

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
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SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)

VOLUME LXIV

JANUARY 1972 TO DECEMBER 1973



IMRAY LAURIE NORIE AND WILSON

1973

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N O T I C E

Volume LXIV covers two years, 1972-1973.

The delay was the result of the procedures involved in the change to a different printing process.

The Editor hopes as a result to be able to produce a volume considerably larger than usual in 1974.

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THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S ROOM

The Society's books, MSS., photographs, etc., are kept in a room on the first floor of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. This is locked, but the key can be obtained from the Secretary's room which is also on the first floor, or from any of the Museum staff. Members are reminded that the Society's room is available to them whenever the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology is open, and that books, including a run of the Society's *Proceedings*, may be borrowed. Members also retain their right to read in the Haddon Library, which will be found on the first floor of the adjacent building. The Hon. Librarian reminds members of the usefulness of these resources. The books include all the principal publications dealing with shire history and topography for Cambridgeshire, some material for Huntingdonshire and for neighbouring counties. Prime sources like the collections of early topographical drawings and manuscript histories are included.

THE PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD

The photographic record has an excellent series of prints of parish churches, and of villages. The Hon. Librarian would like to appeal to members to photograph changes which they may observe in villages in the area, and to be kind enough to give prints and negatives to the collection. Modest additions are made by the Hon. Librarian as the product of his own travels in the shire, but much wider coverage is desirable. Colour transparencies would also be welcome.

BACK NUMBERS OF THE 'PROCEEDINGS'

Members might like to know that a considerable stock of back numbers of the *Proceedings* and other C.A.S. publications can be obtained from the publishers, Imray Laurie Norie and Wilson.

AN IRON AGE SITE ON THE LAND OF THE PLANT BREEDING INSTITUTE, TRUMPINGTON

IAIN DAVIDSON¹ AND GODFREY J. CURTIS²

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of the excavation was to investigate a pronounced cropmark (Pl. I) in sugar beet trials in 1969 at the Plant Breeding Institute (Grid ref. TL 434545). The mark had been known from aerial photographs since 1954.

It was hoped to explore the potentialities of the site as a source of archaeological samples of faunal and floral remains, for the estimation of the economy of an area during the Iron Age.

RESULTS

The Excavations

Two main areas were excavated in October–November 1969 to investigate the circular enclosure. Evidence was recovered of three phases of ditched enclosure, and an earlier, narrow ditch on a different line (Figs. 1 and 2).

Section 1 shows the earliest phase of the enclosure ditch (site Phase 2), cut from the top of sandy gravel, and subsequently cut by another ditch of similar depth (Phase 2*a*). These ditches, when filled, were finally cut by a shallower ditch (Phase 3), on a slightly different line, but at this point within the limits of the earlier cuttings.

In the small area excavated, it was difficult to be certain whether the surface uncovered below the topsoil was an original ground level at the time any of the ditches was cut. The effects of leaching on this gravelly soil are very rapid, and no traces of contemporary humus were evident. There were no internal features in the area excavated, but the slope of the ditches suggests that this might not be the case in all areas.

Section 2 shows the narrow ditch (Phase 1), cut from below the top of the earliest phase of the circular enclosure. The effects of leaching again make it difficult to judge the nature of the ground surface at the time of cutting. This ditch was sealed by a gravelly deposit, but there was no other indication of date.

¹ Selwyn College, Cambridge.

² Plant Breeding Institute, Cambridge.



Plate I. Trumpington, Plant Breeding Institute. Cropmark in sugar-beet crop, 1969.
Copyright, Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography

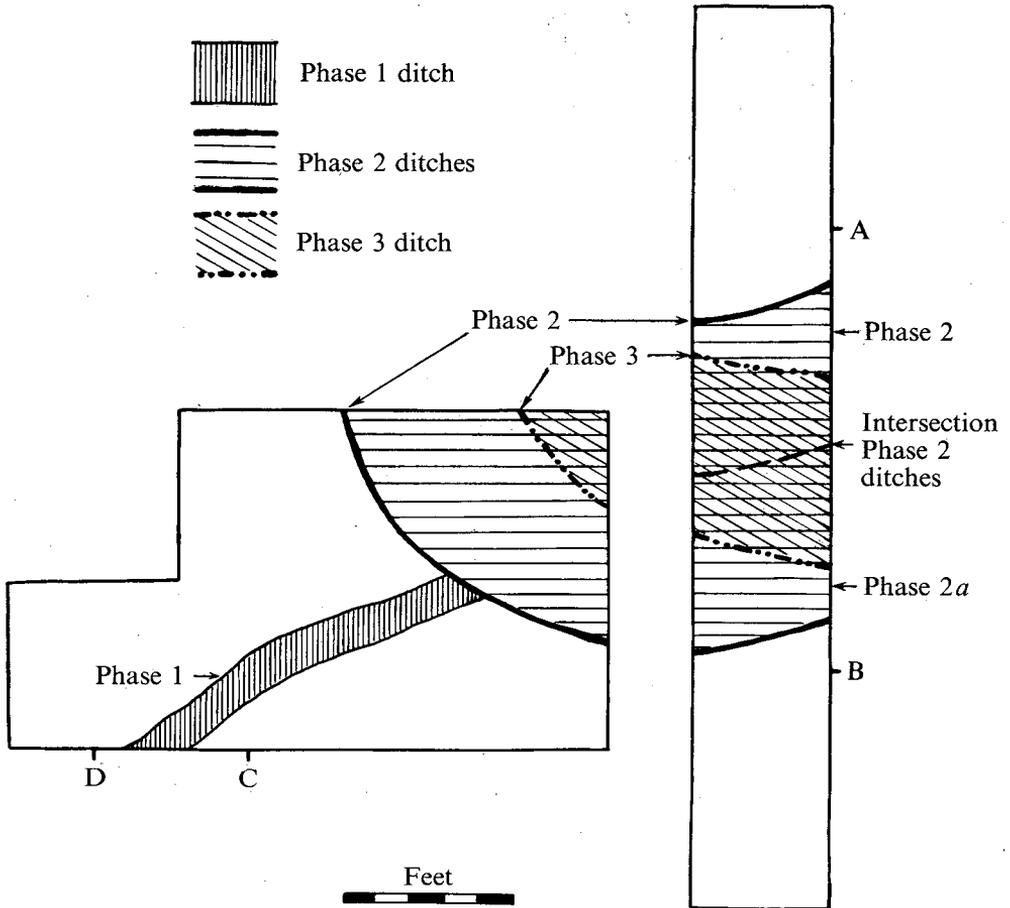


Fig. 1. Plan of main excavation area.

Dating

The dating at the site depends for the most part on two sherds. The first (Fig. 3) is an Iron Age A sherd from the primary silt of the Phase 2 ditch; it is similar to one well described at Hunsbury¹ as 'Sherd of coarse, buff-coloured, corky ware. Paste contains dark flecks. . . outer surface ornamented with deep parallel scratches, about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. apart, running diagonally. . . Fracture has run along these lines.' The Hunsbury material was not well stratified, and Miss Fell implies that it could have almost any date in the pre-Roman Iron Age, probably before introduction of wheel-made pottery.

¹ C. I. Fell, 'The Hunsbury Hill-fort, Northants', *Arch. Jour.* XCIII (1937).

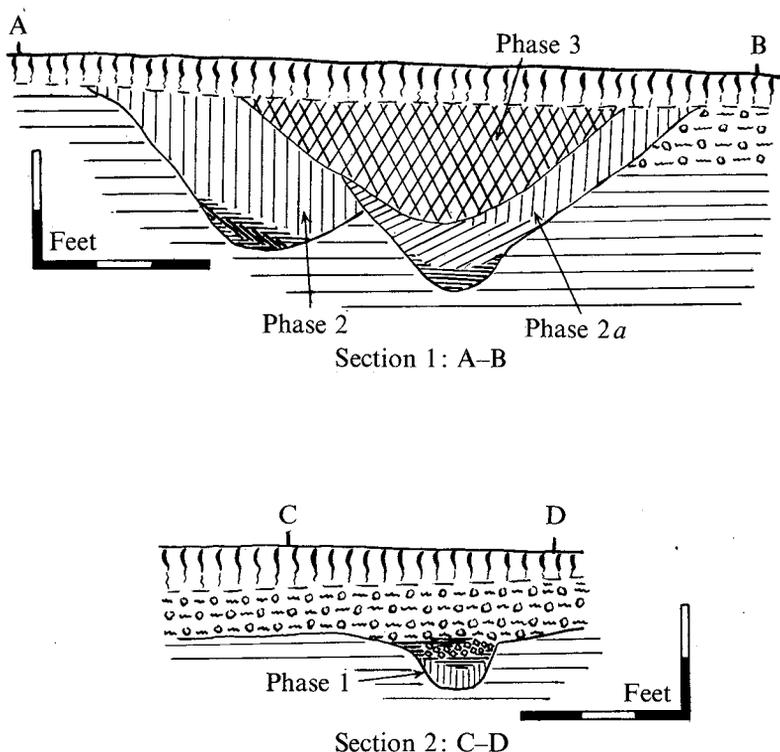


Fig. 2. Sections in main excavation area.

A similar sherd is illustrated from the New Addenbrooke's Hospital site,¹ which is said to be late. Further dating of this latter site is based on comparison with other quadrangular Iron Age enclosures. The Plant Breeding Institute enclosure, however, is circular, although the pottery may be compared in date with that from the New Addenbrooke's site. It is suggested that Iron Age enclosures of different types may be contemporary in Wiltshire,² and the typology of Cambridge sites may confirm this. Neither site can be dated with certainty as late in the Iron Age.

The second sherd of importance for dating the site is a fragment of Terra Sigillata, probably of the first century A.D., from the Phase 3 ditch. The other Romano-British pottery found on the site may be as late as A.D. 150. The Phase 3 ditch, however, contains some handmade native Iron Age wares, some of which may be derived from

¹ M. D. Cra'ster, 'New Addenbrooke's Iron Age Site, Long Rd, Cambridge', *P.C.A.S.* LXII (1969).

² H. C. Bowen and P. J. Fowler, 'Romano-British Rural Settlements in Dorset and Wiltshire', in C. Thomas (ed.), *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, C.B.A. Research Report VII (1966).

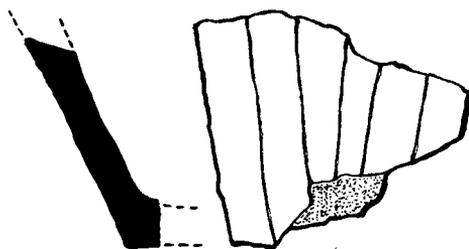


Fig. 3. Iron Age potsherd. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ (approx.).

the cutting of this ditch through the earlier phases. They include a fragment similar to that illustrated (Fig. 3), which could be contemporary with the Terra Sigillata. Thus Phase 3 cannot be earlier than the Roman period, but we cannot say that any phase of the site is certainly early in the Iron Age.

There is no trace of Belgic pottery on the site. This is often the case with many of the excavated sites round Cambridge, and in fact dating of these has usually been based on the presence or absence of Belgic pottery. However, there is no evidence at Trumpington that native, Iron Age A traditions did not continue through the Belgic period and the Roman invasion, without Belgic or significant Roman influence.

Animal bones

Only 68 bones were excavated which could be identified. Of these, 26 came from Phase 3 where the preservation was good. A more useful sample might be obtained from more extensive excavation. The minimum number of animals represented was 10, and of these 6 were from Phase 3. For the purposes of this discussion all phases will be considered together.

Horse, cattle, and sheep/goat were present in Phases 2 and 3, but only sheep/goat in Phase 1. Of the 10 bones which could be aged, only 1 sheep and possibly 2 horses did not survive the first winter, whereas only 1 example each of cattle and sheep definitely survived the second.¹ Only 2 bones (cattle, both from Phase 3) were complete

TABLE 1. *Measurements of cattle bones from Phase 3 of the settlement*

	Maximum length	Anterior/posterior width
Lower 3rd molar	28 mm	—
1st phalanx	58 mm	25 mm

¹ J. M. Ewbank *et al.*, 'Sheep in the Iron Age: a Method of Study', *P.P.S.* xxx (1964).

enough to give useful measurements, and these suggested very small size (Table 1). The tooth is as small as the smallest range which Degerbøl¹ quotes for medieval cattle, and smaller than his Iron Age cattle. The 1st phalanx is shorter than the smallest of Higham's modern comparative Aberdeen Angus bulls,² but about average for cows; it is narrower than the smallest of either sex.

There was no trace of pig, or of wild animals.

Plant and microfaunal remains

About 100 kg soil were taken from the lowest part of the infilling of the Phase 2 ditches. After air-drying it was processed in the flotation cell³ and the organic detritus held on a 0.03 mm mesh was examined at a magnification of 50 diameters. Table 2 and Fig. 4 show the species of seed identified and their relative abundance. Other

TABLE 2. *Seeds recovered from infilling deposits in a ditch of an Iron Age site at Plant Breeding Institute, Cambridge*

Species	Relative frequency (+ present; ++ frequent)	Habit
<i>Polygonum convolvulus</i>	++	Annual herb
<i>P. aviculare</i>	++	Annual herb
<i>P.</i> hybrids of intermediate character	++	Annual herb
<i>Veronica hederifolia</i>	+	Annual herb
<i>Stellaria media</i>	++	Annual herb
<i>Melandrium album</i>	+	Annual/short-lived perennial herb
<i>Sambucus nigra</i>	+	Shrub of disturbed soil
<i>Viola</i> sp.	++	Annual herb
<i>Papaver</i> sp.	++	Annual herb
<i>Plantago</i> sp.	+	Perennial
<i>Carex</i> sp.	++	Perennial marsh
<i>Senecio</i> sp.	+	Dependent on species
<i>Chenopodium</i> sp.	+	Dependent on species
<i>Rumex</i> sp.	+	Dependent on species

¹ M. Degerbøl, 'Prehistoric Cattle in Denmark and Adjacent Areas', in A. E. Mourant and F. E. Zeuner (eds.), *Man and Cattle*, R.A.I. Occasional Papers XVIII (1963).

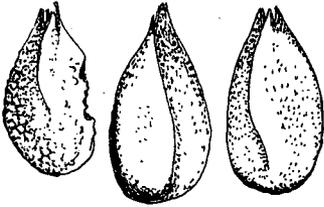
² C. F. W. Higham, 'Metrical Attributes of Two Samples of Bovine Limb-bones'. *Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond.* CLVII (1).

