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VOLUME LIX

JANUARY 1966 TO DECEMBER 1966

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THE ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT LITTLE ERISWELL, SUFFOLK

PATRICIA HUTCHINSON

THE existence of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery on Lakenheath airfield near Little Eriswell was first recognized in July 1957 when a skeleton with grave goods was discovered by workmen digging a hole for the installation of an oil tank at the south-west corner of the United States Air Force Medical Supply building. The find was recorded by Lady Briscoe¹ in this journal and the grave goods are now in the Mildenhall Museum.

In September 1959 workmen digging a ditch along the west side and trenches on the east side of the same Medical Supply building in preparation for a new hospital found a considerable number of bones. Since the construction of the hospital could not be held up, it was agreed between the Air Ministry, the U.S.A.F. authorities and the Ministry of Works to excavate the ground to the west of the building, whilst construction on the east side proceeded as planned. American volunteers carried out the excavation, which was directed by Captain W. E. Le Bard under the general supervision of Lady Briscoe. Her preliminary report appeared in this journal in 1960².

My sincere thanks are due to Lady Briscoe for her help in piecing together the excavation notes. I am indebted to Dr Pizer for his report on the soil conditions and for information about the geology of the site, some of which I have used in this introduction, to Miss Crowfoot for her work on the textiles and to Dr Calvin Wells for his on the skeletal material. I must thank Miss Barbara Green for her help and information and Mr Hallam Ashley for his photographs of the textile fragments. Both Norwich and Cambridge Museums helped in the treatment and restoration of the grave goods, which now, with the exception of Grave 1, are in Moyses Hall Museum, Bury St Edmunds.

THE SITE (TL 731803)

The site of the cemetery is just over half a mile east-north-east of Little Eriswell, on the southern part of Caudle Common—a plateau-like piece of ground rising to some 50 ft. above O.D. to the west. The remains of Shepherds-path Belt, a group of oaks and conifers, form the southern boundary of the Common, while to the north a narrow inlet of the fen runs up to Caudle Head. To the west is the fen and to the east the wide expanse of Lakenheath Warren (Fig. 1). Geologically Caudle Common

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* (1960), LIII, p. 56.

² *Ibid.* pp. 56-7.

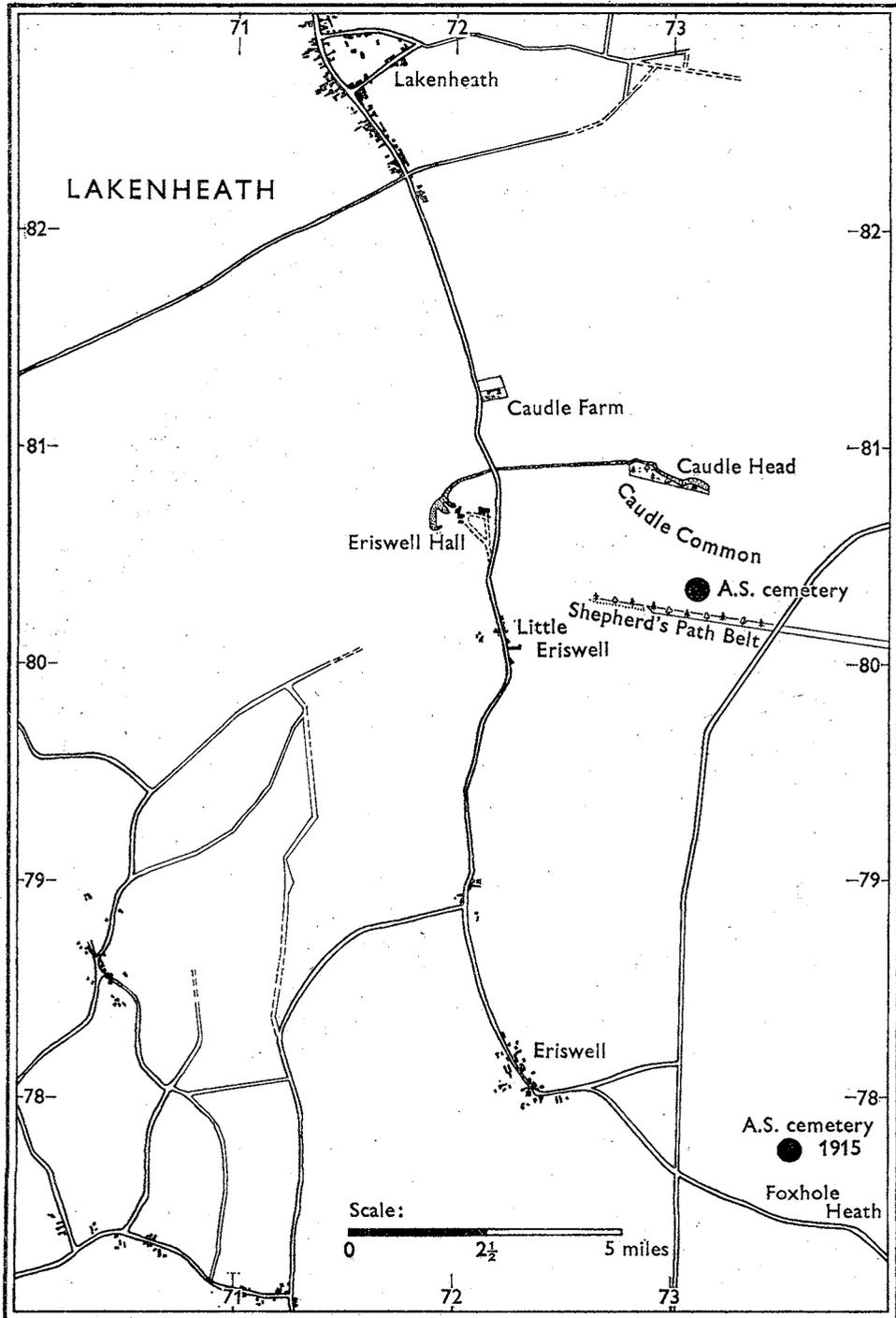


Fig. 1. Map of the Eriswell area.

is composed of the Middle Chalk, overlain by blown Sand, which varies considerably in depth.¹ The surface is constantly disturbed by blowing, even 'sandfloods', and by the burrowing of innumerable rabbits. On the cemetery site the underlying hard calcareous sand mixture was gullied at intervals to a depth of three to four feet, a phenomenon which had considerable effect on the state of preservation of the bones.

THE EXCAVATION

Four parallel lines of trenches were dug along the west side of the Medical Supply Building in a roughly north-south direction from Shepherds-path Belt (Fig. 2). For the most part the trenches were 2 ft. 6 in. to 3 ft. deep, deeper in places, and the human remains were found lying east-west across them. During the space of a month, thirty-two graves were examined, all oriented east-west, with heads ranging up to twelve degrees from magnetic west. The bones were found in various stages of decomposition, those buried in the chalk and fine sand being well preserved, while those lying across the gullies were either partially or entirely decomposed, leaving only a dark outline in the soil (see the Soil Report, Appendix I). The cemetery seems to have been excavated to its limit on the south, west and north, but presumably many more burials lie to the east under and beyond the new buildings.

GRAVE INVENTORY

All the information available to the author is given in this inventory. The phrases in italics are those of the excavator. Orientations are as on the plan and are not repeated here. *B*, Breadth; *D*, diameter; *H*, height; *L*, length; *W*, width.

DISCOVERED 24 JULY 1956

GRAVE 1. Body at depth of *c.* 3 ft. laid on the back, knees flexed, right hand flexed. Skull badly crushed, one piece of jaw with teeth, molars worn close to alveolar margin.

(1) At left hip, small iron knife. *L*, 11.25 cm.

(2) On left side of chest, bronze pin with perforated head, moulded below. *L*, 9.05 cm. (Fig. 3*a*.)

(3) Below the neck, two annular brooches, one originally with the iron pin still in position, now removed by cleaning. The decoration consists of roughly scored lines on upper surface. *D*, 5.15 cm. (Fig. 3*a*.)

(4) Pair of miniature bronze tweezers suspended from a broken ring of bronze wire: *L*, 2.5 cm. (Fig. 3*a*.)

DISCOVERED SEPTEMBER 1959

GRAVE 2. Body extended. Head to left.

(1) Below the chin a bronze annular brooch, with remains of an iron pin. *D*, 5.3 cm. (Fig. 3*b*.)

(2) At the left shoulder, a similar bronze annular brooch. *D*, 5 cm. (Fig. 3*b*.)

(3) At the right shoulder, bronze annular brooch, broken opposite the remains of the pin hole, which is filled with the remains of an iron pin. *D*, 3.85 cm. (Fig. 3*b*.)

¹ S.B.J. Skertchly, *The Geology of Parts of Cambridgeshire and of Suffolk*, H.M.S.O., 1890. p. 88.

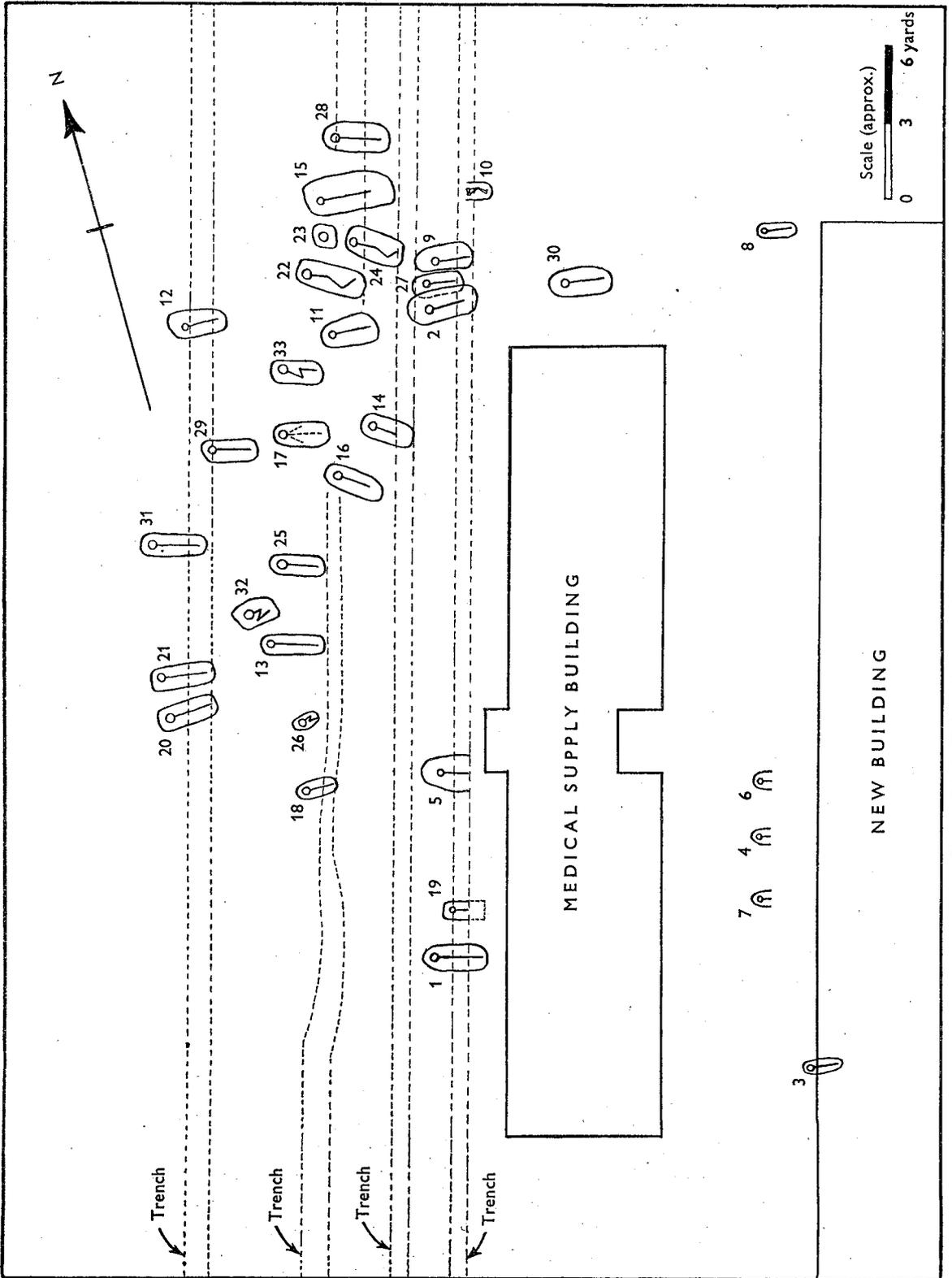


Fig. 2. Little Eriswell: plan of the excavated area.

(4) At each wrist a pair of sheet bronze wrist-clasps. Each clasp has a row of punched dots along the outer edge and a separate bar with a design of incised lines attached along the inner edge. *L*, 3.6 cm. (Fig. 3*b*.)

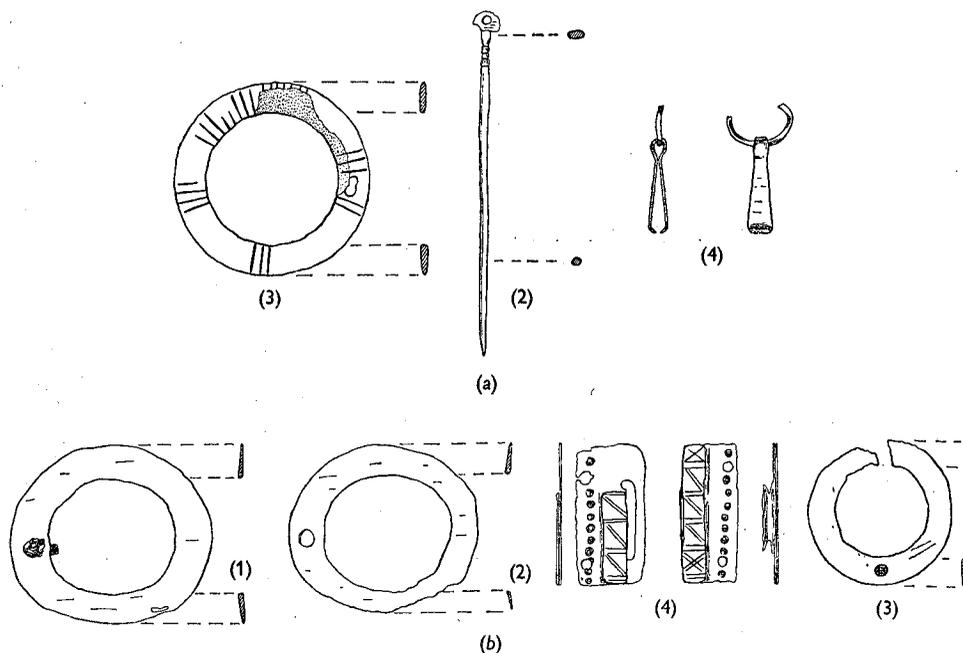


Fig. 3. Little Eriswell: (a) grave 1, (b) grave 2. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

(5) At the left hip a small iron knife. *L*, 10.2 cm.

(6) By left shoulder fifteen small, roughly globular amber beads, one disc bead of amber, one narrow, cylindrical bead of dark blue glass.

(7) Two pieces of bronze ring, circular in section. *D*, 5.2 cm.

(8) Two fragments of iron. *L*, 2.2 and 2.4 cm.

(9) Textile.

GRAVE 3. Apparently unornamented. Body extended on back.

GRAVE 4

(1) Oval iron buckle with tongue. *L*, 3.4 cm.; *W*, 4 cm.

(2) Three fragments of iron.

(3) Lump of corroded iron, perhaps originally coiled.

(4) Textile.

GRAVE 5. Apparently unornamented.

GRAVE 6

(1) Pair of bronze annular brooches, each with an iron pin and decoration of incised lines and grooves. Poor condition. *D*, 4.9 cm.

(2) Five fragments of sheet bronze probably forming an annular brooch with a single row of circular punch marks around the inner and outer perimeters. *D*, 3.5 cm.

(3) Bronze buckle, roughly triangular in shape, with three rivets in the plate, one still retaining its bronze back washer. Traces of an iron tongue. *L*, 5.9 cm.; *W* of hoop, 4.5 cm.

(4) Bronze rivet, flat topped with a circular shaft. Traces of tinning on the head. *D*, 1.2 cm.; *L* of shaft, 0.5 cm.

(5) Flat topped bronze rivet with an off centre shaft and back washer. *D* of rivet head, 0.7 cm.; *L* of shaft, 0.45 cm.; *D* of washer, 0.9 cm.

(6) Fragment of bronze sheet curved to form a cylinder, with one rivet hole. *L*, 0.75 cm.

(7) Two fragments of iron, part of a knife. *L*, 7.7 cm.

(8) Fragment of iron. *L*, 2.5 cm.

GRAVE 7. Apparently unornamented.

GRAVE 8. Apparently unornamented.

GRAVE 9. Body extended on back, right arm crossed on breast.

(1) Below the chin, a bronze cruciform brooch, apparently placed sideways. The lateral knobs of the headplate are missing, probably because they were cast separately, and fitted on the sharpened edges of the wings. *L*, 14.2 cm. (Pl. Ia.)

(2) At one shoulder bronze small-long brooch, with a rectangular headplate, lappets and a wedge-shaped foot. The headplate has a central panel with two deeply incised dots at the upper corners and a border of stamped V shapes. *L*, 6.5 cm. (Pl. Ia.)

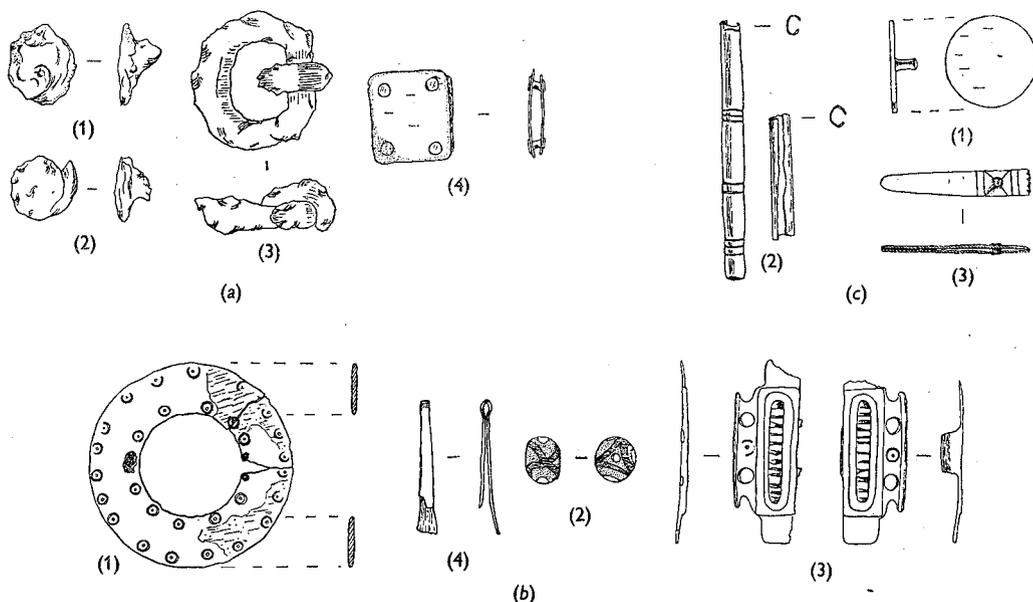


Fig. 4. Little Eriswell: (a) grave 10, (b) grave 11; (c) grave 12. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

(3) At the other shoulder another similar brooch. On the back of the headplate the hinge-plate was repaired with a strip of iron and the two large rivet holes can be seen on the front surface of the brooch. *L*, 6.6 cm. (Pl. Ia.)

(4) At each wrist a pair of plain, sheet bronze wrist-clasps. *L*, 3.5 cm. (Pl. Ia.)

(5) To the left of left hand a small iron knife. *L*, 9.8 cm.

(6) By the left elbow an iron ring. *D*, 4.2 cm.

(7) Textile.

GRAVE 10. Only the lower half of the body was found, 3 ft. deep.

(1) Disc-shaped piece of iron, badly corroded. *D*, 1.7 cm. (Fig. 4a.)

(2) Disc-shaped piece of iron with remains of shaft, badly corroded. *D*, 2.1 cm. (Fig. 4a.)

(3) Iron buckle with tongue, badly corroded. *W* of hoop, 3.6 cm. (Fig. 4a.)

(4) Two square sheets of bronze riveted together by bronze rivets, but with a gap between. 2.1 × 2.4 cm. (Fig. 4a.)

GRAVE 11. The skeletal structure had decomposed and only the outline of the grave was left with the grave goods still in position.

(1) At each shoulder a bronze annular brooch with ring and dot ornaments and traces of an iron pin. There are stops at each side of the V-shaped notch through which the pin passed. The second brooch is in poor condition and the ring and dot ornaments are less evenly spaced. *D*, 5.3 cm. (Fig. 4*b*.)

(2) On the breast a ring-shaped yellow opaque glass bead with red marvered interlacing trails and green spots. *D*, 1.2 cm. (Fig. 4*b*.)

(3) At each wrist a pair of bronze wrist-clasps, basically rectangular with a central raised panel of barred design. At the top and bottom of each clasp is a plain rounded area and at the outer edge a long excrescence with two large holes through which the clasp was sewn to the garment. *L*, 4.8 cm. (Fig. 4*b*.)

(4) Below the waist, pair of miniature bronze tweezers, one arm of which is broken. *L*, 3.5 cm. (Fig. 4*b*.)

(5) Seven badly corroded pieces of iron which may have formed a ring.

(6) Below the head a piece of red sandstone wrapped in fine cloth, some of which was still adhering. (See Appendix III, p. 30 and Pl. III*b*.)

GRAVE 12. Body on side at depth of 3 ft. 1 in. Arms bent, knees slightly so. *Evidence of decapitation* and badly fractured skull.

(1) In centre of chest bronze stud. *D*, 2.4 cm. (Fig. 4*c*.)

(2) *In pelvic region* two pieces of bronze tubing, one piece with groups of incised lines. *L*, 3.3 and 6.8 cm. (Fig. 4*c*.)

(3) Bronze strap-end now in two pieces, the front surface decorated with incised lines about the rivet hole. *L*, 3.9 cm. (Fig. 4*c*.)

(4) Badly corroded remains of an iron buckle.

(5) The remains of smaller iron buckle, again badly corroded, and with textile.

GRAVE 13. Body extended, apparently unornamented.

GRAVE 14. Body extended.

(1) Below the chin, iron pennanular brooch with pin, now detached. *D*, 3.6 cm. (Fig. 5*a*.)

(2) By the right wrist an iron pennanular brooch with a broken pin. *D*, 2.9 cm. (Fig. 5*a*.)

(3) On the pelvis a silver finger-ring with decoration of stamped crescent shapes. (Fig. 5*a*.)

(4) Also on the pelvis a finger-ring of plain bronze. (Fig. 5*a*.)

(5) Between the right hand and the pelvis two pieces of iron, each part of a different ring. (Fig. 5*a*.)

(6) Iron buckle with iron plate and tongue. *L*, 5.5 cm. (Fig. 5*a*.)

(7) Textile.

GRAVE 15. Body extended.

(1) Iron knife. *L*, 11.6 cm.

GRAVE 16. Body extended.

(1) Part of iron knife. *L*, 9.4 cm.

(2) Badly corroded iron buckle with textile. *L*, 5.6 cm. (Pl. III*c*.)

GRAVE 17. Body extended.

(1) Fragment of plain sheet bronze wrist-clasp. *L*, 3.6 cm. *W*, 1.9 cm.

(2) Two sherds, brown/grey wheel-made pottery, probably coarse Romano-British ware.

GRAVE 18. Body of child lying on right side. Pelvic regions disintegrated, feet and hand bones scattered. Molar teeth those of a 6-8 year old.

(1) Below the chin, a bronze small-long brooch, with horned headplate and crescentic foot and lappets. The hinge and catch plates are unusual in being made of strips of bronze soldered on to the back of the brooch. *L*, 6.15 cm. (Fig. 5*b*.)

(2) Scattered about the upper half of the body, sixteen graduated amber beads.

(3) Fragments of a small iron knife.

(4) Considerable scraps of textile from the brooch.

GRAVE 19. Body extended.

(1) Bronze annular brooch in three fragments with decoration of stamped Z shapes and the remains of an iron pin (now missing).

(2) Two fragments of another similar brooch.

(3) Seven small loops of sheet bronze.

(4) Textile.

GRAVE 20. Body extended, left arm bent across chest. Unornamented.

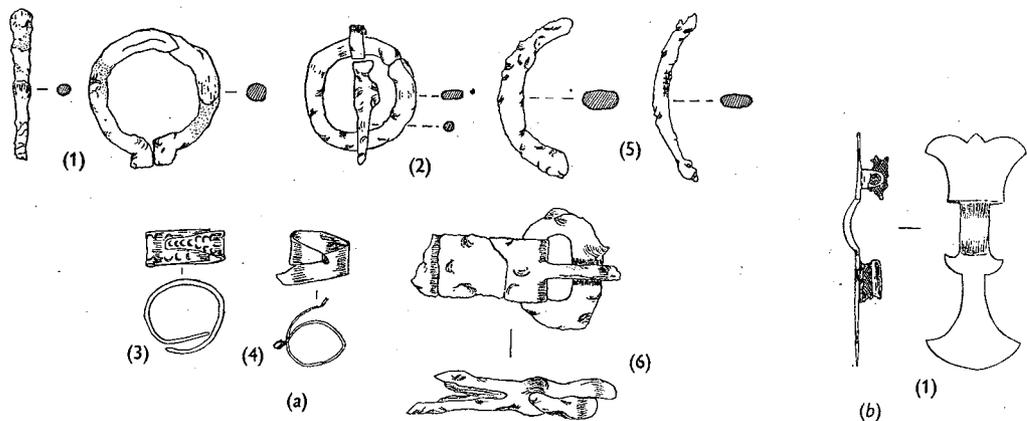


Fig. 5. Little Eriswell: (a) grave 14, (b) grave 18. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

GRAVE 21. Body extended, right hand bent on to lower chest.

(1) At each shoulder a bronze annular brooch, with decoration of stamped crescent shapes interrupted in four places by crosses enclosed by scored lines. The pins are missing and one is in very bad condition. *D*, 4.4 cm. (Fig. 6*a*.)

(2) Below the chin, one disc-shaped bead of amber. *D*, 1.6 cm. (Fig. 6*a*.)

(3) On the right wrist a pair of bronze wrist-clasps with doubly moulded bars along the inner edge and lenticular chipped decoration. *L*, 3.5 cm. (Fig. 6*a*.)

(4) In the loose sand to the left of the left arm another similar pair of clasps. *L*, 3.5 cm.

(5) By the left hip part of single edged iron knife, badly corroded.

(6) Scrap of silver with two incised lines.

(7) Textile.

GRAVE 22. Body slightly crouched, right arm bent on to chest, left arm doubled up to chin, head in pillowed position.

(1) Below the chin a bronze cruciform brooch, broken below the bow and mended in antiquity. The lateral knobs of the headplate are missing and the outer edges of the wings have sharpened edges as on the brooch from grave 9. The crowning knob is hollow. On the back the iron bar and part of the pin coil remain. *L*, 14.1 cm. (Fig. 6*b*.)

(2) Above the left shoulder a plain bowl of coarse, hand-made, dark grey ware. *H*, 10.8 cm.; *W* at rim, 14.6 cm. (Fig. 8*a*.)

- (3) At each shoulder a bronze annular brooch with decoration of stamped crosses around inner and outer perimeters. The pins are missing. *D*, 4·8 cm. (Fig. 6*b*.)
- (4) At the top of the left thigh an iron ring. *D*, 3·7 cm.
- (5) Scattered beneath the body two disc beads of amber, seven small globular beads of amber, one tiny bead of green glass.
- (6) Several scraps of iron, probably originally a pin.
- (7) Textile.

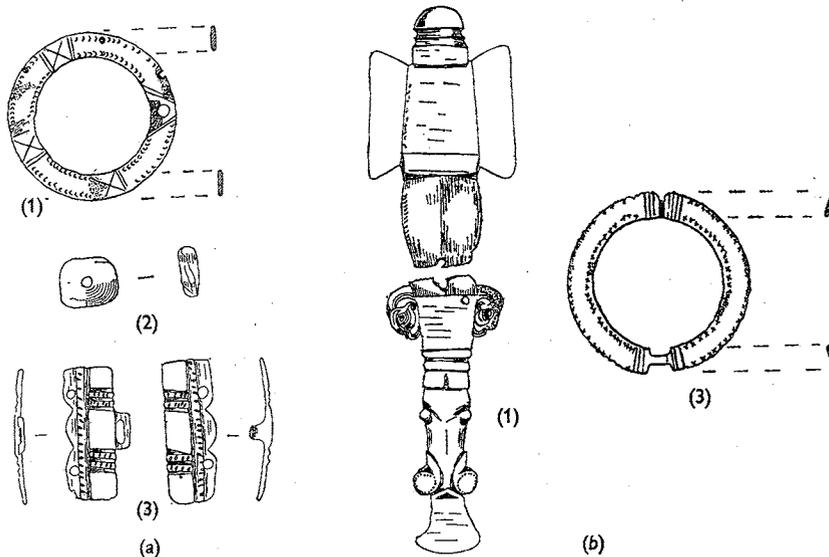


Fig. 6. Little Eriswell: (a) grave 21, (b) grave 22. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

GRAVE 23. Head only found. Perhaps overlain by grave 24, or confused with it in excavation.

(1) Fine fragments of thin sheet bronze, one with a bronze rivet and three with rivet holes. (Fig. 7*a*.)

(2) Two curved pieces of sheet bronze enclosing fragments of wood. A bronze rivet remains in one of four rivet holes. *L*, 5·8 cm. (Fig. 7*a*.)

GRAVE 24. Body slightly crouched. Right arm doubled up to chin.

(1) Above the right shoulder an iron spear-head, with a rivet and traces of wood in the split socket. *L*, 18·2 cm. (Fig. 8*b*.)

(2) On the left breast remains of an iron knife.

(3) To right of right hip a badly corroded iron ring.

(4) Textile.

GRAVE 25. Body crouched on left side. Right arm bent across waist. Bones very crumbly. Black smudge all around the body, particularly the head.

(1) At the right hip remains of an iron knife.

GRAVE 26. Body crouched on right side. Bones very fragile. Apparently unornamented.

GRAVE 27. Body decomposed. Deeper than adjacent graves 2 and 9. Grave 2 overlapped.

(1) On the chest scattered beads: one large faceted crystal bead (Fig. 7*b*); one cylindrical bead of green glass; one narrow cylindrical bead of dark blue glass; one small bead of red opaque glass; three roughly disc-shaped amber beads; two beads of blue glass, one moulded; one cylindrical bead of clear glass; four small circular beads of green glass; one small circular bead

of blue glass; two small disc-shaped amber beads; twenty-six graduated, roughly globular amber beads.

(2) On one shoulder, very worn bronze annular brooch, with an iron pin and a single line of dots around inner and outer perimeters. *D*, 4.2 cm. (Pl. *Ib*.)

(3) On the other shoulder, fragments of an iron annular brooch, and a separate pin. *L* of pin, 2.8 cm.

(4) On the chest an iron buckle with two bronze disc-headed rivets through the plate. *L*, 6.85 cm. (Fig. 7*b*.)

(5) At the left hip an iron knife. *L*, 10.45 cm. (Pl. *Ib*.)

(6) Also at the left hip a very worn bronze ring, originally with eight knobs. *D*, *c.* 4.6 cm. (Pl. *Ib*.)

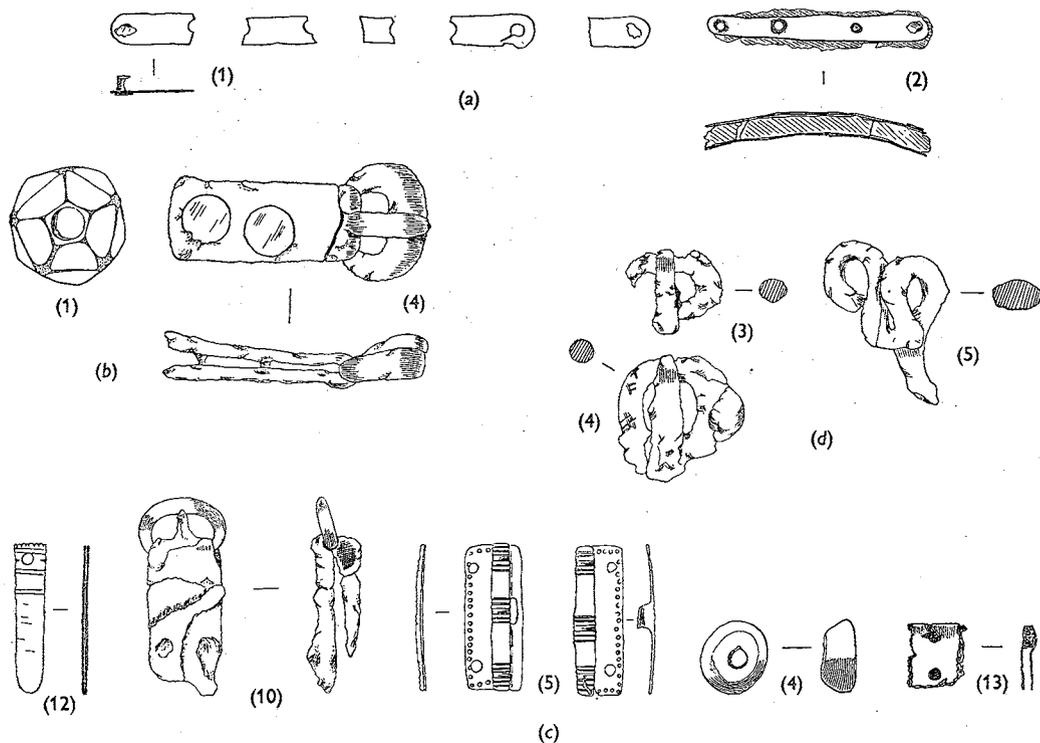


Fig. 7. Little Eriswell: (a) Grave 23, (b) Grave 27, (c) Grave 28, (d) Grave 29. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

(7) Gilt bronze square-headed brooch with silver plating at the four corners of the headplate and on the lateral and terminal lobes of the footplate. At the centre of the bow is a disc-headed rivet fitted through a circular perforation. Below the bow the brooch was broken in antiquity and mended at the back with a strip of bronze. A new catch-plate was added. *L*, 11.5 cm. (Pl. *Ib*.)

(8) Half of a small iron ring. *D*, 2 cm.

(9) Textile.

GRAVE 28. Body extended.

(1) Below the chin, a gilt bronze square-headed brooch, with deeply ridged bow and very degenerate animal ornament. Both hinge- and catch-plates remain. *L*, 10 cm. (Pl. *IIa*.)

(2) On one shoulder bronze cruciform brooch, with lateral knobs missing from edges of headplate. There are no lappets and the foot is very simple. Both hinge- and catch-plates remain. *L*, 9.2 cm. (Pl. *IIa*.)

(3) On the other shoulder a bronze cruciform brooch. On this example the lateral knobs of the headplate were cast in one with the brooch, but were broken off when found. The foot is a plain wedge-shaped one, so the brooch is really a small-long/cruciform hybrid. Hinge- and catch-plates remain. *L*, 8.4 cm. (Pl. II *a*.)

(4) On the lower chest scattered beads: one large disc bead of jet (Fig. 7*c*); two small cylindrical beads of blue glass; seven tiny globular white glass beads; three small disc-shaped beads of amber; one medium roughly globular amber bead; forty-three tiny, globular, amber beads.

(5) At each wrist a pair of sheet bronze wrist-clasps with a triply moulded bar along the inner edges and a single row of punched dots bordering the outer edges. *L*, 3.9 cm. (Fig. 7*c*.)

(6) Under the left arm at the waist a pair of T-shaped bronze girdle-hangers, moulded at the head and with decoration of scored crosses and stamped crescent shapes. They are joined at the head by a bronze loop and an iron bar. On one hanger one of the hooks is broken. *L* of each hanger, 11.9 cm. (Pl. II *a*.)

(7) In the same complex, fragments of a ring of elephant ivory, stained with iron and bronze. Outer *D*, *c.* 12.8 cm. *D* of roughly circular section 1 cm.

(8) Part of iron knife. *L*, 9.4 cm.

(9) Iron ring, broken in one place. *D*, 5.8 cm.

(10) Buckle with bronze hoop and iron plate and tongue. *L*, 5.2 cm. (Fig. 7*c*.)

(11) Five fragments of a strip of iron: *L*, 5.7, 5.2, 5.1, 3.9, 2.8 cm.

(12) Bronze strap-end, now in two pieces, with decoration of scored lines about the rivet hole. *L*, 3.95 cm. (Fig. 7*c*.)

(13) Loop of sheet bronze curved round part of an iron ring and held by an iron rivet: probably part of a buckle. *L*, 1.7 cm. (Fig. 7*c*.)

(14) Three iron implements suspended from part of an iron ring—probably part of chatelaine complex; very corroded.

(15) Textile.

GRAVE 29. Middle part of body completely decayed. Legs crossed. Body apparently extended.

(1) On the head remains of shield, consisting of: (*a*) Iron shield boss, straight in profile below the carination, convex above. It has the typical crowning stud and five rivets around the collar. *H*, 9.1 cm.; *D* at base, 15.7 cm. (Fig. 8*c*.) (*b*) Iron shield grip, splayed at each end, in one of which is a bronze rivet. *L*, 14.5 cm. (Fig. 8*c*.) (*c*) Four iron disc-headed studs each with remains of shaft. *D*, *c.* 7.4 cm.

(2) At left shoulder, a very badly corroded iron spear-head. *L*, 29 cm.

(3) One small iron buckle badly corroded. *L* of tongue, 2.2 cm. (Fig. 7*d*.)

(4) One larger iron buckle, again badly corroded. *L* of tongue, 3.3 cm.; *W* of loop, 3.25 cm. (Fig. 7*d*.)

(5) One looped piece of iron. (Fig. 7*d*.)

(6) Textile.

GRAVE 30. Body extended, bones in fairly good condition. Apparently unornamented.

GRAVE 31. Body extended, left arm bent on to pelvis. 3 ft. deep.

(1) Well above left shoulder, an iron spear head, with an iron rivet and remains of wood in the split socket. *L*, 23.3 cm. (Fig. 8*d*.)

(2) At right hip remains of the shield, consisting of: (*a*) An iron shield boss, straight in profile above the carination, crowned by an iron stud and with five rivets in the collar. *H*, 7.75 cm.; *D*, 16.1 cm. (Fig. 8*d*.) (*b*) Very decayed remains of iron shield grip. *L*, 13 cm.

(3) Across the left hip and thigh an iron sword, which, when cleaned and X-rayed, proved to be pattern-welded. *L*, 84.7 cm. plus fragment of the tang. (Pl. II *b*.)

(4) Small iron knife. *L*, 6.4 cm.

(5) Textile.

GRAVE 32. Child's grave, crouched on the left side *poorly preserved and very shallow*. Apparently unornamented.

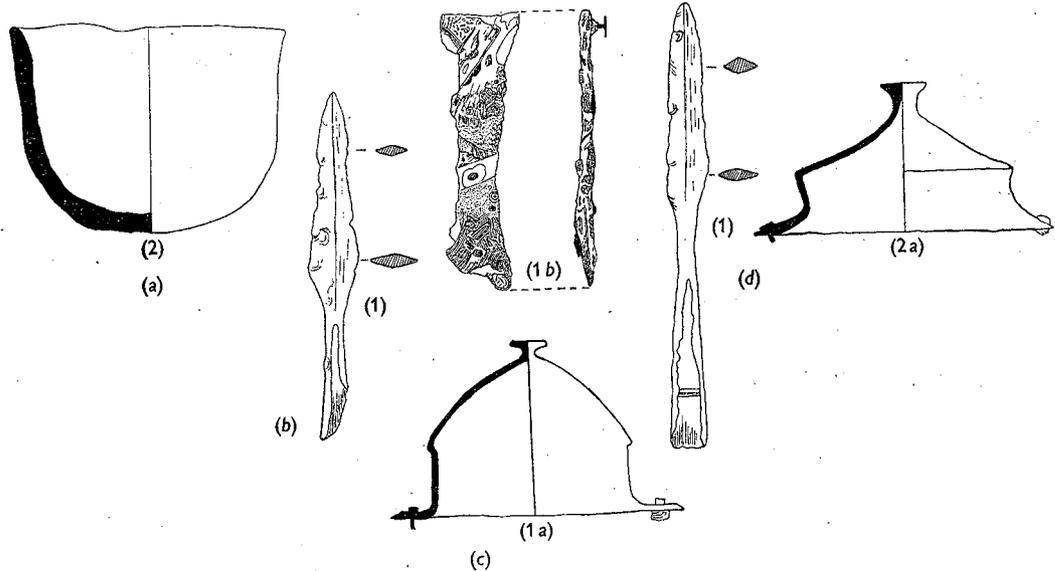


Fig. 8. Little Eriswell: (a) grave 22, (b) grave 24, (c) grave 29, (d) grave 31. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

GRAVE 33. Crouched on the left side. *Heavy fabrics over the entire body*.

(1) Below the chin part of a bronze cruciform brooch, broken below the lappets. The knobs on the headplate are hollow and the crowning one has a small excrescence. Part of the iron pin, covered with textile, remains on the back with the hinge- and catch-plates. *L*, 8.9 cm. (Pls. III a and IV.)

(2) At each shoulder a bronze annular brooch, with bronze pin and a roughly executed decoration of stamped crescent shapes interrupted at three places by grooves within incised lines. *D*, 4.35 cm. (Pl. III a.)

(3) At each wrist a pair of wrist-clasps made of bronze wire curved into spirals and tinned. *L*, 4.6 cm. (Pl. III a.)

(4) Above the knees part of an iron knife. *L*, 9.2 cm.

(5) Also above the knees an iron ring. *D*, 4.5 cm.

(6) Below the chin: one large disc-shaped amber bead; five tiny globular beads; eight small disc-shaped amber beads; two small globular beads of opaque white glass.

WITHOUT PROVENANCE: one large circular bead of opaque glass, rectangular in section, with alternating striped bands of blue, yellow, red and red and yellow, arranged to form a chevron pattern. *D*, 1.9 cm.; *W*, 1.1 cm.

DISCUSSION

Square-headed brooches

The brooch from grave 27 (p. , Pl. I b) is a very typical East Anglian type—Leeds' group 4 Ipswich type.¹ This group, a very homogeneous and close-knit one, gives an impression of extreme degeneracy, the Eriswell piece not least of all. It has the

¹ E. T. Leeds, *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square Headed Brooches* (1949), pp. 30 ff.

typical large headplate with corner pieces and stamped ornament around a central panel of what on some of the brooches is zoomorphic ornament, here mere dots and lines. In all cases, the bow is very short, usually pyramidal, and crowned by a disc-headed stud, cast separately and set in a circular perforation. The tinned lobes of the footplate are also a common feature. Immediately below the bow on the brooches from Londesborough (Leeds no. 35), Kenninghall (no. 36), Ipswich (no. 38), and the Ridgeway Bequest brooch (no. 39) from an unknown site are two downward spiralling birds' heads above a single, contorted zoomorph, but on the Eriswell piece the birds and animals have degenerated into a couple of spirals above an irregular lozenge shape.

This A 4 group is distinctly Anglian in distribution and stylistically is closely related to the Kenninghall B 1 variety.¹ The wide borders on the headplate with stamped decoration, the plain, tinned lobes and the general proportions proclaim this very clearly. Probably the A 4 group with its zoomorphic ornament is later than the B 1 group with its spirals and geometric ornament. According to the excavator, grave 27, from which this brooch came, was considerably deeper than the immediately adjacent grave 9 which contained a fairly advanced group IV cruciform brooch and two small-long brooches with square headplates and lappets (p. 6, Pl. I a). Grave 2, with two annular brooches and sheet bronze wrist-clasps with a strengthening bar (p. 3, Fig. 3 b) actually overlapped grave 27.

The brooch from grave 28 on the other hand is a South Midland type. On the basis of its general design and high-ridged bow it can probably be assigned to Leeds' group B 3.² The border on the headplate, simplified from the Scandinavian λ and μ to a simple U shape is like that on the brooch from Bagington, Warwickshire (Leeds no. 74), but unlike others in this group the Eriswell brooch lacks corner pieces on the headplate. The centre of the headplate is a jumble of animal ornament, compared to the careful demarcation into a central mask surrounded by a panel containing two elongated animals on the other brooches. The foot of the brooch corresponds more nearly to others of the group. Again this seems to be a fairly late type and the Eriswell piece might well be the latest in the group as it stands at present. In fact both square-headed brooches from Little Eriswell are probably from the late sixth century.

Cruciform brooches

The earliest of the cruciform brooches is that from grave 28 (p. 10, Pl. II a). The animal-head foot with its heart-shaped nostrils and the proportions of the headplate indicate this. It can be placed in Åberg's group II,³ an early sixth-century group with its centre of distribution very definitely in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk. A very similar brooch comes from the nearby cemetery at West Stow Heath.⁴

As well as the B 3 square headed brooch, a cruciform/small-long hybrid type was also contained in grave 28 (p. 10, Pl. II a). It would seem to be considerably later,

¹ *Ibid.* p. 34, figs. 41 ff.

² *Ibid.* p. 47, fig. 71 ff.

³ Nils Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England during the early centuries after the Invasion* (1922), p. 36.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 38, fig. 61.

typologically at least, than the cruciform brooch proper from the same grave, by reason of its flowing wings and the hollow knobs cast in one with the headplate. A somewhat similar cruciform/small-long hybrid from Barrington B grave 47¹ is obviously also late, though one from Kempston, Bedfordshire looks² considerably earlier with its sharp faceting and small rectangular headplate.

The three other cruciform brooches from Little Eriswell may be placed in Åberg's very large group IV.³ The broken brooch from grave 33 (p. 12, Pl. II *a*), associated with wrist-clasps of bronze wire, is the simplest of the three, and unlike the others, the knobs on the headplate are cast in one with the rest of the brooch. On the brooches from grave 9 (p. 6, Pl. I *a*) and grave 22 (p. 8, Fig. 6*b*) the knobs, now missing, were cast separately and fitted on to the sharpened lateral edges of the headplate—a feature often considered to be typologically early, but here found on brooches where the zoomorphic ornament was already being used on the lappets and on the headplate excrescences. Both brooches have the scroll-shaped nostrils and broad mouthpiece typical of the later brooches in group IV. From Barton Seagrave, Northamptonshire,⁴ comes a brooch very similar to that from grave 22 with the same nicked forehead on the animal head, and from Girton⁵ another very similar to that from grave 9. Again the centre of distribution of this type is Cambridgeshire and Suffolk and they probably mostly belong to the mid-sixth century.

Annular brooches

The absence of disc- and saucer-brooches from the Eriswell material and the large number of annular brooches is very much what one would expect from an East Anglian cemetery. For the most part the Eriswell examples are very unremarkable with the exception of the pair from grave 11 (p. 7, Fig. 4*b*). These are really simple quoit brooches with stops at each side of the pin notch. They are fairly rare in sixth-century contexts, occurring most often in Anglian and West Saxon cemeteries, as for example at Abingdon, Berkshire⁶ and Chavenage in Gloucestershire.⁷ A pair from High Down, Sussex⁸ was associated with a small-long brooch with an early trefoil headplate.

Small-long brooches

The two brooches from grave 9 associated with the rather fine group IV cruciform brooch (p. 6, Pl. I *a*) are not absolutely alike. On the headplate of the mended brooch there is no sign of the central panel and large incised dots, which on the whole brooch are probably a sign of its cross-pattée ancestry. But quite possibly any

¹ W. K. Foster, 'Account of the Excavation of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Barrington, Cambs.' *Proc. C.A.S.* v (1886), p. 20.

² *British Museum, Guide to Anglo-Saxon...Antiquities*, (1923), p. 73, fig. 82*d*.

³ Åberg, *op. cit.* p. 47.

⁴ *Ibid.* fig. 77.

⁵ *Ibid.* fig. 78.

⁶ E. T. Leeds and D. B. Harden, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Abingdon, Berks.* (1936), pl. xv.

⁷ E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), pl. I, nos. 6-7.

⁸ *Archaeologia*, LIV (1895), p. 377, grave 26.

decoration on the upper surface was erased at the time of the repair. Both are very ordinary types and to be found in many sixth-century contexts.¹

On the other hand the brooch from grave 18 (p. 8, Fig. 5*b*) is distinctly unusual, both in style and technique. It is presumably a distant relative of the Anglian variety with horned headplates,² but in technique it is quite different, being quite without the stamps, facets and mouldings which adorn most small-long brooches. The body of the brooch is thick and solid and the hinge- and catch-plates are made of separate pieces of bronze instead of the normal method of casting all in one piece. In fact this brooch is quite outside the usual small-long brooch type.

Wrist-clasps

The wrist-clasps are of the simpler varieties of the sixth century, both typical and unremarkable on the whole. From grave 33 the two pairs of clasps made of coiled and tinned bronze wire associated with the broken cruciform brooch are worthy of notice (p. 12, Pl. III *a*). This type of wrist-clasp, formed either of bronze or sometimes silver wire, is found largely in East Anglia, though there are examples from Beeby and Twyford in Leicestershire,³ from Market Overton in Rutland⁴ and from Sleaford in Lincolnshire.⁵ Several of these clasps were found at the nearby cemetery of Holywell Row⁶—a pair of silver ones from grave 17, bronze ones from grave 20 with leather on the back and more bronze ones from grave 79, associated with a small-long brooch with horned headplate and three cruciform brooches, the latest a group IV type with zoomorphic lappets, the other two earlier. Similarly these wire wrist-clasps are found fairly frequently in Norwegian graves of the fifth and sixth centuries⁷ very often in company with the great square-headed brooches.

Girdle-hangers

The pair of girdle-hangers from grave 28 (p. 10, Pl. II *a*), associated with the B 3 square-headed brooch, is of the simplest bronze variety, very similar to a pair from Barrington in the Cambridge museum. In the same complex in grave 28 was part of an ivory ring, which because of its diameter must be elephant ivory, as indeed are so many others found throughout England at this period, evidence of very far-flung trade connexions. Examples of these rings found on the continent⁸ often contain a bronze openwork plaque and again were hung from the belt as no doubt the Eriswell piece was.

¹ E. T. Leeds, 'The Distribution of the Angles and Saxons Archaeologically considered', *Archaeologia*, xli (1945), p. 33, fig. 20.

² Cf., for example, *British Museum Guide*, p. 84, fig. 98, from Farndish, Beds. and T. C. Lethbridge, *Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk*, C.A.S. Quarto Publications n.s. no. III (1931), p. 20, grave 37 Holywell Row and p. 35, grave 79 Holywell Row.

³ *Victoria County History of Leicestershire* (1907), I, p. 238.

⁴ *Archaeologia* LXII (1911), p. 484, fig. 2.

⁵ *Archaeologia* L (1887), p. 406, grave 121, pl. xxiv, fig. 6.

⁶ Lethbridge, *op. cit.* p. 15, grave 17, p. 15, grave 20, pp. 35-6, grave 79.

⁷ O. Rygh, *Norwegian Antiquities*, Part I, (1886), figs. 270-1. H. Shetelig, *Vestlandske Graver fra Jernalderen* (1912), p. 48, fig. 112, p. 73, fig. 150.

⁸ G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England* (1915), IV, pl. xli, fig. 5, from Meckenheim, Hesse.

