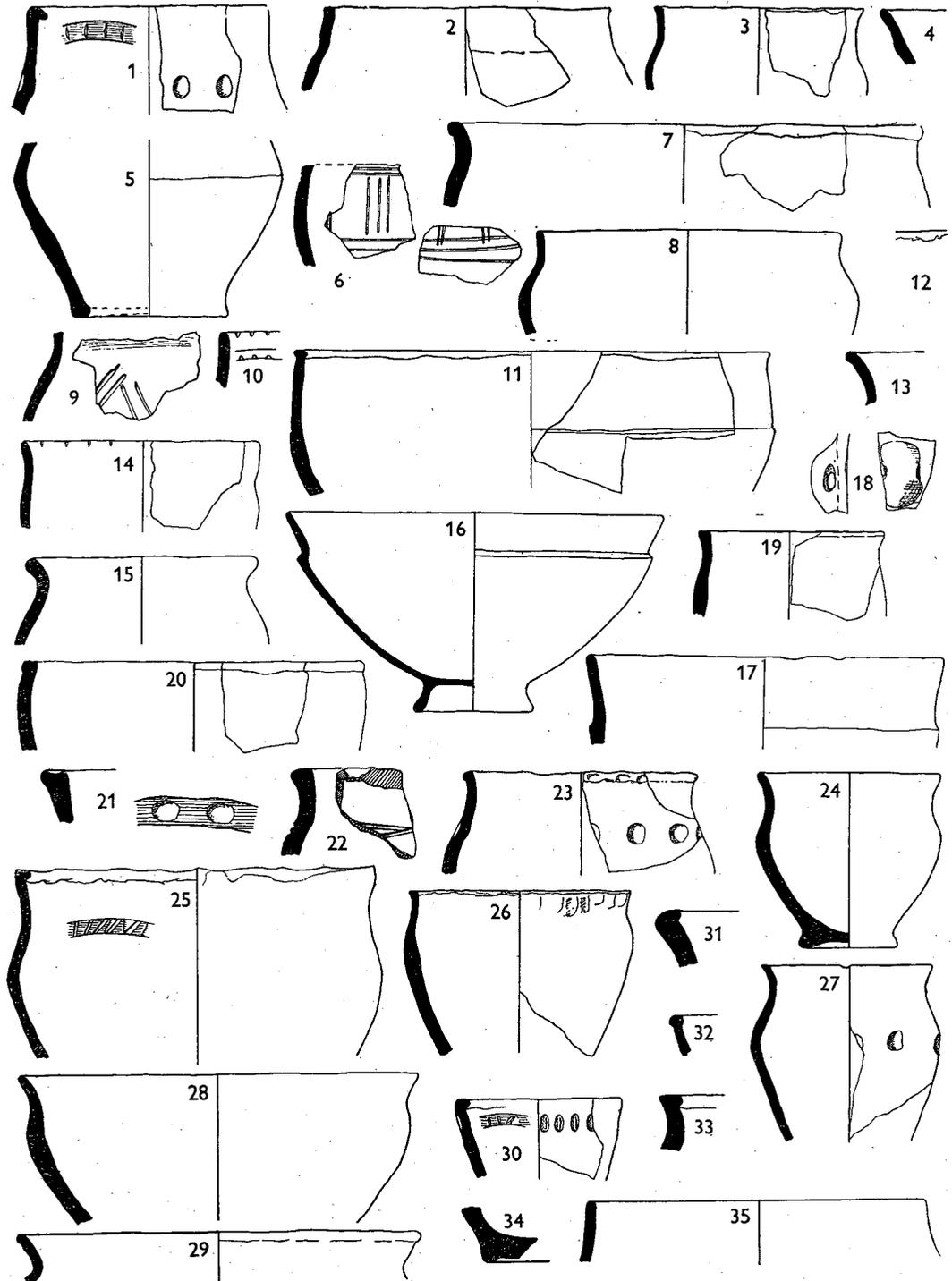


Fig. 7. The pottery. 1/4.

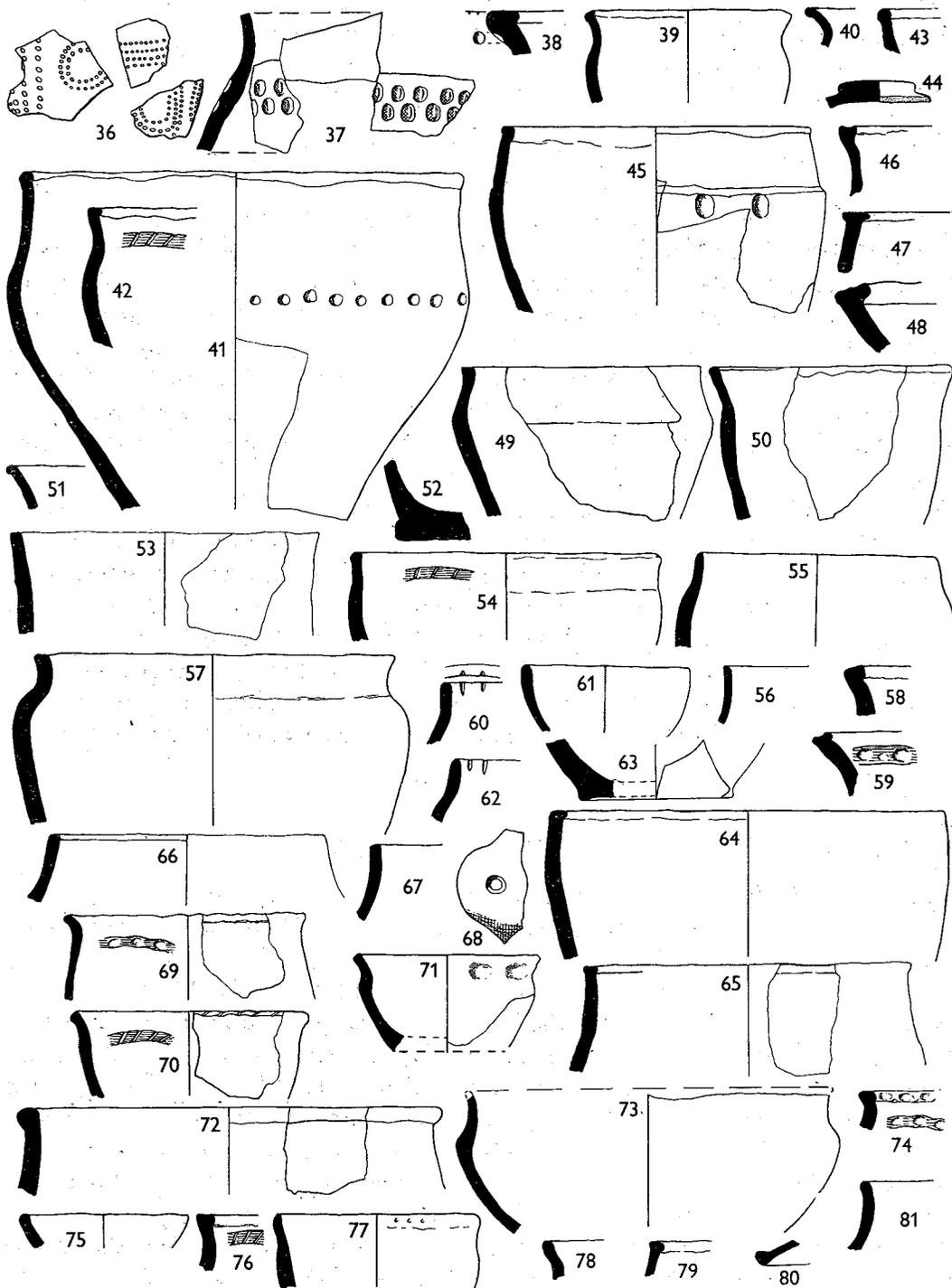


Fig. 8. The pottery. 1/4.

present it seems likely that it was a stack-yard floor. As it was a major feature of the area uncovered, the pottery and other finds are described in groups in relation to it as well as to the defences (pp. 22, 23).

#### THE LINEAR DITCH

One other important feature of the inside of the fort was a linear ditch which was aligned almost radially to the perimeter of the fort. (It pointed slightly south of the centre.) This began in C2 (Fig. 2) and extended for at least 84 ft. into the interior. It became wider and deeper towards the centre of the fort, the bottom falling 19 in. in 70 ft. to a maximum depth of 30 in. The ditch must have been cut in the first period of the fort as it was partly covered by the inner rampart, though it need not necessarily have been entirely filled in the second period, except in C2. Indeed, it seems possible that it was not filled, as two pieces of a Romano-British jar were found 18 in. down in the filling in C3. There was no trace of an associated bank or banks.

Drainage ditches were very common on Iron Age sites in this country, but they were usually smaller and less regular than this. Furthermore the Wandlebury ditch did not drain any structures in the area uncovered. Nor does it seem likely to have been a boundary ditch, as it was consistently wider and deeper towards the centre of the earthwork. The remaining possibility is that it was used for water catchment and fed some kind of reservoir in the interior of the earthwork. This appears to be the most likely explanation of it, one moreover that is not invalidated by the nature of the subsoil, for in the wet summer of 1956 the ditch held water for two or three days after heavy rain.

#### THE POTTERY

##### *General points*

The pottery is described, below, in stratified groups arranged in their relation to the defences or the Gravel Layer where possible. Some, however, is from pits whose relation to other features of the site is uncertain (Group III).

Most of the material, both from the pits and from below the Gravel Layer, was very fragmentary and it is all residual rubbish. The pits would be filled with any refuse that happened to be available and, though the bulk would probably be more or less contemporary domestic rubbish, it is clear that older material could easily become incorporated in the fillings. It is, therefore, all the more necessary to assemble many groups before attempting to evaluate the dating evidence. At present there is not sufficient material to attempt any general outline of the development of Iron Age pottery on the site, especially as there are no groups which we can certainly assign to the second period of the fort. Further work at Wandlebury will, however, enable a general outline to be made eventually, and it should then be possible to use the Wandlebury results to assess the material from other sites in the Cambridge Region, the Iron Age pottery of which is very imperfectly known.

About 80% of the pottery found came from large situla jars in coarse fabrics. This has almost always an in-turned rim, often with 'pie-crust' decoration, and quite often with finger printing round the shoulder. It is doubtful whether any useful chronology can be based on the presence or absence of this sort of decoration.

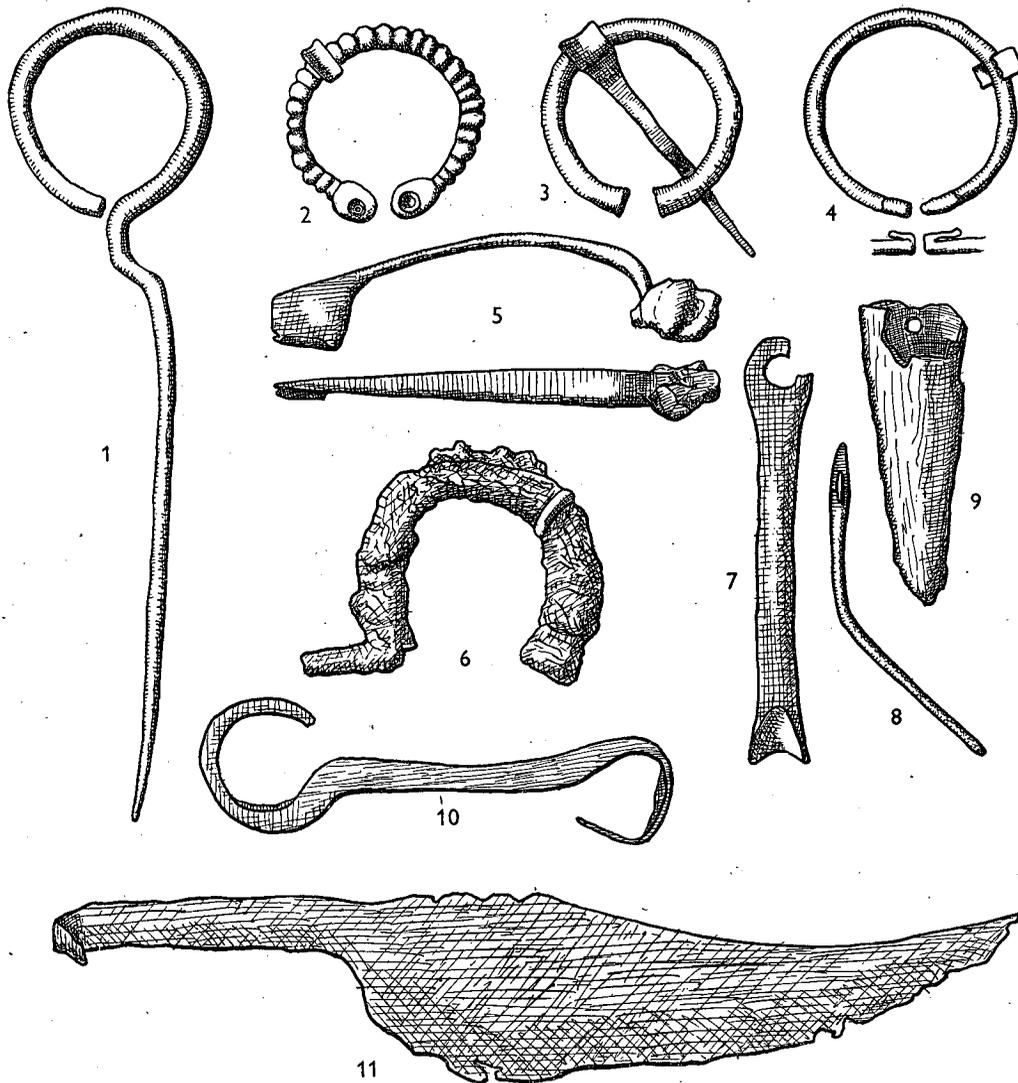


Fig. 9. Small objects of metal. All 1/1.

More useful for dating purposes are the burnished decorated wares (nos. 6, 9 and 36) and the finer wares with parallels outside the Cambridge Region (e.g. nos. 15, 18 etc.).

A few general points may be made about the affinities of the pottery. First, a negative point. Nothing resembling the angular and cordoned jars from West Harling or Fengate was found. Nor were there any of the angular bowls so common

at Linton, only 5 miles away to the south. Secondly, the outside affinities seem to be mainly with the Lower and Middle Thames area, where many parallels to the Wandlebury pottery are to be found at such sites as Chinnor in the Chilterns. This connection with the south-west is no doubt a result of the presence of the Icknield Way and it seems to suggest that the inhabitants of Wandlebury came from that direction originally. The Wilbury hill-fort in Hertfordshire and, nearer Cambridge, the Abington Pigotts site have yielded a lot of pottery in the same tradition, but whether such pottery represents a movement independent of that which brought Wessex traditions to sites such as Linton, or whether it represents the gradual devolution of the original Wessex forms in the area, is not clear.

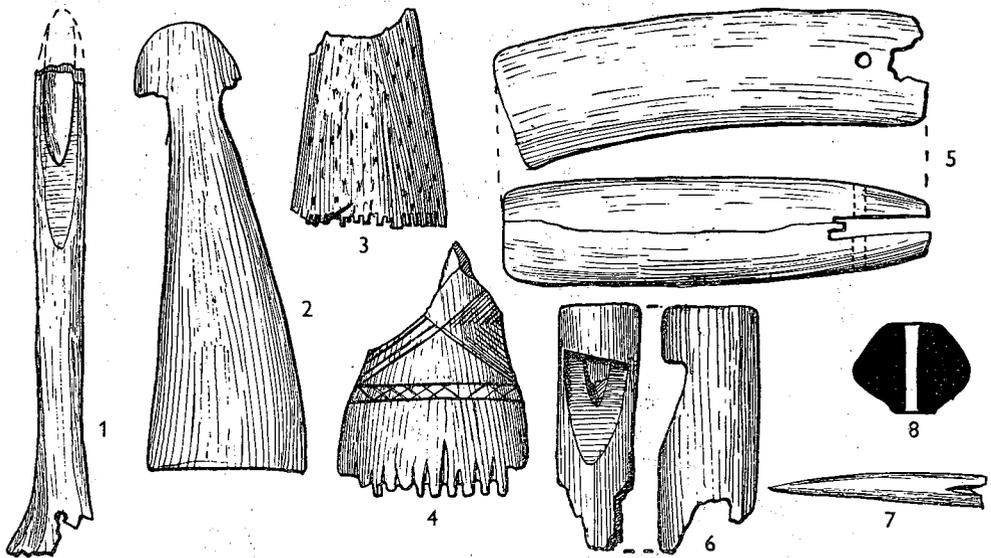


Fig. 10. Small objects of bone and pottery. 1-6 and 8, 1/2. 7, 1/1.

It is very difficult indeed to give absolute dates to Iron Age pottery. Broadly speaking, the Wandlebury material must be assigned to a secondary stage in the development of Iron Age pottery in Britain, though the earliest material retains some of the features which are often held to belong to the first stage. Formally it belongs to Iron Age A2, but it must be remembered that this cultural label has different chronological values in different parts of the country, and that in the Cambridge Region the Iron Age A peoples continued to be little affected by others until the immediately pre-Roman period. The earliest Wandlebury groups, sealed by the inner rampart, nos. 1-10 below, should probably be assigned to the third century B.C. The latest groups cannot yet be dated archaeologically, but on grounds of general probability should belong to the late first century B.C. or the early first century A.D.

In order to save space, the descriptive section on the pottery omits details of the form of drawn vessels. The fabric will be mentioned only when it differs from the normal gritty black with flint tempering and rough black and brown surface. All

the drawable stratified pieces are illustrated. Parallels are quoted from local sites when possible.<sup>1</sup>

*Group I, from pits sealed by the inner rampart (Fig. 7, nos. 1-10)*

1. Strongly inturned rim, nail impressions on the top. Pit 3.
2. A little chalk tempering, slight surface burnish. *Wilbury*, Fig. 8, 19. Pit 3.
3. Slight surface burnish. Cf. no. 8. Pit 3.
4. Bowl or dish with highly burnished surface (diameter 20 cm.). *Wilbury*, Fig. 8, 10B; *Jack's Hill*, Pl. XXXVIIb. Pit 3.
5. Jar with unusually broad base. Patchy brown and black burnished surface. Pit 3.
6. Hard fabric with black burnished surface. Decoration incised after firing, as in many Wessex examples (*Kenyon*, p. 35). Pit 3.
7. Red-brown fabric with large flint grit. Pit 9.
8. Highly burnished surface. Cf. no. 3 and *Linton*, Fig. 4, 20. Pit 9.
9. Shoulder of jar in brown-grey fabric with small flint grit. Burnished surface. Decoration incised after firing. *Chinnor*, Fig. 6, 30. Pit 15.
10. Hard brown-black fabric. The form and the incisions around the inside of the rim are paralleled in nos. 14, 60, and 62, the latter in a pit later than the Gravel Layer. No parallels have been noted elsewhere. Pit 15.

*Group II, from pits probably sealed by the inner rampart (Fig. 7, nos. 11-19)*

11. Rough purplish brown surface. Cf. no. 45. Pits 27 and 28.
12. Rim of a large jar (diameter 24 cm.). This is the standard rim profile on the site for the medium and large jar, cf. nos. 31, 33, 65, etc., the flattened inturned lip being characteristic. Similar rims are well-represented at Chinnor (*Chinnor*, Fig. 5) and at Abington Pigotts (e.g. Fig. 3A and unpublished material in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology). Pit 27, but several similar ones in Pits 28 and 29.
13. Black burnished surface (diameter c. 14 cm.). *Wilbury*, Fig. 8, 10. Pit 28.
14. Cf. no. 10. Pit 28.
15. Soft brown fabric with large flint grit. Surfaces black, the exterior slightly burnished. Jars resembling this were found at Chinnor (Fig. 6, 29). Pit 28.
16. Patchy brown and black burnished surface. The form appears to be a Middle Thames one (cf. *Chinnor*, Fig. 8), though the Wandlebury dish is more elegant than most. Pits 27, 28 and 29.
17. Hard sandy brown fabric with thick black core, very gritty with some of the grits as much as 5 mm. long. The correct horizon was difficult to work out, but that shown is probably not far out, though it is possible that this is a coarse copy of a dish like no. 16. Pit 29.
18. Lug handle in brown to black fabric with burnished surface. Several similar handles were found, all in the same fabric, but in no case was there enough of the rest of the pot to make the form certain. Probably, however, no. 55, which is in the same characteristic fabric, belongs to one variety of these vessels, which is also known from Abington Pigotts (Fig. 2B), while nos. 35, 66 and 67 may belong to another. Some of the unstratified pieces had the incised lines around the handles also found in the Chilterns (*Chinnor*, Fig. 6, 24 and 26). Cf. no. 68. Pit 29.
19. Red-brown fabric with rough black surface. Cf. no. 26. Pit 10.

*Group III, from pits unrelated to other features (Fig. 7, 20-35)*

20. Cf. no. 11 and *Wilbury*, Fig. 12, 51. Pit 1.
21. Soft red-brown fabric with shell and flint grit (diameter c. 34 cm.). Several other examples

<sup>1</sup> For a list of the abbreviations used in referring to reports see p. 27.

of this form were found all with thumb impressions on the top of the rim. Probably a bowl rather than a dish. No precise parallels have been found, so the form may well be a local one. Pit 1.

22. The incised lines on the shoulder are sharply cut, probably by a metal tool. Pit 1.
23. Red-brown fabric with burnished surface. *Chinnor*, Fig. 5, 2. Pit 1.
24. For a parallel (form only) see *Abington Pigotts*, Pl. IA. Pit 1.
25. Hard orange-brown fabric with small flint grits, the outer surface smoothed and with grass markings. The rim has been impressed with a stick, etc. (cf. nos. 42, 54 and 70), a technique also found on the Jack's Hill pottery (Pl. XXXVI, j). Pit 8.
26. Same fabric as no. 25. Cf. no. 19 and *Wilbury*, Fig. 8, 11. Pit 8.
27. Rough light brown surface. Pit 31.
28. Soft red-brown fabric without tempering, not burnished. Similar in form to no. 73, but with a less strong carination. Several others were found unstratified. Pit 32.
29. Orange-brown fabric with black burnished surface (diameter *c.* 10 cm.). Pit 32.
30. Soft red-brown fabric with black core. No parallels have been noted for this unusual type. Pit 32.
31. Brown fabric (diameter *c.* 28 cm.). The rim has impressed grooves as on no. 25. Pit 32.
32. Rim from a vessel of uncertain form and diameter. Pit 32.
33. Fabric as no. 31. *Abington Pigotts*, Pl. V, h. Pit 20.
34. Black fabric with some chalk tempering. There is a slight footstand. Several examples of this type were found, mostly unstratified, but cf. no. 63. Pit 20.
35. Black fabric with a black burnished surface wash. Cf. nos. 66 and 67 which are, however, in soft brown fabric though with the same kind of surface treatment. The form of all these vessels is uncertain, but they may belong to a type of handled jar known in Surrey (*Kenyon*, Fig. 19). It may be noted that a handle from such a jar was found in the same pit as nos. 66 and 67. Pit 26.

*Group IV, from deposits sealed by the Gravel Layer (Fig. 8, 36-52)*

36. Fragments from a large decorated vessel in dark brown gritty fabric. Burnished surface decorated before firing. Although many fragments were found, few joined and the form of the vessel and the decoration remain obscure. It is clear, however, that most of the surface was undecorated. Punctured decoration of festoons or circles is not uncommon on Iron Age A sites (cf. *Chinnor*, Fig. 7, for instance), but it is normally enclosed between incised lines. No precise parallel has been noted, though *Linton*, Fig. 5, A and B, have unenclosed punctured decoration. Pit 5. A piece from another pot with similar decoration was found unstratified.
  37. Hard brown fabric with much flint grit. This is noteworthy as the only pot from *Wandlebury* to bear more than one row of finger-printing. Pit 5.
  38. The top of the rim is incised like nos. 14, 60 and 62, the lower part of the rim is frilled by finger-printing. Pit 5.
  39. Soft black fabric without grit. The outer surface, which is brown, has been slightly smoothed. Pit 13.
  40. Surface burnished. Pit 13.
  41. Hard grey-brown fabric, rough red-brown surface. *Hengistbury*, Pl. XVI, 10. Pit 23.
  42. Red-brown fabric with small flint and chalk grit (diameter *c.* 28 cm.). See no. 25. Pit 23.
  43. Dark brown fabric with flint grit (diameter *c.* 20 cm.). Pit 23.
  44. Red fabric with brown core, dark brown burnished surface. This is evidently from a lid. Pit 24.
- 45-52 were all found in the occupation layer sealed by the Gravel in C3, together with fragments of a haematite-coated vessel.
45. Sandy brown fabric with rough surface. Cf. no. 11.

46. Red-brown fabric with flint grit (diameter *c.* 28 cm.). *Abington Pigotts*, Fig. 2A.
47. Black fabric with much coarse sand, slightly burnished (diameter *c.* 32 cm.). *Abington Pigotts*, Pl. V, *g.*
48. Soft orange-brown fabric with thick brown core. Large diameter.
49. Some chalk tempering, surface patchy orange-brown to black. Cf. 66 and 67.
50. Rough surface, light brown to black. *Chinnor*, Fig. 5, 16.
51. Hard brown fabric without tempering, burnished (diameter *c.* 18 cm.). Cf. no. 73.
52. Soft brown fabric with chalk and flint tempering, rough grass-marked surface.

*Group V, in Gravel Layer* (Fig. 8, 53-56)

53. Reddish brown surface.
54. Patchy brown surface. For the form cf. no. 11, for the decoration on the rim cf. nos. 25, 42 etc.
55. Soft brown fabric with chalk tempering, smoothed brown and black surface. From a handled jar in all probability, cf. *Abington Pigotts*, Fig. 2B. Several unstratified examples.
56. Surface like no. 54.

*Group Va, in surface of Gravel Layer* (Fig. 8, 57-61)

57. Surface orange-brown and dark brown (diameter *c.* 8 cm.). *Abington Pigotts*, Fig. 2B.
58. Diameter *c.* 25 cm.
59. Soft red-brown fabric with chalk and flint grit, interior red, exterior brown (diameter *c.* 24 cm.). This is presumably a variant of the large jar rim.
60. Soft black fabric with sandy brown surface. Cf. no. 10.
61. Cf. *Chinnor*, Fig. 5, 18.

*Group VI, from features cut through the Gravel Layer* (Fig. 8, 62-71)

62. Brown surface (diameter *c.* 10 cm.). Pit 11.
63. Patchy orange-brown to black surface. The foot-ring is reminiscent of some Wessex types (*Kenyon*, Fig. 4, 2), and is also known in the Chilterns (*Chinnor*, Fig. 8, 69). Pit 11.
64. Black fabric with chalk and flint tempering, orange-brown surface. *Wilbury*, Fig. 10, 53. Pit 12.
65. Brown fabric with large flints, orange-brown surface. Cf. no. 2, and some Lower Thames forms, e.g. *Kenyon*, Fig. 17, 1. Pit 12.
- 66 and 67. Reddish brown fabric with flint grit, black wash and burnish. See no. 35. Pit 12.
68. Fabric as nos. 66 and 67. Perhaps from one of them. See note on no. 35. Pit 12.
69. Black gritty fabric with black granular surface (diameter *c.* 5.5 cm.). No parallel has been noted for this form. Pit 12.
70. Fabric as no. 69. This is the only example of the form on which there was any rim decoration. Pit 12.
71. Shallow impressions on the neck. Similar squat jars have been found at *Abington Pigotts* (in *C.M.A.E.*).

*Group VII, from the filling of the linear ditch* (Fig. 8, 72-81)

72. Large flint grits (diameter *c.* 10 cm.).
73. Dark brown fabric with flint grit, black burnished surface. Cf. no. 28, but this is more carinated.
74. Soft brown fabric (diameter *c.* 12 cm.).
75. Hard brown gritty fabric, black burnished surface. Cf. no. 61 and *Chinnor*, Fig. 8, 18.
76. Soft brown fabric (diameter *c.* 22 cm.).

77. Very sandy brown fabric with corky texture, possibly stabbed decoration on outside of rim.
78. Soft black fabric (diameter *c.* 10 cm.).
79. Hard grey fabric with large flint grit, rough brown surface. Cf. no. 47.
80. Soft black fabric without grit, black burnished surface (diameter *c.* 12 cm.).
81. Diameter *c.* 14 cm. Cf. no. 67, but the lip has a suggestion of a bead.

#### SMALL OBJECTS

Considering the small area so far examined, the relative abundance of iron objects is striking. Flint clearly was not of major importance in the economy of the Wandlebury inhabitants: although some two dozen flakes were found, most were unstratified, including the only two finished implements, both scrapers. In view of the usual abundance of flint on early Iron Age A sites and the availability of good flint nearby, its rarity at Wandlebury suggests that iron tools were already available in quantity at the time of the initial occupation. The relative proportion of iron to bronze objects is also unusually high.

Weaving is abundantly attested by the presence of carding combs (Fig. 10, nos. 2-4), a spindle whorl (Fig. 10, no. 8), and many fragments of triangular daub loom-weights (not illustrated, but of the same form as *Maiden Castle*, Fig. 100, 1).

#### *Metal objects* (Fig. 9)

1. Iron ring-headed pin. Cf. *Arch. J.* vol. xci (1934), pp. 269ff. and also *Maiden Castle*, pp. 267ff. At Maiden Castle, ring-headed pins appear to have been in use throughout Iron Age A. Iron ones are rare outside Wessex. Below the Gravel Layer in C3 with Fig. 8, 45-52.

2. Bronze penannular brooch of torque-like form. No parallels have been noted for this remarkable piece. Found with no. 6 below in Pit 28. For the associated pottery see Fig. 7, 11-16.

3. Iron penannular brooch with slightly expanded terminals. The form is a simple one and was probably made for a long time, but a close parallel at Maiden Castle was found in a deposit of the first century A.D. (*Maiden Castle*, Fig. 86, 3 and p. 264). From the upper filling of Pit 12, found with no. 4 and with Fig. 8, 69-71.

4. Iron penannular brooch with terminals folded back in the same plane as the ring. Brooches with such terminals appear commonly in Belgic contexts. They have been recorded from Maiden Castle (*Maiden Castle*, Fig. 86, 8: dated *c.* A.D. 25-50), Rotherley (Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranbourne Chase*, II, Pl. CII, 15), Prae Wood, Verulamium (*Antiquity*, vol. VI, Fig. 4, 1), Sutton Walls (*Arch. J.* vol. cx, Fig. 23, 8), and from many Romano-British sites. With no. 3.

5. Iron fibula of Mrs Fowler's type 3B (*Arch. J.* vol. cx, p. 101). The form occurs in both Belgic and Romano-British contexts. As no early Roman pottery has been found at Wandlebury, it seems likely that this brooch reached the site before the Roman period. Found in a badger sett in the subsoil under the site of the inner rampart. Under the circumstances, no reliance can be placed on this brooch for dating the inner rampart, though it is difficult to see how the brooch could have reached the position in which it was found unless it was already there before the rampart or was in the rampart material. However, it is useful as evidence for some occupation of the site in the first century A.D.

6. Hook-shaped iron object. This is very badly rusted and swollen. It looks as though it might be the bow of a fibula. Found looped through no. 2 in Pit 28.

7. Iron hanger, perhaps a belt fitting. Unstratified.

8. Bronze needle. Pit 2, where it had probably been used to fasten the shroud or sack containing the burial.

9. Iron ferrule. Found under the Gravel Layer in C3.
10. Iron bar of rectangular section with the ends curved back to form an elongated S. This is almost certainly part of a three-link bit, cf. Fox, *A Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach* (1946), Pl. XXVIII, 85. Pit 23, with Fig. 8, 41-3.
11. Iron knife. A common Iron Age type which lasted into the Roman period. Pit 5.

*Objects of bone and antler* (Fig. 10)

1. Bone gouge of All Cannings Cross Type A, made from a sheep tibia. Unstratified.
2. Bone comb which has not been finished or which has been pared down for use as a scoop. Unstratified.
3. Fragment from a similar comb. Pit 12.
4. A similar fragment with finely incised decoration. Pit 20.
5. Bone handle with transverse hole for rivet. Highly polished. Unstratified.
6. Part of an antler tine with a wedge removed near the base. The tine has been hollowed out near the base. A parallel is forthcoming from Sutton Walls (*Arch. J.* vol. cx, Fig. 26, 2 and Pl. XVI B). This is more complete than the Wandlebury example and is certainly the cheek-piece of a bridle. Pit 12.
7. Bone needle, highly polished. This is a common Iron Age type, cf. *Maiden Castle*, Pl. XXXV. Pit 13.

#### ANIMAL REMAINS

Large quantities of stratified animal bones were found on the site, especially in the fillings of the pits. These have not yet been examined in detail and are stored temporarily in their groups in the University Museum of Archaeology. Sheep, oxen, pigs, dogs and horses are all represented, in that order of frequency most probably, by hundreds of fragments.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The excavations of 1955 and 1956 have shown that the Wandlebury earthwork was an Iron Age A hill-fort. Occupation of the site probably began in the third century B.C. From the first the settlement was defended by a circular ditch and timber-revetted rampart enclosing about 15 acres. When the timbers of the rampart decayed, they were not replaced and the rampart became a rounded mound, material from it partly filling the ditch.

At some later date, not yet closely defined, the site was refortified. The outer ditch was recut, and the original rampart refurbished. It was almost certainly at the same time that the defences were deepened by the construction of an inner ditch and rampart. As Romano-British pottery was found in the ditch filling within 4 ft. of the bottom, it can hardly have been cut before the late first century B.C. There is no evidence that the two phases of construction are the work of different cultural groups; indeed, the homogeneity of the pottery, which is all Iron Age A, strongly suggests that they were not. The reconstruction must be the reaction to a hostile intrusion into the Cambridge neighbourhood. This can hardly be other than the Belgic intrusion into the area, perhaps in the early first century A.D., and the presence of metal-work of this period, though Belgic pottery is entirely absent, is significant. There can be little doubt that at this stage Wandlebury was a border fort of the Iceni.

Inside the fort, permanent occupation is attested by the presence of numerous intersecting pits and post-holes and by minor structures associated with Iron Age farming. Provision was also made for the collection of rain-water.

There is, however, no evidence so far of the nature and duration of the second phase.

There was some occupation of the hill-top during the Roman period, probably from the second century A.D., but no structures of the period were found. Nothing belonging to the interval between the end of the Roman period and the eighteenth century was found.

## APPENDIX

### THE HUMAN REMAINS<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. *The burial in Pit 2 (see p. 14)*

When the remains were examined in the laboratory, it was found that they represented the almost complete upper half of the skeleton of a child, in practically perfect condition.

The skull, vertebrae, thoracic cage, pectoral girdle, and upper limbs were found to be completely present, except for two pieces of the corpus sterni, and the xiphoid process which could not be positively identified; even the body of the hyoid and one of its horns could be distinguished. This makes it all the more remarkable that the lower limbs were entirely missing and that despite a thorough examination no possible traces of them could be found.

The pelvic girdle fell into an intermediate category, being present in part and in a damaged condition. The following pieces were distinguished:

Sacrum: two pieces and possible fragments.

Iliac: two almost complete, but damaged (see below).

Pubis: fragment of left.

Ischia: no traces.

The age, at death, of the human remains can be given fairly certainly as six years. Evidence from the eruption of the teeth, the cranial sutures, and the ossification of the head of the humerus all point to this age.

The sex could not be ascertained without doubt, although certain features of the skull, such as the very small size of the mastoid processes, do suggest it was female.

#### *Note on the damage to the iliac*

It may be added to the above that the nature of the damage to the iliac in conjunction with the absence of the lower limbs, proved to be an interesting source of speculation. Absence of any sign of repair indicates that the damage must have been inflicted shortly before or else after death. Absence of diploe and the staining of the inside of the 'cut', suggests that the damage is not recent and that it *could* have occurred at the time of death. The nature of the 'cut' itself is one which is well recognized in forensic studies and from this point of view could have been inflicted by a sharp heavy instrument as an axe or a sword. One is, therefore, led to imagine that the limbs were possibly cut off at the time of death and the body buried without them. The evidence is not, needless to say, conclusive. It is, however, compatible with it.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Longton, University Demonstrator in Physical Anthropology, who contributes this section to the report, took a great deal of trouble over examination of the skeleton remains both in the field and in the laboratory, and our most sincere thanks are expressed to him.

2. *The burial in Pit 12 (see p. 15)*

The skeletal remains were found to comprise the greater part of a human skeleton in good condition, and complete in the main. It was decided from an examination of the skull and the pelvis that the sex was female, although the feminine features were not very marked. The state of the cranial sutures suggests that the age at death must have been about 40 years old. The stature, as estimated from the length of the femur, was 5 ft. 4 in. With regard to race, the form of the skull is quite typical of that associated with the Iron Age people.

As is often found with these people, the teeth are in a very bad condition. The teeth in the lower jaw are very crowded, and in the upper jaw the third molars have not erupted, and there are signs of dental caries and abscesses. With regard to the rest of the skeleton, there is a certain amount of arthritis but no gross abnormalities. This last point is of especial importance with reference to the position of the bones in the ground, there is no medical evidence to explain the distortion of the vertebral column which was observed.

3. *The burial in Pit 19 (see p. 15)*

*Report on the remains found at Wandlebury (EL/⟨1⟩).* Duckworth Lab. Ref. EU. 1. 3. 209.

The remains comprise the greater part of one human individual, but there are a few animal bones (horse?) mixed in with these.