³ H. N. Jarman, A. J. Legge and J. Charles, 'A Flotation-cell for the Complete Recovery of Plant Remains from Archaeological Sites', 1971 *in litt.*

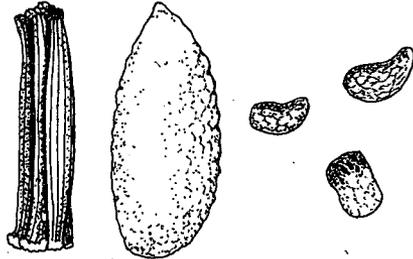


Melandrium album

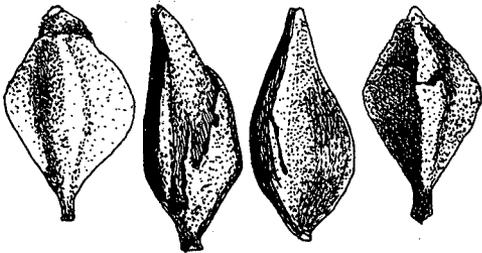
Stellaria media



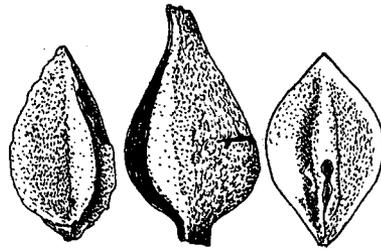
Viola sp.



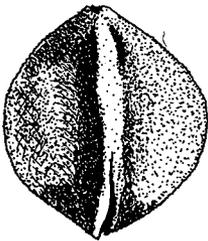
*Senecio (vulgaris?) Sambucus Papaver (dubium?)
nigra*



Polygonum aviculare



Polygonum arenostrium



Polygonum convolvulus



Rumex sp.



Fig. 4. Seeds recovered from the infilling of the ditch.

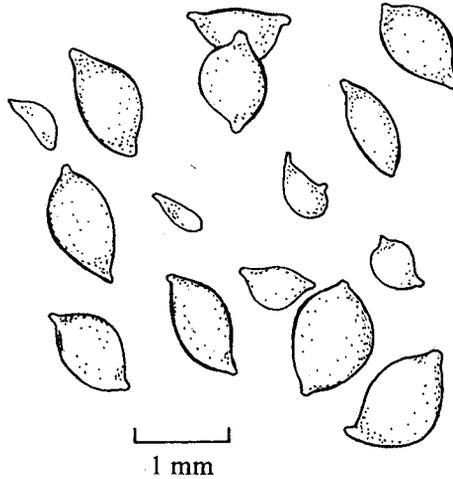


Fig. 5. Range of shape among nematode cysts recovered from the infilling of the ditch.

pieces of plant material, notably tiny fragments of apparently carbonized wood, and similar remains, were not identified.

Empty cysts of plant parasitic Nematodes¹ (Fig. 5), particularly *Heterodera* species, were abundant and indicated a level of concentration of the order of 200 cysts per 100 g soil sampled. The state of preservation varied, and it was not possible to gauge

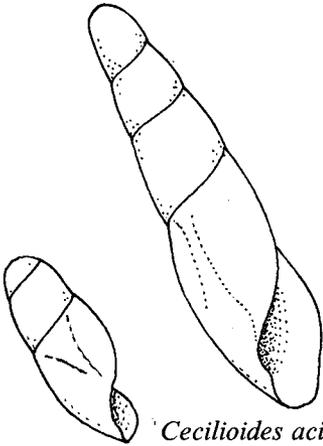
TABLE 3. *Species of snail from infilling deposits in the ditch of an Iron Age site at Plant Breeding Institute, Cambridge*

Species	Relative frequency (+ present; ++ frequent)	Habit
<i>Ceciliooides acicula</i>	++	Dry/damp land burrowing
<i>Hygromia hispida</i>	++	Predominantly dry land
<i>Vallonia costata</i>	++	Dry land
<i>Cochlicopa lubrica</i>	+	Damp land
<i>Planorbis planorbis</i>	+	Aquatic
<i>Bithynia tentaculata</i>	+	Aquatic

¹ *Nematodes* – a large group including roundworms and eelworms.

Gastropods – the group of molluscs comprising snails.

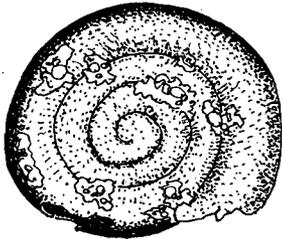
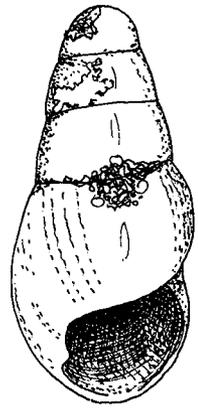
Arthropods – a group including insects, centipedes and millipedes, spiders, woodlice, etc., etc.



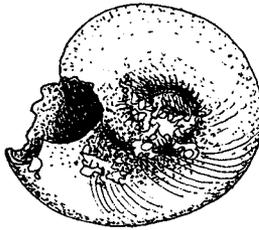
Cecilioides acicula



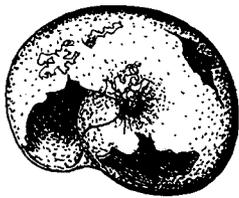
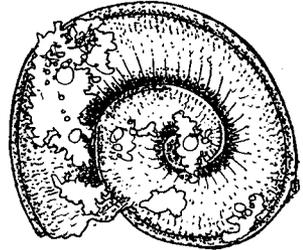
Cochlicopa lubrica



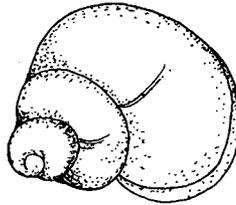
Hygromia hispida



Planorbis planorbis



Vallonia costata



Bithynia tentaculata



Fig. 6. Snails recovered from the infilling of the ditch.

how many generations of nematode were represented in the sample. By contrast, topsoil in the same area contains 8 cysts per 100 g and all cysts are new and contain eggs.

Gastropods were present (Table 3 and Fig. 6), and quantities of exoskeletal remains of Arthropods, including beetle elytra, chelae of *Pseudoscorpiones* and abdominal segments of insects, occurred which were not further identified.¹

Other finds

Flint blades and a blade core, still retaining the cortex of the parental nodule, were found at the bottom of the ditch of Phase 2a.

There were two fragments of saddle quern from Phase 3.

Other periods

In addition to the areas already discussed, an area to the south was excavated, after the topsoil had been removed mechanically. The feature revealed was outside the scope and purpose of the excavation. The exposed surface of a scooped-out area had been burnt, and subsequently filled with clean sand. Glass, pottery and slag, possibly from the railway, suggest a nineteenth-century date. This site may be connected with the coprolite digging which took place early in the twentieth century in this area.

DISCUSSION

It must be emphasized that these excavations were only exploratory, since subsoiling operations were about to be carried out over the site. However, in the event the depth of these does not appear to have disturbed many archaeological features, and the cropmarks were still visible in the summer of 1970. It is quite clear that the cropmark is directly due to the ditches cut in the gravel. The dry summer had severely reduced soil moisture and, in this area of gravelly soil, had resulted in crop failure. The ditches, however, containing relatively more moisture, stood out from the area of greater drought. A recent land drain, again a disturbed soil, stood out in a similar way.

The geological survey for the Western Cambridge By-pass (1970) indicated that, outside the gravel ridge here, peat and clay are the normal subsoils; it is likely that this was a major factor in the location of the site. Another site in Trumpington, under the old recreation ground, is also on gravel, as are the Arbury Road and Hauxton

¹ *Elytra* – beetle outer wings; *Chelae* – pincers; *Pseudoscorpiones* – a group related to spiders.

sites. The hill-forts at Cherry Hinton¹ and Wandlebury,² and the New Addenbrooke's settlement are on high ground and also on chalk, another well-drained subsoil. Clearly a site near the river, in an area notoriously liable to flood, should be on well-drained land. The records of Cantelupe Farm, just across the river, indicate that crops have often been destroyed by flooding, even in the last twenty years despite drainage.

The location

Any attempt to compare the spatial distribution of suspected contemporary archaeological sites clearly depends on the criteria used to date them; we have already suggested that in this area the establishment of pottery typologies may not give a very precise dating. Although the site at the Plant Breeding Institute has a sequence of at least four occupations, covering an indefinite period, up to three of these phases may be contemporary in most archaeological terms with the New Addenbrooke's site. Supposing that all or most of the Iron Age sites in this area have now been located, we can consider the implications if they represent an approximation to the total economic exploitation of this area during that period. It is not necessary to consider minor variations, but rather the broadest relevant picture, since short-term variations may frequently be the result of unsuccessful exploitations.³ The map (Fig. 7) gives the distribution of sites, based on the O.S. map of Iron Age Britain.⁴ Not all these sites are of the same type, but a hill-fort and a simple enclosure can be compared in this survey, since they are both bases for economic exploitation. (Wandlebury has provided evidence, from a large bone sample, of domestic activity.) It is clear that there is a regularity of spacing of 1-1½ miles, and that each is about equidistant from Castle Hill, Cambridge. This distance agrees with present-day estimates for the radius of modern intensive agricultural exploitation,⁵ and the spacing from Castle Hill may relate to the early growth and importance of Cambridge. More detailed aspects of the economic situation of these Iron Age sites are being considered, but require to be supported by the results of further excavation.

¹ D. A. White, 'Excavations at the War Ditches, Cherry Hinton 1961-2, and 1949-51', *P.C.A.S.* LVI-LVII (1964).

² B. R. Hartley, 'The Wandlebury Iron Age Hill-fort', *P.C.A.S.* LI (1957).

³ C. Vita-Finzi and E. S. Higgs, 'Prehistoric Exploitation in the Mt. Carmel Area: a Site Catchment Analysis', *P.P.S.* xxxvi (1970).

⁴ Ordnance Survey, *Map of Southern Britain in the Iron Age* (1962), and C. Fox, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1948).

⁵ M. Chisholm, *Rural Settlement and Land Use* (1962), p. 42.

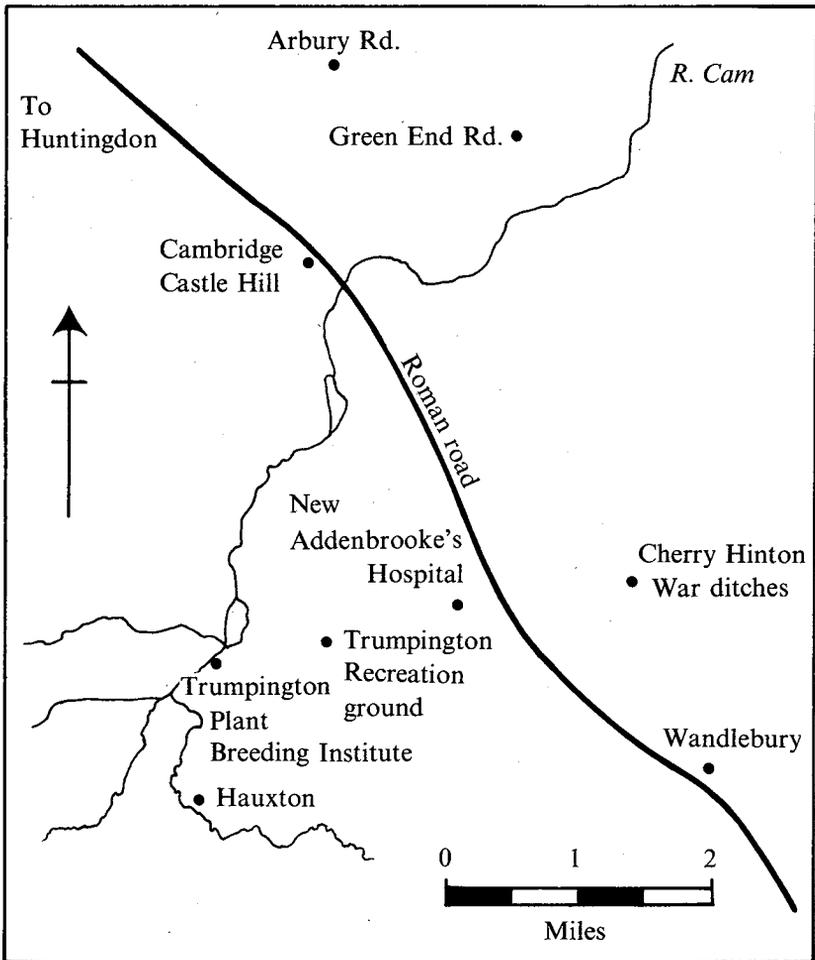


Fig. 7. Distribution of Iron Age sites in the vicinity of Cambridge.

Plant and microfaunal evidence

Soil samples taken from specific horizons can still be contaminated by the action of such agents as earthworms and other soil fauna. Grass seeds, for example, have been recovered from depths of several feet.¹ Nevertheless, from the poor state of preserva-

¹ E. J. M. Kirby (Plant Physiologist, Plant Breeding Institute, Cambridge), personal communication.

tion of the seed and from the condition of the other organic remains, much of the detritus examined here must have collected in the ditches during the period of occupation. All the seeds upon which any significance has been placed were black and corroded and appeared to be reduced to carbon.

The majority of the species represented are annuals which establish seedlings on open ground in conditions of little competition, so their presence would agree with any of the following situations existing at the site during the period of occupation. In the first place, since all the species are common weeds of arable crops at the present time, their presence would support a view that the area was similarly utilized then. Secondly, similar weeds might be expected to occur in a domestic area, where broken ground was repeatedly colonized by weeds, following mechanical clearing or fire. Lastly, in view of the close proximity of the river, it is possible that winter flooding could cause areas of barren ground which would become colonized by a similar plant community during the rest of the year. The presence of *Veronica hederifolia*, however, a plant of well-drained land, and which grows actively over winter, argues against this last possibility.

The absence of any cereal grains in what, from other evidence, is clearly a settled community, is disappointing, but it must be emphasized here that members of the Polygonaceae were themselves exploited at this period as a food source. Thus Helbaek¹ identified *P. lapathifolium* and *P. convolvulus* in the stomach of the Tollund man and the Graubelle man of Iron Age Denmark. It is possible that Polygonum species were actually grown as crops (cf. buckwheat, *Fagopyrum esculentum*), and that at the present site they were themselves part of an arable system.

The relative abundance of the *Heterodera* cysts is hard to explain. It could be that they were washed down into the ditch and therefore accumulated; certainly a few live cysts from the surface layers were found contaminating the sample. Such populations occurring in topsoil would indicate infestation levels severely damaging to the host plant, and might suggest continuous cropping. Most of the cysts appear to be *H. avenae*, but some *H. schachtii* occur. The presence of *H. avenae* is not significant because it infects most wild and cultivated grasses. The host range of *H. schachtii* includes all British Chenopodiaceae (beet family) and a large part of the Cruciferae, in particular the Brassicas (cabbage tribe). It is also found occasionally on some Polygonaceae. It is worth noting that *Chenopodium album*, a host plant, is thought to have been cultivated in Iron Age Denmark,² and *Chenopodium* seed fragments were recovered from the Trumpington site. However, given good conditions for the

¹ H. Helbaek, 'Tollund mandens sidste maaltid', *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1950), and 'Prehistoric Food Plants and Weeds in Denmark', *Danm. Geologiske Undersøgelse*, 11 R. 80.

² H. Helbaek, 'Comment on *Chenopodium* as a Food Plant in Prehistory', *Ber. D. Geobot. Inst. Rübel, Zurich*, xxxi, 16.

preservation of chitin¹ (which might occur in the mud of a water-filled ditch), accumulation of cysts over many years might quite erroneously produce the impression of high populations of the nematode.