Weapons

The presence of a sword in grave 31 (p. 11, Pl. IIb) indicates some degree of wealth in the Eriswell community and presumably the grave of some noteworthy warrior. Since the pommel is missing, and indeed there seems to have been no trace of it in the grave, it is difficult to say much about it beyond that, like most other Anglo-Saxon swords, it is pattern-welded and must have been a strong and flexible weapon.¹ The spears and shield bosses are normal sixth-century types² and the shield grips appear to be of the short variety, just covering the back of the boss, rather than the long type which practically spans the shield. The four iron studs from grave 29 are somewhat unusual. They were presumably disposed equally about the boss to strengthen and decorate the wood, or to attach a leather wrist strap on the inside. Similar ones were found in three graves at Alfriston, Sussex.³

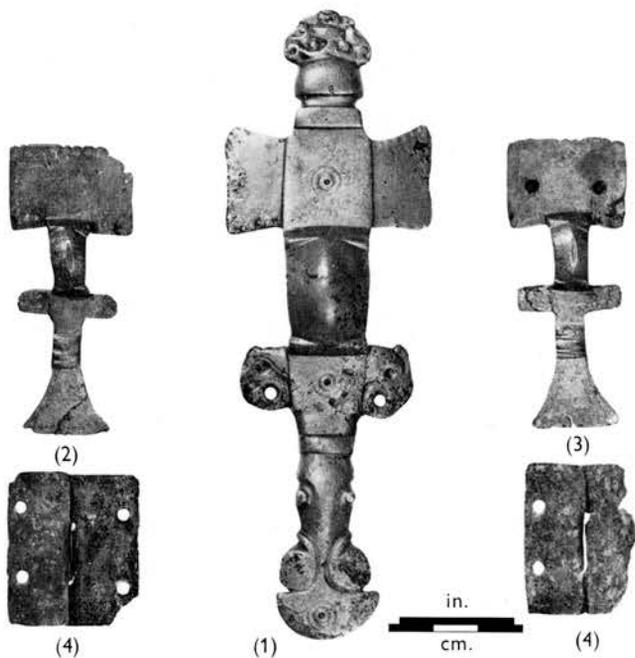
CONCLUSION

The cemetery then at Little Eriswell is a very typical East Anglian one with its annular and cruciform brooches, girdle-hangers, and the complete absence in the material so far discovered of any disc- or saucer-brooches. The material fits very well into the pattern established at the nearby cemeteries of Lakenheath, Holywell Row, West Stow, and Mildenhall, though the complete absence of any decorated pottery is somewhat surprising, particularly considering its proximity to Icklingham and Lackford. There is no evidence for cremation whatsoever at Little Eriswell, in the area so far excavated. Although there are no outstanding brooches, indeed they give an impression of degeneracy and poor workmanship, the fine sword and one high quality textile (Appendix 3) attest to some degree of wealth. The settlement represented by the cemetery flourished in the sixth century and, without doubt, the excavations now going forward on the Anglo-Saxon village at West Stow, some eight miles away to the south-east, will shed much light on the economic and social structure of such settlements as that at Little Eriswell.

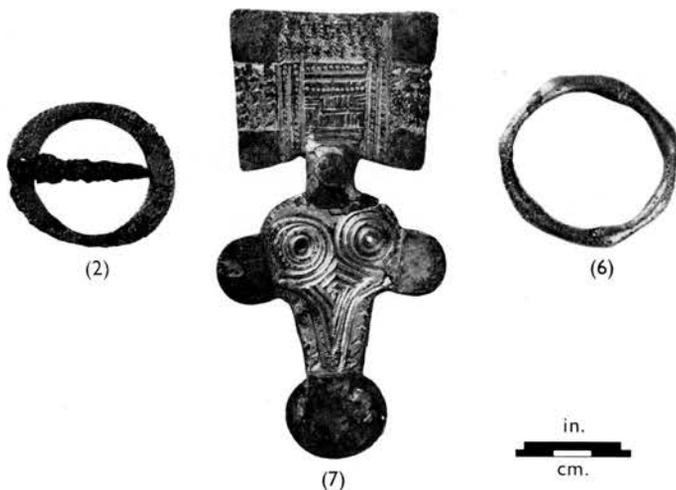
¹ For a discussion of pattern welding see J. W. Anstee and L. Biek, 'A Study in Pattern-Welding', *Medieval Archaeology*, v (1961), p. 71. For a survey of the Anglo-Saxon sword in all its aspects see H. R. Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (1962).

² V. I. Evison, 'Sugar Loaf Shield Bosses', *Antiquaries' Journal*, XLIII (1963), p. 40.

³ A. F. Griffith and L. F. Salzman, 'An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Alfriston, Sussex', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, LVI (1914), p. 38 and p. 46, pl. XVI, 8.



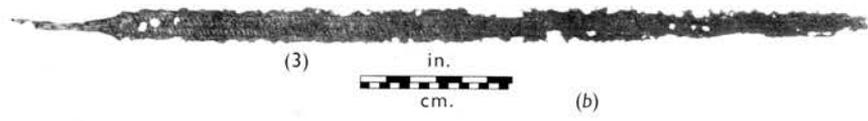
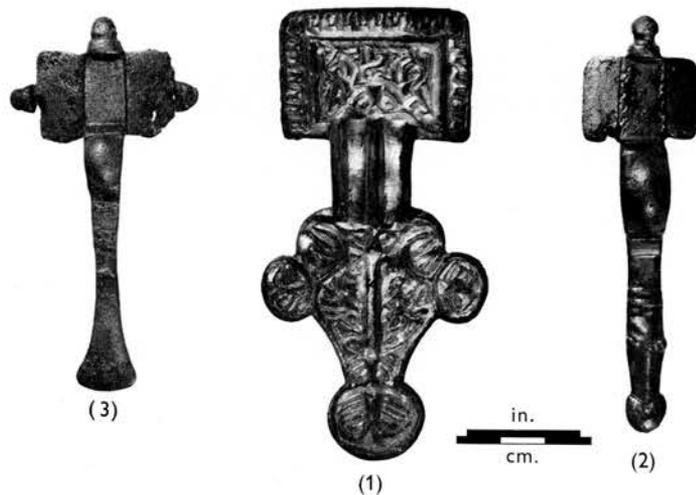
(a)



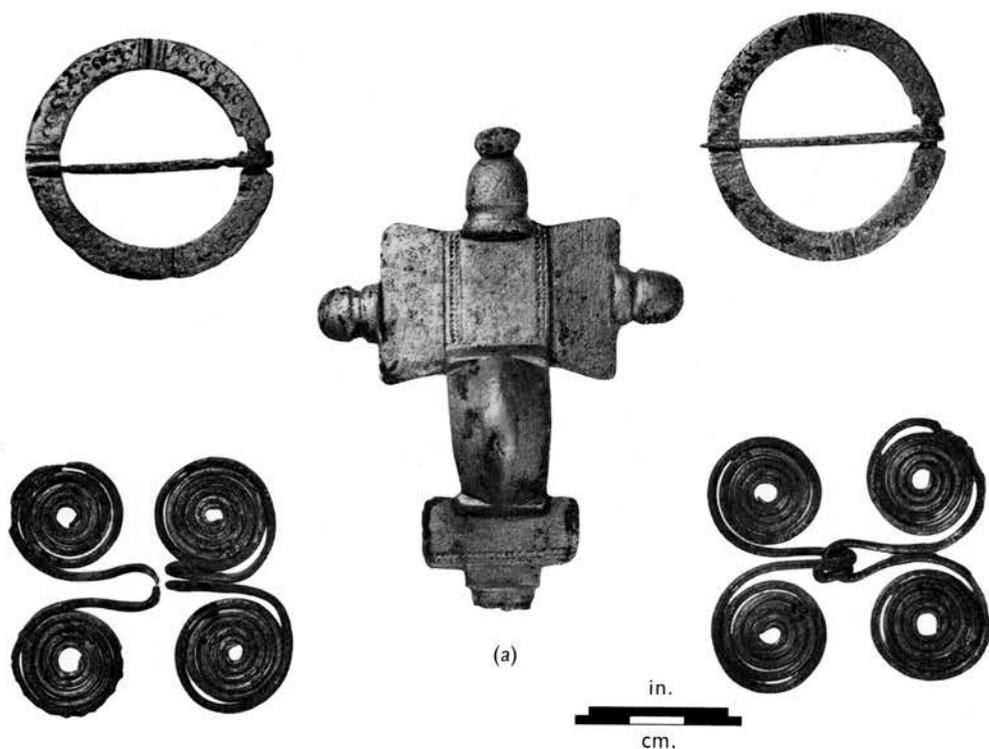
(b)

(a) Grave 9

(b) Grave 27



(a) Grave 28
(b) Grave 31



(a) Grave 33



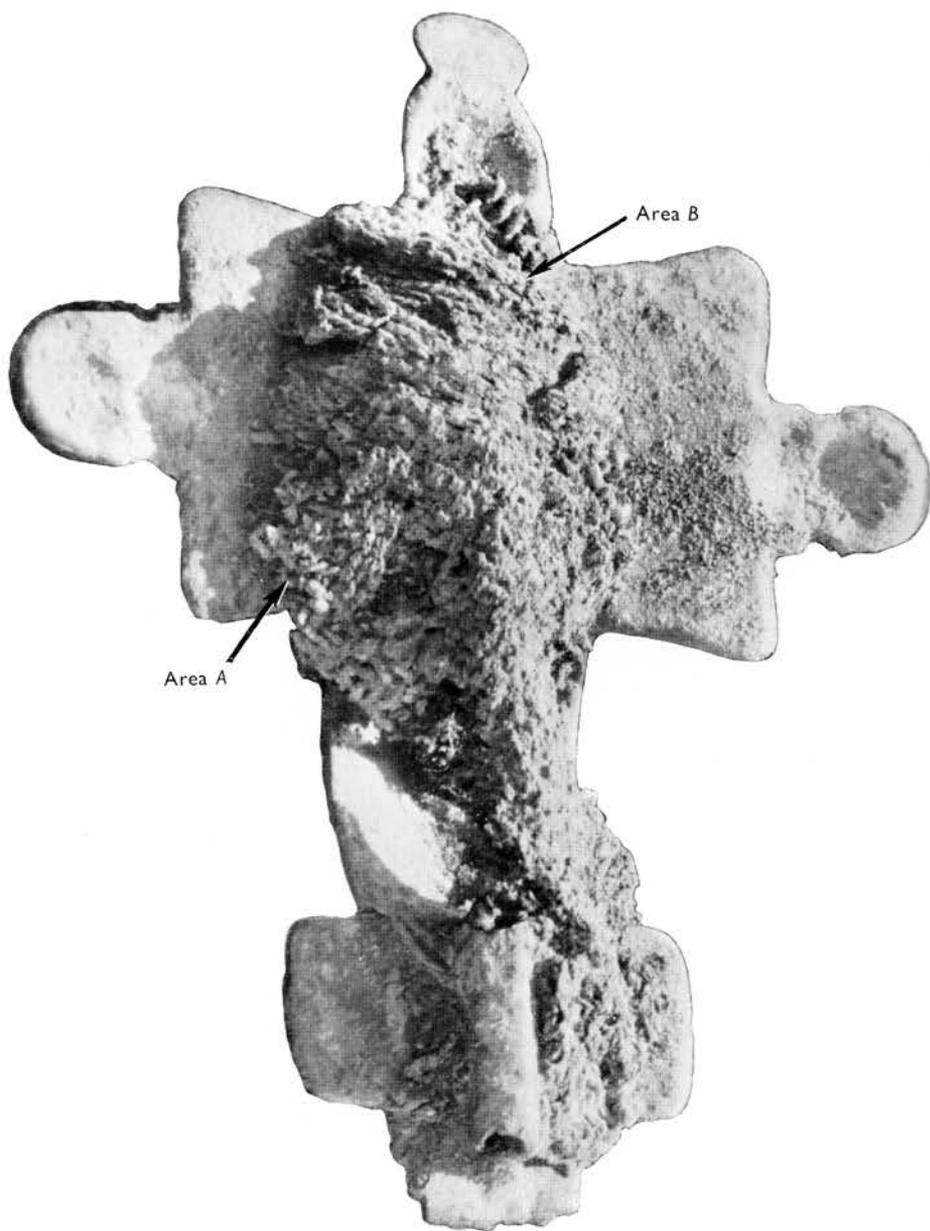
(b)



(c)

(b) Grave 11. Two fragments from 2×1 twill, showing back and front of the fabric. Scale $2/1$

(c) Grave 16. 2×2 twill replaced on iron. Scale $2/1$



Grave 33. Cruciform brooch. Area *A*. 2-hole tablet twists.
Area *B*. 4-hole tablet twists. Scale 2/1

APPENDIX I

INVESTIGATIONS INTO SOIL CONDITIONS AT LITTLE
ERISWELL

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THE FIRST VISIT

Conditions of exposed skeletons

Four lines of trenches had been dug in a south to north direction from the remains of Shepherds-path Belt on the southern boundary of Caudle Common (Fig. 1). The trenches were generally 30–36 in. deep, but were deeper in places, and across them with head towards the west and feet towards the east skeletons had been found. Some of the skeletons were very well preserved and others were in varying stages of disintegration, and still others had parts preserved and parts disintegrated. Captain Le Bard had noticed differences between the soil where bone was preserved and where it had disintegrated or was apparently missing, and thought the association might have significance.

Soil conditions

A preliminary examination of the soil conditions was made with Captain LeBard, and samples of various parts of the soil were taken for laboratory examination.

The soil down to 30–36 in. appeared to be a loose loamy fine sand, with a 3–4 in. band of reddish brown more loamy material at its base, which rested on a firm mixture of fine sand and chalk. The surface of the fine sand and chalk undulated a little and at intervals had apparently been gullied to a depth of a further 3–4 ft. and the gullies infilled with loose loamy fine sand. There was evidence of spring water having moved in the soil, both above and below the reddish brown layer, and the evidence was very marked in the gullies which were then very moist at 30–36 in. from ground level and almost wet 18–24 in. deeper down. Tests with a soil indicator showed slight to moderate acidity in the gullies and alkalinity in and above the fine sand and chalk. It seemed that the gullies had been formed by streams, which still flowed now that the gullies were filled in with sand, and because of the more open nature of this sand, the gullies carried a greater flow of water than the surrounding firmer fine sand and chalk. Skeletons which had been buried entirely on fine sand and chalk were well preserved; others which were lying entirely across a gully, had largely disintegrated; and parts of others were preserved where they rested on fine sand and chalk and had disintegrated where they were lying across a gully. A simple explanation of the preservation or disintegration of bone is that where a skeleton lay across a gully, calcium had been removed from the bone by acid ground water and the bone had disintegrated according to the extent of removal of calcium; where a skeleton rested on the firm mixture of fine sand and chalk, the ground water, being alkaline and saturated with calcium, could not remove calcium from the bone, and the bone had been preserved.

The composition of bone corresponds to a mixture of about 85 per cent $\text{Ca}_3(\text{PO}_4)_2$, 10 per cent CaCO_3 and 1.5 per cent $\text{Mg}_3(\text{PO}_4)_2$. Acid ground water moving over bone would in time remove calcium carbonate as calcium bicarbonate, and then remove one or two of the calcium and magnesium ions attached to phosphate, replacing them by hydrogen ions, or, if the ground water contained ferrous ions in solution, replacing calcium and magnesium by ferrous iron. Iron phosphates being relatively insoluble, except in very acid solutions, would remain in the soil.

The possible presence of ferrous iron in the ground water in the gullies was shown by a greenish grey colour of the sand and by a deposit of reddish brown ferric hydroxides in the soil at the soil air/soil water boundary. In two examples seen by the writer, the deposits of ferric hydroxides extended over the mixture of fine sand and chalk, and through the parts of the skeletons, which rested at this level, indicating at least some deposition of ferric hydroxide since burial.

Although there had been a long dry period, and the surface cover of grasses and other vegetation was withered by drought, the soil was distinctly moist at 15 in. below the surface, and free water ran in the gullies at a depth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from ground level. Nearby trees in the remains of Shepherdspath Belt showed no moisture stress, apparently having their roots in the moist subsoil.

The previous presence of bone as shown by phosphate levels in the soil

Where bone had disappeared, its previous presence should be shown by a high level of phosphate in the soil either as calcium or as iron phosphate or as a mixture of the two.

On 28 September a freshly opened grave, where part of the skeleton was well preserved and part was apparently missing was examined with Captain Le Bard. The skull and tibia were well preserved and rested on firm calcareous sand. The rest of the skeleton appeared to be missing or to be reduced to small fragments of rusty brown bone. Between the skull and the tibia the sand was non-calcareous, moist, soft, and rusty brown in colour owing to a deposit of ferric hydroxide.

The following samples of soil were removed by Captain Le Bard at a general depth of 3 ft. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from ground level, except where otherwise stated.

(1) Rusty brown moist sand from the supposed position of the join of the right clavicle and humerus. It contained a few fragments of soft bone.

(2) Rusty brown moist sand from the supposed position of the base of the sternum. No bone fragments were found in it.

(3) Rusty brown moist sand to the left of sample 2 and judged to be about 6 inches outside the area which had been covered by the body.

(4) Rusty brown moist sand in line with 2 and judged to be over the position of the pelvis. It contained small fragments of soft bone.

(5a) Taken above 5b at $2\frac{1}{2}$ –3 ft. from ground level.

(5b) Rusty brown moist sand in line with 4 and 2 and probably over the base of the pelvis. No bone fragments were seen in it.

(5c) Taken below 5b at 4 – $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from ground level.

(6) Pale brown calcareous sand just underneath the well-preserved tibia.

The average thickness of the rusty brown, ferric hydroxide deposition layer was 3–4 in. and the layer was continuous through the region of the skeleton, indicating formation since burial.

Soil analysis

Tests for pH and phosphate were made on the samples by methods in use for routine examination of farm soils. pH measurements were made with a glass electrode on a suspension of the soil in water using a ratio of soil to water of 1 : $2\frac{1}{2}$ (v/v). Phosphate measurements were made on a dilute acid extract of the soil obtained by shaking 1 part by weight of soil with 5 parts by volume of a mixture of M/2 acetic acid and M/2 sodium acetate for 15 min.; figures were expressed as parts per million (p.p.m.) of phosphorus (P) in the extract and may be regarded as relative values. Because phosphate distribution was likely to be very variable where residues from bone were suspected, two parts of each sample were examined for phosphate, and for samples 5a, 5b and 5c the average total phosphorus content was also determined.

The figures are given in Table 1.

The P values for the dilute acid extracts of samples 3, 5*a* and 5*c* are found in subsoils and in top soils of poorly manured farm land. The P values of sample 5*b* are found in top soils that have been manured well with phosphate, but not below the ploughed layer of such soils because phosphate moves very little in undisturbed soil. The P values of sample 5*b* and the much higher values of samples 1, 2 and 4, are only found in subsoil layers which contain coprolites or bone residues. The P values of sample 6, are obtained in many top soils of cultivated land, but are higher than are usually found at 3½–4 ft. from the surface and it is possible that the sample was contaminated by soil immediately in contact with the tibia.

TABLE I

Sample no.	pH	P in dilute acid extract (p.p.m.)	Total P in soil (p.p.m.)	Position of sample
1	6.8	170	—	Join of R. clavicle and humerus
2	6.7	66 48	—	Base of sternum
3	6.2	1.2 0.8	—	Near 2, outside body area
4	6.3	34	—	Pelvis
5 <i>a</i>	6.4	0.6	290	6 in. above 5 <i>b</i>
	6.3	1.1		
5 <i>b</i>	6.1	10.5	840	Base of pelvis
	6.2	2.8		
5 <i>c</i>	6.4	0.9	260	6 in. below 5 <i>b</i>
	6.3	1.0		
6	8.0	2.9 1.7	—	Underneath the tibia
H 7	6.7	26	—	Outer rusty brown layer of sand
		26	—	cast of separate head
H 8	6.9	22	—	Inner pale brown layer of sand
		24		

The evidence is fairly definite that the high P values are due to phosphate derived from bone and that the phosphate is found in the soil layer that surrounded the bone after burial. In this particular grave, a complete skeleton was originally present and its bone has been preserved where it rested in calcareous sand and has disintegrated where it rested in non-calcareous sand.

The pH values are far less convincing than the phosphate figures, but the soil is poorly buffered to acidity and pH values may fluctuate throughout the year, and in the non-calcareous sand may well have been more acid for long periods during the 1400 years or more since the burials were made. In other nearby graves the non-calcareous sand was more acid as judged by tests made with a soil indicator.

Since bronze ornaments had been found in some of the graves, determinations of copper were made on sample 1 from the shoulder region and samples 5*a* and 5*b* from the waist region. The figures of 17, 14 and 17 p.p.m. Cu in the soil were respectively obtained. These, although higher than found in many sandy soils, do not indicate high contamination of the soil with copper such as bronze would give.

Examination of a sand cast of a head having incomplete, very thin remains of bone over the face and skull

The sand cast was obtained from Captain Le Bard on 28 September. The remains of the skull and face bones were papery thin and rusty brown in colour. The outer $\frac{1}{4}$ in. layer of the sand cast was stained rusty brown with ferric hydroxides, but the remainder of the filling of sand was pale brown in colour.

pH values and p.p.m. P soluble in $M/2$ acetic acid + $M/2$ sodium acetate solution were made, as previously, on the outer rusty brown layer of sand and the underlying paler sand. The results are given at the bottom of Table 1. The P levels show heavy contamination of the sand with phosphate derived from the bone of the skull, and also show the lasting qualities of phosphate as an indicator of disintegrated bone.

THE SECOND VISIT

Examination of soil profiles

A second visit was made on 2 October 1959 to study the soil profile across and on either side of a gully in the basal calcareous sand. A place was chosen on the west-facing side of a trench running south to north from the edge of Shepherds-path Belt.

Here the basal material was a brownish white, firm loamy fine sand, cemented together by calcium carbonate, and containing small fragments of chalk and flint up to 40 mm. long. The sand grains were largely clear rounded fragments of quartz, stained slightly with brown iron oxides. Micaceous flakes were not to be seen. The fragments of chalk and flint were faceted and with one face broader than the rest and highly polished while the other faces were rough or partly polished. The material was typical of blown sand and stones polished by it. A sample contained 28 per cent of calcium carbonate and had a pH value of 8.2.

The gully in the basal material was 40 in. across the top and 55 in. deep.

The upper material was 20–25 in. deep, except over the gully, where it deepened to 75 in. It was physically similar to the basal material but loose and almost devoid of chalk and the sand grains and flints were stained more with brown iron oxide; it also contained a few flattened faceted and rounded stones which appeared to be fragments of carstone. The upper material was dry to 15 in. but became increasingly moist below and was almost wet at the bottom of the gully in contrast to the basal material on either side which was almost dry. From 15 in. downwards, the sand was paler in colour and speckled with rusty brown iron oxide, but at the junction with the basal material and in two bands across the gully—one at 25–28 in., the other at 35–40 in.—it was dark brown and enriched with iron oxides. The paler, speckled sand is an effect of moving ground water and the presence of much more water in the gully indicates that it is a channel for water as originally supposed. The two dark brown bands, enriched with iron oxides, across the gully may indicate distinct periods when the sand in the gully was saturated with water to different depths, i.e. wetter (upper band) and drier (lower band) periods. The pH values of the upper material varied from 6.1 to 6.5 and was 5.9 in the gully. The pH values probably fluctuate considerably depending on the source of the water carried by the gully and the volume of flow, but they are sufficiently acid to cause solution of bone over a period of time.

By contrast with the marked differentiation of the soil layers below 15 in., the soil above showed little differentiation. A thin turf rested on less than half an inch of bleached sand and below this the sand was uniformly brown. The general flatness of the area and the lack of well-developed surface horizons indicate artificial levelling and removal of the surface soil. This could have happened under a period of cultivation, the surface horizons being lost by blowing. In Shepherds-path Belt, under oaks and conifers, where the general level of the ground was higher and there

was evidence that it had been raised by blown sand, the underlying soil had a typical acid podzol profile to a depth of 54 in. with pH values from 4.3 to 5.1. It is doubtful whether the open area of the burial ground, being more subject to disturbance and wind erosion, ever had more than a shallow cover of very acid soil, but the presence of deep podzols in the surrounding area are an indication that the water carried in the gullies was at times more acid than we found.

APPENDIX II

REPORT ON THE HUMAN REMAINS FROM
LITTLE ERISWELL

CALVIN WELLS

<i>Teeth</i>	2, 5, etc.	= tooth present in jaw
	●	= tooth lost ante-mortem
	○	= tooth lost post-mortem
	-	= tooth unerupted or congenitally absent

Inhumation 1

No skeletal remains survive.

Inhumation 2

Female; age 35-45.

Present. A cranium, quite well preserved. This is a lightly built skull, a long ovoid in norma verticalis. The frontal bone rises steeply from negligible brow-ridges. There is some bilateral bossing at the level of metopion, after which the bone turns sharply back to pass in a low, smooth curve through the vertex back to a full rounded occiput with a low tuber occipitale. Nuchal muscle markings are light: the mastoid process of medium build. The orbits are squarish and set somewhat obliquely. Zygomatic arches are gracile and gently flaring. The maxillae are pinched, with shallow canine fossae, and there is some sub-nasal prognathism. The palate, which is moderately deep, has a low mid-line torus. The dental arcade is a divergent U shape. The mandible (lacking the left condyle and the posterior margin of the left ascending ramus) has firm muscle markings but is lightly built. The mental region is prominent and squarish; the inferior border diverges back in a straight line rather than a curve to the level of M 2, where it is again angled and passes rather straightly once more to the gonial angle.

Teeth:

R	$\frac{-7654321}{87654321}$		$\frac{12345678}{1234567-}$	L
---	-----------------------------	--	-----------------------------	---

Caries is absent but there is gross attrition of the occlusal surfaces.

Post cranial remains.

These are almost without exception in extremely poor condition. As well as other fragments, they comprise parts of all long bones and most vertebrae. Slight osteoarthritis is present in the lumbar spine. A squatting facet is present on the left talus. Stature can be estimated as 1577 mm. (5 ft. 2 in.).

Inhumation 3

Female; age 35-40.

Present. Cranium (damaged). This shows some post-mortem warping but its general architecture is clear. It is lightly built and is a long ovoid in norma verticalis. The frontal bone rises

rather obliquely from weak brow-ridges and a flat glabellary region. It passes back in a low curve to a full rounded occiput with a small tuber occipitale. There is a shallow post-coronal depression. The right temporal bone and adjacent areas of parietal and sphenoid are lacking. The left mastoid process is of medium development. The (defective) orbits are circular. The surviving zygomatic arch is moderately sturdy and flaring. The canine fossae are deep. The palate and dental arcades are divergent U-shape.

The mandible, which lacks the right ascending ramus and most of the left, is moderately sturdy. The mental region is extremely square, and seen from below the inferior margins of the corpus are straightly diverging rather than bowed.

Teeth:

R	?7654321	1234567?	L
	87654321	12345678	

Caries is absent but attrition of the occlusal surface is severe.

Post-cranial bones. The atlas, axis and two other cervical vertebrae survive, together with a few other disintegrating fragments of rib, long bones and pelvis. In the atlas the sulcus arteriae vertebralis has been bilaterally converted into a foramen by a thin bridge of bone.

Inhumation 4

Female; age 25-30.

Present. A few cranial and many post-cranial fragments in very poor condition. The left humerus has a supra-trochlear foramen. The left tibia has a well marked squatting facet on its distal articular surface.

The following measurements are obtainable:

	L.	R.
Fe D ₁	32·7	32·6
Fe D ₂	25·9	26·3
Meric Index	79·2	80·7
	(Platymeric)	(Eurymeric)
Ti D ₁	31·4	—
Ti D ₂	22·8	—
Cnemic Index	72·6	—
	(Euryncnemic)	(—)
Ti L ₁	?336·0	

Stature reconstruction 1601 mm. (5 ft. 3 in.).

Inhumation 5

Female; adult.

Nothing survives of this body except a few lower limb fragments in extremely poor condition.

Inhumation 6

Male; adult.

Five disintegrating fragments of skull and six damaged pieces of lower limb bones are all that survive.

Inhumation 7

Male; age 35-40.

Present. A much damaged cranium, but with mandible in good condition. Numerous post-cranial fragments, almost all broken and in poor condition.

Teeth:

R

87654321	10045078
----------	----------

 L

There is severe attrition of the occlusal surface of the teeth. Surviving maxillary fragments show alveolar abscesses around the left M2 and the right M2 and M3.

A fragment of the occiput in the region of the foramen magnum survives and is fused in congenital synostosis with the atlas.

Inhumation 8

Nothing survives of this burial.

Inhumation 9

Female; age 30-35.

Present. Damaged and severely warped fragments of calva and mandible. Much eroded fragments from most long bones; a few hand and foot bones in poor condition.

Teeth:

R

-7654321	1234567-
----------	----------

 L

No caries is present but erosion is gross.

Both tibiae have small squatting facets on the distal articular surface.

The following measurements were obtained:

	L.	R.
Fe D ₁	34.8	---
Fe D ₂	21.8	---
Meric Index	62.6	---
	(Platymeric)	(—)
Ti D ₁	31.7	31.1
Ti D ₂	23.4	22.3
Cnemic Index	73.8	71.7
	(Eurycnemic)	(Eurycnemic)
Ti L ₁	329.6	331.7

Stature reconstruction = 1587 mm. (5 ft. 2½ in.).

Inhumation 10

Male; at least 25 years.

Present. A fragment of basis cranii and a few much damaged fragments of lower limb bones.

The left tibia shows a small squatting facet on its distal articular surface.

The following measurements were obtained:

	L.	R.
Fe D ₁	38.3	---
Fe D ₂	28.5	---
Meric Index	71.8	---
	(Platymeric)	(—)
Fe L ₁	489.0?	

Stature reconstruction = 1805 mm. (5 ft. 11 in.).

This was a moderately well-built individual with fairly strong muscles.

Nearly all the surviving bones are severely eroded by soil action, but an estimate of his stature is 1794 mm. (5 ft. 10½ in.).

Inhumation 16

Probably male; age 18-19.

Present. A very lightly-built skeleton. The cranium is much broken. Most long bones are severely damaged, but the humera and clavicles are intact. All vertebrae are present; also fragments of ribs, scapulae and pelvis.

Teeth:

R	87654321 12345678	L
	87654321 12345678	

Moderate attrition, no caries. No pathology was detected.

Stature could be estimated as about 1728 mm. (5 ft. 8 in.).

Inhumation 17

Female; ? young adult.

This consists only of six small fragments of vertebrae and of long bone, and a part of an innominate.

Inhumation 18

Child; age 6-7.

Almost all these bones are in extremely poor condition and little can be learned from them. The milk teeth already show a marked degree of erosion.

Inhumation 19

Child; age 7-8.

This consists only of a few disintegrating pieces of skull, ribs, scapula and humerus.

Inhumation 20

Female; age 35-50.

Present. Fragments from most parts of the body, but all are in extremely poor condition. Parts of all vertebrae survive, many of which show severe osteoarthritis. This condition is also present in the right ankle joint and right tarsus, where it appears to be due to a Pott's fracture of the right fibula and tip of the right tibial malleolus. This resulted in slight shortening of the bone and a splaying of the ankle joint. The left ankle joint had large squatting facets, but not the right.

The lower part of the vertebral column is anomalous. The right transverse process of the 5th lumbar vertebra articulates with the wing of the sacrum on that side. The bone is laterally wedged, but some compensation occurs at the 4th lumbar segment. This bone shows the developmental anomaly of a detached neural arch.

Stature can be estimated as about 1578 mm. (5 ft. 2 in.).

Inhumation 21

Male; age 25-35.

Present. A well-preserved cranium survives. It is ovoid in norma verticalis with a steeply rising, slightly bossed frontal bone. There is a low tuber occipitale. Mastoid process development is moderate. The orbits are high and rounded; the zygomatic arches flaring. The dental arcade is a divergent U-shape.

Teeth:

R	87654321		12345678	L
	87•54321		12345•78	

Attrition is fairly heavy. In addition to the ante-mortem loss of the two mandibular first molars, the maxillary right M 2, left M 3 and the mandibular right PM 1 were carious.

The following cranial measurements were taken:

Length	182.6	Nasal height	51.4
Breadth	136.3	Nasal breadth	28.6
Height	133.7	Cranial index	74.6 (Dolichocranial)
Orbital breadth, left	42.5	Orbital index	81.6 (Mesoconch)
Orbital breadth, right	34.7	Nasal index	55.6 (Chamaerhin)

Post cranial bones were almost all severely damaged. Muscle markings were light throughout. Small squatting facets were present on both tibiae.

Stature could be estimated as 1710 mm. (5 ft. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.).

Part of a second, probably female, maxilla occurred with this burial, and there was some reduplication of a few post cranial fragments—also probably female.

Inhumation 22

Female; age 18–19.

Present. A fairly well-preserved cranium, which is ovoid in norma verticalis. The frontal bone rises moderately steeply from negligible brow ridges. There is a low tuber occipitale. Mastoid processes are light; orbits rounded; dental arcade a divergent U-shape.

The following measurements were taken:

Length	183.6	Nasal height	52.3
Breadth	139.2	Nasal breadth	22.4
Height	128.4	Cranial index	75.8 (Mesocranial)
Orbital breadth, left	40.0	Orbital index	85.5 (Hypsiconch)
Orbital height, left	34.2	Nasal index	42.8 (Leptorrhin)

Almost all post-cranial bones are fragmentary, but there is some reduplication, indicating the presence of a second body. A tibia with an unfused distal epiphysis is considerably more sturdy than the two damaged tibiae which seem to belong to the main inhumation, and it may be that of a young male, also aged about 18–19 years.

Stature is estimated as 1604 mm. (5 ft. 3 in.) for the female.

The skull of inhumation 22 has a small intersutural bone at the bregma. It also has a healed wound of the frontal bone. This is a shallow elliptical depression of the outer table of the skull, which extends from about the middle of the left half of the coronal suture forwards, and medially to the mid-line about half way between the bregma and glabella. This elliptical area measures 51 × 29 mm. It has healed with evidence of a low grade periostitis. There is no direct evidence that this lesion was in any way related to the cause of death.

Inhumation 23

Child; age 4–5

Little of this body survives except cranial fragments. It is in poor condition, but the dental evidence is sufficient to give the age of the child at death

Inhumation 24

Male; age 25-35

Present. A very defective skull and a few fragments of post cranial skeleton from a powerfully built man.

Teeth:

R	87654321		12345678	L

Marked attrition. No caries.

Inhumation 25

? Female; young adult.

Large numbers of disintegrating fragments of cranial and post cranial bones were present. There is some evidence of osteophytosis on the damaged lumbar vertebrae.

Inhumation 26

Child; aged *c.* 3 months.

Only a few disintegrating fragments survive.

Inhumation 27

No skeletal material survives.

Inhumation 28

Female; age 20-25.

This burial consists of many warped and disintegrating fragments of cranial and post cranial remains. Little can be learned from it.

Stature *c.* 1662 mm. (5 ft. 5½ in.).

Inhumation 29

No skeletal material survives.

Inhumation 30

Adolescent; age 14-16.

Remains of a few damaged long-bone fragments and a few other disintegrating bones.

Inhumation 31

Male; young adult.

No cranial remains.

A few damaged long bones, vertebrae, ribs and scapulae. Three thoracic vertebrae have Schmorl's nodes. The right femur has a shallow concavity in its medial condyle caused by osteochondritis dissecans.

Stature *c.* 1654 mm. (5 ft. 5 in.).

Inhumation 32

Child; age 5-6.

Only much damaged fragments remain.

A large alveolar abscess was present in the left maxilla.

Inhumation 33

Female; age 20–25.

Only a few mixed fragments remain, all in very poor condition.

Teeth:

R	87600320	00045678	L
	87600320	02345678	

Moderately heavy attrition; no caries.

Stature *c.* 1569 mm. (5 ft. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.).

SUMMARY

The outstanding feature of these burials is the extremely poor condition of the surviving bones. This greatly limits what can be learned from them, but some general conclusions can nevertheless be drawn.

Ten were identified as male, twelve as female, and six were not sexed. The expectation of life for this group is low. Only four were likely to have lived beyond the age of 35, fourteen died between 20 and 35, three in adolescence, five in childhood. In two adult burials no estimate of age was possible.

Stature for males ranges from 5 ft. 5 in. to 5 ft. 11 in., with a mean of about 5 ft. 8 in. Females range from 5 ft. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to 5 ft. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., with a mean of 5 ft. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. The general impression given by this group is of poor development and physique, compared with the average Early Saxon population as known in East Anglia.

In seven out of ten individuals, where there is evidence available, squatting facets at the ankle joints were found. This may suggest a poor level of house furnishing with, perhaps, low ceiling rooms devoid of stools or benches.

The dental evidence shows a coarse abrasive diet, which rapidly eroded the cusps of the teeth. In a few individuals caries was present, and may have accounted for some of the ante mortem tooth loss. It is a curious fact that parodontal disease—especially periapical abscess—is almost absent in this group. At Caister-on-Sea, Burgh Castle, Thetford St Mary, and Red Castle, Thetford it was extremely common. Its infrequency here is difficult to explain, but it may be that the diet of these people was not one which led to spicules of meat or fish bones, or husks of grain, becoming lodged between the necks of the teeth and the gum.

One male and one female showed evidence of injury to the frontal bone. The only other traumatic condition was one firmly healed Pott's fracture. This again is a low incidence, but it cannot of course be accepted as a true one, because of the deplorably incomplete state of every burial.

The few pathological conditions which can be recognized consist of osteoarthritis—chiefly of the lumbar spine—in several individuals, osteochondritis, and a few minor developmental anomalies. The early onset of osteoarthritis suggests that in general these people were exposed to fairly heavy physical stress.

The available evidence is far too slender to define with any precision the physical type and affinities of this group. Broadly, it can be said that they seem to be fairly close to the mean pattern of East Anglian Anglo-Saxons, and to be moderately homogeneous in themselves. (But these impressions must not be over-emphasized: the Chamaerrhine nasal index of Inhumation 21, for example, is by no means typical of Anglo-Saxon skulls.)

It is unfortunately all too clear that this exceptionally interesting community has suffered from hasty excavation.

APPENDIX III

LITTLE ERISWELL ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY
THE TEXTILES

ELISABETH CROWFOOT

With one exception the textiles from the part of the cemetery excavated in 1959 are a fairly typical Anglo-Saxon collection. They include a number of 2×2 (four-heddle) twills of varying coarseness, the ordinary woollen cloak and tunic materials preserved by metal objects from most cemeteries; a good amount of linen plain weave, perhaps from shirts or lighter tunics; and fragments of two tablet borders, but no braid belts, all the pieces from buckles and strap-ends being of leather.

These are the textiles to be expected from a respectable but not particularly rich village community. The exception is a beautifully regular 2×1 (three-heddle) twill, determined by the Wool Industries Research Association as of vegetable fibre, i.e. probably linen. This type of twill has already been reported from ten other Anglo-Saxon sites, including the very rich deposits of Sutton Hoo and Broomfield Barrow, but the weaving of the Eriswell piece compares favourably with the weaves even from these burials: it has the finest count of any piece of 2×1 found so far in England (30×22 threads per cm.).

Most of the examples from other sites are replaced, but in the cases where fibre determination was possible, they were of wool.¹ Dr Marta Hoffmann suggests that this three-heddle weave, which is unsuited to the warp-weighted loom in use among the peoples of northern Europe at this period, originated in the Near East.² It is possible that our fine linen piece may have been an import. It does not seem to have come from a garment; the fragments adhered to a lump of red sandstone found in grave 11, a strange object to be wrapped in a cloth of such good quality.

Two points of general interest that have been noted in recent examinations of Anglo-Saxon textiles are further confirmed by the Eriswell fragments. First, the most common spinning direction is Z; this tallies with Dr Margrethe Hald's observations on Danish and Norwegian Iron Age textiles,³ where from c. A.D. 400 onwards Z-spinning predominates, though both directions are still used—especially for fine textiles, as also occurred at Sutton Hoo. Secondly, recent examinations have shown that flax was the fibre used not only for plain weaves but also for fine twills—broken diamonds from Barrington, Cambridgeshire,⁴ Sutton Hoo⁵ and Finglesham,⁶ Kent, and now perhaps the 2×1 from Eriswell. It seems likely that the use of linen in the Anglo-Saxon period in England was far more general than has previously been suggested.

My thanks are due to the Wool Industries Research Association, Leeds, for their determinations.

¹ Broomfield Barrow, B 6, unpublished; Mitchell's Hill, Grace M. Crowfoot, 'Anglo-Saxon Tablet Weaving', *Ant. Jour.* xxxii (1952), nos. 3-4, p. 190.

² Marta Hoffmann, 'The Warp-weighted Loom', *Studia Norvegica*, 14 (Oslo, 1964), p. 252.

³ Margrethe Hald, *Olddanske Tekstiler* (Copenhagen 1950), pp. 141-4.

⁴ Grace M. Crowfoot, 'Textiles of the Saxon Period', *Proc. Camb. Arch. Soc.* XLIV (1950), pp. 30-2.

⁵ To be published shortly in the British Museum Catalogue.

⁶ E. Crowfoot in Sonia E. Chadwick, 'Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Finglesham, Kent', *Medieval Archaeology*, II (1958), p. 36.

INVENTORY

Grave 2

Ring brooches: traces textile, Z threads; probably twill.

Iron pins: traces, replaced; Z threads.

Bronze fragments: layers textile, deteriorated; fairly fine, Z, Z.

Grave 4

Iron buckle: traces textile.

Iron pin: remains coarse weave; Z, Z, probably twill. Pin tip: some layers—largest *c.* 3 × 2 cm. overall—Z, Z, plain weave, count *c.* 11 × 11 per cm. Fibre determined by W.I.R.A. as 'vegetable fibre, too badly damaged to be identified'.

Grave 6

Attached to leather and iron, and mixed with leafy matter: best fragments of textile separated were *c.* 1 × 0.7 cm., Z, Z, plain weave, spinning uneven, counts *c.* 20 × 16 (taken as 10 × 8 on 5 mm.) and 20 × 12 (10 on 5 mm.). Determined by W.I.R.A. as 'vegetable fibre; some of these fibres were comparatively well preserved and could be flax'.

Grave 9

Large cruciform brooch, back: replaced textile, best area 2 × 1.5 cm.; Z, Z, 2 × 2 twill, coarse, count *c.* 11 × 9 per cm. Front: two fragments, the largest *c.* 5 × 3 mm., plain weave, Z, Z, 6 × 5 threads.

Two smaller cruciform brooches, I: fragments textile on pin; Z, Z, fairly coarse, twill, not enough to get count. II: layers of replaced textile; largest patch, *c.* 2 × 1.5 cm., Z, Z, 2 × 2 twill, count *c.* 12 × 12 per cm.

Grave 10

Strap end; leather from belt.

Grave 11

Bronze buckle: probably leather from belt.

On red stone lump: many small fragments textile; very fine, Z, Z, extremely regular 2 × 1 twill, count 30 × 22 per cm. Fibre determined by W.I.R.A. as vegetable. Hairs stuck to the textile, but not woven, determined as rabbit fur. Cf. fine 2 × 1 twills from Broomfield Barrow (B 6, 21–25 × 19–20 per cm.) and Sutton Hoo (SH 7, 22 × 11; SH 8, 22 × 14); also Mitchell's Hill, 21 × 20 per cm. Of these, SH 7 had completely replaced fibres, the rest were of wool. (Pl. III b.)

Grave 12

Iron buckle: textile fragments, best area *c.* 1.5 × 1 cm.; Z, Z, twill, probably 2 × 2, surface deteriorated; count probably near that from grave 16.

Grave 14

Iron buckle, etc.: traces of replaced textile, Z threads.

Grave 16

Iron: patches of replaced textile, the largest *c.* 1.9 × 2.5 cm.; Z, Z, very regular fine 2 × 2 twill, spinning very even, count *c.* 19 × 19 per cm. (Pl. III c.)

Grave 18

Fragments of textile, Z threads, surface deteriorated, probably twill.

Grave 19

Brooch: traces of textile on pin.

Grave 21

Iron: fragment *c.* 2.5 × 1.2 cm.; Z, Z, coarse replaced twill, 2 × 2, count *c.* 8 × 8.

Annular brooch: several layers of replaced textile over an area *c.* 4.8 × 2 cm., Z, Z, 2 × 2 twill, count 16 × 12–13 per cm. (taken as 8 on 5 mm.), surface very brittle.

Grave 22

Bronze brooch, back: textile over an area *c.* 4 × 3 cm., another small patch; Z, Z, 2 × 2 twill, count *c.* 8 × 9 per cm.

Grave 24

Iron: Z threads.

Spearhead: scraps of deteriorated textile, Z threads.

Grave 27

Silver plates and iron pin: scraps, the best *c.* 1.2 × 1 cm., Z, Z, surface deteriorated, probably plain weave.

Bronze and iron scrap: fragment *c.* 1.3 × 0.7 cm., Z, Z, plain weave, count *c.* 14 × 10 (estimated on 5 mm.).

Iron buckle: patches of replaced textile, the largest 1.2 × 1.2 cm.; Z, Z, count *c.* 12 × 12, plain weave, surface deteriorated.

Spearhead: some Z threads.

Annular brooch: traces of replaced textile, coarse, Z one system.

Large square-headed brooch: fragment *c.* 8 × 8 mm., round pin; S one system, Z the other, probably 2 × 2 twill, coarse, count *c.* 14 × 10 (7 × 5 on 5 mm.).

Grave 28

Iron: coarse textile, area *c.* 1.5 × 0.5 cm., Z, Z, probably plain.

Iron with rivet: layers of textile, the largest *c.* 4.5 × 1.5 cm.; surface deteriorated, Z, Z, probably 2 × 2 twill, regular, count *c.* 12 × 12.

Iron ring: deteriorated textile, Z threads.

Square-headed brooch: remains round pin; Z, Z, probably 2 × 2 twill; also an area with impression of the same.

Iron buckle: traces, Z threads.

Bronze buckle (with beads): fragments, the largest *c.* 2 × 1.2 cm.; Z, Z, plain weave, count *c.* 12 × 12, rather uneven; several layers of cloth, inside a piece of leather, probably a belt.

Iron knife: several layers, Z, Z, probably the same plain weave, count 12 × 12, very pulled.

Girdle-hangers and keys: area covering *c.* 13 × 2.5 cm.; Z, Z, coarse 2 × 2 twill, count *c.* 9 × 8 per cm., probably wool. Front of hangers: replaced fur or hair fibres.

Tag end: fragment of leather.

Grave 29

Iron: fragment of replaced textile; 2.5 × 2.5 overall, Z, Z, 2 × 2 twill, count *c.* 8 × 8 per cm.

Grave 30

Iron and bronze fragments: traces of replaced textile, one *c.* 8×5 mm., Z, Z.

Grave 31

Iron fragments: replaced textile, Z, Z, coarse, 2×2 twill, estimated count *c.* 10×8 per cm.
Bronze: Z threads.

Grave 33

Large cruciform brooch, back: layers of replaced textiles: (1) All round pin; Z, Z, coarse 2×2 twill, count *c.* 9×9 per cm. (2) On top of this twill in one area $1 \text{ cm.} \times 8 \text{ mm.}$ (Pl. IV, area A), is a scrap of band, very deteriorated, probably 2-hole tablet; this may have had a fringe, as a few wefts stick out, Z-spun, heavily S-ply; all thread Z-spun, count 8 wefts per cm., 5 twists on 5 mm. This edge seems to belong to a finer textile than the 2×2 twill, Z, Z, perhaps twill, but the surface is very deteriorated; it may be the plain weave from the wrist-clasps (see below), and is probably the fine fabric associated with leaf matter. (3) Under a layer of (1) removed, across cross of brooch, an area of tablet twists, *c.* 2×1 cm.; thread Z, 4-hole tablets threaded right and left to form chevrons, 11 rows twists per cm., and 11 wefts per cm.; rather fine to be the border of the 2×2 twill (Pl. IV, area B). Some Z-spun, S-ply threads by head of brooch might be weft threads from this band.

Iron buckle: coarse Z threads, probably from twill.

Iron flakes and ring: remains of 2×2 twill, Z, Z, count *c.* 12×12 .

Coiled wire wrist-clasps: scrap of replaced textile; *c.* 1×0.2 cm., Z, Z, plain weave, count estimated *c.* $16-17 \times 15$ per cm. Attached to vegetable matter with imprint of wrist-clasps, were two areas of probably the same textile, the largest *c.* 2.5×2.5 cm., Z, Z, plain weave, count *c.* $14 \times 12-14$ per cm. (taken on 5 mm.), weaving uneven, pulled in places. With the vegetable matter, determined by W.I.R.A. as 'bundles of stems of plants', were scraps of deteriorated fine textile, Z threads, and some recognizable fragments of the wrist-clasp plain weave and the coarse 2×2 twill.

ST NEOTS PRIORY

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

THE town of St Neots owes its name, street plan and outstanding Market Square to the Benedictine Priory dedicated to the Saxon saint, but succeeding generations since the Dissolution have seen to it that today not a single stone of the edifice remains standing above ground. Before the present excavations began the only certainly known site of any building was that of the Gatehouse which for some unknown reason survived until 1814. The Ordnance Survey only indicates the general position of the Priory in gardens lying along the north side of Back (or Priory) Lane.

It had long been my ambition to try to locate and plan the Priory buildings and this desire was stimulated in 1954 when property development on the north side of St Neots Market Square (The Arcade) revealed medieval foundations inside the line of the Priory Precinct Wall (*Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1956), pp. 79-87).

In 1958 factory building for R. F. Development Ltd. took place on the north side of Back Lane. In the course of this the north-east corner of a medieval building in stone was found, only to be covered up within a few hours. It was all the more frustrating to realize that the foundations of the building to which it belonged lay under the new factory. Soon after, pipe-laying to the factory on its east side brought to light a ditch or rubbish pit from which came large quantities of fifteenth-century pottery and other objects (see Appendices 1 and 2) including a coin depicting the Boy Bishop (*Folklore*, vol. 71, June 1960).

It was then realized how urgent it was to undertake excavations before more building took place, and the Ministry of Works offered an annual grant to enable a small amount of paid labour to be employed. During the next two years land between the factory and Priory Path, and the Cross Keys garden, was explored, with the kind permission and co-operation of R. F. Development Ltd., Paine and Co. Ltd. and the garden tenant Mr Barnet.

As the general plan of the Priory began to unfold (Fig. 1), it became evident that the church lay under existing and long established buildings and yards on the south side of Back Lane and that its plan would not be recovered. The only piece of open land where a chance existed of locating the west end of the church was in the Barclays Bank house garden, and permission to dig here was readily given by Mr Sewell.

Having planned the sites mentioned above it became clear that much of the Cloister, Refectory, Western Range and Kitchen would be found in the garden of Priory House, but under the tennis lawn. The owner, Mr David Addington, gave generous permission to trench along his gravel paths and among flower beds and vegetables, where the position of the Western Range, Cloister, Refectory, Kitchen

and other buildings was found but could not be accurately planned. Only later, when the Cross Keys garden and most of Priory House garden was bought by St Neots U.D.C. for a car park, was it possible to explore the area of the tennis lawn and recover full plans of the buildings north and west of the Cloister.