*Details of the human remains*

1. Sex: female.
2. Age: 25 to 35.
3. Stature: It was impossible to give even an approximate figure as there are no complete long bones surviving, but it was possible to say that the individual was short in stature.
4. Race: the skeletal features are compatible with an Iron Age people.
5. Pathology: there was a very slight trace of osteo-arthritis in the lower half of the vertebral column, but the teeth appeared to be normal, and there were no indications of chronic infection in either the upper or lower jaws.
6. Fractures: the bones are severely fractured, but it has proved impossible so far to arrive at any definite decision as to whether these fractures are natural or were intentionally produced.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- Abington Pigotts*: C. Fox, 'A Settlement of the Early Iron Age at Abington Pigotts, Cambs', *Proc. Prehistoric Soc. of East Anglia*, vol. IV.
- Chinnor*: K. M. Richardson and A. Young, 'An Iron Age A Site on the Chilterns', *Ant. J.* vol. XXXI.
- Hengistbury*: J. P. Bushe-Fox, 'Excavations at Hengistbury Head, Hampshire in 1911-12', *Soc. of Antiquaries Research Report No. III*.
- Jack's Hill*: C. F. Tebbutt, 'Early Iron Age Settlement on Jack's Hill, Great Wymondley, Herts', *Proc. Prehistoric Soc. of East Anglia*, vol. VI, pt. IV.
- Kenyon*: K. M. Kenyon, 'A Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Chronology and Origins of Iron Age A in Southern and Midland Britain', *London Institute of Archaeology, Eighth Annual Report*.
- Linton*: C. I. Fell, 'An Early Iron Age Settlement at Linton, Cambs', *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLVI.
- Maiden Castle*: R. E. M. Wheeler, 'Maiden Castle, Dorset', *Soc. of Antiquaries Research Report No. XII*.
- Wilbury*: E. S. Applebaum, 'Excavations at Wilbury Hill', *Arch. J.* vol. CVI.



## SAXO-NORMAN POTTERY IN EAST ANGLIA

PART II. THETFORD WARE by J. G. HURST, M.A.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF MIDDLE SAXON IPSWICH  
WARE by J. G. HURST, M.A. and S. E. WEST

WHEN this paper was first planned, Saxo-Norman pottery was divided into three types, St Neots, Stamford and Thetford. In the areas of distribution of St Neots and Stamford ware it has not been possible to place Saxo-Norman wheel-thrown pottery any earlier than the end of the ninth century. Even this is based solely on evidence from Thetford, where both Stamford glazed pottery and St Neots shelly, soapy surfaced, pottery were found in the lowest levels, presumed to be ninth century. In the St Neots area itself only one site, St Neots, could be placed as early as the ninth century,<sup>1</sup> while in the Stamford area only the material from Oakham castle can be placed even as far back as the eleventh century. In the area of distribution of Thetford ware, however, there are sites where the story may be taken right back into the eighth and seventh centuries, that is into the Middle Saxon period. The main site for this early pottery is Ipswich where large numbers of complete vessels have been found. During the five centuries from the seventh to the twelfth century pottery was being made continuously in the *Carr Street* area of Ipswich. At least four different kiln sites have been found within a radius of fifty yards.

A study of this Ipswich material makes it clear that here the early (seventh to ninth century) material can be distinguished from the later (tenth to twelfth century) pottery. In view of this it is proposed that the term Thetford ware should be kept for the tenth to twelfth century pottery, which has the same date range as St Neots and Stamford wares. The term *Ipswich* ware should be used for the Middle Saxon pottery in East Anglia.

### IPSWICH WARE

Ipswich ware is hard, sandy and grey, very similar to Thetford ware. Sherds of these two wares may, however, be distinguished by the thickness of most Ipswich ware pots as opposed to Thetford ware and the rough and uneven girth grooves visible on the Ipswich sherds as a result of throwing on a slow wheel rather than a fast one. Only cooking pots and spouted pitchers have been found so far; no bowls have been recognized as yet. The cooking pots have simple everted rims and sagging bases, are roughly turned on a slow wheel and have extensive knife trimming at the

<sup>1</sup> See Part I of this paper 'General Discussion and St Neots Ware', *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLIX (1955), pp. 43-70.

base (Fig. 2). They are clearly derived from hand-made local Pagan Saxon baggy domestic pottery, but the sagging base, knife trimming and above all the use of a wheel, are traits which could only have come from the Rhineland. Besides the cooking pots, simple undecorated spouted pitchers are found which develop imperceptibly into the Thetford type of spouted pitcher. The cooking pots change considerably in shape with the change over to Thetford ware. Also in a different ware are a series of lugged pitchers which combine Pagan Saxon forms of decoration with continental forms (see p. 40).

As will be seen, by far the largest amount of material comes from Ipswich, especially the *Carr Street* kiln sites, which shows that Ipswich must have been an important trading centre as early as the late seventh or early eighth century. It does not seem to have been until well into the eighth or early in the ninth century that a settlement was established at Norwich (see p. 35). The inland trading centres, such as Thetford, were not established until much later. Ipswich ware was not confined to towns as can be seen from the cluster of sites near the Wash in north-west Norfolk. It is likely that now this ware is recognized it will be noted from many other sites in East Anglia. It is surprising that this, or a similar ware, has not been found in the St Neots area where there appears to be a gap between the Pagan Saxon period and the ninth century. It can only be concluded that Pagan Saxon pottery lingered on here until the ninth century; further, that trade routes from the Wash to the Oxford region which were in use in Pagan Saxon times, and which must have caused the spread of St Neots ware, were either not in use during the eighth century or pottery was not one of the objects traded.

It is suggested that Ipswich ware is the result of trade contacts with the Rhineland, which were established in the early seventh century and greatly expanded after the conversion of East Anglia to Christianity in the middle of the seventh century, through Frisian merchants who traded both with East Anglia and the Rhineland.<sup>1</sup> No pottery had been made on a wheel in Britain for two hundred years, so it appears unlikely that local potters could have developed Ipswich ware simply by hearing about the Rhenish forms and methods. It is suggested that actual potters came over to settle and brought with them the technique of pottery manufacture on the wheel and the baking of pottery in kilns. The traits typical of the Rhineland, the sagging base, knife trimming and the spouted pitcher, leave little doubt as to the source from which they came. From the first they made spouted pitchers in the forms to which they had been accustomed. The peasant cooking pots seem to have still been made in Pagan Saxon shapes, but with the new methods of manufacture added. It was not for another two hundred years that the more sophisticated continental forms of cooking pots were made at Thetford, St Neots and Stamford. The continuity of the kiln evidence at Ipswich shows, however, that this was one continuous stream of development. In the areas of distribution of St Neots and Stamford wares this Middle Saxon type of pottery does not occur as the Frisian trade contacts seem to have been

<sup>1</sup> The background of this Late Saxon trade has been discussed by Mr G. C. Dunning in *Dark Age Britain*, studies presented to E. T. Leeds, ed. D. B. Harden (1956), pp. 218-33.

only with the East Anglian coastal areas. It is assumed that in the former areas Pagan Saxon pottery forms continued in existence until the ninth century. The Thetford area, however, received these Frisian influences earlier and so there was a steady development there right through from the seventh to the twelfth century. This continuity is most clearly shown by the activities of the potters in the *Carr Street* area of Ipswich (see p. 32).

It is remarkable that this development took place only in East Anglia while south-east England continued to manufacture hand-made pots until the end of the eleventh century. There must have been contacts between Kent and the Continent as can be seen from the Middle Saxon lugged pitchers (see p. 40). There is documentary evidence of considerable Frisian contact with York, but we have little historical evidence for the extensive trade which was apparently centred on East Anglia not only at this time but throughout the whole Saxo-Norman period.

The finding of Ipswich ware at Heacham and Sedgeford, on the same sites as Pagan Saxon domestic pottery, suggests either that these sites date to the change-over from the use of one pottery type to the other or that for some time, especially in the country areas, the two survived side by side (see p. 37 for similar Suffolk evidence).

At Ipswich, the main site for Ipswich ware, there is unfortunately no absolute dating evidence. There is, however, both here and in the Cathedral Close, Norwich, stratigraphical evidence that Ipswich ware is earlier than Thetford ware. The earliest site is Bradwell-on-Sea where Ipswich ware was found in the upper filling of the Roman shore fort, possibly dating to the period of the chapel of St Cedd built in A.D. 654. At Framlingham, an Ipswich cooking pot was found in the same level as a Frankish disc of the seventh century. At Caister-on-Sea, Ipswich ware was found with a bronze stylus and coins dating to the seventh and eighth centuries. Also definitely associated with Ipswich ware was a coin of Egbert dated A.D. 825-35. This gives the closing date of Ipswich ware, from the evidence at present available, as the middle of the ninth century. This means that Ipswich ware had a life of about two hundred years. Whether Ipswich ware ended, and was replaced by Thetford ware, at the same time in different parts of East Anglia is a question that cannot be finally answered in the present state of our knowledge. It is possible that Ipswich ware lasted longer in Eastern Norfolk, and perhaps Ipswich as well, than it did in the immediate area of Thetford itself.

The distribution of Ipswich ware is mainly coastal, or along navigable rivers, northwards from Essex round to the eastern margins of the Fens at King's Lynn. No Ipswich ware has as yet been found at Thetford. But as the Ministry of Works excavations took place in what was very likely a later suburb of the town, this is no evidence for there not having been a village in Thetford in Middle Saxon times.

## IPSWICH- AND THETFORD-WARE KILN SITES IN IPSWICH

All the material from these sites is in the Ipswich Museum (I.M.)

Evidence for the manufacture of pottery at Ipswich during the Middle Saxon and Saxo-Norman periods comes from four sources. The first group of wasters have no locality but are possibly from the *Carr Street* area as building work was in progress there at the time they were discovered. The remaining evidence for kilns shows that the pottery manufacture was apparently concentrated in the *Carr Street* area, the Old Foundry Road site being only about 50 yards from the two known *Carr Street* sites.

*Ipswich Kiln Sites*

(1) Group of four crude vessels with sagging bases found in Ipswich and collected by N. F. Layard at some time previous to 1920 (I.M. 1920-53-12). Three are badly overfired and crushed, but the one illustrated gives the form of the vessel. They are recorded as having been found 'at a depth of 8 ft. 6 in. in a hole dug in yellow clay, measuring 7 ft. by 5 ft.'. The actual locality of the find, is however, not made clear; but it was possibly somewhere in the vicinity of the Co-operative site between Carr Street and Major's Corner.

Cooking pot in thick grey ware badly contorted and split in firing. It has a simple rounded everted rim, two girth grooves on the shoulder and internal finger marks on the sagging base, Fig. 1, 1, Ipswich ware.

(2) *Carr Street*—I.M. 1935-74. Found between Union Street and Carr Street during alterations to the Co-operative Society's buildings. Deep hollows were observed filled with 'medieval' potsherds and dark earth. The vessels were described as having been found with the remains of the kiln in which they were fired. This seems probable as they are all wasters, warped and split in firing. On another visit to the site, the observer was told by the foreman in charge of operations that another kiln had been destroyed. No details as to the construction of these kilns are available.

Group of four cooking pots all roughly turned on a slow wheel, warped and split in firing. Hard thick grey ware, simple rounded everted rims. No girth grooves, but two are crudely smoothed outside and two are fingered inside at the base. All have sagging bases, Fig. 1, 2 and 4-6, Ipswich ware. A fifth cooking pot, also a waster with its base split by firing, was found in the vicinity of the other wasters but was not necessarily from the same kiln. It is very much better made than the others, has thinner sides and well-defined regular girth grooves, Fig. 1, 7, Thetford ware.

Found with the four cooking pots, and presumably from the same kiln was a spouted pitcher with an O spout (see p. 51). Grey-brown ware, reddish in fracture, with some grit. Body scored with rough horizontal lines due to slow turning, Fig. 1, 3.

(3) *Carr Street*—I.M. 1928-33. A group of plain and girth grooved flat based pots discovered *in situ* in the kiln in which they were fired. This kiln was in the same vicinity as those found later in 1935, being situated at the rear of the Co-operative Society's Furnishing Department in Carr Street.

The base of the kiln appears to have been about 4 ft. 6 in. from the modern ground surface. From a first-hand description and the two photographs that were taken (Pl. IV), the construction appears to have been as follows: the kiln was made of puddled clay, about 3 ft. in diameter; the walls sloping outward and remaining about 18 in. high. No evidence was noted of any stoke hole, flues, or kiln furniture of any kind. There was no central pedestal. When cut through by the workmen the kiln contained a number of complete and broken pots. These were apparently the remains of the final firing of the kiln; the reason for their abandonment is not clear as a number are



The Carr Street kiln, discovered in 1928, showing Thetford-ware pots *in situ*, p. 32.

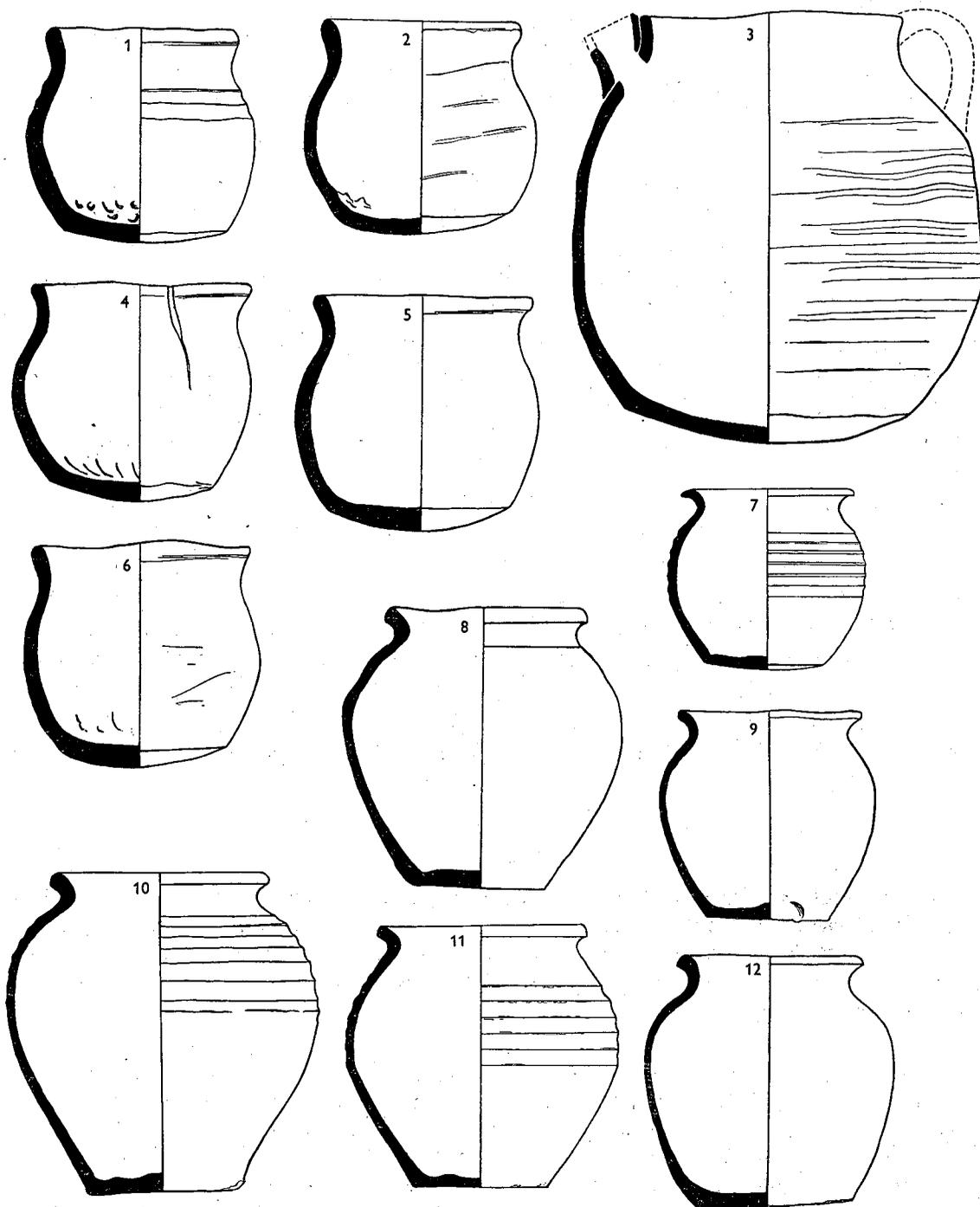


Fig. 1. Pottery from the Ipswich kilns in the Carr Street area: 1-6, seventh to ninth century Ipswich ware; 7-12, tenth to twelfth century Thetford ware. 1/4.

perfect. The vessels were packed in the kiln in at least two layers, the lower being inverted, the upper standing upright on the bases of those underneath.

Five cooking pots from the kiln have been drawn Fig. 1, 8-12. They are quite different in character from those found in the 1935 kiln. They are all well made on a fast wheel, have much thinner bodies and more developed everted rims squared on the outside. They have flat bases and well-defined girth grooves. The bases have string marks on the bottom caused by 'cheese wire' removal from the wheel. Thetford ware.

(4) *Old Foundry Road—I.M. 1934-121*. Group of overfired wasters recorded as having been found during the construction of the electrical sub-station, from a low level in the Town ditch. Ipswich ware.

This kiln material clearly falls into two groups, first the 1935 kiln, Fig. 1, 2 and 4-6 and the Layard group, Fig. 1, 1 and Old Foundry Road. This material with its thick sides, simple everted rims and slow turning on the wheel is true Ipswich ware comparable with material from other sites dated from the seventh and the ninth centuries. The O-spouted pitcher from Carr Street is obviously early and goes with the first group. It was turned on a slow wheel and the side of a pitcher from Sedgeford, Norfolk, is very similar.

The second group comprises the material from the 1928 kiln, Fig. 1, 8-12 and the odd cooking pot from the 1935 find, Fig. 1, 7. These vessels are very much better made on a fast wheel and are comparable with material from Thetford. There the flat base is more common late in the series. It appears that Thetford ware was first established round the Thetford area and Ipswich ware may have lasted longer in the south. In general terms, this material should be dated to the tenth or eleventh centuries but with our present knowledge more cannot be said. That pottery manufacture persisted for so long on the same site is a clear pointer to the fundamental continuity of Ipswich and Thetford wares, both products of the same trade pattern.

#### LIST OF IPSWICH-WARE SITES

##### *Essex*

BRADWELL-ON-SEA. Fragments of two cooking pots, one with girth grooves on the upper half of the vessel, were found in the upper filling of the ditch of the Roman shore fort, possibly dating to the period of the chapel of St Cedd built in A.D. 654. Colchester Castle Museum. The rim forms, sloping outside, compare more with the material from Sedgeford, Norfolk, than the material from further south.

##### *Norfolk*

CAISTER-ON-SEA (1954), C. Green. Fragments of more than 100 cooking pots and one lugged pitcher found in the huts, on hearths in the Roman town ditches and in the cemetery, all of Anglian squatters in the Roman town, associated with a bronze stylus, coins and other objects dating to seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. Excavations by the Ministry of Works to be published by H.M.S.O. In view of the great importance of the ninth-century dating at Caister, in the discussion, Mr Green has very kindly supplied the following details of the finding of the penny of Egbert minted between 825 and 835 A.D. 'This was found lying on the bottom of a grave, under the head, which makes the grave mid-ninth century at the earliest. The grave itself was one of the higher ones and clearly belongs to the latter part of the series. Sufficient of the

pottery fragments (of Ipswich ware) were scattered about in the topsoil of the cemetery area and a few sherds got into the grave fillings. We are, therefore, fairly safe in saying that Ipswich ware served the community throughout and that the interments certainly ran to the middle of the ninth century.<sup>1</sup>

HEACHAM, *Church Nurseries* (1956). Norwich Castle Museum (N.C.M.) 24. 956. Sherd with black core and brown surfaces, cf. Pentney. Found with Pagan Saxon material.

NORWICH, *Cathedral Close* (1956). N.C.M. 48. 956. At least twenty sherds of Ipswich ware were recovered by Mr D. R. Howlett and Mr R. R. Clarke from excavations for the new Science Block at the Grammar School. These sherds probably represent almost as many separate vessels, as they came from eleven different sites. The recovery of these finds was followed up by trial excavations in the adjacent Bishop's Palace Garden in April 1956 by Mr A. P. Baggs for the Norfolk Research Committee when another nine sherds of Ipswich ware were recovered from three trenches. On the grammar-school site three sherds of Ipswich ware, and nothing else, were sealed under a clay floor and one sherd of Thetford ware was found on the surface of this floor. This find places the founding of a settlement at Norwich at least in the beginning of the ninth century if not earlier. In view of the ninth-century coin at Caister, however, it is not wise to push back Norwich into the eighth century until further evidence has been obtained. The problem will be discussed further in the Barn Road report (1954/5) in a forthcoming volume of *Norfolk Archaeology*.

PENTNEY (1955). Near church on opposite side of road. N.C.M. 188. 955. Three sherds of typical type cooking pots, one a sagging base, rougher ware than usual, not so well fired with black core and brown surfaces.

SEDFORD (1952-3). A remarkable series of sites. N.C.M. 186. 952. 800 ft. south of Eaton Farm. One sherd with girth-grooves, usual grey ware. *Site 31*, in marsh quarter of a mile south-east of church. Hut 1 from floor level. N.C.M. 138. 953. Five sherds with girth-grooves. Associated with a pin with a faceted head and ring and dot decoration, cf. *Arch.* vol. LXXXIX (1943), p. 63, fig. 14, top row fifth from the left, but six instead of four facets and only one ring and dot on each. The Whitby examples are dated to the eighth century.<sup>1</sup> Also a possible sherd of Pagan Saxon pottery. *Site 32*, 250 ft. south of *Site 31*. N.C.M. 106. 953. Seven cooking pots, most with a simple everted rim sloping outside. Four of these are figured, Fig. 2, 1-4. Also a large body sherd from a large spouted pitcher, but it has no rim or base to be sure of the exact form. There is an unusual circular perforation near the neck. A similar pierced sherd was found in 1956 in the *Buttermarket*, Ipswich. *Site 33*, Hut 3. N.C.M. 138. 953. One sherd of a cooking pot. *Site 34*, east N.C.M. 138. 953, 750 ft. south of *Site 31*, one sherd of a cooking pot.

SNETTISHAM (1951). 145 yards south of Lime-kiln plantation. Sherd of a cooking pot. N.C.M.

### Suffolk

FRAMLINGHAM (1954), Group Captain G. M. Knocker. Cooking pot, exactly comparable with material from the Ipswich *Carr Street* kilns (1928), found in the outer bailey of the castle in the same level as forty skeletons and an openwork bronze disc of Frankish type dated to the seventh century. The cemetery was sealed beneath material dug from the castle ditch early in the twelfth century. Excavations by the Ministry of Works, to be published in a forthcoming volume of the *Proc. Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*.

IPSWICH. There is no dating evidence for any of this material, but excavations in the *Buttermarket* in 1956 have produced the first stratified sequence of pottery in Ipswich, with Ipswich ware at the base, associated with lugged pitchers, see p. 40.

<sup>1</sup> There are, however, two similar pins from Thetford which are presumably ninth century.

All the material from these sites is in the Ipswich Museum (I.M.).

*Buttermarket*, Cowells, I.M. 1920-53-71. Cooking pot with rough girth grooves and deep sagging base, base ridged internally. Fig. 2, 6.

*Carr Street*, I.M. 1920-53-74. Small spouted pitcher with applied D-spout fingered in vertical ridges all round, Fig. 3, 2. Found in 1899, 8 ft. down.

*Co-operative Society Building* between Cox Lane and Carr Street, I.M. 1920-53-58. Very small vessel with pedestal foot, internal cone on base and string marks underneath, Fig. 2, 7.

*Co-operative Society Building*, Carr Street, I.M. 1920-53-25. Small cooking pot with almost flat base and irregular girth grooves, sharply everted rim, Fig. 2, 9.

*East Anglian Offices*, Carr Street, I.M. 1934-48. Small cooking pot with flat base with string marks and an internal cone, horizontal girth grooves, Fig. 2, 8.

*Falcon Street*, Cowells (about 1947). Spouted pitcher with a narrow U-spout with thick sides and sagging base, Fig. 3, 3. From the form of the vessel this is probably early. Another U-spout pinched to facilitate pouring, Fig. 3, 11.

*Ipswich, Unprovenanced*, I.M. 1920-53-50. Very small cooking pot with everted rim sloping outside with a slight groove inside, traces of string marks in centre of base, the remainder has been pared away with a knife when the base was trimmed while 'leather hard', Fig. 2, 10.

Four cooking pots of more normal size. One (I.M. 1920-53-16) in brown-grey ware with faint girth grooves and fingering inside, Fig. 2, 13. I.M. 1920-53-18. Cooking pot in dark grey ware, possibly a waster with girth grooves and fingered internally on the base, Fig. 2, 14. I.M. 1920-53-79, cooking pot in brown-grey ware, thick with everted rim sloping outside and a slight internal beading. Faint combed lines on the shoulder, smaller sagging base than usual, Fig. 2, 15. I.M. 1920-53-10, small cooking pot with thin rim flattened on top, internal fingering on the base, knife trimming outside, Fig. 2, 16.

*County Council Buildings*, 1905, I.M. 1920-53-73 and 22. Two typical squat cooking pots with irregular girth grooves. One with the lower part knife trimmed, Fig. 2, 11, and the other with a thinner rim than usual, fingered internally at the base, Fig. 2, 12.

*Upper Prince Street*, I.M. 1920-53-23, cooking pot of normal type in hard brown-grey ware, slight offset at the shoulder, brush marks on side and base, Fig. 2, 17.

LITTLE BEALINGS. Ipswich ware spouted pitcher in the Southwold Museum.

#### MISCELLANEOUS IPSWICH-WARE VESSELS

IPSWICH, *location unknown*, sherd of a large vessel with a thick bifid rim and solid lug, ornamented with impressed stamps on the upper surface of the flange and rim, with traces on the body also. Hard grey ware apparently hand-made, Fig. 4, 9. This vessel must belong to the early period of the seventh or eighth century in view of the crudeness with which it was made. The lug is copied from the spouted lugged pitcher (Fig. 5, and p. 40), but it is not pierced. There is only one sherd, so it is not possible to tell if it had a spout or handles. Bifid rims are uncommon; there is another from Grimston, Norfolk (Fig. 6, 12 and p. 48), but this is wheel-made and is apparently associated with later Thetford ware.

IPSWICH, *location unknown*, neck and shoulder of a globular bottle in very thick grey ware, pattern of scored lines and chevrons. Neck inserted separately, the junction inside smoothed by a finger inserted and rotated round, Fig. 2, 18.

IPSWICH, *The Walk, Tavern Street*, I.M. 1938-159. Thick heavy grey-ware globular bottle, knife trimming round the base. Incised chevrons on the neck, Fig. 2, 19. This appears to be the bottom half of a bottle as above but there is no sign of a separate neck being broken off, so it may have been unfinished. On the other hand, it may never have been intended to have a neck though

the chevron pattern suggests close comparison with the bottle. No other examples of this type are known and it is likely to have been developed from the Jutish bottles of Kent. The lugged spouted pitchers in Ipswich show that there were contacts at this time. There was a small bottle, however, found in the Sutton Hoo ship burial,<sup>1</sup> which was thrown on a slow wheel.

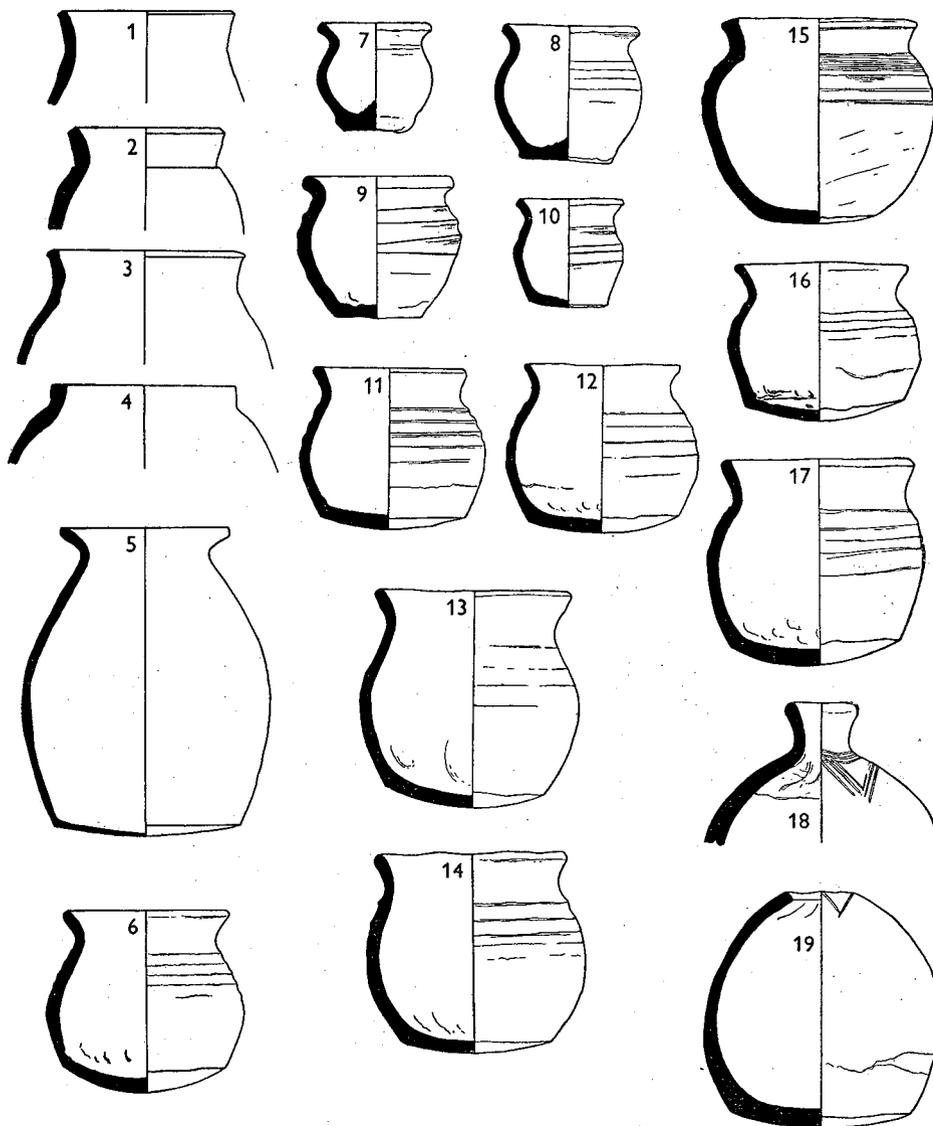


Fig. 2. 1-4, Ipswich ware from Sedgeford, Norfolk, p. 35; 5, Thetford-type pot from Beccles, Suffolk, p. 50; 6-17, Ipswich-ware cooking pots from Ipswich, pp. 35-36; 18, 19, two bottles from Ipswich, p. 36. 1/5.

In the Ipswich Museum there is also pottery from two sites which may be compared with Ipswich ware.

**BUTLEY.** The site lies to the north-east of the Church, on a spur at the head of the Butley River, protected on three sides by marsh and water. The site consists of some six black patches observed

<sup>1</sup> *Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, Provisional Guide, British Museum (1947), p. 30 and pl. 13a.

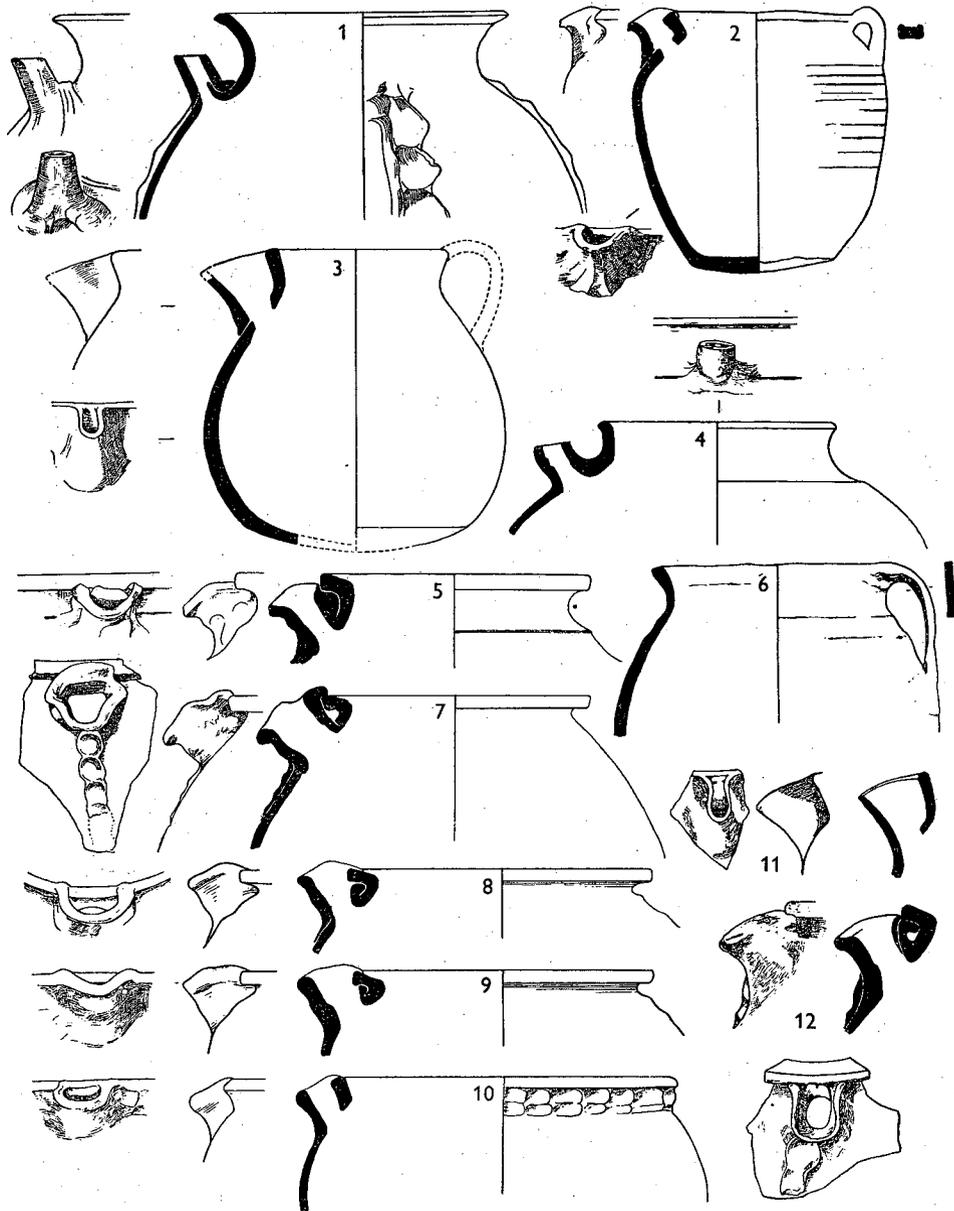


Fig. 3. 2, 3, and 11, Ipswich, and 1, 4-10 and 12, Thetford, ware spouted pitchers from Ipswich, pp. 36 and 50. 1/5.

when the field was deep ploughed for the first time. The pottery rescued is of a thick, clumsy, handmade ware, without ornament and with sagging bases. The ware is hard, heavy and of a light reddish brown colour. In potting technique it recalls strongly Ipswich ware, both in form and in the knife trimming of the bases to produce the sagging effect.

Restored cooking pot in thick reddish brown ware. Showing vertical knife trimming of sides, Fig. 5, 13. Sagging base of larger vessel, Fig. 5, 14. Rim sherds, Fig. 5, 15.

BROOMESWELL. I.M. 1947-65. Wasters and kiln debris rescued from a sandpit site in 1947. The site lies  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Butley. The pottery is of a hard red-brown gritty ware with a grey core.

Rim sherds with pierced upright lug, Fig. 5, 10. Two rim sherds, Fig. 5, 11-12. The vessels represented are all small cooking pots, no other forms were found.

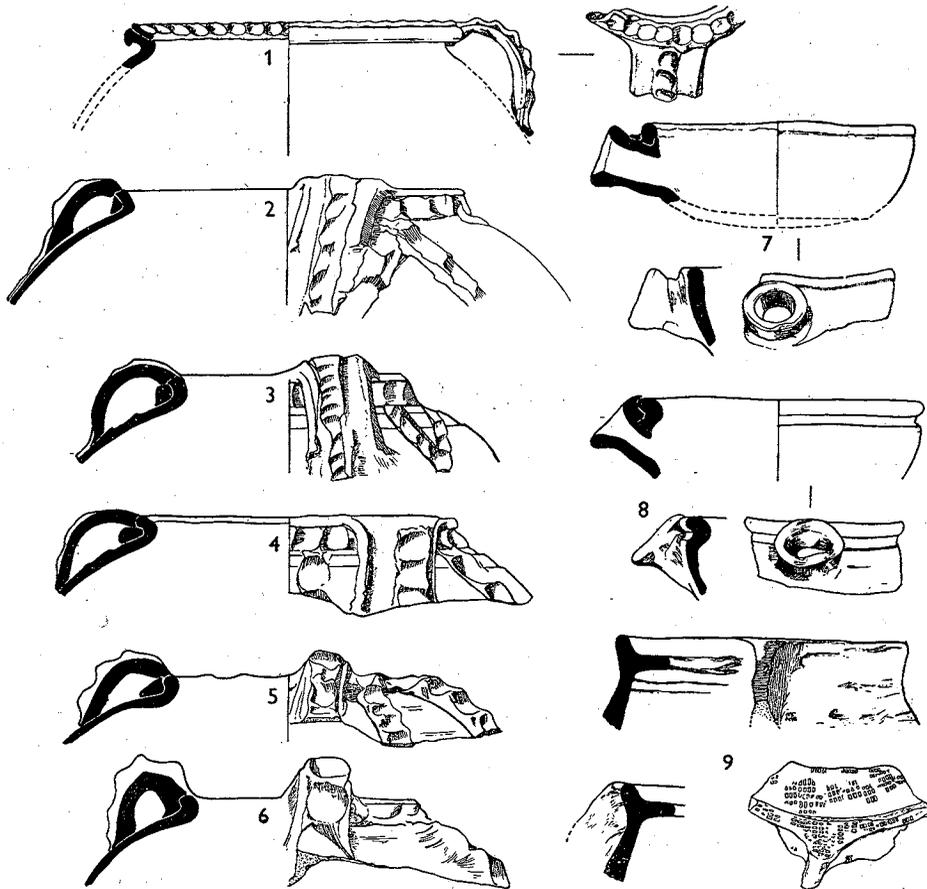


Fig. 4. 1-8, Thetford-ware storage vessels and spouted bowls from Ipswich, p. 50; 9, hand-made lugged vessel from Ipswich, p. 36. 1/5.