The evidence from the snail species indicates that the ditch was water-filled (*Bithynia* and *Planorbis* are exclusively aquatic), and that the surrounding area must have been well drained for shells of land snails like *Vallonia* and *Hygromia* to have accumulated in the ditch. The burrowing snail *Cecilioides*, however, can reach depths of several feet, so that its presence here may be recent.

SUMMARY

The site was occupied in several different phases, of which four are revealed by the present excavations. The circular enclosure probably spans the period of the Roman conquest. The large rectangular enclosure, visible on the aerial photograph, was not examined.

One sherd type indicates affinities with another site in the area, and with the site at Hunsbury. It is suggested that the people may have been a native community, relatively uninfluenced by Belgic or Roman cultures.

Plant and animal remains allow speculation on the original economy of the site in particular and the area in general, and it is suggested that the site has potential for further investigation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to Dr G. D. H. Bell, Director of the Plant Breeding Institute, and to all the members of his staff who helped us; to Mr Anthony Pemberton for access to farm records; to Professor J. G. D. Clark for his active participation, and to Mr E. S. Higgs and Miss Mary Cra'ster for their help in many ways. We are particularly indebted for identifications to Mr R. Bishop (pottery), Dr Christine E. Quartley and Mrs Gay Wilson (seeds), and Mr B. W. Sparks (snails).

Notes are deposited at Cambridge in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, and the finds in the Plant Breeding Institute, Cambridge.

¹ A compound allied to cellulose; it is the main component of *Arthropod* exoskeleton and is a major constituent of the wall of nematode cysts.

ROMAN GODMANCHESTER

H. J. M. GREEN

Part III: Emmanuel Knoll

SUMMARY

THE excavation in 1971 of the roadside mound on which Emmanuel Knoll tree formerly stood showed the mound to be a natural feature accidentally formed by nineteenth-century ditching round the base of the tree. However, much additional information was obtained about the nearby excavation in 1914 of the original tumulus called Emmanuel Knoll, including unpublished grave goods. This material is published here together with a reassessment of the original discovery. This comprised a primary in-urned cremation with accompanying grave goods. The burial dates to the late second or early third century.

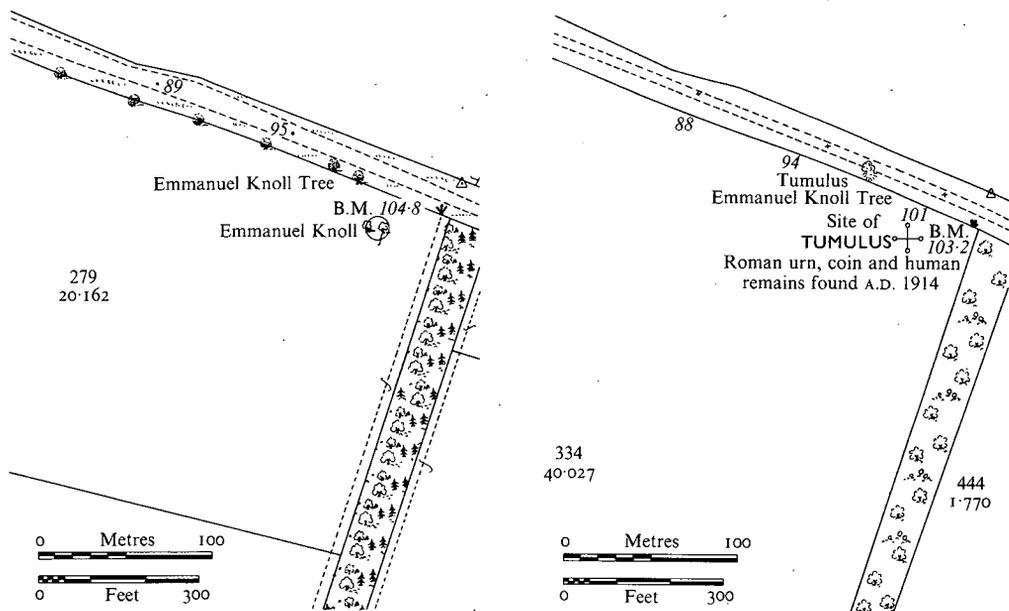
INTRODUCTION

The proposal by the Eastern Road Construction Unit of the Department of the Environment to improve the A 604 east of Godmanchester in 1972-3 necessitated the removal of the roadside mound on which Emmanuel Knoll tree formerly stood. This mound which lies immediately south of the road about a mile outside the town (TL 265701), had long been considered to be a tumulus¹ and was a Scheduled Ancient Monument (Fig. 1*a*). Arrangements were therefore made for its excavation, which were carried out over a period of a week in August of 1971. The work was supervised for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society by the writer and was financed by a grant from the Department of the Environment.

The field lying to the south of the mound is farmed by Mr Edward Page, who is the last survivor of the group who watched the excavation of the nearby tumulus, known as Emmanuel Knoll,² on his father's land in 1914 (Fig. 1*b*). Although unfamiliar with the published report, his clear memory of this boyhood event confirms and substantially amplifies our knowledge of the original excavation. The late Mr Inskip Ladds, the architect, made careful measurements of the structure at the

¹ S. Inskip Ladds, 'Excavation at Emmanuel Knoll, Godmanchester, Hunts.', *Trans. C. and H. Arch. Soc.* iv (1915), 16. C. Fox, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 198. *R.C.H.M. Hunts.* (1926), p. xxxiii and p. 116.

² Stukeley's Diaries and Letters, *Publications of the Surtees Society* II (1883), 218-19. Ladds, *loc. cit.* pp. 14-16. Fox, *op. cit.* p. 195. *V.C.H. Hunts.* I (1926), 254 and pl. II, 4. *R.C.H.M. Hunts.* (1926), p. xxxiii and p. 106. G. C. Dunning & R. I. Jessup, 'Roman barrows', *Antiquity* xxxvii (1936), 50.



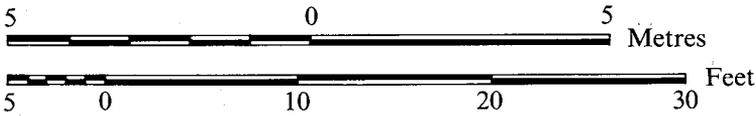
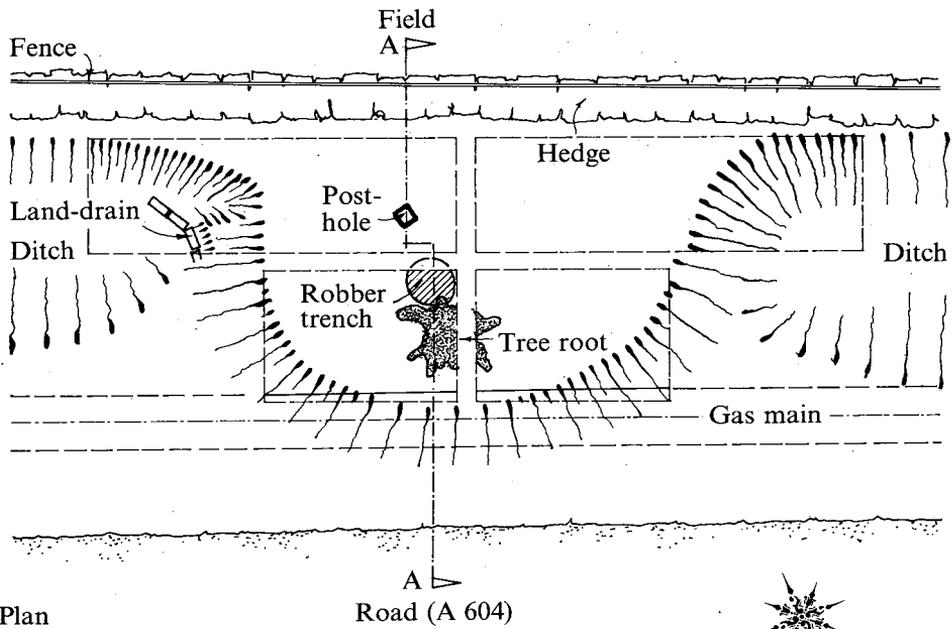
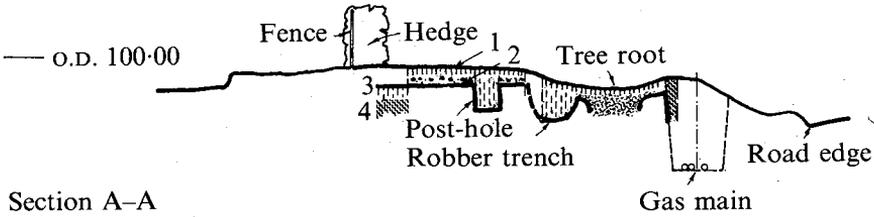
° Fig. 1. Emmanuel Knoll; site plan.
 (a) O.S. 1888. (b) O.S. 1926.

time. Using these together with his description and that of Mr Page it has been possible to reconstruct the mound and burial (Fig. 3). The reconstruction is necessarily somewhat schematic, but is believed to be substantially correct.

The deficiencies of the 1915 account were apparently due to an unfortunate incident which, understandably, did not feature in the report. Shortly after the discovery of the burial urn, the decorum of the inspecting party of antiquarians was disturbed by an acrimonious exchange about the ownership of the pot. This led to the precipitate exit of the visitors before the excavation could be properly completed and the remaining grave goods discovered.

Both former mounds lie near the top of a spur of high ground, at about 100.00 ft O.D., overlooking the Great Ouse river valley and the town of Godmanchester. The subsoil is a brown-blue chalky boulder clay (C horizon) with a yellow-brown weathered boulder clay (B horizon) above. The latter is known locally (but geologically incorrectly) as 'gault' and contains chalk and flint. Where preserved under the roadside hedge the 'gault' (layer 3, Fig. 2) is 1 ft 6 in. thick and has a 12 in. soil cover (A horizon). In the adjoining field the plough soil is also about 12 in. thick, but comparison of the relative levels suggests that the old weathered B horizon has largely been ploughed out in the last century or so, with perhaps a considerable soil creep downhill.

Godmanchester
Emmanuel
Knoll tree 1971



- ▨ Clay
- ▨ Clayey loam
- ▨ Gravel
- ▨ Wood fibre

Fig. 2. Emmanuel Knoll tree.

Godmanchester
Emmanuel Knoll 1914

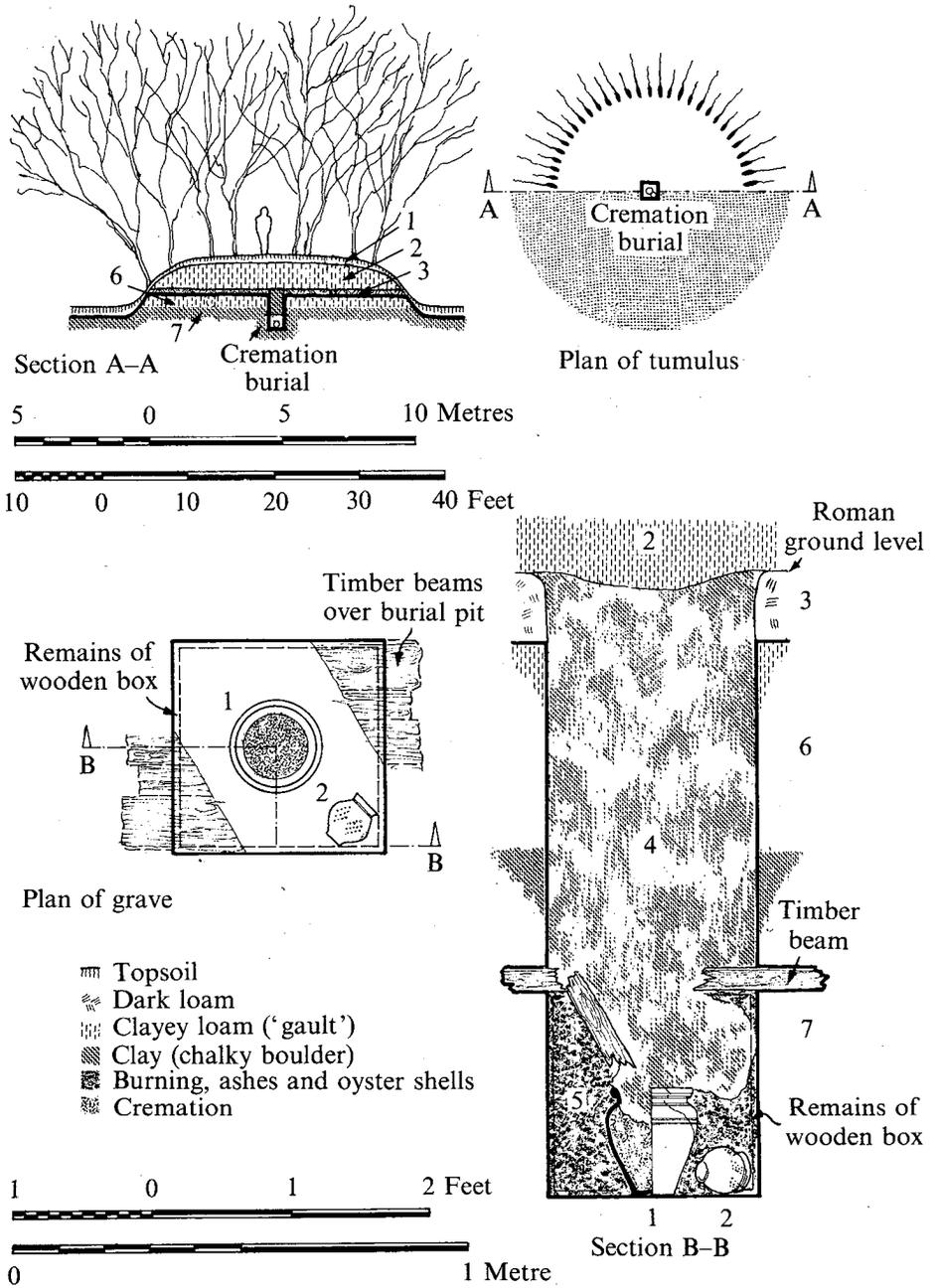


Fig. 3. Emmanuel Knoll.

EMMANUEL KNOLL TREE (Fig. 2)

The old wych elm which crowned the mound was blown down in about 1944. In 1971, after clearing the mound of undergrowth and suckers from the roots, the surface was stripped using a modified quadrant method. It rapidly became clear that it was not a true mound at all, but rather the survival of a promontory of ground projecting from the field. On the east and west sides deep road ditches had been dug up to the roots of the tree, and the drainage flow maintained by providing a land drain round the north side. Before the road was metalled in the last century erosion of the road surface had led to a hollow-way effect on the hill slope, with the result that the present road surface is some 3 ft below the field level on the south side of the road. The ground round the foot of the tree was not subject to this process, with the result that a small mound was gradually formed.

The reason for the careful preservation of Emmanuel Knoll tree is not now clear. However, the site is close to the parish border and there is an unsubstantiated local tradition that it was a hanging tree.