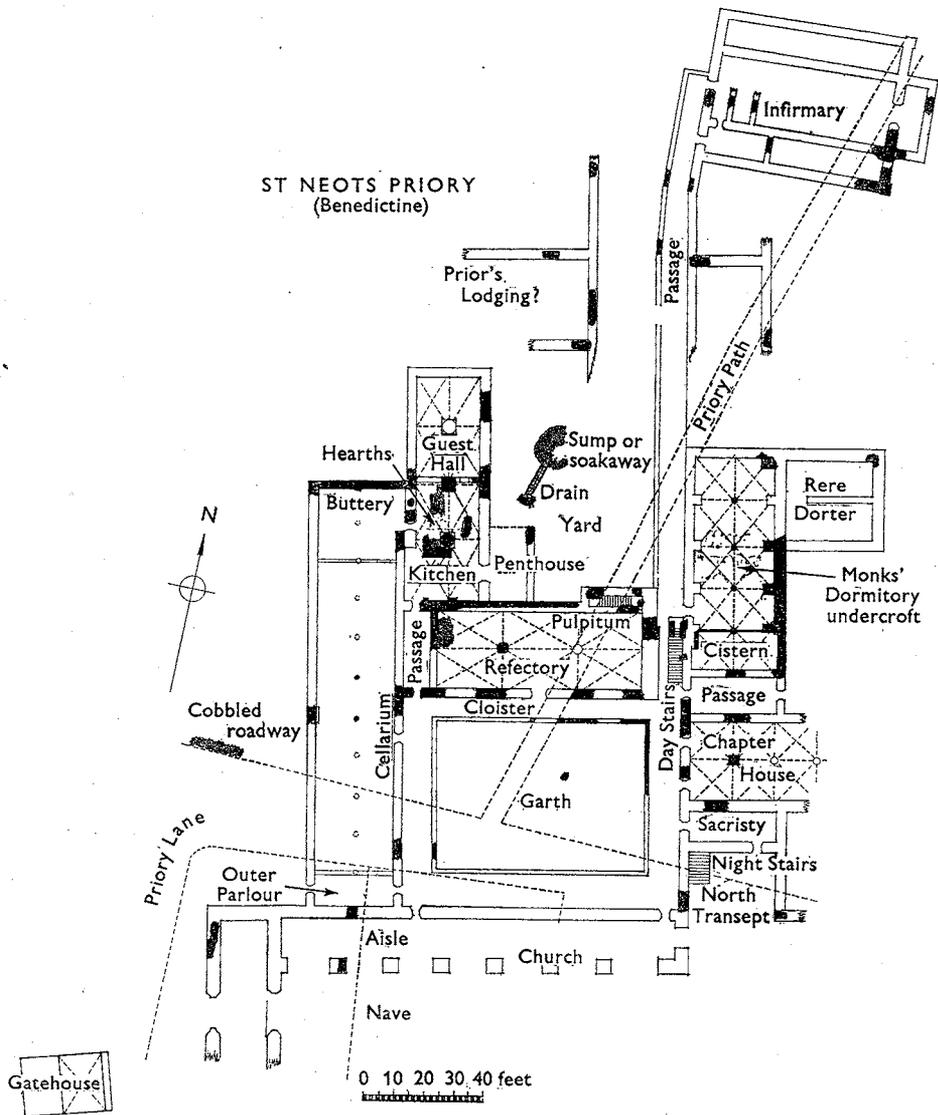


Fig. 1. Plan of Priory, St Neots.

Of those who have helped in the excavations over the five years they have been going on, I must first thank S. D. Cox, F.F.S., F.R.S.H., A.R.I.C.S., who took from my shoulders the weight of all the planning and surveying and has produced the plan accompanying this paper.

I am also grateful to S. Rigold, F.S.A., for vital help and advice in the initial stages of the work and to J. G. Hurst, F.S.A., who besides giving his advice has written

a report on the pottery; also to Miss E. Crowfoot for her note on the braid. Mrs Chibnall has added greatly to the interest of this paper by her appended historical article on St Neots Priory, and for this I am greatly in her debt (Appendix 4).

A number of young volunteers gave consistent help and hard work. In the early stages I would specially mention R. Joyce and J. Lamb, and in the later G. Rudd and C. Daines. Finally I am grateful to the St Neots U.D.C. for giving me a free hand on the land they acquired, and in their imaginative decision to preserve three of the centre column bases of the Dormitory undercroft under manhole covers in their new car park.

THE EASTERN RANGE

This was found to be in what was at the time of excavation the Cross Keys garden but is now a public car park. It extended a short distance farther northward into other property, now part of R. F. Developments Ltd. factory, and southward under Back Lane. All the evidence points to the main part being occupied by the Dormitory with an undercroft below.

THE DORMITORY

That this had been at least partly stone-built could be surmised from the foot-thick accumulation of building rubble that lay on the undercroft floor. This included both stone and clay roofing-tiles, cobble-stones with adhering mortar, broken floor-tiles glazed in green, blue and yellow, soft 2 in. red bricks, small pieces of Barnack building stone and larger pieces of worked clunch. Some of these latter could be recognized as groining ribs. Rarer finds included a short length of Alwalton marble column $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter, fragments of lead window carm and painted glass, and plaster with design lines in red and black. One design was of black lines meeting at right angles to imitate stonewall jointing (Fig. 3 *a-c*). The whole layer was heavily impregnated with lime mortar.

Pottery found among the rubble was mainly of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Other finds included a French token or jetton and an early sixteenth-century metal purse mount (Fig. 5 *d, k*). The lack of later material seemed to point to demolition having taken place at or soon after the Dissolution.

The Dormitory undercroft was divided into five 14 ft. bays by a line of central pillars of which the bases still remain below ground (Pl. V *a*). They appear to be mid thirteenth-century and have 'water holding' mouldings (prohibited by papal decree in 1264). They no doubt supported the clunch groining ribs mentioned above. The outer wall-foundations were in bad condition but it could be seen that there was a 'set off' on the inside opposite each pillar base to take the springer. An interesting feature of these 'set offs' was that in each one examined there was a square hole to take an upright wooden post. One can only guess that either the whole building had originally been of wood and replaced *in situ* in stone, or, perhaps more likely, that the upper storey was in wood with the undercroft walls in stone. This latter theory is supported by the narrowness and poor quality of the wall-foundations.

The roof could have been covered by either clay or stone tiles; both were common in the rubble.

The floor of the undercroft was, in different places, of clay or mortar and did not appear to have ever been tiled, although broken floor tiles were found on it. There can be no doubt that the rubble layer contained material from buildings other than the Dormitory.

Access to the Dormitory was by outside Day Stairs, the foundation for which was found on the west side between the Western Range and the Refectory.

The south bay of the Dormitory undercroft had obviously been used for a quite different purpose from the others. It had been divided from the other bays by a partition wall in which there was no sign of a doorway and which had been imposed on the south centre pillar-base subsequent to its original building. Its floor had been dug out to a depth of 4 ft. 6 in. below that of the other bays, resulting in a cistern-like structure, the below-ground walls of which were finely rendered with cement to make them watertight. All these walls, except that on the east which was vertical, were sloped inwards.

Some time after its construction this 'tank' had been filled to a depth of 12 in. with a mixture of sand and weak mortar (which contained fifteenth-century pottery (Fig. 9)), and a clay floor laid on its surface. This floor accumulated several inches of mud or silt with pottery of the same date, before it was itself covered by 10-12 in. of blue clay levelled at the top to form another floor. This latest floor accumulated its own inch or so of deposit, upon which the destruction layer lay directly.

A curious feature of this upper clay deposit and floor was that, while it was regular over most of the bay, it stopped 2 ft. short of the line of the north wall except for a narrow strip in the centre running up to the pillar base. This left two small disconnected ditches or gullies 2 ft. wide running along the inside of the north wall and extending downwards to the level of the lower floor, a foot below. These gullies were found to be filled by black humus containing much domestic and other rubbish (Fig. 9). Among the pottery sherds was much Cistercian ware and two small sherds of South Netherlands Maiolica flower vase. There were numerous animal bones, plain and painted window glass, lead carm, nails, folded sheet-lead, ironwork and a sheet of lead pierced with holes to form a strainer. As on all the floors the pottery was of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

The original use of this tank, or conduit-like structure, is difficult to determine. One suggestion is that it was part of the Rere-dormitory (Pl. *Ve*) and another that it held water to supply the lavatory handbasins in the nearby cloister.

SOUTH OF THE DORMITORY

Buildings in the Eastern Range south of the Dormitory were separated from it by a wall of clunch. They were of the same width as the Dormitory and were traced for a further 33 ft. before they passed under existing modern buildings adjoining Back Lane. It was clear that here were ground-floor rooms with substantial interior walls,

which for that reason had been completely robbed. A trench north and south down the interior revealed small portions of undisturbed floor and wide robber-trenches, going down in some cases to a depth of 4 ft. It appeared that immediately south of the Dormitory was a ground-floor room about 10 ft. wide. South of these was an area of even greater confusion, dug all over to a great depth by stone robbers and seeming to indicate the foundations of a substantial building, which from its position might be the Chapter House.

THE CLOISTER

Once the probable nature of the range of buildings described above had been surmised, confirmation that they did in fact constitute the Eastern Range was sought outside the west side at its southern end where the Cloister should lie. Here it was in fact found, with a walk consistently 10 ft. 6 in. wide.

While its inner wall was, as is usual, formed by the wall of adjacent buildings, its outer wall, next the Garth, was a weak one. Nowhere was it greater than 1 ft. 4 in. in width and was constructed of stones set in mortar with a level top. This seemed to indicate a later date, possibly fifteenth century, and that it was really a sub-wall base for timber construction. The foundations of this sub-wall were 2 ft. 6 in. wide and rather more strongly built, and thus may have once supported an original stone cloister replaced later by one of timber.

To make quite certain that the cloister had not been built in stone, some 30 ft. of the north cloister sub-wall was exposed without revealing any offsets to support stone vaulting pillars (Pl. Vd).

The roof had obviously been of clay plaintiles which lay broken in great numbers on the floor of the walk. The walk itself was of clay although it did appear that some plaintiles had been deliberately imbedded on it as floor tiling.

A number of tubular bronze rivetted lacing tags or 'points' were found imbedded in the floor.

The east-west length of the Garth was approximately 70 ft. The plan suggests that it was not square, but it may well have been so; there was no means of ascertaining the exact position of the South walk.

THE PRIORY CHURCH

The great disappointment of the excavation was the impossibility of recovering an adequate plan of the Church. From the position of the Cloister it was apparent that this must lie under the back yard and stables of the Cross Keys Hotel as well as farther west under the Arcade where wall foundations and even some floor tiles were found *in situ* in 1955.¹ The only possible site, where remains of the Church might still be found in open ground, was at the north end of the garden of Barclays Bank House. Conditions, however, were not easy. The level of the garden was found to be 3 ft.

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1956), pp. 79-87.

above that of Priory Lane and, with extremely loose made-up soil, trenches at a depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. were unstable and dangerous. Nevertheless some wall foundations and robber-trenches were plotted, and on what must have been the floor of the Church a few glazed floor-tiles were found *in situ*. It was significant that in places on the floor missing or broken tiles had been repaired or replaced with clay, and clay had even been spread over tiles in the course of repairs.

It was gratifying to find at the west end of the garden a large north-and-south robber-trench that must represent the west wall of the Church. If the Cloister was square, the Church must lie somewhat further south than is suggested on the plan. It is probable that there was a tower, perhaps at the west end.

THE WESTERN RANGE

The Western Range was found by trenching among the trees and shrubs in front of Priory House where conditions were difficult for excavation. On the west of the site a 15 ft. wide roadway was found with a surface of cobbles and other stones. This seemed to be a continuation of the present Priory Lane that once led from the foot of St Neots bridge through the Priory Gatehouse to the west side of the Western Range. Farther east we were lucky to come on one of the support bases in the west wall of the Western Range which, as in the Eastern Range, contained a large square post-hole. Continuing to trench eastward we found the east wall at exactly the same measurement as that of the Eastern Range. In the centre, however, a flat platform of stones took the place of the circular pillar base. The next centre base to the north was easily found by measurement and compass. In this case it consisted of a large square posthole with a small round posthole just to the north of it, this latter possibly representing a marking out post put in when the building was set out.

In contrast to the great accumulation of building rubbish overlaying the floor of the Eastern Range, here there was none, not even roofing tiles. The wall foundations too were of poor construction and cannot have been intended to take a stone building. There seems no doubt that this building was all in timber construction and probably thatched. Foundations of an eighteenth-century brick wall were found built on top of the east wall of the Western Range; reference to eighteenth-century maps of St Neots shows that this was the boundary wall of Priory House at the date. They also show that Priory Path (known then as Priory Lane) ran along the east side of that wall, that is actually along part of the west Cloister walk. By the early nineteenth century the garden had been enlarged to its present size (1963) and Priory Path diverted to a more easterly route.

Farther north, where the Western Range flanked the Refectory, it was inaccessible on account of trees and it was not until it extended as far as the Priory kitchen that it was possible to expose it. Here in the last bay but one, where there had been much destruction and robbery and the soil disturbed to a considerable depth, it had the appearance of a filled in cellar.

A partition sub-wall of cobbles in good condition separated this bay from the most northerly one. It had a level top to take the cill of a wooden frame building (Pl. VI *d*).

The last bay had probably become ruinous in monastic times, as much building and monastic kitchen rubbish had been dumped on its floor. Also on the floor lay the remains of a thirteenth-century door with its ornamented hinges and ironwork intact (Pl. V *c*). The shape of the door with its pointed head could be seen as a black stain on the clay floor.

From these last two bays there appeared to be openings into the kitchen block, but it was difficult to be sure of this as the dividing wall was destroyed by the eighteenth-century garden wall referred to above.

THE REFECTORY

As can be seen from the plan, the Refectory occupied almost the whole of the north side of the Cloister. Its foundations were substantial to support what must have been a stone building. At the east end, one of the few places where they had not been robbed, they were 5 ft. thick. The original Refectory measured 80 × 26 ft. inside but late in the fifteenth century a 2 ft. 6 in. thick brick partition-wall had been built across the west end, cutting off a screens passage 9 ft. 6 in. wide. Through this would lie a way from the Cloister to the kitchen and the partition-wall may well have had a serving hatch to the Refectory. The wall itself was built of 2 in. red bricks laid in Old English Bond with an extremely hard rubble core and was butted up to, not keyed into, the main Refectory walls (Pl. VI *a*). The bricks were similar to those used in Buckden Palace and Diddington and Southoe Church towers, and came no doubt from the recently discovered brickworks along the Diddington Brook.¹

In the north wall of the screens passage was a recess 3 ft. long and 10 in. deep. This may have taken a recessed cupboard or been part of a serving hatch from the Kitchen to the Refectory before the partition was built.

At the north-east end of the Refectory, on the outside, it will be noted that the wall foundations are doubled in width. This would be to support, in the thickness of the wall, the stairway leading to the pulpit without which no Refectory was complete.

Outside the east end there was a space 3 ft. wide between the Refectory wall and the Dormitory Day Stairs. Through this narrow space would be the 'Dark Entry' leading from the Cloister through the buildings surrounding it out to the north.

No floor survived in the Refectory except part of a rough cobbled floor at the west end next the screens wall. This was almost certainly a stable or barn floor, put down after the Dissolution. There were, however, inside, among large quantities of other building rubble, a number of broken glazed floor-tiles. The large numbers of stone roofing-tiles included in this rubble was evidence that they had come from the roof above.

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), p. 146.

THE KITCHEN

This building had undergone drastic reconstruction during its long period of use. The original twelfth-century Norman Kitchen was substantially built, running north from the north-west end of the Refectory in the angle of the Western Range. Its interior measurement was 21 ft. × 68 ft. and its roof was supported by three massive centre pillars. At an early date, perhaps even originally, the two northern bays were partitioned off and cooking confined to the south end (Pl. VII*c*).

Probably about 1300 the building was reconstructed. The heavy central columns were taken down and presumably a single-span roof constructed. This would give more room for storage and movement in the building. At the same time the clay plain tiles were replaced by stone slates.

The two northern central pillars were taken right down to their below-floor foundations and subsequent floors covered them (Pl. VII*d*). In the case of the south pillar, however, its base at least was left standing and is still several feet high. It may be that it was left to support a chimney, but at any rate from the earliest times its base was affected by fires and in the fifteenth-century ovens were built against it on the west side (Pl. VII*a*).

As already stated in describing the Western Range, there were probably openings in the west wall leading into the Western Range. From the two north bays there would have been a step up of 2 ft.

On the east side and at the south end of the kitchen next the Refectory, the east wall was completely missing, giving open access to further buildings, probably the Brewhouse.

It was not possible to clear the interior of the kitchen completely nor indeed was it thought desirable to do so, as here was one of the few places on the site where stratified floor layers covering perhaps 400 years remained intact. Much therefore remains here for future investigation.

At the south end, used as a kitchen up to the Dissolution, seven superimposed floors could be recognized. The practice seems to have been first to make a hard level floor of clay or mortar. When an inch or so of dirt had accumulated on this, gravel or sand was spread over it and another floor laid. The earlier floor deposits were thin and contained few identifiable objects or pottery, whereas those following had an increasing thickness of deposits and noticeably more animal food-remains (Fig. 6).

From floor no. 1 (the lowest) came only sherds of developed St Neots ware of the twelfth century. On floor no. 2 lay a slightly worn silver penny of an issue of 1280/1, together with an iron door-key dated perhaps 1256–1319,¹ some painted window-glass and a sherd with green glaze.

From no. 4 floor came another iron door key dated *c.* 1300.

Above this floor first appeared broken stone slates in addition to the clay plain tiles that had occurred at all the earlier levels. The floor too was the first to be laid over

¹ Cf. London Museum Medieval Cat. p. 135 Type 11/1111 and p. 145, no. 6.

the foundations of the destroyed centre pillar bases and was therefore presumably contemporary with the reconstruction of the building.

The last floor, presumably of the early sixteenth century, had built up without apparently any attempt at sweeping or cleaning out. There were numerous remains of domestic animals, including cattle, sheep and pigs, chickens and their eggs, fish and shells of sea mussel, cockle, oyster and whelk. Rather strangely, very little pottery was connected with this last phase, what little there was being Cistercian ware.

To this last phase could be assigned the small pair of ovens built up against the surviving central pillar-base. They were built of stone with bases of clay roofing plain tiles set on edge (Pl. VII *b*). They are too small for baking ordinary bread loaves and it has been suggested that they were used in making communion-wafers. A hearth similarly constructed of plain tiles was found at the same level slightly farther north. Staining on its surface suggested that a similar oven had once been built on it also.

Owing to the presence of a large *Ailanthus* tree, very little of the building north of the partition wall could be examined. It was, however, clear that this part was not used for kitchen purposes, and it had not the succession of floors found at the south end. It may well have been the Guest Hall.

An interesting find was a ditch which ran in an east-west direction under the extreme south end of the kitchen. It had been much disturbed by monastic foundation-trenches, but from an undisturbed part of it came sherds of black micaceous Saxon pottery and a *sceatta* of the sixth/seventh century (now deposited in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

BUILDINGS EAST OF THE KITCHEN

As previously stated, the south end of the east wall of the Norman Kitchen was missing and no trace was found of it ever having existed. This gap gave wide access to a building or buildings built in the angle of the kitchen and Refectory.

It seems likely that the first use of the building was as a cellar, as soil had been dug out, all over its area, to a depth of 6 ft. from the present surface. The cellar had then been deliberately filled in from the north side (as tip lines showed) to a depth of 3 ft. 6 in., with yellowish loam containing a few bones, a small quantity of coal, clay, plain tiles (no stone tiles were found) and small sherds of Saxon and Saxo-Norman pottery (Fig. 7). Over this had been laid 1 ft. of dark loam, containing twelfth-century pottery, and on its levelled surface a floor was laid. This floor consisted of 4 in. of weak mortar and sand capped by clay. In the floor base was green and yellow glazed Oxford type pottery of the thirteenth-fourteenth century, together with oyster- and sea mussel-shells. About the centre of the building, a circular hole 3 ft. 6 in. in diameter had been cut in the floor to insert a mass of blue clay 18 in. deep, set on a base of cobble stones. The top of the clay was level with the floor and it may have been used as a stand for a large barrel.

The original north wall of the building had been taken down. This probably happened at the time when the floor was laid as it extended over the foundations, to cover a building to the north. This northern extension had no north wall thus leaving the building with an open end. In the north-east corner of the extension was a low round stone platform, about 6 ft. wide, from which led, in a north-east direction, an open-top drain built of stone roofing-tiles. This drain discharged into a soakaway pit, which was about 10 ft. across, at least 6 ft. deep, and filled with large stones among which were many domestic animal bones, including cattle skulls (Pl. VI*b*). Pottery in the pit and drain was mainly of the fifteenth century. Other finds were a jetton of the same date and one blade of a pair of scissors *c.* 1300.¹

Farther east of this building were signs of clay floors; these probably belonged to light timber buildings, as no wall foundations were found.

It has been suggested that this group of buildings with the drain and soakaway may have been the priory Brewhouse, but I think it is more likely to have been part of the Kitchen.

THE PRIOR'S LODGING (?)

Excavations north of the Kitchen revealed a building running east and west, with an interior measurement of approximately 40 by 26 ft. It is thought to have possibly been the Prior's Lodging. It had almost certainly been of timber construction and had been extensively robbed. Nothing remained but the much mutilated floor and some slight traces of weak wall foundations. There was almost certainly a window containing painted glass in about the middle of the north wall, as a large number of glass fragments lay just outside at that point.

To the south of this building and between it and the Kitchen and soakaway had been open ground. It was trenched at close intervals and no trace of buildings was found. On an old surface, however, just above undisturbed ground, were numerous sherds of twelfth-century St Neots ware.

BUILDINGS NORTH OF THE PRIOR'S LODGING

North of the Infirmary were found the remains of a building with a north and south axis and with an inside measurement of 24 by 40 ft. From the remains of its wall foundations (only represented by robber trenches) and the building-rubble lying on its clay floor, it had been built of clunch and limestone and had both clay and stone roofing-tiles. At one place on its floor was the remains of a smelting-hearth where lead had been rendered down, probably during the monastic period as medieval pottery was found among the lead fragments.

It was found that the building had been superimposed on the foundations of an older building of different plan, whose dimensions, however, could not be determined without grave interference with the garden lay-out. This earlier building was probably constructed of wood and roofed with thatch, as no building material remained on

¹ Cf. London Museum Catalogue, pp. 150-3.

its floor. Several inches of humus separated the two floors and in this occurred twelfth-century pottery sherds. The lower floor was heavily burnt in many places, probably an indication that the building had been destroyed by fire.

Unfortunately the remains of these buildings were destroyed before they could be accurately plotted in relation to the rest of the site; they are thus not shown on the plan.

THE FIRST INFIRMARY (?)

This was discovered in 1959 when builders engaged in extending the R. F. Development factory came across a large number of cobble-stones while digging a rainwater soakaway 3 ft. below the present surface.

When the area was cleared down to the level of the cobble-stones it was found that they came from the foundations of an aisled building partly covered by the new factory and extending under Priory Path.

Where undisturbed the foundations were found to consist of a level double layer, mainly of cobble-stones but including an occasional piece of brown sandstone and limestone. The stones were all set in clay with no trace of mortar (Pl. VI*c*). Above the foundation-level was an unbroken layer of dark soil containing pottery, all of which was developed St Neots ware of the twelfth century. Also from this level came a small woman's or child's bronze ring decorated with oak leaves (Fig. 5*j*).

The floor inside the building was of clay and from under it came a few sherds of black micaceous Saxon pottery. There was a step of 4 in. up from the 'nave' to the 'chancel' and at one of the interior corners a small pile of snail shells.

It was evident from its plan that the foundations must have extended beyond Priory Path into the former garden of Priory House. Here search was made for them and traces were found at the same level, but other and no doubt later priory buildings had been erected here and many cobbles were found displaced and scattered.

One can only make suggestions as to what these remains represent. One possibility is that a wooden building had been erected on these foundations and had been destroyed or removed before the end of the twelfth century. Against this theory, the massive stone foundations seem out of all proportion to what would be necessary to support a wooden building. Another suggestion is that a building was planned here but was never erected. It is, I think, quite certain that no stone building was ever built here. There was no trace of lime in the overlying soil nor any scrap of stone walling or roofing-tile. This was in contrast to the foot or so of building rubble that lay over the foundations of stone buildings elsewhere on the site.

All the experts on monastic buildings who saw the foundations, or their place on the plan, seem to agree that it is most likely that they were intended as an Infirmary.

THE GATEHOUSE

The Priory Gatehouse is one of the few buildings of whose position we have a documentary record. Although it survived until 1814 no picture or description of it is

known. Even Gorham, who published his 'History of St Neot's' in 1820 and must have been familiar with it, includes no sketch or description.

It is highly probable that it was pulled down by John Day who bought the Priory House and business premises in 1814 and greatly expanded the brewing and merchants' trade there. He would be able to do this as Priory Lane, described in a deed of 1655 as extending 'from the Priory gates and Porters Lodge there unto the farthest outward gate next the islands common', was part of the property. The gatehouse was no doubt an obstacle to his heavy brewers' wagons.

The inscribed stone, set in the wall on the west side of Priory Lane to mark the position of the Gatehouse, was placed there by St Neots U.D.C. on information obtained from the Sir Stephen Anderson Survey of 1757.¹ In 1964 the correctness of its position was confirmed when gas mains were laid along the west side of Priory Lane and foundations encountered at this spot.

THE PRIORY WALL

The chief evidence for the Priory precinct wall facing the Market Square comes from the Survey of 1757, on which its line is plainly marked as the south boundary of the Priory Estate. It will be seen that the boundary at the west end starts a little south of the Priory Gate opposite the still existing open way to the river marked 'Watering Place', and continues eastward as far as New Lane (New Street). The point where it reaches the present New Street is about 25 ft. south of the corner of Back or Priory Lane.

It will be seen from the Survey that by 1757 the wall was no longer a physical barrier, as Market Square properties, at least on the western side, had extended across the boundary to 'The Passage to the Back Yards', Back Lane having not, at that date, been carried through to New Street.

Any doubts that the boundary did indeed represent the precinct wall were resolved when foundation trenches were dug during the building of the Arcade, Boots', and Woolworth's shops. In each case a large robber-trench was found in the correct measured position, and from which no doubt the wall-foundations had been dug. These excavations also established that this line of the wall was not an original one, as a number of burials from the cemetery adjoining the Priory Church have been found from time to time under 'Shop Row' properties south of the wall-line. Indeed in the Arcade a burial was found disturbed by the wall foundation-trench, although here it is possible that the south wall of the Church nave formed the boundary. In the record of the Visitation of Bishop Gray in 1432, there is mention of a door on the south side of the nave leading into the town. This would be the door used by the parishioners when the Priory Church was used as a parish church.

One can only surmise that the original Priory boundary on the south was retracted at some time, possibly in the twelfth century when the grants of charters for fairs and

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1956), plate vi.

markets led to the laying out of the spacious market square with valuable letting space for shops on its sunny north side.

On the east we can, I think, assume that the line of New Street was the boundary, which must have extended at least as far north as to include the Baptist Church cemetery, in which were the Priory fishponds, before it returned west to the river. However, as far as I am aware no actual trace has ever been found of the east and north boundaries.

THE PRIORY GRAVE-YARD

Now that we know the position of the Priory Church the finding of human skeletons from time to time under properties on the north side of the Market Square is no surprise. During the nineteenth century it is recorded that they were found in the Cross Keys property and that now occupied by Barclays Bank at the corner of Priory Lane. In more recent years others have been disturbed in the building of the Arcade, Boots' (nos. 17, 19), Woolworth's (no. 31), and Hunts. Electrical (no. 33) shops. This latter site is a long distance from the Priory Church and shows that the cemetery was a large one, catering for the civil population as well as the monks. This view is supported by the fact that several skeletons examined by the writer were those of women.

No church at St Neots is mentioned in the Domesday Survey and none appears in any record until about 1183. Before this the nave of the Priory Church probably served as a parish church and no doubt the parish grave-yard was adjoining. A grave-filling on the site of the Hunts. Electrical shop was carefully examined and contained only twelfth-century pottery.

As mentioned under the heading of the Priory Wall, burials on the site of the Arcade were found on both sides of the Priory Wall and one was actually disturbed when the wall was built. All those examined by the writer were buried in the Christian east-west position.

THE MILL

There seems no doubt that one of the Priory water-mills was built on the riverside, near the Gatehouse.

In Letters Patent 4 June 1584 the Crown let a mill to Edward Catley, and it is described as 'all that Mill, Brewhouse and Millhouse situate and being at the gate of the late Priory of St Neots within the town of St Neots'. It is further described as standing in great decay and ruin and the tenant agreed to repair and maintain it.

Its actual site was almost certainly just outside the Gatehouse and immediately north of the old horse-watering place, now a public access to the river adjoining the Bridge Hotel. This is confirmed on the Sir Stephen Anderson Survey of 1757¹, where a riverside building in this position is marked 'The Mill House' (Pl. VIII).

The nearby medieval bridge, built on the present bridge site just upstream, had many stone piers close together and it is likely (as was the case with London Bridge)

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1956), 79.

that some of these could be temporarily blocked to force water through the most easterly channel. From here it would be led, by means of a diagonal weir, to the mill wheel.

In 1964, when the new St Neots bridge was being built, part of a millstone of Neidermendig lava, 1 ft. 10 in. in diameter, was dredged from the river. It may well have come from this mill.

FISH PONDS AND WATER COURSES

It is well known that a running water-course was one of the requirements of all monasteries and that the position of such a stream often determined the siting of the whole institution. One of the disappointments of the excavation was that the Great Drain which should run under or near the Rere-dormitory was not found.

There is still a strong tradition in St Neots, first told to the writer by his nursemaid, that the present Priory Path crosses an underground passage leading from the Priory to Priory Hill or Monks Hardwick. Indeed the partially ruined tunnel to the ice-house in the garden of Priory Hill House used to be pointed out as the outlet at that end. One can only imagine that some sort of culverted drain was found when the walls of the new diverted Priory Path were built, very early in the nineteenth century.

At present the only open stream running through the town is Fox Brook which turns south to join Hen Brook before approaching the centre. Street excavations for public services have shown, however, that in medieval times a number of open ditches ran through the town, notably one along the north side of High Street and another crossing the Market Square. Neither of these would seem to satisfy the Priory needs and to do so a stream farther north would have to be found. The only evidence for the existence of such a ditch or stream is what appeared to be a deep filled-in ditch, containing thirteenth-century pottery, which was found when building the Russell Court flats at the corner of Russell Street in 1959. If this stream really existed, it may well have been used to fill what must be the Priory fish-ponds that are shown on the Sir Stephen Anderson 1757 Survey on the site of the present Strict Baptist cemetery in New Street. They appear as two artificial oblong ponds approximately 90 × 25 ft. and 45 × 20 ft.

BUILDING MATERIALS

As the greater part of the building materials used in the Priory had been removed, specimens could only be obtained from broken fragments scattered over the site or in the robber-trenches of its demolishers. The exceptions were the few pillar-supports still left *in situ* and some short lengths of wall foundation missed by the robbers. Thus it was almost impossible to equate particular materials with building periods.

Walling

Building stone was from two sources, the Barnack quarries and the Bedfordshire sandstone beds. The latter possibly came from Sandy where large disused quarries

can still be seen. Stones from both sources occur together in wall foundations, as they do in the walling of most of the medieval churches in the neighbourhood. Water communication was possible to both source areas.

A short length of polished marble pillar, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, was identified by Dr C. L. Forbes of the Sidgwick Museum, Cambridge, as Alwalton Marble.

Bricks of about 2 in. thickness were scattered all over the site in small quantities and a number were found *in situ* in the Screens Wall in the Refectory. They were not keyed into the main stone walls and so must have been a later addition. They can almost certainly be identified as coming from the Diddington Brook brickworks about 5 miles away.¹

Windows

Lead carm and broken panes of stained glass were found all over the site. Most of the glass was exceedingly fragile and quite opaque, but a few specimens of clear glass were found. Some examples, one with lettering, were kindly examined by Mr R. L. Charleston of the Victoria & Albert Museum, who wrote '...the fragments of stained glass from St Neots Priory are unfortunately too small and opaque to be dated with any accuracy. However, the thickness of the glass and the type of lettering would suggest that they are late fourteenth or early fifteenth century'.

Doors

The only example found had attached to it the fine ornamental ironwork illustrated on Pl. Vc. The door itself only appeared as a black stain on a clay floor at the north end of the Western Range.

Roofing

The only roofing materials found were stone slates, clay plain tiles and ridge-tiles, and sheet lead. From the lack of any of the above on the site of the Western Range, it can with little doubt be assumed that it was roofed with thatch.

Stone slates

With the exception mentioned above, these were widely scattered but particularly over the sites of the Refectory and Eastern Range. Seven distinct types were found (Fig. 2) but this may not have exhausted the number as few were found intact. Some large ones may have been 'tile and a half', and small ones 'half tiles'. One of a lozenge shape closely resembles a stone slate of the Roman period, but in contrast to Roman specimens, which have holes made with the blow of a pick, all the Priory slates have a drilled hole of about $\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter.

It was at first assumed that these slates came from the Colleyweston quarries near the source of the Barnack stone. However, a number of specimens were submitted to Dr Forbes and slides were cut and examined. He had no hesitation in reporting that they certainly did not come from Colleyweston, but closely resembled slates from

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), p. 146.

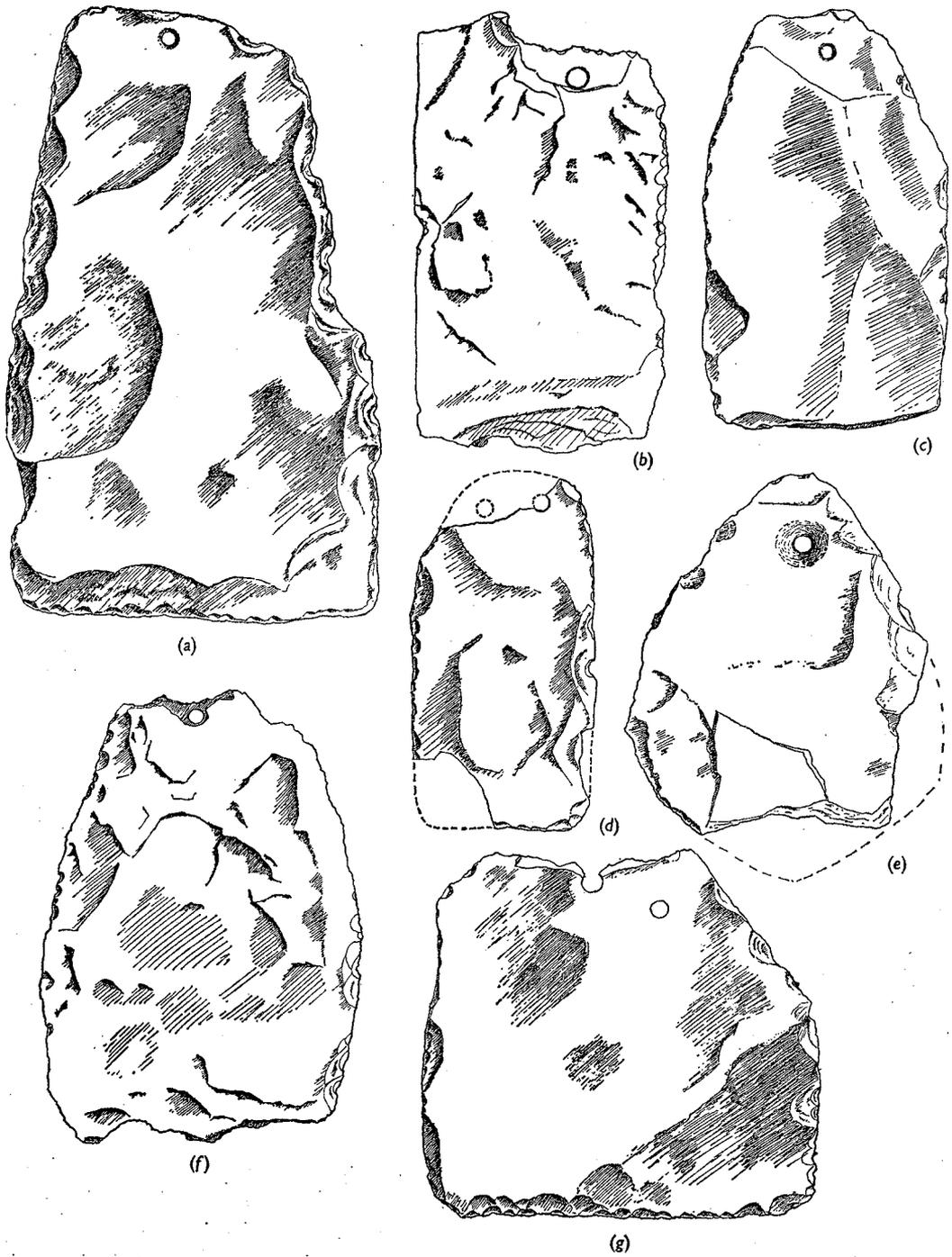


Fig. 2. St Neots Priory: stone tiles. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

the Oxfordshire quarries of which Stonesfield is the best known. This seems surprising in view of the greater distance and apparent lack of communications. It is, however, paralleled in the trade in Saxo-Norman St Neots Ware pottery between Oxfordshire and Cambridgeshire,¹ and is a subject that needs further investigation.

No stone slates were found on the early sealed floor-levels of the Priory Kitchen, the first appearing on a floor that was probably thirteenth century.²

Clay plaintiles

These were also found widely scattered and in all the Kitchen floor-levels. Their great abundance over the site of the Cloister make it almost certain that they formed its roof. The only whole example found measured $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. and was holed in each corner. This is much larger than the twelfth-century plaintiles from Sibthorpe Manor House, Ellington, Huntingdonshire, which were only 6 in. wide, and it may have been a 'tile and a half'.

Ridges and finials

A number of broken clay ridge-tiles were found, some of which were glazed or partly glazed. One example had a ridge ornament. Several examples of ornamental finials were found; they consisted of mushroom-like projections on the apex of the ridge-tile.

In the old brewery yard behind Priory House is a massive but plain ridge-finial, cut from limestone and presumably from the Priory.

Lead

Several pieces of sheet roofing-lead with nail-holes along the edge were found.

Floors

Where undisturbed floors remained they were of poor quality, usually of clay or mortar. This is perhaps not surprising in undercroft buildings. In the Kitchen, floors were renewed again and again by a new layer of clay or gravel laid on top of the accumulated refuse on the old floor. In the Refectory the original floor had all been removed, but a number of broken floor tiles were found, glazed in monochrome without pattern or device. Indeed no decorated tiles were found in the whole excavation. In the floor at the west end of the Church a few glazed tiles were found *in situ* but with intervening spaces patched with clay. The floor-tile fragments found were glazed in yellow, green and brown.

A possible source of the glazed floor-tiles was an extensive tile and brickmaking site found in 1965 in what had formerly been Littlers Wood at the west end of Diddington Reservoir (52/133681). Here, among other products, green glazed floor-

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1956) pp. 43-70.

² This date was supported in the excavation, in 1965, of Sibthorpe Manor House, Ellington, Huntingdonshire. The house, built in the twelfth century, was roofed entirely with clay plaintiles and no stone slates were found.

tiles were being made, and among the wasters strewn on the site were many pottery sherds of the late fifteenth century.¹

Cobbles

A very great many cobble-stones lay all over the site at all levels and many were used in wall cores and foundations. I have no idea of the source of this stone but would imagine that it must have come from the sea coast. In the early nineteenth century, when cobbles were required for paving in St Neots, they were obtained from Spurn Head and brought by water through Kings Lynn. This may have been a traditional source of supply.

FOOD AND COOKING

In the kitchen area the deterioration in habits, regarding both cleanliness and the Benedictine Rule against eating meat, was very apparent. The earlier floors had only a thin layer of rubbish on them and when this accumulated to the thickness of an inch or so, a new floor of gravel, clay or mortar was laid on top of the old. In succeeding ages this rubbish layer became thicker before the floor was renewed and it contained many remains of domestic food animals. These included cow, sheep, pig, deer, domestic fowl and other birds. There were also egg-shells and many bones of fish. All these were probably local products, but from the coast came the many hundreds of shells of oyster, mussel, cockle and whelk found. Pottery sherds were fairly numerous on the early floors, but became scarcer on succeeding ones and were almost completely absent on the latest. This may be due to the use of metal cooking-vessels in the kitchen.

The hard floor-layers separated by soft decaying matter formed a natural home for rats and mice, with whose runs they were riddled.

The only constructed hearths found in the kitchen were made of clay roof-tiles laid close together on edge and these also formed the base of the two small ovens (Pl. VII *b*). They were so small that their use for bread-making seems to be ruled out, and it has been suggested that the sacred wafers were baked in them. They, together with the tiled hearths were, all on the highest level and so probably of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

ST NEOTS BRIDGE

The first known reference to a bridge at St Neots is in 1180² when it was owned and no doubt built by the Priory. It was then a wooden bridge supported on stone piers.

In 1906, when the river was emptied, my father walked across under the bridge and saw the remains of five piers of an earlier bridge under the arches. They were of Barnack stone with rubble core and approximately 6 ft. wide with cutwaters on the downstream side. Remains of three could be seen under the centre arch, allowing a passage of about 25 ft. between them.

¹ See 'Archaeological Notes' this vol., p. 138.

² *V.C.H. Hunts.* II, p. 337.

The later bridge, replaced in 1965, is thought to have been built mainly in the late sixteenth century, traditionally with stone from the Priory. When pulled down the stone was carefully examined and with the exception of a few pieces none was re-used stone.

STONE FROM THE PRIORY

Carved medieval stones have been found on many sites in St Neots, particularly in the foundations of early wooden framed houses. Examples of these can be seen preserved in the shop of the Hunts. Electrical Co. Ltd., 33 Market Sq., and in the County Library, Huntingdon Street. A fine piece of arcading is built into the cellar wall of Notts Bakers Ltd. 15 Market Sq. (Pl. Vb), unfortunately the cellar was filled in some years ago. There is a carved head in the garden of 'Ridgeway', Cross Hall Road, Eaton Socon, and another, probably a gargoyle, set in an arch in the garden behind S. J. Reed's shop, 15 High St. A carved head of a horned sheep found during trenching in the Market Sq. is in the Norris Museum, St Ives. A number of other carved or moulded stones have been collected by the Urban District Council at their offices in Huntingdon Street. These include some found built into the chimney of a late medieval wood framed house pulled down next door at the corner of East Street in 1964. Also with this collection is an arch with shields in the spandrels bearing the cross moline of William de Alwick Bishop of Lincoln (1436-9).¹

While it seems likely that these stones came from the Priory, one must not exclude the possibility that some may have come from St Neots parish church pulled down to make way for the present church in the fifteenth century.

Finds from the excavations will be placed in the Norris Museum, St Ives.

APPENDIX 1

THE FINDS

Fig. 3. Wall plaster.² (a) Design of red (hatched area) on white ground. (b) Rectangular black lines on white ground. (c) Design of red on white ground. All found unstratified in area of East Range. (d) Schist hone; from open drain to soakaway north-east of Kitchen. (e) Two sections of the lower half of a quern of lava, probably from Mayen.³ Unstratified, from different parts of the site.

Fig. 4. (a) Iron key of fifteenth-century type, with kidney-shaped bow⁴. From upper floor of Kitchen. (b) Iron hunting arrow, barbed and socketed; probably fifteenth-century. Unstratified from the area of the Guest Hall. (c) Bone double comb; a medieval type which lasted on until recent times. Unstratified. (d) Apple-corer, made from cow's metacarpal; a medieval type which lasted on until recent times. Unstratified. (e) Bone stylus; remains of an iron tip can be seen let

¹ *Trans. Cambs. and Hunts. Arch. Soc.* vi, p. 255.

² See 'Waterbeach Abbey', Appendix 1, p. 86 of this volume.

³ *Medieval Archaeology*, v (1961), p. 279, and forthcoming report in *Proc. C.A.S.* by P. Addyman on excavations at St Neots.

⁴ *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, fig. 42, viia and Fig. 43, 8.

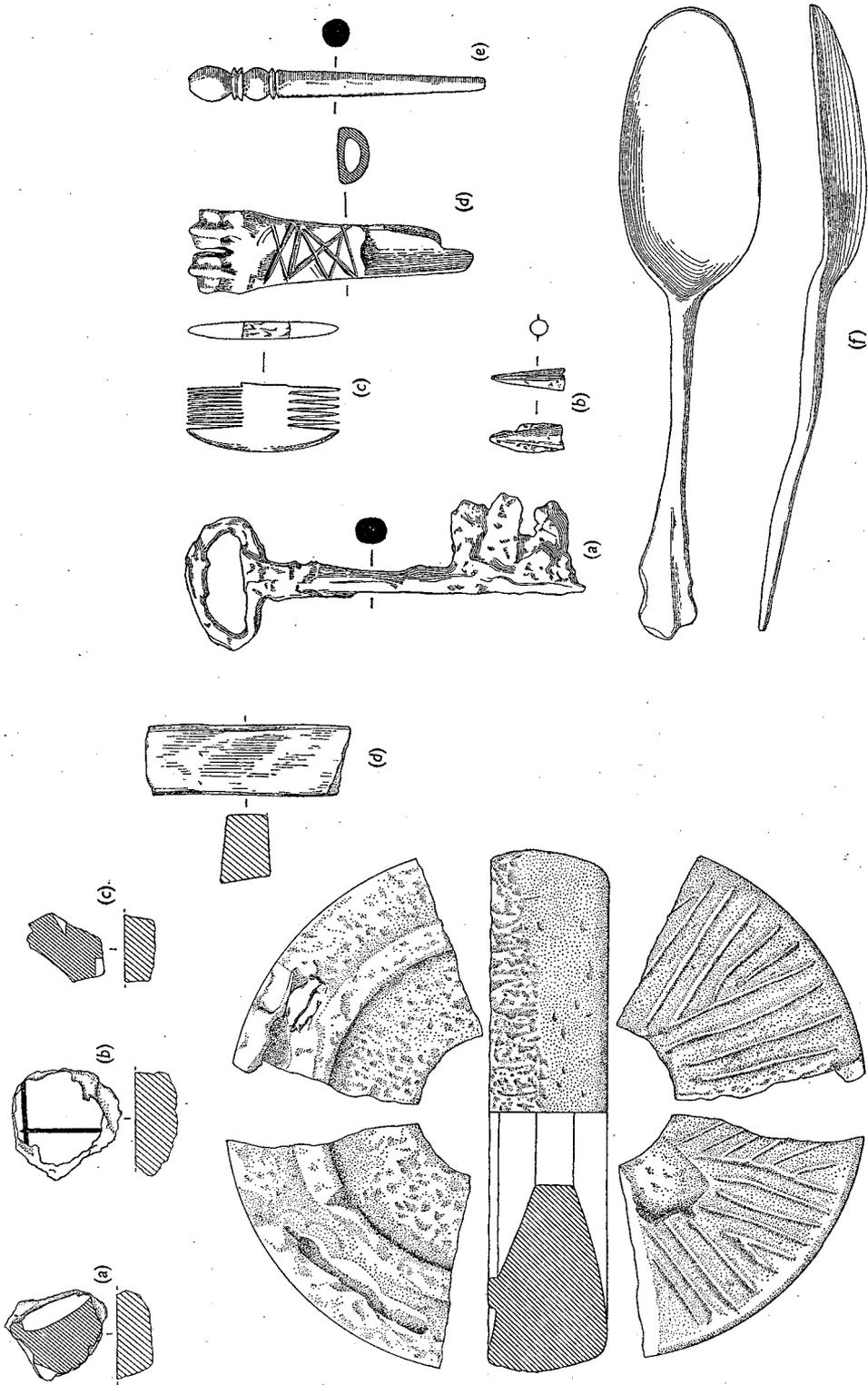


Fig. 3. St Neots Priory. (a)-(c). Wall-plaster; (d) schist hone; (e) lava quern. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Fig. 4. St Neots Priory. (a) Iron key; (b) iron arrowhead; (c) bone comb; (d) bone apple-corer; (e) bone stylus with iron tip; (f) pewter spoon, probably seventeenth century. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

into the pointed end. Unstratified. (f) Pewter spoon with narrow oval bowl and flat trilobe handle; probably seventeenth-century. Unstratified.

Fig. 5. Bronze objects. (a) Stirrup foot-plate. (b) Bell, without any interior attachment for striker, which must therefore have been an independent one. Perhaps part of a clock. (c) Upper part of a dog or pack-horse bell. The above three objects were all found together in a pit or ditch,

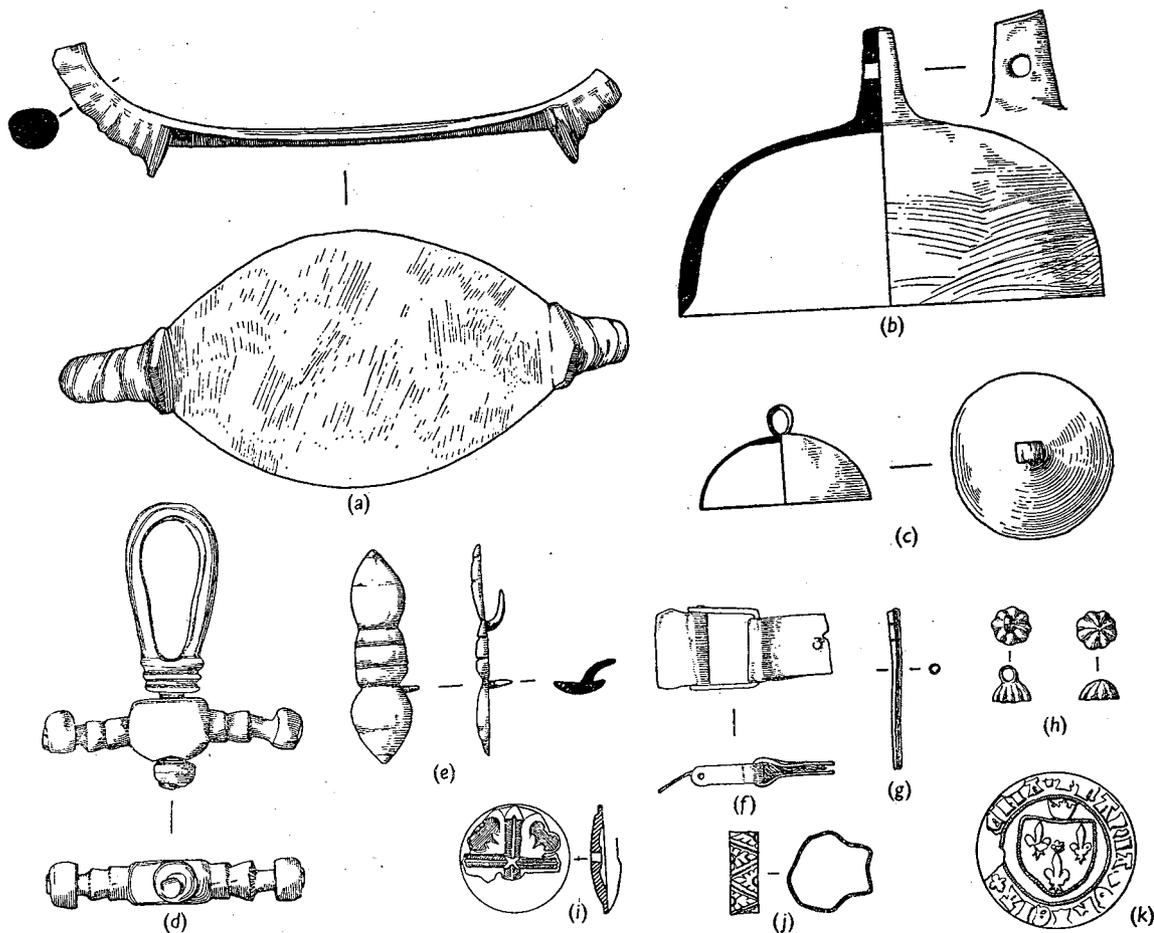


Fig. 5. St Neots Priory: bronze objects. (a) Stirrup plate; (b) bell; (c) bell; (d) purse bar, tinned; (e) belt ornament; (f) belt link; (g) lacing 'point'; (h) bell-shaped ornament; (i) button, bone with bronze plate ornamental front; (j) finger ring; (k) French jetton. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

during the building of the R. F. Development Factory on the Priory site, just east of the East range. They were associated with pottery of the late fifteenth century, and a Boy Bishop coin of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. (d) Purse bar, tinned; late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.¹ Unstratified from the south end of the East Range. (e) Belt ornament with fastenings for attachment to leather. Unstratified from north end of Kitchen area. (f) Belt link. Remains of a strip of plaited material can be seen clamped between the rivetted plate.² Unstratified from the Kitchen area. (g) Hollow 'point' or tag for leather lace, to which it was attached by two tiny rivets. One of

¹ *Ibid.* fig. 52, B 1.