It is too early at the present state of our knowledge to explain fully this hand-made pottery in relation to Ipswich ware. It is obviously much cruder and is simply Pagan Saxon domestic pottery with the addition of the sagging base and knife trimming, but not even made on a slow wheel. It is suggested that this pottery is contemporary with Ipswich ware, but a 'provincial' version copying it without the ability to use a slow wheel. Presumably, while Ipswich ware was being made in the coastal districts Pagan Saxon pottery continued in the hinterland until quite late, but these sites can hardly be of such a character as Butley is on a perfectly navigable river.

## MIDDLE SAXON LUGGED PITCHERS FROM IPSWICH

Mr G. C. Dunning has kindly supplied the following background for these pitchers which are clearly contemporary with Ipswich-ware cooking pots.

'Globular pitchers with a D-spout or with an O-spout (see p. 51), and with strap handles opposite the spout or placed laterally, were widely distributed in north-west Europe in the Frankish period and both types of spout are represented at Ipswich. They are particularly characteristic of the Rhineland, and also occur in the Low Countries and northern France.

There are two main techniques used in decorating the pitchers abroad. The more frequent consists of roller-stamped patterns running continuously round the body of the vessel below the level of the spout and handles. The other method is by the use of individual stamps, which may be in one or more lines on the upper part of the body and interrupted by the spout and handles. The second motif has a long history in the Saxon lands of northern Europe. In the Rhineland it lasted until the ninth century at least, and occurs on several types of vessel, including pitchers and cooking pots. A parallel persistence of the use of individual stamps happened in southern England, where it survived until the eleventh or twelfth century at least on spouted pitchers, e.g. at Oxford.<sup>1</sup>

In the group under discussion, large stamps occur in a band between the spout and handles on pitchers from Ipswich (Fig. 5, 6), Stutton Shore (Fig. 5, 7) and Richborough.<sup>2</sup> Smaller stamps also occur, arranged in simple geometric patterns of triangles and lozenges bordered by grooves, as at Ipswich (Fig. 5, 1-2), Caister-on-Sea, St Osyth, Essex, and at Dover.<sup>3</sup>

Peaked lugs set laterally on the upper part of the pot are a very distinctive feature of some of the English pitchers, as at Ipswich (Fig. 5, 1-2), Richborough, and Teynham, Kent (Maison Dieu Museum, Ospringe). Peaked handles which may be considered as ancestral to the present series appear to be limited to one region abroad, in north Holland. There they are frequent on native cooking pots of the Roman period in Frisia.<sup>4</sup> In Frisia these pierced lugs or handles last into the third period of the *terps*, that is until the mid-eighth century, and a good example is a globular cooking pot with two such handles, between which is a single line of large stamps.<sup>5</sup>

In general, Ipswich ware and the corresponding pottery in Kent appear to represent the fusion of two traditions. Basically the Pagan Saxon tradition of hand-made domestic pottery is here seen persisting into the seventh and eighth centuries, combined with new and improved techniques and forms of continental origin. Broadly speaking, the latter originated in the Frankish cultures of the Rhineland, modified by styles at home in Frisia. This suggests that the new fashions and techniques were introduced to East Anglia by Frisian merchants, who had trading contacts both with the Rhineland and England.'

IPSWICH, *location unknown*. Spouted pitcher in thick hard grey ware. O-spout inserted and bent upwards to join the rim, triangular pierced lug. Design of chevrons on the shoulder filled in with punched ornament, possibly by a bird bone, Fig. 5, 1.

*Northgate Street Library*. Rim sherd of a lugged pitcher with the beginning of a stamped design at the break. The edge of the sherd is thickened, indicating the edge of an applied spout or lug. Fig. 5, 2.

*Buttermarket*, Martins Bank (1956). This site has produced the first stratified deposits in Ipswich. The material has not been worked out in full yet, but as the site produced no less than six fragments of lugged pitchers these are being published together. It is hoped to publish the

<sup>1</sup> *Oxoniensia*, vols. XVII/XVIII (1952-3), p. 89, fig. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Third Report*, p. 186, pl. XLII, p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Cant.* vol. LXIV, p. 147, fig. 13.

<sup>4</sup> P. C. J. A. Boeles, *Friesland tot de elfde eeuw* (1951), p. 576, pl. xxv, 6, 7, II.

<sup>5</sup> Boeles, *op. cit.* pl. LIII, 2.

cooking pots and other material in a forthcoming volume of the *Proc. Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*.

*Pit II.* Spouted pitcher with a pierced lug buttressing the rim. This is unusual, as on all other examples the lug is on the shoulder. The decoration, restored from two fragments, consists of

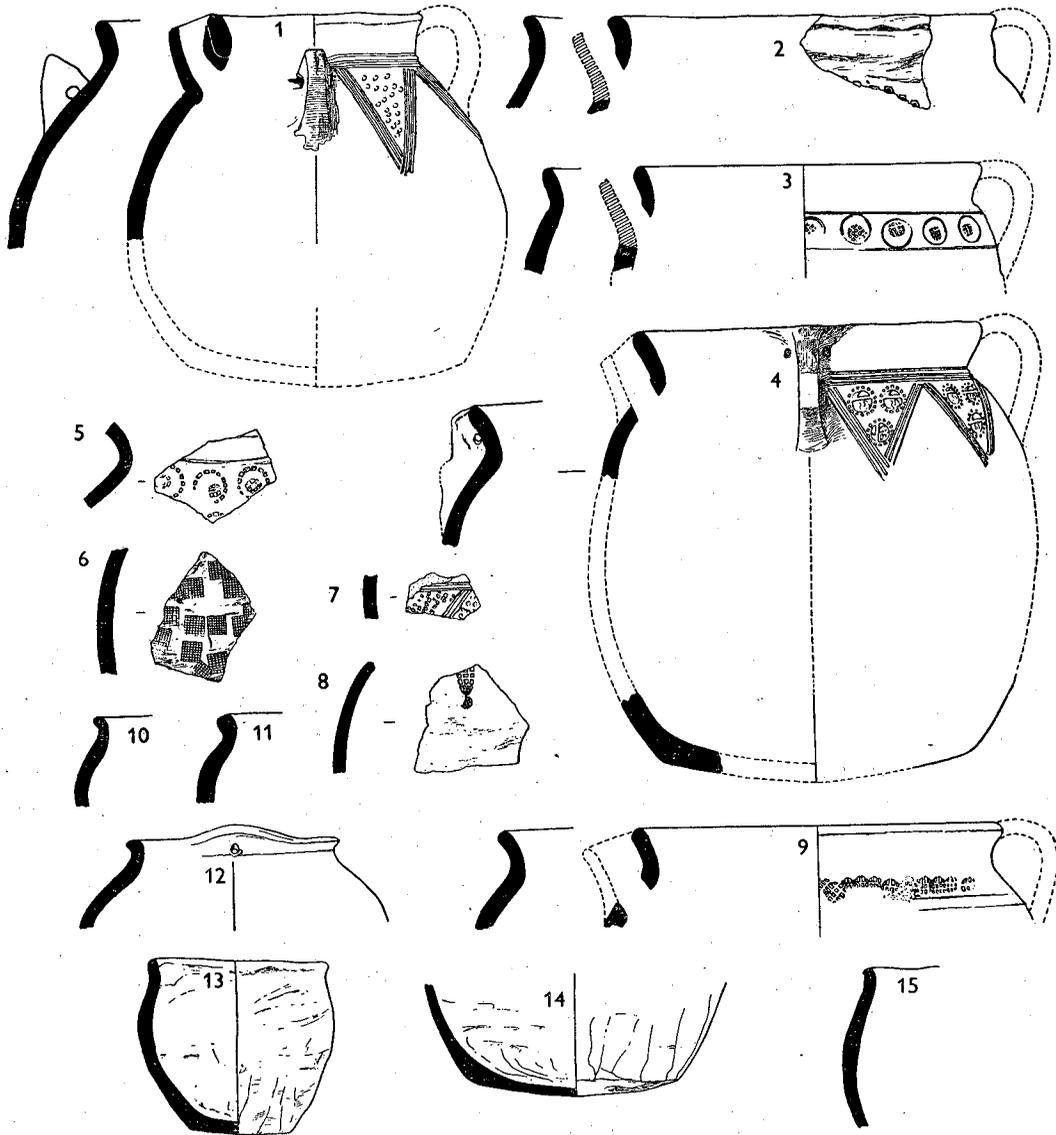


Fig. 5. 1-9, Middle Saxon lugged pitchers from Ipswich, pp. 40-42; 10-12, Broomeswell; 13-15, Butley; Ipswich-type ware, pp. 37-39. 1/5.

stamps contained in chevrons. The ware is hard reddish brown with a grey core. Another sherd, presumably from the same pitcher, shows the type of sagging base, Fig. 5, 4. From the same pit were found sherds from two other lugged pitchers. One, a sherd from the shoulder of a pitcher, has a series of stamps with possibly a second row underneath, similar to the pitchers from Stutton

Shore and Richborough. Hard, light-grey ware, outer surface black and roughly smoothed, Fig. 5, 5. Another sherd, presumably also from a lugged pitcher, decorated with rectangular grid stamps set haphazardly. Red ware with grey surface and grey core, well fired with some stone backing, Fig. 5, 6. These were found in a pit into which a tenth- or eleventh-century pit, producing Thetford ware, had been cut.

*Pit IV.* Sherd from rim and shoulder of a lugged spouted pitcher. Shoulder covered with overlapping stamped impressions. Roughly wheel made, Fig. 5, 9. Small sherd from another pitcher with a decoration of lines and erratic stamps, hard grey ware, Fig. 5, 7.

*Pit XVI.* Sherd from the shoulder of a lugged pitcher in hard light-grey ware with a fragment of stamped design consisting of a lobe terminating in a circular criss-cross stamp, Fig. 5, 8. Found stratified in a pit with an Ipswich-ware seventh- or eighth-century cooking pot and a loom weight with a small central hole.

STUTTON SHORE, 7 miles south of Ipswich. I.M. 1943. 140. Rim sherd of a lugged pitcher with a row of stamped circles with criss-cross decoration. Hard, light-grey ware, Fig. 5, 3. This pitcher is closely comparable with that from Richborough (*Third Report*, p. 186, pl. XLII, 362), except that the stamp is not so well made and the decoration is set between two scored lines.

CAISTER-ON-SEA, Norfolk. Sherd of a lugged pitcher found with Ipswich ware, see p. 34. Decoration of triangles and stamps between.

The associations of the Ipswich and Caister lugged pitchers suggest a date in the eighth century which confirms the date given to the Richborough pitcher which was found in the vicinity of coins of Offa.

#### IMPORTED POTTERY

In view of the extensive trading that must have taken place between East Anglia and the Continent, in Late Saxon times, there are very few imported pots in the East Anglian collections. No piece in Cambridge can be identified as an import until the late thirteenth century when there is a French jug of the type found at Chester.<sup>1</sup> No pottery at Thetford has yet been identified as an import either. In Norwich Pingsdorf sherds were found in the Barn Road excavations in 1954 and 1955. These will be published with the report in *Norfolk Archaeology*. In the 1951 excavations a piece of imported red painted pottery was found dating to the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> Further imported sherds were found in the Cathedral Close, Norwich, in 1956. At Ipswich a twelfth-century red-painted vessel from Dutch Limburg was found in King Street in 1931.<sup>3</sup>

#### THETFORD WARE

A full discussion of Thetford ware must await Group Captain Knocker's publication of the important excavations by the Ministry of Works at the Saxon town of Thetford. This is the only site where large quantities of the material have been found in

<sup>1</sup> Cross Street excavations. *Chester Arch. Soc. J.* (1950), p. 32, fig. 13, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Norf. Arch.* vol. xxxi (1955), p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> A general discussion on Late Saxon trade will be found in *Dark Age Britain*, studies presented to E. T. Leeds, ed. D. B. Harden (1956), pp. 218-33. There is a distribution map on p. 226, fig. 51, which shows how imported pottery is more common along the south coast and in Kent than in East Anglia.

stratified levels. I understand, however, from Group Captain Knocker that many of the forms show little development throughout the time during which the site was occupied. Most of the different types of cooking-pot rim seem to exist side by side at all levels. The main development appears to be in the spouted pitchers where D-spouts are followed by O-spouts (see p. 51). But at Ipswich both seem to have been in use already by the seventh century, so the O-spouts may have gone out of fashion in the early Thetford period. The Thetford material found elsewhere has, however, not been brought together before. I have compiled a distribution map (to be published in Part III) and with the help of Mr Rainbird Clarke have compiled a list of sites where Thetford ware has been found.

Thetford ware is hard and sandy and usually iron grey in colour, well fired to a high temperature in a kiln. It is thrown on a fast wheel (except for the large storage vessels) in marked contrast to Ipswich ware. Usually the cooking pots increase in size the later they are and have more sagging profiles, but the twelfth-century Thetford cooking pot is not so large and baggy as the St Neots pot which is really a medieval form by this date. In Thetford cooking pots there is a significant difference between those with the simple rolled everted rims and those with the everted hollowed rims. The former scarcely ever have a rouletted decoration, while this is quite common on the latter. In general, Thetford cooking pots have a much wider range of rim forms than St Neots ones.

Besides Thetford ware, which may have a considerable colour variation from brick red to black and buff, as well as grey, there are at Thetford itself groups of pots in different wares.<sup>1</sup> There are angle bowls in a distinctive black ware while the 'ginger jar' shaped vessels with inturned rims are in a gritty red paste quite alien to the usual Thetford ware. In Norwich, however, these ginger jars are in the normal Thetford ware. In the eleventh century the three kilns found by Knocker were not only producing iron-grey Thetford ware but also a distinctive smooth hard-buff pottery, which was possibly a local attempt to copy Stamford ware.

Until further information is available the term Thetford ware should be kept for the hard sandy ware which forms the majority of the pottery from Thetford itself and which is most commonly found on other sites. As far as is known at present the other wares are only found at Thetford itself, though, as they become familiar, it may be possible to recognize them elsewhere. Knocker proposes to call his buff pottery *smooth ware* and the others will be named as sub-divisions of *Thetford hard coarse wares*. At the present state of our knowledge no nomenclature will cover all cases, but as long as the term Thetford ware is kept for the distinctive hard, usually grey, ware no confusion should arise.

The dating of Thetford presents a serious problem. Some years ago this would have been quite simple, as Ipswich ware was then thought to be dated to the seventh and eighth centuries with Thetford ware following on either in the late eighth or

<sup>1</sup> See Interim Reports in *A.N.L.* vol. II (1950), pp. 117-22 and vol. III (1950), pp. 41-6. I must thank Group Captain Knocker for his kindness in showing me his Thetford material and for bringing to my notice the variations of wares at Thetford of which I was not aware before.

early ninth century. Mr C. Green's excavations at Caister have, however, shown that, at least in that part of East Anglia, Ipswich ware continued until the middle of the ninth century and Green in fact suggests that the Ipswich-ware settlement at Caister continued until the Danish settlement of 879 when the present village was formed some distance away, with Thetford ware apparently starting at that time. This is nearly a hundred years later than the starting date for Thetford ware previously supposed. When Knocker excavated at Thetford (St Mary's Housing Estate), there was no reason why the date of his site should not be put into the eighth century, but now, with our increasing knowledge of Ipswich ware, we must make the start of Thetford considerably later. The question is how much later? Having been carefully into the evidence, I do not feel that it is possible, in our present state of knowledge, to give a firm date for the start of Thetford.

First of all, St Mary's Housing Estate is some way from the ford where it is to be supposed that the original settlement was founded. It may therefore be that the Ministry of Works excavations were in a later extension of the town. No Ipswich ware has been found on this site and only Thetford ware has been picked up from odd finds near the supposed nucleus of the town. This, however, is not significant for the date of the original settlement. Thetford ware has been collected for many years in Norwich and it was only in 1956 that Ipswich ware was found. Chance finds cannot date a site, so until excavation is carried out near the ford it seems futile to argue a date for the original founding of the town nucleus.

It has previously been supposed that Thetford ware was established earlier than Stamford or St Neots wares as these are unlikely to have started before the end of the ninth century. The distribution maps (to be published and further discussed in Part III) show that it is much more likely that all three traditions started together at about the same time. The main sites in Ipswich-ware times were along the East Anglian coasts as far north as the eastern margin of the fens, but with the founding of the Stamford, St Neots and Thetford traditions trade seems to have been concentrated in the areas to the west (Stamford), south-west (St Neots) and east (Thetford) of the Wash. What was the reason for this change in interest, which presumably means an expansion of trade especially when the spreading of St Neots ware along the clay vale to Oxford was set in motion?

This increase in trade, which seems to have caused the expansion and great changes apparent in the pottery industry at this time, must have happened either in the first or the second half of the ninth century. It was proposed to suggest that this took place in the first half of the century as the result of the expansion of trade which has left no archaeological trace except for the pottery which must have been a very small part of the whole. Green, however, as the result of his finds at Caister, would like to put the start of Thetford ware in the second half of the century as a result of the Danish Invasions.<sup>1</sup> It is very tempting to equate this activity with the Danish settlement, especially as I shall hope to show in Part III that the Stamford ware

<sup>1</sup> I must thank Mr C. Green for permission to quote his work before publication and for his great help in arguing out with me a suitable starting date for Thetford.

distribution equates fairly well with that of the Five Boroughs. The Danes were not pot makers, so it is most unlikely that Saxo-Norman pottery was brought over by them, but it could well have come in as a result of the changes caused by the Danish settlement.

At Thetford St Mary's itself the first dating we have is a coin of St Edmund, dating to about A.D. 900, found in the first of the roads. Underneath this there are two hut systems and a ditch system. It is therefore possible that the ditches belong to the Danish occupations of 869 and 879, while the huts belong to the more settled period at the end of the ninth century, and that the road system was laid out at the end of the first quarter of the tenth century when East Anglia was freed from Danish rule. A very important point is the fact that Knocker found a small amount of St Neots and Stamford ware in the huts and ditch system under road 1; so, at the time when Thetford had expanded as far as the St Mary's Estate, St Neots ware and Stamford ware were firmly established and already being exported the considerable distance to Thetford. It depends how long this trade would take to develop, but a period of twenty years or so seems necessary for this. It therefore follows that, if the St Mary's Estate's earliest period is equated with the time of the Danish Invasion, Thetford ware must have been established before the Danes came, unless Stamford ware and St Neots ware were developed first. It cannot, however, have been much earlier, as glazed pottery does not appear in Holland until about the middle of the ninth century and there would presumably be some time lag before it came over here. A further point about Thetford is: would the town have been so large that it reached out to the St Mary's site before the Danes came, or could the St Mary's site be the original nucleus after all?

There seems to be no point in being too dogmatic at this stage, but it looks now as though Saxo-Norman pottery started about the middle of the ninth century, and that whether it started before the Danes came, or as a result of their arrival, it was under the Danelaw that the Stamford, St Neots and Thetford traditions became fully established, though it was not until the reconquest of the Danelaw, about 920, that trade in Saxo-Norman pottery outside the area began in earnest.<sup>1</sup> Inside the Danelaw there was increasing trade into the Thetford area of Stamford and St Neots wares, but not the reverse. It is hoped to return to this question in the final summing up in Part III.

#### LIST OF THETFORD-WARE SITES

The date in brackets after the name of the site is the date of the excavation or collection of the sherds described. The name following this is that of the excavator or collector. The museum where the pottery is deposited is then given with the museum number where appropriate.

<sup>1</sup> See *Dark Age Britain*, studies presented to E. T. Leeds, ed. D. B. Harden (1956), pp. 251-8, especially p. 256 for Mr E. M. Jope's discussion of the importance of the clay vale, from the Wash to Oxford, from Neolithic times until the fifteenth century when London merchants began to dominate the whole retail trade of southern England.

*Cambridgeshire*

BURWELL CASTLE (1935), T. C. Lethbridge, *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. xxxvi (1936), pp. 121-33. Rim of a single cooking pot associated with other material of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but fairly obviously Thetford ware from its shape and size. Everted rim hollowed inside. (Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.)

CAMBRIDGE, *Market Hill* (1905). Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, A. 1905. 289. Small cooking pot in hard brown sandy ware with spots of thin yellow glaze. From the shape it goes with the Thetford series and is very similar to Ipswich ware with its everted rim sloping outside and a bevel at the shoulder. Fig. 6, 3. Spots of glaze are sometimes found on cooking pots at Thetford.

These two are the only examples of Thetford ware that are in the Cambridge collections, except for spouted pitchers and storage vessels which are dealt with separately. These two sites are therefore the farthest west that true Thetford ware is known. There is in the Cambridge collections an unprovenanced costrel neck, presumably from Cambridge. There are other examples at Thetford, Congham, Heacham and Snettisham in Norfolk.

*Essex*

COLCHESTER, *31-2 High Street* (1935). Colchester Museum, 402. 35 and 403. 35. Found at a depth of 10 ft. on the site of a large medieval building, *Le Stonhouse*, traditionally the house of Eudo Dapifer, the first Constable of Colchester Castle, at the end of the eleventh century. Cooking pot with rounded everted rim flattened inside, slightly concave base. Unevenly made, Fig. 6, 2.

A two-handled spouted pitcher with a D-spout, very unevenly made, everted rim sloping inside and squared outside, Fig. 6, 1. Both these vessels may be dated to the tenth or eleventh century.

WITHAM (1933-4), F. Cottrill. Sherds found during the excavation of a hut site dated to the late ninth century by coins.

*Lincolnshire*

FLEET (1913), Smith and Maples, Lincoln Museum. Thetford rim found during excavations at *The Mount*, one of three manors in this village. This site also produced a Stamford-ware pitcher. This is the only site producing Saxo-Norman pottery in the Fens known at present, and was presumably an island in the marshes.

LINCOLN, *Flaxengate*. There are numerous Thetford-type cooking pots from this site, several with bands of rouletting round the shoulder. These are associated with other sherds of St Neots and Stamford wares, but need a separate study in view of the Torksey Kilns, dug by Mr Spencer Cook. These date from the twelfth century and produced a type of ware very similar to that made at Thetford. The bowls from Lincoln with everted flanged rims almost certainly come from this source and not from the Thetford area.

*Norfolk*

All the pottery from these sites is in the Norwich Castle Museum (N.C.M.) unless otherwise stated.

BABINGLEY (1956). Deserted medieval village site. Rim of a flanged bowl rouletted along the top. Compare with Barn Road, Norwich. Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

CONGHAM (1866). Two fragments of storage vessels in the King's Lynn Museum. In the Norwich Castle Museum there is a water-colour drawing by R. Elwes showing that there were six pieces in the original find, four of which have now been lost. A large sherd of a storage vessel

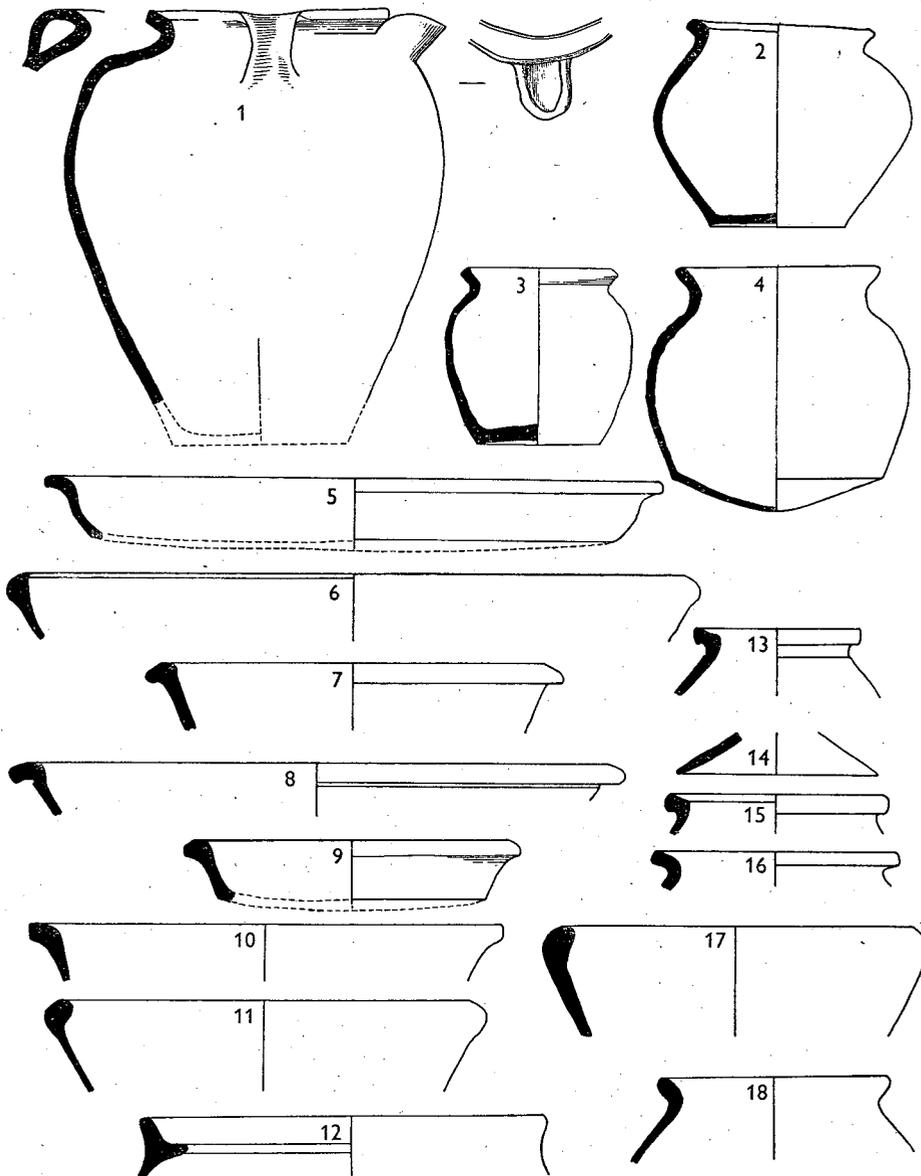


Fig. 6. Thetford ware from 1, 2, Colchester; 3, Cambridge; 4-18, Norfolk: 4, Horning; 5-7, Gayton; 8-16, Grimston; 17, Ringstead; 18, South Wootton. 1/5.

with widely spaced strap handles alternately long and short as Fig. 8, 52, with an applied thumbed band on top of the rim. In between the handles two vertical thumbed bands with a band forming a chevron pattern in between thumbed at each end and at the corners of the chevrons. Sherd of a storage vessel with brown surfaces. Decoration of applied thumbed band and herringbone

applied strips. Sherd with thick applied band heavily thumbled obliquely as at Snettisham. Sherd now lost. Fragments of what appear to be two costrels from the water-colour. There are examples from Cambridge, Snettisham and Heacham besides Thetford itself. The sixth sherd on the drawing, also unfortunately lost, appears to be a spouted bowl.

GAYTON (1951), A. Bowering. Between Winch Gorse and Old Pasture Plantation. Small sherd of very thick (six-tenths of an inch) storage vessel, grey with brownish surfaces, thick applied bands. Fragment of a thin strap handle of a spouted pitcher or early storage vessel. Hard grey ware with brownish surfaces. Large shallow bowl with everted rim, slightly beaded underneath outside, sagging base, Fig. 6, 5. Large bowl with simple thickened rim beaded inside, Fig. 6, 6. Small straight-sided bowl with flattened everted rim sloping outside, Fig. 6, 7. These three bowls are all in hard grey ware with brownish surfaces.

GRIMSTON (1946), Thatcher. N.C.M. 12. 164. 946. Eight sherds of at least three different storage vessels either thin (three-tenths of an inch) or thick (six-tenths of an inch) with applied thumbled strips of usual type. Rim fragment with applied thumbled band on top. Base of strap handle with a central ridge.

Four rims of typical small cooking pots, two of which are illustrated. One, Fig. 6, 13, is strongly everted, hollowed inside and sharply cut outside; the other, Fig. 6, 16, is a plain everted rim squared off outside. The cooking pots were made with hollowed rims to take lids. There are several examples at Thetford, but the only other example comes from this site. It is a simple affair, Fig. 6, 14. As it is not known whether it had a knob or not, a reconstruction has not been attempted. Three sagging bases of typical medium-sized cooking pots.

Large bowl with everted rim undercut and beaded outside, Fig. 6, 8. Small shallow bowl or dish with simple rounded rim slightly hollowed outside, Fig. 6, 9. Another bowl similar to Fig. 6, 6, but rim more horizontal. Small pedestal base of a cresset with marks of cheese wire removal from the wheel.

GRIMSTON (1948), E. W. Collison. N.C.M. 189. 948. North-east of the Methodist Chapel. Rims and sherd of two large storage vessels with applied thumbled bands on the rim, remains of strap handle on one and vertical applied thumbled strip on the other.

Rims of seven cooking pots of usual type. One with a hollowed rim squared outside is figured, Fig. 6, 15. Sagging base of a medium-sized cooking pot.

Two bowls with simple flattened everted rims, one sloping outside and the other inside, Fig. 6, 10. Fragments of two bowls with inturned flanged rims and thin straight sides, Fig. 6, 11. Small shallow bowl with thin everted rim decorated with long rectangular notch rouletting.

GRIMSTON (1951), C. H. Lewton-Brain. N.C.M. 117. 951. *Laver's Site*, field to east of Roman villa. Thick sherd of a storage vessel with applied thumbled bands. Bowl with inturned rim rouletted on top with large diamond notch rouletting as example from Barn Road, Norwich, *Norf. Arch.* vol. xxx (1952), p. 302, Fig. 7, 8. Vessel with unusual bifid rim which appears to be associated with this group, Fig. 6, 12. Compare example from Ipswich with rouletting and lug, Fig. 4, 9. There are also sherds from this site in the King's Lynn Museum.

HEACHAM (1952), C. H. Lewton-Brain. N.C.M. 86. 952. *Torry's Field*, 200 yards north of Caley Mill. Four rims of cooking pots of normal type, two with thick everted rims and one hollowed inside. Neck of a costrel as found at Congham and Snettisham. Inturned flanged rim of a bowl with rectangular notch rouletting as Grimston 1951. Rim of another bowl with rouletting on the rim and vertical applied bands as example from Fye Bridge, Norwich, *Norf. Arch.* vol. xxx (1952), p. 306, Fig. 10, 13, but with horizontal band as well under the shoulder.

HORNING (1936), P. E. Rumbelow. N.C.M. 13. 947. From the river bank near St Benet's Abbey. Medium-sized squat globular cooking pot with thin sides towards the sagging base.

Simple everted rim, slight girth grooves on the upper half of the body, Fig. 6, 4. It is difficult to place this pot in its correct context. It has all the appearance of being early in the Thetford series as it has characteristics in common with Ipswich ware, but on the other hand it is also similar to many twelfth-century cooking pots. It is therefore best to keep an open mind on the date at this stage of our knowledge.

HORSTEAD HEATH (1950), R. G. Neal. N.C.M. 96. 951. Two sherds from large storage vessels with applied thumbbed bands, one in light grey ware with a very thick band.

NEATISHEAD (1956), H. Neave. N.C.M. 23. 956. Fragment of a large storage vessel with wide strap handle with two central ridges, double thumbbed at the base.

NORTH ELMHAM, S. E. Rigold. Unstratified Thetford sherds were found in the Ministry of Works excavations on the Late Saxon Cathedral during 1954/5.

NORWICH. Mr E. M. Jope has described the Thetford finds from Norwich in his recent report on the city defences, *Norf. Arch.* vol. xxx (1952), pp. 301-19. In my report on the 1951-3 St Benedict's excavations I have described stratified material found in a Saxo-Norman occupation layer under the city bank which was made in 1253, *Norf. Arch.* vol. xxxi (1955), pp. 56-9. A further report on the 1954/5 Barn Road excavations will describe the Thetford ware found when an area 150 ft. by 20 ft. of undisturbed Saxo-Norman deposits was stripped. This will appear in a forthcoming volume of *Norfolk Archaeology*.

PENTNEY (1955). N.C.M. 188. 955. Near the church on the opposite site of the road. Rim of a very thick storage vessel (six-tenths of an inch) thumbbed on top with the upper part of a strap handle.

RINGSTEAD PARVA (1953), C. H. Lewton-Brain. N.C.M. 54. 953. Chapel field deserted medieval village site. Three bowls with inturned rims. One is figured, Fig. 6, 17. Two bowls with everted flattened rims as Fig. 6, 5 and 10.

Rim of a storage vessel with applied thumbbed band on the rim. Another rim with three low-thumbbed bands radiating out from the neck.

RUSHFORD, *Snarehill*. Thetford Museum, A. 2217 and A. 2219-21. Four fragments.

SANTON, *Santon Warren*. Thetford Museum, A. 2250-2. Three rims of cooking pots.

SEDFORD (1953), N.C.M. 106. 953. *Site 32*, quarter of a mile south-east of church. Storage vessel with bifid rim and two applied bands round the neck, one with two rows of thumbing and the other with one. Thetford bowls with both in-turned and out-turned rims. *Site 33*, N.C.M. 138. 953. Sherd of a storage vessel with applied bands. Base sherd with thumbbed band as Fig. 8, 1. Typical cooking pots and bowls with out-turned everted rims. *Site 34*, N.C.M. 138. 953. Thetford cooking pots and bowls. It is to be hoped that this important group of sites will be published in full in the near future.

SNETTISHAM (1950), Sir Stephen Green. N.C.M. 219. 950. *Ken Hill, Area 5, Site 62*. Plain strap handle of an early storage vessel or spouted pitcher. *Area 3*, bowl with small in-turned flange; two rims of cooking pots.

SNETTISHAM (1950), I. S. Thatcher. N.C.M. 34. 950. *Park Piece*, south-west of Round Wood. Neck of a costrel, as those from Heacham and Congham. Coarse storage vessel with very thick applied band (six-tenths of an inch) thumbbed obliquely, making a series of deep hollows, cf. Congham. Three bowls with rounded everted rims and two with in-turned rims.

SYDERSTONE (1932), Mrs D. Watson. N.C.M. 36. 177. 953. Found on the Common. Coarse sherd of a large storage vessel with thick (five-tenths of an inch) applied band deeply thumbbed.

THORPE-NEXT-NORWICH (1862-3). Fitch Collection, N.C.M. 606. 74. 94. *The Oaks, Harvey Lane*. Four rims of thin-ware early storage vessels or spouted pitchers with thumbbed bands under the rim, rouletted on the top and shoulder. Spouted pitcher with D-spout. A tubular spout possibly from a spouted bowl.

Three rims of cooking pots with trellis rouletting on the rim as *Trans. Thoroton Soc.* vol. LVIII (1954), p. 29, Fig. 4, 10. Flat base of a cooking pot.

Decorated bowl with straight sides, rouletted on top, horizontal thumbed band and parallel vertical bands as Heacham and Fye Bridge, Norwich.

THREXTON area, exact site unknown. N.C.M. 64. 949. Bowl with everted rim and deeply impressed trellis pattern rouletting on the inside of the rim. There is also a bone skate from this area similar to those found at Thetford and from the Buttermarket, Ipswich.

WORMEGAY. King's Lynn Museum. Rim of storage vessel with strap handle and arcs of thumbed rows.

NORTH WOOTTON (1930), Dr Plowright. N.C.M. Rough rim of an early storage vessel or spouted pitcher with strap handle applied over the top of the rim, double thumbed at the bottom and singly at the top.

SOUTH WOOTTON (1955), C. H. Lewton-Brain. N.C.M. 142. 955. Cooking pot with simple everted rim, Fig. 6, 18.

### *Suffolk*

LITTLE BEALINGS. Spouted pitcher with O-spout in the Southwold Museum.

BECCLES (1935), J. Hobrough. N.C.M. 50. 935. From the river Waveney. Vessel in Thetford-type ware with simple everted rim and sagging profile. There is a small pinched lip, but no handle. Fig. 2, 5. This looks as if it goes with the Thetford series from its rim and ware, but the pinched-out lip and sagging profile is reminiscent of some types of late medieval vessel. An open mind should therefore be kept about the date of this pot until more comparative material is found in dated contexts.

The main impression given by these sites is of late material dating to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. At Thetford thick storage vessels with heavy applied decoration only occur in the higher levels.

IPSWICH, *Carr Street*. See also p. for the 1928 kiln containing Thetford cooking pots. There are many Thetford cooking pots from other Ipswich sites, but these have not been drawn as they are not complete. They may be closely compared with Fig. 1, 8-12.

*Co-operative Society Building, Carr Street*. Ipswich Museum (I.M.) 1932-102. Top part of a spouted pitcher with tubular spout, of unusual type, applied to the outside of the shoulder and a perforation made from the inside. Top of spout cut off cleanly, vertical applied strips heavily thumbed, Fig. 3, 1. Twelfth century.

*Old Cattle Market*, Public conveniences, 1937. A series of seven spouted pitchers with tubular, O- and D-spouts, Fig. 3, 4, 5, 7-10 and 12. The dating is probably ninth to eleventh century as they were associated with Thetford cooking pots. Fig. 3, 10, with the tubular spout, is very well made and is presumably late like that from Carr Street, Fig. 3, 1.

Two spouted bowls, one with a tubular spout attached by pushing through a prepared opening. A small strip has been applied between the spout and the simple rim to complete an effective seal, Fig. 4, 7. The other similar but with everted rounded rim with the O-spout attached to it. Fig. 4, 8. Bowls of this type are late in the series at Thetford.

A storage vessel or spouted pitcher with everted thickened rim with applied thumbed band on the inside, thin strap handle with central applied thumbed band, Fig. 4, 1.

A remarkable series of five storage vessels with thick and erratically applied thumbed bands and handles, Fig. 4, 2-6. These are after the style of the late Thetford type of multiple handled storage vessel with applied thumbed bands, but very much more roughly made and smaller, Fig. 8, and p. 53. The date at Ipswich cannot be surmised at the moment due to the lack of stratified material, but is probably eleventh or twelfth century.

*Bond Street* find spot known as the *Cold Dung Hills*, the only Ipswich find outside the medieval town. Rim and thin strap handle of a spouted pitcher with only slightly everted rim, Fig. 3, 6. A spout has not been added as it cannot be sure what type it was.