Date

Study of the material from the primary filling of the road ditches suggests that they date only from the mid-later nineteenth century. On the mound itself, apart from an unstratified sherd of Roman colour-coated ware, nothing earlier than the nineteenth century was found. The archaeological evidence is supported by the early O.S. 25 in. series of 1888 (Fig. 2*a*), which shows the tumulus excavated in 1914 and Emmanuel Knoll tree, but there is no indication of the mound beneath the tree. The O.S. 25 in. map of 1926, however, clearly shows this mound (Fig. 1*b*).

Features

Immediately beneath the turf on the top of the mound was found a 3 in. layer of gravel (layer 2) overlying the natural. This appears to be the metalling of a road, perhaps the southern edge of the main road. Pottery and glass from layer 2 date to the earlier nineteenth century. No trace of Roman metalling or road ditches was found, although Walker¹ notes having seen a section through the road in this vicinity.

Two features post-dated layer 2. A substantial 12 in. square post-hole was found 5 ft south of the tree. The post had been withdrawn at some period and the hole backfilled with clayey loam. The post would not appear to have formed part of the

¹ Walker, *Proc. C.A.S.* VIII (1909-10), 163 n. 3*b*.

field boundary, but its alignment suggests that it may have been the footing of a prop for one of the branches of the tree. In the centre of the mound and of recent construction was a small round pit, dug probably by treasure hunters.

EMMANUEL KNOLL (Fig. 3)

The tumulus

The former mound lay some 70 ft south of the road hedge and 125 ft west-north-west of Emmanuel Knoll Plantation (Fig. 1). The mound is recorded to have been about 32 ft in diameter (45 ft on the O.S. map of 1888) and 5-6 ft in height with a slightly flattened top. On the summit was a copse of 6 or 8 wych elms (known locally as 'doddles').

The body of the mound was 'composed of clay with chalk nodules', which included ammonites and an admixture of dark loam. The material was probably derived from the Roman A and B horizons (layers 3 and 6, respectively, Fig. 3). No surrounding ditch is recorded, but this, if shallow, may already have been ploughed out.

Mr Page remembers that the blue clay subsoil (layer 7) appeared after the mound had been cleared to field level. This suggests that the Roman A and B horizons lay at a higher level in the mound but were not recognized at the time. A possible reconstruction of these levels is shown in the drawn section (Fig. 3), but their exact thickness is not known.

The burial

On levelling the mound the burial chamber was not evident, and it was not until a trench was dug across the centre that it was discovered by the workmen falling through into the grave. This lay near the centre of the mound with the bottom at a depth of 2 ft 6 in. from the surface of the field. The grave had been dug to contain an 18-in. square box whose decayed remains and nails were found round the edges of the hole. Judging from the clenched nails, the sides of the box must have been about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick.

Standing upright in the centre of the box was the funerary urn (Appendix II no. 1) holding the cremated remains. In one corner lying on its side was a poppyhead beaker (Appendix II no. 2) containing a sestertius of Commodus (Appendix I no. 1) and an amethyst jewel (Appendix I no. 2). Before closing the box, the inside had been filled with the charred wood and ashes from the funeral pyre. Numerous oyster shells were also found mixed with the burnt debris.

Over the top of the box a roof of ash beams was inserted into the sides of the shaft. Mr Page stated that they were charred, and it seems probable that they were partially burnt timbers re-used from the pyre. The shaft over the grave had been backfilled

with blue boulder clay. The depth of the shaft over the grave is uncertain, but it was probably some 3 ft from the Roman surface. Eventually the decay of the roof timbers resulted in their collapse. Clay poured into the grave and the top of the cinerary urn, which was cracked with the impact.¹

DISCUSSION

In the 1915 report of the excavation the coin, which from its description could only have been that of Commodus (Appendix I no. 1), was stated to have been found amongst the roots on the surface of the mound. Mr Page, however, was adamant that it was really found in the bottom of the poppyhead beaker. The writer believes that Mr Page's version is the correct one, and that the discrepancy must be attributed to the unfortunate circumstances of the excavation. It is possible that the coin found on the surface of the mound is that described as being of Licinius I (A.D. 307–24) from the site of the tumulus, but not published until 1934.² The coin of Commodus is closely dated to A.D. 188–9, but it is very worn and its deposition probably dates to the late second or early third century, a date which is broadly supported by the pottery grave goods. The function of the coin is presumably that of the traditional Charon's fee, sometimes found with cremations but more usually with inhumations.³ The burial is thus rather late, both as a cremation and in the tradition of tumulus burials,⁴ reflecting perhaps old-fashioned religious practices in a rural area.

The tumulus is believed to have been the smallest in Britain.⁵ Another distinctive feature was its truncated top. This is commonly found amongst Roman tumuli, but the absence of a surrounding ditch is unusual.⁶ The use of wooden chests or boxes to house the cremation appears to be particularly common in the Cambridge area. The best known, of course, are from the Bartlow Hills.⁷ At a humbler level the tumulus at Deadman's Hill, Barton probably also had a wooden container.⁸ Other cremation burials in wooden chests are known from the flat cemeteries at Litlington⁹ and Girton.¹⁰

The sex of the cremation is uncertain. All diagnostic bone and teeth fragments had already been removed, possibly by the late Dr J. R. Garrood, at the time of the

¹ Mr Inskip Ladds suggests that the cracking was due to the expansion and contraction of the clay, but at this depth under the mound the moisture level in the clay would have remained constant.

² *Trans. C. and H. Arch. Soc.* v, 251.

³ J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and burial in the Roman World*, p. 49.

⁴ J. Liversidge, *Britain in the Roman Empire*, pp. 476 and 497.

⁵ Toynbee, *op. cit.* p. 181.

⁶ Dunning and Jessup, *loc. cit.* p. 38.

⁷ For a recent summary see Liversidge, *op. cit.* pp. 395 f.

⁸ Fox, *op. cit.* p. 196.

⁹ A. J. Kemp, 'Account of Sepulchral Vessels found in 1821 at Litlington', *Arch.* xxxvi (1836), 368–76.

¹⁰ E. Hollingworth and M. O'Reilly, *Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Girton College* (1925).

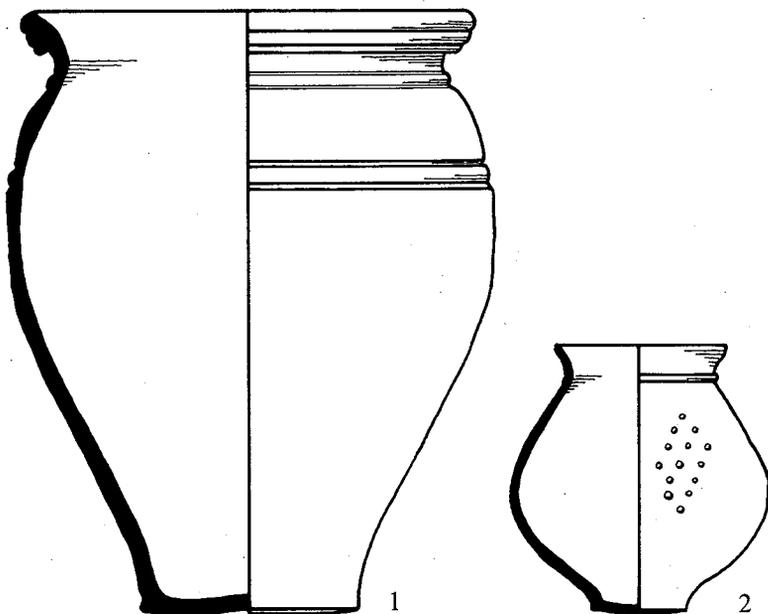


Fig. 4. Pottery grave goods from Emmanuel Knoll. Scale 1 : 3 (approx.).

original discovery. The presence of the amethyst suggests, perhaps, that it may have been a woman.

The oyster shells in the grave are probably from the funeral feast (*silicernium*). If they had been grave offerings they might perhaps have been expected to be in some sort of container. Animal bones from the funeral feast are known from the tumulus at Riseholme, Lincolnshire.¹

It is possible that the Emmanuel Knoll tumulus may have been the focus of a cemetery such as has been found elsewhere in south-east England.² The earlier account of the tumulus in Stukeley's diary of 25 July 1740 states 'A tumulus on this road upon the first eminence beyond Godmanchester. This was a Roman burial place, many urns etc. have been dug up here.'³ No trace of these discoveries survives now and Mr Page says that he has found nothing when ploughing. It is likely that the burials were found when the upper levels were ploughed out (see above).

¹ Liversidge, *op. cit.* p. 493.

² R. F. Jessup, 'Walled Cemeteries in Roman Britain', *J. Brit. Ass.* ser. 3, xxii (1959), 11-32.

³ Stukeley, *loc. cit.* p. 219.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Huntingdon and Peterborough County Council who kindly gave permission for the work to be carried out on the site of Emmanuel Knoll tree, and generously loaned equipment to enable the site to be fenced off. The various statutory undertakers of services in the area were also approached, and in particular the Eastern Gas Board and the Post Office Telephones whose lines ran close to the mound. Officials from these utilities kindly visited the site and located the exact position of their services. Much friendly help was also given by Mr Dant and Mr Page whose land adjoined the site. I am deeply indebted to Mr Page for the information about the 1914 excavation of Emmanuel Knoll, and for allowing the material from the excavation to be drawn and the coin to be examined by the British Museum. I wish to thank Mr R. A. G. Carson for identifying the coin. I am also grateful to officers of the Department of the Environment and the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, particularly Miss S. A. Butcher, Miss J. Liversidge and Mr C. J. E. Steff, for helping to arrange and finance the excavations.

APPENDIX I

Small finds from Emmanuel Knoll burial

(1) Copper sestertius of Commodus in worn condition. The coin is of B.M.C. Commodus 625-6 type with *obv.* laureate head right and *rev.* Mars standing left with spear. Minted *c.* A.D. 188-9. Found in the poppyhead beaker (Appendix II no. 2). Not illustrated.

(2) Oval polished stone of amethyst which was egg shaped, the size of a blackbird's egg (Mr Page). The stone was possibly from a necklace or earring, whose bevel setting was perhaps destroyed at the time of the cremation. Found in the poppyhead beaker (Appendix II no. 2). Not illustrated (lost).

APPENDIX II

Pottery from Emmanuel Knoll burial (Fig. 4)

(1) Cinerary urn with reed rim and cordons on neck and shoulder. Buff-pinkish fabric with grey-black patches on surface (the vessel is not of black Castor ware as stated in the 1915 report). The upper part is cracked. The urn is a variant of the standard type of local cooking pot during the second and third centuries. A close parallel from pit R78 at the *Mansio* site, Godmanchester, dates to the late second century.

(2) Poppyhead beaker with everted rim, cordon on neck and foot ring. Barbotine panels of diamond shape. Grey fabric. Cf. with parallel from grave group 1 from No. 52 Cambridge Villas, Godmanchester, dating from the second half of the second century.¹

¹ C. F. Tebbutt, 'Roman Cremation Group from Godmanchester', *Proc. C.A.S.* LIV (1961), 83 and pl. XII(b).



ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

D. M. BROWNE, C. B. DENSTON, M. SMITH AND M. D. CRA'STER

IRON AGE GRAVE GROUP FROM NEWNHAM CROFT, CAMBRIDGE

The exact location of the finding of this well-known group (C. Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, p. 81 and plate xv) has unfortunately not been accurately recorded.

Recently, however, an old letter of Baron Anatole von Hügel, then Curator of the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, where the Newnham Croft group has been preserved ever since it was found, has come to light; this letter gives some information on the circumstances of the finding, and is quoted below in full.

Late Celtic interment

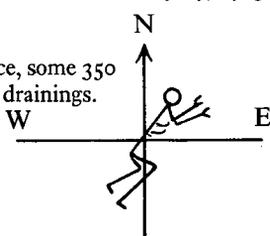
King's College land off the Barton Rd. (Newnham)

Skeleton in very bad state of preservation found 4 feet below the surface, some 350 feet S. of Road (at the back of St. Mark's) in the trench for the surface drainings.

The skeleton lay in a somewhat contracted attitude, but owing to decay rather difficult to locate, with the head N.N.E. and the feet S.S.W.

On the chert, three bronze fibulae with white enamel, on the right lower arm (above wrist) a decorated bronze bracelet (the bones of the left arm were missing), and near the feet a cup-shaped bronze(?) lamp with links of a chain attached. Three small flat bronze rings had been taken off the skeleton before I reached it.

May 27, 1903



A. v. Hügel
M.D.C.

TWO BURIALS FROM THE KINGS HEDGES ESTATE, CAMBRIDGE

In late April 1970 two human skeletons were unearthed by building workers during excavations of footing trenches for houses on the Kings Hedges Estate, Cambridge (TL 543612). This discovery was reported in the *Cambridge Evening News* for Thursday, 23 April 1970. The discovery was also reported to the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. The present writer and Mr R. Bishop investigated these finds. Mr Bishop undertook most of the recording and recovery of objects.

Unfortunately most of the skeletons, which were virtually intact, had been removed from their archaeological context before Bishop and Browne arrived. The present whereabouts of the skeletal material is uncertain. One skeleton was certainly of an adult and the other probably of a younger person. At the time of burial it seems that the bodies had been lain in extended positions within shallow wooden coffins which

were interred within roughly rectangular excavations in the natural gravel of the site. The evidence for wooden coffins is stronger for Grave B than for Grave A. In the former several nails were gathered from the peripheries of the burial excavation. Mr Bishop notes that the legs and possibly the arms of the body in Grave B were crossed at the time of burial. Both graves were orientated roughly North-South but the head of the body in Grave A lay at the northern end of the grave whilst that in Grave B lay at the southern. No evidence of any grave goods was encountered. A few sherds of Roman pottery were recovered from the earth that had filled the burial excavation after the rotting of the presumed coffins.

Dating these burials is difficult but the Roman period is suggested. It should be noted that the Roman period ditch which was encountered to the west of these burials was cut through similar soil to that which filled the burial excavations although it was not possible to demonstrate a stratigraphical link between the two.

In the course of this rescue work other features were noted in the builder's footing trenches. These may be listed.

(1) A pit north of Grave B. This was dug from a similar level to that of the graves. It was not excavated and yielded no surface finds.

(2) A ditch west of the burials. This was on average 12 feet wide and ran for at least 200 feet roughly North-South. Again it was not possible to excavate this feature. From its clayey upper fill, however, was obtained Roman pottery, some of a later character. Associated with the ditch along the entire length of its western edge was a broad area of disturbed soil.

This isolated evidence must be added to that already gathered of the Arbury-Kings Hedges Roman settlement. Presumably the presence of burials of not too late a date suggests that we are beyond the confines of a settlement proper. It seems best at present to associate the ditch and burials with extra-settlement activity along the line of the nearby Roman road.

Note. The collection from the site, which comprises pottery from the upper fill of the ditch and pottery and a coin from the builder's spoil heaps, is deposited in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology together with the investigators' records. Catalogue Nos. 71.97 to 71.100. D.M.B.

JADEITE AXE FROM BOTTISHAM

Three 'ceremonial' greenstone axes, all surface finds, are in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge; they were found at Foxton, Histon and Burwell Fen (C. Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, plate v and W. Campbell Smith, *P.P.S.* xxix (1963), 139 ff.). A fourth axe of a similar type has been recently found in the Cambridge district (Fig. 1).