² See Appendix 2.

several from the floor of the Cloister. (*h*) Hanging ornament in the shape of a tiny bell. From the second lowest floor of the Kitchen, and therefore probably thirteenth-century. (*i*) Button: bone backing, to which is fastened a thin, bronze plate, ornamented with an equal-armed cross. Unstratified from area north of the Refectory. (*j*) Finger ring. From just above foundations of the supposed Infirmary, and associated with twelfth-century pottery. (*k*) Jetton.

Note by S. E. Rigold, F.S.A. Jetton from pit or ditch under R. F. Development Factory, east of East Range.

A French official jetton, orthodox in fabric, but of unusually large size; it is evidently late in the series, when the numerous obverses of the commoner late fourteenth-century jettons had become reduced to the shield and crown only. Probably early fifteenth-century, when unofficial Tournai jettons were beginning to oust the official ones.¹

Diameter 30 mm.

Obverse: crowned shield of France modern, with small extra lys in centre. + MARIA GRACIA (slipped toothed trefoil as stop) [PL]ENA

Reverse: Cross fleury in distended quatrefoil of late type.

APPENDIX 2

FRAGMENT OF BRAID FROM BRONZE BELT LINK

ELIZABETH CROWFOOT

The rivetted place of the belt link (Fig. 5*f*) was separated in order to expose the material clamped between, which proved to be a fragment of a tablet-woven braid. Its length at the longest part was 9 mm., the remaining width 9.5 mm., and the original width probably *c.* 1.2 cm.

Warp, linen, hardly any twist visible, but it may have been lightly Z-spun; white at edge, stained by bronze in the middle. Weft ends can be seen at the broken edge, but too frayed for a twist to be seen; more brownish than the warp thread.

Tablet-weave, *c.* 11 twists to the cm. The right edge is nearly complete but the edge twists are pulled and there is no sign of weft loops, so that the last twist may be missing. It was unfortunately impossible to dissect, as apart from these right edge threads the braid is brittle and hardened. It is certainly a 4-hole tablet weave; the total width would have been 13–15 twists. The twists slant left and right, but seem to meet at an angle rather than accurately, suggesting a weave like that of the braid from Felixstowe (medieval, in a similar strap end),² and that from St John's Cricket Field, Cambridge (Saxon),³ but owing to the surface deterioration and some distortion caused by the cut end of the braid having been pressed against the metal, telescoping the twists, it is impossible to be certain. The side twists are very white, but the bronze staining in the middle section is very deep, and it is possible that the centre of the braid was blue or green.

¹ Barnard, *The Casting-counter and the Counting-board*, fig. 44, is an even more evolved example of the same sort.

² Grace M. Crowfoot, 'A medieval tablet-woven braid from a buckle found at Felixstowe', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. of Arch.*, xxv, 2 (1951), 202 ff.

³ Grace M. Crowfoot, 'Textiles of the Saxon Period in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology', *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* XLIV, (1950), 28 ff.

APPENDIX 3

THE POTTERY

J. G. HURST, M.A., F.S.A.

A. STRATIFIED GROUPS

(I) KITCHEN LAYERS

Post-holes under floor 1

Sherds of developed St Neots ware¹ including a large sagging base possibly from a jug,² Fig. 6, no. 1.

Floor 1

Sherds of developed St Neots ware including the rim of a jug with thickened everted rim, Fig. 6, no. 2. One sandy sherd.

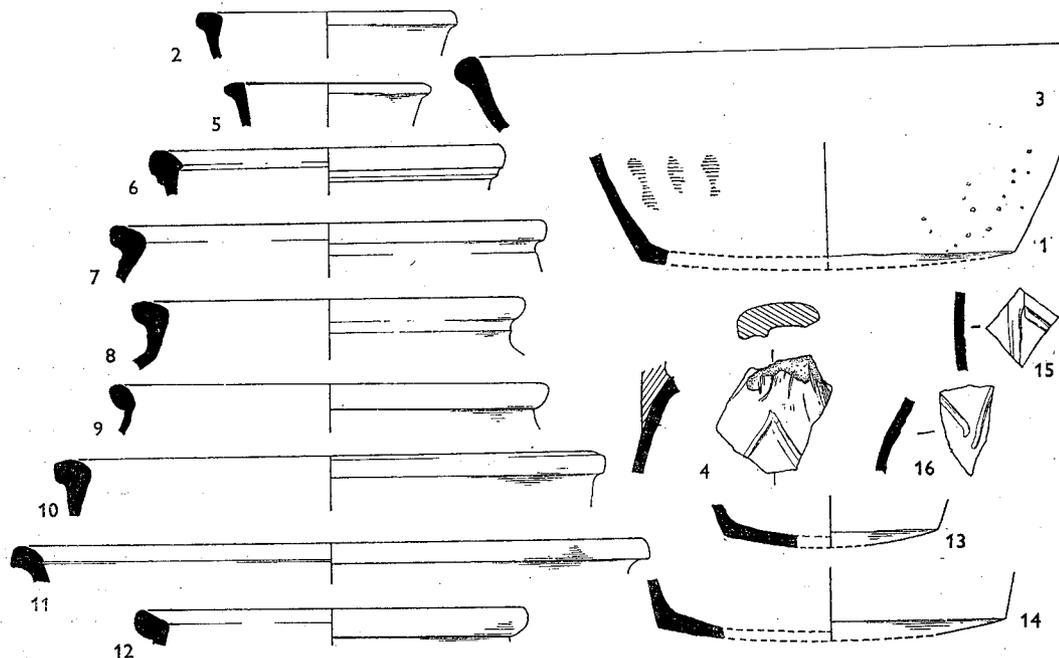


Fig. 6. St Neots Priory: pottery from the Kitchen layers. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Filling between floors 1 and 2

Sherds of developed St Neots ware including rim of a bowl with thickened rim, Fig. 6, no. 3. Sandy sherds.

¹ J. G. Hurst, 'Saxo-Norman Pottery in East Anglia, Part I. St Neots Ware', *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1955), pp. 43-70, and *Med. Arch.* v (1961), p. 258.

² *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1955), pp. 54-6.

Base of the strap handle of an Oxford type¹ jug. Brown sandy ware with orange glaze and dark brown applied strips, Fig. 6, no. 4.

Floor 2

Developed St Neots sherds including a jug rim, Fig. 6, no. 5.

Glazed jug sherd as Fig. 6, no. 4.

Filling between floors 2 and 3

A large group of developed St Neots ware including seven rims, Fig. 6, 6-12, and two sagging bases, Fig. 6, nos. 13-14.

Floor 3

Developed St Neots ware and Lyveden ware² sherds.

Floor 4

Developed St Neots ware and Lyveden ware sherds with grid stamp as Fig. 12, no. 107. Sherds of Oxford type orange-glazed jug with dark applied strips, Fig. 6, nos. 15-16.

Dating

The pottery from these floors is of importance, since they are clearly datable to the end of the thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century by the decorated non-local jugs, which have a general date range of 1250-1350, confirmed by the coin of 1280/1 from floor 2. Most of the cooking pots associated with these jugs were developed St Neots ware with only a few sandy sherds. This suggests that at St Neots in the thirteenth century shelly wares were still very much in use. This is in marked contrast to Cambridge³ and Eaton Socon,⁴ only a few miles away, where sandy Early Medieval wares start already in the eleventh century and replace the shelly wares almost entirely by the middle of the twelfth century. This links the St Neots Priory sequence much more with the area of Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire, where shelly wares also continue throughout the twelfth and most of the thirteenth centuries.⁵ The squared moulded rims also fit very much better into a thirteenth-century context and there are too many of them to be residual. This difference emphasizes the intense regional variations of Medieval pottery and the difference of pottery found at sites quite close together if they were supplied from different kilns. There are a few early Medieval sandy wares from the site which are datable to the twelfth century. It may well be that in the thirteenth century there was a resurgence of the shelly tradition, or that pottery was purchased from kilns to the west or north rather than the east. Large groups of twelfth-century pottery which might have produced more sandy wares were not found. It is unfortunate that no kiln sites are known at all in the area. This problem will be discussed further by Mr P. V. Addyman in his report on the Saxon village site at St Neots (*Proc. C.A.S.* forthcoming).

(2) PENTHOUSE NORTH OF REFELECTORY AND EAST OF KITCHEN, BELOW UPPER FLOOR

Sherds of developed St Neots ware, mainly jugs including four rims: upright (Fig. 7, no. 17), thickened sloping outside (Fig. 7, no. 18) and sloping inside (Fig. 7, no. 19), and flanged with an

¹ See p. 64 and Fig. 12, nos. 100-105 for discussion of Oxford type jugs.

² See p. 93 and Fig. 12, nos. 106-108 for discussion of Lyveden ware.

³ P. V. Addyman and M. Biddle, 'Medieval Cambridge: Recent Finds and Excavations', *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965).

⁴ P. V. Addyman, 'Late Saxon Settlements in the St Neots Area. I. Eaton Socon', *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965).

⁵ L. A. S. Butler, 'Hambleton Moat, Screddington, Lincolnshire', *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd series xxvi (1963), p. 69.

angular cordon (Fig. 7, no. 20). Fig. 7, no. 17 shows the hole where a handle had been dowed into the rim.

There were three sandy jugs. Fig. 7, no. 21: rough brown sandy ware with thickened rim and lip; band of rectangular notch rouletting. Fig. 7, no. 22: hard double sandwich (grey, red, black) with thickened rim. Fig. 7, no. 23: grey sandy ware with brown surfaces and green glaze. Fig. 7, no. 24: hard grey slashed strap-handle with brown surfaces.

Fig. 7, no. 25: rim and neck of a Lyveden-ware jug with moulded upright rim and decoration of yellow strips and pellets.

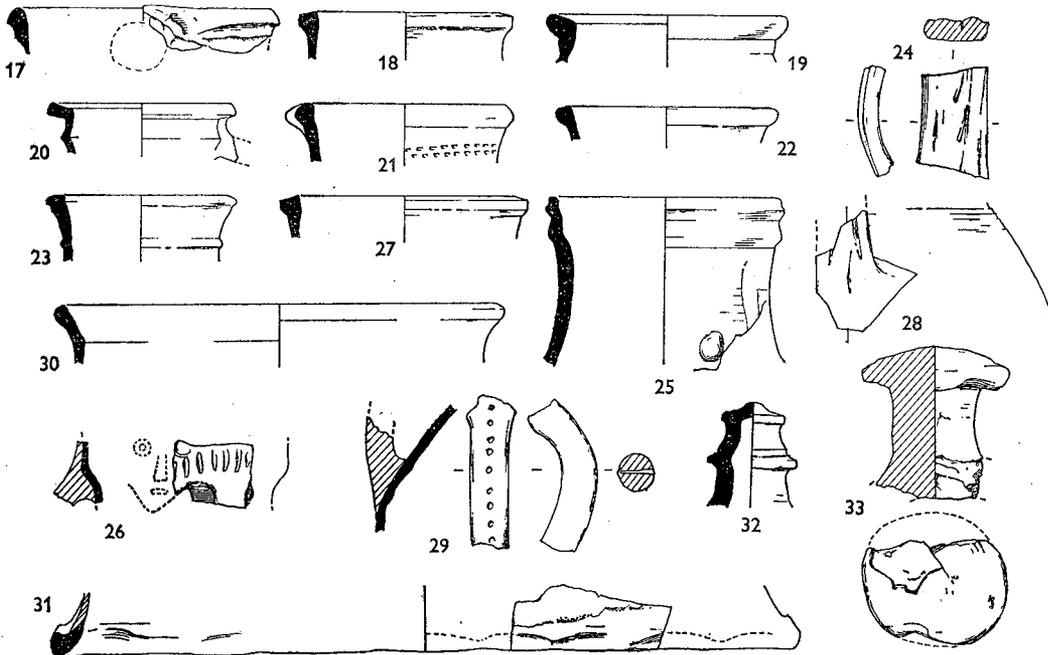


Fig. 7. St Neots Priory: pottery from the penthouse in the West Range, east of Kitchen; below upper floor. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Fig. 7, no. 26: sherd from the neck of a Grimston-ware¹ face jug with circle eyes, straight slashed pointed beard and the start of small arms going down to the shoulder of the jug.

Sherds from jugs of Oxford type. Fig. 7, no. 27: smooth buff rim. Fig. 7, no. 28: shoulder of a buff jug with mottled green glaze and band of rilling on the shoulder; slashed handle. Fig. 7, no. 29: buff rod handle with deep circular stabs and mottled green glaze.

There was only one cooking pot, a rim in hard grey ware with thin everted rim (Fig. 7, no. 30).

Fig. 7, no. 31: small sherd from the rim of a firecover.² Rough brown sandy ware with intense fire-blackening and carbon deposit inside.

Fig. 7, no. 32: hollow knob in developed St Neots ware, possibly from a lid. Fig. 7, no. 33: solid rough knob in rough sandy and shelly ware, presumably from a roof crest, as it is too thick and coarse for a lid.

¹ See p. 93 and Fig. 12, no. 109 for discussion of Grimston ware.

² See *Med. Arch.* v (1961), pp. 265-7, and *Sussex Arch. Coll.* CI (1963), pp. 135-8, for description of firecovers and bibliography. Additional references in B. Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations, 1949-1960* (1964), I, p. 126 and fig. 45.

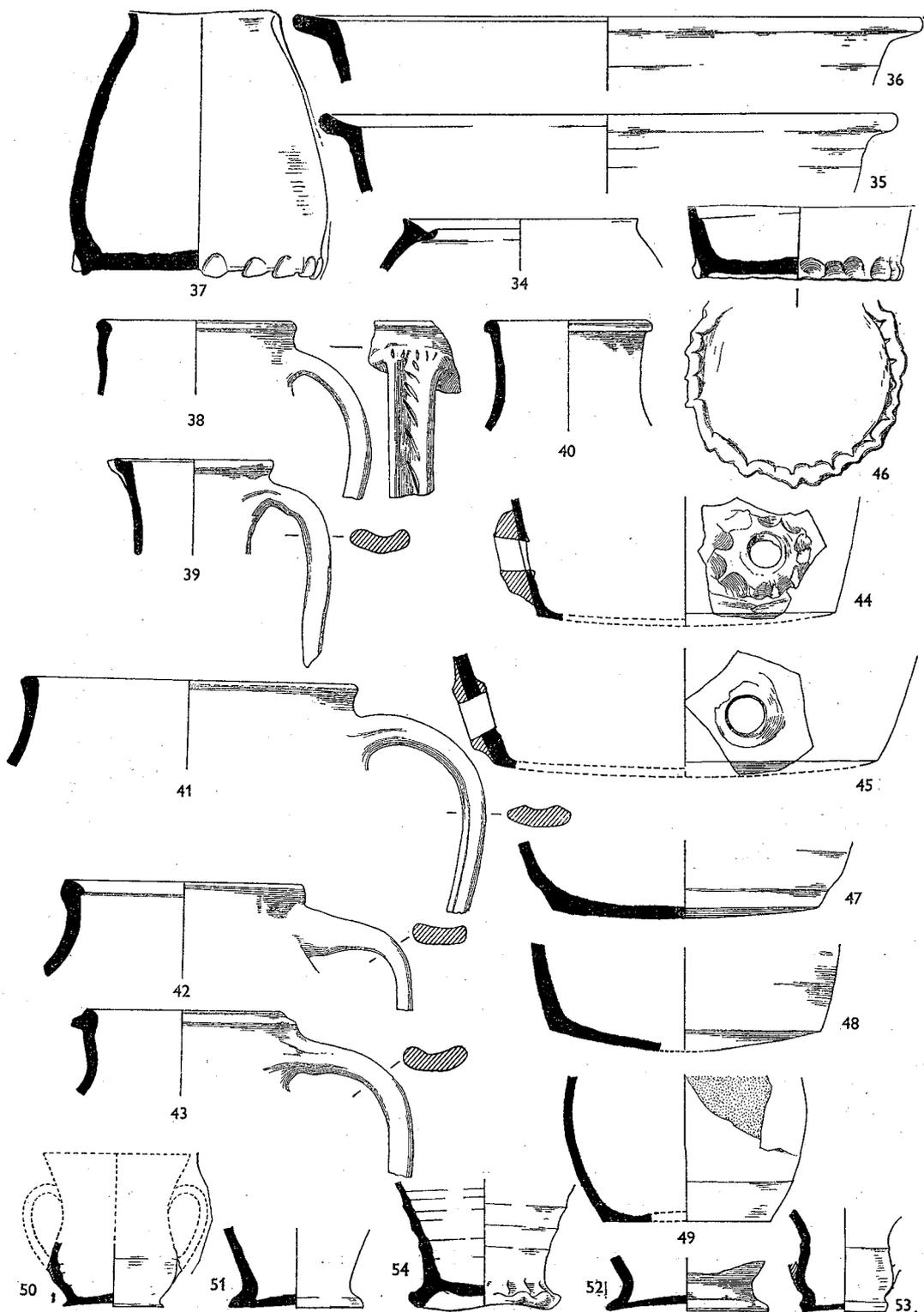


Fig. 8. St Neots Priory: pottery from ditch or pit, east of Dormitory. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Dating

This group is similar in date to that from the kitchen, but there are more sandy wares. A date in the early fourteenth century might be suggested.

(3) DITCH EAST OF MONKS' DORMITORY

Fig. 8, no. 34: cooking pot with moulded bifid rim; hard red sandy ware.

Fig. 8, no. 35: flanged bowl in hard red gritty ware. Fig. 8, no. 36; similar but with double sandwich.

Fig. 8, no. 37: bottom half of a conical jug in a shelly ware, with the shell leached or fired out to give corky appearance; continuous thumbing round the base.

Fig. 8, no. 38: rim of jug and slashed strap handle in hard grey Grimston ware with green glaze.

Fig. 8, nos. 39-40: two jug necks in double sandwich ware, no. 39 with lip and strap handle.

Fig. 8, nos. 41-43: rims of three large jugs or cisterns with strap handles; hard red gritty ware, no. 43 with less tempering.

Fig. 8, nos. 44-45: bases of two cisterns with sagging bases and thumbed or plain bung holes; no. 44 double sandwich, and no. 45 red gritty.

Fig. 8, no. 46: base of a jug in hard red-brown gritty ware; continuous thumbed frilled base.

Fig. 8, nos. 47-48: plain sagging bases of jugs in hard grey gritty ware.

Fig. 8, no. 49: flat base of jug in hard red ware with a bib of white slip, glazed brown on the body and yellow on the slip, patches of glaze inside. The upper part of the bib was possibly decorated with sgraffito decoration.¹ One sherd of sgraffito ware was found in an unstratified context.

Fig. 8, nos. 50-53: bases of Cistercian ware type IV cups.²

Fig. 8, no. 54: frilled base of a Flemish-type stoneware jug, possibly from the Langewehe kilns; patchy brown and grey matt glaze.³

Dating

This group may be dated to the end of the fifteenth century or the start of the sixteenth century by the imported Flemish stoneware and the Cistercian ware.

(4) CISTERN IN SOUTH BAY OF MONKS' DORMITORY UNDERCROFT

(a) *Lower floor*

Fig. 9, no. 55: jug with lip and strap handle in hard grey ware.

(b) *Top floor*

Fig. 9, no. 56: rim of jug in hard grey gritty ware.

Fig. 9, nos. 57-64: series of type IV Cistercian ware cups.

Mrs J. Le Patourel has recently described and defined the main types of Cistercian ware.⁴

¹ G. H. S. Bushnell and J. G. Hurst, 'Some Further Examples of Sgraffito Ware from Cambridge', *Proc. C.A.S.* XLVI (1952), pp. 21-6. For later references see *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), p. 114, fig. 16, no. A/US 4 and Pl. VB, and *Med. Arch.* VI-VII (1962-3), pp. 101-2.

² See p. and Fig. 9, nos. 57-64, for discussion of Cistercian ware.

³ B. Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations, 1949-1960* (1964), I, pp. 142-3, for discussion and bibliography.

⁴ *Pub. Thoresby Soc.* XLIX (1962-4), pp. 116-19 and fig. 38 (type series) and fig. 39 (distribution map). For additional types and new evidence from the Potterton kiln near Leeds, see report by Mr P. Mayes in *Ant. J.* forthcoming.

Type IV is the main type found outside Yorkshire and it is likely that the St Neots examples were made at the Babylon kilns near Ely.¹ There is no dating evidence in the area, but similar cups have been found in London in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century contexts.²

Fig. 9, no. 65, two sherds from a South Netherlands Maiolica flower vase.³ The ladder medallion is characteristic and there would most likely be the sacred IHS monogram in the centre. Nearly 100 of these vases are now known in all parts of the country and they may be regarded as a type fossil of late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century deposits. There is a fragment from the body of one of these vases with the IHS monogram from Chawston Manor, Bedfordshire, in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

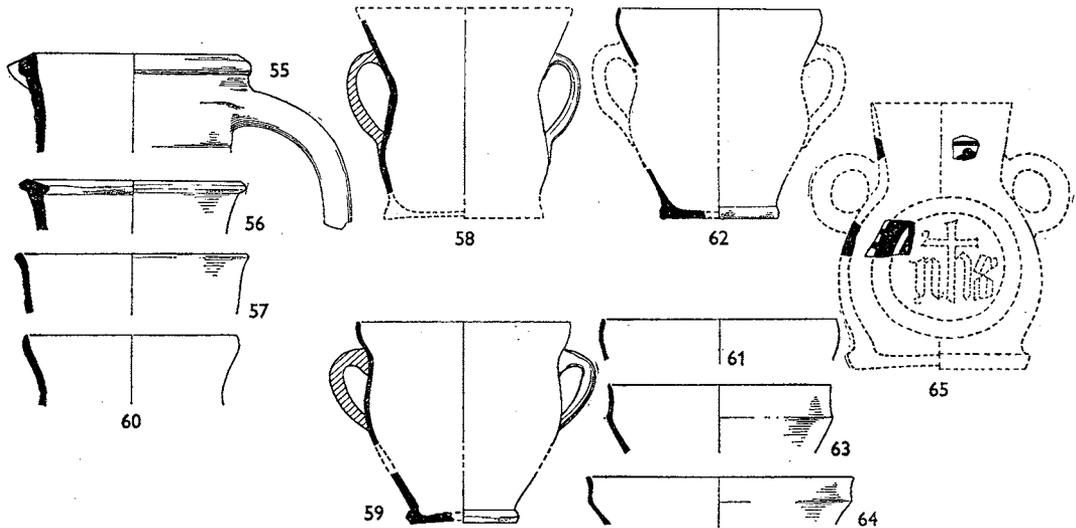


Fig. 9. St Neots Priory: pottery from cistern in Dormitory. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Dating

This group is therefore also well dated to the end of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth-century, in the closing year of the priory. Late Medieval groups are uncommon so these two groups from the Dormitory area are of considerable interest.

B. UNSTRATIFIED POTTERY OR SINGLE FINDS

The rest of the pottery is either unstratified or from mixed deposits. This has therefore been dealt with by type, rather than by area as with the four groups described above.

HAND-MADE SAXON POTTERY

A few sherds of hand-made Saxon pottery were found but nothing of any size. The presence of these and the sceatta (see p. 41) confirms occupation on the site before the ninth century, but there is hardly anything later which fills the gap between these and developed St Neots ware of the Medieval period.

¹ Material in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology and the British Museum.

² Gateway House pit, London, associated with South Netherlands Maiolica as at St Neot's c. 1500 (material in the Guildhall Museum), and from the Treasury site, Whitehall, stratified underneath Henry VIII's Palace of 1532 (material in the London Museum).

³ R. Rackham, 'A Netherlands Maiolica Vase from the Tower of London', *Ant. J.* XIX (1939), pp. 285-90. B. Rackham, *Early Netherlands Maiolica* (1926), pp. 96-106, and pls. XXIV and XXVI for illustrations of examples from London.

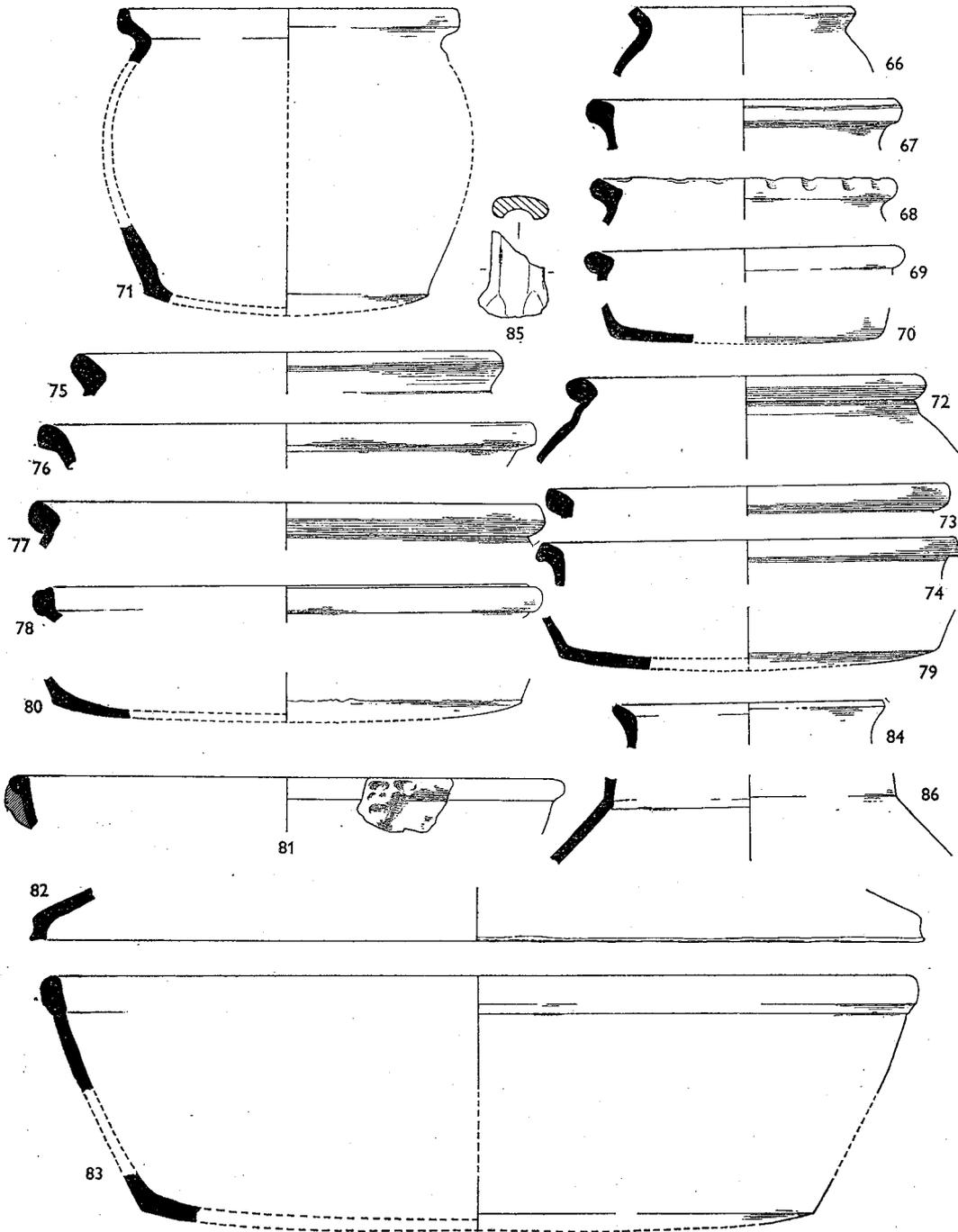


Fig. 10. St Neots Priory: eleventh- to thirteenth-century pottery. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

ST NEOTS WARE ELEVENTH TO THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Cooking pots

Fig. 10, no. 66: rim of small cooking pot with everted rim. This was the only example with the small 4-6 in. diameter of the classic Saxo-Norman St Neots series.¹ From the old ground surface north of the kitchen.

Fig. 10, nos. 67-80: a series of developed St Neots ware cooking pots with a considerable variation in rim form and size. All the bases are sagging. Complete profiles were difficult to obtain but they seem to be more of the Medieval squat wide shape (as reconstructed in Fig. 10, no. 71), than the early Norman tall narrow Saxon shape found at Cambridge,² thus confirming a date later than the twelfth century.

Bowls

Fig. 10, no. 81: rim of straight-sided bowl with thickened rim and applied vertical fingered strip. This type of decoration is not common. This could possibly be a small firecover, but there is no confirmation of this in the way of fire-blackening inside, so it has been drawn as a bowl.

Fig. 10, no. 82: rim of a large vessel. These have previously been published as dishes,³ but it is possible they were lids with knobs like Fig. 7, no. 32. This sherd has been drawn in this way, so that this possible interpretation may be borne in mind.

Fig. 10, no. 83: large straight-sided bowl with thickened rim and sagging base.

Jugs

Fig. 10, no. 84: rim of a jug with everted rim. Fig. 10, no. 85: a plain strap handle.

Fig. 10, no. 86: an unusual sherd with a sharp junction at the neck and shoulder. St Neots jugs usually have an even curve at this point. The form is closest to the Stamford pitchers or jars,⁴ but this type has not so far been recognized in St Neots ware.

INTERMEDIATE ST NEOTS SHELLY AND MEDIEVAL SANDY WARE

There is no clear break between the St Neots shelly wares and the Medieval sandy fabrics. Several sherds are tempered both with shell and sand.

Fig. 11, nos. 87-88: two cooking pots with moulded rims, thumb-pressed on the top.

Fig. 11, no. 89: sherd from the body of a jug with bands of rouletting. Fig. 11, no. 90: base of a stabbed strap handle.

Fig. 11, no. 91: sagging base of a jug or cistern with traces of a possible bung-hole.

EARLY MEDIEVAL SANDY WARE

Almost all the wares of the eleventh and twelfth century at St Neots are in the St Neots shell-tempered tradition (see p. 56). The ware develops into medieval forms as it does in Northamptonshire, unlike most of East Anglia where the Saxo-Norman wares continue largely un-

¹ J. G. Hurst, 'Saxo-Norman Pottery in East Anglia, Part I, St Neots Ware', *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1955), p. 67, fig. 8.

² *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1955), p. 59, fig. 4.

³ *Ibid.* p. 57, fig. 3, no. 21. This vessel from Elsworth (not Elmswell as in the caption) may in fact be a firecover from its large size and the thumbing on the outside of the rim, which is characteristic of these vessels, see p. 57, Fig. 7. no. 31.

⁴ *Proc. C.A.S.* LI (1957), p. 50, fig. 3, nos. 20 and 21, and 'Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester', *Rep. Res. Com. Soc. Ant.* xv (1948), p. 225, fig. 59, nos. 5 and 6.

changed in shape, with medieval forms in a hard sandy ware running parallel with them. There is only one early medieval sandy rim from St Neots (Fig. 11, no. 92) with a thickened rim characteristic of the later forms in this series.¹ The oblique tool marks and the uneven rim are typical of these semi-hand-made early medieval cooking pots.²

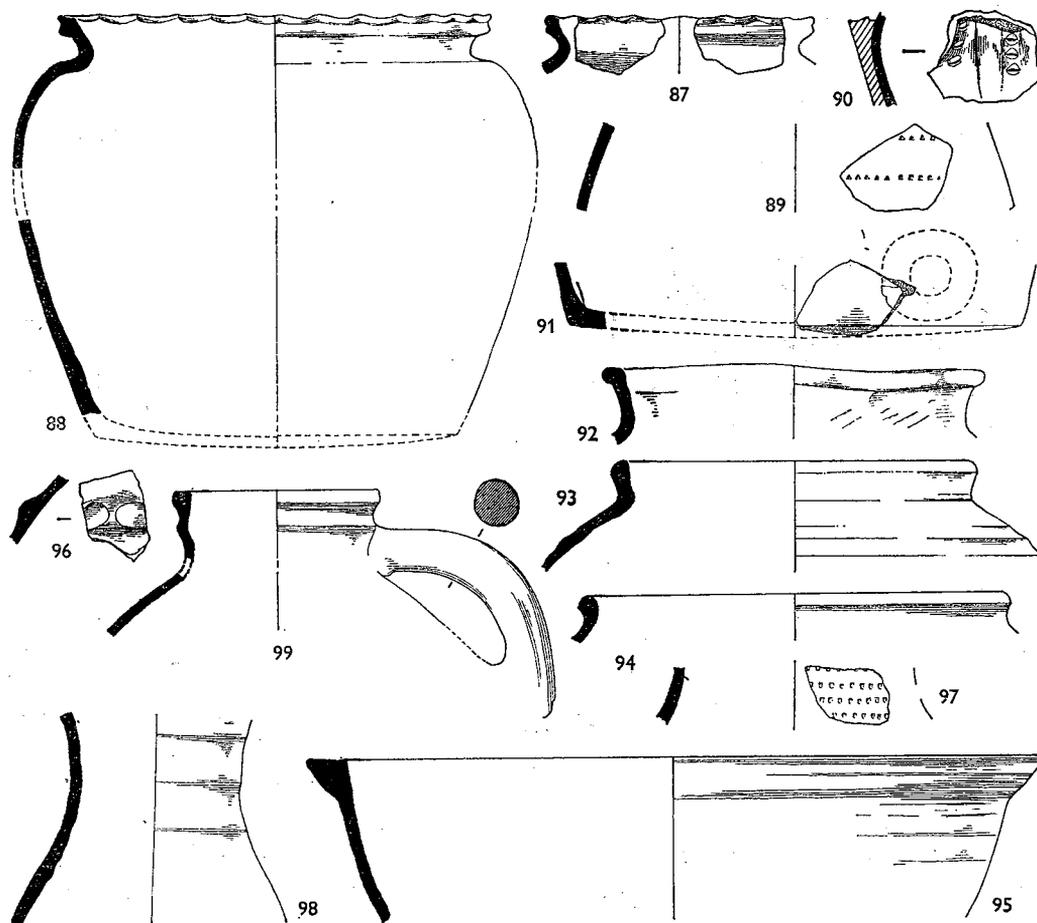


Fig. 11. St Neots Priory: thirteenth-century pottery. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

THIRTEENTH-CENTURY GRITTY AND SANDY WARES

Fig. 11, no. 93: cooking-pot with simple rounded rim; rough grey gritty ware. From the drain in yard east of Kitchen. Fig. 11, no. 94: cooking-pot in brown sandy ware with grey core.

Fig. 11, no. 95: bowl with thickened flanged rim; hard brown sandy ware.

Fig. 11, no. 96: grey sandy sherd with thumbled band.

Fig. 11, no. 97: neck of a jug in grey sandy ware with bands of rectangular-notch rouletting; from the West Range. Fig. 11, no. 98: neck of jug in red sandy ware with black core.

Fig. 11, no. 99: top part of a globular jug with rod handle; brown sandy ware with grey core.

For discussion of this type see *Med. Arch.* v (1961), pp. 259-16 and *Norf. Arch.* xxxiii (1963), pp. 155-7. For local types see *J. Brit. Arch. Ass.* xxxvii (1964), p. 70, and *Proc. C.A.S.* lviii (1965), pp. 55, 105.

² *Norf. Arch.* xxxiii (1963), p. 157, fig. 8.

THIRTEENTH- AND FOURTEENTH-CENTURY DECORATED NON-LOCAL JUGS

(1) *Oxford type jugs*

Fig. 12, nos. 100–102: rims of jugs in hard buff sandy ware with mottled green glaze. Nos. 101 and 102 have evidence for lips.

Fig. 12, no. 103: shoulder of an ovoid jug; hard buff sandy ware with orange glaze and decoration of brown stripes. Fig. 12, no. 104; slashed strap handle. Fig. 12, no. 105: sherd with band of rectangular-notch rouletting on a vertical applied strip.

These distinctive fabrics, which were made at Brill and other kilns in the Oxford region, are found on many sites in the area, gradually thinning out towards Cambridge where they are found in small quantities.¹

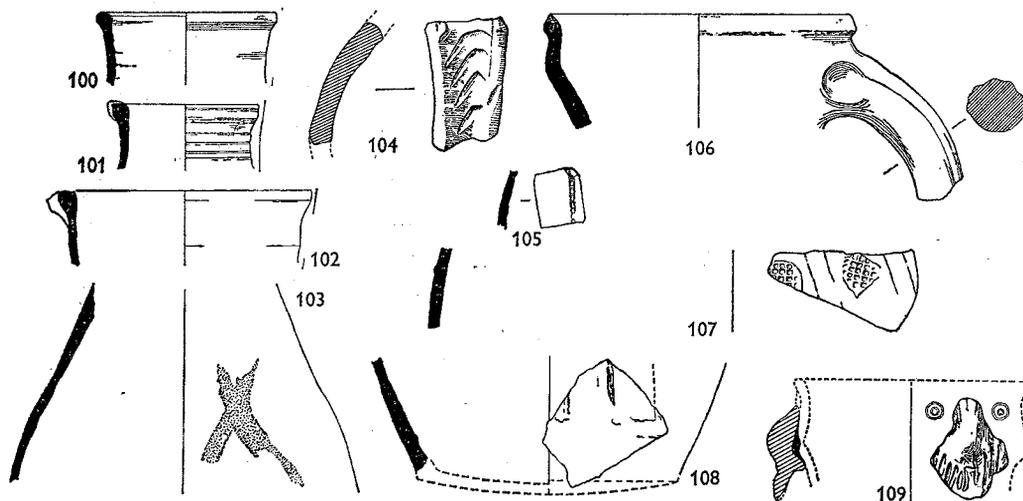


Fig. 12. St Neots Priory: decorated non-local jugs. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

(2) *Lyveden ware*

Fig. 12, no. 106: top of a jug with ribbed rod handle, double thumbed at the top. Corky shelly ware with patches of orange glaze. Fig. 12, no. 107: body sherd from a large globular jar with alternate vertical applied yellow strips and pellets with grid stamps. Fig. 12, no. 108: base of a more ovoid jug with vertical applied yellow strips joined at the bottom.

See p. 93 for discussion of Lyveden ware.

(3) *Grimston ware*

Fig. 12, no. 109: sherd from the neck of a face jug in hard grey ware with green glaze; fragment of pointed beard with straight slashing and projecting nose. See p. 93 for discussion of Grimston ware.

LATE MEDIEVAL

Cooking pots

Fig. 13, no. 110: cooking pot in hard grey sandy ware with strongly everted rim.

Fig. 13, no. 111: cooking pot in hard grey overfired ware, with downturned flanged rim.

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), p. 113, with references.

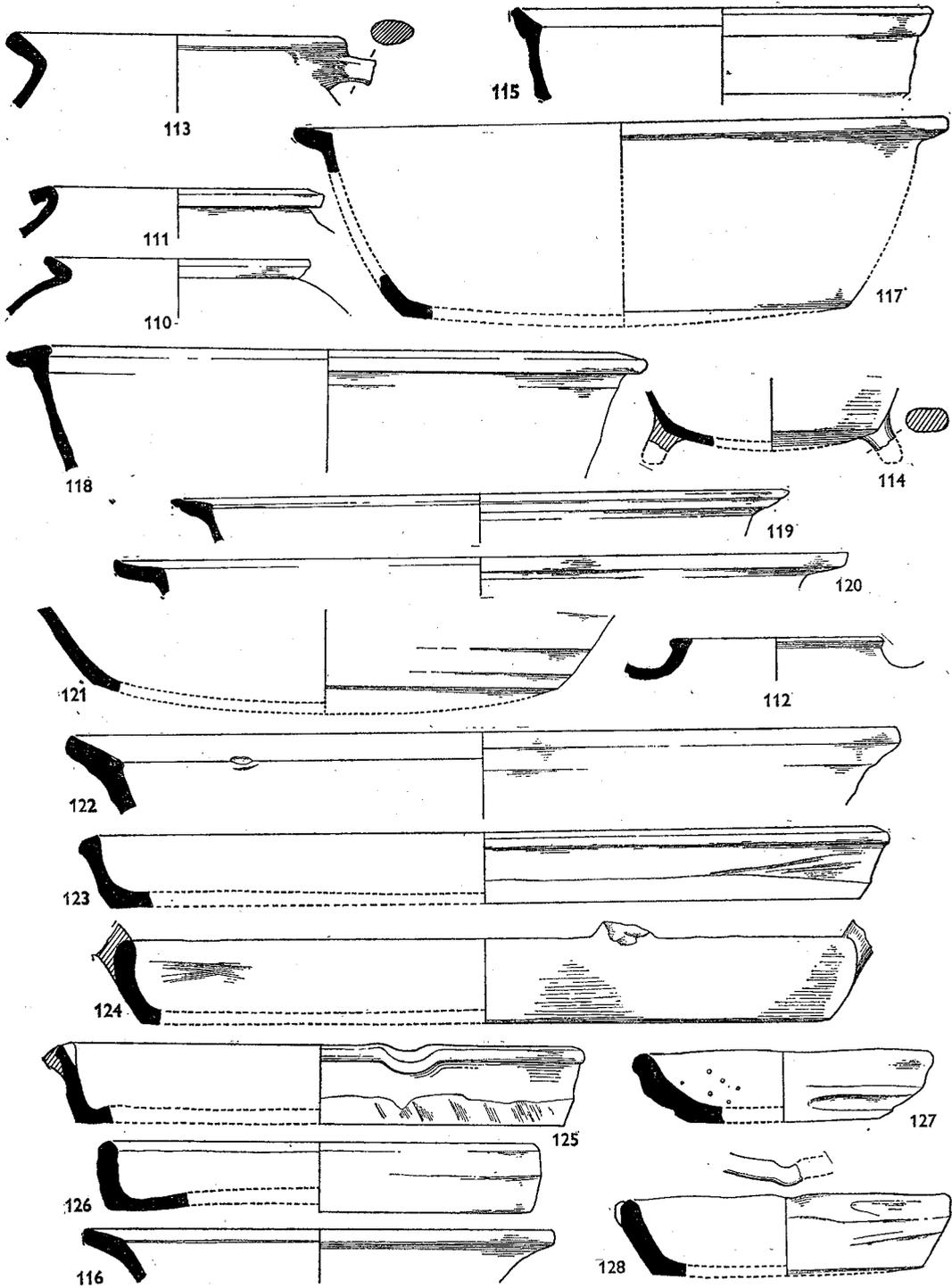


Fig. 13. St Neots Priory: late medieval cooking-pots and bowls. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Fig. 13, no. 112: cooking pot in hard grey sandy ware, with sharply inturned bifid rim.¹

Fig. 13, no. 113: pikpin with oval loop handle and everted simple rim; brown sandy ware with green-brown glaze inside. Fig. 13, no. 114: tripod pipkin with sagging base and oval feet; buff sandy ware with mottled green and yellow glaze inside and out. Early sixteenth century.

Bowls

Fig. 13, no. 115: bowl in hard grey ware with moulded everted rim.

Fig. 13, nos. 116–122: a range of bowls of increasing size and with various flanged rims. All in hard sandy ware: no. 122 brown, nos. 188–120 grey, nos. 116 and 120 red with a black core, and no. 117 double sandwich.

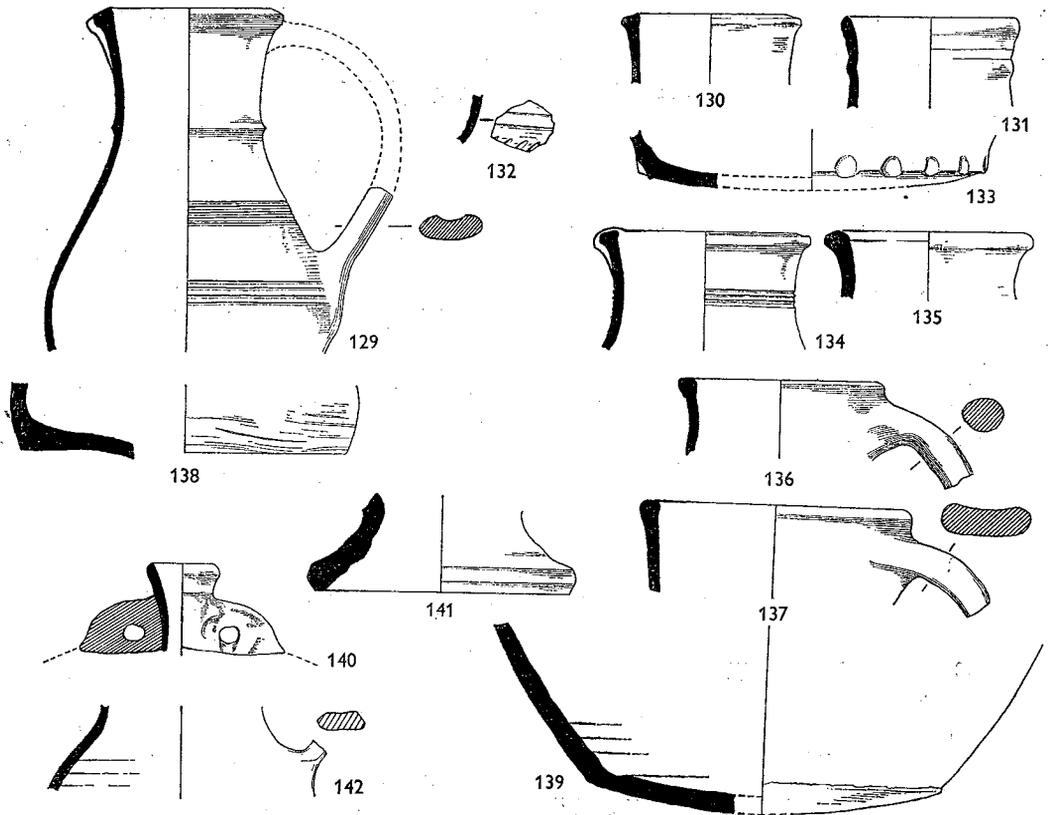


Fig. 14. St Neot's Priory: late medieval jugs. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Fish dishes

Fig. 13, nos. 124–128: a series of fish dishes with various profiles in grey and brown rough sandy wares, usually glazed inside and fire-blackened outside. No. 124 has a sloping lug handle and nos. 125 and 128 have lips at the ends. No. 128 is in a smooth red ware with little tempering.

Jugs

Fig. 14, no. 129–133: jugs in hard grey sandy ware: no. 129 hard black ware with lip, grooved strap handle and bands of sharply cut grooves; no. 130 with a brown core and no. 131 overfired

¹ Compare with the Hartford coin hoard pot dated to soon after 1503, *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), p. 140. For two similar pots from Cambridge, one of them in Sgraffito ware, see *Proc. C.A.S.* XLVI (1952), p. 23, fig. 7 and pl. VII.

with a metallic sheen; no. 132 with a band of oblique slashes between grooves as no. 129; no. 133 sagging base with continuous spaced thumbings.

Fig. 14, nos. 134-139: series of jugs in double sandwich (black, red, black) ware: no. 134 has a lip and no. 136 a rod handle; no. 134 has a band of grooves, and no. 137 a strap handle.

Other forms

Fig. 14, no. 140: neck of a costrel with two pierced ears; pink buff ware with thick dark green glaze.

Fig. 14, no. 141: base of a chafing dish; hard red sandy ware with a grey core and patches of white slip.¹ Early sixteenth century.

Import

Fig. 14, no. 142: part of the body of a Flemish stoneware jug; brown glaze with darker specks. This is likely to be from the Raeren kilns.² Early sixteenth century.

These cooking pots, bowls and jugs are typical of the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century pottery found in the ditch east of the Monks' Dormitory (Fig. 8), or in the cistern in the south bay of the Monks' Dormitory undercroft (Fig. 9). Many of them are clearly of this date, as is shown by the late finds of Cistercian ware and Flemish and South Netherlands imports. The material from Waterbeach Abbey, however, suggests that these hard red, black, and double sandwich (black, red black) wares were already in production by the middle of the fourteenth century (see p. 92). They therefore had a long life from the time when they replaced the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century rougher sandy wares and non-local decorated jugs. Other forms such as the chafing dish (Fig. 14, no. 141) and the tripod pipkins (Fig. 13, nos. 113-114) are post-medieval in character and are not likely to date before the end of the fifteenth century.

APPENDIX 4

HISTORY OF THE PRIORY OF ST NEOTS

MARJORIE CHIBNALL, PH.D

I

Many legends surround the early history of St Neots Priory;³ and since no account of the first foundation written before the twentieth century approached the sources in a critical spirit fresh errors were introduced with each new version. The twelfth-century historians were concerned to prove the claims of Ely to be the mother house of the priory, or of Crowland to possess the bones of St Neot, rather than to establish the truth.⁴ Leland added some of the misconceptions of his day.⁵ G. C. Gorham was an indefatigable collector of early material, but not a critical historian;⁶

¹ For discussion of this type with bibliography and reconstruction of the complete form see *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), pp. 122-4, fig. 19, no. S 28/5.

² B. Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations, 1949-1960* (1964), I pp. 142-3.

³ I would like to thank Professor D. Whitelock for her advice on some of the problems connected with the early history of the priory.

⁴ *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake (Camden 3rd Series, vol. xcii, 1962) pp. 102-4, 188-9; Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Le Prévost, II, pp. 283-4. Orderic derived his account from the sub-prior of Crowland.

⁵ Leland, *Collectanea*, iii, 10.

⁶ *The History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St Neot's* (London, 1820) and *A Supplement to the History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St Neot's* (London, 1824).

and later writers selected more or less at random from the abundant and mutually incompatible materials offered by Gorham.¹ But in 1904 W. H. Stevenson began the difficult task of sifting the few reliable statements from a great mass of unsubstantiated assertion, and published his findings in the Notes to his edition of *Asser's Life of King Alfred*,² and in 1959 E. O. Blake continued the same task in his notes to the *Liber Eliensis*.³ The conclusions of both these scholars deserve both to be more widely known and to be amplified.

It seems plain that if any kind of religious foundation existed before the late tenth century nothing whatever is known about it.⁴ The *Liber Eliensis*⁵ contains the first reliable information extant about the priory, because it incorporates the substance of an Anglo-Saxon charter, though it is only trustworthy when citing the charter. The writer's suggestion that St Neot himself had founded a priory here which was destroyed in the Danish invasions is, as Stevenson said, 'evidently an attempt to account for the monastery bearing his name'. But the statements that are plainly based on the charter contain the only sound evidence we have for the foundation of the pre-Conquest priory with the encouragement of Aethelwold, bishop of Winchester.