## SPOUTED PITCHERS IN THE ST NEOTS AREA

In the main St Neots area I have only been able to find two cooking pots and no plain bowls in Thetford ware. Although there are a fair number of St Neots cooking pots and bowls in the Thetford area the reverse does not seem to have been the case. Most Thetford sherds in the St Neots region belong either to storage vessels (to be discussed later) or to spouted pitchers and bowls. These appear to have been imported into the St Neots region, although it had its own form of jug, in St Neots ware.<sup>1</sup> There are four main types of spout. First an arc-shaped spout set against the neck of the vessel. A hole is then bored through the side of the pot and the rim is left forming a bridge. The result is a *D-shaped spout* when seen from above (Fig. 3, 8-10). The second is a variation of the first in which the spout is longer than it is wide and it is pinched to form a *U-shaped spout* when seen from above (Fig. 3, 3 and 11). The third type is a circular spout which is attached to the neck of the vessel and pressed against it making an *O-shaped spout* when seen from above (Fig. 4, 8). The fourth type consists of a free standing *tubular spout* as Fig. 3, 1 and 4. It is proposed that these spouts should be called D, U, O and *tubular spouts* respectively. At Thetford the D-shaped spouts are early and the O-spouts late. Of the twenty examples in the St Neots area eight are D-spouts and nine are O-spouts, so they seem fairly equally divided between early and late examples. On the Continent and at Ipswich both types are known from early times, but there does not seem to be any evidence that these Thetford spouted pitchers were used at an early date and that later they were replaced by the local tall jugs in St Neots ware.

## LIST OF SPOUTED PITCHERS

All are in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology unless otherwise stated.

ABINGTON FIGOTTS, Sir Cyril Fox. *P.P.S.E.A.* vol. IV (1924), p. 227. *SP. 1.* D-spout with bridge in hard grey ware. *SP. 2.* O-spout in hard grey ware (*ibid.* Fig. 3N).

BARNWELL ABBEY (1887), *SP. 3.* O-spout with a bridge, grey with light brown surfaces.

BARTON MOATS (1908), *SP. 4.* O-spout from the top foot of the black ash ditch, hard black ware.

CAMBRIDGE, *Unprovenanced*, *SP. 5.* From the Freeman collection a short O-spout with a bridge, well down the neck of the vessel and not under the rim as usual, hard grey ware. *SP. 6.* D-spout in black ware very roughly applied to the neck of the pitcher. Also from the Freeman collection. *SP. 7.* Rough D-spout from a large-handled pitcher. *SP. 8.* A roughly splayed D-spout, possibly from a spouted bowl.

*Arts School* (1884), *SP. 9.* Rim and strap handle of a spouted pitcher, the strap handle is small and has a single thumbing at the base.

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLIX (1955), pp. 54-6

*Bird Bolt* (1905), *SP. 10.* O-spout in rough grey-brown ware with bridge. Figured in *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XI (1907), pl. 31.

*Museum of Geology* (1900), *SP. 11.* The top half and fragments of the base of a three-handled pitcher with O-spout in light grey friable ware, Fig. 8, 11.

*Hunnybun's Ditch* (1891), *SP. 12.* D-spout, Fig. 7, 12. Figured in *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. VIII (1895), pl. IV, 19.

*Magdalene Street* (1900), *SP. 13.* Rough D-spout in hard grey ware and the usual small strap handles, Fig. 7, 13.

*Trinity College* (1892), *SP. 14.* A long D-spout in hard grey ware (49. 158c).

*Trinity Hall* (1880), *SP. 15.* O-spout set against the rim in rough grey ware. *SP. 16.* Rim and handle of a well fired thin spouted pitcher with a small strap handle and diamond notch rouletting in a band under the rim, which is angular and everted, squared outside and hollowed inside. Fig. 7, 16.

COMBERTON REEDS PIT (1924), *SP. 17.* O-spout published by Mr T. C. Lethbridge in *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLIII (1950), Fig. 1, 5. Hard black ware as Thetford, but with unusual red surfaces. There is a similar red O-spout from Exchange Street, Norwich (128. 935). *Norf. Arch.* vol. xxx (1952), Fig. 9, 7.

ELY, *SP. 18.* The only complete example showing the type of pitcher was found by Major Gordon Fowler in an extinct river bed one and a half miles north-east of Ely. I should like to thank Mr Dunning for his kindness in letting me use his drawing of this pitcher (Fig. 7, 1). It is of the usual type with small strap handles and an O-spout, though this is set into the shoulder in a rougher fashion than is usual. Sagging base concave in the centre.

QUAVENEY, *SP. 19.* This pitcher was dug from the old course of the river Cam at *Rollers Lode*, near Ely. It was published in 1933 by Lethbridge and Fowler, *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. xxxiii (1933), p. 129, pl. 1, fig. 1. It was found near to a late thirteenth-century glazed jug, and also a scramasax, spear and axe of eleventh-century date, but, as they said, there was no need for the jugs to be contemporary. We now know that there must be at least 200 years between their dates.

The pitcher has slightly in-turned straight sides and a plain rim with a cordon. The ware is very sandy and grey. It has a small strap handle heavily thumbbed at the top and bottom. The pot is broken opposite to this, so it may have had a second handle or a tubular spout. If it did have a spout, this would bring it much more into keeping with the Thetford series of spouted pitchers. The sagging base was added by hand after the upper part of the jug had been turned on the wheel. The junction shows the typical Saxo-Norman knife trimming and the inside of the base is very bumpy and hand finished. There are four bands, round the upper half of the jug, with a complicated pattern of rouletting, Fig. 7, 2.

#### THETFORD BOWLS IN THE ST NEOTS AREA

*SB. 20.* There is only one definite spouted bowl in Thetford ware, a fine example from the Cambridge *Museum of Archaeology* (1910) with an O-spout and bands of rouletting on the body and on the rim. Grey ware with brown surfaces very heavily blackened by fire on the outside. Fig. 7, 20.

*Market Place* (1902), *SB. 21.* Rim and horizontal handle of a large black rough shelly-ware bowl, applied handle heavily thickened on its two outer ridges with applied vertical thumbing down the bowl outside, while inside the thumbing continues along the inside of the rim, Fig. 7, 21. There are similar bowls at Thetford.

## THETFORD STORAGE VESSELS

Large thick-sided storage vessels, often with a diameter of 2 ft. and standing 2 ft. 6 in. high, with large applied thumbed bands are a characteristic type in the later levels at Thetford. There are also great quantities at Cambridge where there are

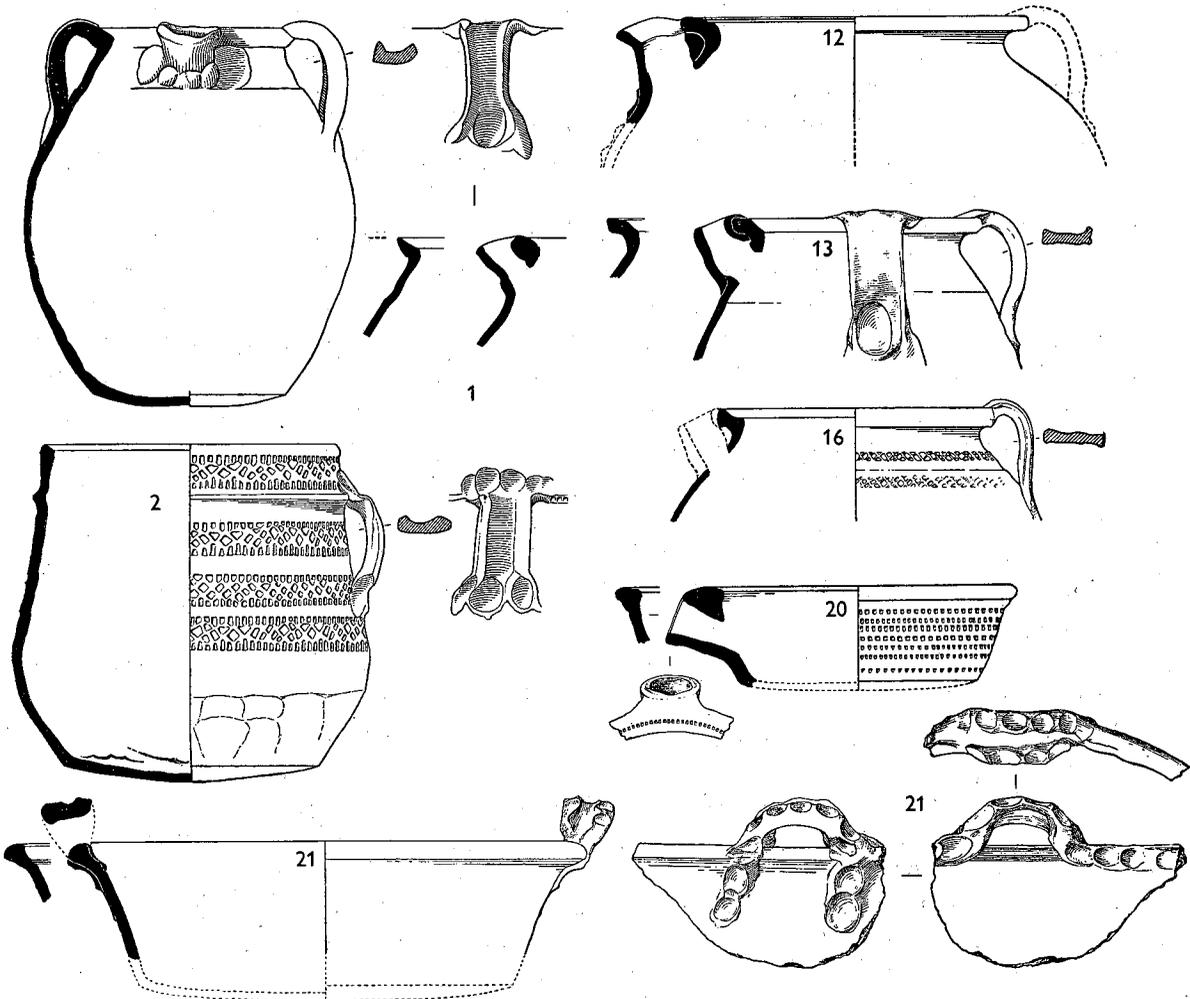


Fig. 7. Thetford-ware spouted pitchers and bowls from the St Neots area, pp. 51-52: 1, Ely; 2, Quaveney; 12-21, from Cambridge. 1/5.

about 100 sherds, many of large size, Fig. 8. They are not, however, in St Neots ware, but in rough Thetford ware as they are at Thetford. While, as has already been said, the cooking pots and flanged bowls have similar forms, the ware is quite different in the St Neots and the Thetford areas.

These storage vessels seem to have been traded from the Thetford area to the St Neots area and beyond. Storage vessels are found at most sites in the Thetford

region whether town or village, but elsewhere out of nine sites on which storage vessels have been found five are large towns (Cambridge, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Stamford and York). The proportions, however, bring out the point better. There are only stray examples at York, Stamford, Lincoln and Huntingdon as they are a long way from the source of supply, but in Cambridge there are as many storage vessels as there are cooking pots and bowls in St Neots ware put together (eighty-seven storage vessels, forty-nine St Neots cooking pots and forty-eight St Neots bowls). On the three small sites where storage vessels have been found the proportion is quite different. At the St Neots village site there are only fragments of three storage vessels to at least fifty cooking pots and bowls. At the Hemingford Grey Manor site and at Burwell Castle there is only one storage vessel. The fourth, Soham Fen, is a stray find.

This remarkable concentration in Cambridge requires an explanation, for in Norwich the proportion of storage vessels to cooking pots and bowls is very small while at Thetford itself hardly ten per cent of the pottery is from storage vessels. It may be a coincidence, but it is a remarkable fact that of the eighty-seven storage vessels found in Cambridge twelve come from the site of the Bird Bolt Hotel and twelve from King's Lane East, which was the site of the Boar's Head Hotel until King's College acquired the site in 1444.<sup>1</sup> No other site in Cambridge has more than six and most have only two or three. Storage vessels have been found on twenty-six sites in all in Cambridge. It is not possible to carry back these two inns by documents to the Saxo-Norman period, but the Bird Bolt was a noted medieval inn and both may well have had their beginnings very early. It is not known what these vessels were used for. The first possible use is flour. This would explain the concentrations in large towns. With the finds at the Bird Bolt and Boar's Head sites it is suggested that some were used to hold beer or some similar drink, though they may not have been used exclusively for this purpose. The storage of water is another likely use, especially in large towns.

The storage vessels at Thetford are fairly simple in the ninth- and tenth-century levels. They are more the size of the spouted pitchers and only have a simple decoration and usually not more than four handles. Examples from Cambridge such as *S. 50* from Hunnybun's Ditch and *S. 81* from Trinity may be spouted pitchers, but are more likely to be early examples of storage vessels. Most of the other examples are almost certainly eleventh- or twelfth-century. This tallies with the Cambridge-St Neots cooking pots and bowls which, from their size and rim forms, appear to be mainly eleventh-century or later.

Only a small percentage of the Cambridge sherds have been drawn, as those figured (Fig. 8) show the main types of vessel and the different types of decoration. Most of the sherds not drawn are of storage vessels with applied thumbled bands or ribs running either vertically or horizontally. Most of the applied ribs have tooled edges and usually form a wave pattern in between thumbled applied bands, Fig. 8,

<sup>1</sup> Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (C.U.P. 1886), vol. IV, plan 13B and vol. I, p. 345.

1 and 2. The multiple handles are either close set and of the same size as Fig. 8, 80; four evenly spaced as Fig. 8, 67, or have eight handles alternately large and small as Fig. 8, 54. Some have an uneven number with only seven handles. Almost all the rims are thickened by the addition of a pad of clay round the rim which is then thumbed along the top, Fig. 8, 54 and 67. The way this is done is shown in Fig. 8, 47. The bases are sagging and have projecting thumbed bands round the bottom with a cross pattern of thumbed bands underneath, Fig. 8, 1 and 8. The thickness of the vessels varies from two-tenths of an inch to eight-tenths of an inch. The ware can be either smooth and well fired or very rough and friable. The heavy applied thumbed bands presumably served the purpose of strengthening the sides of the vessels as well as decoration. Most of these large vessels were not wheel-thrown but possibly built up by coiling.

## LIST OF STORAGE VESSELS

All are in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology unless otherwise stated.

*Cambridgeshire*

BURWELL CASTLE. A single sherd with thumbed band (C.M.A.E. 37, 36).

CAMBRIDGE, *Unprovenanced*. *S. 1.* Rim of a storage vessel with simple broadened rim hollowed on the top, a row of very large thumb marks spaced round the shoulder just under the rim. *S. 2.* Body sherd from a large storage vessel in rough black ware with a brown inner surface. Decoration of horizontal thumbed applied bands and applied ribs in an uneven wave pattern (Fig. 8, 2). Compare with the Soham Fen example, Fig. 8, 1. *S. 3.* Rim of a similar vessel with simple thick everted rim slightly squared on the outside. A row of large thumbings round the top of the rim widely spaced and making the rim very uneven. *S. 4.* The bottom part of a broad but thin strap handle in hard smooth grey ware with a double thumbing at the base. Strap handle with applied thumbing in the central groove. *S. 5.* Large storage vessel with seven large and seven small strap handles placed alternately. In between vertical thumbed bands erratically placed, Fig. 8, 5. *S. 6.* Large sherd of a very large storage vessel in rough shelly ware unlike the other examples, but undoubtedly from a similar vessel. Decoration of an applied thumbed band in a slight arc. This apparently was an attempt to make a storage vessel out of a harder version of St Neots ware. *S. 7.* A most remarkable storage vessel, the most complete in Cambridge, covered with a decoration of circle stamps and ribs. Twenty closely set strap handles, alternately large and small, set round the rim, Fig. 8, 7. This has more handles than any example from Thetford. *S. 8.* A large thick base (Fig. 8, 8). Typical form with thumbed bands down the body of the vessel and across the sagging base.

*Arts School* (1884 and 1908). *S. 9.* Body sherd of a large storage vessel with the break from which a strap handle has broken off. The base of the handle has three thumbings in an arc and small applied thumbed bands continue straight downwards and in an arc decoration on the right of the handle. *S. 10.* A small sherd with a rough ridge about three-quarters of an inch wide. *S. 11.* Four sherds with thumbed applied bands in arcs and lines.

*Bird Bolt* (1907). *S. 12.* Rounded everted rim of a storage vessel with narrow thumbed applied bands running down from the neck. *S. 13.* Thick everted rim partially squared off with a strap handle springing from the rim. A row of small thumbings along the top of the rim about half an

inch apart. *S. 14.* Rounded everted rim of a large vessel with the side leaving the rim almost horizontally. Rough thumbing down from the rim and a very rough top. *S. 15.* Thick sherd (six-tenths of an inch) of black ware with brown surfaces with a stamped decoration in the form of a spoked wheel with applied ribs leading from it, Fig. 8, 15. See also Mill Lane South, Fig. 8, 44. *S. 16.* Rounded rim with a thin strap handle springing from the rim. Small thumbings round the top of the rim irregularly spaced. *S. 17.* Rough but thin (two-tenths of an inch) body sherd with a large thumbing and a rough area going off from it in one direction. *S. 18.* Sherd with a narrow but high thumbed band in a straight line. *S. 19.* Black sherd with brown surfaces with an applied band pushed up into ridges and rough lines parallel to it above and below. *S. 20.* Thick (six-tenths of an inch) sherd with applied thumbed band in a slight curve with a small rib above and another in the centre (figured in *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XI (1907), fig. 37). The inner surface is brushed. *S. 21.* Thin sherd with a vertical applied band thumbed at wide intervals. *S. 22.* A medium sherd (three-tenths of an inch) with applied band and a large thumbing spreading beyond the band on either side. *S. 23.* Grey sherd with brown surfaces and a series of applied ribs radiating from a small thumbing; compare with Market Hill, Fig. 8, 67.

*Bridge Street.* *S. 24.* Thick rounded rim squared on the top, hollowed inside with a strap handle springing from it. Close fingering round the top of the rim. *S. 25.* Thin sherd with applied band shallowly thumbed.

*Castle End* (1898). *S. 26.* Body sherd of rough black ware with the broken-off base of a large strap handle doubly thumbed at the bottom. An applied thumbed band going down vertically from the base of the handle, Fig. 8, 26.

*Castle Hill*, Law Courts, 1956, J. Alexander. A large sherd of a storage vessel with applied vertical and horizontal bands was found in a gulley during the Ministry of Works excavations at Easter, 1956, on the Law Courts site. Compare with the Trinity example, Fig. 8, 80.

*Christ's Library* (1895). *S. 27.* Body sherd with the broken-off base of a strap handle, a rough applied band continuing down from each side. *S. 28.* Two sherds with a rough thick applied band.

*Examination School* (1910). *S. 29.* Rounded rim of a large storage vessel with a series of large thumbings on the outside of the rim with applied ribs going vertically down from them. Thumbing round the top of the rim at 1 in. intervals. *S. 30.* Base of a large vessel with a steadying flange all the way round fingered along its crest. This is one of the few base sherds which survive in Cambridge, see also Mill Lane North. *S. 31.* Thin sherd with applied rib heavily thumbed at 1 in. intervals. Smooth brown ware with black outer surface. A similar sherd, the broken-off end of a strap handle with applied thumbed bands going vertically downwards from each side.

*Falcon Yard* (1906). *S. 32.* Rounded rim with a roughly applied thumbed pad pressed over it, and a strap handle springing from the rim. Body sherd with applied ribs. *S. 33.* Simple thick in-turned rim of a large storage vessel with a roughened top and a strap handle springing from just under the rim.

*Free School Lane* (1907). A. 1907. 38a. *S. 34.* Large body sherd with vertical rib unevenly thumbed at half an inch intervals.

*Free School Lane* (1912). (53. 207). *S. 35.* Large upright rim rounded outside with a strap handle springing from it, light fingering on the top of the rim. *S. 36.* Similar rim of a more straight-sided vessel with a vertical decoration of ribs and close fingering. Heavy thumbing on top of the rim at irregular intervals, making it uneven. *S. 37.* Everted squared small rim roughly thumbed along the top, strap handle springing from the rim. *S. 38-9.* Two sherds from similar vessels with applied bands, but with large thumbing along them, one thick the other thin.

*Hallack and Bond* (1908). *S. 40.* Base and lower half of a strap handle with two side ridges and a central rib ending in a single thumbing at the base.

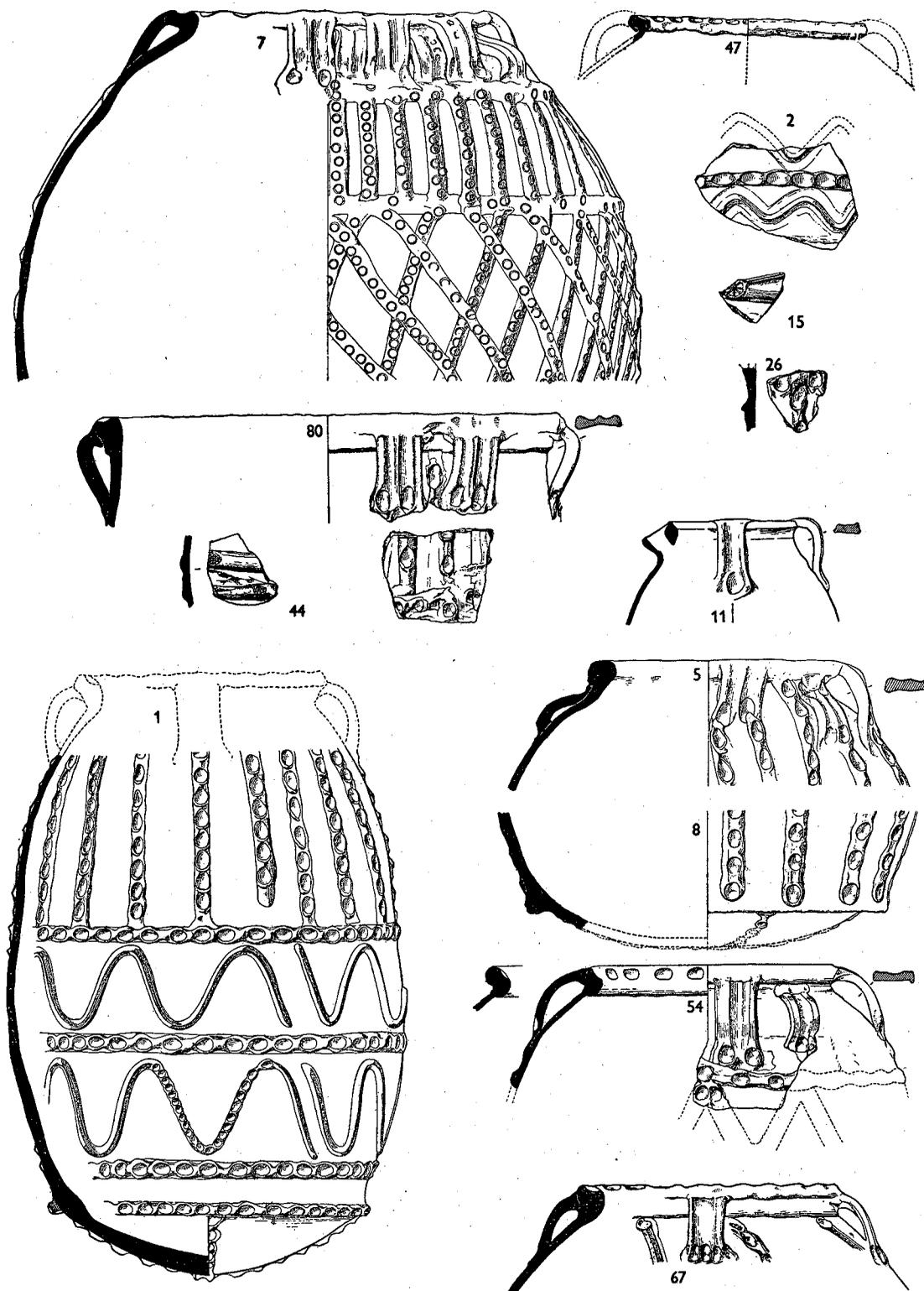


Fig. 8. Thetford-ware storage vessels from the St Neots area; 1, Soham Fen; 2-80 from Cambridge; 11, spouted pitcher from Cambridge. 1/8.

*King's Ditch.*

*Mill Lane North* (1893). *S. 41.* Body sherd with broken-off end of a strap handle with a single thumbing at the bottom. *S. 42.* A sherd with a broad applied band lightly fingered. *S. 43.* The sagging base of a large storage vessel with a flange all the way round continuously fingered. Also small applied ridges from the flange to the centre of the base. Figured in *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. VIII (1895), pl. XIII, 3. See also the Examination School.

*Mill Lane South.* *S. 44.* Two sherds with raised vertical ribs and a criss-cross stamp of Pagan Saxon type, one is figured, Fig. 8, 44. This stamp has a long life, being common on Pagan Saxon urns. It occurs again on the Middle Saxon lugged pitchers (p. and Fig. 5) and is fairly common at Thetford. It continues in use into the eleventh and twelfth centuries on spouted pitchers in the Oxford region (*Oxon.* vols. XVII/XVIII (1952-3), p. 89, fig. 34), and is still in use on a Midland type of medieval jug which was made in the Northampton area in the thirteenth century (Rackham, *Medieval English Pottery*, pl. 68, and G. C. Dunning, *Jewry Wall Report*, Soc. Ant. Res. Rep. No. 15 (1948), p. 244). The Mill Lane sherd is also figured in *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. VIII, pl. XIII, 5.

*Silver Street South* (1893). *S. 45.* Body sherd of a much more sandy texture from the others with an applied band sparsely fingered. *S. 46.* Body sherd with a small strap handle and vertical thumbing along each side of it. This handle is purely decorative as the space between it and the body has been roughly filled in.

*Fosters Bank* (1892). *S. 47.* A squared upright rim with a rough thumbled pad loosely applied over it. Fig. 8, 47, shows the technique of making these rough rims. *S. 48.* A rounded in-turned rim thumbled along the top and very roughly made.

*Hunnybun's Ditch* (1892). *S. 49.* Sherd with vertical ribs and heavy thumbing, smooth grey ware. *S. 50.* Rim and side of a straight-sided storage vessel with a rounded everted rim and a broad thin strap handle. The side of the vessel is quite thin and the ware is much better quality than usual. Figured in *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. VIII, pl. IV, 20. *S. 51.* Rim of a storage vessel with applied thumbled band on the rim, *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. VIII, pl. IV, 21. Sherd now lost.

*Hawkins* (1929). *S. 52.* Upright rim rounded on the outside and hollowed on top, horizontal band pushed into ridges and thumbled, smooth grey ware. *S. 53.* Sherd with broad applied heavily thumbled band.

*King's Lane* (1907). *S. 54.* Two fragments of a large storage vessel with widely spaced alternate large strap handles from rim to shoulder and small strap handles on the neck. Rounded rim with thumbled pad over it, giving a rough finish. The large strap handles are doubly thumbled at the bottom while the small ones are singly thumbled. Underneath, a horizontal applied band thumbled every half an inch, Fig. 8, 54. *S. 55.* Thick rounded everted rim, sloping on the outside and thumbled. A medium-sized strap handle from rim to shoulder. *S. 56.* Rough thick rounded rim with large strap handle springing from it and slight fingering on the rim, brown outer surface. *S. 57.* Thin plain slightly everted rim of a smaller storage vessel in brown ware with a small strap handle from rim to shoulder. *S. 58.* Very roughly made coarse rim of black ware with brown surfaces rounded on the outside and flattened on top. *S. 59.* Two upright rims slightly squared outside with irregular thumbing along the top and strap handles springing from the rim. *S. 60.* Two sagging bases similar to those from Examination School and Mill Lane North, but the flange is more frilled than thumbled. *S. 61.* Brown body sherd with black inner surface. Horizontal applied band with irregular thumbing. *S. 62.* Black sherd with brown surfaces and two parallel applied thumbled bands. *S. 63.* Brown sherd with a high applied thumbled band. *S. 64.* Five sherds with several variations of applied bands and ridges differently thumbled. *S. 65.* Thick

(six-tenths of an inch) sherd with applied bands radiating from a central thumbing. *S. 66.* A large very thick sherd (eight-tenths of an inch) with a very rough applied band irregularly thumbed and various thumbings elsewhere on the sherd.

*Market Hill (1902).* *S. 67.* Large rough storage vessel in grey ware with a brown outer surface. Rounded upright rim thumbed along the top. A series of small strap handles from the rim to the shoulder, and applied vertical ribs thumbed near the top, Fig. 8, 67. *S. 68.* Upright rounded rim of a large vessel. *S. 69.* Body sherd with a chevron pattern of applied ribs thumbed at their junction. *S. 70.* Upright expanded rim bevelled on the inside and thumbed.

*St Catharine's College (1906).* *S. 71.* Two body sherds with thumbed applied bands one small and lightly made, the other *S. 72* broad and heavily thumbed. *S. 73.* Upright rim of a coarse vessel with an oval handle springing from the neck.

*St John's College, New Court.* *S. 74.* Strongly everted rounded rim with a thick strap handle springing from it and fingering along the top of the rim, hard blue-grey ware. *S. 75.* Strongly everted thinner rim with a strap handle springing from it, smooth grey ware. *S. 76.* Side of a storage vessel with a medium-sized strap handle from the rim to the shoulder, double thumbed at the bottom with a single thumbing below. *S. 77.* Rounded upright rim thumbed round the top and with a strap handle springing from the rim. Rough grey ware with brown surfaces. *S. 78.* Body sherd with the broken end of a strap handle and no decoration. *S. 79.* Bottom and lower half of a strap handle with applied thumbed bands going down vertically from it.

*Trinity College (1892).* *S. 80.* Large storage vessel with upright sides and rounded rim thumbed along the top. Closely set strap handles with the usual outer ridges and a central rib down the middle double thumbed at the bottom. In between, a vertical thumbed ridge, Fig. 8, 80. Also a body sherd from the same vessel. *S. 81.* Rim with a small strap handle from rim to neck. A central rib down the centre double thumbed at the bottom, possibly a spouted pitcher. *S. 82.* Three large sherds with applied thumbed bands and an uneven wave pattern of applied ribs, as the example from Soham Fen, Fig. 8, 1.

*Trinity Hall (1880).* *S. 83.* Rounded rim, thumbed round the top. *S. 84.* Rounded rim of an upright storage vessel or deep bowl with uneven fingering round the top. *S. 85.* Rounded slightly in-turned rim fingered round the top. Black ware with brown surfaces. *S. 86.* Five sherds with applied thumbed bands both large and small.

*University Press (1928).* *S. 87.* Side of a large storage vessel with a large strap handle from the rim to the shoulder. The rim squared and a decoration of V-shaped ribs thumbed at the junction.

#### *Cambridgeshire*

SOHAM FEN, H. C. Andrews and G. C. Dunning, *Ant. J.* vol. XIX (1939), p. 311. This barrel-shaped storage vessel (Fig. 8, 1) belongs to this group as it has the typical features of multiple strap handles and thumbed applied strips. British Museum.

#### *Huntingdonshire*

HEMINGFORD GREY (1951). A single thick sherd, with thumbed band.

HUNTINGDON, *Castle Hill Walk.* Rim of a large storage vessel with rough clay pad folded over the rim (Huntingdon Museum, No. 707). *Huntingdon Cinema*, thick fragment from the side of a storage vessel, Huntingdon Museum.

ST NEOTS, four sherds, two are typical side sherds from large vessels with thumbed applied bands, another is a sherd with rough rouletting and the fourth a small strap handle from another storage vessel.

SOUTHOE, single sherd with applied band.

*Lincolnshire*

LINCOLN, *Technical School*. The neck of a very thin-wared storage vessel from Dr O'Neill's collection (Lincoln Museum, 9599. 06). Four strap handles and thumbled strips in the form of arcading.

STAMFORD, G. C. Dunning, *Ant. J.* vol. XVI (1936), p. 407, Fig. 5, 9. Typical multiple-handled storage vessel thumbled round the rim.

*Norfolk*

See pp. 46-50 in list of Thetford sites.

*Yorkshire*

YORK, *Parliament Street*. Fragment of a typical Thetford storage vessel, Yorkshire Museum. *Hungate*, sherd of a storage vessel. Miss K. Richardson, forthcoming H.M.S.O. report of the Ministry of Works excavations.

SPOFFORTH, Mr D. M. Waterman informs me that he found part of a Thetford storage vessel when he put a trench across the motte a mile north of Spofforth near Harrogate.

In Part III of this paper it is hoped to deal with *Stamford* ware. Mr A. P. Baggs will contribute a section on the finds from Stamford itself, including St Neots ware, which were not published by Mr G. C. Dunning in 1936, as they were not then accessible. A series of maps and national grid references of sites will show the distributions of the main groups and types of Middle Saxon and Saxo-Norman pottery and a final summing up of the general conclusions that can be drawn from these will be attempted.

I should like to thank Mr N. Smedley and the Ipswich Museum for permission to publish the important material from Ipswich, and Mr R. R. Clarke and the Norwich Castle Museum for permission to publish the Norfolk material, and for Mr Clarke's help with this. Only a selection of this latter material has been drawn, but it is hoped to publish more, including the interesting material from Thorpe-next-Norwich, in the report on the Barn Road Excavations, Norwich, 1954/5, which it is hoped to publish in *Norfolk Archaeology*. The pottery from Ipswich, Figs. 1-5, were drawn by S. E. West, Fig. 6 by J. G. Hurst and Figs. 7-8 by Miss E. Meikle. I have to thank Mr G. C. Dunning for the use of his drawings for Fig. 6, 3 and Fig. 7, 1 and 2.

## THE CLERGY OF WILLINGHAM 1300-1955 PART II

CANON F. J. BYWATERS, M.A.

THE religious and political strife in the reign of Charles I and during the Commonwealth affected the diocese of Ely more than many other dioceses of the country, for the bishop, Matthew Wren, was a prisoner in the Tower of London from 1642 to 1660. White Kennett<sup>1</sup> states that 'at the beginning of the late Confusions, several Patrons continued to make a regular presentation of their Clerks to the Bishop of the Diocese, and the Bishop gave them Institution without Power of giving them possession'. He gives examples, including that of EDMUND MAPLETOFT, who had been instituted to the Archdeaconry of Ely in February, 1646-7,<sup>2</sup> and to the Rectory of Willingham on 6 February, 1647-8. But NATHANIEL BRADSHAW was admitted to the benefice on 24 September 1647, the previous incumbent having died at the beginning of the month, and compounded for first-fruits on 10 February 1647-8, four days later than Mapletoft's institution.<sup>3</sup>

Bradshaw, a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, M.A. 1644, and Fellow 1645, signed the parochial registers from 1647 to 1661, in 1649 and 1650 as 'minister', but after 1651 as 'rector'. The baptisms and births and burials of his children are recorded in the registers, also the marriage of his sister, Elizabeth, to John Nye, the minister at Cottenham.

There is no evidence of his ordination to the diaconate or priesthood. Calamy gives much information about him. 'For some Years very adverse to the Work of the Ministry, till God visited him with the Small Pox, and under that Affliction inclin'd his Heart to undertake it. He was a Boanerges; well adapted to the People of Wivlingham, whom he found very Profane and Ignorant, but in a little time God was graciously pleas'd to give him numerous seals to his Ministry.' Some of the parishioners, however, reported to the Commissioners on 14 June 1650, 'we know who gave him the said parsonage, and for the cure of souls we have been better served, yet he preacheth twice a day, but soe little to edification, that he rather wearieith the parish than profiteth them thereby'.<sup>4</sup>

He was assistant to the Commissioners for the counties of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdon in 1654, by ordinance for ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters; and a member of the Cambridgeshire Association in 1656.

Palmer<sup>5</sup> has a story that his successor (Thomas Wren, 1662-79) scoffed at him for

<sup>1</sup> Kennett, *Register and Chronicle*, p. 879.

<sup>3</sup> A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> S. Palmer, *Nonconformists' Memorial* (1802), vol. 1, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti*, vol. 1, p. 352.

<sup>4</sup> Lambeth Palace, MS. S. 3. 301.

his way of preaching. Bradshaw replied: 'Sir, I left four score and ten praying families in Willingham at my ejection, and I am afraid your ministry will never make them up an hundred.'

Kennett quotes from Bishop Wren's Register that the benefice was vacant in 1662 by Bradshaw's deprivation, and comments that had he conformed he could not have kept it, as Mapletoft would have returned had he been living in 1660.

After 1662, for some years, Bradshaw 'continu'd to Preach in his own and other Families. Then the Providence of God gave him the Liberty of a Pulpit in a small village, which he us'd with so much Prudence and Moderation, that he was conniv'd at for about Five Years. When that was denied him, he Preached at Childerley, and after that in London.' He became a licensed preacher in his own house at Hemingford in 1672. When

the Act for Toleration came forth, he return'd to his Old People of Wivlingham, and preach'd amongst them to the last Sabbath of his life. And desir'd no more of them than to pay for his Diet from Saturday Night till Monday morning, and his Horsehire from St. Ives, which was five miles distant, where he liv'd with Mrs Mason, his Wife's daughter. . . . In the latter Part of his Life he did his Master's Work in great Pain, and by a Scorbutic Dropsy ended his Pilgrimage at St. Ives, October 16th, 1690, in the 71st year of his Age. He was a very Considerable Man, of a Generous Temper, and undaunted Courage.

A register entry informs us that this former rector was buried at Willingham. '1690. Nathaniell Bradshaw bur. Oct. 18; a Barn preacher.' A later marginal note in pencil reads 'Late Rector of Willingham—a Faithful servant of the Lord Jesus Christ'. Later information indicates that the grave was on the north side of the chancel where Nathanael Naylor, a later rector, was buried in 1706. 'When Nathanael Naylor was buried there, a high churchman asked the sexton "Why do you bury him so near that fanatic?" An aged woman who was present and knew their different characters shrewdly answered "It can't affect them while they lie here, and they may be far enough off at the resurrection".'<sup>1</sup>

An interesting comment upon Bradshaw is found in the *Calendar of State Papers*, 8 July 1661, where a letter from Brian Turner, M.A. and Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, written to Williamson is quoted. 'If the Act passes lapsing to the king all livings wherein the old incumbent is dead, and the new one not episcopally ordained, begs him to prefer his petition for the living of Willingham, Isle of Ely (*sic*) if it fall to the king's donation. He knows the present incumbent to be very culpable on many accounts.'