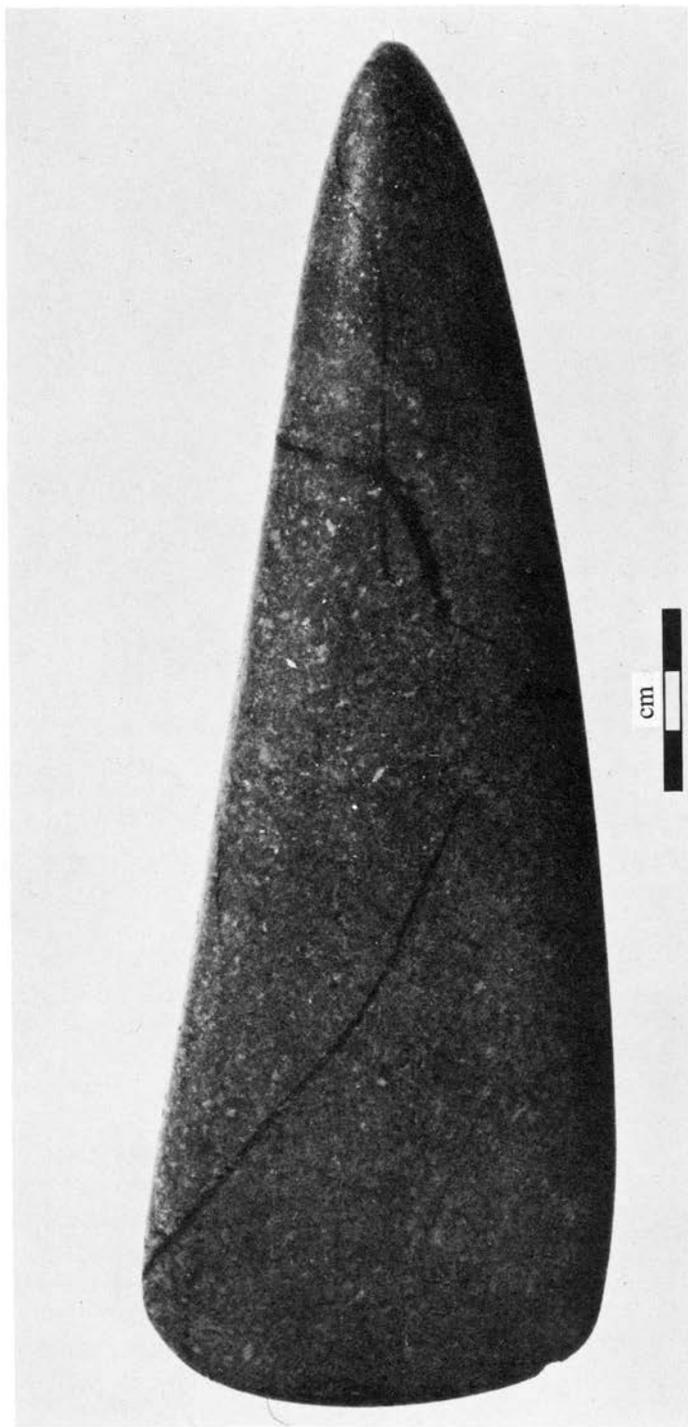


Plate I. Ceremonial 'greenstone' axe from Bottisham.

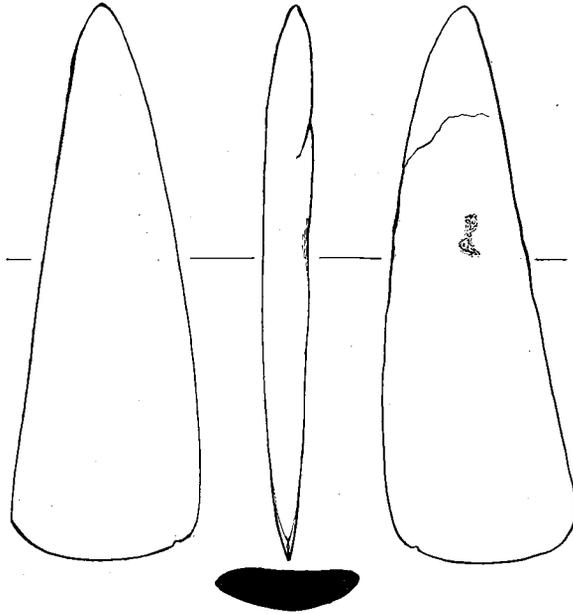


Fig. 1. Greenstone axe. Scale 1:3 (approx.).

The new axe is a dark, greeny-grey amphibolite, and as exquisitely finished as are the others (Plate I). It was found in a ploughed field, in Bottisham (TL 553612) by Mr G. Butler of Swaffham Bulbeck, in whose possession it remains. M.D.C.

SAXON HUMAN REMAINS FROM HORSEHEATH

The remains were few in number and apart from a complete atlas and a thoracic vertebra were fragmentary, and represented the following bones: skull; innominate bone; femora; tibiae; humeri; ulna; clavicle; scapula; ribs; a metatarsal bone and a cervical vertebra.

The skull was represented by five fragments of the parietal bones, all of which articulated, a nasal bone and the gonial portion of the left ramus of a mandible; and though these and the postcranial remains were fragmentary some sexual characters were present.

Sexual dimorphism in the human species is such that, in general, the surface contours in the male are rougher as contrasted with the more rounded ones of the female, and the structure is more massive. These differences can be attributed to

the thinner layer of subcutaneous fat in the male, and to his larger, stronger and more massive bony skeleton with a more extensively developed musculature. Even when the muscles are powerfully developed in the female, the thicker layer of subcutaneous adipose tissue still manages to confer smoother curves upon the female form. Comparatively, the limbs in the female are shorter, and body longer. The female arm tends to be cylindrical in section as contrasted with a flatter appearance in the male. In association with the relatively shorter femur and the greater deposition of fat the female thigh tends markedly to be conical, while that of the male is cylindrical.

Bearing in mind the sexual characters mentioned, other sexual characters such as the appearance of the greater sciatic notch of the innominate bone, the angle at the gonion of the mandible fragment, and measurements taken on the atlas and the glenoid fossa of the scapula, it would appear they balance more in favour of a male than a female.

A tentative age at death could be assessed from features of the bones. There were no signs of unfused epiphyses, suggesting that the individual represented by the remains was an adult. Though in disrepute as a method of ageing, from the amount of fusion of the cranial sutures some idea can be gathered of the age. The sagittal suture and part of the coronal suture could be observed, and from their appearance a possible age of between thirty and fifty years was estimated. A medium degree of osteo-arthritis had formed on a superior articular facet of a cervical vertebra, adding weight to the possibility that the individual was over thirty years of age at time of death.

The skeleton was found during the laying of a main pipeline across the land of Mr J. D. Webb of Streetly Hall, at TL 606477. The spot is just below the brow of the chalk hill occupied by the Horseheath Roman settlement at TL 609477 (*P.C.A.S.* XXXI (1931), 99-104), and so under 300 yards away from the site of numerous finds of Roman pottery, iron tools and buildings. It lies just south of the so-called Roman road, Wool Street (*P.C.A.S.* LVI/LVII, 1962/3, 42-60). The pipeline trench was being dug by a continuous-bucket trenching machine.

At the point where the find was made, the trench was 15 ft deep, and running through solid chalk. It was here reported by the men in charge of the digging, Messrs Boyle and Houlder, to cut through a wide shaft of dark clay, whose bottom was not reached by the base of the trench. The skeleton lay at a depth of 12 ft, roughly across the trench (i.e. East-West), and covered by a thick layer of rough flint lumps.

With the skeleton, which was probably a fully adult male, were found a few scattered beads, mostly of the blue glass, but one of amber, and two small-long brooches of bronze with (lost) iron pins (Fig. 2).

In view of the apparently rather curious circumstances of the burial (or disposal) of this skeleton, the find is here published in full, although the only actual witnesses of the stratigraphical evidence were the trenching team.

C.B.D.

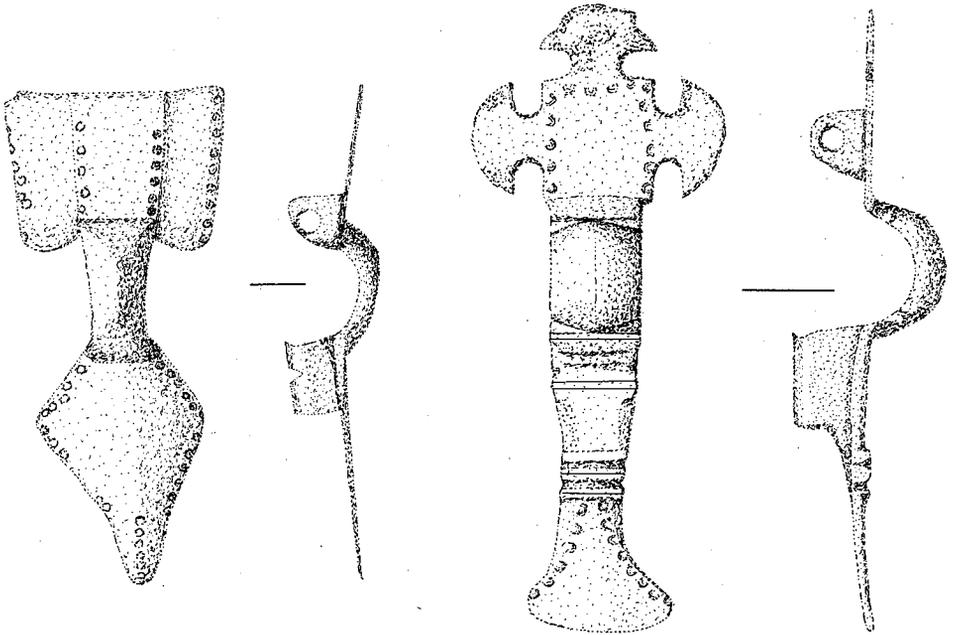


Fig. 2. Small-long brooches from skeleton. Scale 1:1 (approx.).

A SECTION ACROSS THE FLEAM DYKE

In October 1971 the Cambridge Water Board informed Miss Cra'ster of the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology that they were cutting a pipe-trench through the Fleam Dyke at TL 542548, just to the east of the Pumping Station (Fig. 3). Miss Cra'ster drew a sketch-section of the ditch and, finding that the pipes had already been laid and the trenches partially filled in, asked the writer to cut a section across both bank and ditch. The work was done by members of the Cambridge Archaeological Field Club.

Fig. 4 shows that the pipe-trenches were put through an already existing interval in the bank and ditch of the dyke. It was decided to draw what remained of the section of the ditch in the pipe-trench and also to section the bank to the west, making a connecting cut between the two.

Fig. 5 is the result of the correlation of these two sections. I would suggest the following interpretation. The primary fill of the ditch, the bottom of which was hidden by a water-pipe, consisted of chalk nodules mixed with brown clay, suggesting that there was once a counterscarp bank on the south side of the ditch. Above the primary fill lay a thick deposit of silt, succeeded by a clean layer of angular chalk

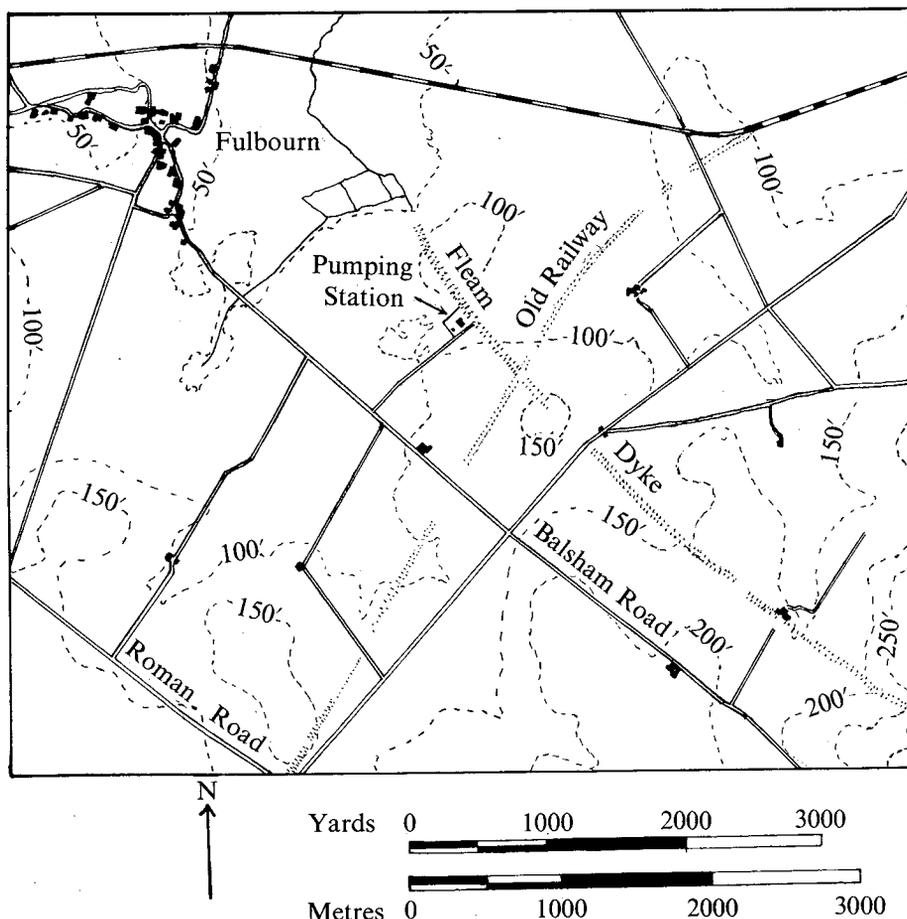


Fig. 3. The Fleam Dyke, Cambridgeshire.

lumps. This appears to have been dumped there, possibly recently, as the depth of the silty deposit indicates. The ditch sequence was sealed by the present silty topsoil. Under the bank the natural Middle Chalk displayed a well-marked erosion surface filled with clay and angular fragments of chalk. A clear soil horizon was obtained between this and the bank, the latter being made up of alternate layers of chalk rubble of varying sizes and brown clay. The small deposit of rubble may represent a marking-out line for the bank, and the manner in which the rubble deposits overlap at the middle of the bank seems to indicate that the material was made up into successive ramps from the direction of the ditch and then thrown over on to the north side of