'When [Aethelwold]', runs the narrative, 'attended the dedication of the church [of Ely] Leofric, a man devoted to God, and his wife Leoflaed sought advice from him and abbot Brihtnoth and begged them to establish monks [at Eynesbury]. They willingly granted this request, and despatched some monks from Ely and others from Thorney. Further [Leofric and Leoflaed] publicly begged the bishop and abbot to guide and counsel these monks for the love of God and holy religion as they would their own monks, to ensure that they should follow the dictates of their rule, and that the place should always be subject to the abbot of Ely and his successors; also they asked that the prior of the house should be chosen from the monastery of Ely, unless one of their own number could be found worthy of office, and then he should be appointed with the counsel and consent of the brethren at Ely. To provide for the needs of the priory they gave 18 (*sic*) hides of land as perpetual endowment for the food and clothing of the monks: namely 2 hides in the vill of Eynesbury, 6 at Waresley, and 9 at Gamlingay. The witnesses of this gift were bishop Aescwig, who then consecrated the church, ealdorman Aethelwine, Eadric Pape, Aelfhelm Polga and others who were present at the consecration, and this was confirmed in three deeds written in English. Bishop Aethelwold had one, which is still preserved as evidence in his church; bishop Aescwig another, and they themselves kept the third.'

There seems no reason to doubt that a core of truth is contained in this account. The names of the founders, however, are in some doubt. The Ely writer may be assumed to have copied them from the Saxon charter, and there is a little supplementary evidence suggesting that Leofric came of a family with land in the region.⁶ But the Valutation of the Priory made in 1534 includes alms for prayers for the souls of the first founder, who is called Earl Aylric, and his wife Elflada.⁷ Since

¹ E.g. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel, III, pp. 462 ff.; A. A. Porée, *Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec* (Évreux, 1901), I, pp. 505-8; G. Houghton Brown, *History of St Neot and of his Priory* (St Neots, 1937).

² W. H. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred together with the Annals of St Neot's* (Oxford, 1904), pp. 260, 296-8.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 420.

⁴ Even Gorham (*op. cit.* p. 49) hesitated to accept the existence of an earlier house dedicated to St Ernulph.

⁵ See p. 103. This was written probably in the second quarter of the twelfth century; the attribution to Thomas of Ely is considered doubtful by Dr Blake.

⁶ Leofric had a brother, Aegelnoth, who made a claim to land in Wangford (*Liber Eliensis*, p. 104).

⁷ Gorham, *op. cit.* pp. 332, 48 n. 4. Leland obviously took his information from this source, and calls them Ethelric and Ethelfleda. I have been unable to discover any Earl Aethelric whose wife is known to have been called Ethelfleda. It seems too a remarkable coincidence that the endings of the two sets of names should be the same.

it is by no means clear who is meant by this statement in the Valor, and the names could have been inaccurately copied, it seems inadvisable to build speculative narrative of the foundation round them¹ and the unreliable *Lives* of St Neot. The account in the *Liber Eliensis* is more firmly grounded in objective reality.

The narrative describes two stages in the process of foundation: the first approval of the project by Bishop Aethelwold and Abbot Brihtnoth at the dedication of the restored church of Ely in 974, and the formal foundation and endowment of the priory at the dedication of the church of Eynesbury, which must have been some years later. Discussion of the date of foundation seems sometimes to have been confused by telescoping the two ceremonies. Whilst there is a strong probability that the project was approved in 974, the date suggested by Stevenson, namely between 978 and 994, or possibly more narrowly 979–84,² is a likely one for the formal foundation and dedication.

There is nothing in the substance of the charter cited by the Ely historian to suggest any connexion with St Neot at this date. His body must have been brought from Cornwall soon afterwards, and was said to lie at Eynesbury in a list of English saints and their burial places which was compiled in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries and completed c. 1020.³ If the Crowland story is to be believed the body was removed almost immediately, either because of danger from the Danish raids or because it was not sufficiently venerated. The monks of Crowland claimed that it had been entrusted by Leviova or Leofgiva of Eynesbury to her brother Osketel, abbot of Crowland, and had remained there into the early twelfth century. But this story, retailed by Orderic Vitalis, rests solely on information given to Orderic c. 1115 by the sub-prior of Crowland.⁴ It is contradicted by the evidence of the eleventh-century list of saints, which suggests that the body was still at Eynesbury after the death of Osketel, and by the testimony of St Anselm himself, who certified, probably about 1080, that he had found it intact at Eynesbury.⁵ On the whole the very scanty evidence suggests that if the relics were ever taken to Crowland it was only as a temporary refuge, and they were restored soon afterwards.

The endowment of the priory at its foundation, according to the deed cited in the *Liber Eliensis*, consisted of 18 (*sic*) hides of land made up of 2 hides in Eynesbury, 6 at Waresley and 9 at Gamlingay. Even this modest endowment must have been largely dispersed as a result of invasion or secularization before the time of the Norman conquest. According to Domesday Book, by 1086 Eudo fitzHerbert held 18 hides in Gamlingay and there is no trace of any connexion with the priory of St Neot.⁶ Probably the connexion was severed at an early date. But Robert fitzWimarc held land both in Eynesbury and Waresley by 1066,⁷ and his usurpation may have been recent since some restoration to the church was later made in both manors. Rohais, wife of Richard of Clare, who acquired the manor of Eynesbury before 1086, refounded a priory there, and the monks received rights to some of the tithes in the parish at an early date.⁸ After Waresley

¹ Gorham (*loc. cit.*) places them in the late tenth century and Houghton Brown (*op. cit.* p. 8) in the time of Alfred.

² Before the death in 984 of Bishop Aethelwold, who received a copy of the foundation charter, and after Aescwig became bishop of Dorchester, for which there is no positive evidence before 979. Both Ealdorman Aethelwine and Aelfhelm Polga appear in other deeds at about this time (D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, pp. 125, 133–4).

³ Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, p. 13, II, no. 24.

⁴ *Hist. Eccl.* II, pp. 283–4. Leviova is presumably the daughter of Leofric and Leoflaed.

⁵ *Opera*, ed. Schmitt, III, Ep. 473.

⁶ *V.C.H. Cambs.* I, p. 384. Cf. *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake, p. 420. The property in Gamlingay later held by the priory seems to derive from a number of small gifts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Gorham, *op. cit.* pp. xliii–xliv, xlvii–l).

⁷ *V.C.H. Hunts.* I, pp. 353, 348. Robert fitzWimarc was a palace official of Edward the Confessor of Norman or possibly Breton origin; he became sheriff of Essex. Cf. F. Barlow, *The Life of King Edward the Confessor* (Nelson's Medieval Texts), p. 76, n. 4.

⁸ Gorham, *op. cit.* pp. 74, 135, 302.

passed to Robert fitzWimarc's son, Swein of Essex, Swein's man Tuold granted the tithes to the priory.¹ A grant of tithes was very frequently a means of compensating a monastery for the secularization of land which had formerly been in its possession. Beyond these meagre facts nothing positive can be known of the Anglo-Saxon priory; even its exact site is uncertain. The connexion with Ely may have been very much slighter than the author of the *Liber Eliensis* alleged; the numerous land pleas of the monks of Ely do not include any attempt to recover the lands originally assigned to St Neot.²

II

With the refoundation of the priory after the Norman Conquest and its subjection to the Abbey of Bec we are on surer ground. In spite of some uncertainty about the exact date of refoundation, St Anselm's letters make it plain that monks of Bec were sent to England at the request of Rohais and Richard of Clare soon after Anselm became abbot, and therefore probably in 1080 or 1081.³ It is difficult, in view of the dating of Anselm's letters and his visits to England, to believe that the monks of St Neot who held land in Eynesbury from Rohais in 1086 can still have been monks of Ely and not monks of Bec.⁴ The first monks were sent under the direction of Richard, possibly though not certainly the Richard who later became abbot of St Werburgh's Chester, and they included Henry, a former cellarer of Bec or one of its French cells and Henry de Gournay. But in spite of Anselm's admonitions to the patrons, adequate endowment and more formal establishment of a priory seem to have been slow to come; in 1086 the monks had only three ploughlands worth 4 pounds sterling in Eynesbury, and after the death of Gilbert of Clare his son Richard became more interested in the substitution of monks of Bec for canons in the decayed college of St John the Baptist within the castle of Clare. Anselm's interest, fortunately, continued: his personal devotion to St Neot led him to take back a small fragment of bone to Bec, and establish the cult of the saint there;⁵ and he promised spiritual benefits to all who were prepared to contribute towards building a new church in honour of the saint. By 1100 benefactions were coming in; in 1113 the new church was dedicated, and Rohais gave the whole of her manor of Eynesbury with the royal assent.⁶ 1113 is the year of formal refoundation according to the Chronicle of Bec,⁷ but monks of the abbey must by then have been at Eynesbury for more than thirty years. Substantial endowment came, in particular from members of the Clare family, and within a few years Henry I had granted valuable privileges, including the Thursday market and an annual three-day fair.⁸ Before the end of the century papal privileges had secured the appropriation of churches. The priory became one of the largest of the cells of Bec in England. Moreover, its reputation as a place of pilgrimage as well as its key position at the convergence of many routes made it for about two hundred years a house of some standing among the moderately sized religious houses in England.⁹ By the end of the thirteenth century, when it was probably at the height of its

¹ *V.C.H. Hunts*, II, pp. 376, 378.

² Cf. E. O. Blake, *op. cit.* p. 188, n. 3.

³ I have discussed the question of date and the early history of the Norman priory in 'The relationship of Saint Anselm with the English dependencies of the Abbey of Bec, 1079-1093' in *Spicilegium Beccense* (Paris, 1959), I, pp. 521-30.

⁴ *V.C.H. Hunts*, I, p. 353. W. H. Stevenson, *op. cit.* p. 260, cautiously writes that 'St Neot's is mentioned in Domesday without any hint of dependence upon Bec'. But at that date the future status of the community may still have been uncertain.

⁵ *Opera*, ed. Schmitt, III, Ep. 473; F. Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1946), I, p. vii.

⁶ Gorham, *op. cit.* p. 299.

⁷ A. A. Porée, *Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec*, I, p. 454, n. 2.

⁸ *V.C.H. Hunts*, I, p. 386, II, p. 341.

⁹ The statement in the *V.C.H. Hunts*, I, p. 387, that the value decreased rapidly owing to the constant change of superiors and that 'the tone was lowered as in most alien priories' is based on no evidence at all earlier than the fourteenth century, and seems quite out of line with all that is known of the priory in the earlier period. The statement that most of the revenue went to Bec is untrue.

prosperity; it had a prior and eighteen monks, and its revenues in 1294 were estimated at £206. 12s. 6d. Only a token pension of £1. 10s. was owed to Bec.¹ Priors were sent from the mother house and were removable at the will of the abbot; but their tenure of office might be for ten or even twenty years and consequently the administration was reasonably stable. So the priory had a dual role: it occupied an important place in the internal history of the order of Bec, and in addition had local standing. Naturally its existence shaped the parochial and commercial development of its own region.

In the early part of the twelfth century the priory stood in the parish of Eynesbury. Increased settlement around the priory stimulated the growth of a new parish. At first the parishioners may have worshipped at an altar in the nave of the priory church: parochial rights certainly existed in the time of Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln (1148-66).² The monks were allowed to appropriate the rectory in 1183, and a church certainly existed by 1218-23.³ The separation of the two parishes must have been a gradual process; and the records of tithe disputes in the twelfth century show how many rights had to be clarified before there could be any clear territorial division. Payment of tithe might draw a hamlet into a new parish: but the presence of powerful lords of the manor in Eynesbury ensured that nothing would be lost by either side without a fight. Although Simon de St Liz had granted the advowson of Eynesbury church to St Neots in 1111 his heirs resisted the grant, and in 1204 Saher de Quincy, earl of Winchester, recovered the advowson for himself.⁴ The prior's rights were restricted to half the tithes, including tithes from Weald which had once been claimed as part of the parish of St Neots; by 1291 these were assessed as a portion of £6. 13s. 4d. payable from the rectory of Eynesbury to the Priory. But the compromise of 1204 was more a definition of rights to tithe than a formal separation of the two parishes; and there is no record of when, if ever, beating the bounds of the parishes began.

One factor hastening parochial division was the growth of settlement and increasing commercial importance. Roads from Huntingdon, Kimbolton and Bedford converged on the west side of the river, and from Godmanchester, Cambridge and Sandy on the east side. The river itself was navigable for barges carrying corn and other heavy goods to the coast, and the main road from London to York was not far away. A ford, possibly at Eaton, or a ferry certainly existed nearby from an early date. Grants of a weekly market and fair by Henry I, confirmed and augmented by Henry II,⁵ ensured that any future commercial development would be focused on St Neots. A wooden bridge had been built there by 1180. For a time the community remained essentially a thriving village community, with a village market for the exchange of agricultural produce, particularly corn. Thirteenth-century gifts and sales to the priory in the village of St Neots included a few messuages; but the names of the inhabitants do not indicate local industry apart from one fuller, the usual village craftsmen, and a number of goldsmiths, who would naturally be attracted by service to the priory.⁶ Rising market profits, however, suggest a slight expansion of trade in the fourteenth and considerable expansion in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: market profits rose from £3 in 1324 to £6. 13s. 4d. in 1370 and £9. 6s. 8d. in 1535; and rents in the same period increased from £10. 5s. 6d. to £20. 3s. 4d. and finally £56. 8s. 6d.⁷ From an early

¹ M. Morgan, *The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 121-2.

² Gorham, *op. cit.* pp. x-xi. A deed in MS Cotton Faustina A iv fo. 37^v refers to the tithes of two hides in Weald 'que monachi dicebant esse de parochia Sancti Neoti'.

³ *V.C.H. Hunts*, II, p. 341.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 279; Gorham, *op. cit.* pp. 301-2.

⁵ Gorham, p. 310, assigns the charter granting the fair to Henry I. The *V.C.H. Hunts*, II, p. 341, suggests that the fair was held under a charter of Henry II, but the monks certainly produced a charter of Henry I mentioning a fair when they defended their liberties in 1285 (*Placita de Quo Warranto*, p. 301). At this date they had three annual three-day fairs.

⁶ Gorham, *op. cit.* pp. xxi-xxiv, xlv, lix-lxi.

⁷ *English Lands of Bec*, p. 130, n. 2.

date too the shrine of St Neot attracted pilgrims, and travellers were numerous. Papal bulls of Lucius III in 1183 and Celestine III in 1194 granting the impropriation of the tithes of St Neots, Eynesbury and Turvey justified the grant on the grounds that the priory was situated at a junction of important routes and had to entertain many guests; this duty, as well as obligations to the poor and the needs of the monks themselves, made their existing revenues inadequate.¹ Some of the travellers might be persons of eminence: in 1156 the abbot of St Alban's and the bishops of Lincoln, London, Durham and Hereford met to settle a dispute;² and Henry III was a fairly frequent visitor, as the dating of his letters shows.³ Later judicial assizes were sometimes held at St Neots.⁴

A few of the priors were men of note: the first, Martin, was appointed abbot of Peterborough in 1132,⁵ and a later prior, Hugh, was one of the candidates in the Bury St Edmunds election in 1180; he was considered 'a man of great religion and very circumspect both in matters temporal and spiritual'.⁶ On the whole the priory was not involved in political events; though before the siege of Bedford in 1224 William Martel deposited some of his valuables there and they were surrendered to the crown after his execution.⁷ One prior too was summoned to Parliament by Simon de Montfort in December 1264⁸—an indication of the relative prominence of the priory among the medium-sized houses. On the whole the thirteenth-century priors seem to have been conscientious administrators and Prior Reginald (1226–30) and his successor Hugh de Fagernum (1230–48) were responsible for the compilation of the principal cartulary of the priory (MS Cotton Faustina A iv). Another cartulary of deeds relating to the property of the Sacristy dates from 1286 when John de Bois Renaud was sacrist.⁹ In addition to lands the priory acquired a small library and some handsome service books, of which the illuminated Psalter, now Lambeth Palace Library MS 563, is the finest surviving volume.¹⁰

All the priors were monks of Bec, appointed by the abbot and removable at will. In the thirteenth century a procedure of nomination by the abbot, approval by the patron, the earl of Clare, and presentation to the bishop of Lincoln for induction in the priory was hammered out in a series of controversies.¹¹ It seems plain that the bond between the mother abbey and its dependencies, though often strained, was no mere formality. Even though the priors enjoyed a very considerable degree of independence, had their own seals, and pleaded in their own names when it suited them to do so,¹² the group formed a community for many purposes. They successfully resisted the attempts of the English Benedictine abbots to impose on them statutes curtailing the monastic offices and raising taxes to support a house of studies at Oxford: the justification for their resistance was that they belonged to their own Order of Bec.¹³ In more informal ways property might be leased to another prior of Bec rather than to a stranger; the prior of St Neots leased Charlton in Blunham from the prior of Meulan, a French cell of Bec, for 12 marks

¹ Gorham, *op. cit.* pp. 303–4, 318. The suggestion in the *V.C.H. Hunts.* II, p. 339, that the grant of Pope Lucius was intended to maintain a hospice for the poor seems to be a misreading of the text: guests were almost certainly housed in the priory itself.

² Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II*, p. 20.

³ The Close Rolls contain letters dated at St Neots in July 1229, March and November 1235, March and October 1236, etc.

⁴ E.g. *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, ed. W. H. Hart and A. P. Lyon (Rolls Series), I, 178, III, 66.

⁵ Gorham, *op. cit.* p. cxxxviii.

⁶ *The Chronicle of Jocelyn of Brakelond*, ed. H. E. Butler (Nelson's Medieval Texts), p. 22.

⁷ *Close Rolls 1216–1225*, pp. 448, 449.

⁸ Gorham, *op. cit.* pp. cxl–cxli.

⁹ British Museum, MS Stowe 941.

¹⁰ N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, p. 170.

¹¹ Cf. *English Lands of Bec*, pp. 25–9; Gorham, *op. cit.* p. cxlii.

¹² *English Lands of Bec*, pp. 32–3.

¹³ This dispute is fully documented; cf. W. A. Pantin, *Chapters of the English Black Monks* (Camden Series), III, pp. 263–75.

annually.¹ The kind of personal contacts that might occur are well illustrated by the deed of 1260, in which Prior William of St Neots granted a pension to Richard of Wilsford to support him in the schools until he could be presented to a rectory. The grant provided for Richard to reside at St Neots during vacation or at any other time if he wished, and allowed him a horse from the priory stables for riding to or from any schools within England. The deed was witnessed by Richard, prior of Ogbourne and proctor of Bec in England, and Henry of St Neots, prior of Wilsford. Wilsford was a small English cell of Bec, and the names indicate a somewhat complex net of personal relationships.²

The evidence for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is uneven, but it does not bear out the picture of steady decline painted in the Victoria County History. On the contrary, the priory seems to have been fairly prosperous and well administered, with resources to spare for books and buildings and the provision of pensions for study. It suffered occasional disasters, such as the collapse of the bell-tower about 1265, when many charters were lost;³ and emergency rebuilding may have been responsible for the debt to Meulan some twenty years later. But from the end of the thirteenth century the priory suffered the fate of all alien priories, and the bulk of its resources were diverted into the royal treasury during the increasingly frequent wars with France.⁴ The first extensive seizure of property came in 1294, when Edward I demanded an annual farm of £150 from the priory of St Neots, and had the monks moved to the manor of Turvey on the grounds that the Ouse was a navigable river, and they might be guilty of spying. They returned to their priory a few months later and were not moved again, but the confiscation lasted until 1303. During the second period of confiscation from 1324-7 the farm exacted was £160; and this same farm was imposed again in 1337. The Hundred Years' War meant almost continual confiscation, apart from a few years after the truce of Brétigny in 1360; and it was during this period that the priory suffered the waste and dilapidation over-emphasized by some writers. Recruitment of monks and appointment of priors became more difficult. In 1378 three French monks were given permission to return to Bec from St Neots,⁵ whilst three others remained together with Prior William of St Vaast who combined the offices of proctor of Ogbourne and prior of St Neots. After the death of Prior William in 1404 the next prior, an Englishman named Edward Salisbury, was presented by the king. Only two French monks and a small handful of English monks remained, and continued existence as a cell of Bec was plainly impossible. The patron, the earl of Stafford,⁶ sought and obtained letters patent of denization in 1409. From that date the priory was an independent house, electing its own prior and filled mainly by monks from the district round about.

III

The last phase in the history of the priory is illustrated chiefly from visitation records and occasional valuations. The dismal picture of dilapidation painted in the petition for denization seems to have been a true one: when bishop Gray visited the priory over twenty years later, in 1432, he found the buildings still in serious disrepair, numbers small and discipline poor.⁷ His

¹ Gorham, *op. cit.* pp. xxxvi-xxxvii. This rent was seriously in arrears in 1286, when the prior of St Neots owed the prior of Meulan 186 marks (Porée, *Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec*, II, p. 111).

² Gorham, *op. cit.* p. liv.

³ *Placita de Quo Warranto*, p. 301.

⁴ For full accounts of the confiscations see *English Lands of Bec*, part III, pp. 118 ff.; D. J. A. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 81 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 153, 157.

⁶ After the death of Gilbert of Clare at Bannockburn in 1314 the Clare estates were divided among his three daughters; and the patronage of St Neots passed through his daughter Margaret to her daughter Margaret, wife of Ralph, Earl of Stafford.

⁷ *Visitations of Religious Houses* (Lincoln Record Society, vol. 7, 1914), ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, I, pp. 109-11.

injunctions began with the preamble reserved for monasteries in the gravest state of disorder. Incidentally they contain a good deal of information about the conventual buildings. There appears to have been no proper guest house or servants' hall, and all kinds of secular persons were eating in the frater with the monks: the bishop commanded the monks to take their meals in the hall by the prior's lodging until proper provision could be made. There were no carels for the brethren in the cloister, and the bell-tower needed repair: Gray instructed the prior to install two small bells to be rung in the cloister and at meal times. Whilst there is no suggestion of gaps in the priory enclosure, the door leading to the town on the south side of the nave of the conventual church seems to have been left open at all times, and all were free to come and go as they chose.

Seven years later, when Bishop Alnwick visited the priory in 1439, conditions had if anything deteriorated.¹ There was still no separate frater; the roof of the church was so dilapidated that rain poured in, the bell-tower was still in ruins, and there was a breach in the priory enclosure through which monks and townspeople alike were free to pass as they chose. The convent was in debt, and the prior did not render account and failed to clear himself of a serious charge of simony.

Later in the fifteenth century the material condition of the priory improved. Mr C. F. Tebbutt has shown from archaeological evidence that the monks then enlarged the area available for letting by moving back the priory enclosure half way across the old cemetery, and thus increasing the area for shops around the market square.² The sharp rise in rents and market profits are additional proof of this.³ There seems to have been an improvement in temporal administration, and when Bishop William Smith visited the priory in 1507 he found the conventual buildings in better repair: the only property singled out as specially in need of restoration was the Grange at Hardwick.⁴ Spiritual recovery, however, was slower: the bishop found many irregularities in the observance of the Rule, and the whole tone of the priory suggests that it was more like a comfortable club than a Benedictine monastery. The small size of the community must have been demoralizing. Numbers were slow to rise, and throughout the century visitations show that there were only eight or nine monks with the prior. There may possibly have been a revival a little later: between 1518 and 1530 the numbers rose from nine to thirteen monks, and there was a noticeable improvement in discipline. Bishop Longland's inquiries in 1530 elicited an almost uniform chorus of 'omnia bene', varied by the reply of one monk that everything was perfect.⁵

So on the eve of the Dissolution conditions in the priory of St Neots may well have been better than at any time since the late thirteenth century. There were still eleven monks in 1534, but naturally numbers dwindled in the critical years that came after. The Dissolution followed the normal pattern. When the priory was surrendered into the king's hand in December, 1539, only seven monks and the prior, John Raunds, remained. They received pensions of varying amounts, and the priory lands were distributed to secular owners.⁶ The buildings must have been used as stone quarries for constructing new houses in the town and elsewhere, and almost all traces of the priory above ground disappeared.

¹ *Visitations of Religious Houses* (Lincoln Record Society, vol. 21, 1929), ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, III, 320-7.

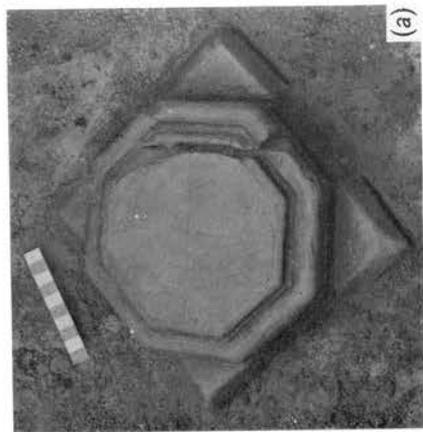
² C. F. Tebbutt, 'Excavations at St Neots, Huntingdonshire', *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1956), pp. 85-6.

³ *Supra*, p. 71.

⁴ Gorham, *op. cit.* p. cxlviii. note o. Revenues should indeed have been adequate: the estimated income in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was £241. 11s. 4½d. (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, III, p. 483).

⁵ *Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1517-31* (Lincoln Record Society, vol. 37, 1947), ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, III, pp. 96-7. Replies range from 'Omnia bene' to 'perfecta sunt omnia'; the only criticism of one monk is unfortunately illegible.

⁶ Gorham, *op. cit.* pp. 86-7; *V.C.H. Hunts.* I, p. 387.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

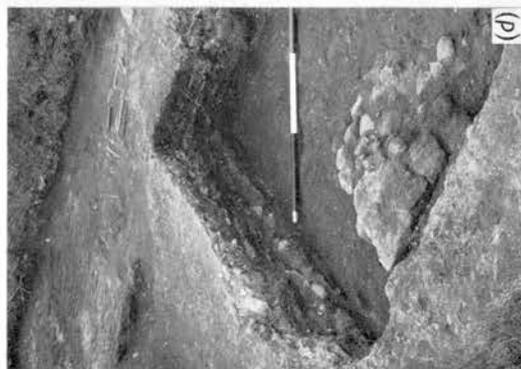
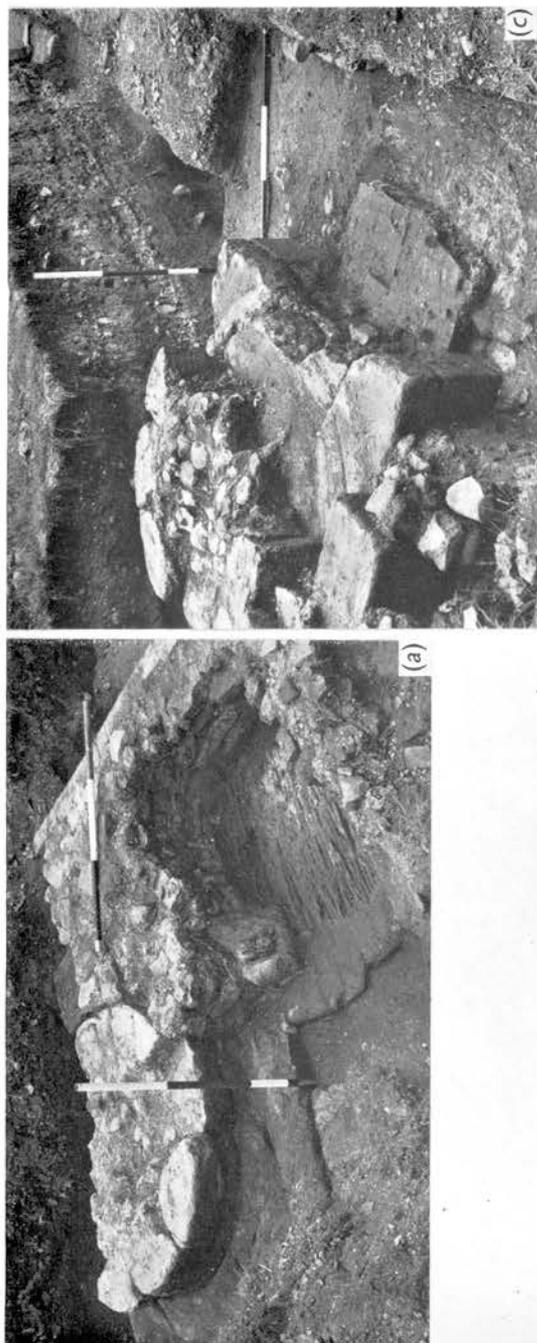


(e)

St Neots Priory. (a) Thirteenth century column base from Dormitory. (b) Arcading reset in cellar of 15 Market Square, St Neots. (c) Door-hinges from north end of West Range. (d) North-east corner of Cloister. (e) North-east corner of Rere-dormitory.



St Neots Priory. (a) Refectory wall with brick screens partition. (b) Drain and soakaway in yard. (c) South-east corner of Infirmary. (d) Wall at north end of West Range.



St Neots Priory: the Kitchen. (a) Norman column with fifteenth-century oven built against it. (b) Fifteenth-century ovens. (c) Norman column with twelfth-century hearth beside it. Section through floor layers beyond. (d) Destroyed Norman column base; ranging-pole on level of original floor. Above are later floor-levels and fifteenth-century hearth at top.

WATERBEACH ABBEY

MARY D. CRA'STER, F.S.A.

THE site lies in the field just to the south of the parish church, and within the triangle formed by the junction of the River Cam and the Car Dyke (Pl. IX). It was occupied between 1293 and 1359, by which time it had been deserted in favour of Denny Abbey, because it was insufficient and subject to flooding.

At the present day, the eastern half of the site is protected on two sides by a fairly substantial moat, and a second ditch runs across the middle through a shallow circular depression into the moat (Fig. 1). Within these ditches the ground is comparatively flat. To the west is a cart-track, which (though now diverted into a farmyard) formerly ran due north, continuing the line of the road leading from the church to the village green; the older line of this track could clearly be seen as a crop-mark in the grass.

West of the track lies a roughly rectangular area, surrounded and crossed by low banks. These were threatened with bulldozing, and accordingly the Ministry of Public Building and Works undertook a trial excavation in the summer of 1963.

HISTORY OF THE ABBEY¹

Denise, daughter and heiress of Nicholas Anesty and widow of Walter, the brother of Archbishop Stephen Langton, subsequently married Warin Munchensey. Some years after the death of her second husband, she received in 1281 royal and papal approval of her plan to grant her manor of Waterbeach to found a house of Minoresses. These nuns of the Second Order of St Francis had been founded at Longchamps in 1255 by Isabelle, sister of St Louis, king of France; it was for ladies of noble birth, and they were known as *sorores minores*. There were never more than four houses of Minoresses in England.

Denise Munchensey's sister was a nun at the Longchamps house, and the first nuns to arrive at Waterbeach were French. This was not until 1294, by which time it appears that a church and other buildings had already been made ready to receive them.

The house was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and difficulties arose with the Priory of Barnwell, who owned the parish church at Waterbeach and feared for the loss of tithes and other revenues through the grant of the manor to the Minoresses.

The secular servants who lived permanently within the abbey, employed in kitchen, cellar and so forth, were also exempt from tithes. An agreement was reached whereby a yearly sum was to be paid by the nuns; but by 1299 they were trying to

¹ V.C.H. Cambs., II, pp. 292-5.

evade payment. They were supported by Denise Munchensey's grand-daughter and her husband, Hugh de Vere, but the case was finally taken to Rome and decided in favour of Barnwell.

It is evident that the Waterbeach site was never satisfactory. The papal letter approving the original foundation provides for enclosure against inundation, and allows for the removal of the community elsewhere, if necessary.

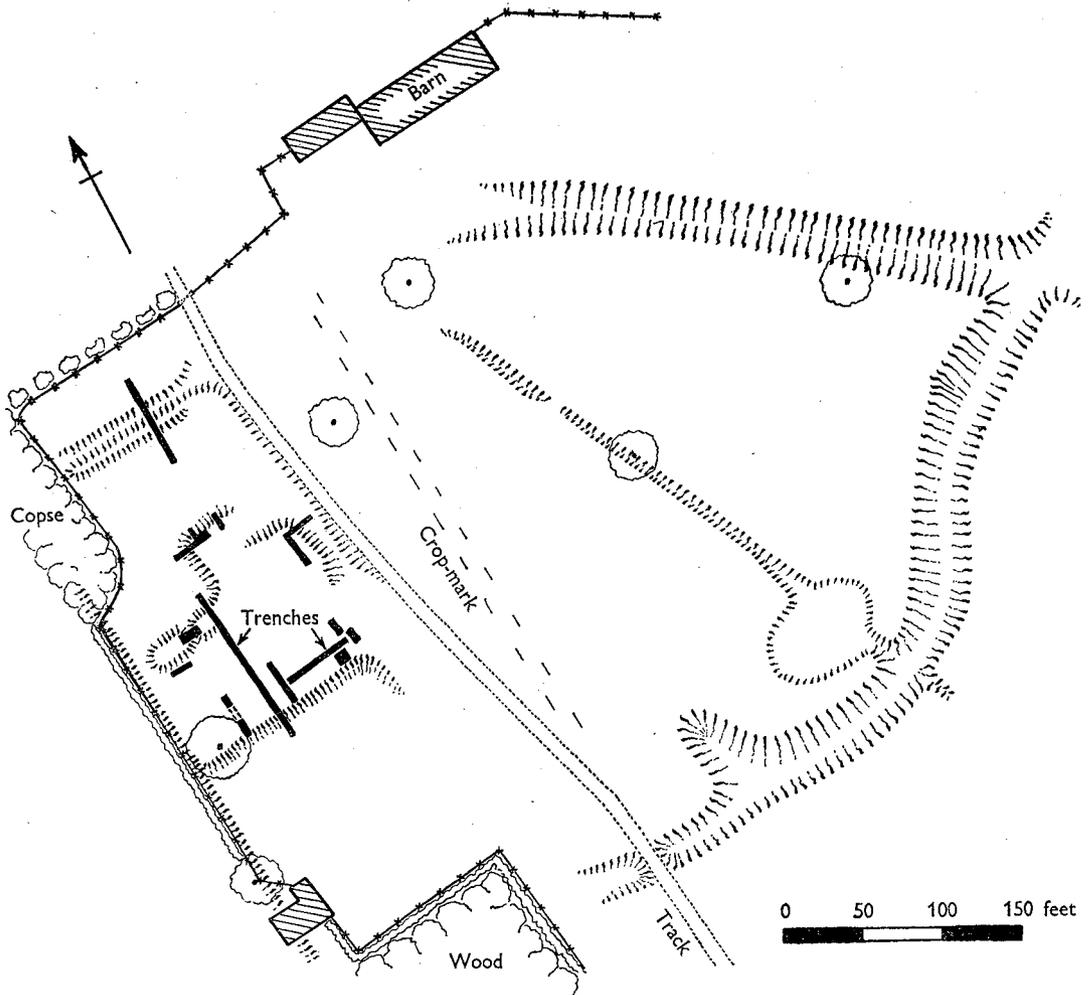


Fig. 1. Waterbeach Abbey: plan of site.

In 1336 Mary de St Pol, Countess of Pembroke, granted her manor of Denny, two or three miles to the north of Waterbeach, to the Minoreesses. Three years later, she got permission to transfer the whole community to the new site, but the two were not finally merged until 1351, since a section of the nuns showed great opposition to the move.

The abbess and some sisters moved to Denny in 1342, but the unwilling nuns were left at Waterbeach for another five years. In 1349, the Pope granted the Countess of

Pembroke's petition to be allowed to compel the remaining nuns to follow their abbess to Denny. But they seem to have broken into open rebellion, refusing to leave Waterbeach, setting up their own abbess, and preparing to receive new sisters into their community.

One reason for their reluctance to move was said to have been fear of their abbey falling into lay hands. An attempt was made to replace the sisters by twelve friars, who were to be supported by Denny Abbey. In spite of all orders, no friars ever took up residence—which may speak ill for the condition of the buildings by this time. By 1351 only four or five sisters were still holding out at Waterbeach, the rest having remained at Denny after their forcible removal.

In 1359 the Pope licensed the removal to Denny of all burials at Waterbeach Abbey. At that time the buildings were described as well-nigh desolate.

Nothing more is known of what became of the ruins of Waterbeach, but in the mid-nineteenth century, W. K. Clay reported that big stones were occasionally found in the field and dug out for road mending.¹

THE EXCAVATION

The site is interesting, since there must have been fairly substantial buildings, despite its short life. Any finds associated with it are closely dated to the first half of the fourteenth century by the documentary sources.

Only a trial excavation was attempted, and has not been followed up, since the threat of bulldozing has for the present been withdrawn. In view of the heavily robbed state of such remains as were found, only the excavation of an extensive area would be likely to yield satisfactory results.

Several trenches were dug to examine the surface irregularities in the western half of the field (Fig. 2). None of these banks seemed to correspond at all exactly with any underground feature; consequently it proved difficult to know where to dig, since the banks were in fact irregular robber-trench spoil-heaps, and nearly the whole of the walls had been removed.

Because of these difficulties, it was not possible to get much idea of what the ground-plan had been; but several clunch and stone foundations varying between 4 and 2 ft. wide were found, and one section of a 2 ft. 6 in. wide wall of large limestone blocks.

In several parts of the site large quantities of painted wall-plaster were unearthed (Appendix 1). This was in a very fragmentary condition, having been scattered during the robbing of stone from the walls. Underneath it, in layers which lay against the base of the wall foundations, was a fair quantity of medieval pottery. This is of a date which fits well with that of the known life of the abbey, and includes some pieces of French origin (Appendices 2 and 3). Other finds from these layers included fragments of window-leading, a pair of small bronze tweezers and a double-ended bronze spoon.

¹ W. K. Clay, *History of Waterbeach*, 99.

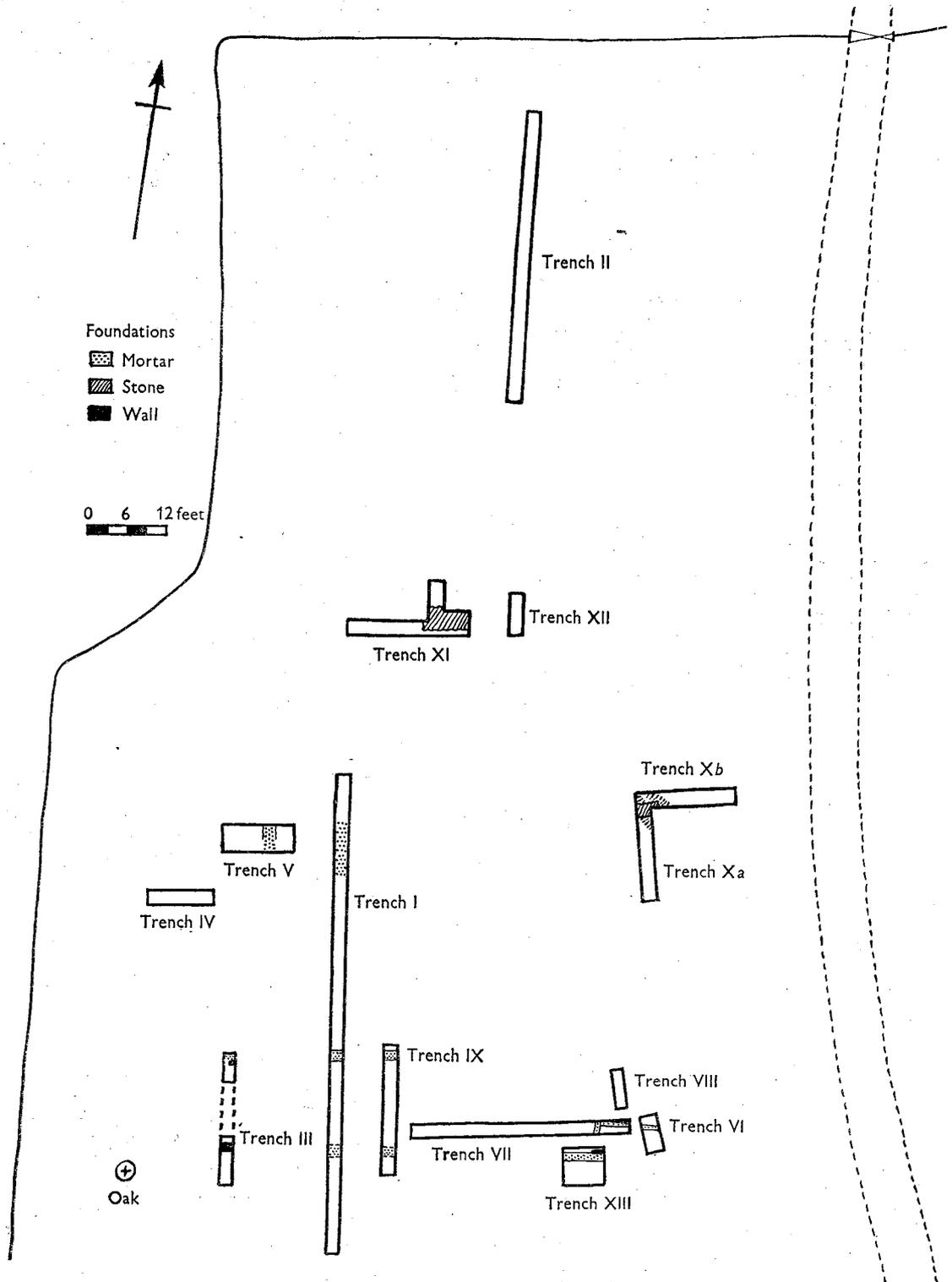


Fig. 2. Waterbeach Abbey: area of excavation.

SUMMARY OF FINDS IN THE TRENCHES

Trench I (Fig. 3b)

Three wall-footings were found, running east-west across this trench. The northernmost was the least convincing, consisting of a spread of rubble and mortar of no depth, but with fairly well-defined straight edges 13 ft. apart. It was approximately in line with the robbed foundation in trench V, but the layers of rubble and plaster fragments rose over it to form a slight bank and there was no sign of a robber-trench. To the south of this feature was a large quantity of broken painted wall-plaster.

The second wall, 37 ft. south of the first, was definitely marked by the outline of the robber-trench in the section, descending to a solid clunch and mortar footing 2 ft. thick. The part of the trench between this wall and the third, to the south, showed a greater degree of incident in differing layers of dark earth, interspersed with sand and rubble. Most of the medieval pottery also came from these levels. Above them, at the height of the top of the wall-footing, and as it were spreading out from it southwards, was the greatest concentration of painted wall-plaster. This at first caused confusion, since it appeared to be just like Roman painted plaster. But it conclusively overlay the bulk of the medieval sherds, which were in the layers lying up against the wall-footings.

Eighteen feet south again, lay the third wall foundation. This had been thoroughly robbed, and presented the same rather inconclusive appearance as the northernmost of the three foundations, although the mortar spread was more definitely concentrated and only 4 ft. in width.

Trench II

Blank.

Trench III

Rubble and mortar wall-footing at northern end, with one block of stone still in position. Approximate line continued through to trenches I and IX, but not as far as trench VIII.

At the southern end, parallel to the first foundation line, was the only piece of actual wall found on the site. Its foundation line continued through trenches I and IX to trench XIII. The wall rested on a mortar and rubble footing, projecting 6-9 in. out from the stone on the southern (presumed outer) side; it was impossible to examine in between the two walls in this trench, because of the roots of a large oak tree. The actual wall was 2 ft. thick, built of flat blocks of stone, roughly squared off on the outer edge to a rectangle of about 4 by 12 in.; it still stood about four courses high at this point, and was solidly mortared. The footing of the wall lay about 2 ft. below the modern ground level, the present top of the wall being only about 6 in. underground. [The stones were subsequently removed, at the farmer's request.] The stone is a Jurassic limestone, though not oolitic; it is similar to that from Grayhurst, Bucks., on the Great Oolite horizon.¹

Trench IV

No features, but a fair amount of broken wall-plaster.

Trench V

Dug across a gap in the low bank here, which proved to be the throw-out from a robbed wall, of which only the slightest rubble footing remained. It is in a line with the possible foundation at the northern end of trench I. Above and on either side of this footing, but not across the top of it, was an extensive spread of fragments of painted wall-plaster.

¹ Information kindly provided by Dr C. L. Forbes, Sedgwick Museum, Cambridge.

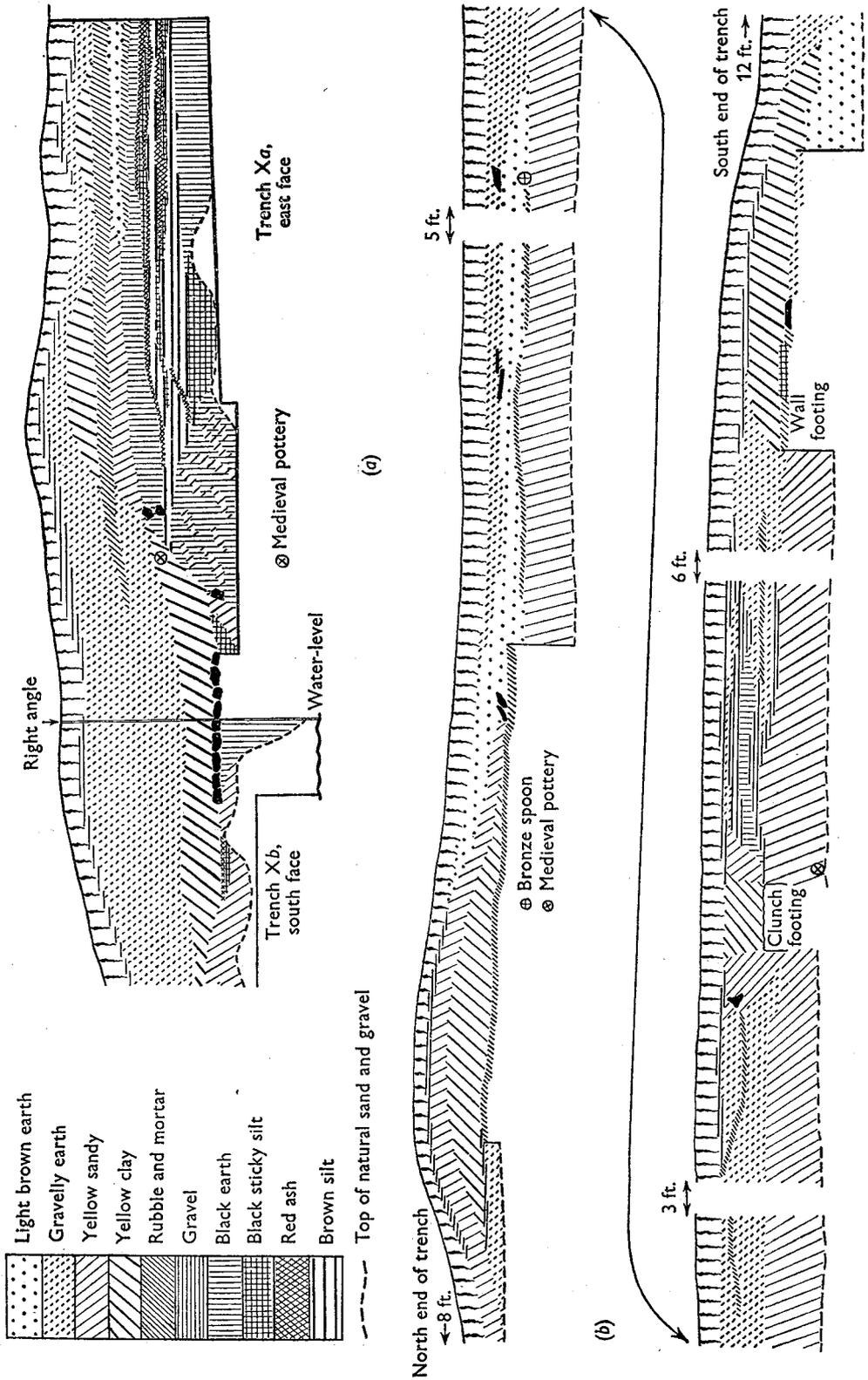


Fig. 3. Waterbeach Abbey: (a) trench X; (b) trench I, east face.

Trench VI

Dug to trace the continuation of the partition wall found in trench VII. The only remaining trace here were some fragments of wall-plaster in roughly vertical positions on either side of where the wall would have run.

Trench VII

Showed no particular features, except at its eastern end. There were occasional chalky or rubbly layers, but no visible occupation level. Half way along the trench was a pit or water-channel, cutting into the surface of the natural sandy gravel subsoil. The bottom of this hollow was 6 ft. below ground-level; it contained nothing in the way of occupational rubbish, except a cow's skull, at a depth of 5 ft. The fill was the same dark silty layer which overlay natural elsewhere, the surface of which, although irregular, occurred at about 4 or 5 ft. below modern ground surface throughout the site.

It is possible that this and other similar channels or depressions found on the site, e.g. in trenches X and XI, may in fact be natural features caused by flooding. All were cut into undisturbed subsoil and lay well below the level of any wall foundations that were found; nor did any contain any rubbish such as is normally found in artificial pits. It is known from the historical sources that the site was liable to flood.

At the eastern end of trench VII a foundation was found; nothing remained of the wall, but it had been faced on both sides with plain plaster, some fragments of which remained in a more or less upright position above the mortar foundation, as if the wall had been drawn out vertically from between them. This wall ran east and west, but had abutted, with a straight joint, against another north-south wall, again with both faces plastered. Both walls seemed to be of similar construction, much slighter than any other foundations found, being only 9-12 in. thick. They gave the appearance of being internal partition walls.

Trench VIII

No sign of the wall in trenches I, III and IX continuing as far east as this, but broken tiles were found.

Trench IX

The double line of wall foundations found in trenches I and III were picked up here. Lumps of plaster were found, showing signs of having been attached to shaped structures, such as chamfered corners, and others that had covered a lath-and-plaster wall.

Trench Xa (Fig. 3a)

At the southern end was a 5 ft. deep build-up of layers of ash, burnt earth and mortar rubble, separated by sand and earth. One, or possibly two, pits lay below these layers and sealed by them, but contained nothing but silt.

Trench Xb

Two pits or ditches, filled with black, silty earth, but no rubbish in the way of potsherds, crossed this trench at a depth of about 4 ft., just above undisturbed natural and the present water-level—which here lay at 7 ft. below modern ground-level. The layers sealing them, though containing rubble and ash, yielded no finds. The pit at the western end of the trench had caused quite a sharp subsidence. Perhaps in order to counter this, a layer of stones had been laid part way across it at a higher level. This could perhaps have been a wall foundation, although it contained no mortar and there was little sign of robbed wall above the stone layer.

Trench XI

The eastern end of this trench was occupied by a 4 ft. broad stone foundation, lying on a very slight bed of mortar, a mere 1 or 2 in. thick. The stones were unshaped and not mortared together at all. They were overlain by a clayey layer, on top of which was an irregular spread of lumps of clunch and chalk. To the north of the foundation, a layer of grey clay, 6 in. thick, apparently rested against the edge of the stones.

The stone foundation came to a neat square end about half way along the trench; beyond to the west was a ditch or pit, at a lower level, and probably unconnected with the stone layer. The western edge of this depression seemed to have been cut through a layer of mortar and rubble, overlain by a certain amount of fragmentary wall-plaster.