1646-7. EDMUND MAPLETOFT, M.A. of Pembroke College, Cambridge, was ordained deacon on 4 June, and priest on 5 June, 1615 at Peterborough. He became assistant curate to Matthew Wren (later bishop of Ely), rector of Teversham in that year,<sup>2</sup> and from 1617 to 1623 was assistant curate at Willingham, where in 1618 he signed the register transcripts and his daughter Mary was baptized in 1623. After incumbencies at Holbrook and Falkenham he became rector of Hardwicke and

<sup>1</sup> Palmer, *op. cit.*; Matthews, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> A. Gibbons, *Ely Episcopal Records*, p. 366.

rector of Little Downham in 1641. He was ejected from both benefices by the duke of Manchester, who as Commissioner was dealing with 'Articles of Complaint' against 'malignant' incumbents. It was alleged at Downham that he 'preached against the Parliament, terming them a company of wicked Nabals... worse than devils (for there is government in hell), and saying that it is a dangerous thing to preach extempore, and that now the people run about after false teachers who preach in tubs and pray by the spirit'.<sup>1</sup>

The charge at Hardwicke was that 'he refused to read anything from the Parliament, but read many things from the King at Oxford with great boldness;... he commonly useth altar-worship, east-worship, and dropping-worship, with bidding canonical prayer'.<sup>1</sup> It was also stated that he had a wife and seven children at this date.

Bentham<sup>2</sup> and Kennett<sup>3</sup> both regarded Mapletoft as the rightful rector of both parishes when he was collated to the archdeaconry of Ely in February 1645-6, by Bishop Wren, and to Willingham in the following year, also to the first prebendal stall in March 1651-2. He died in December 1652, and had not been installed or given possession of the archdeaconry. Similar evidence is given by Walker.<sup>4</sup>

1662. THOMAS WREN, LL.D. (Peterhouse) 1662; M.D. (Oxford) 1660, Fellow of the Royal Society, was collated to Willingham in August 1662, after the resignation or ejection of Bradshaw.

He was the second son of Matthew Wren, who lost no time in compensating him for the hardships he had suffered. He had been admitted as a student at Cambridge, but was forced to leave during the imprisonment of his father, and studied at Oxford.

The pressures under which his Father lay for seventeen Years were such, that he could not (His Estate being taken away) allow his Children Bread, much less supply their Expences for living in Colleges, and the taking of their Degrees, only to have the Benefit of the Public Library etc. This Person... was much addicted to Musick while he studied in Oxon. (which was about eight years).<sup>5</sup>

Ordained deacon in 1660, Wren was immediately presented by his father to the sinecure rectory of Littlebury in Essex; and after his ordination to the priesthood in June 1661 was collated to the rectory of Northwold. He became the occupant of the Fifth Canonry Stall at Ely in January 1661-2, and rector of Willingham on 20 August 1662, also archdeacon of Ely in April 1663, and canon of Southwell in 1664. Having resigned Northwold in 1662, he held all the other preferments until his death in 1679.<sup>6</sup>

He and his brother Matthew presented a handsome rose-water dish and ewer to Peterhouse in 1661.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Conybeare, *History of Cambridgeshire*, pp. 220, 221—quoting from the Articles of Complaint.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bentham, *History and Antiquities of Ely Cathedral*, pp. 242, 279.

<sup>3</sup> Kennett, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Walker Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews, p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Kennett, *op. cit.* p. 220.

<sup>6</sup> Bentham, *op. cit.* pp. 255, 279; Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

<sup>7</sup> T. A. Walker, *Admissions to Peterhouse*, p. 120.

There is no trace of his activities, if any, at Willingham, but the parish was served by ROBERT KING, ROWLAND MANLOVE and ANTHONY LISTAR during his incumbency.

Robert King, scholar of Caius College 1650-1, signs as curate in 1662. His children, Joan, Hester and Thomas, by his wife Frances (1667-70), were baptized at Willingham, and Frances buried 12 September 1670.

Anthony Listar or Lyster, M.A. of Emmanuel College, was licensed on 23 May 1674. His daughter Ann was baptized on 11 August 1674; a son John baptized and buried in January 1676; Thomas baptized on 13 December 1677, and another son John baptized and buried in August 1679.

Rowland Manlove, M.A., Fellow of Magdalene College 1665, was ordained deacon at London on 19 May 1665, and priest on 22 September 1666. After being perpetual curate of St Giles, Cambridge, in 1670, he became vicar of Long Stanton All Saints in 1673. There he married Anne Pask on 19 July 1677. A son Rowland was baptized at Willingham on 29 July 1678, and buried on 31 August of the same year. Other children were born at Long Stanton, where Manlove was still incumbent in 1685.

1679. WILLIAM SAYWELL, rector. A Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, in 1666, and D.D. in 1679, he had been vicar of Pevensey and prebendary and chancellor of Chichester since 1675, resigning the former appointment in 1679, but retaining the latter until his death. He was Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, from 1679, Vice-Chancellor 1685-6; canon of Ely from 1679, and archdeacon of Ely from 1681. His collation to Willingham was by Peter Gunning, bishop of Ely, to whom he had been chaplain, and whose executor he became in 1684. A codicil to the bishop's will included the instruction 'After all my legacies and payments are discharged, I will not that my executor Dr William Saywell should take to himself any more than £250, but employ whatever is remaining upon the present relief of some poor Vicars within the county of Cambridge and Isle of Ely where the impropriations are in the bishop'.<sup>1</sup>

Saywell was a contributor to *Hymenaeus Cantabrigiensis* in 1683, and the author of the following works:

1. The Original of all Plots in Christendom, 1680,
2. A Serious Enquiry into the Means of a Happy Union; or, What Reformation is necessary to prevent Popery? 1681.
3. Evangelical and Catholick Unity maintained in the Church of England, 1682 (written in answer to Baxter's *Answer to the Accusations*).<sup>2</sup>
4. The Reformation of the Church of England justified, according to the Canons of the Council of Nicea and other General Councils, 1688.
5. The necessity of adhering to the Church of England as by Law Established, or the Duty of a good Christian and particularly of Parents and Masters of Families under the Present Toleration, 1692.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kennett, *The case of Impropriations* (1704), p. 292.

<sup>2</sup> C. E. Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism*, p. 533.

<sup>3</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*.

On 2 October 1700 William Saywell made a will in which he left everything to his brother Samuel.<sup>1</sup>

On 14 November 1700 he made a codicil to that will; and the changes appear to suggest that the original will was made in a hurry and without much consideration.

Imprimis I give unto my loving wife, during her natural life one Annuity or yearly summe of £150 to be paid her by my executor yearly and every year during her natural life by half-yearly equal payments.

Item, I give to my brother John Saywell's two daughters £5 a year apeece until they attain to the respective ages of 21 years, if they respectively shall so long live; and then to each of them I give £300 if they shall so long live.

Item, I give to my sister Miers £50.

Item, I give to my nephew Andrew Mieres £10 per annum during his natural life.

Item, I give to my cousin Mr William Hussey £50 and to my cousin Thomas Hussey £10.

Item, I give to the church of Ely £100.

Item, I give to Jesus College £100 towards the adorning of the College Hall to be paid within six months after my decease; and I give £200 more to be paid within one year after the decease of my wife, to be applyed to such uses for the said College as my executor shall direct or appoint. And for default of such direction or appointment the same to be added to Dr. Proby's foundation towards the purchase of the advowson of a living.

Item, I give to St John's College in Cambridge £50 to be paid within one year of the decease of my wife towards the building of a new chappell.

Item, my will and mind is that my executor shall settle and assure or cause to be settled and assured upon such Trustees and their heires as he shall think fit a yearly rent or lands to the value of £10 per annum in trust for the benefit of the Schoolmaster in Willingham in the County of Cambridge and his successors schoolmasters there for the time being for ever for an encouragement to the Said schoolmaster to teach the children of the same parish their catechism and prayers.

Item, I give to the poor of Ely £10.

Item, I give to the poor of Willingham £10.

Item, I give to the poor of All Saints, Cambridge £5, and to the poor of Pentridge in Dorsetshire, where I was born £5.

Saywell died in London on 19 June 1701 and his body was buried in Jesus College Chapel.<sup>2</sup> Saywell's duties as Master of a college, an archdeacon and residentiary canon probably left him little time for the cure of souls at Willingham; that duty was left to others, among whom was his brother SAMUEL SAYWELL, Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, 1671 to 1685, and B.D. in 1680. Having been ordained priest at Ely in 1675, he became vicar of Hauxton with Newton in 1676, and was rector of Bluntisham from 1684 to 1708. For some years he was assistant curate at Willingham, officiating until the death of his brother. He too left land for charitable purposes in Willingham, Bluntisham and Earith. The rent of one portion in Earith Fen was to be devoted to mending and repairing the Church Causeways.

A memorial to him is on the north wall of Bluntisham Church.

<sup>1</sup> Baker MSS. vol. xxvi, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Venn, *Alumni*. A pencil note in the Parochial Register gives the date of death.

From 1690 RICHARD ROUTH, M.A. 1682, of St John's College, Cambridge, was assistant curate. Four of his children were baptized here, and from 1695 until his death he was also curate of Haddenham, where other children were baptized, and he himself was buried on 4 June 1714. 'Note that Some Dissenters fanatically entered are not taken Notice of here' (Parish Register), this indicates his attitude towards Dissenters, 1697.

In 1698, JOHN BROOKES, M.A. of Jesus College, and Fellow from 1698 to 1716, was curate. He signs the registers until 1701.

1701. After the pluralism of William Saywell, NATHANAEL NAYLOR, B.A. of Queens' College, held the benefice from 1701 until his death in August 1706. The register records that he was buried on the north side of the chancel, and was 55 years of age. From 1702 to 1708 WILLIAM KING, who had been ordained deacon at Lincoln under letters dimissory from the bishop of Ely in May 1702, and priest at Ely on 30 May 1703, was curate.

1706. JAMES MARTIN, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1691, and Fellow of Queens' College in 1694, succeeded Naylor and held the benefice for thirty-two years: His wife Mary was buried on 26 September 1708, and in the register he wrote 'mihi semper amandum semper honorandum nomen'.<sup>1</sup> Cole stated that Martin was chaplain to the English factory at Lisbon, and a lady there who fell in love with him followed him privately to England in a very romantic manner; they met and were married. Was this Mary? In the register of his burial in the chancel in September 1738 there is a note 'By report a good man'. His grave slab is just inside the screen at the entrance to the chancel.

In 1714, ROBERT MANLOVE, M.A., Magdalene College, a son of Rowland Manlove of Long Stanton, and who was ordained deacon at Ely on 4 June 1710, was curate,<sup>2</sup> and in 1720 was succeeded by GEORGE ATTON, B.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, ordained deacon at Lincoln on 29 January 1721, and priest at Ely on 20 September 1724. His sons John and Stephen were baptized at Willingham in 1721 and 1723 respectively, and he became perpetual curate of Little Raveley in 1725.<sup>3</sup>

1738. JAMES REYNOLDS, M.A., St John's College, Cambridge, 1705, rector. Cole wrote that Mr Reynolds's father was Philip Reynolds, butler of St John's College, and lived in All Saints' parish, where he died insolvent, and he cheated the University people and Dr Gower among them of a great deal of money, being what they call a money scrivener.

Ordained deacon at Ely in December 1706, and priest at Lincoln in March 1709, Reynolds was rector of Lackford from 1714 to 1752, and vicar of Swaffham 1737-8, resigning the latter on his collation to Willingham<sup>4</sup> by Bishop Butts, his father-in-law. The entry of his burial in the register states that 'He died on the 6th, that is the 17th September, 1752', referring to the adjustment of the calendar in that year.

<sup>1</sup> Venn, *Alumni*. Parochial Registers.

<sup>3</sup> Venn, *Alumni*, but Venn says he was rector of Willingham.

<sup>2</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

<sup>4</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

Though details of the incumbency of Reynolds are meagre, he seems to have given the villagers opportunity to talk about the assistants he engaged. In 1741 WILLIAM WINDLE, B.A. of Caius College where he was a scholar, 1729, was appointed. He had been ordained deacon at Norwich on 13 June 1731, and priest on 4 June 1732. A friend and associate of T. Duckett, who was expelled for atheism, he was summoned as a witness against him. He was obliged, by order of the bishop, to write a book in vindication of his faith and to purge himself from the scandal. He wrote *An enquiry into the Immateriality of Thinking Substances* (1738).<sup>1</sup>

Windle did not stay long, for in 1743 he was succeeded by THOMAS IBBOT. He also was a scholar of Caius, M.A. 1743, and ordained deacon at Norwich on 21 December 1740 and priest at Ely on 26 February 1743. The register records his appointment by the rector as curate and schoolmaster (the church school had been founded in 1593). 'He was somewhat disordered in his head, and was made worse by the perverse humour of the people of this parish, who for the most part are a factious set of persons, fanatically inclined, and consequently censorious of all those of another mode of worship' (Cole). He was rector of Beachamwell, 1764-87, and curate of Stoke Ferry, 1768-84.<sup>2</sup>

1745. JOHN BOWLE, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, ordained deacon at Norwich in June 1745, was appointed curate and schoolmaster. Cole says 'he was very much in the same style as Ibbot'. He left in 1747, and was 'standing for a Fellowship at Trinity College at the election on 1 October' (Cole).

1753. The collation of the next incumbent is an example of nepotism of the worst type, to say nothing of pluralism. JOHN GOOCH, scholar of Caius College, M.A. 1753, and in 1765 D.D. (then of Christ's College), became rector, collated by his father, the bishop of Ely. In May 1751 he married Mary Sayer of the parish of St Clement Danes in the chapel of Ely House, Holborn.<sup>3</sup> He was ordained deacon at Ely in February 1752, and priest on 24 August 1753. In that year he was 'sequestrator of Fen Ditton, not being of age to hold the living. The bishop has secured a promise in case of his death, from his successor, the Prime Minister, the archbishop of Canterbury and the Crown in case of a lapse. He is since made rector of Willingham, the bishop living just long enough to settle him in his preferment.'<sup>4</sup> Gooch was collated to Willingham on the day after his ordination to the priesthood. His father lived until 14 February 1754, but he had collated his son to the fourth canonry at Ely in September 1753.<sup>5</sup>

Gooch held these preferments until his death in 1804, a period of fifty-one years. He improved Fen Ditton Church, and part of the altar rail of Ely Cathedral was incorporated.

Cole says he had 'singular good taste in Alterations of this sort, and it was never

<sup>1</sup> Venn, *Alumni*; Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, vol. II, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

<sup>3</sup> Gibbons, *Ely Episcopal Registers*, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Cole, quoted by Venn, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> Cole, *History of Fen Ditton*.

shown to greater Advantage than in the conversion of his ungainly, awkward and ill-contrived Prebendal House at Ely into one of the most elegant in the Place'.<sup>1</sup>

He had two daughters, 'most accomplished and agreeable young ladies, for whose Instruction in Music, Painting, Dancing and every other Qualification requisite in Persons of their Situation in Life their Father has spared no kind of Attention or Expense. The Doctor is a most chearful and Agreeable Companion, and beloved and esteemed by all his Acquaintance.'<sup>2</sup> Mary Gooch married Dr Radcliffe, arch-deacon and canon of Canterbury, and Rachel Dr Richard Beadon, successively bishop of Gloucester and Bath and Wells.<sup>3</sup>

Gooch was a friend of Cole and of Michael Tyson, and they were with him at Ely when Bishop Hotham's tomb was opened. Cole wrote 'we saw his head'. Gooch was responsible for this act, also for pulling down the wall on the north side of the choir, and finding the bones of six Saxon bishops and Earl Brihtnoth. They are now on the south side of Bishop West's Chapel. Details were given by Bentham.<sup>4</sup>

In 1755, five new bells were hung in Willingham tower; on one the name of the rector was cast as Goode. Cole's encomium must be tempered by this entry: 'On Monday Mr Bentham told me that Dr Gooch had kicked his maid downstairs and flung a candlestick at her head, which she returned again.'

John Gooch died at the Palace at Wells, the home of his son-in-law, on 7 January 1804, and was buried in the cathedral there. An epitaph might have been supplied by Bentham, 'With the gravity of a Clergyman Dr Gooch united the easy manner of a Gentleman'.

For the greater part of Gooch's incumbency, the parish was in the charge of THOMAS PARIS, who was educated at the Perse School and Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A. 1745. Ordained deacon at Ely under letters dimissory from the bishop of Peterborough in 1748 and priest in 1750, he came to Willingham in 1759, where he remained for forty years. His wife Sarah Jane died in 1765, aged 34, and his daughter Ann, born in 1762, died in 1789, and was buried in the chancel, where the grave slab may still be seen. Paris died at Newington on 9 December 1800, aged 77 years.

From 1795 to 1803, JOSHUA WOOD, Fellow of St Catharine's College in 1795 and B.D. 1795, was also curate.<sup>5</sup>

1804. The next incumbent seems to have officiated regularly at Willingham, though he had assistant curates. He was GEORGE HENRY LAW, a son of Edmund Law, bishop of Carlisle. In 1781 he became Fellow of Queens' College, M.A. 1784, D.D. 1804. He was also a F.R.S. and a F.S.A. and married Jane, daughter of General Adeane, M.P. for Cambridgeshire. A daughter, Joanna, was married at Willingham in 1807 to Alexander Powell, of Baverstock, Wilts. Law became bishop of Chester in 1812, and in 1824 was translated to Bath and Wells. In the baptism register, after a baptism on 9 August 1812, is the signature 'Geo. H. Chester', and that date; in

<sup>1</sup> Cole, *History of Fen Ditton*.

<sup>3</sup> Bentham, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

<sup>2</sup> Cole, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Bentham, *op. cit.* Addenda, vol. 1, pp. 23-4.

the burial register, after a burial entry on 2 August, is the signature 'Geo. Henry Chester', dated 9 August.

In all ecclesiastical matters he was a staunch conservative, and strenuously opposed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and all manner of church reform. At Chester, he proved an active and practical bishop, personally visiting every parish in what was then a very extensive and laborious diocese, doing much for the augmentation of small livings, the improvement of parsonage houses, and the restoration of the cathedral.<sup>1</sup>

In 1816 Law established at St Bees in Cumberland a 'Clerical Institution' for the instruction of candidates for ordination who were unable to obtain a university education. This represented the first non-graduate theological college under specifically Anglican auspices; it was the college which began the custom of inventing hoods for non-graduate theological students to wear in church.<sup>2</sup>

In 1840 Law founded the Theological College at Wells.<sup>3</sup>

From 1804 to 1805 JOHN MAUL was curate. In 1793 he had been sixteenth Wrangler; was a Fellow of Christ's College 1798-1815, and Senior Dean 1808 and 1810-15. 'He was one of the few Fellows of much character in the first decade of the nineteenth century.' Gunning tells how he was 'the only one who ventured to call upon the Master, Dr Browne for an account of his expenditure'.<sup>4</sup>

JAMES SLADE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Emmanuel College, was ordained deacon at Peterborough in 1806, and priest 1807. He came to Willingham in the former year, where he married Augusta Law, daughter of the rector, in 1812, and was rector of Teversham 1811-16, and of Milton 1813-16. In 1817 he became vicar of Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, and 'attained a wide reputation, both as a preacher and as an advocate of Church reform'. In days when little attention was paid to the education of the working classes, he threw himself heart and soul into their mental and spiritual improvement.<sup>5</sup>

It would be difficult to assess the result of the incumbency of the succeeding rector, appointed by the Prince Regent, as the benefice was vacant as the result of the Crown nomination of Law to the bishopric of Chester. His career was remarkable.

1812. HENRY BATE-DUDLEY. The *Dictionary of National Biography* designates him 'journalist—said to have been educated at Queen's College, Oxford, but though the letters M.A. and LL.D. are sometimes given under his name, it does not appear that he ever received a degree at either university'. He was born in 1745 and, having taken orders, succeeded to the rectory of North Fambridge after his father's death, but most of his time was spent in London, where he became well known as a man of pleasure. In 1773 an affray at Vauxhall Gardens brought him into considerable

<sup>1</sup> *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Archbishops' Commission Report, *Training for the Ministry* (1944), p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Dictionary of English Church History*, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Peile, *Christ's College Biographical Register*, vol. II, p. 327.

<sup>5</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

notoriety, and about this time he became curate to James Townley, the vicar of Hendon, and author of the celebrated farce *High Life below Stairs*. In 1772 *The Morning Post* was established and Bate became one of the earliest editors. 'The smartness of his articles and the excitability of his temperament frequently involved him in personal quarrels, which sometimes ended in a fight or a duel, and he then earned the nickname of the "Fighting Parson".'

One of these quarrels was recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1810, on the death of Andrew Robinson Stoney Bowes, who was stated to have been 'first known in public by his duel (or rather pretended duel) with the Rev. Mr Bate, now Bate-Dudley, in consequence of that gentleman's speaking too lightly in his newspaper of the character of the late Countess of Strathmore, to whom Mr Bowes (till then Mr Stoney) was afterwards married, and from whom he separated in the course of a few years'. 'With respect to the sham duel asserted to have taken place between Mr Stoney and Rev. Henry Bate, afterwards Henry Bate-Dudley, the latter declared publicly in the Court of Common Pleas that the story was *utterly untrue*, and Sir Henry has often been heard to say that he never saw a man bleed as Bowes did: "He bled like a pig" was his expression.'

Bate left *The Morning Post* in 1780 and started *The Morning Herald* in opposition. In June 1781 he was committed to the King's Bench Prison for twelve months for a libel on the Duke of Richmond. He had bought the advowson of Bradwell-juxta-Mare in Essex for £1500 and in 1784 assumed the name of Dudley in compliance with the will of a relative. In anticipation of succeeding the absentee rector of Bradwell, whose curate he had been since 1781, Bate-Dudley had obtained a lease of the glebe and tithe, but the incumbent lived until 1797. When he presented himself to the benefice, the bishop of London refused to institute him on the ground of simony, and legal proceedings were commenced by Dudley. When a compromise was reached, it was discovered that the right of presentation had lapsed to the Crown, and in the exercise of its right the Chaplain-General of the army had been appointed. The case attracted considerable attention, and it was thought that Dudley had a grievance, since he had spent more than £28,000 during the lifetime of the previous incumbent, rebuilding the church, reclaiming and embanking the land and otherwise improving the benefice. Dudley is said to have been master of an Essex pack of hounds, and that his most famous run ended in the churchyard of Cricksea, or rather on the roof of the church there, for the fox in desperation scrambled up an ivy-covered buttress, followed by Sir Henry and three couples of hounds, and was actually killed on the leads of the chancel.<sup>1</sup>

Bate-Dudley was an intimate friend of Garrick, and an associate of all the wits of the day. He introduced William Shield to the public as an operatic composer, and was one of the earliest admirers of the talent of Mrs Siddons. He married in 1780, Mary, the daughter of James White, and sister of the celebrated actress Mrs Hartley.

Before his appointment to Willingham, he had composed comic operas. In 1804 he became vicar of Kilsoran in County Wexford, in 1805 chancellor of the diocese of

<sup>1</sup> W. Addison, *The English Country Parson*, p. 218.

Ferns, and in 1807 rector of Kilglass. He was a magistrate for seven English and four Irish counties.

His appointment to Willingham by the Prince Regent was in 1812; in 1813 he was created a baronet, and in 1815 appointed to the fifth canonry at Ely.

In 1816 riots broke out at Littleport and Ely, consequent upon the agricultural distress. Troops from Bury St Edmunds were sent to render assistance, and Canon Bate-Dudley preceded them (with others) on horseback from Ely to Littleport. The rioters were arrested and, before the trial at Ely, the three judges went to the Palace to breakfast with the bishop (Sparke), and then attended service in the cathedral, the bishop being preceded by his butler, carrying his sword of state. Among the anthems sung were two from Handel's *Messiah*, 'Why do the nations?' and 'Let us break their bonds asunder', also one composed for the occasion by Dr Highmore Skeats, the organist. Canon Bate-Dudley preached the sermon on the text 'The law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient'. It was afterwards printed (by request) and a copy is in the University Library, Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> The service closed with the Hallelujah Chorus. Later, the intrepid canon was presented by the inhabitants of Cambridgeshire with a piece of plate for his 'very spirited and firm conduct during the riots'. There is no record of the opinion of the people of Willingham as to the conduct of their rector, but we have an earlier opinion of no less an authority than Dr Samuel Johnson.

We talked of a certain clergyman of extraordinary character, who, by exerting his talents in writing on temporary topicks, and displaying uncommon intrepidity, had raised himself to affluence. I maintained that we ought not to be indignant at his success; for merit of every sort was entitled to reward.

Johnson: 'Sir, I will not allow this man to have merit. No, Sir; what he has is rather the contrary. I will, indeed, allow him courage, and on this account we so far give him credit. We have more respect for a man who robs boldly on the highway, than for a fellow who jumps out of a ditch, and knocks you down behind your back. Courage is a quality so necessary for maintaining virtue, that it is always respected, even when it is associated with vice.'<sup>2</sup>

Bate-Dudley died at Cheltenham in 1824, aged 79 years.<sup>3</sup>

From 1814 to 1815 JOHN JENKYN was curate. A graduate of St John's College, Cambridge, he was ordained deacon at Ely on 27 March 1814, and priest at Chester, by letters dimissory from the bishop of Ely on 19 March 1815.<sup>4</sup> His successor from 1815 to 1816, CHARLES CECIL BATES, M.A. of Christ's College, ordained deacon at Hereford on 26 May 1815, and priest at Ely in March 1816, became vicar of Castleton in 1818, and died there in 1853.<sup>5</sup> JOHN DAWSON WRIGGLESWORTH, B.A. of St Catharine's College, Cambridge, remained from 1816 to 1833, when he moved to

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge University Library: 6. 17. 10<sup>8</sup>; C. Johnson, *The Ely and Littleport Riots in 1816* (1893), reprinted 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. J. W. Croker (1831), vol. v, p. 196, and note.

<sup>3</sup> *D.N.B.*; Bate-Dudley's works in U.L.C. include: *The Travellers in Switzerland, a comic opera in three acts* (1794), *Passages selected by distinguished personages, on the great literary trial of Vortigern and Rowena, a comic tragedy* (1795-8), *The Woodman* (Dublin, 1791), *The Vauxhall Affray* (1773).

<sup>4</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

<sup>5</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

be vicar of Loddon, Norfolk.<sup>1</sup> WILLIAM SMYTHIES BEEVOR, M.A. of Jesus College, Cambridge, ordained deacon in 1823 and priest in 1824 at London, was curate of Willingham from 1833 to 1840. He held curacies at Histon 1849-53 and Rampton 1853-6.<sup>2</sup>

JOHN BROCKLEBANK, B.D. of Pembroke College, Cambridge, who had been rector of Teversham and vicar of Melbourn from 1817, was collated to Willingham in 1824, retaining the former benefice with Willingham until his death at Teversham in 1843.<sup>3</sup>

ADAM FITCH, M.A. of Christ's College, ordained deacon and priest at Ely, who had been curate of Cottenham 1833-5, was curate of Willingham from 1840 to 1849. His twin children by Harriett his wife, Sidney Ivatt and Emily Ivatt were baptized here on 25 December 1848.<sup>4</sup>

In 1843 JOHN GRAHAM became rector. He had been fourth Wrangler and Chancellor's Medallist, Christ's College, in 1816; Fellow of Christ's College in the same year, and ordained at Salisbury 1818. Tutor of Christ's College 1828-30, he was Master 1830-48. Before his collation to Willingham, he was a prebendary of Lincoln in 1828, Vice-Chancellor in 1831 and 1840; and chaplain to the Prince Consort in 1841. He 'enjoyed the friendship of the Prince Consort and the respect of the Queen', and had been 'an even better lecturer in mathematics than in classics'.<sup>5</sup>

In 1835 he gave £105 to the University Library Fund.<sup>6</sup> When, in 1848, Graham was appointed bishop of Chester, the Mayor and Council of Cambridge tendered him an address of congratulation, the only instance in which a tribute of that kind had ever been offered by that body.<sup>7</sup> Brocklebank had died in May 1843 and, on 16 July of that year, Graham officiated at the baptism of twelve infants; each year he officiated at baptisms, marriages and burials, so he was not unmindful of his pastoral duties.

1848. ROBERT PHELPS, rector. In 1833 he had been fifth Wrangler, B.A. Trinity College; Fellow of Sidney Sussex College 1838-43; Hon. D.D. and Master of Sidney from 1843, and Vice-Chancellor 1847. He was presented to Willingham by the Queen, the Crown appointment of the previous rector to the bishopric of Chester having caused the vacancy, and held the benefice with his University appointment until his death in January 1890. During the forty-two years of his incumbency, Phelps was non-resident. There are no records of his having baptized anyone, nor having officiated at a marriage, but between 1850 and 1856 he officiated at nine burials.

He was 'notorious for his conservatism and belief in the old University customs and regulations; he refused to answer questions put to him (as Master) by the Royal Commission of 1874'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

<sup>2</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

<sup>3</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

<sup>4</sup> Venn, *Alumni*, and Parochial Register.

<sup>5</sup> Venn, *Alumni*; *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> Peile, *Christ's College Biographical Register*, vol. II, p. 371

<sup>7</sup> *D.N.B.*

<sup>8</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

WILLIAM RICHARD BAIN, Christ's College, M.A. 1848, was curate 1849-51; a son was baptized on 16 December 1850.<sup>1</sup>

CHARLES ALLEN ELTON, M.A. Sidney Sussex College, 1846, served for six years. In 1858 he was Headmaster of Gresham's School, Holt.<sup>2</sup>

SAMUEL DUTTON GREEN, of St Aidan's Theological College, who had been incumbent of Musquodoboit, Nova Scotia, was curate from 1858 to 1862, and was succeeded by WILLIAM SEDDON, B.A. Emmanuel College, who after working as curate of St John's, Grantham, assisted Dr Phelps from 1862 to 1866.<sup>3</sup>

EDWARD JAMES TALBOT LAUGHLIN, who came in 1866, was formerly an officer in the 2nd West India Regiment and 41st Royal Welch Regiment, and served in the West Indies, the West Coast of Africa, and the Crimea. He graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1851. A daughter, Susannah, who had been privately baptized at Sutton in November 1864, was admitted into the church on 9 June 1867; a son, Edward Hamilton Vipan, born 30 July 1871, was privately baptized on 8 August 1872, and received into the church on 24 August 1873; another son was baptized on 1 January 1874.<sup>4</sup>

Laughlin died on 20 March 1886 and was buried in the churchyard.

The last of the assistant clergy to serve the parish was WILLIAM HENRY LOWE, 1886-90. A brilliant scholar of Christ's College, he was Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholar in 1872, and had rowed in the University crew against Oxford in 1868, 1870 and 1871. He was also Hulsean Lecturer in 1872. Ordained deacon at Ely in 1873, and priest in 1874, he was curate of Fen Ditton 1873-5, and of Milton 1880-2. From 1875 to 1891 he was lecturer in Hebrew. After leaving Willingham to become vicar of Fen Drayton, 1890-1, he was rector of Brisley and vicar of Gately, Norfolk, where he died in 1917.

Among his published works were *The Psalms with Notes* (1875-7); *Twelve Odes of Hafiz*, translated from the Persian (1877); *Fragments of Talmud—Babli Pesachim* (1879); *Commentary on Zechariah* (1882); *Palestinian Mishnah* (1883); *Life of the Emperor Akbar*, translated from the Persian (1884-8); *The Systemization of the Russian Verb* (1909); and various translations from the Russian.<sup>5</sup>

1890. JOHN WATKINS, rector. M.A. St John's College, Cambridge. Ordained deacon and priest at Ripon in 1870 and 1871 respectively, he was assistant curate to James Russell Woodford at Leeds. When Woodford became bishop of Ely in 1873 he appointed Watkins to Thriplow, and in 1878 to Gamlingay. During his incumbencies both churches were restored, and after his collation to Willingham the church, then described by the archdeacon of Ely as the 'black spot in the diocese', was completely restored, largely by Watkins' own generous benefactions. He died on 9 August 1906.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

<sup>2</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

<sup>3</sup> Venn, *Alumni*.

<sup>4</sup> Parochial Registers; Crockford's *Clerical Directory*.

<sup>5</sup> Venn, *Alumni*; Peile, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 600; Crockford.

<sup>6</sup> Crockford.

1906. CHARLES HANNIBAL CROSSLEY, rector; M.A. St John's College, Cambridge. Ordained deacon at Ely 1882, and priest 1884, he was assistant curate at St Mary's, Bury St Edmunds 1882-5; rector of Nowton 1888-96; vicar of St Augustine's, Wisbech, 1896-1906, and rector of Willingham 1906-22, when he resigned.<sup>1</sup>

1923. ANDREW CAMPBELL HAIR, rector, M.A. St Edmund Hall, Oxford. After curacies at St Peter's Coventry, Long Melford, and St Gregory and St Peter, Sudbury, 1891-1905, he was vicar of Haverhill from 1905 to 1910 and of Holy Trinity, Ely, 1910-23. He was rural dean of Ely 1914-23, and of North Stowe 1929-37, also honorary canon of Ely Cathedral from 1933. He resigned in 1937.<sup>2</sup>

1937. FREDERICK JAMES BYWATERS, rector, M.A. Fitzwilliam House, Cambridge, and Ely Theological College. Assistant curate of Holy Trinity, Ely, 1915-23; temporary Chaplain to the Forces 1917-19, honorary Chaplain from 1921; vicar of Haddenham 1926-31; of Sawston 1931-7; rural dean of North Stowe 1946-56; Proctor in Convocation 1947-50; 1950; 1951-5, and from 1955; honorary canon of Ely Cathedral from 1949.

If it cannot be said that 'all these were honoured in their generations and were the glory of their times', few would deny that 'there be of them that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported'.

<sup>1</sup> Crockford.

<sup>2</sup> Crockford.

## A BELGIC AND ROMAN FARM AT WYBOSTON, BEDFORDSHIRE

C. F. TEBBUTT, F.S.A.

EARLY in 1954 Dr St Joseph kindly sent me a number of air photographs of crop marks near St Neots. Among these were several of a site on the left bank of the Ouse in north Bedfordshire between Eaton Socon and Wyboston (1 in. National Grid 172571). It appeared to show, as outlined by ditches, a small farm holding of some eight plots, each roughly square or oblong in shape, covering about ten acres. Two areas, defined by ring ditches, suggested hut sites and some parallel ditches, forming corridors within the plots, looked like animal catching pens (Plate V).

On a visit to the field I found that nothing was to be seen on the surface, but I picked up a few Roman period sherds and part of a Roman bronze lock. The foreman of the adjacent gravel pit told me that almost immediately his machines were moving over to dig the site.

Application was at once made to Mr C. V. Ibbett, Managing Director of Messrs Welfords Ltd., for permission to make some preliminary excavations, and this was readily given. The foreman and the dragline navy drivers took the greatest interest in the excavations, and later when they were digging the ground gave me every possible facility, help and information.

Before gravel digging started it was found possible with the help of lads from the nearby Gaynes Hall Borstal Institution, with Mr Waddilove the Governor, to find, and cut sections across, several of the ditches shown on the air photographs. Although varying in depth from 3 to 6 ft., their filling, in section, followed a pattern later found to be the same in nearly all the ditches investigated. At the bottom was Belgic pottery in two layers, separated by about 6 in. of silt from flooding. Above the upper layer was a much thicker layer of silt, in the deepest ditch as much as 4 ft., and above this scattered sherds of Roman pottery (Fig. 2).

Very little excavation was possible before gravel digging started and its progress was rapid and continuous. All efforts were therefore concentrated on dating each ditch as it was uncovered, recording as many finds as possible before they were disturbed, and marking their position on a plan based on the air photographs. This plan (Fig. 1) is only approximately correct, as the photographs were all taken obliquely.

The area where human occupation showed the greatest density was on the east or river side, with the Belgic concentration around the ring sites to the north and the Roman on the south.



Wyboston: air photograph of site.

## THE DITCH SILTING

Although the depth of silting, particularly that separating the Belgic and Roman periods, was so marked, there seemed no way to determine how long such a depth would take to accumulate. A farmer who had farmed the land for many years told me that only in 1947 had he ever known it to be flooded, but a flood of 1947

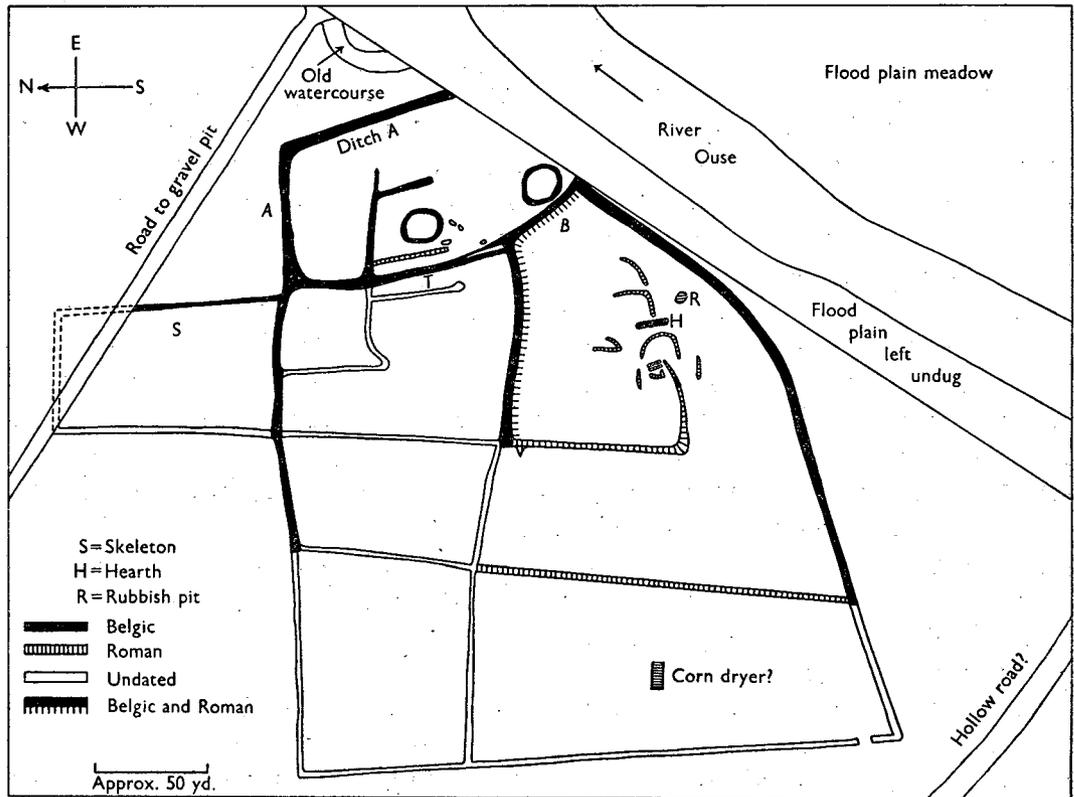


Fig. 1. A Belgic and Roman Farm, Wyboston, Bedfordshire.

magnitude, flowing over plough-land, could easily fill a ditch to the top with silt in a few days. On the other hand, successive smaller floods might take many years. Again, whether the surrounding land was grass or arable would make a great difference to the amount of silt deposited in one flood.