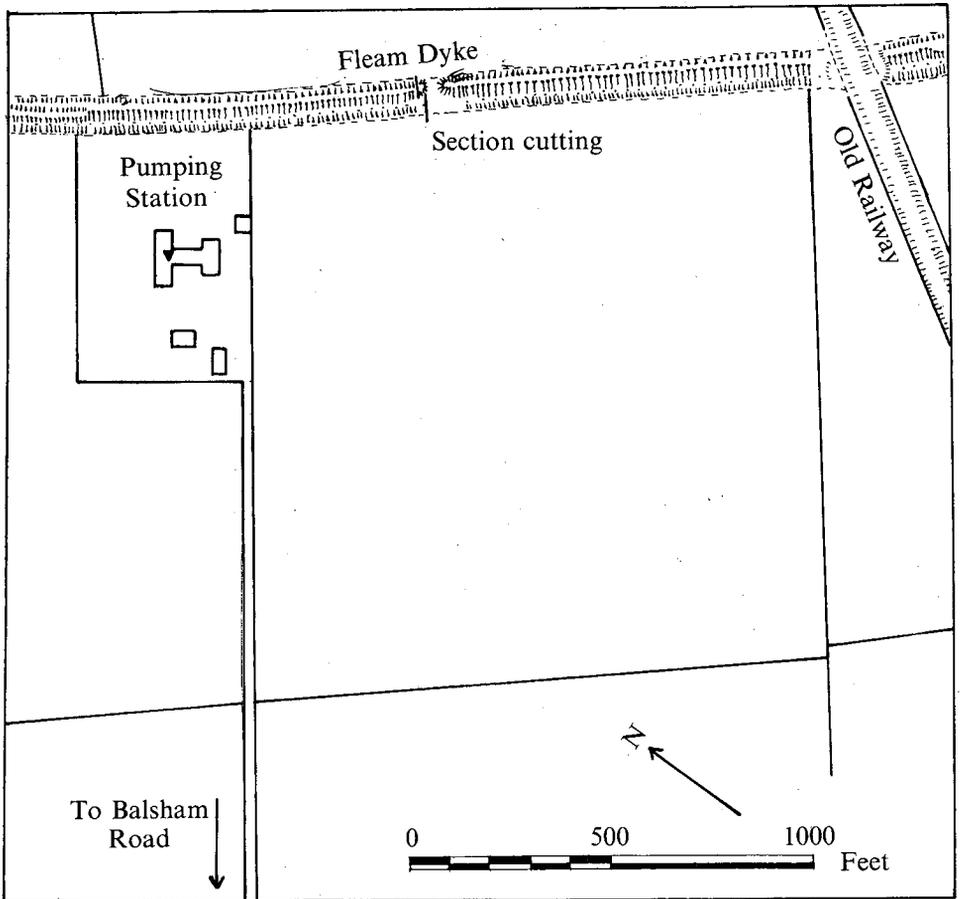


Fig. 4. Fleam Dyke pumping station: site of cutting.

the bank. The South face of the bank was disturbed at the section-line for some distance, hence the dotted line showing the postulated full bank profile; at this point the bank was widening towards the west.

No artefacts were found during the work.

I should like to thank the Cambridge Water Board for their co-operation and in particular Miss Cra'ster, Miss Jane Peirson-Jones and Mr David Browne for their help and advice.

M.S.

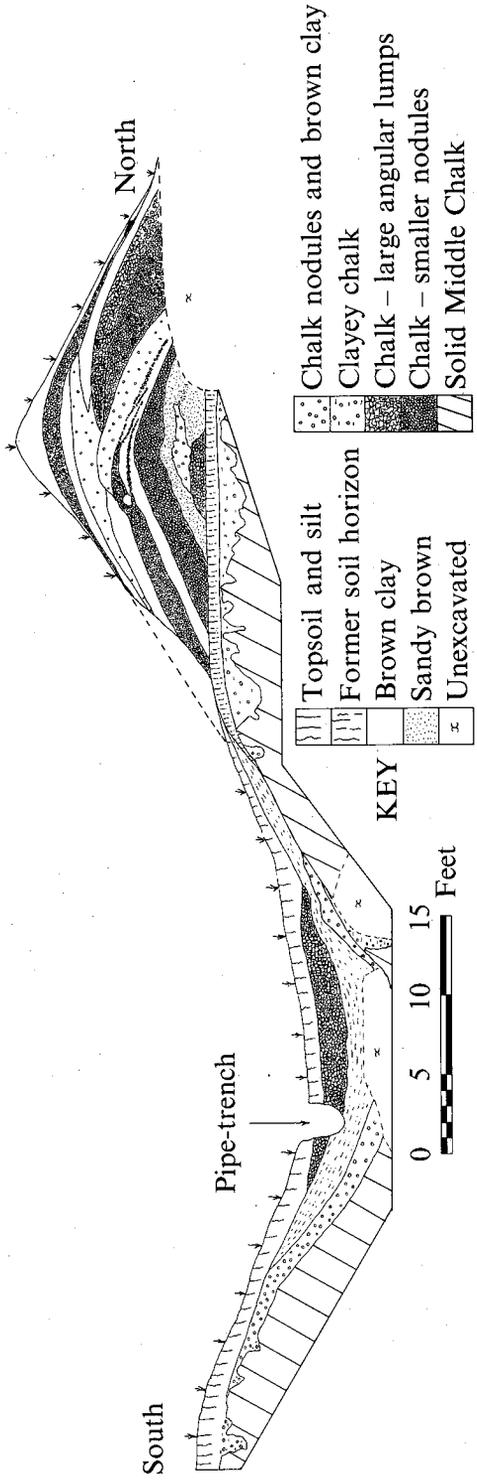


Fig. 5. Section across the Fleam Dyke, east of Pumping Station.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE EARTHWORK SURVEYS

C. C. TAYLOR

FOR the last three years, students of Archaeological Field Survey courses, organized by the Cambridge University Extra Mural Board and London University Extra Mural Department, have been helping the writer to carry out surveys of archaeological sites in Cambridgeshire for the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). This work has been undertaken for two reasons. First, as the Commission is not now going to complete the county of Cambridgeshire, there is a need to record some of the more important or interesting sites there, many of which are or will be threatened with destruction or damage. Secondly, in view of the nationwide destruction of archaeological sites, the necessity of training more people in the basic techniques of field survey is becoming vital. The co-operation between the Commission and the University has helped in a small way to achieve both these aims. Some of the plans which have been made over these years are published here. It is hoped that more will follow in the future.¹

ROMANO-BRITISH SETTLEMENT SITE, CHITTERING (TL 498702) (Fig. 1)

The site lies due north of the hamlet of Chittering, in Waterbeach parish, alongside the Cambridge-Ely road (A 10), 1¼ miles south of its crossing of the Old West River.² It is situated near the centre of a broad N.E. projecting piece of land which divides the Waterbeach Fens from those of Cottenham. Most of the site is on Lower Greensand at about 10 ft above O.D., and is at present under permanent pasture.

The site, covering 5½ acres, is now bounded on the west by the modern road, though it probably originally extended further west to the Roman road from Cambridge to Ely which ran on the west side of the modern one. On the east and south it is bounded by shallow double ditches, only about 1 ft to 2 ft deep, separated by a low bank, though on the south most of this has been destroyed by a modern pond and a garden. On the north side a modern farm has destroyed the continuation of the site in this direction, though beyond the farm, in another grass field, further shallow ditches are probably part of it. The interior of the site is divided into a number of sub-rectangular areas bounded by shallow ditches no more than 2 ft deep, within

¹ The views expressed here are of course the writer's own and not necessarily those of the Commission.

² C. W. Phillips (ed.), *The Fenland in Roman Times*, R.G.S. Research Series No. 5 (1970), p. 214, no. 4970.

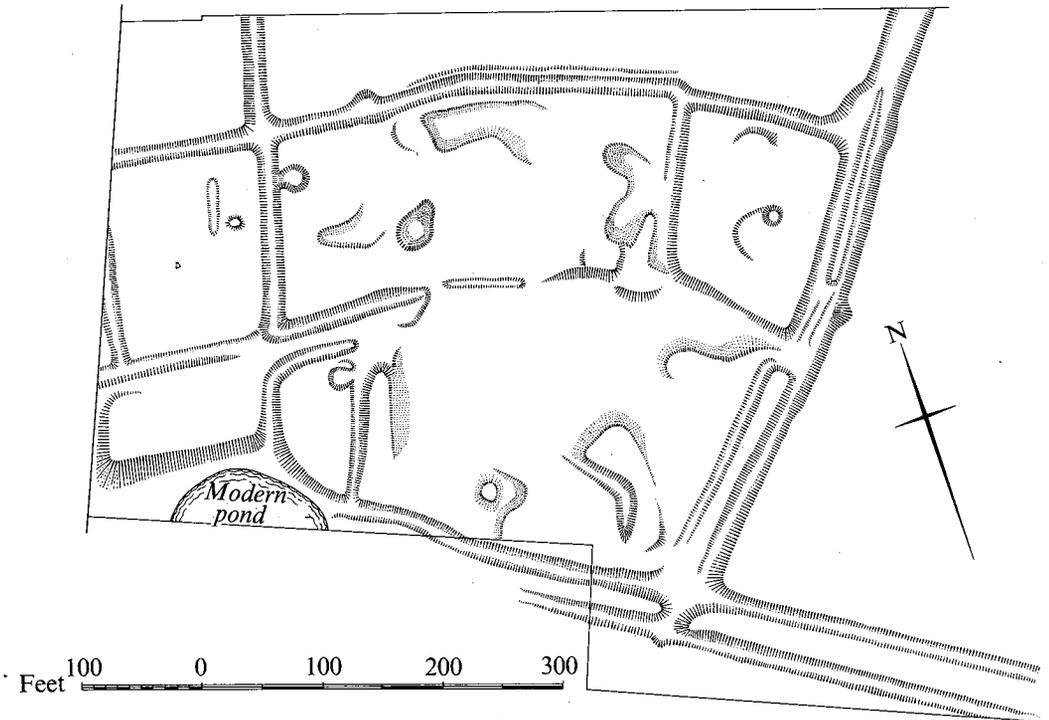


Fig. 1. Chittering; Romano-British settlement.

which lie various shallow depressions or platforms, some of which may be the remains of buildings.

Though the site is clearly only a fragment of what it originally was, it is of some importance in that it is one of the now all too rare examples of an upstanding Romano-British settlement site in the county. A large number of similar sites are known from air photographs, but very few now remain as earthworks. It is of particular interest to be able to see on the ground features, which are well known from air photographs, of now destroyed sites, such as the double-ditched boundary which surrounds this and many others.¹

¹ R.C.H.M. (Eng.), *Peterborough New Town* (1969), Orton Longueville (4) and Orton Waterville (9); G. Webster and B. Hobly, 'Aerial Reconnaissance over the Warwickshire Avon', *Arch. J.* CXXI (1965), 1-22, nos. 5, 11, 12 and 17.

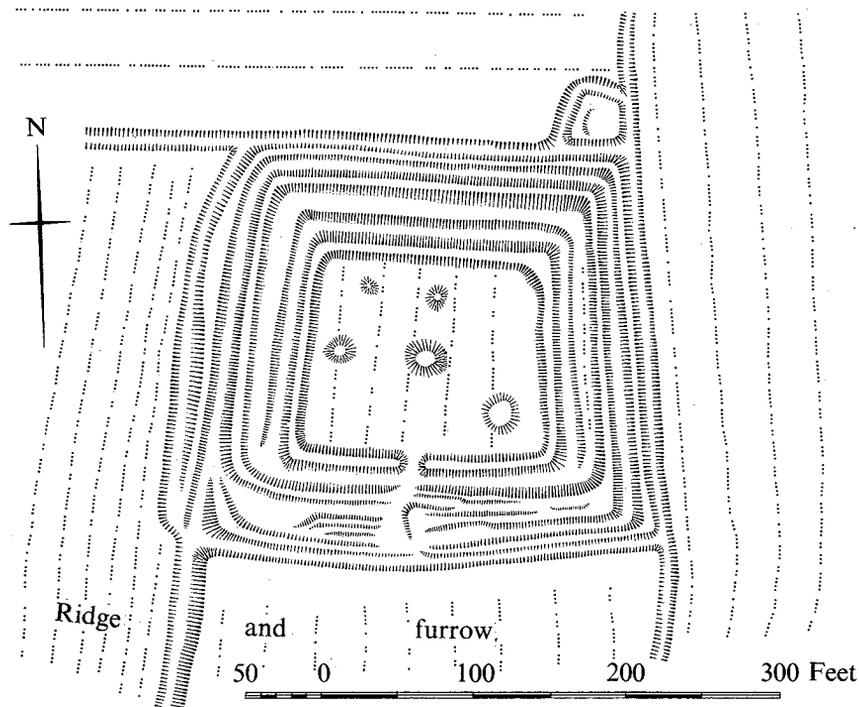


Fig. 2. Braham Farm, Ely St Mary.

ENCLOSURE, BRAHAM FARM, ELY ST MARY (TL 533777) (Fig. 2)

This enclosure lies in a pasture field 200 yd N.W. of Braham Farm, in the S.E. of the parish.¹ It is situated on almost level ground close to the fen edge at about 15 ft above O.D.

It consists of a small rectangular area, apparently bounded by triple banks and ditches whose height or depth is nowhere more than 2 ft. The enclosure is surrounded by ridge and furrow, which is also traceable not only within it but also between the inner and centre banks on the west side. Five small mounds in the interior, all under 1½ ft high, overlie the ridge and furrow, and there is an original entrance on the south side. The banks and ditches on the south side are now extensively damaged and almost obliterated. This is the result of excavation with a tractor-shovel carried out some years ago. This work followed earlier and somewhat more scientific excavation when a number of small trenches were cut through the banks and in the interior. Neither effort produced any evidence of date or function.

¹ *V.C.H. Cambridgeshire* II (1948), 30.

The result of the survey indicates that the enclosure is medieval or later, and was constructed on top of and around existing ridge and furrow. Each block, or furlong, of ridge and furrow in the immediate area is bounded by shallow ditches which presumably functioned as field drains. The enclosure has been fitted into one such furlong, producing the triple-banked appearance; although in fact it consists of only a double bank and ditch. However, on the west side the original furlong ditch appears to have been re-cut further west. The ditch featured in the N.W. corner is also the result of re-cutting.

This type of medieval or later enclosure, while apparently rare in Cambridgeshire, is common all over the British Isles.¹ Most of the recorded ones are equally small, and although the majority are bounded by single banks and ditches, double- and triple-banked variants are known.² They are extremely difficult to date accurately and excavation is usually unrewarding. The purpose of these enclosures is unknown although various explanations have been put forward, ranging from 'bee gardens' to pig-styes. The most likely explanation is that they are for penning stock, though whether cattle, sheep, pigs or rabbits is unknown. Only detailed research on relevant documents, if they exist, might provide the answer, though even then there is usually no clear evidence.³

MOTTE AND BAILEY CASTLE AND DESERTED VILLAGE, CASTLE CAMPS
(TL 626425) (Figs. 3 and 4)

In view of the previously inadequate treatment of the massive fortifications of Castle Camps and the existence of an unrecognized deserted village adjacent to it, the whole complex has been re-examined.⁴ The castle lies near the S.E. end of Castle Camps parish in a now remote situation and in a position of no strategic importance and little tactical strength. It is entirely on Boulder Clay about 380 ft above O.D. at the end of a low N.W. projecting spur between two small valleys. The castle commands extensive views to the north, east and west, but is overlooked by the rising ground to the S.E.