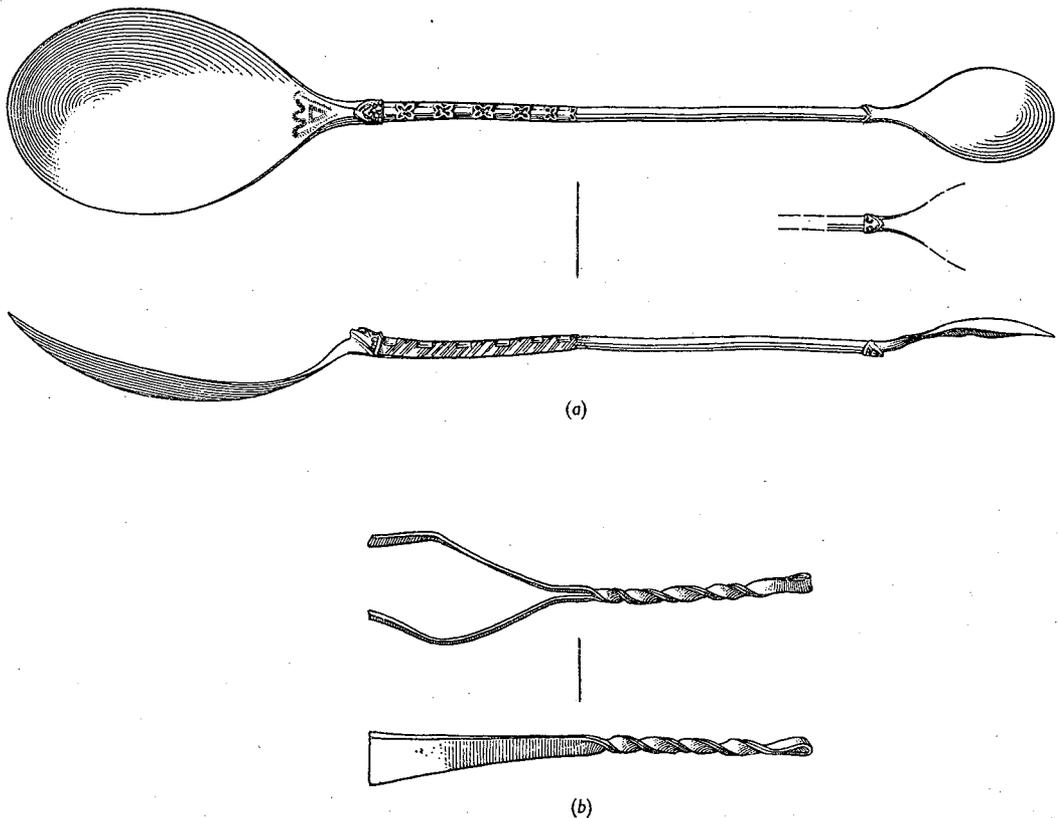


Fig. 4. Waterbeach Abbey: (a) bronze spoon; (b) bronze tweezers. Actual size.

Trench XII

There was no sign of the wall foundation in trench XI continuing as far as this. Fragmentary floor-tiles were found.

Trench XIII

This trench picked up the continuation of the southernmost wall found in trenches I, III and IX. A solid mortar and rubble foundation, 2 ft. broad, was found, with one squared stone only still in position. The débris resulting from the robbing of the masonry contained a quantity of painted wall-plaster.

THE FINDS

*Bronze**Double-ended spoon (Fig. 4a)*

Found just below layer of broken plaster, south of the northern foundation in trench I (Fig. 3b).

The spoon has two flat, oval bowls, one about a fifth the size of the other; the bowls face opposite ways from each other. At the head of each is a small mask-like decorative feature, probably a lion's head, holding the bowl of the spoon in its mouth. The larger bowl has a row of five quatrefoils along the top of the handle behind the mask.

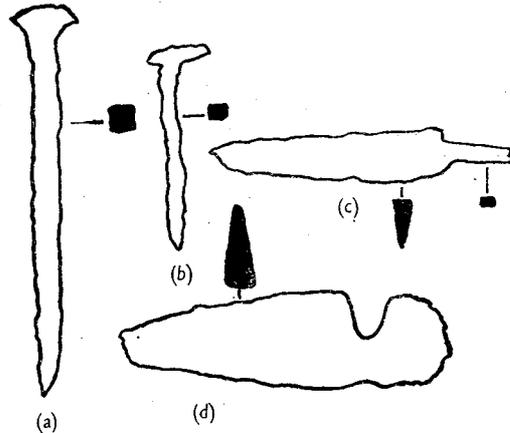


Fig. 5. Waterbeach Abbey: iron objects. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

Tweezers (Fig. 4b)

Found just below the rubble layer at the western end of trench XI.

The tweezers are made of thin strip bronze, widening at the tips to square ends. The strip is bent in two and then twisted together for about half its length.

*Iron**Nails (Fig. 5a, b)*

About a dozen were found scattered about the site, in or just below the layer of rubble and broken wall-plaster. They occurred in trenches IV, VI, VII, VIII and XI. They varied in size between the two illustrated.

*Knife (Fig. 5c)**Iron object, possibly the catch of a door-latch, rather than a knife (Fig. 5d)*

Both these objects were found in trench I, in the layer below the plaster rubble, between the southernmost two wall foundations.

*Lead**Window-leading: small fragments only*

Found in the same layer of trench I as the iron knife.

Lead sheet

A small, thin piece, pierced with holes for attachment, folded and rolled up. Trench X.

Glass

A small, circular fragment of green glass, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter. Trench XI.

*Stone**Mortar*

For a description and report, see Appendix 4, and Fig. 6*b*. Trench X*a*.

Limestone roofing-tiles

Only one complete example was found, diamond-shaped, but with flattened sides, and pierced with a single hole at one pointed end. Fragmentary ones were common, and all seem to have been from similar tiles to those found at St Neots Priory.¹

All were found in or immediately below the plaster-rubble layer. They were present in trenches I, V, VII, XI and XII.

Stone moulding

Possibly a fragment from a pillar moulding. Barnack stone. Trench X*b* (Fig. 6*a*).

*Pottery**Floor-tiles*

Glazed fragments were found in trenches VII, VIII, X*a*, XI and XII. Most were plain green or brown, but one or two bore traces of much abraded decoration.

Unglazed fragments were also found in trenches I, IV, V, VIII, XII and XIII.

French imported vessels (Fig. 8)

For a description, see Appendix 2. The three fragments of separate vessels were found in trenches V, VIII and IX respectively.

English medieval wares (Figs. 9-11)

For a description and detailed report, see Appendix 3. Most were of a date consonant with that of the abbey. The quantity of sherds was comparatively small, even considering the short life of the abbey on the site. None of the trial trenches struck any area of heavy occupation débris. All stratified sherds were in the layers underlying the spreads of rubble and broken wall-plaster, resulting from the robbing of the walls of the deserted buildings.

Summary of find-spots:

Trench I: between the two southernmost wall foundations, stratified in layers lying against the wall-footings.

Trench VII: at the western end, in the dark silty layer overlying natural.

Trench X*b*: In the layer lying immediately over the stones laid across the pit.

All other trenches (except trench II) also produced pottery, but not clearly stratified.

¹ See Mr Tebbutt's article in this volume, p. 47 and Fig. 2.

Roman pottery

Two much-abraded sherds—one Samian—were found; both came from just below the topsoil. Their presence is not surprising, in view of the proximity of the Car Dyke and several Romano-British settlement sites. Their very scarcity in such an area precludes the likelihood of any Roman occupation of the site.

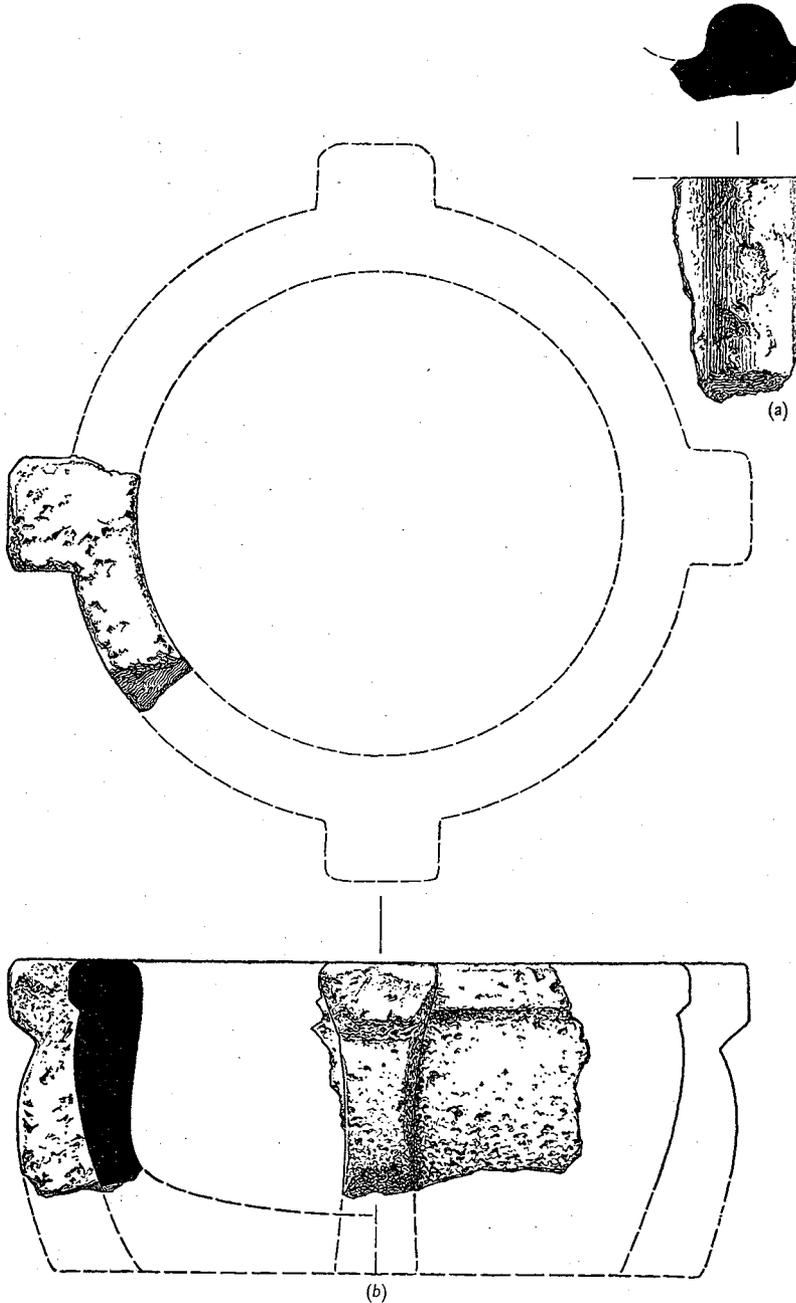


Fig. 6. Waterbeach Abbey: (a) stone moulding; (b) stone mortar. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to all who have contributed to this article, in advice and consultation, and in the writing of appendices and the drawings. In addition, I should particularly like to thank Dr G. H. S. Bushnell, both for providing help from the staff of the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology during the excavation, and for constructive suggestions during the writing of this report.

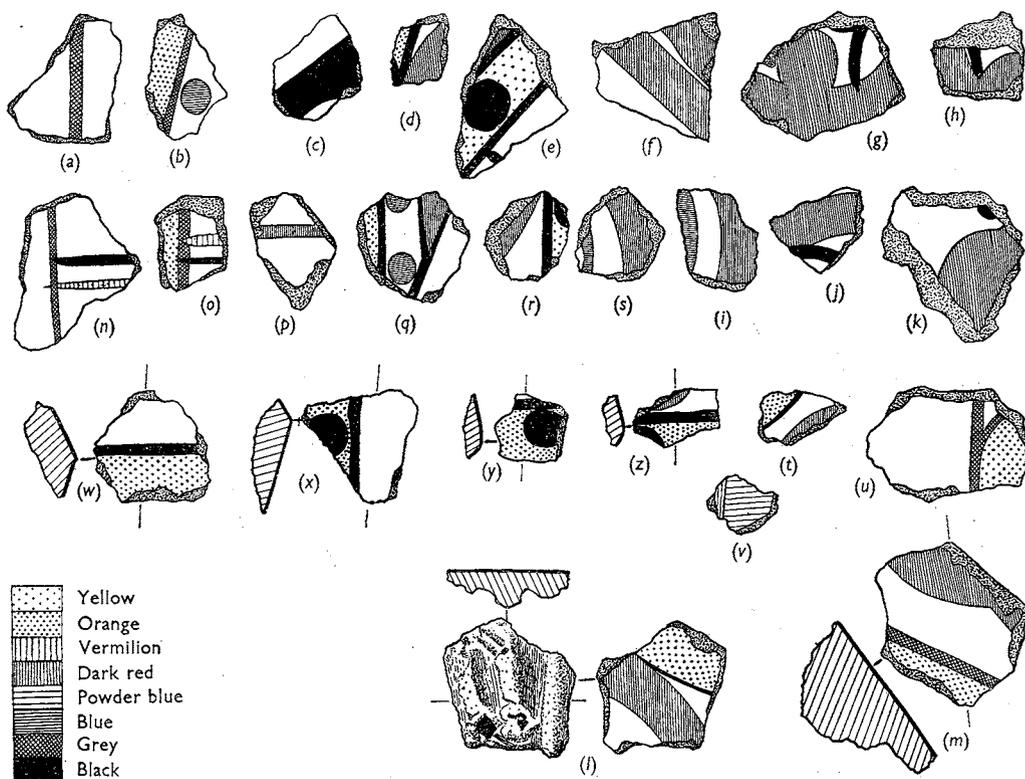


Fig. 7. Waterbeach Abbey: wall-plaster. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$. (a)-(m) are illustrated with the lath impressions on the back running vertically; (n)-(x) no lath impressions are visible, as the back of the plaster is broken away; (w)-(x) moulded fragments to turn a corner.

APPENDIX 1

THE WALL-PLASTER

It was not at first possible to tell from its appearance whether the plaster was Medieval or Roman, although such stratigraphical evidence as there was supported a Medieval date. The general similarity in composition between Roman and Medieval plasters and the small size of the fragments, together with their simple decoration, are the factors which make it difficult to distinguish between them.

Mr Norman Davey, Mr Clive Rouse and Mr R. W. Baker were consulted, in an attempt to obtain a more positive decision. Mr Davey and Mr Baker both believe that the plaster is Medieval, while Mr Rouse feels that it is probably Roman.

Mr Davey says that, although there is in general no difference in composition between Roman and Medieval plaster, there is a difference in technique. The Romans usually applied a dense rendering, followed by a skimming coat of lime slurry carefully trowelled to give a smooth, hard painting surface. The surface of Medieval plaster does not appear to have been so carefully prepared. He says that in the Waterbeach material, the white ground coat seems to have been brushed on; the brush marks are clearly visible on most of the fragments.

Mr Rouse, on the other hand, feels that the hardness of the rendering, the small proportion of sand in it and the nature of the surface coat, as well as other features, point to a Roman date.

Mr Baker states—on the basis of examples of both periods from St Alban's—that Medieval mortar contains a greater proportion of silica and no tile aggregate. In this respect, he thinks that the Waterbeach plaster conforms to Medieval practice. He sees no difficulty in accepting the range of colours employed as possible for the early fourteenth century; these include deep red, vermilion, grey, black, orange, lemon yellow, and both a dark and a powder blue. The width of this colour range is one of the factors which led Mr Rouse to favour a Roman date.

The designs are impossible to reconstruct, since the remains were too fragmentary (Fig. 7). There are two main elements: a series of fine red and black lines on a white ground, probably representing some kind of masonry pattern; and various unidentifiable shapes, mostly in dark red on white or coloured grounds, which appear to be foliage patterns of a very stylized nature.

APPENDIX 2

IMPORTED FRENCH POTTERY FROM WATERBEACH ABBEY

G. C. DUNNING, F.S.A.

The pottery imported from France comprises three sherds; two represent jugs made in Normandy and the third a jug of polychrome ware from Saintonge. The pieces will be described in that order (Fig. 8*a-c*).

(*a*) Rim and upper end of handle of fine whitish ware. Clear, pale yellow glaze covers the neck. The rim is almost flat on top, moulded on the outside, and below it is an angular cordon.

The handle is a solid rod, oval in section. At the junction with the neck are two large applied scales, each with a deep tool-mark along the middle. Near the break is a patch of red slip on the back of the handle.

(*b*) Base of fine white ware, glazed yellowish-buff outside. Above the base are two narrow girth-grooves, marking the change in profile to the body.

(*c*) Sherd of fine white ware, with yellow-toned inside surface. To the right is the greater part of a bridge-spout. The upper part of the neck has a deep band painted green, continued round the lower part of the spout, and bordered below by a brown line. Below this, on the upper part of the body of the jug, is part of a bird's head with beak to the right. This is sufficient to show that the jug had a free-style decoration of large birds, also painted green, with long tail feathers.

Comments

(*a*) and (*b*) belong to the same shape of jug, but the differences in ware and glaze show that they came from different pots. The type is a large jug, with cylindrical neck, ovoid body and retracted

base. The decoration, often present on the neck as well as on the body, consists of applied strips and pellets arranged in simple geometric patterns, either vertical panels or large chevrons. Usually zones or parts of the pattern are coloured with red or brownish-red slip, which forms a background to the applied decoration.¹

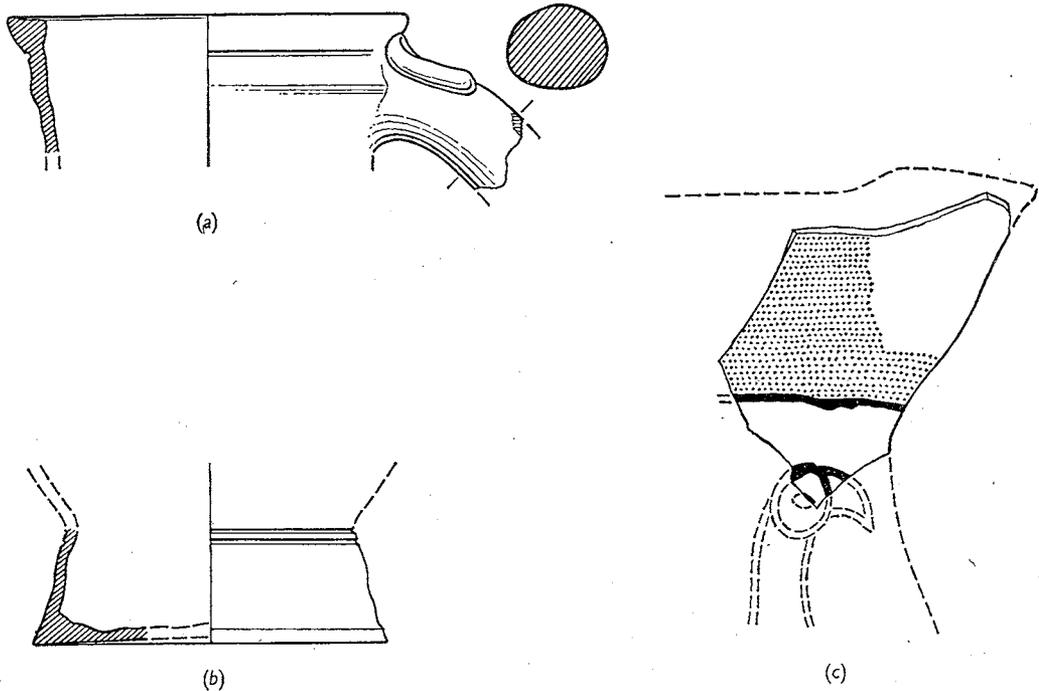


Fig. 8. Waterbeach Abbey: French imported pottery. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

Jugs imported from Normandy in the thirteenth century have now been found at twenty-six sites in England, and at two sites in Ireland. In England two-thirds of the sites occur to the south of a line joining the Bristol Channel and the Wash, and the majority are located at ports and towns on or near the south coast and the Thames Estuary. The principal centres for the importation of the jugs were London, Stonar in East Kent, and Southampton, each of which has produced at least half a dozen examples, whereas at other sites the numbers are less.

(c) is easily identified as polychrome ware imported from Saintonge.² The type of bird represented is known from complete examples at Cardiff,³ and Doctors' Commons, London,⁴ and at Lesnes Abbey, Kent.⁵ The unusually deep green band on the Waterbeach sherd is matched on the Cardiff jug quoted above.

The interest of these imported wares at Waterbeach is twofold. First, the date brackets for the abbey (c. 1294-1351) provide useful terminal dates, of which the upper limit is more

¹ The finest series of Normandy jugs is in the Musée des Antiquités at Rouen. K. J. Barton, 'Medieval Pottery at Rouen', *Arch. Jour.* cxxii (1965), pp. 73-85.

² K. J. Barton, 'The Medieval Pottery of Saintonge', *Arch. Jour.* cxx (1963), pp. 201-14.

³ *Archaeologia*, lxxxiii (1933), p. 115, pl. xxvi.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 126, fig. 13e-f.

⁵ *Antiq. Jour.* xl (1960), p. 4, fig. 4 and pl. 1b. This paper includes the most recent discussion of the dating and distribution of polychrome ware.

relevant than the lower, giving a date of *c.* 1300 or soon after for the pottery. This confirms and possibly slightly extends the dating of polychrome ware from other sites in Britain, and provides one of the few fixed dates for the imports from Normandy.

Secondly, the position of the site well inland raises the question as to which port supplied the pottery. The most likely is King's Lynn, at a distance of 35 miles. The current excavations at King's Lynn directed by Miss Helen Parker have produced examples of Normandy ware and also polychrome ware from Saintonge, showing the trade connexions of this port with both regions of France.

APPENDIX 3

WATERBEACH: THE MEDIEVAL POTTERY

J. G. HURST, M.A., F.S.A.

The pottery from this site is important since it should all be datable to the first half of the fourteenth century and so provide a very useful series for an area where very little stratified or dated medieval pottery has been found. No pottery was later than the middle of the fourteenth century in type so it can be said that, at least in the area excavated, there was no occupation after the nuns moved to Denny. There are, however, a handful of earlier sherds which are possibly twelfth century in date. These must suggest earlier occupation on the site or nearby before the abbey was established. The main bulk of the pottery may be compared closely with that found in Cambridge and the same sources of supply were clearly used. As the pottery was mainly found in robber-trenches or other disturbed levels, it has been described by type and date rather than by where it was found.

SAXO-NORMAN

St Neots ware

Fragments of typical shelly wares¹ were found including an inturned rim bowl (Fig. 9, no. 1)² and a cooking pot with thickened rounded rim (Fig. 9, no. 2).³

*Stamford ware*⁴

Fragment of the rim of a tubular spout from a spouted pitcher⁵ with pale green glaze (Fig. 9, no. 3).

All these sherds are likely to be post-conquest but the end date for these wares in the region is not known. It is usually given as the middle of the twelfth century and there are in the Cambridge Museum many examples of gritty and sandy late twelfth- and thirteenth-century wares suggesting that St Neot's ware had finished by *c.* 1150. Despite the recent recognition of archaism and survival of pottery types (see p. 92) it is unlikely that these wares would continue in use until the fourteenth century.

¹ J. G. Hurst, 'Saxo-Norman Pottery in East Anglia. Part I. St Neots Ware', *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1955), pp. 43-70.

² *Ibid.* p. 61, fig. 6.

³ P. V. Addyman, 'Late Saxon Settlements in the St Neots Area. I. Eaton Socon', *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), p. 71, fig. 14, no. 26.

⁴ J. G. Hurst, 'Saxo-Norman Pottery in East Anglia. Part III. Stamford Ware', *Proc. C.A.S.* LI (1957), pp. 37-65.

⁵ 'Anglo-Saxon Pottery: A Symposium', *Med. Arch.* III (1959), p. 40, fig. 16, no. 1.

MIEVEAL COARSE WARES

Medieval bowl

Fig. 9, no. 4: rim of a large bowl in a rough brown sandy ware with a grey core and some shell fragments. The rim is stabbed and there are traces of the start of a lip for pouring. This should be not later than the thirteenth century but may have survived.

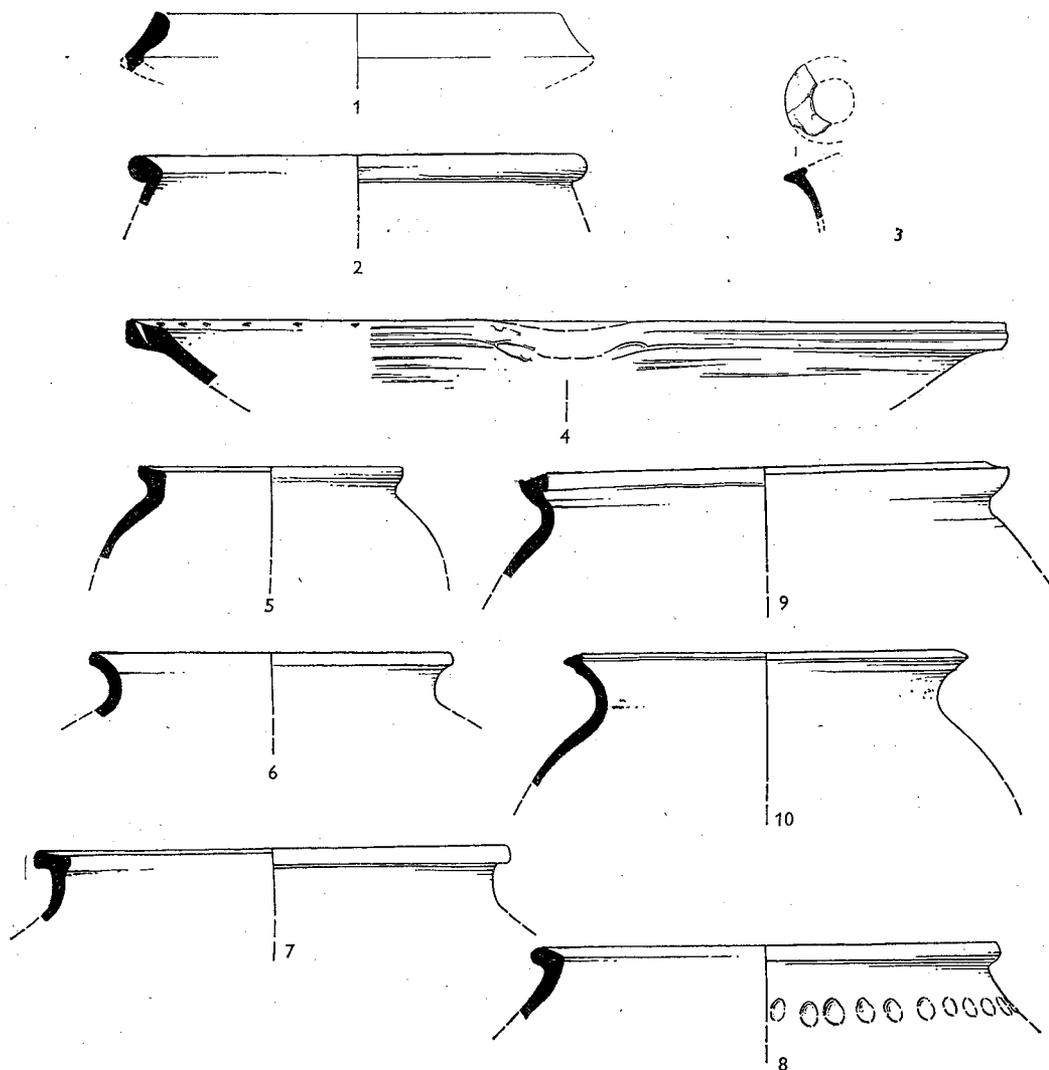


Fig. 9. Waterbeach Abbey: pottery. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Medieval cooking pots

A series of cooking pots in various wares and with a wide range of rim forms. The fabrics range from brown with a shell and sand tempering (Fig. 9, no. 5), brown sandy wares often with a grey core (Fig. 9, nos. 6-9) to much harder grey (Fig. 9, no. 10) and double sandwich (grey-red-black) wares (Fig. 10, nos. 11-12).

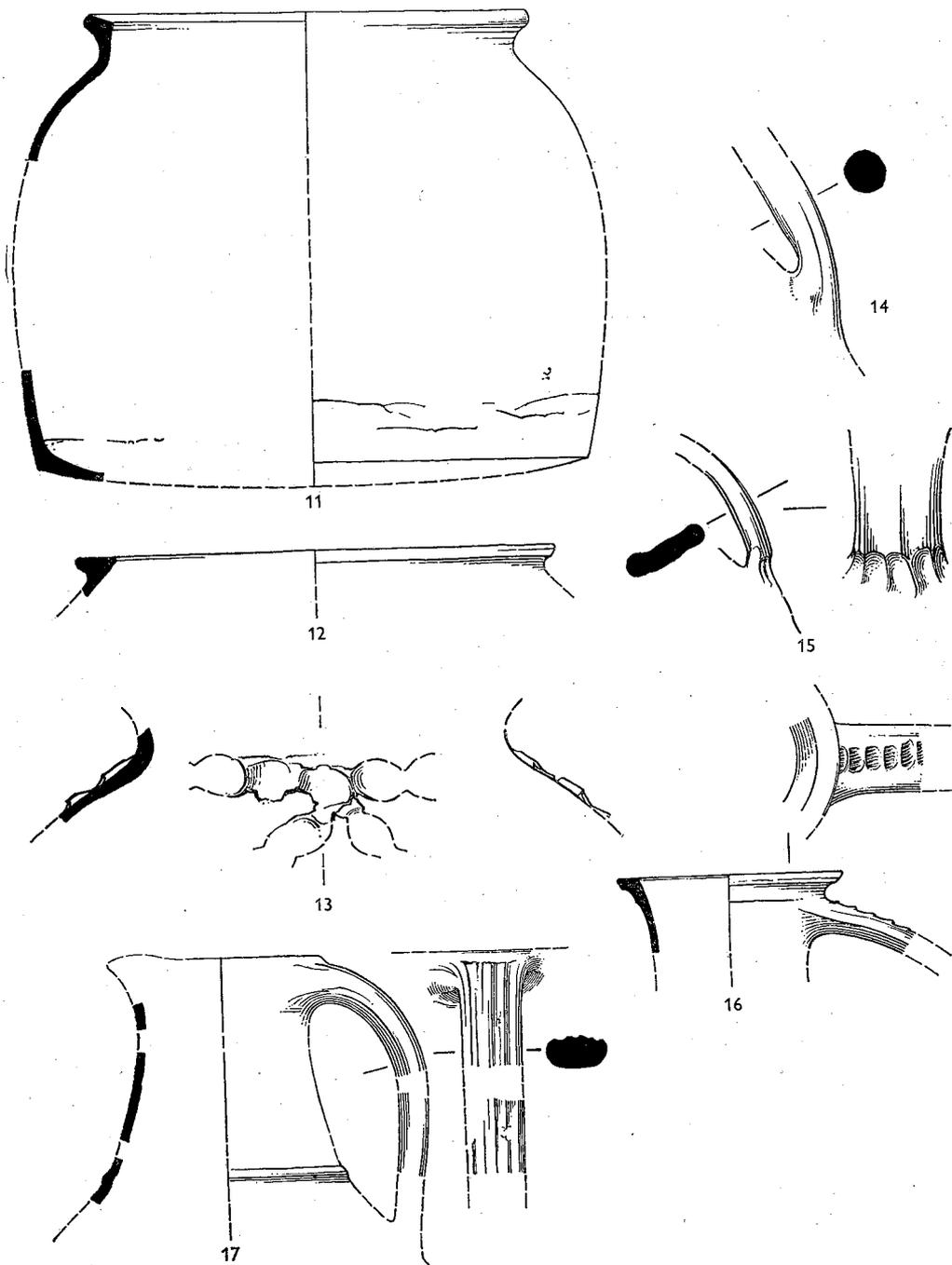


Fig. 10. Waterbeach Abbey: pottery. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

The rim forms vary from simple everted rims (Fig. 9, no. 6), through squared forms (Fig. 9, nos. 7, 8 and Fig. 10, no. 11) to sharply cut mouldings (Fig. 9, nos. 9 and 10) and flat flanges (Fig. 10, no. 12). Fig. 9, no. 8, has a series of dimples on the shoulder. This is a common East Anglian feature¹ but is not usual in the Cambridge area.

Most of the squared rims look thirteenth century but could well date to the early fourteenth century. The more developed rims are typical of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries so it is of interest to see them in a context of the first half of the fourteenth century. There is often a supposed gap between the sandy thirteenth-century wares and the harder fifteenth-century wares so it is important for our understanding of the sequence in the Cambridge region to see both types overlapping in the early fourteenth century. There was evidently no clear-cut changeover from one type to another, and some kilns could go on making earlier types when more developed wares were being brought from another kiln. Unfortunately no kiln sites are known in the area so the source of the various pots cannot be determined.

Medieval storage jar

Fig. 10, no. 13: fragment from the neck of a large storage vessel. Grey sandy ware with some shell, and decoration of horizontal and oblique thumbed strips. This falls into the East Anglian group of large thirteenth-century storage vessels² which developed out of the Saxo-Norman twelfth-century Thetford-ware type.³ There is no reason why this type should not still be made in the early fourteenth century.

Local jugs

The local jugs were in similar wares to the cooking pots, grey and brown sandy (Fig. 10, nos. 14 and 15) and hard, double sandwich grey-red-black (Fig. 10, no. 16). Handles were either rod- (Fig. 10, no. 14) or strap-shaped (Fig. 10, nos. 15-16). The interrupted combing on Fig. 10, no. 16, is a survival of the decoration on developed Stamford ware and other grey jugs in the Cambridge area.⁴ All these jugs could fit into the first half of the fourteenth century.

NON-LOCAL JUGS

Better quality jugs were imported from three kilns to the south-east, north-east and north-west. These were the same main sources which supplied Cambridge.⁵

Hedingham ware

Fig. 10, no. 17 and Fig. 11, nos. 18-20: fragments in a characteristic red micaceous ware with a mottled orange and green glaze. These jugs are very common in Cambridge and are decorated either with applied strips and stamps,⁶ or combing⁷ (Fig. 11, nos. 18-19). Exactly comparable sherds have been found from one of the kiln sites discovered by Mr J. Lindsay at Southey Green in the Sible Hedingham, Essex, complex of kilns. These jugs fall in general into the period

¹ It occurs on twelve sites in Suffolk including Bungay Castle (*Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.* xxii (1936), pp. 334-8, no. 8) but only three in Norfolk. This suggests a south-eastern origin and dimpled decoration occurs on the products of the Sible Hedingham kilns in Essex; see Hedingham ware below.

² H. A. Andrews and G. C. Dunning, 'A Thirteenth-Century Stirrup and Storage Jar from Rabley Heath, Herts', *Ant. Jour.*, xix (1939), pp. 303-12.

³ J. G. Hurst, 'Saxo-Norman Pottery in East Anglia. Part II. Thetford ware', *Proc. C.A.S.* L (1956), pp. 53-60.

⁴ P. V. Addyman and M. Biddle, 'Medieval Cambridge: Recent Finds and Excavations', *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), p. 111, with other references.

⁵ B. Rackham, *Medieval English Pottery* (1948), pl. 41.

⁷ *Ibid.* pl. 33.

1250-1350 and it has been thought likely that the tall narrow combed jugs are later than the more globular strip- and stamp-decorated examples. For what it is worth with such a small assemblage, all the Waterbeach examples come from this later type.

Lyveden ware

Fig. 11, no. 21: fragments from the neck and shoulder of a globular jug in a corky fabric from which the shell has been burnt or leached out. Decoration of white applied strips and pads, with grid stamps and green glaze, firing yellow over the strips and pads.¹

These jugs have a wide distribution from Leicester,² Rutland³ and South Lincolnshire, to Cambridge, King's Lynn and Norwich, and are part of the developed St Neots ware complex which continued in Northamptonshire throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It has been thought that they were mainly thirteenth century, but the Waterbeach jug suggests a longer life into the fourteenth century. Until recently their source was not known, but kiln sites were ploughed up and excavated by Mr J. Steane in 1965 at Lyveden, Northamptonshire, where there is documentary evidence for potters. Sherds of this ware have been found on the site, though not actual wasters, and there can be little doubt that this characteristic jug was made in this area, though it may have been made elsewhere as well.

Grimston ware

Fig. 11, no. 22: fragment of a small arm in grey ware with green glaze decorated with arc notches. This comes from one of the face jugs which are decorated with freestanding arms, made at Grimston near King's Lynn.⁴ These have a wide distribution in East Anglia and are the second most common non-local jug in the Cambridge region after Hedingham ware. Their date range is roughly 1250-1350, so this jug again fits with an early fourteenth-century dating.

IMPORTS

See Appendix 2 by G. C. Dunning.

APPENDIX 4

MORTAR OF BROKEN SHELL LIMESTONE

G. C. DUNNING, F.S.A.

Part of the rim and side of a stone mortar, made of yellow broken shell limestone or burr-stone (Fig. 6*b*). The rock is crowded with comminuted shells of the freshwater snail *Viviparus*, and it belongs to the same geological suite as Purbeck marble.

The mortar, 13 in. in diameter at the top, is larger. The rim is flat on the top, and offset from the curved side. The fragment retains one of the four lugs at rim-level which, since it is plain, was probably one of a pair on opposite sides of the mortar. The lug facing the front would have

¹ *Ibid.* pl. 68.

² 'Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester', *Rep. Res. Com. Soc. Ant.* xv (1948), p. 244.

³ P. W. Gathercole, 'Excavations at Oakham Castle, Rutland', *Trans. Leics. Arch. & Hist. Soc.* xxxiv (1958), p. 28, fig. 7, no. 2.

⁴ *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), p. 113. *Med. Arch.* vi-viii (1962-3), pp. 100-1, and fig. 37, nos. 7 and 9. The distribution in *Arch. Cant.* LXIX (1955), pp. 144-5 is brought up to date by a note by Mrs J. Le Patourel in *Med. Arch.* x (1966), forthcoming.

had a shallow runnel cut in the top. The lug is rectangular in plan, and below it is a prominent rib curving outwards beyond the side, which would have been continued down to the base.¹

Mortars of Purbeck burr-stone are now known from fifteen sites in England. A few mortars travelled inland to sites in Dorset, South Wiltshire and Hampshire. The main distribution was, however, by sea to the coastal part of Sussex, to London and sites in the Home Counties,² and to East Anglia. The finds farthest north are at Boston³ and at Coventry.⁴

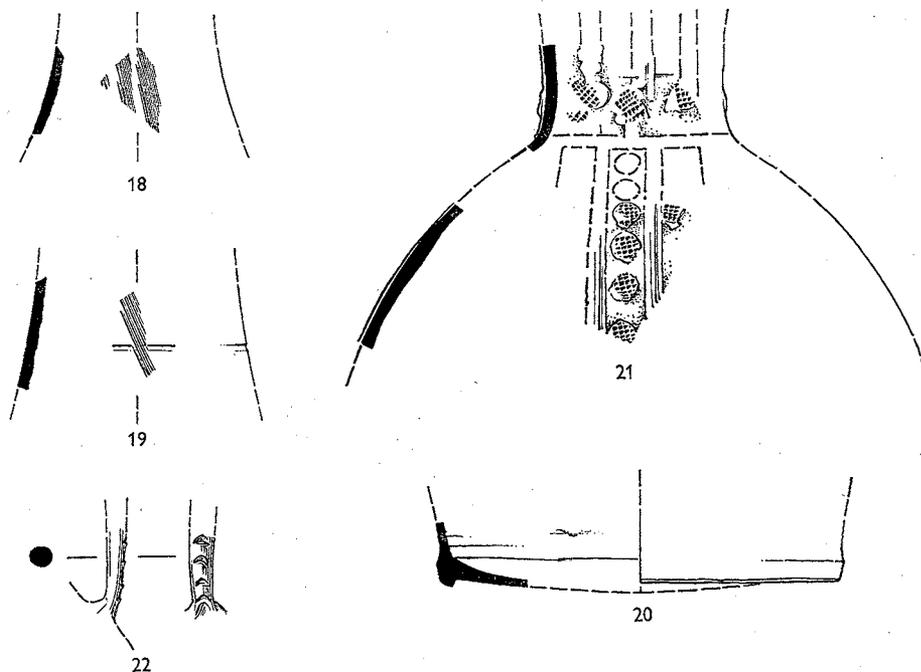


Fig. 11. Waterbeach Abbey: pottery. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Mortars of Purbeck marble, recorded from thirty-eight sites in England, have a similar but wider distribution, ranging from South Devon to Yorkshire. Mortars of this stone were also shipped abroad, where examples have been found near Ostend and at Aardenburg in Zeeland.

In date, mortars both of Purbeck marble and of burr-stone belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and thus fall well within the date brackets of Waterbeach Abbey.

¹ *Med. Arch.* v (1961), pp. 279, fig. 74, 5-7.

² Northolt Manor, Middlesex, *ibid.*; the More, Rickmansworth, *Arch. Jour.* cxvi (1961), p. 189, fig. 22, 26.

³ *Med. Arch.* v (1961), p. 282, fig. 75, 3.

⁴ *Trans. Birmingham Arch. Soc.* LXXIII (1955), p. 88, pl. 9b.



Waterbeach and the site of the Abbey.

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A MEDIEVAL WINDMILL, HONEY HILL, DOGSTHORPE

S. V. PEARCE

AN emergency excavation was undertaken in October and November 1960 on a small mound which was threatened by the growth of the new Bluebell Housing Estate at Dogsthorpe, Peterborough (TF 193018). This mound was marked on the Ordnance Survey map as a tumulus, but it was also thought to be a small motte¹ or a windmill mound. It was marked as Honey Hill, though known locally as Bluebell Hill and occasionally as the Nab. Until recently it lay in open country between the villages of Paston and Dogsthorpe on an ancient right of way between them, known as Nab Lane (Fig. 1). This position is most easily explained by supposing the mound to have been built for a windmill set in open country to catch the wind and serving both the communities of Paston and Dogsthorpe.

The mound was about 7 ft. high with an overall diameter of 80 ft. and a diameter on top of 30-40 ft. On three sides there was a ditch in its present condition about 3-4 ft. deep and about 20 ft. wide. The approach to the mound from Nab Lane is now interrupted by a modern ditch, but presumably the mound abutted straight on to the lane before this was made. The mound was covered with trees and undergrowth and where these were lacking the numerous children of the new housing estate had delighted in the opportunity to make mud-slides and perilous bicycle tracks, so that the slopes of the mound were very uneven and the top of the mound pitted with holes. In addition a recent trench was found in excavating, which was probably the result of Home Guard exercises in the last World War.² (Fig. 2).

¹ In the Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, trans. C. Mellows and W. T. Mellows 1941, there is a description of the Fees held by the Abbey of Peterborough. The editors have put a note under the passage on the fee of Ralph Tot of Paston that 'the remains of the moated mound between Dogsthorpe and Paston known as Honey Hill or the Nab probably belonged to one of these knights' (see p. 59, n. 2).

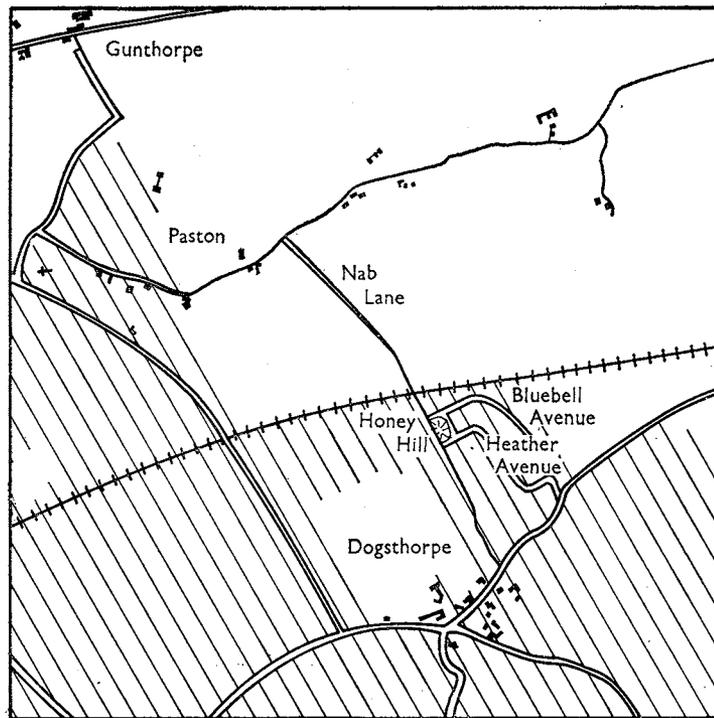
² It was impossible to obtain any exact information to prove that this recent trench was in fact dug by the Home Guard, since the people who had worked in this area had either died or left the district. Colonel Crowden, who had been the local commander of the Home Guard could only say that there had been Headquarters of the Home Guard at the Manor House nearby and exercises would have been carried out in this area. This trench would probably have been made as a slit-trench for bomb practice.

Alternatively the trench could have been made by a party of local schoolboys who spent part of a day digging some years ago and are said to have found nothing.

THE EXCAVATION

Ditch

A section through the trench (Fig. 3a) was first made, to obtain dating evidence and some hint of the function of the mound. Two main periods were discovered; a modern filling and a medieval one. The modern filling consisted of the surface humus, layer III and a thick black earth filling, layer V. Fragments of recent glass and clay pipes were found at the bottom of this. The glass cannot be older than the late nineteenth century and this suggests that the mound was only planted with undergrowth and trees at this late date.



Area plan showing old network of roads



Modern housing estates

0 0.5 mile

Fig. 1. Plan showing position of site.

Before this the mound must have lain almost completely deserted for many centuries since immediately below layer V thirteenth- to fourteenth-century pottery was found in quantity in very hard compact clay, layers VI and VII. On the outside, layer VI, the clay was blue-brown, showing that it must have had turf mixed with it, presumably from ploughing. On the inner side, layer VII, the clay was much more yellow and must have been material derived from the mound. Below this at a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. the natural blue clay was reached and on this lay a scatter of pebbles in-

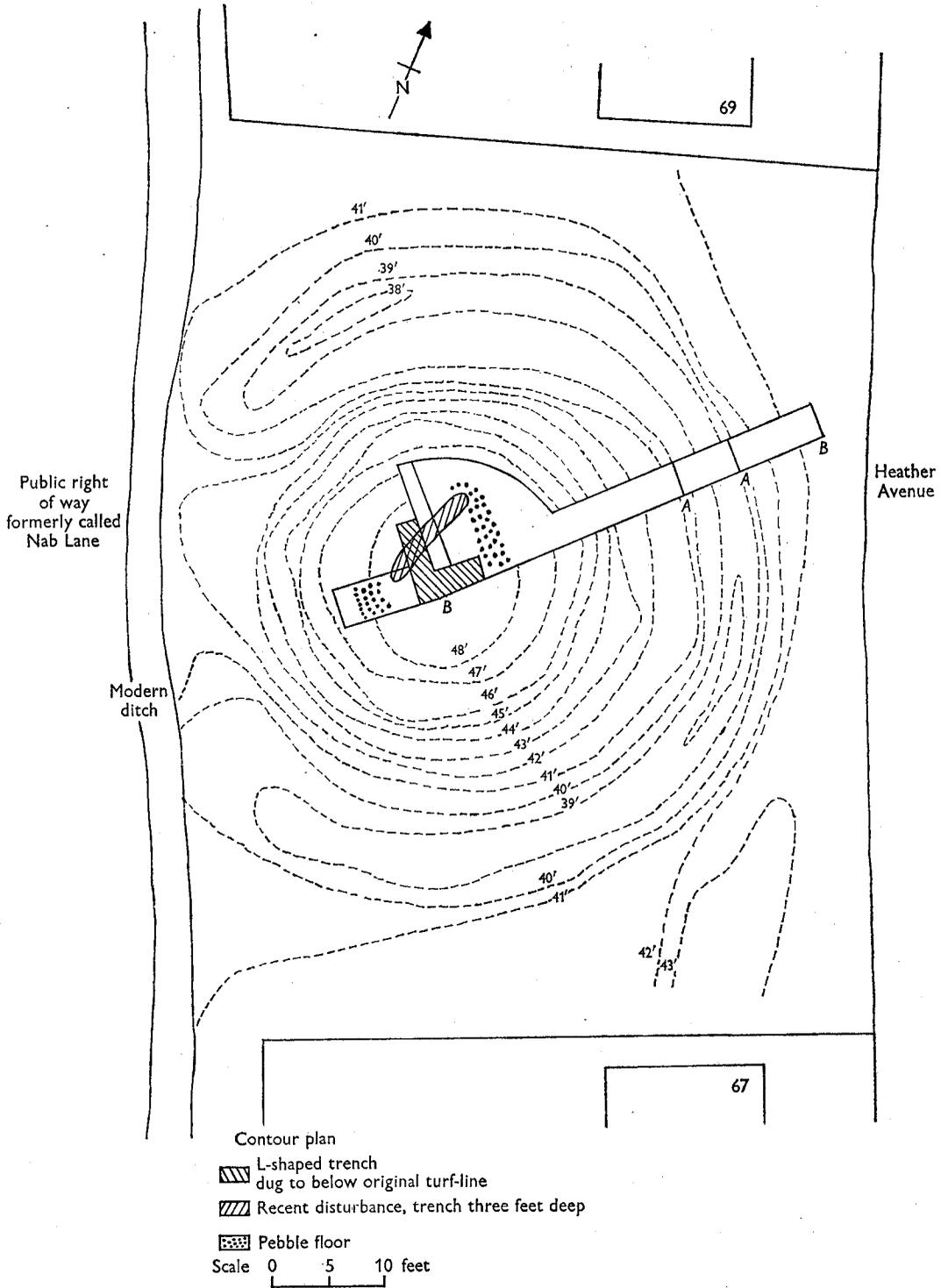


Fig. 2. Contour plan of mound.

cluding a fragment of millstone, probably fallen into the ditch when the pebble floor was laid on top of the mound.

The excavation of the ditch was unsatisfactory for although 'natural' was reached the ditch was never thoroughly cleaned out since the water-table rose above the modern surface (to 38.7 ft. above sea-level) and remained at this high level for the remainder of the excavation. The water had to be pumped out and two men kept on the job while the section was drawn.

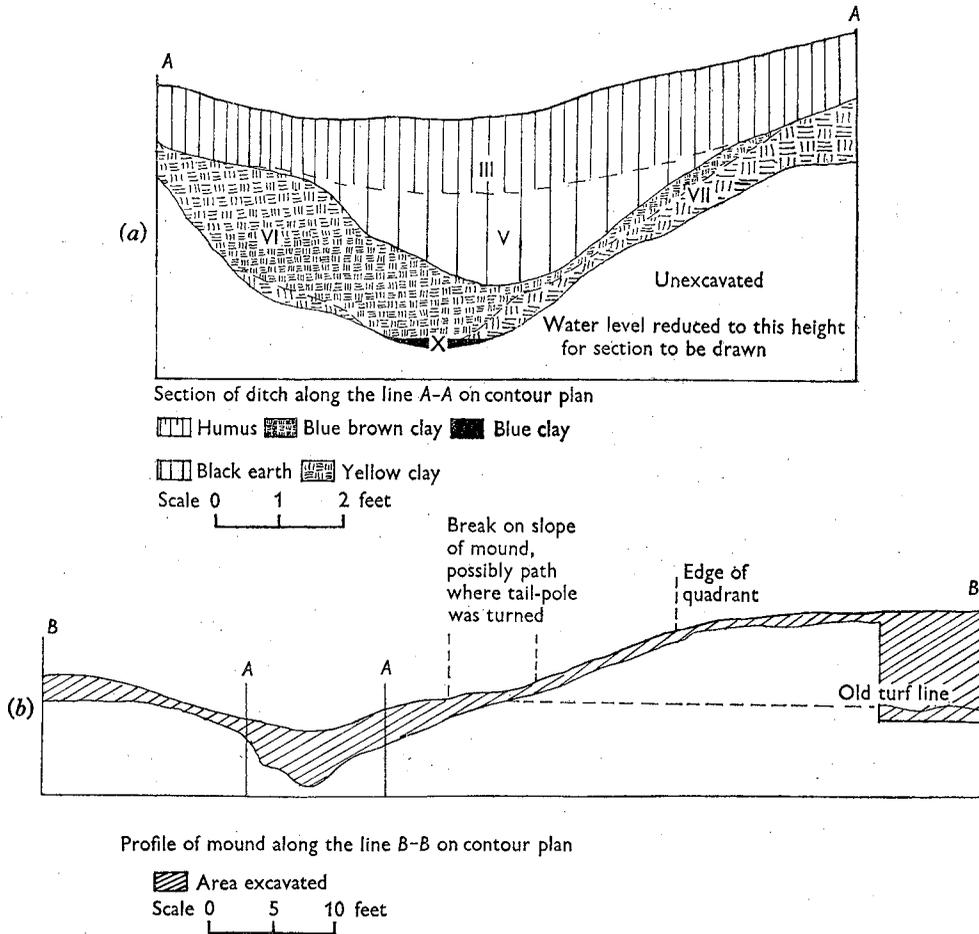


Fig. 3. (a) Section of ditch along the line A-A on contour plan.
 (b) Profile of mound along the line B-B on counter plan.