It is impossible, therefore, to say if the Belgic occupation came to an abrupt end because of an abnormal flood or if its abandonment was followed by such a flood or floods. It is only certain that one high flood did occur during the occupation but did not cause its abandonment.

## THE DITCHES

As will be seen from the plan (Fig. 1), the main layout of the ditched enclosures is Belgic. Some ditches on the extreme west of the site are undated owing to the increasing scarcity of domestic rubbish as the distance from the habitation centres increased.

I would suggest that the original settlement was in the oblong space enclosed by the ditches *A*, *T* and *B*. This contains the two ring ditches which would seem to be hut sites. From this nucleus grew the other enclosures as part of a plan, but with an

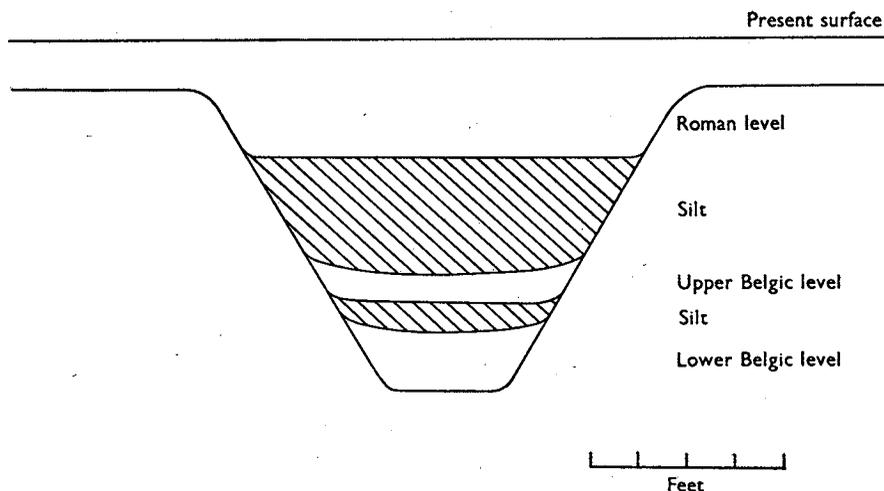


Fig. 2. Typical ditch section.

obvious later addition to the north. The south-east boundary was not reached by the gravel digging and may have been the river itself. The ditch *A* to its junction with ditch *T* was the deepest on the site, averaging an original depth of 6 ft. and width of 10 ft. at ground level, and had from 1 to 2 ft. of water in it during the summer. Ditches *T* and *B* only averaged 5 ft. in depth. The east end of ditch *B* was blocked with clay which seems to suggest a desire to keep water in this ditch system, which might then be compared with a medieval moat. It will be noted that there is a curious division of ditch *T*, at its junction with ditch *B*, into two branches which suggests an entrance with staggered approach bridges.

I have already indicated the typical pattern of filling in the ditches, and can only add that although pottery from the upper and lower Belgic levels was, when possible, kept carefully separate, no difference was discernible and most types found occurred in both levels. Included in the domestic rubbish were large numbers of animal bones including horse, ox, sheep and pig, but with the notable exception of any bird or fish bones, nor were there any oyster or mussel shells. Significantly no part of a quern was found. In the ditches near the rings were portions of crudely fired square floor tiles and some clay daub. No roof material was found and no nails.

In the extreme south-west corner of the enclosures will be noted a causeway over

the ditch which must indicate a gate, and beyond this a wide shallow undated trench which I suspect to be a hollow road.

In one of the ditches forming part of the enclosure extending north from ditch *A* was found the skeleton of a woman. Unfortunately the upper half had already been destroyed before I was able to examine it. The ditch was here 5 ft. 6 in. deep and the skeleton lay on its side 2 ft. 6 in. above the bottom. The knees were bent as far as was possible for them to go. The body had been thrown unceremoniously into the ditch among the domestic rubbish and then covered by the same material.

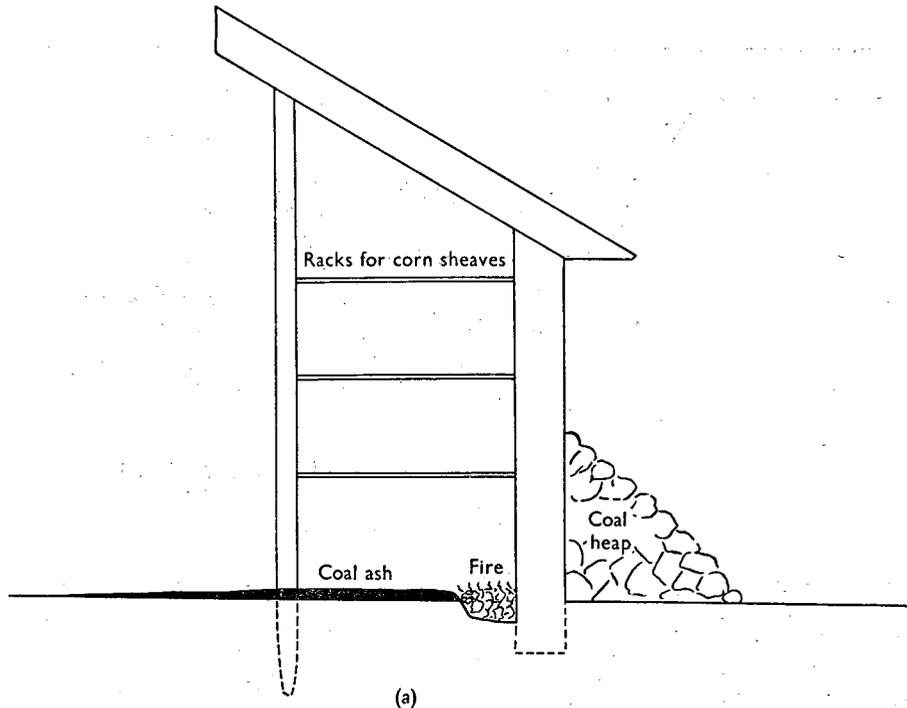


Fig. 3a. Suggested reconstruction of corn dryer, end section (north-east to south-west).

#### THE RING DITCHES

Although one can hardly doubt that these were hut sites, their excavation proved disappointing in exactly determining their purpose. In each case the ditch was about 2 ft. deep by 2 ft. wide and the enclosed space had a diameter of approximately 40 ft. No trace of a floor, hearth, or any building or post-hole was found within the circle, although, as stated above, floor tiles and daub were present in nearby ditches. The filling of the ring ditches was singular by the scarcity of domestic rubbish it contained in contrast with the nearby enclosure ditches. Just enough pottery was found in them to confirm their Belgic origin. This could only mean that the huts were inhabited by people of clean and tidy habits. The only notable finds, a bronze brooch (Fig. 5, 2) and a perforated oven brick were both from the north ring.

## THE ROMAN PERIOD

As stated above, the domestic occupation of the Roman period occurred mainly on the south or south-west side of the site.

Of all the pottery of this period collected from rubbish pits, ditches, or scattered surface finds, none can be dated earlier than the second century.<sup>1</sup> Therefore there would seem to have been a minimum gap of sixty years between the end of the Belgic and the beginning of the Roman occupation.

These later settlers dug very few extra ditches, but those they did dig seem to fit in with the Belgic layout of the enclosures. The Belgic ditches would then be nearly filled to the top with silt, although still discernible, and the Roman people did not clean them out. One of the two short lengths of ditch that end in the air was proved to be Roman and by implication the other is also. These may be animal-catching pens.

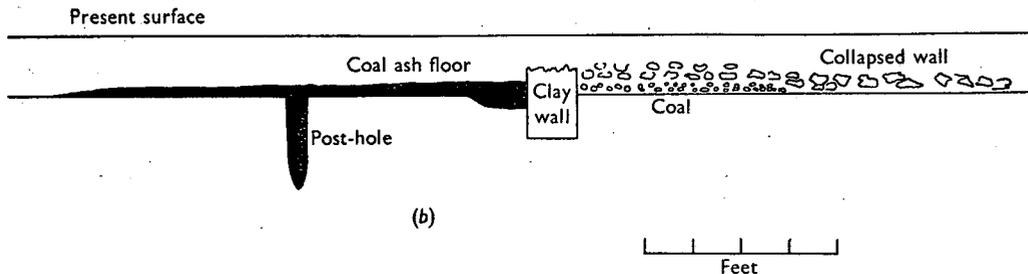


Fig. 3*b*. Actual section found.

In the Roman domestic occupation area were large patches of black ash and burnt gravel, and in nearby ditches and pits were pottery, metal slag, clay daub, wall plaster, iron nails, and both Collyweston and clay roof tiles. This material exemplified the difference between Belgic and Roman building methods; tiles, wall plaster and nails being quite absent in the former building area. The large number of oyster shells in the Roman levels showed a difference also in feeding habits.

## ROMAN CORN DRIERS?

In about the middle of the extreme south-west enclosure were two structures thought to be corn driers (Fig. 3). It has also been suggested that they were used for some form of metal work, but no signs of metal or metal slag were found near them, whereas 150 yards to the north was an area where metal slag and an iron metal ladle were found.

Unfortunately only one of these structures could be examined before it was destroyed. Even this one had a small part of one end dug away before I saw it and the other end was under a roadway in use at the time. It was a long narrow verandah-like building, 4 ft. 6 in. wide and at least 20 ft. long, with a north-west-south-east

<sup>1</sup> A stamped mortarium is described in Appendix II.

axis, and the open side facing south-west. On the north-east side was a clay wall 1 ft. thick and, although its original height was of course unknown, it spread 9 ft. from its base when it finally crumbled and fell away from the building. The front was open with posts (represented by post-holes) set about 1 ft. apart to support the roof. In the absence of tiles I assume the roof to have been of thatch. Along the foot of the clay wall, inside the building, was a narrow shallow trench quite filled by black ash. This ash had also spread, and been levelled, across the whole floor and more thinly outside the open front. Amongst it were several sherds of Roman pottery. The clay wall still stood a few inches high and on the inside was burnt red from the fire in the trench. If this building was indeed used for corn drying it perhaps contained tiers of racks where sheaves could be dried by sun, wind or artificial heat.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting fact about the building was that the fuel used in it was coal. Coal ash lay all over the floor and a layer of small lumps of unburnt coal, the remains of a heap stored at the back of the clay wall, had been sealed by the collapsed wall material. Samples of this coal were submitted to the National Coal Board who kindly offered to examine it. From their tests (see Appendix below) it is reasonably certain that it is not of east or west Midland origin but from a probable source in Northumberland or Durham.

#### THE BELGIC POTTERY

For the purpose of dating the earthworks it is perhaps sufficient to say that all the pottery appears to come within the range of Type B from Verulamium, dated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler A.D. 5-43.<sup>2</sup> It is not proposed here to describe and illustrate all the very large number of fragments found. They have been deposited at the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, and are available for study there. Some examples of interest appear in Fig. 4, 1-6, and the main types are briefly described below.

#### *Native Wares*

The commonest vessel was the olla (Fig. 4, 5), made of clay mixed with chalk and shell grit and burnt to any shade between black and brick red. It was probably made locally as similar vessels made of this material, but usually of inferior workmanship, were used throughout the Roman and Saxon periods in this area. The Belgic ollae are distinctive in having a decided inside lip to receive a lid. These were probably of wood as no pottery lids were found. Most ollae are quite plain, but a few have faint horizontal combing and others deeply incised grooves round the shoulder. One example has a hole pierced below the rim to enable a string to be threaded for suspension.

<sup>1</sup> This building would seem to have many features in common with the Faroe *sodnhús* (barley drying kiln) where heads of corn are dried on racks over a peat fire in a depression in the floor. Williamson, *The Atlantic Islands* (1948), p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of Research Committee of Society of Antiquaries*, vol. xi.

This does not seem to have been a common type at Verulamium, but was plentiful at the Felmersham Belgic site higher up the Ouse.<sup>1</sup>

Other common types are grey ware jars, both cordoned and with incised grooves below the neck (Fig. 4, 1, 6) and grey ware corn jars with bright red slip. There are also many sherds of small grooved bowls paralleled in the Snailwell burial<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 4, 2, 3).

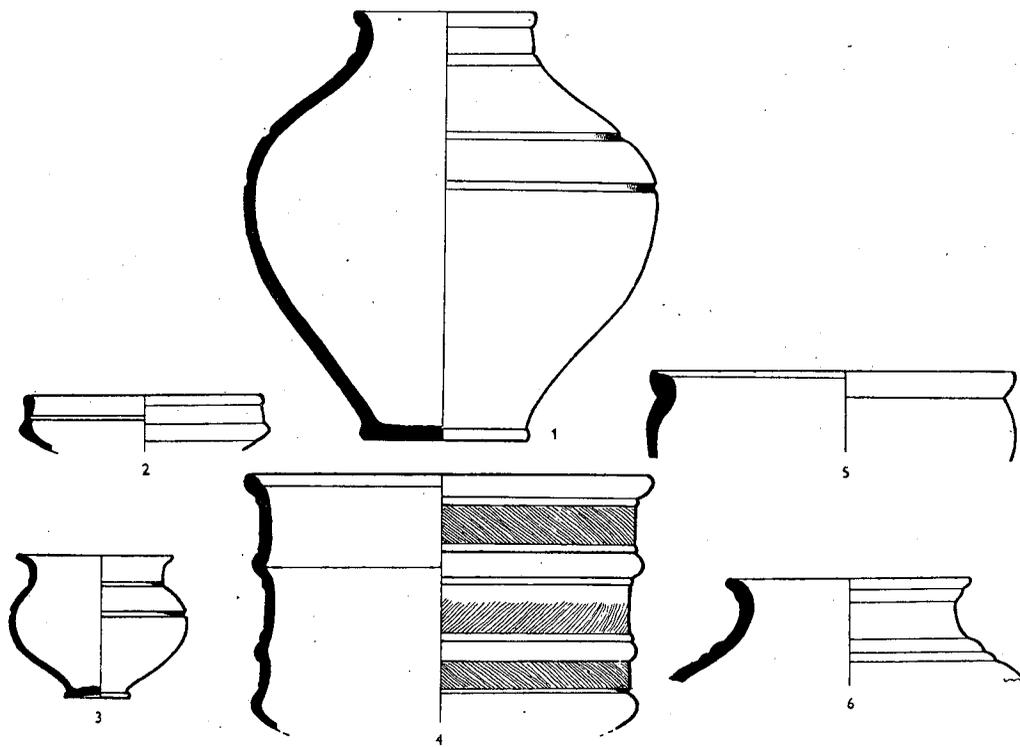


Fig. 4. Specimens of Belgic pottery from Wyboston. 1, Grey ware, wheel-turned cordoned jar, 1/4. 2, Grey ware, bell-shaped cup, imported, 1/4. 3, Light grey gritted ware, wheel-turned grooved bowl, native, 1/4. 4, Red outside, grey inside, wheel-turned, imported tazza, 1/4. 5, Hand-made olla of local brown shelly paste, 1/4. 6, Light red-brown shell grit paste cordoned jar, native, 1/4.

### Imported Wares

Wares thought to have been imported include sherds of *terra nigra* platters, Arretine bowls, and an amphora. Butt beakers of coarse grey ware with hatched ornament may have been native, but those of fine hard grey ware with red or yellow slip and rouletted finger nail impressions are almost certainly imported. They can again be compared with one from Snailwell.<sup>3</sup>

One striking vessel is a very large grey ware tazza with bright red slip and ornamented with diagonal hatching (see Fig. 4, 4). Several sherds have a design of burnished lozenge-shaped marks, and one flat piece, probably part of a base, is

<sup>1</sup> *Antiq. J.* vol. XXIX, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLVII (1954), p. 34, no. 53, 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLVII (1954), p. 34, no. 53, 14B.

marked on both sides with concentric circles crossed at intervals by radial lines resembling the face of a grandfather clock.

One *terra nigra* base has a ring foot and another an omphalos.

#### MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS OF THE BELGIC PERIOD

##### *Sling Bolt*

A biconical clay sling bolt was found near the bottom of ditch *A*. Although common at the Glastonbury Lake Village, this type is rare in eastern England.<sup>1</sup>

##### *Oven Brick*

Part of a pierced clay oven brick, as found at Verulamium, came from the northern ring ditch.

##### *Floor tiles*

A number of very fragmentary and badly fired bricks or floor tiles came from the bottom of ditch *A*. They are about an inch thick, but of uncertain size or shape. Similar tiles were found at Verulamium.

##### *Bronze Brooch (Fig. 5)*

The small bronze brooch from the northern ring ditch is of a type that at present I have been unable to parallel in this country. It could be classed as a La Tène III type.

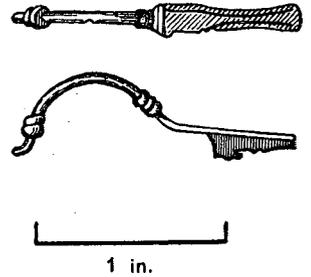


Fig. 5. Small bronze brooch, Belgic hut-site, Wyboston. (Exact parallel unknown.)

#### CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

We have here, as revealed by air photography, almost the complete layout of huts and enclosed fields of a farm of Belgic pioneers near the northern limit of their frontier at the time of the Claudian conquest.

The economy practised seems to have been mainly pastoral with a few acres of enclosed land, ditched and fenced against the domestic cattle roaming outside, and perhaps providing shelter and safety for them in the winter. The position chosen for the settlement was next the river but above normal floods, and nearby fords would enable the cattle to be easily driven across to the extensive water meadows on the other side.

The actual living area was surrounded by a wet ditch like the medieval manor and from this a planned pattern of small enclosures was laid out. The vicinity of the huts was kept clean and domestic rubbish deposited at a distance.

In the extensive Roman period settlements lower down the Ouse, from Godmanchester to St Ives, Belgic pottery has been found in small quantities at the lowest

<sup>1</sup> Mr Lethbridge tells me he found one at the Lord's Bridge Belgic site.

levels, but in the numerous Roman fen villages it is rare or absent. It would seem that Belgic penetration from the south had just reached the southern fen edge at the Claudian conquest, but had been established in north Bedfordshire for a decade or so. It is, therefore, all the more surprising to find that the well-known pattern of the Roman fen village—small square ditched enclosures attached to domestic sites—appears to have had its origin in the pre-Claudian Belgic farm.

Finds of the Iron Ages A and B are rare in the whole of Huntingdonshire and the Fens and it would seem likely that after the Roman conquest this sparsely populated area was heavily colonized by people of Belgic origin who laid out their settlements in traditional fashion. The settlement of these empty lands may well have been officially organized if we accept the theory that the area was an Imperial Estate.

The Wyboston farm did not survive the troubles of the Roman conquest and remained deserted for at least sixty years.

The re-occupation of the farm, after this long lapse, was apparently again by people of Belgic origin who used the old layout of enclosures with few alterations. They were, however, satisfied by shallow ditches and needed no wet moat round their superior timber-framed, tiled and plastered houses.

It seems evident that they, in contrast to the Belgic pioneers, were part of a national economic system. From their doorstep navigation was open to the sea, and some export, almost certainly corn, was shipped away in barges whose return loads included coal and oysters.

It is easy to imagine that the abandonment of the Car Dyke inland route to the north, at the close of the second century,<sup>1</sup> coincided with a safe coastwise passage from the Wash to north-east ports.<sup>2</sup> Corn, well dried to prevent deterioration in ships' holds, would be transhipped from barge to keel at a Wash port. Some economic expert had perhaps worked out that it was cheaper to employ men digging coal in Northumberland or Durham to ballast south bound vessels, and provide fuel for corn drying, etc., than to take men away from corn growing in the south to cut, cart and split firewood, or dig peat.

All finds from the excavations have been placed in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

Besides the names of those mentioned in the text I would add my grateful thanks to Mr W. Key for help in digging, to Mr B. R. Hartley for dating Roman pottery, and to Mr T. C. Lethbridge, M.A., F.S.A., who besides contributing drawings gave much good advice, the Air Ministry for permission to publish their photograph, and the National Coal Board Scientific Department for their analysis of the coal.

<sup>1</sup> Clark, 'Report on Excavations on the Cambridgeshire Car Dyke', *Antiq. J.* vol. xxix, pp. 145-63.

<sup>2</sup> There has been speculation as to whether the course of the river from Littleport to Southery was not cut at this time.

## APPENDIX I

Copy of report on coal submitted to Mr J. O'N. Millott, Chief Coal Survey Officer, National Coal Board, N.-W. Division, Scientific Department, Chester.

## COAL FROM ROMAN CORN DRYING SHED

We have now carried out some further tests on the small samples of coal you left with me. As a result of these we can be reasonably certain that the coal is not of west or east midlands origin. My suggestion in my letter to you of 6 October that it probably came from the north-east of Warwickshire no longer holds. Taking into account the fact that the coal has been at or near the surface for a matter of 2000 years its present rank is far too high for an original east or west midlands source. We feel that its most probable source is the Northumberland or Durham coal-fields and the data are not inconsistent with an origin from the Harvey seam of Durham or its equivalent in Northumberland, the Beaumont seam, the latter being most probable.

I am sorry that we cannot go further than this and I am sure that you will realize the difficulty of this type of detective work on a few fragments of coal.

## APPENDIX II

## MORTAR STAMP FROM WYBOSTON

On a hooked-rim mortarium resembling the work of Vorolas and Crico of South Carlton (Lincs.).<sup>1</sup> The core of the fabric is grey and the surface of the vessel pinkish, but this is probably due to later burning in an oxidizing atmosphere. The grit is sparse and of white and grey.

The stamp is in two lines:

? ) DIACUS

F?) II(C)IT

The second line should almost certainly be restored as FIICIT (for FECIT, as often) in which case the first line giving the potter's name in the nominative is probably incomplete. The number of the letters to be restored is doubtful as no certain parallel is known, though there is an incomplete retrograde stamp from Colchester<sup>2</sup> which reads DIA. . . .

It is hazardous in the extreme to date second-century mortaria on rim form alone, but the similarities to the work of the South Carlton potters could be taken to support an Antonine date of manufacture (c. A.D. 160-90).

K. F. HARTLEY

<sup>1</sup> *Antiq. J.* vol. xxiv, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Colchester Museum Report* (1931), p. 25.

## ROMANO-BRITISH HOARD FROM GODMANCHESTER

H. J. M. GREEN

THE most important find of the recent excavations at Godmanchester is a hoard of Romano-British jewellery and coins. The site is that of a large Roman building, probably the bath suite of an inn, of which preliminary accounts have already appeared<sup>1</sup> and which will be reported more fully in a subsequent volume of these *Proceedings*.

The hoard was found scattered amongst the rubble of a rubbish pit (Pit R. 4), which lay just outside the south front of the building. The pottery from this pit was fragmentary and varied widely in date. The latest pieces, however, are comparable with forms dating from the late third to the mid-fourth century from St Ives<sup>2</sup> and elsewhere. The third-century building evidently had been destroyed by fire during this period. Some of its broken window glass was found, together with other building rubbish in the pit. The pit may have been dug during the clearing up process after the disaster.

The composition of the hoard suggests that it was the contents of a woman's jewel box, although no such container was found. The various items differ widely in date, varying from a bronze brooch of perhaps the first or early second century to the gold pendant and chain which has Byzantine affinities. The coins range widely in date also, from a pierced copy of a Claudian as to an antoninianus of Allectus. Dr J. P. C. Kent states that on the evidence of the coins the deposit may be dated to c. A.D. 300 (not later), with some confidence. Of particular interest in this connection are the numerous barbarous radiates which appear to have circulated side by side with their prototypes during the late third century. Coins nos. 5, 4, 20, 23, 24 and 37 are illustrated to show the range of size (Pl. VI, row 5, nos. 1-6 respectively).

### THE JEWELLERY

1. Gold chain and pendant (Pl. VI, row 4, no. 4 upper; Pl. VII *a* and *b*).

The chain has double-loop links and a clasp of twisted wire. The pendant is set in a filigree border and has a sheet centre with rather crude repoussé designs. These are probably human masks, one of which seems to have been worked on a small separate piece of gold and then soldered on.

In the S. Vitale mosaics at Ravenna (before A.D. 547), the Empress Theodora is depicted as wearing similar ornaments.<sup>3</sup> These are suspended from an elaborate head-dress and pectoral.

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Cambs and Hunts Arch. Soc.* vol. VII, p. 72; *A.N.L.* vol. VI, no. 4.

<sup>2</sup> To be published shortly.

<sup>3</sup> A. Skira, *Byzantine Painting* (1953), p. 63.

Similar head-dresses were found in the 'Treasure of Priam' from Troy IIg. (c. 2300 B.C.)<sup>1</sup> indicating perhaps a long life for this type of jewellery in the eastern Mediterranean.

A shorter type of chain and pendant may have hung from brooches. A plain bronze example of this type was found in deposits of c. A.D. 200 at Leicester.<sup>2</sup> The Emperor Justinian is shown wearing such pendants, both in the S. Vitale mosaics<sup>3</sup> and in a large gold medallion (c. A.D. 534).<sup>4</sup>

2. Intaglio gem of nicolo (onyx) (Pl. VI, row 2, no. 4; Pl. VIIc, no. 2).

Ganymede stands to the right and feeds an eagle on a tree stump from a cup. A parallel nicolo intaglio is in the British Museum collection.<sup>5</sup>

3. Intaglio gem of devitrified glass with a blue surface (Pl. VI, row 2, no. 3; Pl. VIIc, no. 1). The figure is probably that of Mercury walking to the left and holding a money bag.

4. Intaglio gem of devitrified glass with a blue surface (Pl. VI, row 2, no. 5; Pl. VIIc, no. 3). Engraved with a draped female figure moving to the right.

5. Cameo(?) gem probably of devitrified glass with an external silver coating (Pl. VI, row 3, no. 4).

Corrosion has destroyed most of the decorated surface.

6. String of fifteen iridescent spun glass beads strung on a twisted bronze wire (four strands) (Pl. VI, row 1).

These beads may have been part of a necklace or perhaps the trimming to a garment, similar to those shown on the figures from the Christian paintings at Lullingstone (fourth century).<sup>6</sup>

7. Corroded bronze brooch with spring (Pl. VI, row 3, no. 3).

Probably an early example of Collingwood group G<sup>7</sup>—first and second centuries.

8. Five plain finger rings, four of bronze and one of silver (Pl. VI, row 2, nos. 1, 2 and 7 of bronze, no. 6 of silver).

No. 2 has a wire hoop, no. 1 has a ribbon hoop expanding at the bezel. The remainder have thin hoops, one of which is roughly decorated with a continuous pattern (not illustrated). Compare with similar late Roman examples in the London Museum.<sup>8</sup>

9. Broken bronze pin or perhaps stem of ligula with disc and knob ornament (Pl. VI, row 4, no. 4 lower).

Compare with an example from Leicester of c. A.D. 200–50.<sup>9</sup>

10. Six plain bone pins, three long and three short (Pl. VI, row 4, nos. 1–3 and 5–7).

A similar example to no. 1 was found in deposits of c. A.D. 220 at Leicester.<sup>10</sup>

11. Broken fragment of shale bracelet with diagonal grooving (Pl. VI, row 3, no. 5). Compare with a similar bracelet in the London Museum.<sup>11</sup>

This fragment may not, however, have been part of the hoard in view of its small size and the absence of the other pieces.

12. Two bronze fragments, perhaps centrally pierced bangles (Pl. VI, row 3, nos. 1 and 2).

<sup>1</sup> H. Schmidt, *Trojanische Altertümer* (1902), Beilage I.

<sup>2</sup> K. M. Kenyon, *Jewry Wall Report*, fig. 84, no. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Skira, *op. cit.* p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Greek and Roman Gems*, pl. xvii, no. 1286.

<sup>6</sup> G. W. Meates, *Lullingstone Roman Villa* (1955), p. 127.

<sup>7</sup> R. G. Collingwood, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain* (1930), p. 247.

<sup>8</sup> London Museum Catalogue, *London in Roman Times* (1946), p. 100, nos. 13–15.

<sup>9</sup> Kenyon, *op. cit.* fig. 89, no. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Kenyon, *op. cit.* fig. 90, no. 7.

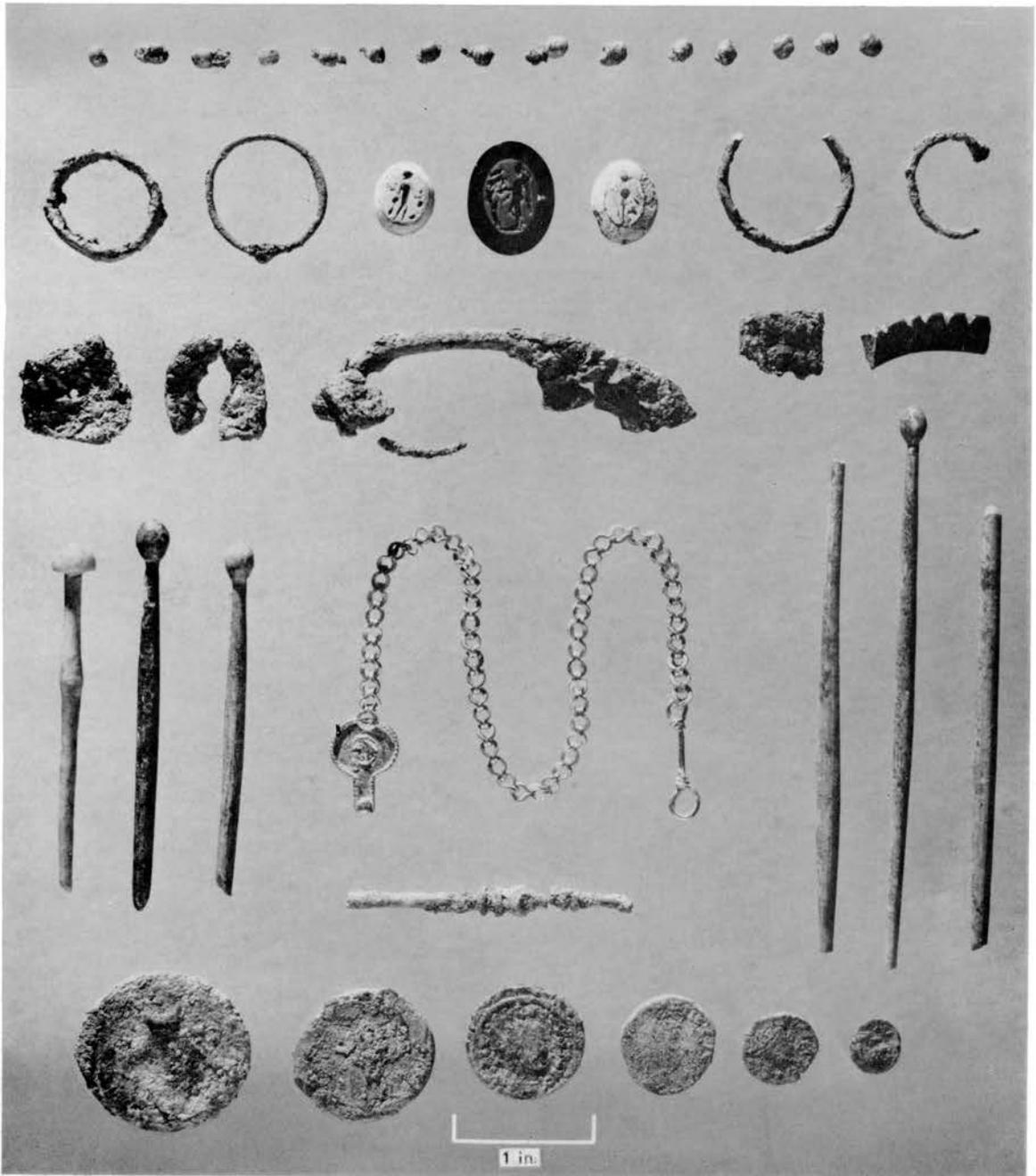
<sup>11</sup> *London in Roman Times* (1946), pl. xl, no. 1.

## THE COINS

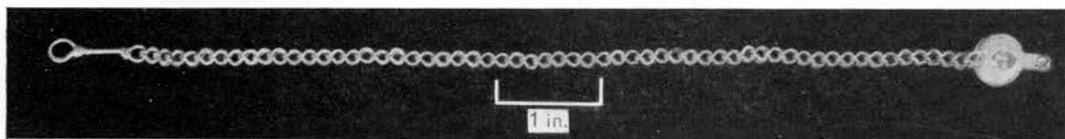
No.	Denomination	Emperor	Reference	Preservation	A.D. issue date	Notes
1	As	Copy of Claudius		Very worn	41 +	Pierced for suspension
2	Dup.	Claudius or Nero		Very worn	41-68	Grooved, probably bitten
3	As	Domitian		Worn	81-96	
4	Dup.	Faustina I	Cohen 100	Worn	141-61	
5	Sest.	Commodus		Worn	184-8	Rev. Moneta or Aequitas
6	As	Salonina		Worn	259-68	
7	Ant.	Postumus?	Cohen 352/3	Fair, clipped	259-67	
8	Ant.	Victorinus	Cohen 90	Fair, clipped	268-70	
9	Ant.	Victorinus	Cohen 118	Good	268-70	
10	Ant.	Tetricus I	Cohen 101	Obverse good, reverse worn	270-3	
11	Ant.	Tetricus I	Cohen 112	Worn, corroded	270-3	
12	Ant.	Tetricus I	Cohen 111	Worn, chipped	270-3	
13	Ant.	Tetricus I	Cohen 163	Fair	270-3	
14	Ant.	Tetricus I	Cohen 39	Fair	270-3	
15	Ant.	Tetricus II	Cohen 19	Fair, clipped	270-3	
16	Ant.	Claudius II	Cohen 201	Worn	268-70	
17	Ant.	Claudius II		Worn, corroded	268-70	
18	Ant.	Claudius II		Very worn, and clipped	268-70	
19	Ant.	Carausius	Cohen 203, R.I.C. 313	Worn	287-93	Colchester mint
20	Ant.	Allectus	Cohen 82	Good	293-6	Colchester mint
21	Barb. rad.	Postumus	Copy of Cohen 167	Fair, clipped	259 +	diam. 22 mm.
22	Barb. rad.	Victorinus		Worn, corroded	268 +	diam. 16 mm.
23	Barb. rad.	Tetricus II	Copy of Cohen 34	Fair	270 +	diam. 16 mm.
24	Barb. rad.	Tetricus II		Fair, clipped	270 +	diam. 13 mm.
25	Barb. rad.	Tetricus II		Worn, corroded	270 +	diam. 13 mm.
26	Barb. rad.	Claudius II	Copy of Cohen 50	Worn, corroded	270 +	diam. 12 mm.
27	Barb. rad.	Rev. type, Laetitia		Fair, corroded	Late 3rd cent.	diam. 15 mm.
28	Barb. rad.	Rev. type, Salus		Worn, clipped	Late 3rd cent.	diam. 15 mm.
29	Barb. rad.	Rev. type, Salus		Fair	Late 3rd cent.	diam. 15 mm.
30	Barb. rad.	Rev. type, Invictus		Fair	Late 3rd cent.	diam. 9 mm.
31	Barb. rad.	Rev. type, Invictus		Worn, corroded	Late 3rd cent.	diam. 12 mm.
32	Barb. rad.	Rev. type, Invictus		Worn, clipped	Late 3rd cent.	diam. 15 mm.
33	Barb. rad.	Rev. type, Pax?		Worn, corroded	Late 3rd cent.	diam. 12 mm.
34	Barb. rad.	Rev. type, Pax?		Corroded, clipped	Late 3rd cent.	diam. 16 mm.
35	Barb. rad.	Rev. type, Pax		Fair	Late 3rd cent.	diam. 13 mm.
36	Barb. rad.	Rev. type, Spes		Worn	Late 3rd cent.	diam. 14 mm.
37	Barb. rad.	Double headed type		Corroded, chipped	Late 3rd cent.	diam. 9 mm.
38-50	Barb. rad.			Worn, corroded	Late 3rd cent.	diam. 12-15 mm.
51-60	Barb. rad.			Worn, corroded	Late 3rd cent.	diam. 7-10 mm.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am indebted to Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Mr J. W. Brailsford for examining the hoard; to Dr J. P. C. Kent for his report on the coins and to Dr G. F. Claringbull and Miss A. Sweet for analysing the intaglio gems. I also wish to thank Mrs A. Conington and Mr and Mrs B. Conington for permission to excavate and for their help. Finally, I am grateful to Miss D. H. Woodforde, Mr C. M. Coote, Mr P. Davies, Dr J. R. Garrod, Mr W. Powell and Mr C. F. Tebbutt for advice and help at different stages of the work.