¹ R.C.H.M. (Eng.), *Dorset*, III (1971), Alton Pancras (18) and (19), Milborne St Andrew (38), Piddletrenthide (63) and (64); P. J. Fowler, J. W. G. Musty and C. C. Taylor, 'Some Earthwork Enclosures in Wiltshire', *Wiltsh. Arch. Mag.* LX (1965), 52-74; H. Ramm, 'Survey of an Earthwork at Kingsterndale', *Derby Arch. J.* LXXVII (1957), 53 etc.

² E. Gardner, 'A Triple Banked Enclosure on Chobham Common', *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xxxv (1924), 105.

³ G. Crompton and C. C. Taylor, 'Earthwork Enclosures on Lakenheath Warren, West Suffolk', *Procs. Inst. Suffolk Arch.*, xxxii Pt. 2 (1971), 113-20.

⁴ V.C.H. *Cambridgeshire* II (1948), 21.

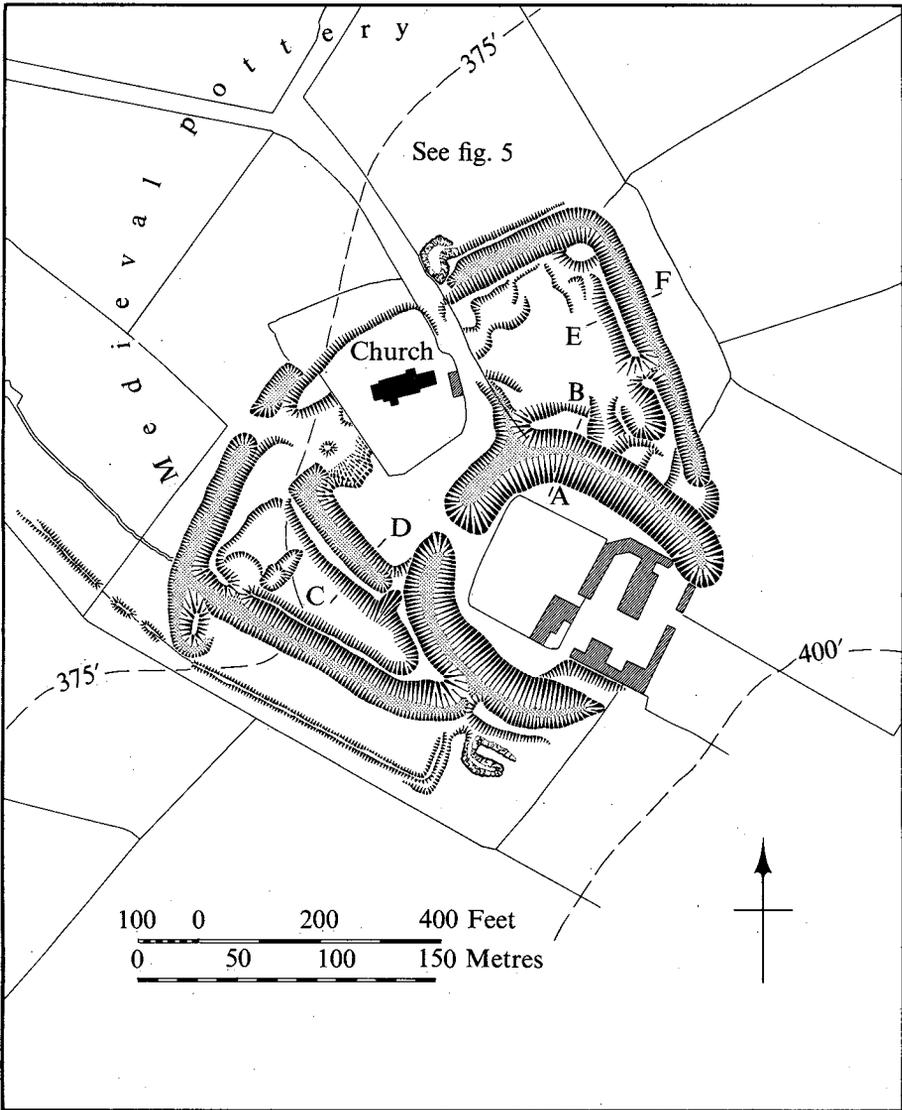


Fig. 3. Castle Camps: the castle.

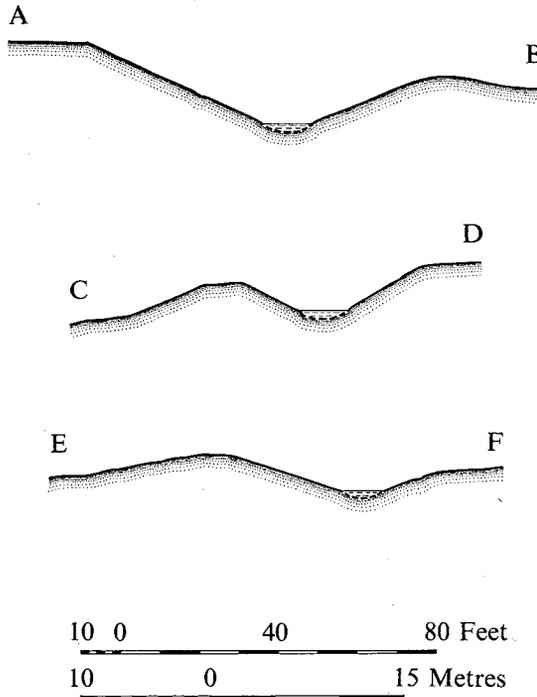


Fig. 4. Castle Camps; profiles of the castle ditches.

The main feature of the site is a very large motte whose flat top covers just over an acre. It is encircled by a wide ditch 10–15 ft deep on all but the S.E. side, where it has been completely filled in. The motte is level with the ground to the S.E. but stands 10 ft above that to the N.W. (Profile A–B). It is now entered by a wide causeway in the N.W. side, but this is a modern replacement for a bridge which is alleged to have existed until relatively recently. To the N.W. of the motte are the much-mutilated remains of a small bailey. Only the S.W. side of this is still complete as a deep ditch with a large outer bank (Profile C–D). However, slight remains of the rest of the filled-in ditch indicate that it curved N.E., ran through the present churchyard and passed under the existing church before turning S.E. to meet the ditch of the motte. Part of the junction of the bailey ditch with that of the motte still survives. Beyond this inner bailey is a much larger outer bailey, bounded by a rampart and deep outer ditch (Profile E–F). This is virtually intact, except to the N.W. of the church where the ditch has been filled in. Within this outer bailey are various low scarps and platforms, some undoubtedly the sites of former buildings. Beyond the

outer bailey to the S.W. are traces of a low bank, only 1 ft high, which continues in a N.W. direction beyond the castle.

This castle, the largest medieval fortress in the county, was undoubtedly built by Aubrey de Vere, soon after the Norman Conquest, as the administrative centre of his large estate. This included not only Castle Camps itself, but land in Babraham, Abington, Hildersham, Horseheath, Wilbraham and elsewhere, as well as other lands in Essex.¹ The castle as it apparently then existed is notable for its small bailey, but the size of the motte is especially interesting for it is almost exactly the same as that at the De Veres main stronghold at Castle Hedingham, Essex.² The date of the enlargement of the bailey to its present form is unknown. There are records of work being carried out in the castle between 1265 and 1331, and it has been suggested that this could refer to the construction of the new bailey. This is, however, by no means certain.³ The fact that the present parish church is partly over the ditch of the first bailey means that it could not have been built until that bailey was out of use. However, the church is almost entirely fifteenth century and therefore can hardly be used to date the extension of the castle, which must have taken place well before this. There is a reset thirteenth-century priest's door in the south side of the chancel, and this, together with a thirteenth-century font, suggests the existence of an earlier church in the area, but not necessarily on the exact site of the present one. No record exists of the castle ever being used for military purposes, and it remained largely a private residence for the De Veres throughout the medieval period. It was sold in 1558 to Thomas Skinner, a London merchant, and later passed to Charterhouse, in whose hands it still remains.

There is no trace of any medieval building *in situ* on the motte, except for a small piece of flint walling near the N.E. angle of the house. Within the garden are two large pieces of Barnack-type stone, one of which is part of a moulded cornice which may be medieval. On an engraving of 1730 a high tower and a large gabled range, probably of sixteenth-century date, are depicted. The tower fell down in 1738 and soon afterwards the existing farm, an L-shaped mid-eighteenth-century structure, was erected, which was then altered in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The garden wall to the N.E. of the house is largely of sixteenth- or seventeenth-century brick.

THE DESERTED VILLAGE (TL 626426) (Fig. 5)

The former village of Castle Camps once lay in a broad arc outside and below the outer bailey ditch to the N.E. of the castle. All but a small area of earthworks has now been destroyed, but medieval pottery has been found over a wide area indicating its

¹ *V.C.H. Cambridgeshire* 1 (1938), 389-90.

² *R.C.H.M. (Eng.), Essex* 1 (1916), Castle Hedingham (3).

³ See p. 38, n. 4.

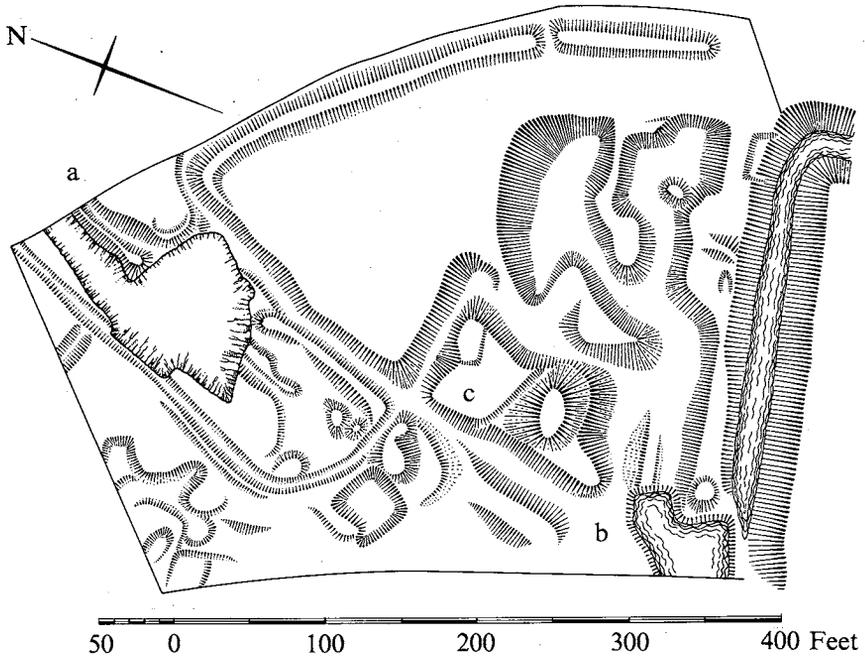


Fig. 5. Castle Camps: the deserted medieval village.

former extent. The existing remains are confined to a small pasture field north of the church and these are much damaged by later activities. The main feature of the site is a narrow hollow-way or former street up to 3 ft deep which crosses the site from north to south (*a-b* on Fig. 5). On its east side near the south end is a rectangular platform (*c*), possibly a house site, while another lies across the hollow-way to the west. A low bank on the N.E. side of the field is probably the boundary of a paddock or close and a shallow ditch in the western part of the field may have enclosed further building sites. A number of indeterminate depressions near the bailey ditch may be the result of quarrying.

The existence of a village near the castle is of some interest, in that the site is unusual for a primary settlement in this part of Cambridgeshire. It is probable that the village grew up after 1066 as a direct result of the building of the castle and is not an early settlement there. When the castle fell into disuse, perhaps towards the end of the medieval period, the village then decayed and its inhabitants moved away to a more conveniently situated place at Camps Green, three-quarters of a mile away to the N.E., where it still remains.

Neither the actual size of the village nor its date of desertion can be ascertained from documents, for it lies in an area of early dispersed woodland settlement, and such population figures that exist are useless. This writer has described elsewhere the problems inherent in dating deserted settlements in this type of area,¹ but briefly the difficulty is that all recorded population figures refer not only to the village itself, but to all the other farms and hamlets in the parish, of which there were at least twelve by the thirteenth century at the latest. In addition, as the population moved away to a place still within the parish, the surviving figures show no overall decrease which would indicate the actual period of desertion. Finally, the records themselves are defective as a result of evasion, or deterioration of the documents.

Thus the statistics as they exist are of little value. Domesday Book (1086) gives a recorded population of forty-nine for 'Camps', but as this includes Shudy Camps parish and perhaps Bartlow as well, it cannot be compared with later figures.² In 1279 sixty-seven tenants are listed for the manor of Castle Camps, certainly indicating an increase over the 1086 figure but fairly typical elsewhere in the county.³ The 1327 Subsidy Rolls name forty-four taxpayers in the parish. This certainly indicates a sharp fall in population, but is again common everywhere in Cambridgeshire at this time and has no special significance here.⁴ The 1377 Poll Tax⁵ records the names of at least forty people over the age of fourteen, but the Roll is much damaged and apparently not complete. The 1524 Subsidy Roll⁶ is intact and lists thirty-three taxpayers, but by this time evasion had increased greatly and no reliance can be placed on the figures. All the subsequent Subsidy returns are of even less value as evasion of tax grew. Thus there is no real indication of when the village of Castle Camps was deserted.

One other feature which still remains near the castle and village is a large earthen dam which spans a shallow valley 600 yards N.E. of the castle (TL 630429). It is 180 yards long and 10 ft high in the centre. It is now broken through to allow a small stream to flow, but formerly must have produced a lake of some 8 acres. This is perhaps the site of the medieval fishpond recorded as being at Castle Camps on the De Veres estates.⁷

¹ C. C. Taylor, 'Three Deserted Medieval Settlements in Whiteparish', *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* LXIII (1968), 39-45.

² *V.C.H. Cambridgeshire* I (1938), 340.

⁴ P.R.O. E. 179/81/6.

⁶ P.R.O. E. 179/81/34.

³ *Rot. Hund.* II (1818), 424-5.

⁵ P.R.O. E. 179/81/7.

⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1313-17), p. 63.

LATE SAXON SETTLEMENTS IN THE ST NEOTS AREA

P. V. ADDYMAN

III. The village or township at St Neots

Commercial developments of various types on the Ouse terrace gravels in the St Neots area in recent years have revealed a number of Late Saxon settlements. The present paper is the third of the three¹ which present information recorded in excavation prior to their destruction, in this case by house building. Specialist reports for all the sites will be given in a fourth paper together with an assessment of the contemporary environment, economy and material culture.

SUMMARY

THE Late Saxon settlement, discovered in 1929-32 by Mr C. F. Tebbutt on the eastern edge of St Neots during limited gravel quarrying, again came under threat in 1961 when local authority and private house building was planned for nearby areas. The excavation showed that much of the area had, in fact, already been destroyed by medieval and post-medieval features (the subject of a separate report) but it revealed at least one large Late Saxon timber building of some complexity and there were parts of perhaps five or six more, together with ditches, trenches, post holes and pits. None of the hut-like pits of the 1929-32 excavation was found. Finds from the two areas are similar in character and date. The two were doubtless in contemporary occupation, and presumably represent different specialized parts of the same settlement. Observations by Mr Tebbutt and Mr G. T. Rudd in 1964 suggested, indeed, that the settlement may have extended some way to the west and was bounded by a ditch running along the east side of Church Street and the south side of Cambridge Street. The settlement also extended east of the nearby tributary to Hen Brook, as is shown by a scatter of Saxo-Norman pottery and the chance find of a coin of Cnut. The excavation, though unsatisfactorily limited, provided evidence therefore that the settlement covered a considerable area, perhaps approaching 20 acres (8 hectares); that it related as much to Hen Brook and the area around St Mary's Church as it did to the Ouse bridgehead and the priory; and that it contained buildings of types now becoming commonplace on Late Saxon sites. The various finds of pottery, stone and metal serve to relate it to its locality; all are unexceptional and find a ready place in the local cultural and economic picture.