Quadrant

A quadrant was opened on top of the mound, and almost immediately below the surface a 'clay covering' was revealed, immediately suggesting the possibility of a clay-covered motte. However, none of the possible post-holes proved to be substantial, most of them being obvious root-holes and there was certainly no sign of a palisade round the edge. The most distinct layer of clay proved to cover a recent

trench, so that the 'clay covering' is best explained as the natural part of a mound made from heavy clay soil. This recent trench contained a coin probably dropped in the late seventeenth century but unfortunately it also contained twentieth-century glass and other modern débris throughout its depth.

The one distinct feature was a pebble floor over part of the mound less than 6 in. below the surface making what seemed to be a straight line, though recent disturbances might well have obscured the original extent of it. Among smooth water-worn pebbles, lumps of flint and local red sandstone were numerous fragments of millstone, similar to that found in the ditch. On one of the pebbles an early fourteenth century coin was found. Fragments of medieval pottery, recent pottery, clay pipes, many nails, a horseshoe (Fig. 4.10) and a whetstone were found over the surface.

A trench was opened up on the other side of the mound and a similar pebble layer was found, again with numerous fragments of millstone. At one point the pebbles were missing where a sheep's skeleton had been inserted very superficially.

From this evidence it became clear that the mound must have been used from sometime before the early fourteenth century.

Trenches

No structural remains of the windmill had been found so that deep trenches were cut through the centre of the mound to try and discover the cross-trees. These could either have been built up on stone walls as at Lamport¹ or placed at the bottom of the mound on the original surface of the ground as at Sandon Mount.² Neither type was found, though medieval pottery of the late thirteenth century (a fragment of a sagging base glazed on the inside) occurred on the turf line, showing that the mound can have had no earlier use. Nails were also found at all depths suggesting that an earlier building stood nearby before the mound was erected. This is also corroborated by the use of broken millstones in the pebble-floor, suggesting that some millstones had been used and broken before the pebble floor was laid.

Since no structure was found, the windmill cannot have been a sunk postmill, but rather one erected on top of the mound—the mound being used to gain extra height, since the earliest postmills were only about 20 ft. high.³ The cross-trees would have been raised from the ground by stone blocks to prevent the wood rotting and these would be the first thing to be stolen when the mill was dismantled, so that the only possible thing to find would have been the depression where these stones stood. The very disturbed condition of the top of the mound made this impossible.

¹ M. Posnansky, 'The Lamport Postmill', *Northamptonshire Natural History Society and Field Club*. (1956), 33 (239), pp. 66-79.

² W. Percival Westell, 'Sandon Mount, Hertfordshire: Its Site, Excavation and Problems', *St Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Trans.* (1934), pp. 173-83.

³ I am grateful to Mr Rex Wailes for coming to examine the site, and for sending me the following report. 'There is no evidence at all of a sunk postmill and in view of the broken pieces of millstone found at the top, I am of the opinion that the site is a normal postmill mound. These mounds were raised to give the small medieval postmills a greater elevation above the surrounding countryside and enable them to catch the wind better.'

LITERARY EVIDENCE

Two references to a mill in this area were found by searching for references to the word Nab or its variants.¹ The Nab seems to have been quite a large area of land in this district often owned by several people.

In a 'List of free land held by the villeins of the soke of Boroughbury (Peterborough) of which an inquisition was made in 1341-1342 by Brother J(ohn) of Achurch, warden of the manors',² a reference is made to Paston mill, but this is very vague and could easily be some other mill in the same area.

Far more explicit is the reference in 'A description of the boundaries of the parish of Peterborough in about 1404'³ to a 'Russell Mill' lying near 'le Nabbe'. In 'The Book of Fees of Henry of Pytchley'⁴ a family of Russells are referred to as owning land in this area in the second half of the thirteenth century. Together with the evidence from the pottery this suggests that the family of Russells built a windmill in the late thirteenth century which remained in use at least till the beginning of the fifteenth century, though none of the pottery seems to be as late as this.

There are continual references to land in the Nab but no specific references to a windmill or the mound until the eighteenth century when, in 'A Perambulation of the bounds of St John's Parish' in 1753, Honey Hill is mentioned.⁵

In an enclosure map of 1815, the field in which the mound is, is marked Nabb's, though the mound itself is not marked.

THE FINDS

Pottery: Medieval, thirteenth to fourteenth century, 1250-1350

(a) *Cooking pots.* All the pots were made of a grey sandy fabric with a brown surface. The rims ranged from a simple everted rim (Fig. 4.1) (Fig. 4.2 is a similar everted rim but moulded outside) to a flattened flange (Figs. 4.3 and 4.4), a typically fourteenth-century type, which was common throughout South-east England. There were 14 other similar rim fragments too small to draw.

About 27 fragments of sagging bases were found, two of them with green glaze on the inside. One fragment of a base, glazed inside, was found about seven feet down in the centre of the mound on the old turf line. Bases were rarely glazed inside until the second half of the thirteenth century.

Many fragments were blackened outside, confirming their use as cooking pots.

(b) *Jugs.* There were a number of fragments of thirteenth- to fourteenth-century glazed jugs, both green and orange. The patterns on these jugs were mainly vertical ribs, but combed waves

¹ J. E. B. Gower, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-names of Northamptonshire* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 241, give references under NAB LANE to some variations of the word NAB from the thirteenth century.

² *Northampton Record Society*, 20, p. 216, no. 554 of 'Carte Nativorum', ed. C. N. L. Brooke and M. M. Postan.

³ W. T. Mellows, 'Peterborough Local Administration', *Northampton Record Society*, 9, pp. 216-17.

⁴ 'Et abhunc usque ad pratum de Dodesthorpe per medium cuius se extendit quedam Semita usque ad petram et quandam divisam ex parte altera prati que Balk nuncupatur et alla divisa se extendit usque ad Pastonegate. Et abhunc se extendit alia talis divisa iuxta molendinum [fo. 164d]. Sacriste quod vocatur Russell mylne usque ad le Nabbe per capita terre.'

⁴ *Northampton Record Society*, 2, pp. 108-9.

⁵ *Fenland Notes and Queries*, 2.

and rouletted patterns also occurred. One green glazed jug had horizontal grooves on the shoulder (Fig. 4.6), and another (Fig. 4.7) a horizontal combed pattern. Fig. 4.5 shows the rim of a small jug with flanged rim and cordon on the neck. All these jugs are of similar ware to the cooking pots described above.

There were six fragments of strap handles, four stabbed down the centre, two with a patchy brown glaze on the outside and one with a central groove. There were fragments of typical thumbed bases.

Besides these jug fragments, which are all of local manufacture, there are a few thumb-nail size fragments of jugs in very much finer buff ware with orange or bright green glaze.

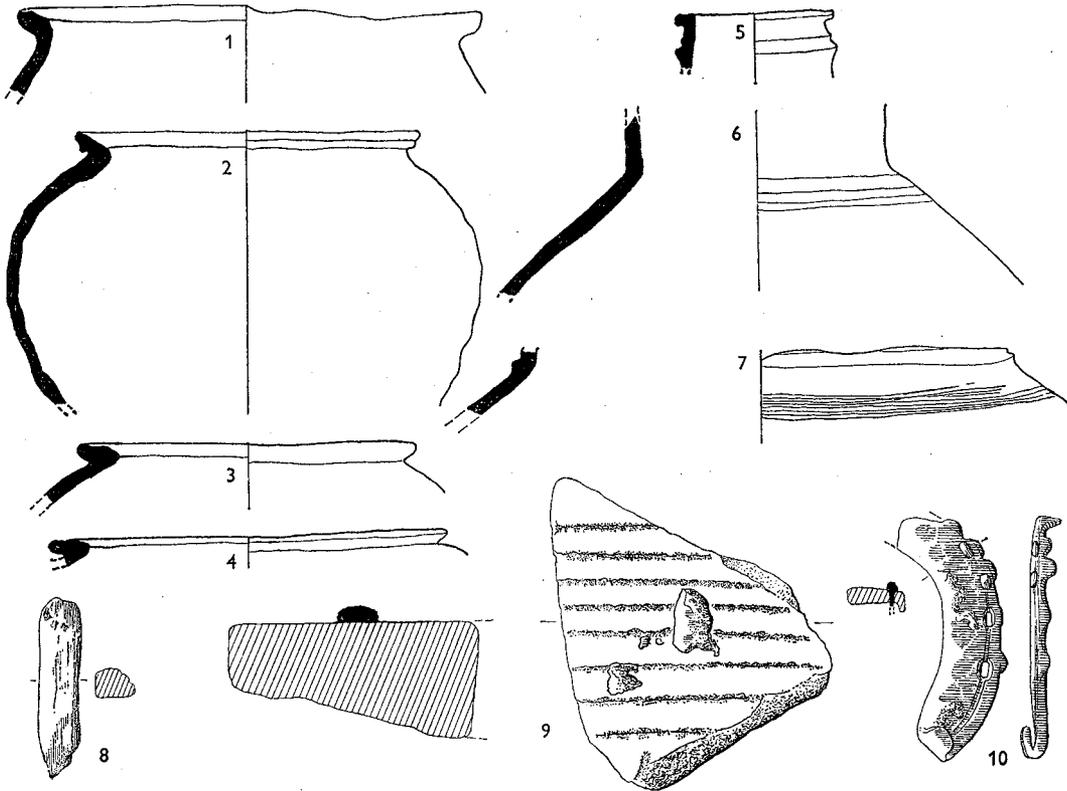


Fig. 4. Pottery and small finds. All at $\frac{1}{4}$. 1 and 2, simple everted rims; 3 and 4, rims with flattened flange; 5, 6 and 7, fragments of jugs; 8, whetstone; 9, millstone, found in ditch; 10, horseshoe.

Later pottery

Pottery with a dark rich brown glaze and a plain red flat plate were dateable to the seventeenth century. There were also a few nineteenth- and twentieth-century fragments.

Weathered Roman pottery

Heavily weathered blue-coated Nene Valley ware was discovered as well as one red tile.

Clay pipes

Stem fragments were found scattered all over the top of the mound. Of the three bowls found, two were late seventeenth century and one early eighteenth.

Iron

(a) *Nails*. Approximately 100 medieval nails were found and well over half of these came from immediately above the pebble layer on top of the mound. One was found in the early silting of the ditch and others were found in the body of the mound at quite low depths. The latter imply that an earlier building stood nearby before the mound was erected. These nails were about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and, where preserved, had a head about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter.

(b) *Horseshoe*. A horseshoe (Fig. 4.10) was found on the pebble layer of the mound and is probably late medieval.

Glass

In the 'black earth', layer V, of the ditch, early twentieth-century glass was found and identified by the Glass Manufacturers Federation:

(1) Part of a Codd's bottle. This was a ball-stoppered bottle used to hold aerated drinks invented by Hiram Codd, in use from 1879 till the 1930s, but most widely used between 1890 and 1914.

(2) Part of an early type of Kilner jar in use till 1925 made by J. Kilner and Sons, Wakefield.

Coins

(a) A farthing of Edward I was found in very fragile condition. This is of a type believed to have been struck during the last five years of his reign, and so should be dated *c.* 1302-7. They had a short life, so that this coin was probably lost in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. It was found lying on one of the pebbles that made up the pebble floor on top of the mound.

(b) A badly clipped silver sixpence of Elizabeth I, dated 1568, was found in the disturbed material in the recent trench. Though a sixteenth-century coin, it was probably not clipped before the second half of the seventeenth century and would have been lost sometime within this half-century, since these coins were demonetized in 1697.

Both coins were identified and commented on by the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum.

Miscellany

Fifteen fragments of millstone were found, one lying on the blue clay in the ditch (Fig. 4.9), the rest forming part of the pebble floor. These have parallel grooves about $\frac{6}{10}$ in. apart and $\frac{2}{10}$ in. deep. None were sufficiently large to allow the shape of the millstone to be reconstructed. They can be dated by the fragment in the ditch to the fourteenth century.

A fragment of a hearthstone, burnt flints and a roofing tile in the pebble-floor indicated a previous building. A whetstone (Fig. 4.8) and a lump of Niedermendig lava were also found.

CONCLUSIONS

Both the pottery and the literary evidence suggest that a mound was thrown up in the late thirteenth century to support a small postmill. It is possible that an attempt was first made to work a windmill on the site without a mound, since nails and pottery were found in the body of the mound, and the broken millstones at the bottom of the ditch and on the mound suggest that millstones had been used and broken in the vicinity before the mill was erected and the pebble floor laid.

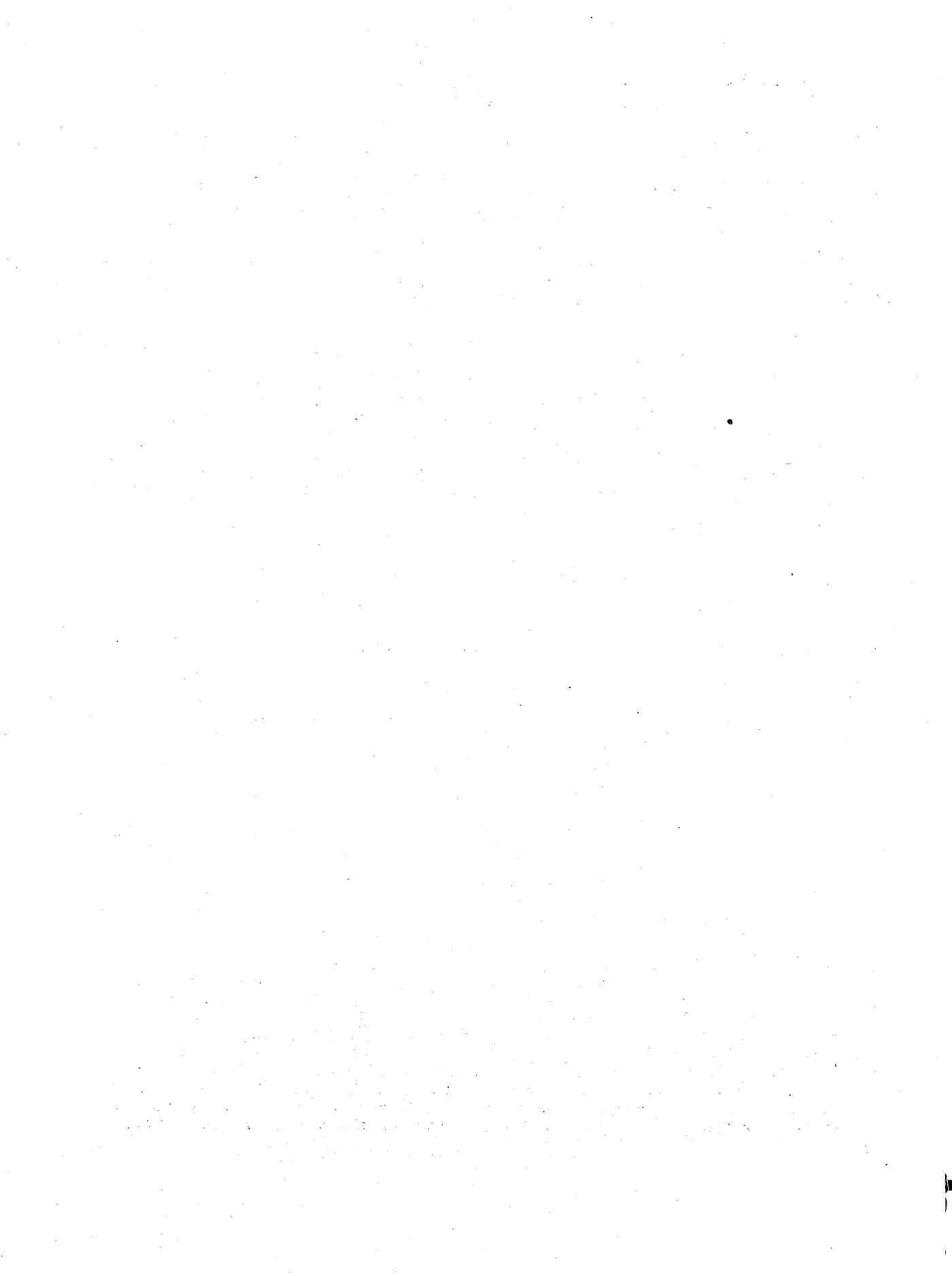
Fourteenth-century pottery, the early fourteenth-century coin and the possible mid-fourteenth-century reference to a mill testify to its use in the next century. In

1404 it is referred to, but it was probably dismantled or blown over (since there are many nails and scarcely any evidence of burning) soon after, since there is little pottery later than the fourteenth century.

The mound then lay deserted from sometime in the fifteenth century, for although there is seventeenth-century pottery, a late seventeenth-century coin and clay pipes, there is not sufficient material to suggest occupation. In the eighteenth century it is referred to as Honey Hill. In the nineteenth century the area round the mound was enclosed and it is probably sometime after this that trees were planted on the mound, bluebells grew in their shade and the mound gained its modern name of Bluebell Hill.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This excavation was done by the Ministry of Public Building and Works with considerable help from the Peterborough Town Council, who provided labour, a great deal of equipment and a garage as headquarters. The Peterborough Museum Field Club also provided equipment and very willing, hard-working week-end volunteers. In particular I should like to thank Mr G. F. Dakin and Mr Standen for help in organization and transport, Mr Challands and Mr Briggs for photographic work and Mr G. Clark for surveying. Mr J. G. Hurst of the Ministry of Public Building and Works examined the pottery and provided help and advice at every stage. Miss Liquorish of the Peterborough Public Reference Library and Mr P. King of the Northamptonshire Archives Committee helped with the literary evidence.



THE CHURCH OF ST MARY OF HUNTINGDON

CYRIL HART

AMONG the gifts bestowed by King Edgar upon the newly refounded abbeys of the eastern fenland, were two whose remarkable similarity has hitherto passed unnoticed. In the year 969, at the request of Bishop Oswald of Worcester, he gave the church and three hides of land at Godmanchester to Oswald's foundation at Ramsey. The gift formed part of that abbey's foundation endowment.¹ Four years later, at the request of Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester, King Edgar endowed Æthelwold's foundation at Thorney with the church of St Mary of Huntingdon, together with its cemetery and three hides of land pertaining to that church.²

Both Oswald and Æthelwold purchased many properties from Edgar for the endowment of their new foundations, but in the case of these two churches the records of Ramsey and Thorney make it quite clear that they were grants by Edgar in alms for his soul. 'With this single exception', says the account in the Thorney foundation charter, 'all the estates obtained by Bishop Æthelwold from King Edgar were paid for with the appropriate sum of money, be it great or small.'

The church at Godmanchester can hardly be other than the precursor of the present parish church of St Mary there, which preserves in its fabric some twelfth-century work, and it is likely that the dedication to St Mary was its original one, as in the case of its companion church at Huntingdon on the opposite bank of the Ouse. An important paper by H. J. M. Green has recently demonstrated the significance of this Ramsey record for reconstructing the topography of early medieval Godmanchester.³

Edgar's endowment of Ramsey was soon alienated;⁴ so too was one of the hides belonging to St Mary's, Huntingdon,⁵ but the remaining two hides, together with the church itself, survived as a possession of Thorney Abbey for nearly a century. An Ely record mentions the cost of mill-oxen for the estate, towards the end of the

¹ *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (R. S., 1886), pp. 47-8.

² *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. W. de Gray Birch, III (1893), no. 1297, from the Red Book of Thorney. I have re-edited this charter in my forthcoming *Early Charters of Eastern England*, now in the press.

³ *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, LIV, (1960), pp. 90-6.

⁴ *Chron. Rames.* pp. 48-9. Oswald gave it back to Edgar in part exchange for Wistow (Hunts.), which was nearer to the abbey.

⁵ An unpublished version of the Thorney Foundation Charter (C.U.L. MS Add. 3020, fo. 13^v-15), which contains important variant material, states that the endowment of St Mary's was two hides 'beside Huntingdon' and one hide *aet Broctune*, which must be Broughton (Hunts). Æthelwold gave this hide to Ramsey in exchange for land which he used to endow his foundation at Ely (*Chron. Rames.* pp. 74-5).

reign of King Æthelred.¹ In the time of the Confessor, however, the abbot of Thorney gave the church, and the land annexed to it, in pledge to the burgesses of Huntingdon. This was duly recorded in an entry which heads the *Clamores* at the end of the Huntingdonshire section of the Domesday Survey (fo. 208a-b); the entry then goes on to describe a remarkable series of transactions, in which the ownership of the church changed hands no less than six times in one generation. As Sir Frank Stenton has pointed out² 'the whole passage which deals with its pre-Conquest history is important for the naïve recognition by everyone concerned that the church in question was a piece of property, to be sold or given in pledge to suit the convenience of its possessor'. In view of what follows, it is expedient to quote in full the V.C.H. translation of the entry:³

The jurors of Huntingdon say that the church of Saint Mary of the Borough and the land which is annexed to it belong to the church of Thorney, but the abbot gave it in pledge to the burgesses. Moreover, King Edward⁴ gave it to Vitalis⁵ and Bernard,⁶ his priests, and they sold it to Hugh, King Edward's chamberlain.⁷ Moreover, Hugh sold it to two priests of Huntingdon, and they have thereof the seal of King Edward. Eustace has it now without livery, without writ, and without seisin.

It is an extraordinary fact that the Huntingdonshire Domesday contains two further entries relating to this series of transactions, which combine to throw a flood of light on the early history of the church, and indeed the town of Huntingdon itself. The first of these occurs in the opening section of the Huntingdonshire portion of the Survey (DB fo. 203), which commences with the statement:⁸ 'In the Borough of *Huntedone* there are four quarters (*ferlingi*).' The first two quarters are then described together, and since one of them included the site of the castle, we may assume that the two quarters (or wards) comprised that half of the town lying to the south-west of the present High Street.⁹ Next comes a description of the second two quarters—

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson (2nd edn., 1956), pp. 253-5. This section of the MS is dated to the first quarter of the eleventh century by N. Ker, *Catalogue of MSS Containing Anglo-Saxon* (1957), pp. 126-7. The mill is again mentioned in the Domesday Survey of Huntingdon. The tithes of the mill belonged to the priory of St Mary's, Huntingdon, until the Dissolution (*V.C.H. Hunts*. II (1926), p. 135).

² *V.C.H. Hunts*, I, p. 325.

³ *Ibid.* p. 334.

⁴ F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066* (1963), pp. 192-3, suggests that the abbot pledged the church to the burgesses as a security for a loan, and the King redeemed it.

⁵ The royal priest Vitalis held also a church in Wilts. (DB fo. 65b).

⁶ For the royal priest Bernard, see W. H. Stevenson, 'An Old-English charter of William the Conqueror in favour of St Martin's-le-Grand, London', *English Historical Review*, XI (1896), p. 744.

⁷ For Hugh or Hugelin, see Barlow, *op. cit.* pp. 222-4.

⁸ *V.C.H. Hunts*. I, p. 337.

⁹ The section of the survey describing the first two quarters of the town includes a statement that of the 116 burgesses in this area, Ramsey Abbey had the soke of 10 T.R.E., but Eustace the sheriff had taken them away wrongfully from the abbey. Later, the account goes on to say: 'Geoffrey the bishop (of Coutances) has one church and one house of the aforesaid which Eustace took away from St Benedict (of Ramsey), and the same saint is still claiming them.' The church in question may be identified with the precursor of the present parish church of All Saints on the south side of High Street, the oldest surviving portion of which dates from the thirteenth century. Eustace gave it to his foundation of St Mary's Priory, Huntingdon. The footnote on this passage by Sir Frank Stenton in *V.C.H. Hunts*. I, p. 338, n. 1, stands in need of revision. So too does the interpretation of Huntingdon's early topography put forward by S. Inskip Ladds in his paper 'The Borough of Huntingdon and Domesday Book', in *Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society Transactions*, v (1936), pp. 105-12.

which I believe to be those lying to the north east of High Street—terminating in the following passage:

... in these two quarters Borred and Turchil T.R.E. had one church with two hides of land and 22 burgesses with houses belonging to the same church with sake and soke, all which Eustace has now. Wherefore these men claim the King's mercy. Nevertheless these 22 burgesses give every custom to the King.

The significance of this entry is entirely lost until it is compared with yet a third passage, taken from the body of the Survey, among the descriptions of the sokelands of Eustace the Sheriff (DB, fo. 206):¹

In *Botuluesbrige* Boret and Turchil the priests had a church of St Mary's with two hides of land (assessed) to the geld. There is land for two ploughs. Now they themselves hold it of Eustace, and have two ploughs there and three acres of meadow. *Tempora regis Edwardi* it was worth 40s. (and it is worth the same now).

One cannot escape the conclusion that these three Domesday entries all refer to the same holding, and that Borred (OE Beornræd) and Turchil were the two priests to whom Hugh the chamberlain sold the church of St Mary, Huntingdon T.R.E., and who, in spite of having been confirmed in their tenure by a writ of Edward the Confessor, were nevertheless dispossessed of their tenancy-in-chief by Eustace the Sheriff, and subsequently held under him.

We have next to explain how the last entry quoted comes to be rubricated in Domesday under Eustace's sokelands lying in Norman Cross hundred, in the north of the county, very many miles from Huntingdon itself. The explanation is interesting, though somewhat involved. Although William II is credited with having given the hundred (or more correctly two hundreds)² of Norman Cross to Thorney Abbey, in reality his charter³ was probably no more than a confirmation of the abbey's existing rights, for it was by far the largest landowner in the district long before Domesday, and the hundred meeting-place at Norman Cross lay within the bounds of an estate at Yaxley which was given to the abbey by Æthelwold soon after its foundation.⁴ In short, Norman Cross was a private double hundred in the lordship of Thorney Abbey long before the Conquest. Now in spite of Eustace's usurpation, Thorney Abbey continued to have interests in the estate of St Mary of Huntingdon right up to the time of the Dissolution. A charter entered in the Chartulary of St Mary's shows that the two hides there owed soke at the hundred court of Thorney Abbey at Norman Cross,⁵ and it could well be that St Mary's also gelded in Norman Cross hundred.

¹ *V.C.H. Hunts.* I, p. 349a. The uniqueness of this entry is further emphasized by the Domesday clerk's marginal insertion of the rare symbol 'T' for *terra*—land difficult to classify (cf. *V.C.H. Hunts.* I, pp. 323-4, and R. Weldon Finn, *An Introduction to Domesday Book* (1963), p. 49, n. 2).

² Robertson, *op. cit.* p. 73.

³ C.U.L. Add. MS 3020, fo. 19; cf. H. Cam, *Liberties and Communities* (2nd edn., 1963), p. 186.

⁴ *Cart. Sax.* no. 1297.

⁵ W. N. Noble, 'The Cartulary of the Priory of St Mary of Huntingdon', in *Cambs. and Hunts. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, IV (1930), pp. 89-280 *passim*; see also C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, II (1956), p. 179, no. 1359.

We have not yet accounted for the statement in the last of our three Domesday entries, that the church of St Mary was situated in *Botuluesbrige*. That there was a place called *Botuluesbrige* in Norman Cross hundred, is apparent from another entry in the Huntingdonshire Domesday (fo. 203b) relating to a five hide estate there together with its own church and priest, held by the king and rubricated under that hundred.¹ The name has all but disappeared in recent times,² but the place lay between Woodston and Orton Longueville, and in the medieval period a bridge spanned the River Nene at this point, some distance to the west of Peterborough Abbey.

There seems to be only one explanation of these DB entries: there must have been *two* bridges dedicated to St Botolph. He was, after all, the patron saint of wayfarers,³ and his cult was strongest in eastern England; Thorney itself preserved some of his relics.⁴ One bridge spanned the Nene near Peterborough, and the other carried the road from Godmanchester across the River Ouse at Huntingdon. The present bridge there was built *c.* 1300, and once had a chapel dedicated not to St Botolph, but to St Thomas of Canterbury. The earlier bridge, swept away in a flood in the winter of 1293-4, could well have been dedicated to St Botolph, and I believe that the original name of the ward in which St Mary's church lay was quite possibly St Botolph's Bridge Ward.⁵ It is significant that in the time of Henry III, a church in Huntingdon dedicated to St Botolph was one of those appropriated to St Mary's priory there.⁶ Its exact site is unknown, but Dr Cam⁷ tells us that 'St Botolph was the stock dedication for churches near a gate' or entrance to a town.

One must conclude that the Domesday clerks, encountering a return relating to a church of St Mary at *Botuluesbrige*, and being possibly aware that its soke was in Norman Cross hundred, listed it in error with the rest of Eustace's lands in that hundred, where lay the only Huntingdonshire *Botuluesbrige* of which they knew. The facts do not appear to admit of any other simple explanation.

The Domesday entries make it plain that St Mary's was a collegiate church staffed by two priests in the time of the Confessor; and its large early endowment, together with the early reference to its cemetery, is sufficient proof that it was the mother church of Huntingdon. It is now becoming apparent that these late Saxon collegiate minsters were often used by their Norman owners for the foundation of family

¹ This holding, says the DB entry, had 300 acres of meadow (presumably by the River Nene), which was being damaged by an *exclusa* of the abbot of Thorney. The V.C.H. translation renders this 'enclosure', but Finn, *op. cit.* p. 180, translates it more satisfactorily as 'weir'. It seems likely that the weir lay in the Thorney holding of Woodstone (DB, fo. 205a), which lay downstream on the Nene bank, adjacent to Botolph Bridge.

² It survives in a farmhouse called St Botolphs situated in the modern parish of Orton Longueville, near the site of the medieval bridge.

³ The occurrence of villages called Bottesford in Leicestershire and Lincolnshire (both *Bottesford c.* 1125) suggests that Botolph's hagiography was especially concerned with the safe passage of rivers.

⁴ *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (1949), p. 63.

⁵ One of the DB wards of Cambridge was called Bridge Ward cf. Cam, *op. cit.* p. 12.

⁶ *V.C.H. Hunts.* 1, p. 358.

⁷ Cam, *op. cit.* p. 16.

priories¹ and the fate of St Mary's church is yet another example of this trend, for Eustace applied its endowment to the formation of a priory there. The site of the old church on High Street was clearly, from the Domesday description, hemmed in by burgage tenements which did not allow the erection of a range of conventual out-buildings, so it was left as the parish church of the town, and a new priory church was erected further to the north, on the town outskirts, where the cemetery now lies.² Unfortunately this too was dedicated to St Mary, and the tangled history of the two churches of this name has caused much confusion to modern writers.

The absence of a detailed study of the town's place-names hampers all efforts to delimit precisely the extent of the pre-Conquest endowment of the mother church, a matter of importance to anyone wishing to reconstruct the early topography of the town. However, two entries in the Cartulary of St Mary's Priory combine to supply sufficient information to allow of some useful if tentative conclusions. The first is a charter of Roger the deacon,³ parson of the church of Holy Trinity, Huntingdon, dated *c.* 1180, by which he surrenders to the priory 'two hides of land in the soke of the Canons by the brook', which had been held at farm of the canons by Robert and his ancestors. The second is a late fourteenth-century entry which follows a copy of Henry III's charter to the Priory, dated 1253. The entry states:⁴

The Priory and Convent of Huntingdon is built on two hides of land of the gift of Eustace the Sheriff. . . On these two hides the Church and Priory of the said Canons stands, and the Infirmary . . . and the office of the Sacrist, with the whole enclosure of the same, running even to the king's ditch and *Smerhill*, and all the houses within *Berneys*, and all the land which is within *Grymesdich*.

This last may be identified with a stream shown on early maps of the town, and on the modern 2½ in. O.S. map, rising from a spring about a mile north of the town, and running in a south-easterly direction, crossing the Hartford road to join the River Ouse. If this is the case, then the two hides were limited to the north and east by the boundaries of the Domesday estates of Hartford and Great Stukeley, which one may safely assume to have been coterminous with the bounds of the later parishes of those names. South-eastwards the two hides were bounded by the Ouse, and south-westwards by High Street. Two of the four Domesday wards of Huntingdon lay within this territory.

Before going on to discuss the bearing of all this on the early development of Huntingdon itself, it is profitable to pause for a moment to take a look at the surrounding countryside. A remarkable feature, which has hitherto escaped attention, is the way in which the town was virtually surrounded by royal estates in the late Saxon period. To the east lay the royal manor of Hartford, rated at 15 hides. South

¹ Cf. R. Lennard, *Rural England* (1959), pp. 394-404, an appendix entitled 'Some Ministers and Collegiate Churches'. To Lennard's examples may be added the pre-Conquest collegiate minsters of Earls Colne, St Osyth, and West Mersea in Essex, and Sudbury in Suffolk, all of which became post-Conquest priories.

² The portion of the Thorney Abbey Foundation Charter which describes King Edgar's gift of St Mary as a *monasteriolum* lying *extra oppidum* is of little evidential value, for it appears to embody a late interpolation.

³ Noble, *op. cit.* pp. 228-9.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 259-60.

of the Ouse lay Godmanchester (14 hides); westwards the town was bounded by Brampton (16 hides and 1 virgate) and Graffham ($5\frac{1}{2}$ hides); to the north west, only the Stukeleys separated Huntingdon from the 10 hide royal estate of Alconbury. This great concentration of royal property is unlikely to have come about by the piecemeal acquisition of individual holdings, whether by gift, purchase, exchange, or forfeiture. We have to look for a more fundamental explanation, and we find it in the circumstances accompanying the surrender of the Danish army of Huntingdon to Edward the Elder in the year 917. 'We remember well', said the old men of the district some sixty years later,¹ 'that King Edward conquered Huntingdon before he conquered Cambridge. . . and in the whole shire of Huntingdon there was no free land but that was forfeited, excepting only two hides at Bluntisham which Ælfsige *cylð* had, and two more near Spaldwick.'

There was, in fact, a tenurial upheaval, and everything fell into the king's hands. No doubt much of it was returned to those of the Danes who made their submission in good time; possibly a good deal more was redistributed without delay in small parcels to the king's followers; but there is ample charter evidence to show that large tracts of the county to the north of Huntingdon remained in the possession of the Crown for several decades after its reconquest by Edward the Elder, and even when eventually some of it was released from royal control, several of the largest estates were merely transferred to the care of the ealdorman.² The town of Huntingdon itself, with sixty hides surrounding it, the king and his successors kept in their own hands, nor was there any alienation (except for the two churches of Huntingdon and Godmanchester, with their endowments) until after the Conquest, by which time these estates had become in fact, if not in legal theory, ancient demesne of the Crown.³

With this strong royal control in mind, we can now put forward what is admittedly no more than a hypothesis concerning the early development of the town of Huntingdon, which can only be tested by excavation and chance finds as the years go by. It is suggested that the Danish army encampment of the late ninth and early tenth century was sited on the bank of the Ouse to the north-east of Ermine St.⁴ This was a strong natural position, and they fortified it. In the course of time a street now

¹ *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, R. Hist. Soc., Camden 3rd series, xcii (1962), pp. 98-9.

² Of the 188 hides lying in the two hundreds of Norman Cross, only $7\frac{1}{2}$ were in royal hands by the time of the Conquest, but we have certain evidence that a further 48 hides had been booked to thegns by royal charters between 937 and 963, and another 5 hides T.R.E; at least one-third of the two hundreds was therefore at one time in royal hands, and probably a great deal more for which no evidence survives. Only a small proportion of this could have reached the crown by individual exchange or forfeiture. I hope to enlarge on this elsewhere. As for the ealdorman's estates north of Huntingdon, most of these descended to Ramsey abbey (cf. *Chron. Rames.* pp. 52-5).

³ A remarkable entry in the Huntingdonshire *Clamores* (DB, fo. 208) states that 36 hides of land in Brampton, which Richard Engaine claimed to belong to the forest, were in fact of the 'King's demesne farm', and did not belong to the forest. These 36 hides must have comprised the compact block of royal estates of Godmanchester, Brampton, and Graffham, to the south and west of Huntingdon, whose DB hidage totals $35\frac{3}{4}$. Richard Engaine was the king's huntsman, and as such had charge of the royal forests (J. H. Round, *Feudal England* (1895), pp. 154-6).

⁴ For the original course of Ermine St. cf. Inskip Ladds, *op. cit.* pp. 107-8, and map facing p. 112.

known as High St. ran through the settlement, parallel with Ermine St. A bridge was erected to carry traffic across the Ouse from this street to Godmanchester, and the original crossing of the Ouse, together with the adjacent part of Ermine St., fell into disuse. It is difficult to say when this happened, but I would suggest that it was more likely to have been the time of Edward the Elder than Edward the Confessor, as was postulated by the late S. Inskip Ladds. We know that Edward the Elder repaired the town's defences after it surrendered to him in 917.¹

The original confines of the Danish settlement are probably to be sought within the 'two hides beside Huntingdon' with which St Mary's church was endowed when we first encounter it in 973. A mint existed in Huntingdon by the time of Edgar's benefaction of St Mary's to Thorney,² and this appears to have been sited outside the limits of the two hides, and suggests that by this date (973) the town had already outgrown these limits. The town's assessment to the geld of 50 hides which is revealed in Domesday is certainly very high, but we do not know enough about how the geld was levied; originally the 50 hides were reckoned as a quarter of the double hundred of Hurstingstone, and it may be that before the Conquest much of the geld came from the surrounding countryside, rather than from the burgesses.³ Of the early commercial activity of the town, we know nothing. Sited as it was at the intersection of the Ouse and Ermine St., it cannot have been negligible.

By the time of the Confessor, the town was divided into four wards, two on each side of its main street. It had overgrown its original defences, and in 1068 the Conqueror erected a castle to the south west of High St., which dominated both river and town. The waste and devastation recorded in the Domesday description could only have been temporary. Here was a thriving community with a mill, fishery, mint, at least two churches, and a population certainly no less than 1500. One feels that it had come a long way in the century and a half since the conquest of the Danish camp there by Edward the Elder.

¹ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

² *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ed. R. H. M. Dolley (1961), p. 145.

³ In DB Huntingdon had 356 houses compared with 323 for Northampton, which was only assessed at 25 hides.

SOME TWELFTH-CENTURY DOCUMENTS CONCERNING ST PETER'S CHURCH AT BABRAHAM

EDWARD MILLER

IN order to reconstruct the early history of Babraham in Cambridgeshire¹ we have need to consult the cartularies of the abbey of Augustinian canons at Waltham Holy Cross in Essex.² For this there is good reason: sometime before the end of the twelfth century Waltham obtained the patronage of Babraham Church. The instrument recording this acquisition has long been known. It was printed in a truncated form in the *Monasticon*³ and tells how one Geoffrey de Scalers conferred on the canons of Waltham St Peter's Church in Babraham, certain tithes from his demesne lands and some rights of common. This he did at the request of King Henry II and of his own nephew Brian, his sister's son, who was rector of Babraham and intended to enter religion at Waltham. We also know from the *Monasticon* (quoting a note of Leland's) that Geoffrey's benefaction was made with the consent of G. Count of Brittany, *dominus eius fundi*. The reference, of course, is to King Henry's third son Geoffrey who married Constance, heiress of Brittany and of the English honour of Richmond. Clearly, therefore, Geoffrey de Scalers held in Babraham of the honour of Richmond, and a likely date for the transaction lies between his overlord's marriage to Constance in 1181 and his death in 1186. An earlier date is not quite ruled out, however, for apparently Geoffrey Plantagenet had some rights both in Brittany and in the honour of Richmond for almost a decade before 1181.⁴

So far there is nothing unusual in this story. Many manorial lords gave churches to monasteries and got endorsement from their overlords for their acts. There is, however, another charter in which Geoffrey de Scalers repeated his donation of Babraham Church to Waltham Abbey.⁵ It does not seem previously to have been

¹ I am grateful to Professor C. R. Cheney and Sir Charles Clay for reading a draft of this article and for making a number of suggestions which have greatly improved it. The following abbreviations are used in the notes: *E.Y.C.*, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Sir Charles Clay; *M.A.*, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. of 1846); *P.U.E.*, *Papsturkunden in England*, ed. W. Holtzmann; *V.C.H.*, *Victoria County Histories*; JI 1/no, Assize Rolls (in the Public Record Office); SJC XXV/no, Muniments of St John's College, Cambridge, Drawer XXV.

² Especially two thirteenth-century cartularies in the British Museum, Harley MS. 391 and Cotton MS. Tiberius C IX: for these and other Waltham registers see G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain*, pp. 113-14.

³ *M.A.* vi, p. 66: a complete text is printed below, Appendix 1. It supports the suggestion made by W. Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, p. 63, that Geoffrey also gave Waltham certain rights in Horseheath, but these were to tithe and not to land.

⁴ *E.Y.C.* iv, pp. 75, 92-3.

⁵ Printed below, Appendix 2.

printed and makes it clear that his benefaction did not pass without controversy. Indeed, it gave rise to issues so difficult that they were taken so far as Rome; papal judges-delegate pronounced upon them; the bishop of Ely and even the archbishop of Canterbury came to be concerned with them. A tale which brought the affairs of a Cambridgeshire village to the notice of the papal *curia* is perhaps worth a moment's attention.

I

The gift of Babraham Church to Waltham by Geoffrey de Scalers is one manifestation of the lay piety of his age; the troubles which ensued arose out of another. Geoffrey's second charter shows that his father, too, had heard the promptings of piety. Sometime before his death the latter withdrew to the Cistercian abbey at Sawtry in Huntingdonshire and, in preparation for his retreat from the world, he handed over his lands to his son. On the other hand, his seals, rings and chattels¹ accompanied him to Sawtry. It emerged, in due course, that Sawtry Abbey also claimed to hold Babraham Church by charter, though whether Geoffrey's father had made it or the monks had forged it is not made absolutely clear. This, in any event, was no matter. Geoffrey's argument was that Sawtry's charter dated from after the time his father had handed over his patrimony and entered religion: thereafter only Geoffrey himself could grant anything from the family inheritance. We need in this connexion to remember that the principle that 'the advowson is temporal property',² which Henry II was seeking to make established law in England, had long been an assumption in the minds of manorial lords. Very many churches given to monasteries in the generations after the Norman Conquest had come to them precisely because landholders had treated parish churches as parts of their patrimonies which they were free to give or grant. This was clearly the attitude of Geoffrey de Scalers and his father. Their right to alienate Babraham Church was not in question. The issue turned on who had possessed the right to grant it and in whom a valid title was now vested.

The story, unfortunately, cannot be told in its entirety: no Sawtry cartulary has survived, so that all we have are the Waltham documents and a few stray papal letters. It is possible, however, to discern something of the background, however darkly. When Geoffrey and his father were arranging their family affairs Sawtry Abbey already had a stake in Babraham. Sometime between 1152 and 1162 Colchester Abbey gave Sawtry a perpetual lease of its lands in Babraham, perhaps those given to it by Ralf Pyrot the elder for the soul of his wife, Albreda.³ Moreover, a grange at 'Coppelawe' was among the Sawtry possessions confirmed by Pope Alexander III in 1164 and a further confirmation by the same pope in 1176 appears

¹ He may also have conferred some land in Babraham on Sawtry, for in 1228 that abbey had 14 acres there which a certain Geoffrey de Scalers had given with his body (Cott. Tiberius C ix, fo. 153).

² F. W. Maitland, *Canon Law in the Church of England*, pp. 62-3.

³ *Colchester Chartulary*, I, p. 179, II, p. 527. The dates are those of Richard [de Belmeis II], Bishop of London, in whose time the lease was made. They fit the dates c. 1150-64 attributed to Abbot Hugh of Sawtry (*Trans. Cambs. and Hunts. Arch. Soc.* III (1909-14), p. 371), the grantee; but suggest a need to revise the dates c. 1132-48 given for Abbot Hugh [de Haya] of Colchester, the grantor, in *V.C.H. Essex*, II, p. 101.

to place this property in Babraham.¹ It does not seem to have been of any great size. Ralf Pyrot's grant to Colchester was only of half a hide and the rent which Colchester asked of Sawtry was 6s. 8d. Doubtless this initial nucleus was added to by other grants and purchases;² but it may well have seemed an attractive notion to round it off with the assets of the parish church, even though revenues from churches, altars and tithe had been explicitly renounced by the founding fathers of the Cistercian order.³ This pristine self-denying ordinance, however, was falling into abeyance before the end of the twelfth century. Sawtry was perhaps a house which ignored it early and, so far as Babraham Church was concerned, in circumstances dubiously legal even if they did not involve a modicum of fraud.

If some such explanation accounts for Sawtry's desire for Babraham Church, it is impossible to establish the precise sequence of events which followed the original grant made to Waltham by Geoffrey de Scalers. It seems likely, however, that Brian did not immediately retire to Waltham and relinquish his rectory; but the canons apparently judged it wise to secure papal confirmation of their expectations. The result was a letter issued by Celestine III on 10 December 1191 endorsing *ius quod habetis in ecclesia de Badburgeham*.⁴ Soon afterwards Brian must have resigned, Geoffrey de Scalers asked William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, chancellor and papal legate,⁵ to give Waltham corporal possession, and in due course the archdeacon of Ely notified all sons of holy church that he had done so.⁶ It was probably at this stage that the canons again approached Celestine III and, on 5 June 1193, got confirmation of their right to *ecclesia de Batburgeham cum pertinentiis suis* (a difference of phrasing suggesting the transformation of their expectations into actual possession).⁷ These events, however, called for action on the part of the white monks of Sawtry if they were to realise their hopes of securing Babraham Church. They, too, took their case to Rome and on 5 February 1195 Celestine confirmed the *ius patronatus* they enjoyed in Babraham Church. We must not blame the pope too much for his apparent inconsistency. There were many parishes in western Christendom, many suitors for papal confirmations, and in any case his confirmation was hedged about with a comprehensive saving clause: *sicut ea omnia iuste et pacifice possidetis*.⁸

The plain fact was, however, that Sawtry had no possession, just or peaceful or of any other sort. Waltham had possession and that possession had likewise been confirmed (though with a similar saving clause) by Pope Celestine III. If it was to be shaken adjudication and a sentence was required. The manner in which the affair was settled is not without interest. It came to be held in England not only that the advowson is temporal property but that jurisdiction in questions relating to advowsons lay with the secular tribunals. Henry II stood for this viewpoint and wrote it into the Constitutions of Clarendon. This principle, however, was clean contrary to

¹ *P.U.E.* I, nos. 102, 139.

² The tithe settlement of 1228 shows that Sawtry's property had been obtained from a variety of donors (Cott. Tiberius C IX, fo. 153).

³ D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, pp. 344-5.

⁴ *P.U.E.* I, no. 287.

⁵ The date, therefore, must be after the commencement of Longchamp's legation on 5 June 1190.

⁶ Cott. Tiberius C IX, fo. 152.

⁷ *P.U.E.* I, no. 315.

⁸ *Ibid.* no. 321.

the canon law and a decretal of Alexander III's addressed to Henry contained 'a classical passage which tells how a cause which touches this right belongs to the ecclesiastical forum.'¹ There were opportunities for this law of the church to prevail when the secular law of England was at an early stage of its making and especially when both parties to a dispute were churchmen: for to follow the law of the church was no more than their duty. Moreover, kings and their courts were not omniscient. They could not know every controversy which arose; they had to be called in by one of the parties to a plea seeking their jurisdiction in the first instance or a writ of prohibition upon proceedings already initiated in the church courts; and when no vital secular interest was at stake there was perhaps little temptation for hard-worked public officials to search out cases. Consequently there was a gap between Angevin theory and practice in this matter of advowsons and many more questions of patronage came before ecclesiastical courts than has sometimes been supposed.²

In this instance, at least, there is no evidence that the dispute between Waltham and Sawtry was ever ventilated in a lay court. True, we know nothing of the course of the litigation: but we may reasonably suppose that Geoffrey de Scalers' second charter was drawn up in expectation or in the course of proceedings to give backing to Waltham's case and, for the rest, the instrument by which Abbot Alexander of Sawtry acknowledged defeat is clear in its implications. The pope had ordered the plea to be heard before Abbot John [de Cella] of St Albans and other judges-delegate, and Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury had put in a prayer for a settlement; but seemingly before judgement was pronounced Abbot Alexander and his convent, perhaps feeling that the case was going against them, 'demised and quitclaimed the plea for ever'.³ They granted Babraham Church with its appurtenances to Waltham; and these appurtenances, notwithstanding Cistercian privilege,⁴ were to include all tithe belonging to the church *exceptis decimis novalium et nutrimentorum nostrorum*.⁵ This concession can be narrowly dated. It must fall between 1195, when John de Cella became abbot of St Albans, and January 1198, when Pope Celestine's death ended Hubert Walter's legation.

There are no more than a few footnotes to be added to this act of renunciation. Longchamp's successor, Bishop Eustace (1197-1210), pronounced Babraham Church to have been given to Waltham in the time of his predecessor;⁶ and on 7 July 1199 Pope Innocent III confirmed the church to the canons *quam ex concessione diocesani episcopi obtinetis*.⁷ There were subsequent confirmations by Prior Roger of Ely

¹ Maitland, *op. cit.* p. 62.

² As C. R. Cheney has abundantly demonstrated: *From Becket to Langton*, pp. 110 ff.

³ Printed below, Appendix 3.

⁴ I.e. Innocent II's exemption of the Cistercians from tithe on land cultivated for their own use (Knowles, *op. cit.* p. 355).

⁵ The first reservation seems to refer to assarts (cf. *Cartulary of Newnham Priory*, ed. J. Godber (Beds. Historical Record Soc., XLIII, 1963), I, no. 8: 'omnes decimas novalium meorum idest assartorum'); the second to increase of livestock (cf. Geoffrey de Scalers' first charter, Appendix 1 below).

⁶ Harl. 391, fo. 110d.

⁷ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, I, no. 766. Professor Cheney drew my attention to this letter and tells me that the original is P.R.O. Papal Bull, 35 (9).

(?1206-15) and Bishop Geoffrey de Burgh (1225-8); and the latter also ordained that the vicar, by way of vicarage, ought to have a manse, the offerings of the altar and all tithes save those of grain and hay.¹ Now, only this matter of tithe continued to breed antagonism between the canons and the white monks. Abbot Alexander of Sawtry, in 1195-8, secured a limited exemption; but it was less than that implied by full Cistercian privilege. Possibly his successors sought to mitigate this surrender of principle; and in the end Abbot Alard in 1228 made concessions to secure a qualified franchise. Waltham agreed that some 180 acres of Sawtry's land in Babraham should be free of tithe. In return Sawtry relinquished 23 acres of arable in Babraham and Little Abington fields to Babraham Church and conceded that any future acquisitions, provided they had been previously subject to tithe, should continue to bear that burden.² So matters were settled between the two abbeys. Earlier, Geoffrey de Scalers³ was moved to augment his benefaction to Waltham. He destined a younger son, Brian, to serve God as a canon regular there and with him gave 12 acres of his demesne land and 5 acres which Geoffrey son of Gervase the priest held of him. The donation was to hold good even if Brian died before assuming the regular habit or went elsewhere than to Waltham. And upon anyone who disturbed his benefaction Geoffrey called down a malediction. It is perhaps not too fanciful to detect in this final clause a memory of the difficulties which ensued when he gave St Peter's Church to Waltham in the time of King Henry II.