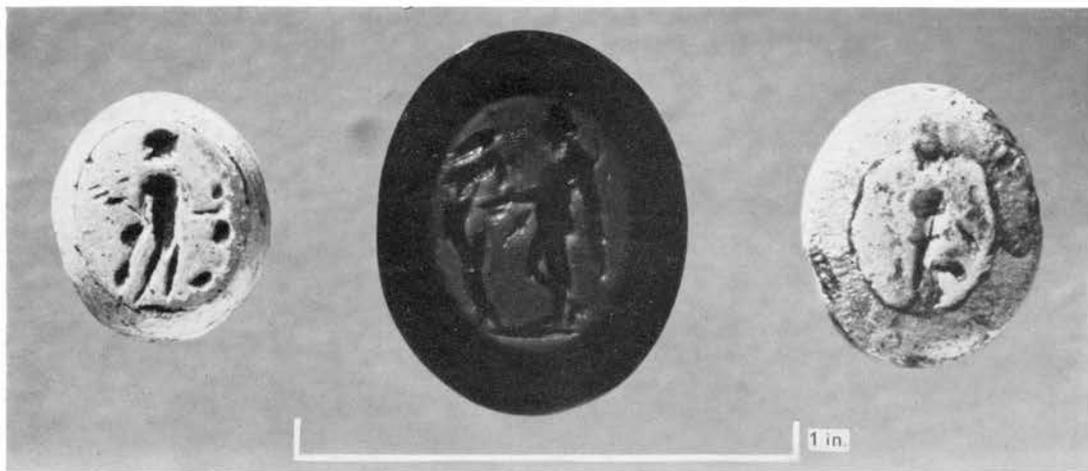
The Godmanchester hoard.



*a.* Gold chain and pendant.



*b.* Enlargement of pendant.



*c.* Intaglio gems.

The Godmanchester Hoard.

## MEDIEVAL GRAVESTONES OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE, HUNTINGDONSHIRE AND THE SOKE OF PETERBOROUGH

L. A. S. BUTLER, B.A.

THE careful work devoted to Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship in the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon by Sir Cyril Fox has made familiar to students the intricate patterns of a thousand or more years ago.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this article is to present a similar study of the medieval gravestones which are a continuation of this art, but which also reveal the emergence of new forms. It seems possible to go beyond a simple description of the varied styles of the gravestones: they can be placed in a datable sequence, the use of different stones is a commentary on local trade conditions, and the final results of the survey show that this form of monumental craftsmanship existed in many minor schools throughout the medieval period.

The commonest type of cross-slab or coffin-lid found in the Cambridge region is 5 to 6 ft. long, slightly tapering, usually coped and with a raised geometric or floral design. The coffins which such lids covered were generally of wood in a stoneless area, but when they were of stone they would taper to the foot and be shaped at the head, internally, as at Meldreth or Swavesey. Sometimes the coffin was placed completely above ground, as a table tomb or standing in some recess in the church, as may be seen at Hildersham or Little Chishill. It was inconvenient for the coped lid to form part of the pavement of the church, and for this reason most slabs were placed in the churchyard and have only been brought indoors for preservation at a later date.

Some slabs lost their patterns, in part or completely, as a result of exposure to weather. For a few, an impression of their original design may be gained from similar slabs, or they may have been sketched by nineteenth-century antiquarians. Others are but fragments incorporated in buttresses, or as door-sills, and photographs would not do justice to their design. To overcome these difficulties, the use of drawings enables the illustrations to be presented to a uniform scale and with the relevant details clear. Examples are occasionally quoted of gravestones now destroyed, but illustrated in church notes and architectural manuals of a century or more ago; such collections may fill the gaps in the development of a pattern, but their selection has been haphazard and other gaps must be filled by reference to slabs outside the region.

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XXIII (1921), pp. 15ff.; also *V.C.H. Cambs.* vol. I, pp. 321-2 and *V.C.H. Hunts.* vol. I, p. 279.

The area under consideration includes the Soke of Peterborough, because it was at Barnack or nearby that the oolitic limestone for the majority of local cross-slabs was quarried, and so trade conditions prevalent in the other two counties also apply to this division. No stone suitable for monumental carving was to be found in Cambridge. The position of the Barnack group of quarries relative to the system of Fenland waterways guaranteed an easy disposal of its products throughout East Anglia. A school of craftsmen had existed in that area in Anglo-Saxon times. When discussing eleventh-century slabs in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, Sir Cyril Fox spoke of an impoverished style and a limited range of design.<sup>1</sup> The interlaced panels of typical Saxon work suggest a high degree of carving skill, but the conception of bold new patterns is absent. The ability to carve the intricate knotwork seems to have been lost around the time of the Conquest, and the earliest post-Conquest designs are only diagonal shapes capable of conversion to a Maltese type of cross. Two slabs at Barnack and at Upwell are isolated examples in this area of a pattern also found in North Lincolnshire on stones of similar date.<sup>2</sup>

However, the influence of pre-Conquest work did not easily disappear. The motif of a cross *patée* in a circle at both ends of the shaft can be seen on examples from before the Conquest at Willingham, and after it at Oakington and Trumpington. The cross-arm which tapers slightly to its junction with the centre rib is found on slabs at Little Shelford; one of these is certainly Saxon, the others may be compared with a post-Conquest slab at Barnack. A small group of twelfth-century slabs (Fig. 1, 1)<sup>3</sup> have the splayed cross-arm accentuated by finely-drawn lines, and the head and the base are of a diamond shape likewise incised; horizontal ridging of this type occurs at Bassingbourn, Paston, Rampton and Wood Walton (Fig. 1, 2).

A characteristic of widespread distribution was the U-shaped foot separating the cross-bars at head and foot from the rest of the pattern. It is to be seen on two Saxon slabs from Cambridge Castle site (now in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge). Parallels to these occur as far apart as Ramsbury in Wiltshire and Howell in Kesteven.<sup>4</sup> The latter slab is possibly of the twelfth century, and may be compared to slabs at Castor and Ufford, and to a lost one from Chesterton (Cambs).<sup>5</sup> Slightly later is a tombstone in the grounds of Anglesey Priory with a double omega ornament and a step base. Similar to the axe-type head at Castor is a slab at Stilton, but these slabs are the only examples of this pattern within the region: nevertheless, they are of value for the light they throw on the continuance of an Anglo-Saxon typology.

By the middle of the twelfth century the various Saxon influences combined to make prominent a few set types. Their distinguishing characteristic was a coped ridge which runs from head to foot, emerging from above the cross at the head and

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. xxiii, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. J.* vol. LXXXIII (1926), pp. 3 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Slabs of this type may be seen at Helpston, Maxey, Paston, Stapleford, Waterbeach; also at Whaplode (Lincs.).

<sup>4</sup> *V.C.H. Cambs. ibid.*; *Arch. J.* vol. LXXXIII, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> J. Boutell, *MSS. notes*, vol. II, p. 161 (in library of Downing College, Cambridge).

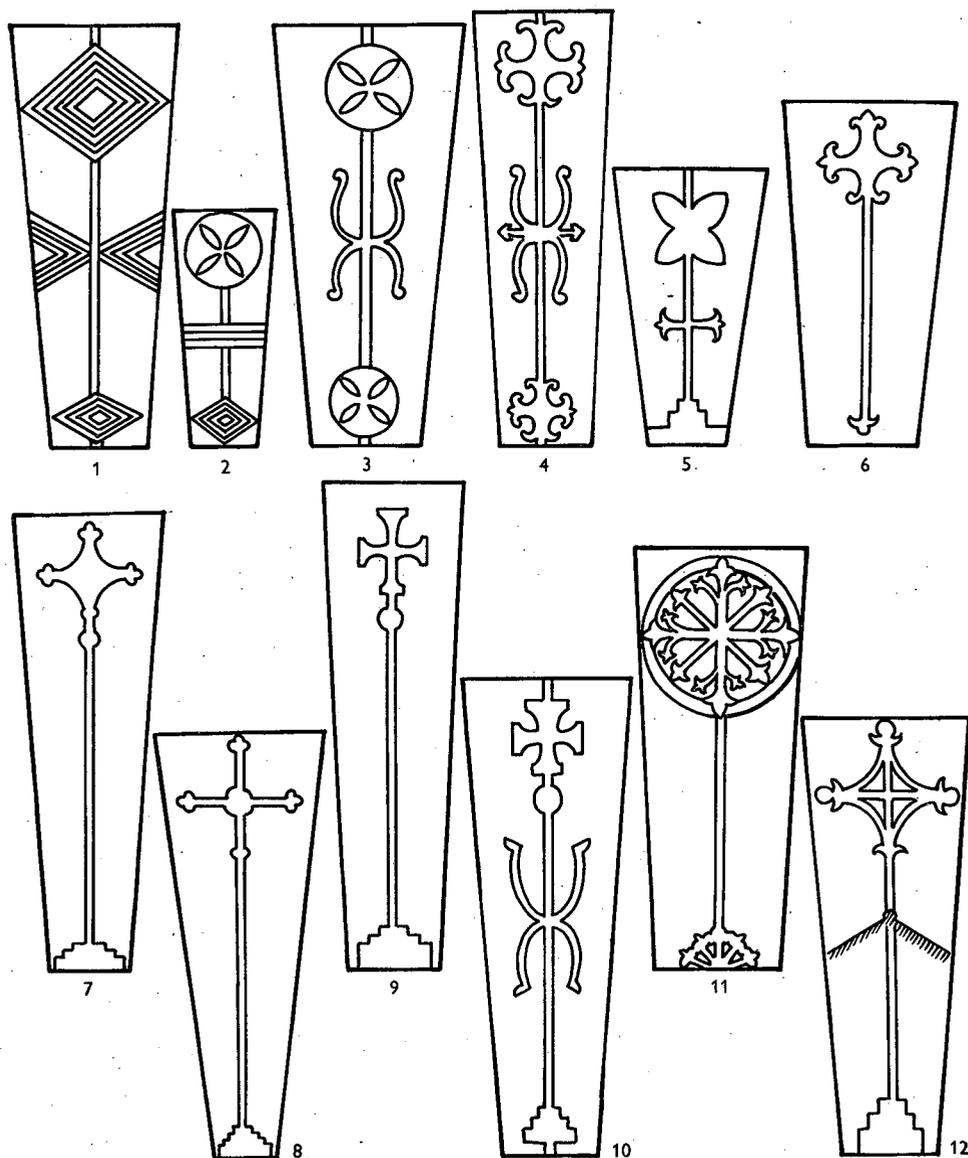


Fig. 1. 1, Waterbeach. Barnack School. Late eleventh century; 2, Wood Walton. Barnack School. Late eleventh century; 3, Little Shelford. Barnack School. Late twelfth century; 4, Spaldwick. Barnack School. Mid-thirteenth century; 5, Barnack. Of Barnack stone. Late thirteenth century; 6, Fen Ditton. Of Barnack stone. Late thirteenth century; 7, Hildersham. Purbeck School. Fourteenth century. 8, Melbourn. Local imitation of Purbeck style. Fourteenth century; 9, Landwade. Purbeck School. Late thirteenth century; 10, Pidley. Local imitation of Purbeck style (Barnack work). Late thirteenth century; 11, Yelling. Cambridge School. Of Barnack stone. Mid-late fourteenth century; 12, Chesterton. Cambridge School. Of Barnack stone. Mid-late fourteenth century. (Scale of 3 and 4 =  $\frac{2}{3}$  in. to 1 ft.; remainder 1 in. to 1 ft.)

below the cross or three uneven steps at the base. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries this is the basic design around which later developments grew. The simplest pattern had only this median rib extending from head to foot—as at Barnack or Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge. More usual was a plain cross-arm found at Great Stukeley, Gamlingay, Great Wilbraham, Barnack and Yaxley. There are seven slabs outside the south transept of Peterborough Cathedral with this plain cross-arm placed near the head of the slab. The later reproductions of this type at Keyston and Great Wilbraham are of more artistic work. The combination of cross bar at the head and a cross *patée* in a circle at the base is met with only once, at Emneth, but that coffin lid is important for showing how the earlier form of cross was likely to develop into a 'block-ended' type at Barnack, Bourne, Oakington and St Benet's, Cambridge.<sup>1</sup>

The commonest form, found on seventy slabs in the region, was the cross *patée* in a circle—the geometric head (Fig. 1, 3). The circle might be repeated at both ends of the shaft, as in Anglo-Saxon examples, and perhaps be placed on the middle of the shaft as well.<sup>2</sup>

The double omega or ribbon ornament is a decoration found widely in the area, but for it no adequate explanation has yet been given.<sup>3</sup> The examples illustrated (Fig. 2) might elucidate the origins of this ornament, which seems peculiar to the Barnack carvers. Was it a conventionalized knotwork panel, become so meagre as to be almost unintelligible on an early twelfth-century slab from Cambridge?<sup>4</sup> Was it a development from the centre cross-arm, splaying out to a saltire shape—a shape still maintained at Meldreth? As the century progresses, much of the rigidity of form is lost; the foot of the omega sometimes assumes a loose ribbon end, or becomes curly. The centre cross-bar returns often as a dart, arrow-head or trefoil. Although most double omegas are on coffin-lids of a geometric type, the last five illustrated are found on slabs with a floral pattern.

The geometric style was prevalent in the twelfth century, and the transition to a floral 'round-leaf' pattern took place early in the thirteenth century. A slab at Croxton shows the circle head replaced by four small circles on a diamond, while at Marholm, north of Peterborough, the circles have become a 'round-leaf' cross although the base is still the large circle with four leaf-shaped incisions. This head (Fig. 1, 4) is the standard type found on ninety slabs in the region. Sometimes the head shows a greater affinity to a diamond background, but in other cases the cross is emphasized. These slabs are of raised workmanship, as are all but the earliest Barnack products.

A fragment of cross-head at Boxworth is, therefore, unusual in that it is incised. The pattern of head has an exact local parallel at Weston Colville, but the method of

<sup>1</sup> Slab at Oakington: see E. L. Cutts, *A Manual for the Study of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages* (1849), pl. XLV.

<sup>2</sup> Slabs at Horningsea and Trumpington, *op. cit.* pl. LIII.

<sup>3</sup> Cutts, *op. cit.* pp. 44-5, suggests chest hinges or processional cross-ribbons.

<sup>4</sup> Excavated from Cambridge Town Hall site in 1781: W. Cole, *MSS.* vol. XII, fol. 148b.

carving may be compared to work in the east midlands.<sup>1</sup> The stone itself was quarried in the Raunds area, but it will need a careful search to find parallels to this slab in mid-Northamptonshire.

During the thirteenth century the curling 'round-leaf' became more elongated and leaf-like; the three slabs in this style, at Fulbourn, Milton and Waterbeach, must be the work of one carver. Two slabs at Chesterton (Cambs.) and a third at Weston Colville tend towards a fleur-de-lis termination. The introduction of the fleur-de-lis during the thirteenth century may be seen in two unusual half-sized slabs (Fig. 1, 5, 6): the one at Barnack has a pattern still close to traditional models, and it seems probable that the other at Fen Ditton was also carved there.

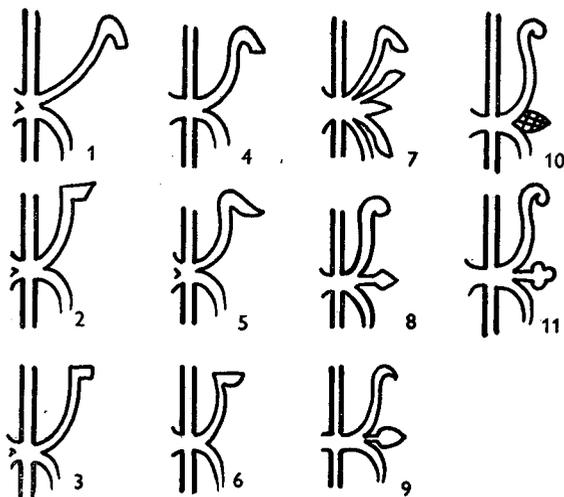


Fig. 2. Forms of 'double omega' used by Barnack School. Twelfth and thirteenth centuries. 1, Meldreth; 2, Gamlingay; 3, Barnack; 4, Sawtry; 5, Catworth; 6, Morborne; 7, Stanground; 8, Steeple Gidding; 9, Cambridge, St Benet; 10, Wansford; 11, Caldecote (Hunts).

Before considering the fleur-de-lis types of the fourteenth century, another group of slabs—the Purbeck marble work—must be examined. Ten coffin-lids are known from Cambridgeshire: six remain in parish churches, but four are only found in the notes of the antiquary, William Cole. Their designs are very slightly raised, the lids are usually flat, and their beauty lies in the finely-carved edge mouldings which contrast greatly with the roughly-finished, straight-sided Barnack tombs.

The Purbeck school was at the height of its production from the reign of Henry II, but it was fifty years later before the work reached the Cambridge area. Probably the earliest example is a base from Barnwell, a shaft issuing from a dragon's head.<sup>2</sup> At March and Meldreth the pattern is of five linked crosses.<sup>3</sup> This does not seem so attractive as the trefoil type—the heraldic cross *botonée*—to be seen at Hildersham

<sup>1</sup> As at Finningley, Notts. (*Thoroton Soc. Trans.* vol. LVI (1952), p. 25, pl. 1e).

<sup>2</sup> Now lost; see Cole, *MSS.* vol. XVIII, fol. 137b; also in S. Sandars' additions to Lysons' *Magna Britannia (Cambs.)*, f. 686 (in Cambridge University Library).

<sup>3</sup> Slabs at March and Meldreth: see *Monumental Inscriptions and Coats of Arms from Cambridgeshire* (ed. W. M. Palmer, 1932), plate 1, figs. 4, 3.

(Fig. 1, 7), Stretham and Duxford St John's. Some local craftsman gained inspiration from the trefoil pattern to produce that gravestone in Melbourn churchyard, which, though of Barnack stone, is quite alien to Barnack style (Fig. 1, 8). Such imitation was not unusual: at Pidley in Huntingdonshire (Fig. 1, 10) may be seen an adaptation of another marble pattern to the Barnack tradition; the elements from Barnack are the continuous shaft, the double omega and the three step base; from a slab at Landwade is copied the shape of the head, the ball on the shaft beneath it and the flat surface of the lid (Fig. 1, 9).

Evidence that the Nene valley craftsmen converted these characteristics into a local style is provided by a slab at Yaxley. A reddish marble-like limestone from Alwalton is used; the continuous shaft is abandoned for one which stops short at the cross-head; the steps of the base are still uneven, but the head is similar to patterns found in Dorset;<sup>1</sup> the edge moulding is a double chamfer in contrast to Barnack plainness. There is a fragment at Great Stukeley of the same type, but if any more slabs were carved in this style they have been lost without record. These two examples show sufficiently well how the local mason could competently reproduce a superior design.

The early fourteenth century was a decisive period in the development of local medieval gravestones. The Purbeck models no longer gave impetus to local carvers, since brasses had become fashionable and the 'blue stone' was only quarried for matrices and architectural work. The Barnack quarries were, at this time, experiencing a recession in production. The craftsmen seem to have given up the large-scale output of the previous century, when over 2000 grave slabs were dispersed throughout East Anglia and the East Midlands. This average of twenty a year argues for a specialist body of permanent carvers, besides the considerable labour force working upon all the building stone hewn, shaped and finished in the Barnack area. The change of direction in the flow of the main Fenland rivers at about the same period also limited the supply of Barnack stone to Cambridgeshire.<sup>2</sup>

In light of these changing conditions, the monopoly held by Barnack in the field of supply and stone-carving was weakened. For the first time since the Conquest, Cambridge appears to have had a monumental mason's yard. In artistic appeal its products surpass earlier Barnack work. The 'round-leaf' cross becomes a clustered head at Orwell and Chippenham; the double omega is replaced by shoots midway up the shaft, as may also be seen at Lolworth.<sup>3</sup> The flower shoots sprout all the way on either side of the shaft at Barnwell and Hildersham, but this design was not peculiar to the Cambridge neighbourhood.<sup>4</sup> There are two similar slabs from Long Stow of

<sup>1</sup> As at Wareham and Corfe on the Isle of Purbeck.

<sup>2</sup> D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Mediaeval Mason* (1949), chs. III, IV *passim*; T. D. Atkinson, *Local Style in English Architecture*, ch. vi *passim*; H. C. Darby, *The Medieval Fenland*, pp. 96-106; Gordon Fowler, 'Extinct Waterways of the Fens', *Geog. J.* vol. LXXXIII (1934), map p. 32, *et passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Slab at Lolworth: see Cutts, *op. cit.* pl. LIX.

<sup>4</sup> Two slabs at Whittlesey and one at Emneth with this decoration are on dark brown car-stone, and are difficult to classify without further investigation (Sandars, *op. cit.* f. 1407; *The Builder*, vol. LV (1888), p. 268). There are examples in this style at Barnack and Castor: not a large 'group'. At Morborne and Yaxley (Fig. 3, 1) earlier slabs with double omegas have floral darts.

stone from Weldon (between Thrapston and Uppingham), and their design has parallels in Northamptonshire. The only other example of this stone used locally for gravestones is a half-sized slab at Barham, 4 miles north of Long Stow.

The Barnack group of carvers broke less easily from the traditional pattern of continuous shaft and double omega. The cross-head with six or eight cardinal points was the first step. The rose decoration gave new interest as at Yaxley (fig. 3, 1). On the very fine slab at Warboys the roses appear to be the only link with the past: its inscription is illegible, but seems to be of the late fourteenth century; it has a flat surface, in contrast to the group of contemporary tombs at Cambridge (Fig. 3, 2).

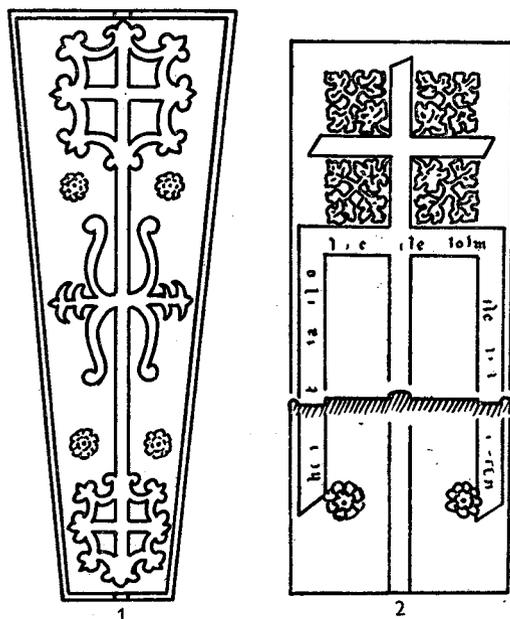


Fig. 3. 1, Yaxley. Of Barnack stone. Mid-late fourteenth century; 2, Warboys. Of Barnack stone. Mid-late fourteenth century. (Scale: 1 in. to 1 ft.)

It is difficult to identify the stone used for the slab at Yelling (Fig. 1, 11): it may be from north Bedfordshire where similar work exists at Odell and Harrold, or else from Barnack and have been carved by a Cambridge mason. The latter group had, however, left the floral designs in favour of simple fleur-de-lis on steeply coped tombs, as in Chesterton churchyard near Cambridge (Fig. 1, 12).<sup>1</sup>

The local clunch, quarried at Barrington, Cherry Hinton and Burwell, was only suitable for interior decorative carving, but three examples are known of its use for gravestones. One, at Great St Mary's in Cambridge, was noted by Cole. The other two are at Barrington with simple Latin crosses and the pattern inlaid in pitch; both are worn, with defaced border inscriptions (if they ever bore any lettering at all).

<sup>1</sup> There were seven other slabs with similar fleur-de-lis heads at Chesterton: see J. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in England and Wales* (1786), vol. 1, Introd. p. cix, pl. III; Relham, *MSS. drawings*, pls. 113-16 (in library of Cambridge Antiquarian Society); ed. Palmer 1932, *ibid.* pl. 1, figs. 16-18.

The symbols of a mason, the square and compasses, appear on one slab. The practice of depicting the trade of the deceased was common in the North, but is only encountered twice in this region: at Peterborough there is a book, the Gospels, for a priest or deacon, and on a lost slab at Abington Pigotts there was an axe for a forester.<sup>1</sup>

Fifteenth-century work on Barnack stone was in a cusped style which seems ponderous and ill-proportioned; its rosettes and the oblique terminations are debased characteristics from the slab at Warboys. Examples are found at Southoe, Old Weston and Catworth, while slightly later slabs may be seen at Fletton (two), Wistow, Hemingford Grey, Peterborough and Tydd St Giles.<sup>2</sup>

Contemporary work at Lolworth<sup>3</sup> has the pattern incised on an unidentified Northamptonshire stone; the lines would have been filled in with pitch or lead. This technique in the first half of the century, both here and on clunch at Barrington, heralds a group of fifteen rectangular grave-slabs of Ketton stone. They are a compact group in the Nene valley: on the Huntingdonshire side at Chesterton, Orton Longueville, Botolphbridge and Stanground; on the northern bank at Peterborough, Maxey, Paston, Helpston, Ufford and Thornhaugh. The majority have border inscriptions later than 1450. The patterns are ornate combinations of a fleur-de-lis type, the common characteristic is a single line shaft. Slightly different is the latest slab in the region—at Dullingham.<sup>4</sup> The pattern is incised, but the border of stencil-like semi-circles is most unusual. It commemorates one of the North family who died early in the sixteenth century. Although it is of Ketton stone, its style is distinct from this previous group, and it may be a late product of the Cambridge school.

The survey has now covered four centuries of monumental art and it is possible to draw some conclusions concerning the direction of trade within this area. The first map (Map 1) shows the distribution of slabs in geometric and allied designs, all dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The grouping 'Barnack school' seems feasible, because it was mainly at Barnack that the stone was quarried; existing building accounts, as at Ramsey and Ely,<sup>5</sup> reveal that considerable quantities of stone were ordered from Barnack for the Fenland abbeys and castles. Forty cross-slabs of this early period may be seen in Barnack churchyard; presumably they were carved in or near the village; when gravestones of similar design are found in fifty more churches in the region, there seems little doubt that these slabs were also carved at Barnack.

The pattern of distribution is regular: no longer is there the Anglo-Saxon concen-

<sup>1</sup> Lost slab at Great St Mary's: see Cole, *MSS.* vol. ix, f. 46; Sandars, *op. cit.* f. 756; at Barrington and at Abington Pigotts: see ed. Palmer 1932 *ibid.* pl. 1, figs. 5, 10; a worn slab at Yaxley may have had a chalice and book for a priest.

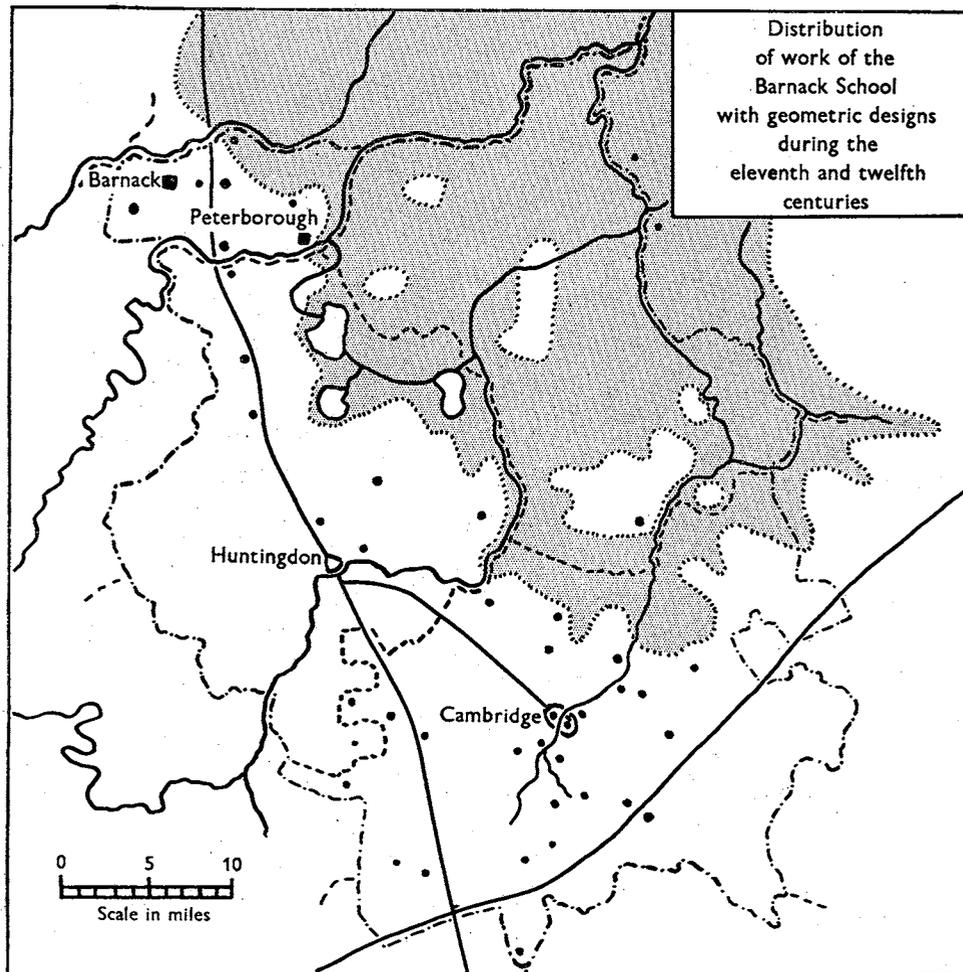
<sup>2</sup> Slab at Wistow: see Cutts, *op. cit.* pl. LII\*; at Tydd: see Gough, *op. cit.* vol. II, Introd. p. ccxlvii, pl. XVIII, fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Slabs at Lolworth: see Cutts, *op. cit.* pls. xxiv, xxvi.

<sup>4</sup> Slab at Dullingham: see Cutts, *op. cit.* pl. xxx.

<sup>5</sup> *Cartulary of Ramsey* (1884-93), Rolls series, vol. III, p. 142. F. R. Chapman, *Sacrist Rolls of Ely, passim.*

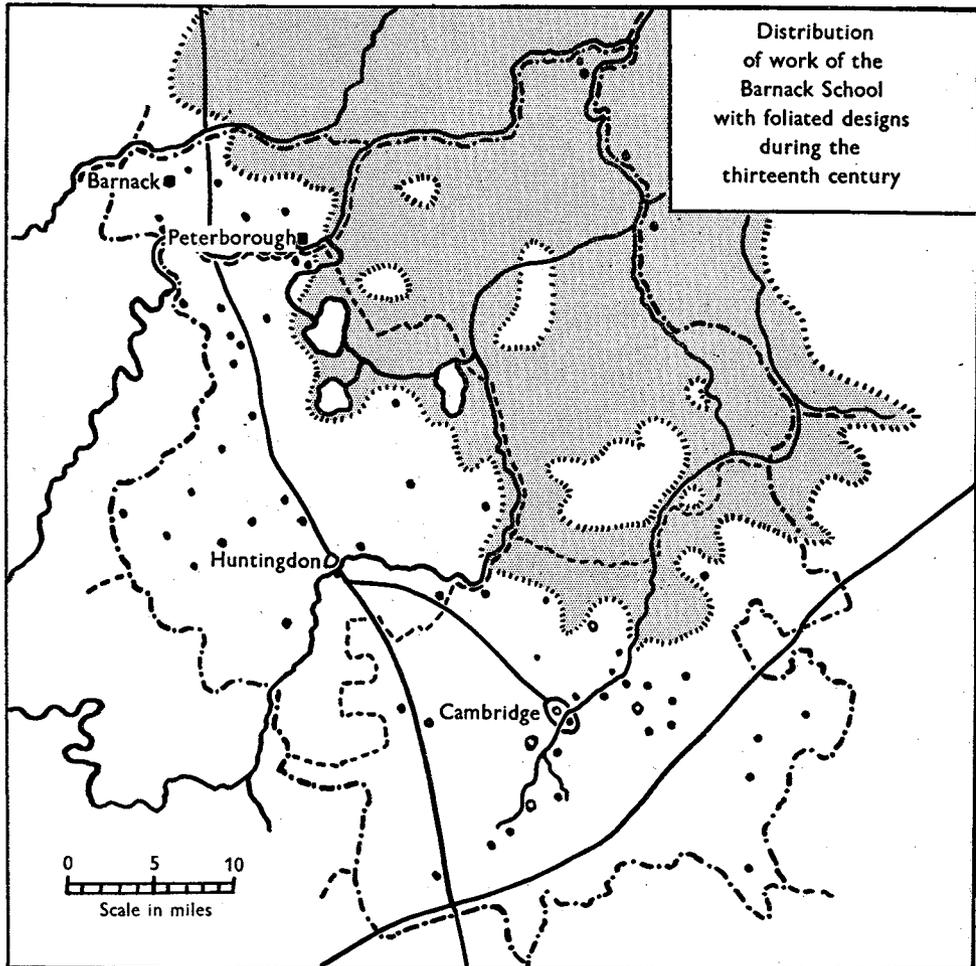
tration around Peterborough and Cambridge that Fox discovered. Three areas are noticeably empty: Huntingdonshire west of the Ermine Street, the silt fen north of Ely, and the eastern Cambridgeshire heights. When the late twelfth- and thirteenth-century map (Map 2) is studied, some change has occurred in these three districts. In west Huntingdonshire is the increase in cross-slabs most evident. This expansion



Map 1. Fen area is shaded.

of trade accompanied the clearance of the Brunesswald, or Forest of Bromswold, and the growth of Huntingdon as a minor centre of distribution. The thirteenth century was a period of fen colonization, which extended into the Norfolk Marshland where coffin-lids of similar date occur. If the purchase of cross-slabs is a reliable indication of wealth, there was a corresponding rise in prosperity in the villages on the fen margins, though the Isle of Ely itself provides no similar evidence. The occurrence of cross-slabs in Cambridgeshire's upland villages might argue for a road development parallel to that already presupposed in the south-west of the county. This expansion

was aided by the network of rivers, dykes and lodes, which enabled boatmen to sail or pole their flat-bottomed barges or 'shutes' to within a few miles of their destination. The many complaints against fish-weirs and mill races confirm that the rivers were in constant use, not only to convey stone, but to transport numerous goods to the fairs of Stourbridge, St Ives and Reach. From their 'quay' on the



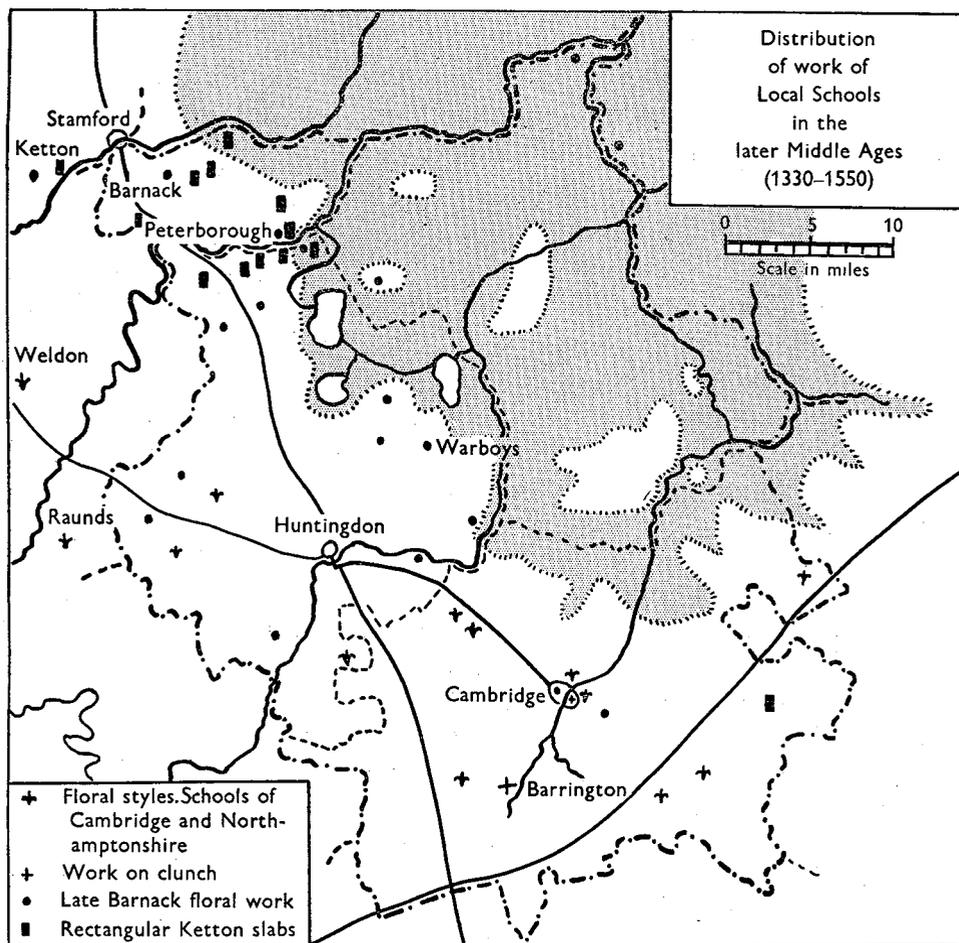
Map 2. Fen area is shaded. Lost slabs are shown by open circles.

Nene at Gunwade, the Barnack quarrymen could rapidly dispatch their products inland up the Ouse or the Cam, or downstream to the Wash and Norfolk coast ports.<sup>1</sup>

The Purbeck gravestones were carved in Dorset, and then dispersed by coastal shipping, similar to the export of Cornish roofing slate at the same period and by the

<sup>1</sup> L. F. Salzman, *English Industries of the Middle Ages* (1923), ch. v; H. C. Darby, *The Medieval Fenland*, pp. 96-106; R. A. Pelham, in Darby's *Historical Geography of England*, pp. 260-5; J. F. Willard, 'Inland Transportation in England during the fourteenth century', *Speculum*, vol. 1 (1926), p. 371.

same means.<sup>1</sup> It seems most likely that the coffin-lids and early cross-brasses destined for Cambridgeshire would be unloaded at London. Then they would travel by barge up the river Lea to Ware and finish the journey by cart, passing through the Chesterford gap. The frequent appearance of Purbeck cross-slabs in Hertfordshire and western Essex, and the occurrence of early brasses only in the



Map 3. Fen area is shaded.

south of the region, would suggest a traffic through London rather than the longer journey around the Norfolk coast. The slabs at March, Strettham and Haddenham might well have completed the last stage by river from Cambridge, or else the coastal route was used.

By the late medieval period the problems of transport had been largely overcome, and the pattern is now of local groupings. The slackening of demand for gravestones

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Jope and G. C. Dunning, 'The Use of Blue Slate for Roofing in Medieval England', *Antiq. Journ.* vol. xxxiv (1954), pp. 209ff.

of this type is apparent, since the third map (Map 3) has far fewer examples to a span of two centuries. The floral designs of the Barnack school show by their limited distribution the contraction experienced by the fourteenth century: three slabs near Cambridge (and possibly one at Emneth) are all that remain of the extensive market enjoyed in the late thirteenth century. There was still a trade in uncarved stone between Barnack and Cambridge, for the floral slabs at Chippenham, Chesterton and Orwell must have been carved at Cambridge since their distribution is so limited. The remaining source for stone graveslabs was the oolitic limestone belt at Raunds and Weldon.

The early fifteenth century (1400-30) marked a significant decline in the local demand for cross-slabs. They were less fashionable than the London-designed effigy brasses now to be found in greatly increased numbers and more widely dispersed within the region than in any previous generation. However, there remained a market for the cusped style of coffin-lid with an oblique-ended cross: examples range from the fine workmanship at Warboys to the roughly-finished stones at Bluntisham. The distribution pattern shows a further stage in Barnack's decline; its sphere is now restricted to Huntingdonshire north and west of the Ouse. This was the last phase of work on Barnack stone, and the centre for it was possibly Peterborough, in view of the greater number of slabs there and because the sculptors had probably set up their shop and guild in the nearest town. Both river and road might have been used to distribute the stones in this group.

The range of Ketton gravestones with single line shafts and border inscriptions was even more localized. It introduces no difficulties in transport between quarry, workshop (probably at Stamford) and the final destination. Clearly shown is Barnack's inability to meet even the limited requirements of the late fifteenth century, owing to the exhaustion of the quarries.

The picture of trade is of a fan held at Barnack, spreading out southwards and eastwards by extensive use of the Fenland river network. Our area also lies on the northern fringe of the Dorset marblework redirected through London in the thirteenth century. There was later the emergence of minor local schools, a familiar feature of the fifteenth century when trade was freer and the stonemasons had moved away from the quarry sheds to Peterborough, Stamford and Cambridge.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Dr G. H. S. Bushnell and Mr J. Saltmarsh for helpful suggestions made during the preparation of this article; Mr E. A. R. Rabbula and the staff of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments at Cambridge for permission to inspect unpublished notes; Mr W. L. Cuttle for permission to inspect MSS. in Downing College Library; Lord Fairhaven for permission to view medieval work at Anglesey, Cambs.

SWALE'S TUMULUS:  
A COMBINED NEOLITHIC A AND BRONZE  
AGE BARROW AT WORLINGTON,  
SUFFOLK

GRACE BRISCOE, M.B., B.S., F.S.A.

THIS tumulus, a non-scheduled monument, is marked on the 1-in., 2½-in. and 6-in. maps of the Ordnance Survey, Nat. Grid No. 52/699714. It is only 100 yards from the Mildenhall-Newmarket road, but its presence has been masked by a dense growth of trees, Swale's Plantation, around and on the mound. It lies on level ground at the foot of the slope leading up to Beacon Hill, Barton Mills. On the summit of this hill,  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile to the north-east, stands the Bronze Age tumulus examined by Cyril Fox<sup>1</sup> in 1923. A Neolithic A habitation site has been located,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the north-east, in Hurst Fen, Mildenhall.<sup>2</sup>

On 5 April 1954 Dr Parsons, the Chairman of the Mildenhall Archaeological Society, informed me that the trees had been pulled up and that the mound itself was being demolished by a bulldozer. He obtained a temporary stay of execution from the owner, Mr Walter Taylor, and the next day I went to the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology and reported the circumstances. After consultation it was decided that the members of the Mildenhall Archaeological Society should undertake such rescue operations as were possible, under my direction.

On 7 April Dr Parsons and I inspected the tumulus which was now clearly visible from the roadside, standing 4 to 5 ft. above the general level. The bulldozer had been over the top and had taken off the turf and a doubtful amount of soil, so that the mound looked larger and flatter than it had before. Owing to this deformation it was difficult to mark the centre of the mound. The first step was to locate the inner edge of the revetment (if any) and from this to deduce the centre.

A chalk revetment on the east side of the mound was found without difficulty and triangulation from four points gave the centre. A north-south trench was cut through this centre, extending outwards through the revetment and berm to an outer ditch. The section showed that the main mass of the mound was composed of a brown sandy soil which was darker in colour and less stony than the poor light soil of the surrounding countryside. It had been built in two stages. A small inner mound, containing a large fire and numerous Neolithic sherds, was separated from

<sup>1</sup> Earl Cawdor and Cyril Fox, *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. xxvi, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Grace Briscoe, *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLVII, p. 13.

the larger outer mound by a layer, about 2 in. thick, of clean sand. An extension of time kindly granted by the owner made it possible to examine the central portion of the mound.

An area, 16 ft. square, was cleared to the natural chalk and this opening showed that the signs of human activity were concentrated on the north side of the centre. Radial trenches to the east and west revealed little or no traces of occupation. After the clearance of the central area had been completed the brown soil outer mound was removed by bulldozer, leaving the Neolithic mound intact with its covering layer of clean sand. This bulldozer removal was watched and no sign of superficial burial appeared. The area occupied by black or discoloured soil was then examined down to the natural chalk. Finally the outer portions of the mound which had not been involved in these excavations were probed with a soil sampler to discover traces of discoloured or burnt soil.

#### THE REVETMENT

The shape of the revetment was not circular but ovoid, and no trace of it could be found between the north-west and south-west radii (Fig. 1). The first triangulated measurements from the east side gave a distance of 28 ft. from the edge of the revetment to the centre. On the north and south sides these distances were 34 and 36 ft. The revetment was well formed on the whole of the east side, but petered out towards the west. The three vertical sections shown in Fig. 2 indicate that the revetment was made in two steps, an outer lower layer and an inner one sloping upwards towards the centre of the mound. This is seen best in the east radius where the outer step is laid horizontally and the inner step rises from its middle. For a couple of feet brown fill-up soil can be seen between the two layers.

The revetment was widest on the east side where it measured 11 ft. diminishing to 6 ft. on the north and south. It was made of chalk rubble, in some places, usually in the centre, packed nearly as hard as natural chalk. Over the whole of the east side from the north to the south radii it was continuous, except that the upper step was missing for a space of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. at the most easterly point. West of the south radius it degenerated into a low wall about 9 in. deep and 2 ft. wide. West of the north radius there were patches of rather loose chalk, which looked as if loads had been thrown down carelessly and never properly consolidated (Fig. 1).

The revetment was not built on a horizontal plane. On the east side it was so high that, at one point on a north-east radius, the bulldozer had scraped the top surface. From this point there was a tilt downward towards the north and south. This slant may be explained by the fact that the surface of the natural chalk is 2 ft. deeper on the west than on the east.

#### THE DITCH

The three vertical sections in Fig. 2 show that the berm from revetment to ditch was wide, 15 to 18 ft., and that the shape of the ditch was fairly constant, with a depth of 2 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. The ditch was filled with yellowish sand, with little or no stratification,

indicating a rapid filling in, not surprising in this countryside of 'blowing sand'. No pottery was found in the ditches, only a bone in the east section, probably part of a left human femur.

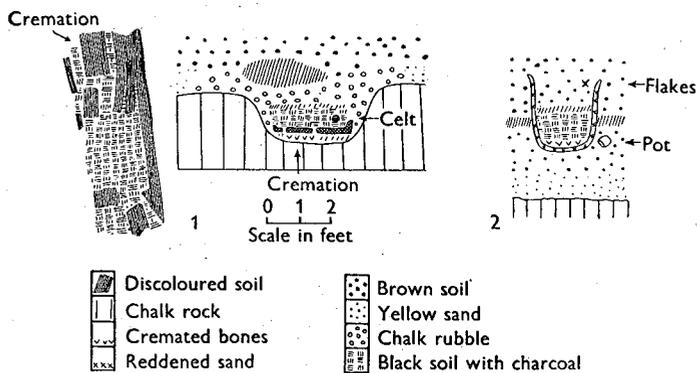
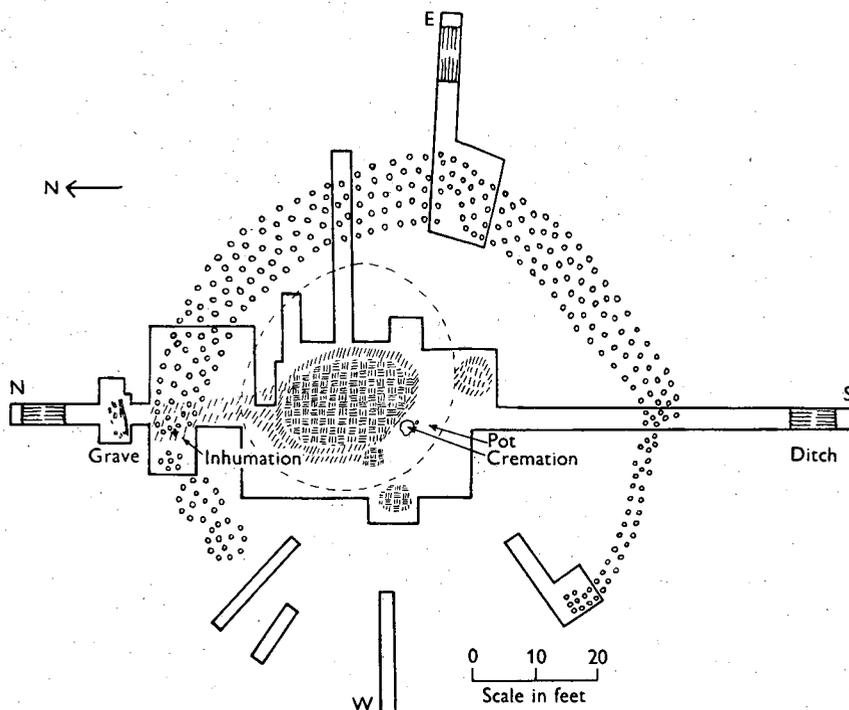


Fig. 1. Swale's tumulus, site plan: whole lines, excavated areas; broken line, approximate area of inner Neolithic mound; circles, surface of chalk revetment; N-S, position of north-south axis.

Below, on enlarged scale, 1, horizontal and vertical sections of boarded grave; 2, vertical section of central cremation.

## THE NEOLITHIC MOUND AND BURIAL

The probable outline of the primary mound is shown by a broken line in Fig. 1. Although the sandy cover could not be traced everywhere, there were sufficient indications to give an approximate plan, 35 ft. by 35 ft. Its height was about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ft. above the normal surface. A cremation had been inserted into the south-west corner of this mound, accompanied by a small Bronze Age accessory pot. The large outer mound had clearly been built with this cremation as its centre. The primary mound was excentric and lay almost entirely in the north-east quadrant of the later mound. Old ground level was indicated by a layer of discoloured soil, containing traces of humus, only 3 or 4 in. thick in places, especially in the south quadrants. On the north side the layer was about a foot thick, dark grey in colour and containing numerous remnants of pottery and bones. Below this was yellow sand extending to the surface of the natural chalk rock.

The blackening caused by the big fire was 2 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. deep, partly below old ground level and covering an area approximately 20 ft. by 12 ft. It occupied only a portion of the primary mound and the Bronze Age cremation was placed clear of the blackening. It rested upon a layer of chalky marl, which was probably artificial, as analysis showed it contained 60% of chalky clay, 30% sand and 10% chalk grains (Fig. 2). This suggests that a hollow was made and a prepared marl foundation laid in it before the fire was started. No definite burial could be detected in the mound, but in the middle of the fire there was a mass of burnt bone and small pieces of cremated bone. Remains of two small fires containing numerous Neolithic sherds lay to the west on old ground level (Fig. 1).

When the north radial trench was cut, a group of animal bones was found between the revetment and the ditch, 2 ft. below ground level, surrounded by black soil, burnt stones and charcoal, and lying in what appeared to be a hollow (4 ft. by 2 ft.) in the chalk. These bones were removed and the grave left open. Later on a mole brought up black soil from below the chalk floor. Further exploration showed that the floor of the first hollow was made of chalk rubble and that this had probably been derived from a lower grave (7 ft. by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft.) cut in the natural chalk to a depth of 3 ft. below old ground level (Fig. 1, 1 and Fig. 2). This larger hollow was filled with black soil containing burnt flints, charcoal, three sherds of dark pottery, half a polished celt and lumps of chalk. At the base there was a stretch of charred wood in board-like form, lying 2 or 3 in. above the solid chalk floor. Although this charred wood had been broken up in the middle in making the trench, the two ends and one side could be defined, giving an overall measurement of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. A stretch of charred wood at the east end of the grave, 9 in. by 6 in. and 1 in. thick was carefully removed for analysis. Immediately underneath were pieces of cremated bones. Other pieces of boarding were removed without finding more cremated bone, but there was powdered bone at the west end of the grave in reddened sand and flints fractured by heat into very small pieces. On the south side there was evidence of upright pieces of side board, 4 to 5 in. high.

In the middle of the grave the thickness of the boarding was about 1 in. The triangular piece completing the south-west corner was thinner, one-third of an inch, and has been preserved by repeated applications of polyvinyl acetate and then removal on a platform of hardened sand.

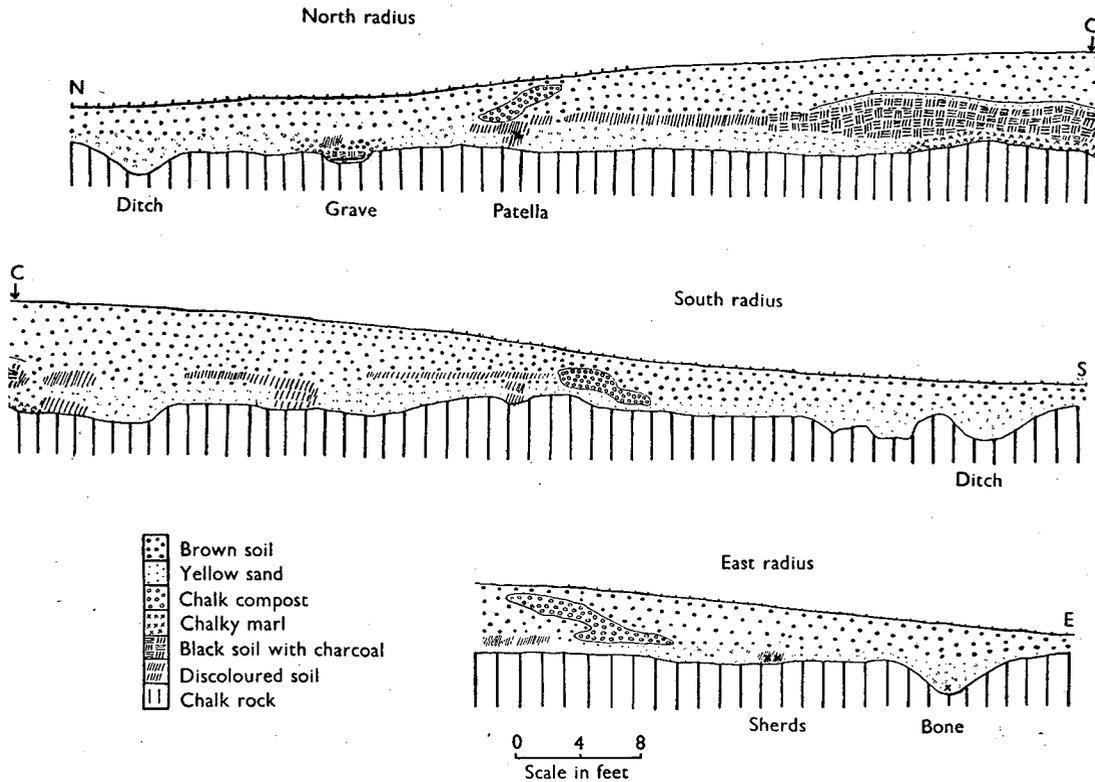


Fig. 2. Vertical sections along the north-south axis and the east radial trench.

A somewhat similar burial arrangement has been described by Mortimer.<sup>1</sup> In Barrow 275 a grave had been dug in the chalk and the cremated bones had been covered with wood and left hollow. Later the covering gave way and rubble chalk fell into the grave.

Dr I. W. Cornwall has kindly examined a sample of the boarding and reports as follows:

The wood is undoubtedly oak and, from the narrowness of the annual rings, comes from a considerable tree. This is rather unusual in these surroundings, for firewood would obviously consist generally of twigs and small branches which required little hewing, whereas considerable timbers would only be prepared for some special purpose such as a post to support some structure or to be split into boards for a coffin. The charcoal may, therefore, represent the remains of a mortuary house or a bier or some other wooden structure associated with burial ceremonies.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in Burial Mounds* (1905), p. 161.

No sign of post-holes was found, as in the mortuary house described by Mrs Piggott<sup>1</sup> in a Bronze Age barrow in the New Forest, but the indication of a small amount of sideboard on the south side lends some support to Dr Cornwall's suggestion that the boards may be the remains of a bier.

#### THE BRONZE AGE MOUND AND CREMATION

The area covered by this outer mound is given by the revetment (Fig. 1), assuming that the lower step was laid on the ground and the inner step acted as a retaining wall for the first part of the slope. The brown soil of the mound is remarkably free of traces of habitation, in the way of broken sherds, charcoal, bones and flint flakes. The small cup beside the cremation inserted into the primary mound indicates a Bronze Age date for the later mound.

#### THE CENTRAL CREMATION

The bones were contained in a curious formation of red sand. There appeared to be no change in the consistency of the sand, but there was a red discoloration, 1 in. thick, which formed a bowl shape, 2 ft. in diameter and 2 ft. deep, with a slightly everted edge. This was perfectly regular, except that on the west side there was a protrusion making the east-west diameter 2 ft. 6 in. (Fig. 1). Part of the red bowl was below old ground level (shown by a line of discoloured soil), and partly above, indicating that a hole must have been made in an already existing mound (Fig. 1, 2). Sticks of charcoal and partly combusted oak wood filled the lower half of the bowl. The lowermost layer, resting on the base of red sand, consisted of a mass of cremated bones, containing the remains of a single individual, between one and a half and six years, the earlier age being the more probable.

Although the regularity of the red shape suggested a clay lining to the hole, analysis proved that the red sand contained no chalk or clay and only showed slight traces of burning. It seems clear that the bones and charcoal must have been put into the hole while still very hot and caused the reddening of the surrounding sand. Fox<sup>2</sup> found a somewhat similar condition at Beacon Hill, a clay lining reddened by heat surrounding a cremation. In the upper part of the red bowl there was a collection of eleven freshly struck very sharp black flint flakes which could be fitted together to form half a flint nodule. This had been detached from another nodule lying close by.

Close to the base of the red shape, on the south-east side, there lay the crushed remains of a small undecorated Bronze Age bowl or cup (Fig. 5, 6). It was lying a foot below old ground level and was surrounded by a group of large stones (Fig. 1, 2). It had been placed in an inverted position, as the base, which was intact, presented first. The rest of the pot was crushed almost flat and had to be removed with a block of surrounding soil. After drying, the pot was completely restored. Miss Isobel Smith, who kindly examined the contents, could find no trace of food grains.

<sup>1</sup> C. M. Piggott, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* vol. IX (1943), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Earl Cawdor and Cyril Fox, *op. cit.* p. 30.

## SECONDARY INHUMATION

In making the original north radial trench a human patella had been found under the revetment which appeared to be disturbed (Fig. 2). Later the ground to the west of this point was excavated. For 2 or 3 ft. the revetment was difficult to define. There was much loose chalk but no solid structure. Under this was black soil containing two groups of bones. The one next the trench had the long bones of the legs lying together, some divided cleanly as though they had been cut with a knife. The second group a foot to the west contained the remains of a pelvis with the upper articular surface of the femur sticking up through the middle. There was no sign of vertebrae or skull. A small sherd of plain black pottery lay between the two groups. There were many chalk lumps in the black soil packed round the bones. The general disturbance of the soil suggested that a burial had been made through the revetment in a shallow grave, a foot or so below old ground level. The bones were those of a young person, probably an adult female. No more bones were found on excavation to the east of the trench (Fig. 1).

## THE POTTERY

The main mass of sherds (over 1200) are of the Neolithic A type. Over 90% came from the central fires and surrounding discoloured soil at old ground level. They include 147 rim sherds representing at least eighty pots. No complete profile could be obtained, Fig. 3, 8, 9 indicates that the pots were round based. The straight undecorated rims (some with slight inward curve) suggest the bag-shaped pots of an A1 culture, the flared rims of large pots and the few examples of decoration indicate an A2 element (Fig. 3). A large intermediate group, about one-half of the total, have slightly rolled or everted rims. Most of the rims are well made, but in one case the finish is so careless that the same sherd has the rim straight on one side and rolled on the other (Fig. 4, 21). Twenty-two of the everted or rolled rims have external diameter measurements of 10 to 14 in. (Fig. 4). Four of the straight-sided pots are large, 11 to 13 in. diameter (Fig. 3, 12).

Typical 'Windmill Hill' decoration is seen on a hammer-headed rim, with diagonal slashing on the top and outer surface (Fig. 3, 5). Finger fluting occurs on the inner edge of the rims of three pots (Fig. 3, 1, 2). Two sherds have rows of shallow punches below the shoulder (Fig. 3, 7, 19). A small black sherd shows straight slashes (Fig. 3, 6). One black thin-walled pot (4 mm. thick) has a rim everted to a sharp point and two slight grooves round the interior surface of the lip (Fig. 3, 3).

The fabric varies from a fine firm paste with little or no grit to one which is coarse with large particles of flint grit. The colour is mainly black or dark grey, occasionally with brown or red slip. The thinness of the walls especially in some of the larger pots is noticeable. In Fig. 3, 8, the rim diameter measures 11 in. and in places the walls are only 3.7 mm. thick. The paste of this pot is very hard and fine with minute pieces of flint, the external colour varies from dark grey to brown, the surface is smoothed

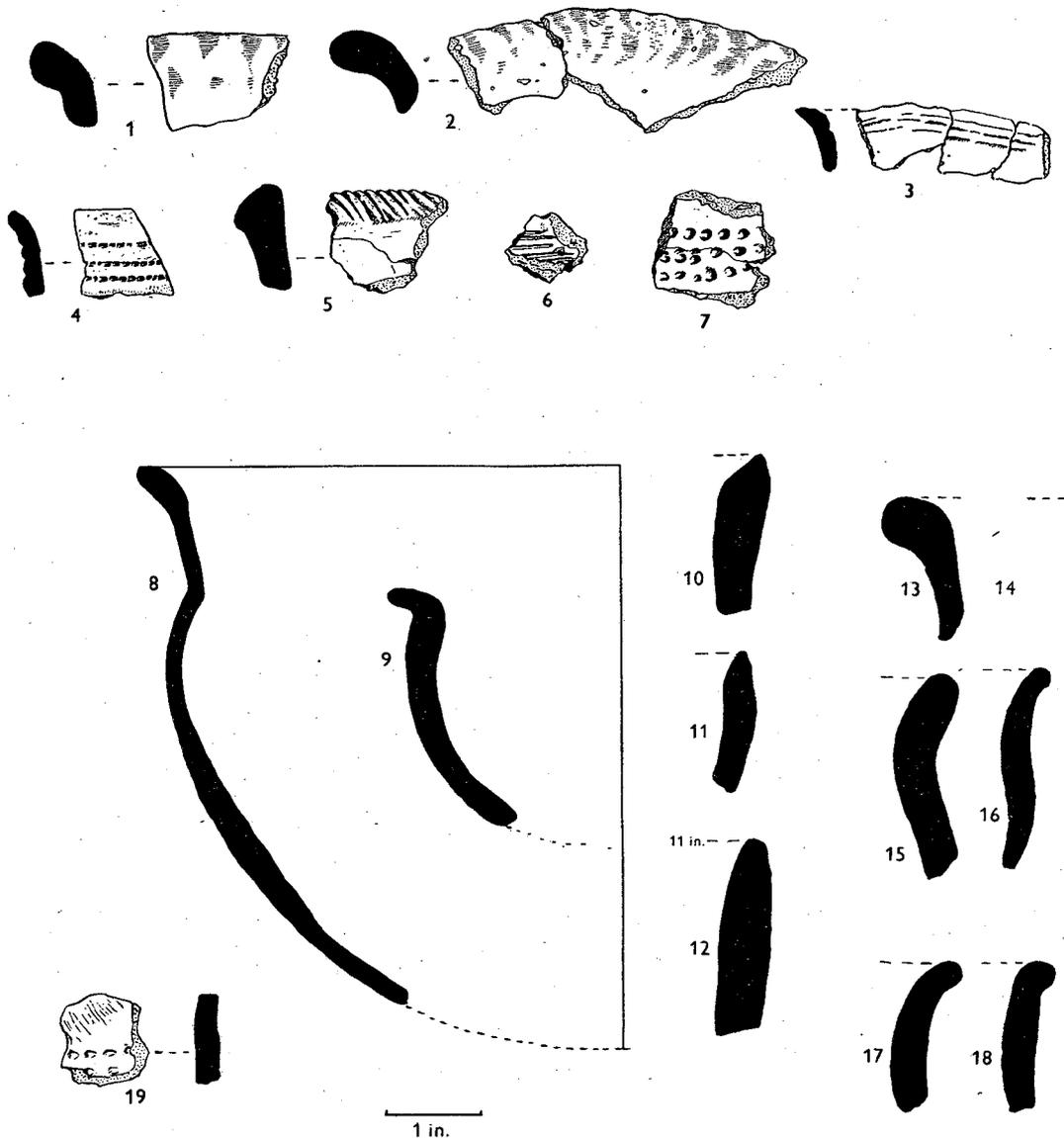


Fig. 3. Pottery from Swale's tumulus (drawings by Mrs R. K. Briscoe). 1/2.

and slightly burnished. Another fine paste is red in colour throughout with a smooth surface and the fabric is only 3 mm. thick. The most substantial sherds are 15 mm. thick with a rough surface, a reddish external colour, blackened internally and gritted with large pieces of flint. No rims were found for this heavy pottery. Leeds,<sup>1</sup> who found similar thick sherds ( $\frac{3}{4}$  in.) without rims at Abingdon, suggested that they were the thickened bases of the larger pots.

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Leeds, *Antiq. Journ.* vol. VII, p. 452.

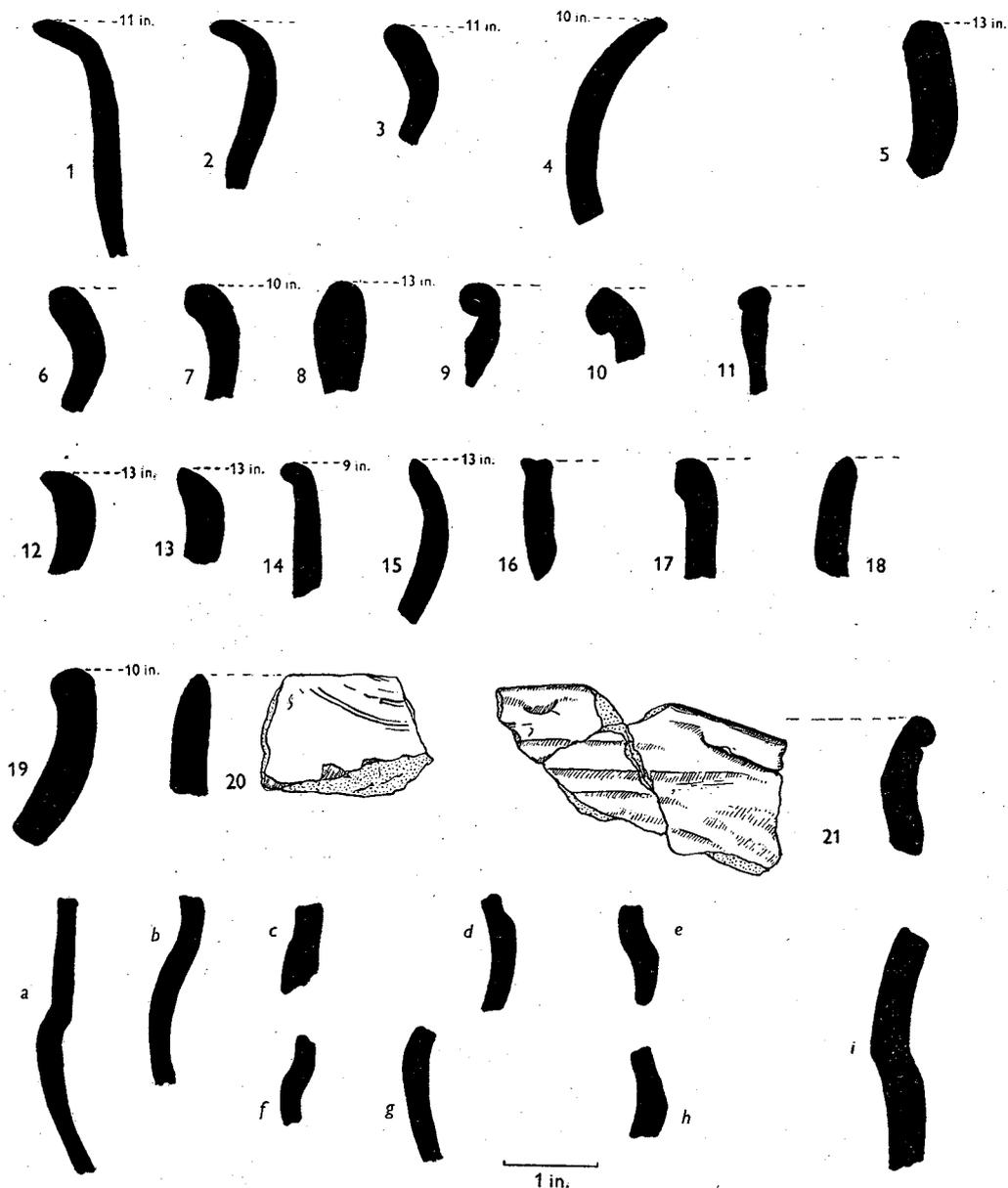


Fig. 4. 1-21, rims (larger diameters in inches); a-i, shoulders. 1/2.

Practically all the shoulder sherds (twenty-three in number) have a rounded outline (Fig. 4, a-i). Fig. 4, e shows the nearest approach to a carination. No sherd suggesting a flat base was found.

BRONZE AGE POTTERY

Bronze Age pottery was scarce. The small accessory pot, which may have been a food cup, beside the central cremation is only 3½ in. high and 4½ in. across the rim, which

is slightly inverted (Fig. 5, 6). The paste is loose in texture, gritted with flint, with a grey core and buff coloured inside and out. A similar small vessel has been found recently in the neighbourhood, near the How Hill tumulus, Icklingham.<sup>1</sup> It accompanied a cremation in a cinerary urn with overhanging rim and slightly hollowed neck, indicating a date in the early part of the Middle Bronze Age. It is likely that

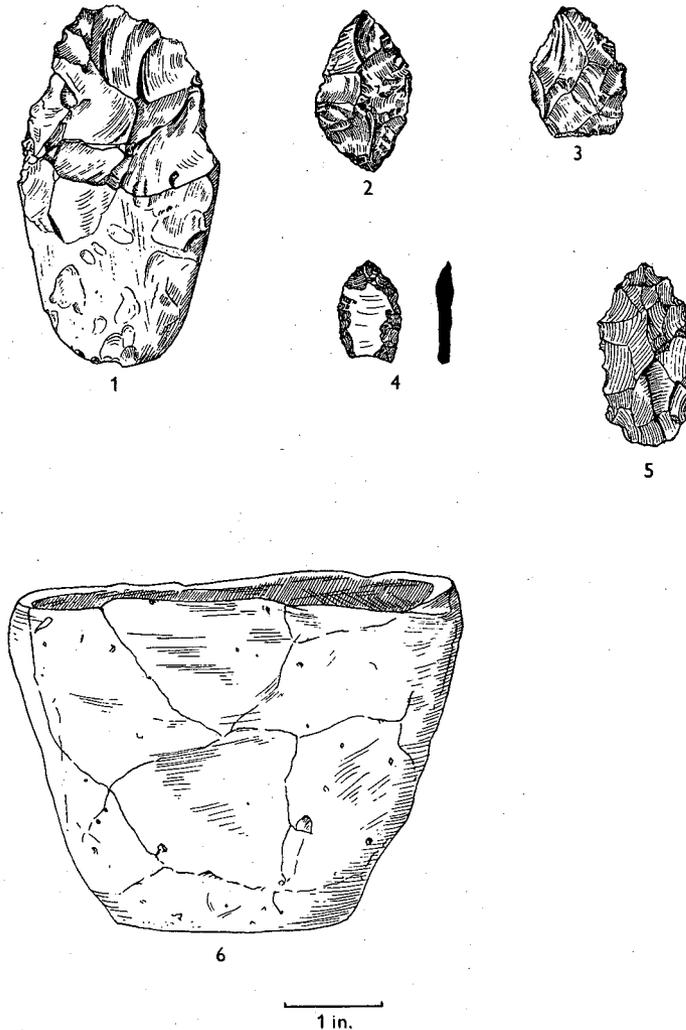


Fig. 5. 1-5, flint implements; 6, accessory cup. 1/2.

the cremation in the present case belongs to the Middle Bronze Age. A plain buff rim sherd with a rounded top was found embedded in the reddened soil surrounding the cremation. A rim sherd of B Beaker type with horizontal rows of rouletting was lying in brown soil above the outer step of the revetment in the east radial trench (Fig. 3, 4). About a dozen other small buff sherds, including one with parallel rows

<sup>1</sup> Grace Briscoe, *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLVIII, p. 7.

of rouletting, belong to this group. Other sherds with buff exterior and blackened interior might be classed either as Neolithic or Middle Bronze Age.

#### STONE IMPLEMENTS

A chip of a polished greenstone celt was found in the central fire. It was derived from the Langdale factories, Group VI. It is interesting to note that the greenstone flakes from the Hurst Fen Neolithic habitation site were also derived from the Langdale factories.

A large number of flakes and chips, mainly of grey or black flint, were found in the black soil of the fire or in the discoloured soil at old ground level. Implements were few and roughly finished. They included eight scrapers, a handful of borers, four leaf-shaped arrowheads, the last being roughouts rather than finished implements (Fig. 5, 2-5). Part of a polished flint celt, broken in antiquity and patinated completely white, was embedded in the black soil above the boarded grave and cremation (Fig. 5, 1). The group of flint flakes found above the central cremation had not been worked or used and were possibly placed there for ritual purposes. Fox<sup>1</sup> quotes the description of a similar find in a Bronze Age barrow at Balsham. Eight 'arrowheads' (so-called, evidently flakes) 'unused' were found close to a central cremation. They were so sharp as to require 'great care in handling'.

#### ANIMAL BONES

Remains of animal bones and teeth were scattered about the inner mound in the black or discoloured soil. The largest group was buried above the boarded grave outside the revetment and may have formed part of a funeral feast. Occasional pieces of bone were also found in examining the revetment and ditch. Much of the bone was powdered or too decayed for identification. Bones of ox and cow have been identified. A worked fragment from the Neolithic mound is part of a pin or awl.

#### DISCUSSION

In the last few years a group of Neolithic A sites has been discovered in the neighbourhood of the tumulus, either in the fenland or on the adjacent marginal land.<sup>2</sup> It would, therefore, not be surprising to find remains of a Neolithic burial place. It cannot be said that a burial is proved in the small inner mound, but the large extent of the fire, with burnt and cremated bone in the centre, suggests that a body was burnt on a pyre and that the cremated bones were collected and buried in the boarded grave, which is well outside the revetment of the Bronze Age mound. The bones may have been carried ceremonially to the grave on a bier, which was subsequently used as a covering. As the boards must have been burnt after they had

<sup>1</sup> Cyril Fox, *Arch. of the Camb. Region* (1923), p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Grace Briscoe, 'Neolithic A Settlements in the East Anglian Fen', *Arch. Newsletter* (1952), vol. IV, no. 9, p. 139.

been laid in position, a fire was lighted after the remains were buried. The comminution of the flint flakes and the reddening of the sand give evidence of considerable heat in the fire. The black soil covering the grave contained part of a polished celt and some sherds of the black pottery so common in the inner mound, which suggests a Neolithic date. Fox<sup>1</sup> remarks that ground axes are seldom found in Bronze Age burials.

Although it is possible that the larger Bronze Age barrow was raised above an earlier habitation site, as described in some of the Yorkshire barrows,<sup>2</sup> the absence of pieces of quern and the scarcity of finished flint implements do not suggest a living site in this case.

As compared with the finds at Hurst Fen, the nearest Neolithic habitation site so far discovered, sherds of the fine undecorated black or grey ware of A1 type predominate in the tumulus finds, and the rough heavily gritted domestic pottery so common at Hurst Fen is relatively scarce. The A2 element, judging by the number of decorated rims, is more strongly marked at Hurst Fen, and many finely worked examples of flint implements and numerous portions of quern stones were found there.

It is clear from the layout of the revetment and ditch that the Bronze Age people did the really large work of heaping up the outer mound, taking as centre the cremation hole, with food cup deposited alongside. The fact that the chalk revetment is incomplete may mean some disaster or hurried departure. Alternatively the greater depth of the natural chalk surface on the west side may have discouraged them from completing the revetment at this point. In any case they left remarkably few traces of their presence in the way of pottery sherds. On the other hand, the Neolithic people appear to have collected sherds from very numerous pots, and the small amount of assembling of sherds which has been found possible suggests that the pots were already broken before they were used for the burial rites.

That a small child should receive such elaborate burial may seem surprising, but other examples are known where the bones of an infant are the central feature. This has been held to indicate that burial in a mound is a question of dynasty rather than of the importance of the individual buried.

This tumulus may be regarded not as an example of a round Neolithic barrow, but as a round Bronze Age barrow covering a Neolithic mound which had been used for cinerary purposes.

My thanks are due to the members of the Mildenhall Archaeological Society who have given so much time and labour, especially to Dr Parsons who has shared the responsibility of planning the excavation. I am very grateful to Prof. Grahame Clark and Mr T. C. Lethbridge for their advice on the spot, and to Mr P. A. Longton for identification of bones, to Mr L. Hassall for analysis of soils, to Dr Cornwall for the identification of wood, and to Prof. F. W. Shotton for the identification of the greenstone chip. Mr Walter Taylor has kindly presented the finds to the Mildenhall Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Cyril Fox, *op. cit.* p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Stuart Piggott, *Neolithic Cultures* (1954), p. 112.

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