II

These transactions, which settled who should present to Babraham Church down to the Reformation, raise a subsidiary question: what connexion had this Geoffrey de Scalers with the family descending from Hardwin de Scalers, Domesday lord of a modest barony situated in Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire? Hardwin, as is well known, divided his barony between his two sons, Richard and Hugh. The former's descendants continued to hold their share, with its main centres at Caxton and Little Shelford, until an heiress took it to the De Frevilles in 1231. Hugh's heirs, on the other hand, with their principal seats at Whaddon (Cambs.), Reed and Wyddial (Herts.), continued in the male line until 1467, though they gradually fell from the ranks of the baronage into the class of knights of the shire.⁴

It is not easy to fit our Geoffrey into this pedigree. Farrer appears to assume that he and his sister Nobilia were younger children of Hardwin's son, Hugh de Scalers of Whaddon, a benefactor and ultimately a monk at Lewes Priory in Sussex.⁵ This

¹ Cott. Tiberius C ix, fos. 152-152 d.

² *Ibid.* fo. 153.

³ *Ibid.* fo. 122: unfortunately, we cannot be absolutely certain that this benefaction ought not to be attributed to Geoffrey's son of the same name, though attestation by Gervase the chaplain suggests a date before or around 1200. On the other hand, Gervase witnesses as late as 1204 (*ibid.* fo. 125) by which time the older Geoffrey was dead.

⁴ *Curia Regis Rolls*, v, 139-40; *V.C.H. Herts.* III, pp. 248-9; *V.C.H. Cambs.* I, p. 387; E. Miller, *Abbey and Bishopric of Ely*, p. 178.

⁵ *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, p. 209; *Cambs. Portion of the Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, ed. J. H. Bullock and W. M. Palmer, nos. 46-7.

affiliation raises difficulties. First, our Geoffrey's father became a Cistercian at Sawtry and not a Cluniac at Lewes. Secondly, Hugh's heir was not Geoffrey but Henry; and finally Pope Celestine's confirmation of Babraham Church to Sawtry in 1195 asserts that the donor had been G. de Scalers. It would be plausible to extend the initial to make our Geoffrey's father bear the same Christian name as his son. In other words, we may provisionally style the man who took refuge at Sawtry Geoffrey I and his son who gave St Peter's Church to Waltham Geoffrey II. Finally, about 1202,¹ the latter was succeeded by yet another Geoffrey whom we may call Geoffrey III.

If the Babraham family was connected with Hardwin, therefore, the relationship must be sought at an earlier date than Farrer supposed. Domesday Book is not immediately helpful: in 1086 both Hardwin and Alan of Brittany had holdings in Babraham,² but Hardwin held in chief and not of the honour of Richmond as Geoffrey de Scalers did towards the end of the twelfth century. On the other hand, Hardwin did hold of the honour of Richmond at Reed and Little Shelford, so that a subsequent extension of this tenurial relationship is not out of the question. Furthermore, members of the Scalers family eventually held of the honour in Richmondshire as well as in Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire, though even Sir Charles Clay finds it hard to establish the descent of the various fees.³ This is not the place to pursue this wider inquiry, but there is something to be said for proceeding backwards from the better-documented thirteenth century in our search for the lords of Babraham. In 1236 Geoffrey III de Scalers held half a knight's fee there of the honour of Richmond and two other men held by knight's service 'of the fee of Hardwin de Scalers'.⁴ There were other holders of fees in Babraham at this time, but they need not detain us. The important point is that the land in the possession of Geoffrey III de Scalers seems to be that held in 1086 not by Hardwin but by Alan of Brittany.

An excursion into Yorkshire can take us a little way behind this record of 1236. There is a charter, which cannot be precisely dated, which records how Alexander de Scalers, knight, quitclaimed to Easby Abbey 10s. rent from Stapleton; and another showing that Geoffrey de Scalers reserved this rent when, sometime after 1217, he confirmed to Easby three carucates in Stapleton which Benedict of Stapleton had given to the abbey.⁵ There is evidence that Alexander was a son of Geoffrey III:⁶ possibly, indeed, he was his eldest son and heir,⁷ though he also made a profitable

¹ Amice de Scalers, who seems clearly to be the wife of Geoffrey II, was a widow by 1202 and had dower lands in Horseheath (*Pleas before the King or his Justices, 1198-1202*, ed. D. M. Stenton (Selden Society, LXVIII, 1948), II, pp. 268, 288; *Curia Regis Rolls*, II, 202, 291; Cott. Tiberius C IX, fo. 122; *Pedes Finium*, ed. J. Hunter, I, pp. 308-9). ² Domesday Book, I, pp. 191, 194, 198, 199. ³ *E. Y. C.* v, 260-2.

⁴ *Ecclesie de Bernewelle Liber Memorandum*, ed. J. W. Clark, pp. 255, 263.

⁵ *E. Y. C.* v, no. 338B.

⁶ He witnessed charters as such (Cott. Tiberius C IX, fo. 123; SJC XXV/13, 15; D. and C. of Ely, Charter no. 146).

⁷ This might explain how he came to be possessed of this rent in Stapleton and also of the family lands in Horseheath, which he gave to Waltham (*Rotuli Hundredorum*, II, p. 421). The alternative supposition would be that these constituted the provision Geoffrey III made for a younger son.

marriage to Alan of Follifoot's heiress and obtained with her interests at Follifoot (Yorks.) and Little Linton (Cambs.).¹ It is, however, his connexion with Stapleton which is of interest. There are a number of references to the fees held of the honour of Richmond around the year 1200 by Geoffrey de Scalers: half a fee in Babraham in 1212; *c.* 1200 a fee apparently at Carlton in Yorkshire, while Benedict of Stapleton held another as his sub-tenant in Stapleton; and in the late twelfth century half a fee in Carlton and Barforth and quarter of a fee in Stapleton.² It is optimistic to assume that we will ever reconcile these divergent fractions,³ but at least the evidence suggests that before the end of the twelfth century the Scalers lords of Babraham were also tenants of the honour of Richmond at various places in Richmondshire.

This, in turn, may help us to interpret an earlier scrap of evidence. A list of those owing guard duties at Richmond Castle late in the reign of Henry I includes Hardwin's heirs (his son Hugh and grandson Stephen) and a certain Geoffrey de Scalers, each serving in respect of one knight's fee.⁴ It is tempting to suppose that this Geoffrey was the predecessor of Geoffrey II and Geoffrey III who held at Babraham and in Yorkshire in the years around 1200. Upon which of his lands the obligation rested it is not easy to determine. Evidence that castle-guard was owed from Babraham is virtually non-existent;⁵ on the other hand, some of the Yorkshire holdings of the family certainly did owe this service at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The inference may be, therefore, that the lords of Babraham had already acquired a stake in Richmondshire before King Henry I was alive and dead. Indeed, the possibility must arise that the Geoffrey de Scalers who at that time owed castle-guard at Richmond was the same Geoffrey who ended his days a white monk at Sawtry Abbey.

With these possibilities in mind we may now return to DB to see if more can be wrung from it about the origin of the family's fee in Babraham. We can ignore Hardwin's holding, for these lands were still held of his barony in 1236. The origin of the Scalers manor must be sought in the lands Count Alan had at Babraham in 1086. These consisted of two tenements; in the larger he had enfeoffed one Brien or Brient, in the smaller a certain Ralf. Moreover, in the list of Domesday jurors for Chilford hundred (in which Babraham lay) we find a certain Briend de Scal'.⁶ The coincidence, particularly since Brian as well as Geoffrey seems to have been something of a family name with the Scalers of Babraham, suggests that their first representative in England was this obscure Domesday knight and not the baron of Caxton

¹ *Yorkshire Fines, 1232-46*, no. 1168; 1246-72, no. 1246; *Ex. e Rot. Fin.* I, 323.

² The evidence is assembled by Sir Charles Clay, *E. Y. C.* v, pp. 260-2.

³ One explanation may be that these fees were assessed differently, as Stapleton certainly was, for castle-guard and scutage (*E. Y. C.* v, no. 338B).

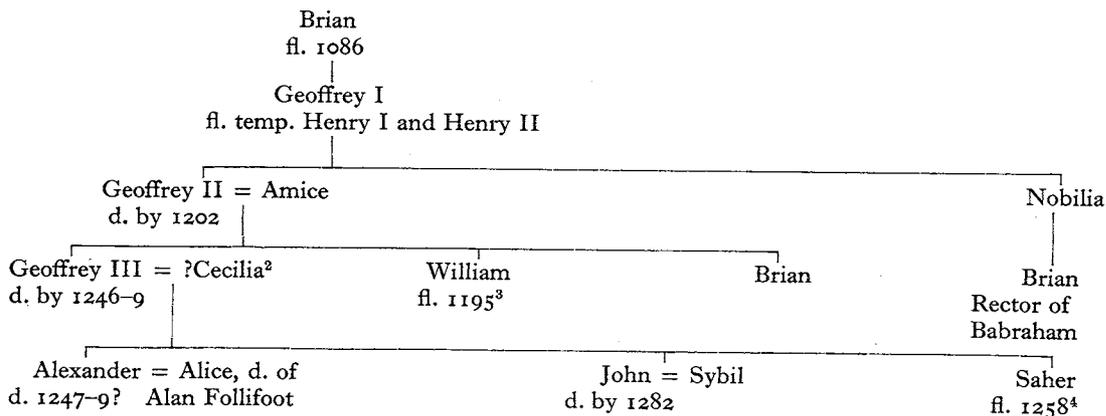
⁴ *Cal. Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, I, no. 519, the dating of which has been established by Sir Charles Clay.

⁵ I have examined some sixty pre-1300 Babraham charters and only SJC XXV/173 mentions castle-guard. This relates to the alienation of 3½ acres which owed ½*d.* annually for guard of Richmond castle. It is not certain, however, that this land lay in the Scalers manor; and castle-guard is not mentioned in 1282 among the charges upon the estate of Warin of Hereford, who by that time had succeeded to that manor (Chancery Inquisitions post-mortem, Edward I, File 26 (6)).

⁶ *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 28.

and Whaddon. Conceivably he was Hardwin's kinsman, a younger brother or something of the sort; or he may merely have come from the same place across the Channel, L'Escalerie (Manche).¹ But if some connexion with Hardwin brought Brian to England he seems to have sought his fortune in another's company. The lords of the honour of Richmond, after all, were patrons of another order of magnitude to Hardwin and had much more to offer a soldier of fortune.

PEDIGREE OF THE SCALERS FAMILY OF BABRAHAM



Provisionally, then, a family tree of the Scalers family of Babraham can be constructed something after the fashion illustrated above. It is not possible, of course, to be absolutely sure that only four generations were spanned by the Domesday Brian, Geoffrey I who became a monk at Sawtry, Geoffrey II who gave St Peter's Church to Waltham and Geoffrey III who lived possibly into the 1240s. On the other hand, it is not quite inconceivable. Hardwin de Scalers cannot have been a very old man in 1086, for he witnessed a Northamptonshire charter of Aubrey II de Vere in 1112.⁵ Further, his great-grandson, Hugh II of Whaddon, died about the time of Magna Carta and the latter's son, yet another Geoffrey de Scalers, survived until 1284.⁶ If the Domesday Brian de Scalers was a younger contemporary of Hardwin's,

¹ The main branch of the family seems to have forgotten its origins before the twelfth century was out. Hugh II de Scalers of Whaddon had a seal the device on which was a punning reference to his name: 'the likeness of a man in armour... with his right foot on the rung of a ladder and with his hands on the sides of the ladder as though about to climb it' (*Cambs. Portion of the Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, no. 48). Perhaps there is a hint here of how Norman chivalry was becoming mere English.

² Cott. Tiberius C IX, fo. 122d; SJC XXV/9, 121.

³ Cott. Tiberius C IX, fo. 122d; *Pipe Roll*, 7 Richard I, 121.

⁴ SJC XXV/16, 94, 104, 125.

⁵ Cambridge University Library, Thorney Red Book, II, fo. 227d and *M.A.* II, p. 603; for the date, *Complete Peerage*, x, pp. 195-6, and J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, p. 220. This seems to dispose of the suggestion in *V.C.H. Herts.* II, p. 343, that Hardwin died in 1086.

⁶ *Cal. Inquisitions post-mortem*, II, p. 309, though by that time Geoffrey must have been very old. Because he could no longer serve in the king's armies he handed over his lands to his son (who in fact predeceased him) in 1258 (*Cal. Patent Rolls, 1247-58*, p. 626).

therefore, it is not out of the question that his great-grandson might have lived well into the thirteenth century.

It is, of course, equally possible that between the Domesday Brian and Geoffrey I there is a missing generation. For all that they held both in Cambridgeshire and Yorkshire our knowledge of these Babraham knights is very exiguous, for they were men of modest importance. Geoffrey III played some small part in the Cambridgeshire county court and Alexander was an elector of a grand assize jury in Yorkshire in 1246.¹ If the latter was Geoffrey's heir, he seems not to have survived long after that date.² He was succeeded by another son of Geoffrey III's, John de Scalers, who took part on Montfort's side in rebellion against Henry III and late in life went crusading with the Lord Edward.³ We know him better, however, for his small dealings in land, for seeking to exact unwarranted suits to his manor court and for founding a chantry in the Mary chapel at Babraham so that prayers might be said for his soul and for the soul of Sybil his wife.⁴ This John, moreover, was the last of his line and with the founding of his chantry the story ends as it began within the parochial frame. Perhaps we are fortunate to be able to learn so much about a family so relatively obscure. Yet even such a family could be subjected to King Henry's persuasion to give Babraham Church to Waltham Holy Cross and, by doing so, bring that remote parish to the notice of Pope Celestine III.

APPENDIX⁵

(1) *First charter of Geoffrey de Scalers conferring Babraham Church on Waltham Abbey*

Date: probably 1181-6.

Text: Cotton MS. Tiberius C IX, fo. 151 d.⁶

Galfridus de Scalariis omnibus hominibus suis francis et anglis et omnibus sancti matris ecclesie filiis salutem. *Notum sit uobis et certum me concessisse et⁷ dedisse ecclesie sancte crucis de Waltham et canonicis regularibus deo ibidem seruientibus⁸ ecclesiam sancti Petri de Badburham cum omnibus rebus ad illam pertinentibus, et nominatim cum decimis frugum domini mei et cum decimis nutrimetorum meorum et totius domus mee de Horseheia. Do etiam eis decimam feni de dominio meo de eodem loco cum omni alio iure ad illam ecclesiam pertinente in puram et perpetuam elemosinam ad sustentationem hospitalitatis ecclesie de Waltham. Et hoc facio pro salute domini mei regis Henrici secundi et pro requisitione eius [sic]⁹ et pro salute heredum suorum et pro salute mea et uxoris mee et liberorum meorum et omnium antecessorum et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum. Et sciatis me hanc donacionem fecisse pure pro amore dei et admonicione [sic]¹⁰ Briani clerici nepotis*

¹ *Curia Regis Rolls*, VII, 73-4, 100; JI 1/1045, m. 3.

² John is lord of Babraham in charters of 1246-9 and 1254 (SJC XXV/4, 9).

³ JI 1/83, mm. 2, 4 d; 1/84, m. 1 d; *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1266-72*, p. 588.

⁴ SJC XXV/5, 12, 109; JI 1/82, m. 16 d; *Vetus Liber Archidiaconi Eliensis*, ed. C. L. Feltoe and E. H. Minns, pp. 4-6.

⁵ The following charters are printed by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

⁶ Passages omitted or abbreviated in *M.A.* VI, p. 66, are printed in italics and variant readings are indicated in the notes by the symbol (M). The punctuation in this and the following charters has been modernized.

⁷ Noveritis me (M).

⁸ Canonicis de Waltham (M).

⁹ Per requisicionem eius (M).

¹⁰ Per admonitionem (M).

mei, filii Nobilie sororis mee, persone predicte ecclesie de Badburham, qui se in prenominata ecclesia de Waltham concessit deo in regulari habitu seruiturum. *Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod iam dicti canonici teneant supradictam ecclesiam bene, quiete et in pace sicut eam unquam aliquis melius tenuit et liberius. Et cum commune pastore [sic] prefate ville concedo et do eis communionem mecum in pastura mea propria ab omni exactione liberam.* Testibus hiis. Domino rege et Johanne filio eius.¹

(2) *Second charter of Geoffrey de Scalers confirming his grant of Babraham Church to Waltham Abbey*

Date: ?1195-8.

Text: Harley MS. 391, fos. 144-144d.²

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens carta peruenerit Galfridus de Scaliariis salutem in domino. Notum sit uobis omnibus et indubitatum quod intuitu dei et ad petitionem domini mei Regis Henrici secundi quam mihi uiua uoce et litteris suis fecit, cum bona uoluntate domini mei eiusdem fundi, scilicet G. comitis Britannie, me concessisse et dedisse ecclesiam sancti Petri de Badburgeham³ ecclesie sancte crucis de Waltham et canonicis regularibus ibidem deo seruiantibus in perpetuam elemosinam, sicut carta mea super hoc facta plenius testatur. Quapropter ne quis contra hanc donationem meam aliquid machinetur, in ueritate et uera fide uobis mando quod nunquam prefatam ecclesiam nec eius aduocationem alicui dedi ante illam donationem quam prefatis canonicis factam fuisse contestor. Et ideo si monachi nigri uel albi uel canonici uel aliquis uir religiosus uel secularis, siue clericus siue laicus, cartam meam de prefata ecclesia uel de eius aduocatione habere dixit, illam falsam esse et sine me et conscientia mea factam sine dubio credatis, quia nullam cartam warantizo nec heredes mei debent warantizare contra illam que facta est Walthamensi ecclesie. Preterea quia monachi albi de Saltareia aliquando dicuntur murmurasse contra me et ecclesiam de Waltham, dicentes se aliquid iuris habere in ecclesiam de Badburgeham uel per³ patrem meum uel per me, deum contestor qui omnia nouit quod nunquam prefatis monachis de predicta re cartam feci. Et preter dei testimonium iudicium falsarii suscipiat in die iudicii qui super hac re mentitur. Sed nec per patrem meum aliquid iuris in iamdictam ecclesiam prefati monachi sibi uendicare possunt, quia liberi homines de feodi mei et Ranulfus de Glanuilla et Saherus de Quinci et multi de uicinis meis fuerunt audientes et uidentes ubi pater meus se deposuit de omni feodo suo et quietum mihi clamauit et me heredem constituit, ut ego sicut dominus domino meo responderem. Et hoc factum est multo tempore antequam se religioni traderet, sicut per legale dictum uicinatorum recognosci potest. Qua de causa de hereditate mea uel de iure meo nichil dare potuit quod tunc temporis non habebat. Sed⁴ quia cum habitum religionis suscepit sigilla sua et anulos suos et omnia catalla sua cum eo prefatis monachis tradidit, si postea sub nomine prefati patris mei cartas fecerunt uim habere non debent nec secundum iusticiam dei iuri meo uel donacionis mee nocere debent. Et ideo supradictam donacionem per hanc cartam meam concedo et confirmo et perpetua stabilitate imperpetuum a me et ab heredibus meis conseruari⁵ uolo. Testibus Ricardo Barre Elyensi archidiacono.⁶ Ricardo de S. Edmundo, clerico. Alexandro Barre. Martino de Belesham. Reginaldo capellano de Belesham. Hugone de Botemont, clerico. Nicholao et Ernaldo, seruiantibus domini episcopi.

¹ (M) adds: Comite Alberico et Alberico filio eius. Radulfo de Heford. et aliis.

² There is another copy in Cott. Tiberius C IX, fos. 151d-152. The main variant readings are indicated in the notes by the symbol (T).

³ Badburham (T).

⁴ A later hand has written in the margin: 'Monachi falsificantes cartas'.

⁵ Conseruare (T).

⁶ In (T) the list of witnesses stops at this point.

(3) *Charter of Abbot Alexander of Sawtry conceding Babraham Church to Waltham*

Date: 1195-8.

Text: Cotton MS. Tiberius C IX, fo. 153.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Alexander dei gratia abbas de Saltreia et conuentus eiusdem loci salutem. Sciatis quod nos, intuitu caritatis et pro prece [*sic*] domini Huberti Cant' archiepiscopi et apostolice sedis legati, dimisimus et quietam clamauimus imperpetuum loquelam illam que fuit mota per mandatum domini pape Celestini iij. inter nos et abbatem et canonicos regulares de Waltham de aduocatione ecclesie de Badburham coram iudicibus delegatis, scilicet J. dei gratia abbate de Sancto Albano et R. eadem gratia abbate de Waledene¹ et W. priore de Hertford'. Concessimus eciam et presenti carta confirmauimus prefatis canonicis de Waltham quod predictam ecclesiam habeant et teneant quiete et in pace de donacione nostra in pura elemosina [*sic*] imperpetuum cum omnibus pertinenciis suis et omni integritate iuris sui, et precipue cum omnibus decimis nostris ad prenominatam ecclesiam pertinentibus, non obstante priuilegio nostro uel priuilegiis ordinis nostri, exceptis decimis noualium et nutrimentorum nostrorum. Et ut hec concessio nostra firma et donacio rata et stabilis in eternum sit, hanc cartam nostram inde illis fecimus et sigillo nostro confirmauimus. Hiis testibus Willelmo abbate de Stratford'. etc.²

¹ Abbot Reginald, fl. 1190-1200 (*V.C.H. Essex*, II, p. 114).

² Abbot William occurs in 1192 and had been succeeded by Abbot Benedict c. 1199 (*V.C.H. Essex*, II, p. 133).

NOTES ON THE EARLY CAREER OF THOMAS THIRLBY, TUDOR BISHOP OF ELY

SIR JOHN GRAY

THOMAS THIRLBY, native of Cambridge, educated there, and subsequently Bishop of Ely, had at various stages of his career close connexions with the County, Town and University of Cambridge. In his *Thomas Thirlby—Tudor Bishop*, T. F. Shirley has given a very full account of his public career. In this note my intention is merely to correct certain details, which have hitherto been accepted as correct, regarding his early career.

Thirlby died on 26 August 1570 and was buried in the parish church of Lambeth two days later. The burial register of that church goes into his career in some detail. It (*inter alia*) tells us that he was a Doctor of Civil Law, born in Cambridge, student of Trinity Hall and successively bishop of Westminster, Norwich and Ely. For fuller details I would refer readers to Shirley's recent biography.

A number of Thirlby's letters survive, but in none of them does the Bishop refer to his childhood or his parents. Cooper (*Athenae Cantabrigiensis*, I, p. 287) says he was born in 1506, but, as Shirley points out, this would make him a Bachelor of Civil Law at the most improbable age of fourteen. More probably he was born some six or more years earlier.

Cooper (*loc. cit.*) says he was the son of John Thirlby, sometime town clerk, scrivener and treasurer of the borough of Cambridge, but Dr W. M. Palmer (*Cambridge Borough Documents*, p. 149) suggests that this is improbable. The town clerk made his will on 2 May 1539 and it was proved in the Court of the Archdeacon of Ely on 16 August 1539. At that date the Archdeacon was Thomas Thirlby. In his will the town clerk mentions his wife Joan, whom he directs to arrange for the celebration of his obit, and also his daughter Ursula, and his son Laurence who 'shall have all my books'. There is no mention of any son named Thomas or of any other son (Palmer, *loc. cit.*). In the circumstances one must perforce agree with Dr Palmer that it is highly improbable that the town clerk was the future bishop's father.

The fact that a man with that surname may have come to Cambridge at the end of the fifteenth century from one of the two villages of Thurlby in Lincolnshire and had thrived at his profession may have induced another man from the same place—possibly, but not necessarily, a relative—to follow in his footsteps. But this can only be a mere conjecture.

We are also left in the same doubt as regards the early schooling of the future bishop. At the time when Thirlby must have received his early education there were two endowed schools at Cambridge. King's College had a school for its sixteen choristers, into which non-choristers may also have been received. At Jesus College there were a master and usher, who were required to instruct in grammar and rhetoric the four choristers on the foundation and also 'those drawn to the grammar school from elsewhere gratis and without any demand of money' (*Statutes of Jesus College*, A.D. 1514-1515, p. 32). In this connexion it is not out of place to mention that, as bishop of Ely, Thomas Thirlby became a benefactor to Jesus College. It is also not out of place to recall that, as will be seen later, when he became a Fellow of Trinity Hall, Thirlby displayed a musical turn of mind, thus suggesting his possible education at one or other of these song schools. But both the above inferences may be wrong. Thirlby may have been educated at one or other of the ephemeral private schools, which were from time to time set up in Cambridge.

It has always been assumed that on leaving school Thomas Thirlby entered Trinity Hall, but other evidence goes to show quite definitely that this was not the case.

In *Letters and Papers of Henry VII.* Vol. I. *Addenda*, Part I, pp. 105, 110, appears what is described as 'the book of the view, valuation, and tax of the University of Cambridge' in 1522. As the editors of these papers say, this manuscript is 'unfortunately very much mutilated with lists for the most part illegible, both of graduates and *scholastici* arranged under the different colleges'. Fortunately for present purposes it is still sufficiently legible to provide us with the relevant evidence regarding Thirlby.

Trinity Hall appears under the heading *Collegium Divae Trinitatis*.¹ The first few names are all illegible, but there still can be traced parts of the surnames of two Fellows of the College. One of these reads 'ylney', who is quite certainly the Protestant Martyr Thomas Bilney, who took the degree of Bachelor of Canon Law in 1520-1.

Thirlby's name is not to be traced in this list, but appears unmistakably as 'Thos. Thyrleby' in a later list as a Bachelor of Civil Law, which degree he took in 1520-1. This list is headed as setting out the members of a *Hospitium*, i.e. Hostel. The name of the Hostel is no longer legible, but we can ascertain its name from information concerning another member thereof, namely, 'William Reynold, rector', who must be identifiable with '—Reynold of Borden Hostel', who was admitted to practise in law in 1516-17 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, part I, vol. III, p. 446).

Borden Hostel was a *Hospitium Juristarum* or in other words a Hostel devoted exclusively to the study of law. A very full history thereof has been given by Dr H. P. Stokes in his *Medieval Hostels*.

At some later date Thirlby undoubtedly became a member of Trinity Hall. This leads us to the question as to when the following incident described by Foxe in

¹ Trinity College did not come into being until the amalgamation of King's Hall and Michaelhouse in 1546.

Acts and Monuments, IV, p. 621, took place. After telling us that Bilney never slept above four hours every night, he proceeds as follows:

He could abide no swearing or singing. Coming from church when singing was, he would lament to his scholars the curiosity of their dainty singing, which he called rather a mockery with God than otherwise. And when Dr Thirlby, Bishop after, then scholar lying in the chamber beneath him, would play upon his recorder (as he would often do), he would resort straight to prayer.

To judge from the dates of their respective degrees, Bilney and Thirlby must have been more or less of the same age. Where in the passage just cited he 'laments to his scholars', Foxe is clearly writing about Bilney the college don. But he is clearly wrong when he describes Thirlby as 'then scholar'. Thirlby must have migrated to Trinity Hall sometime after taking his bachelor's degree in 1520-1 and before taking his Doctor's Degree in 1528-9. If Thirlby had indulged in playing upon the recorder as a *scholasticus*, one imagines that those in authority would at the very least have bidden him to get rid of that instrument. But different rules applied to fellows and more especially to those who, like Thirlby, were more than once employed on legal business connected with the affairs of the university. Bilney might deplore the practice, but less puritanical dons were ready to tolerate Thirlby's recorder.



THE STREET AND DITCH WAYS IN SOUTH-EAST CAMBRIDGESHIRE

MARGARET SPUFFORD

WHEN Sir Cyril Fox brought out his study of *The Cambridge Region* in 1923, he treated the ancient trackways of the area very fully.¹ He was, however, unable to trace the line of the Street Way, the summer route lying roughly parallel to and below the Icknield Way, between Snailwell in the south-east of Cambridgeshire, and Badlingham Hall on the River Kennett. This missing section of the Way is the one running through the parish of Chippenham and its hamlet of Badlingham (Fig. 1).

The information which Fox lacked is provided by the estate maps made of Badlingham in 1659,² and Chippenham in 1712,³ which make it possible to reconstruct the line of the Way across the gap. The latter shows the course of the road across the south of the then newly created Chippenham Park. License had been obtained to block the road to form the park in 1702.⁴ An earlier survey of Chippenham in 1544 names this part of the Street Way as 'South Street'⁵ and shows that it had formed one of the built-up village streets of the village during the Middle Ages.

The Badlingham map shows that the continuation of this road did not, at least in the seventeenth century, follow the route suggested by Fox, which led northwards to Badlingham Hall, and so connected with a stretch of the Street Way leading from Badlingham to Worlington. Instead, it turned southwards. The fact that the line of this seventeenth-century road was then continued in the Herringswell parish boundary suggests that this route also was of considerable antiquity, as does the fact that it ran parallel to the course of the Icknield Way instead of swinging away from it, as the more northerly track to Badlingham Hall did. It so maintained the character of a summer route in a way that Fox's trackway did not.

There can be no doubt of the antiquity of the latter, however. It must therefore have been a fork off the Street Way. The map of Badlingham shows its line down to the hamlet boundary with Chippenham. By the eighteenth century, when the map of Chippenham was made, the next section of this trackway had disappeared. It seems, indeed, to have done so by 1544. A reconstruction of the somewhat confusing pattern of roads across the later emparked area in the sixteenth century does not show where the northern track diverged from the Street Way: it merely suggests

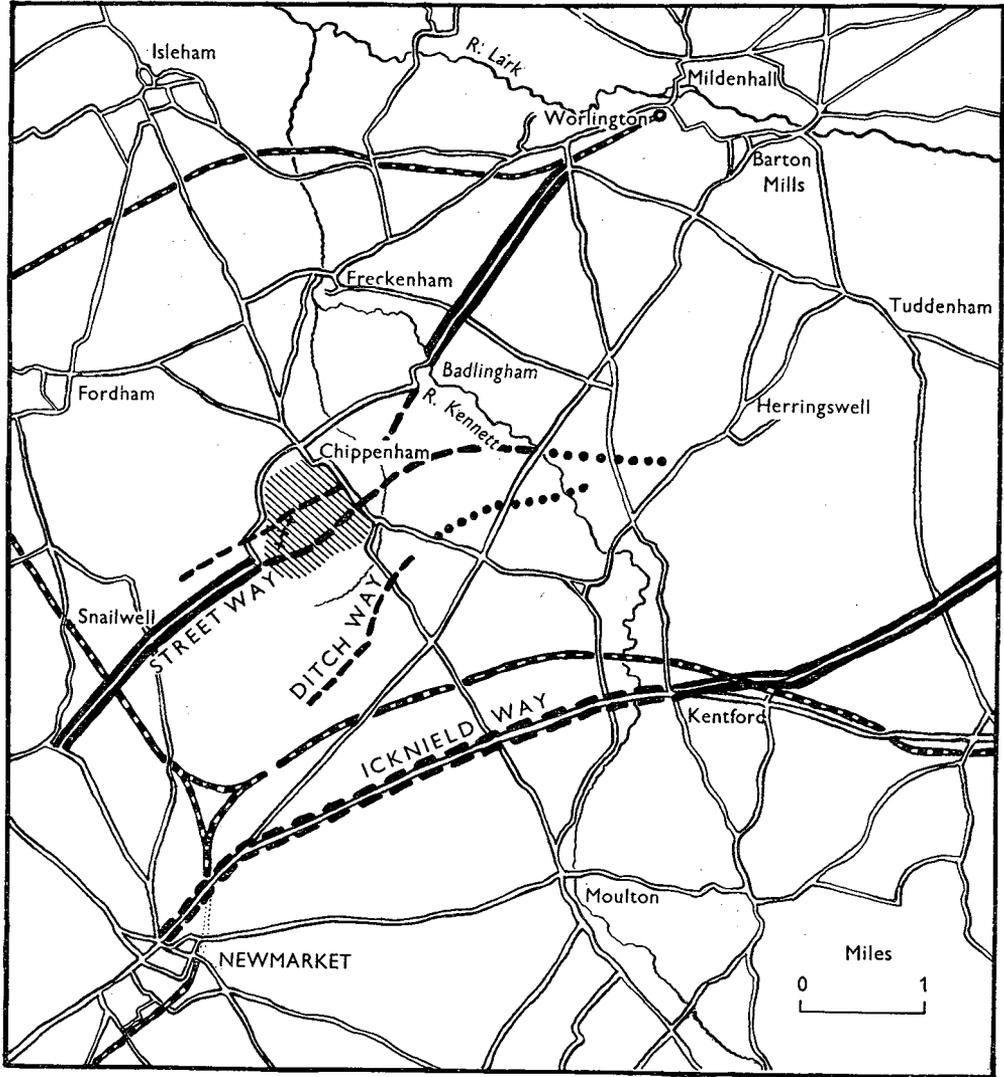
¹ Fox, *op. cit.* (1948 reissue), pp. 147-150.

² Map made available by great kindness of W. Woodward, Librarian of Spalding Gentlemen's Society.

³ Cambs. R.O. R. 58. 16. 1. ⁴ Cambs. R.O. R. 55. 7. 35. 2a. ⁵ Cambs. R.O. R. 55. 7. 5. 1 (15) fo. lv.

that it must have done so in what was to be the park, and that it perhaps originally ran along a footpath which the villagers cherished as a right-of-way through the demesne lands at the end of the Middle Ages.

Dr Reaney, in his work on *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely* understandably assumed that the route known in the two medieval cartularies of



-  Course of ways regarded as certain by Fox.
-  Course of ways postulated by Fox.
-  Significant stretches of parish boundary.
-  Course of roads shown in estate maps and surveys.
-  Footpaths shown on estate maps and surveys.

Fig. 1. Map of the Chippenham area.

Chippenham¹ as the Ditch Way or 'Dytchideweye' was in reality the Street Way.² Detailed study of the two cartularies and of the 1544 survey shows, however, that several open-field furlongs lay between the built-up Street Way, and the Ditch Way. The Ditch Way therefore formed yet another parallel route between the Icknield and Street Ways. It was of more than purely parochial significance, for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century surveys of the fields of the neighbouring village of Snailwell³ show that it continued westwards right across that parish also, although no evidence of its line to the west of Snailwell has yet been found. A slight indentation in the parish boundary between Snailwell and Chippenham,⁴ which followed the line of the Ditch Way, suggests that the Way predated the boundary. Its antiquity is also suggested by the manner in which the parish boundary of Kennett appears to continue the route eastwards, although there is a gap between its course in Chippenham and its possible continuation in the Kennett boundary, in an area transformed in the thirteenth century by enclosure for a rabbit warren.

The Ditch Way was obviously still a prominent landmark in the thirteenth century. Then, and thereafter, it formed a furlong boundary throughout its length across both Snailwell and Chippenham. Despite its prominence, I have not been able to detect on the ground in the light, chalky soils of the area, any trace of the 'ditch' which gave the track its name.

The Ditch Way therefore takes its place with the Street Way as yet another of the lower, alternative routes of the Icknield Way system.

¹ BM. Cotton Nero C IX and BM. Harl. 3697. These cartularies are mainly made up of thirteenth-century material.

² P. H. Reaney, *op. cit.* p. 30.

³ Cambs. RO. R. 55. 7. 43. 2 and R. 55. 7. 43. 5.

⁴ Smoothed out in the nineteenth century. Cambs. R.O. R. 55. 7. 45. 158 and 9.

REVIEW NOTE

A Cambridgeshire Community: Chippenham from Settlement to Enclosure. By MARGARET SPUFFORD, M.A. (Leicester University Department of Local History, Occasional Paper No. 20).

This paper has been presented to the library of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and it was thought that attention should be drawn to it, although reviews do not usually form part of these Proceedings.

Mrs Spufford has provided a history of the parish of Chippenham from the tenth to the eighteenth century. She concentrates chiefly on aspects of agricultural economy, affecting the daily life of the villagers. The figures she gives concerning the sizes of strip-fields and the total areas held by individual freeholders, the growth of tenant farming and gradual accumulation of larger blocks of land, and the very great numbers of sheep kept in the later Middle Ages, all suggest interesting possibilities for further research into medieval husbandry. No less illuminating is the evidence for a large population, leading to acute land-hunger, during the thirteenth century, followed by a horrifying drop in numbers in the following two centuries, so that the village was in an almost deserted condition. Yet contemporary records do not seem to have considered Chippenham to have fared badly at all.

It is to be hoped that this example of what can be achieved with the economic history of a local agricultural community may be followed up by others. A collection of such information on individual parishes could result in a most useful and vivid picture of conditions in medieval times. It would probably also exhibit features which could throw light on the area during earlier periods, and be of great assistance to certain aspects of current agricultural archaeology.

M. D. C.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

A. R. EDWARDSON, W. LILLER, C. F. TEBBUTT
AND G. RUDD

BEAKER AND RUSTICATED SHERDS ASSOCIATED WITH RED DEER ANTLER SOCKETS

Burnt Fen Cambridgeshire. Grid Map Ref. 615860

Butt ends of red deer antler, having the brow tine removed and the shaft of the antler bored with a hole either circular or oval, occur as surface finds in the general area of the Fens.

Since evidence exists for the use of such artifacts over a very long period from the Mesolithic to the Anglo-Saxon, the dating of such stray finds cannot be determined.

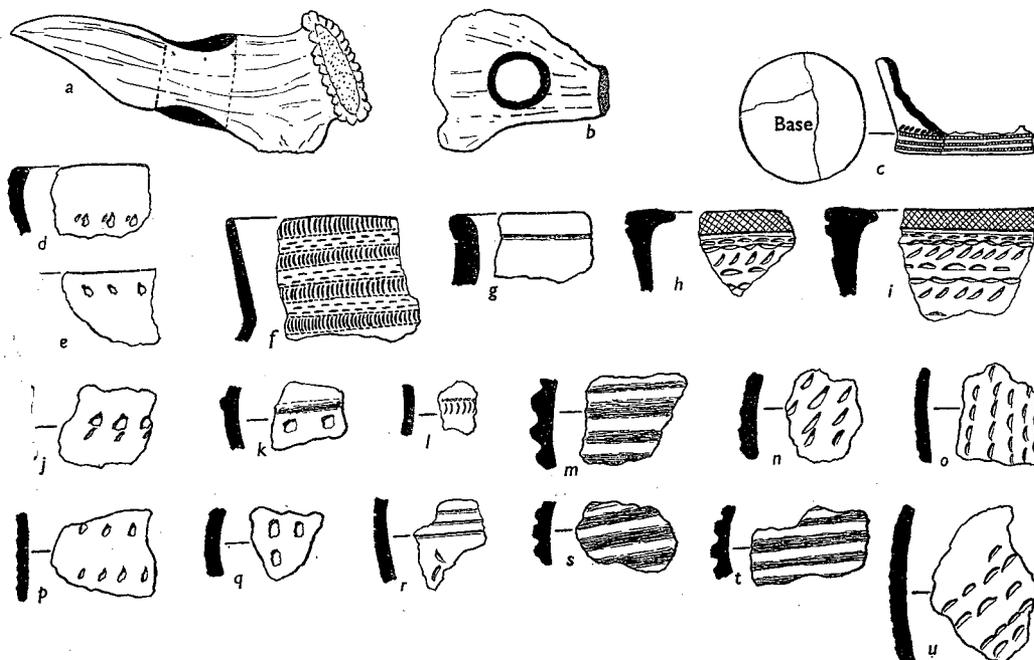


Fig. 1. Burnt Fen, Cambridgeshire: antler artifacts (*a*, *b*) and potsherds; (*d*)-(*i*) rim sherds. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

In the spring of 1965 the use of a machine to cut drainage trenches at Burnt Fen, resulted in the discovery of a number of Beaker and Rusticated sherds of the earlier portion of the second millenium B.C., in association in a pit with two red deer antler

butts, one having an oval hole cut through the shaft and the other having a circular hole. Soil conditions in the Fen favourable for the preservation of bone material, have here provided evidence of the use of antler sockets in the Beaker period. Sherds of eight different vessels are present (Fig. 1).

A. R. E.

THE ROMAN ROAD OUT OF CAMBRIDGE LEADING TO ST NEOTS

The Roman road leading from Cambridge through Caxton Gibbet and St Neots to Bushmead Priory has recently been described in considerable detail by R. W. Bagshawe and D. E. Johnston.¹ According to these authors this road, no. 231 in I. D. Margary's system,² left Cambridge from the same gate as Roman Road 23*a* and travelled almost due west, probably through the grounds of Churchill College and the University Observatories (Nat. Grid Ref. TL 428593). The first clear trace of the road appears south of Trinity Conduit Head where it coincides with the present Madingley Road (A 45).

During my year's stay in Cambridge as a Guggenheim Fellow, a sewer trench was dug from Madingley Road to the Observatories building. It ran roughly parallel to and a few yards west of the main drive and directly across the inferred path of the Roman Road.³ The depth of this trench varied from 3 to 8 ft. and permitted a careful search for metallurgy, mortar, and other signs of Roman road construction. A thorough inspection of the trench walls revealed nothing other than normal geological stratification.

The course of Roman Road 231 past the Observatories must be along the Madingley Road. From the Observatories to its termination in Cambridge, the Madingley Road never deviates more than a hundred yards from a straight line, and thus it seems quite possible that the Roman Road followed this route, turning into Durolipons with Road 23*a* just west of what is now Lady Margaret Road.

W. L.

DIDDINGTON RESERVOIR (GRAFHAM WATER)

Roman period

In October 1964 a large trench was dug mechanically south of, and parallel to, the new road from Perry to Buckden. Watch was kept on the work when it approached the vicinity of the Roman period finds recorded in the last Proceedings.

At a point (TL 163663) where the pipeline was 182 ft. from the centre of the new road and 375 ft. east of the hedge running north from Hangmans Spinney (i.e. the Diddington and Grafham parish boundary) it was noticed that many large stones had been turned out. Through the good offices of the Consulting Engineers the area was kept clear of spoil so that it could be excavated.

¹ R. W. Bagshawe and D. E. Johnston. *Roman Roads in the South-East Midlands*, by the 'Viatores' (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1964), p. 264.

² I. D. Margary. *Roman Roads in Britain* (1st edn., 1903), p. 26.

³ R. W. Bagshawe and D. E. Johnston. *Op. cit.* p. 49.

It was found that the stones had come from a road foundation about 9 in. below the present surface. We were able to expose a length of 25 ft. of this road that was undisturbed.

The construction consisted of two layers of large stones, set in clay with a surface of smaller stones also set in clay. The width remaining was 10 ft. Among the large foundation stones were two fragments of beehive querns and in the surface layer many sherds of first century pottery. Lying on the actual surface was a silver *denarius* of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) from the mint of Lugdunum, in almost unworn condition.

As the road was pointing north-north-east, almost at right-angles to the pipeline trench, roadside ditches were looked for in its vertical section. None could be seen on the west side but on the east a parallel ditch could be seen 24 ft. from the east edge of the road. It was 3 ft. wide at the top and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep. This ditch had many stones from the road filling its upper levels; near the bottom was a fourth-century coin in bad condition.

Further trenching and probing were done on the line of the road, both to the north and south, without finding more metalling. It seems probable that the road, dating from the first century, was destroyed while its accompanying ditch was still open.

About 150 ft. west of the above the black fill of a large ditch could be seen, in section, crossing the pipeline trench. Part of this was dug out by Mrs Lovell of the nearby Highfield Farm cottages and was found to contain much first-century pottery. Also recovered from it was a large bronze pin, 4 in. long, with a slightly swelled head, a plain bronze bracelet, a bronze brooch (Collingwood Group M, first-century type), and a coarse bone needle.

In making a car park on the north side of the new Perry road, nearly opposite the above site, a cremation burial, in a small wooden box, was destroyed. Sherds from a Samian vessel were all that could be recovered. Mr B. Hartley, M.A., F.S.A., kindly examined these and describes the vessel as Form 18/31 Central Gaulish (probably from Les Martres de Veyre). The mark is]F[ELI]X.F[, and early Antonine.

The implication of the discovery of this Roman road is of some interest in view of the recently published work *Roman Roads in the South East Midlands* by the Viatores, (Gollancz, 1964). In this book the authors trace the line of a supposed Roman road from the neighbourhood of Bedford to Alconbury Hill, Huntingdonshire (173 d. ps. 435,436.). On the right-hand map on p. 436, at Rushey Farm, the authors have suggested a new alignment northward to bring their road to Gaynes Hall and on through Grafham. I suggest that had the alignment south of Rushey Farm been continued it would have brought their road to the place of our discovery from where our excavated length pointed north-north-east to Model Farm, Grafham, a mile away. Further evidence for this new line came from the aerial survey of the Diddington Reservoir area, kindly lent me by the Consulting Engineer. This showed a white streak, starting from Gaynes Lodge Farm and continuing north-east to Hangmans Spinney, and pointing directly at our section.

Late Medieval

In 1965 Mr P. G. Dickinson, F.S.A., told me of a large scatter of tiles and brick-kiln rubbish at the west end of the reservoir. On visiting the site (TL. 133681) I found an acre or so of thickly scattered brickyard waste as well as remains of laid brick floors and circular areas of burnt clay representing kiln bases.

The main bulk of waste material consisted of broken plain tiles, 7 in. wide with two nail holes punched with square hole, 2 in. building bricks, 9×9 in. and $4\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ in. floor tiles, and half-round ridge tiles. Among a number of unusual items were 9×9 in. green-glazed floor tiles, two crude crucible-like vessels, and what appeared to be a trial firing of a tile moulded in relief with the figure of an heraldic falcon.

A quantity of pottery was found among the rubble, all unglazed of fifteenth- to sixteenth-century date.

Finds from both sites are in the Norris Museum, St. Ives.

C. F. T.

EARTHWORKS ON TORT HILL, SAWTRY, HUNTINGDON

Early in 1965 Mr E. W. Joyce of Sawtry drew our attention to an unusual earthwork in a field called Hodges Close which encloses the summit of Tort Hill in Sawtry (52/173842). This field is in the south angle formed by the road leading out of the north end of Sawtry village to the A 1 road, and the northbound carriageway of that road. In 1939, when the earthworks for this carriageway were excavated, a number of finds of the Roman period were made by Dr Garood (*Cambs. and Hunts. Arch. Soc. Trans.* VI (1943), p. 178). Since then Mr Joyce has found Roman pottery in the west bank of this cutting.

The earthwork itself comprises an approximately circular bank (the diameter varies from 84 to 100 ft.) surrounding a hollow from which the soil to form the bank may well have come. From its prominent position on top of the hill it commands extensive views both to the north and south and over the fenland to the east.

The circle is enclosed, at some distance, by a square bank and ditch, of which the south-east corner was destroyed by the road cutting. Air photographs of the site show another small square ditched enclosure, outside the main enclosure, but attached to the west side of its north ditch and extending into the roadside hedge (Pl. X).

In June 1965, with the kind permission of the Heathcote Estate and the tenant Mr Hunting, and with the help of Mr Joyce and his family and friends, a trial excavation was done to test the suggestion that the earthwork might be a Roman signal station.

First a cutting was made through the north bank of the large square enclosure, near the north-east corner. Here the bank was found to be a slight one with a shallow ditch on each side. A few small sherds of Roman pottery were found in the turf core of the bank, showing that it could not be of pre-Roman date.

The next cut was made from the approximate centre of the hollow circle northward to half way through the enclosing bank. The bank was found to be of clay,

sealing an old land surface. From this old surface came several sherds of a green and yellow glazed medieval jug, and one of green Stamford ware, all of the thirteenth century.

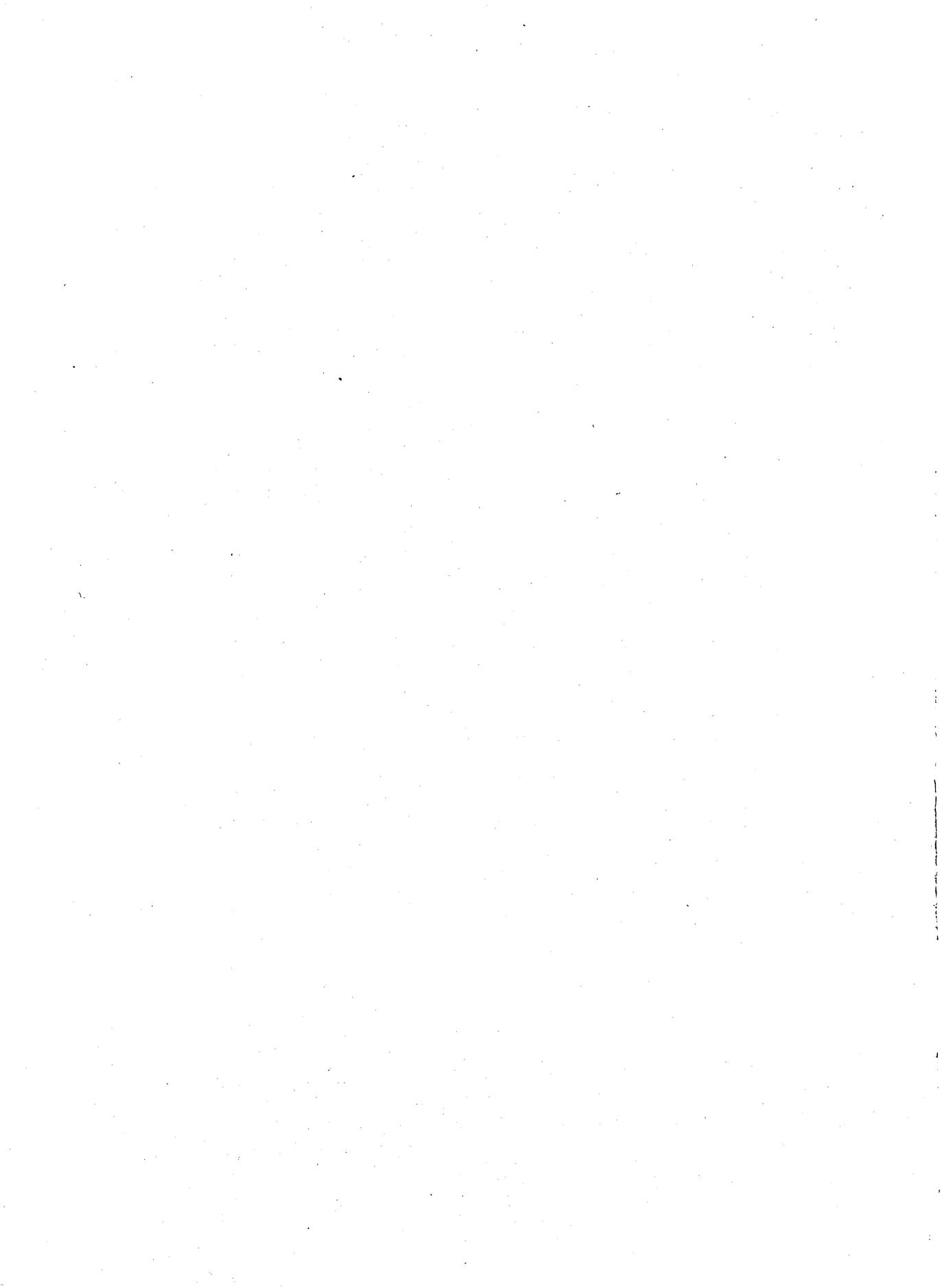
A third cut was made across the west ditch of the small square appendage enclosure, but nothing datable was found.

The evidence from the excavation would seem to show that this complex of earthworks, which appear to be homogeneous, cannot be earlier than the thirteenth century, and—from the complete absence of any finds actually associated with them—are probably not of a domestic character. From their dominant position overlooking the Great North Road it seems likely that they have some connexion with it, and it has been suggested that they may date from the Civil War.

C.F.T and G.R.



Tort Hill, Sawtry, winter 1963. The earthwork can be seen at the intersection of the marginal arrows.



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