¹ The Eaton Socon settlement was described in *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), 38-73 and the Little Paxton settlement in *Proc. C.A.S.* LXII (1969), 59-93.

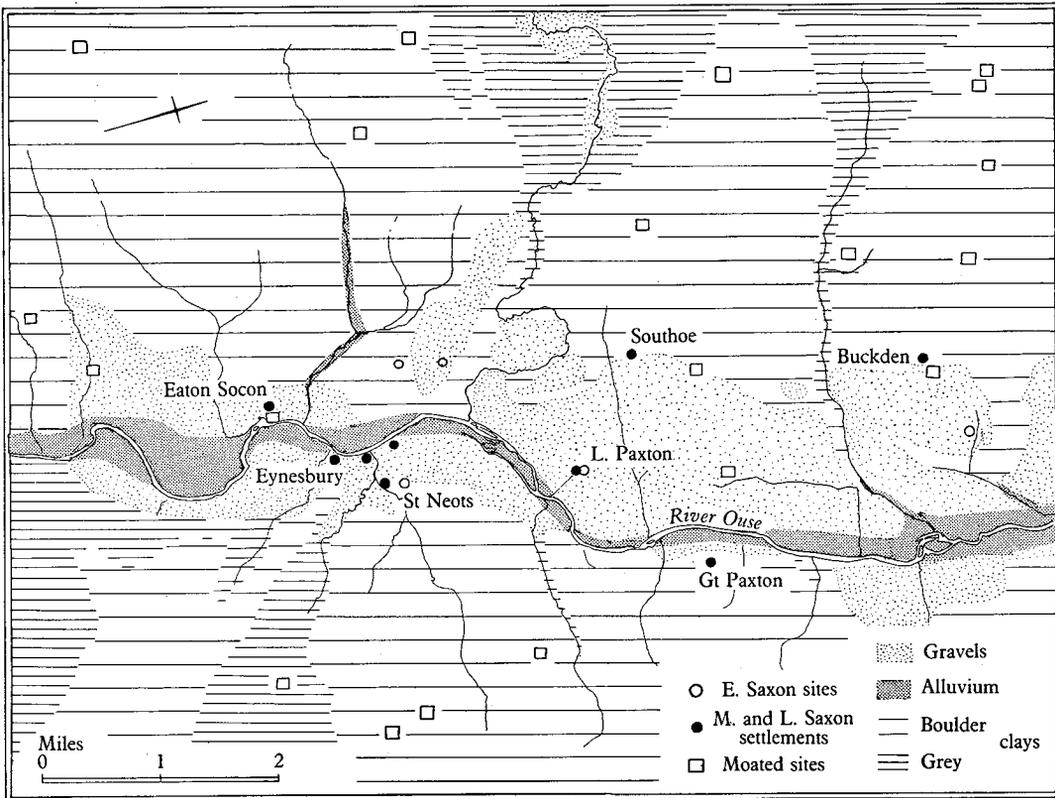


Fig. 1. The St Neots area: geological map showing the distribution of early, middle and late Saxon, and moated sites in relation to the clay and gravel. (Based on the Ordnance Survey 2½ in. map and the 1 in. geological survey (N.S.) by permission of the Directors General.)

INTRODUCTION

The Saxon settlement at St Neots, and the present town, are on the First-Second gravel terrace of the Ouse, immediately east of the river. In Eynesbury, to the south of Hen brook, the terrace (Fig. 1) is separated from the river by alluvium deposited on the slip-off slope of the meander there.¹ The gravels vary in thickness but have been recorded at depths of up to 14 ft in St Neots where they consist chiefly of chalk pebbles, flint, and quartzite fragments, with a foot or so of 'hogging', brown non-humic soil with some gravel, above. Below the gravel lies Oxford Clay, here some 90 ft

¹ Geological Survey of Great Britain, *Huntingdon and Biggleswade*, London (1965), pp. 70-2.

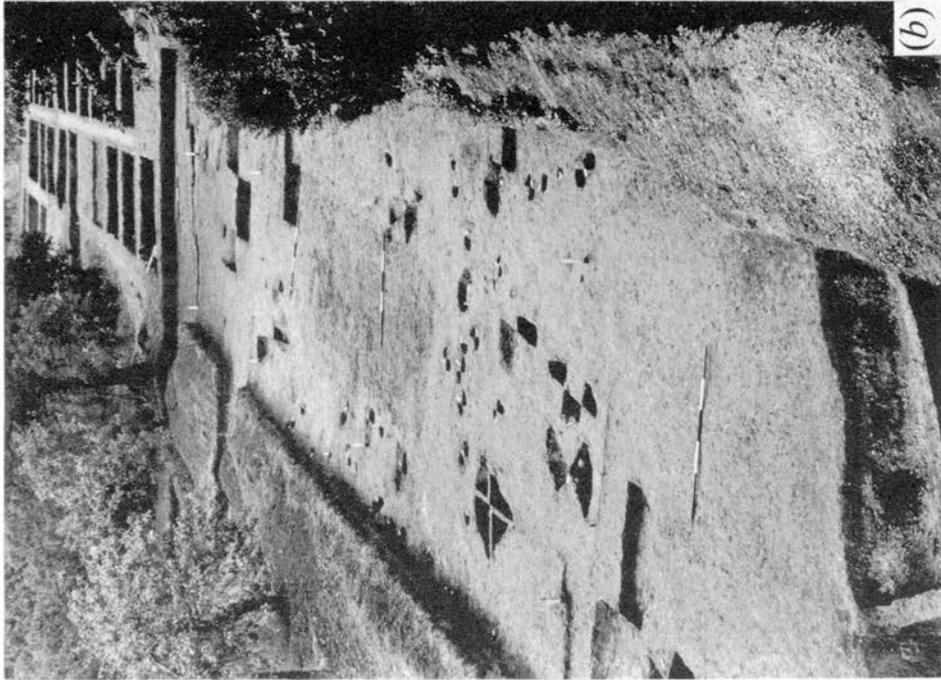
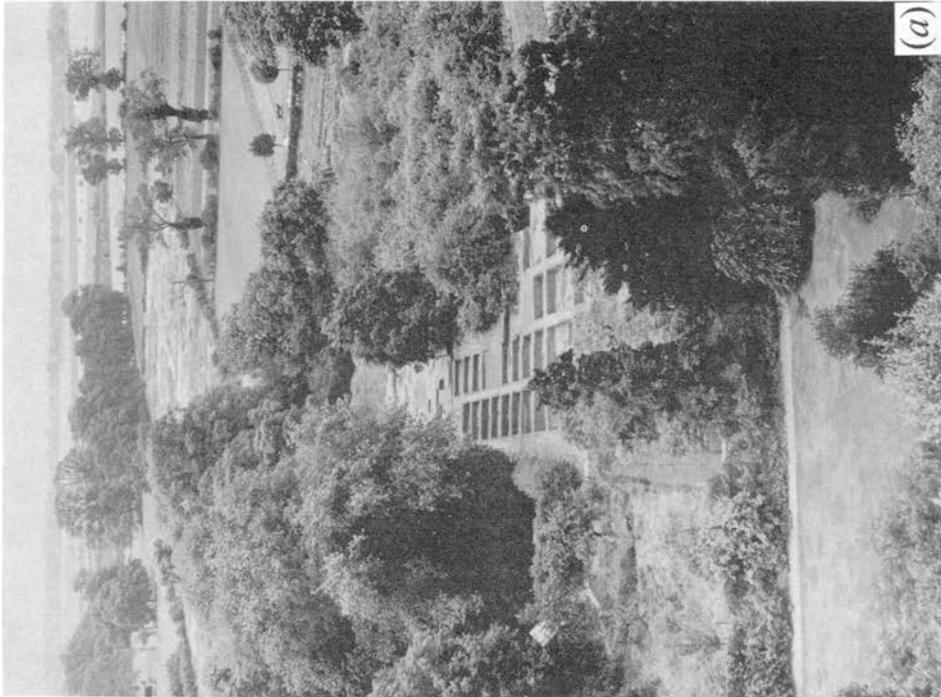


Plate I

(a) St Neots: the Anglo-Saxon settlement during excavation, 1961, from the tower of St Mary's Church looking east. The settlement probably extends into the fields beyond.

(b) St Neots: eastern area I from the east.

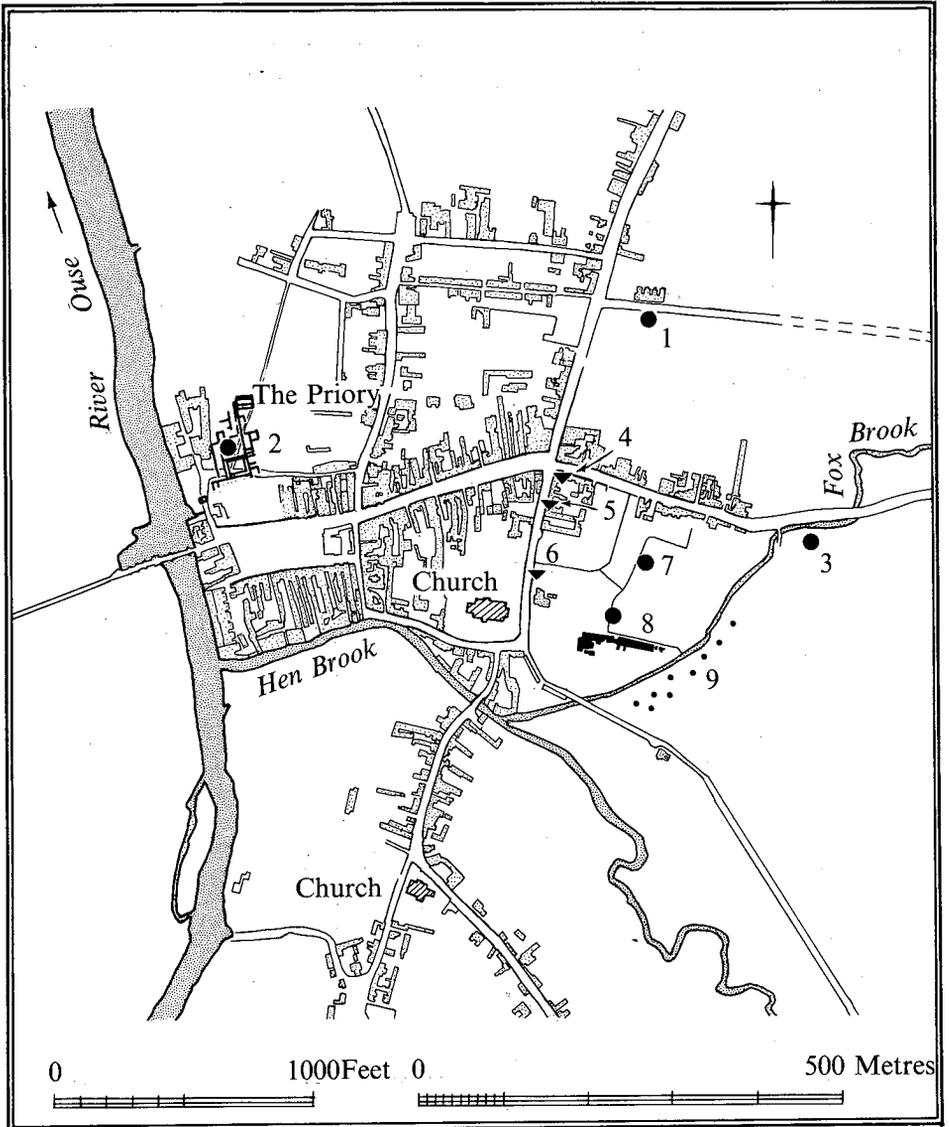


Fig. 2. St Neots: the distribution of Anglo-Saxon and Norman finds. Map based on the O.S. 25 in. map of 1887, by permission, to show town plan before recent development. The layout of the north part of the town dates to the nineteenth century.

thick as a nearby borehole has shown.¹ The Oxford Clay in this area contains fossil shell. There are outcrops of boulder clay nearby, just east of the Saxon settlement, and also to the west, beyond alluvial deposits across the Ouse. The terrace in the immediate area of the Saxon site is relatively level, though dissected by the local streams. The character of the landscape soon changes towards the east, however, where the ground rises (Plate I) to a gently undulating boulder clay terrain.

The Middle Ouse valley in which St Neots and the other Late Saxon settlements lie is a well-developed river system, though with one of the driest catchments in Britain. The gravels drain quickly and the Oxford Clay, virtually impermeable, is of little use as a source of groundwater. The light soils to which the gravels give rise are therefore prone to dry out in the summer, but are nevertheless extremely fertile. The St Neots settlement itself, set on the 50-ft contour immediately around the banks of the Hen Brook and its tributary Fox Brook, had an ample and convenient water supply in the streams.

First indications of a major Saxon settlement at St Neots came from observations made by Mr C. F. Tebbutt during limited gravel quarrying in a field south of Cambridge Street in the 1920s, and from his subsequent excavations.² These and later observations including those described below make it clear that the settlement covered an area of up to 20 acres (8 hectares) lying mostly north of the tributary to Hen Brook (Fig. 2) but also extending to the east. A ditch at the corner of Church Street and Cambridge Street (Fig. 2, 4) which apparently continues south along the east side of Church Street perhaps represents a western boundary to the settlement, and similar boundaries may exist elsewhere.

Various finds of Saxon material made outside this area probably have little relevance to the Late Saxon site, but they are important in any discussion of the origin of the settlement. An Early Saxon mixed inhumation and cremation cemetery was found in the nineteenth century at the west end of Avenue Road from which two urns and two cruciform brooches are recorded.³ No settlement of this period has yet been located but one doubtless lies nearby, presumably within the area of modern St Neots. Some kind of Middle Saxon occupation is suggested, however, in the area later occupied by St Neots Priory. A few sherds of black micaceous hand-made pottery together with a seventh-century sceatta were found beneath the extreme south end of the kitchen range (Fig. 2, 2).⁴ There are obvious topographical reasons for occupation in such a place, within a hundred yards of the Ouse a little north of the present bridge and near the ford or ferry which, Jamison has suggested,⁵ played an important

¹ *Ibid.*, with note of bore taken at TL 183601 (Messrs Paine and Co.'s Brewery) on the 50 ft contour.

² *Proc. C.A.S.* xxxiii (1933), 137-48.

³ *V.C.H. Huntingdonshire* 1, 277.

⁴ *Proc. C.A.S.* LIX (1966), 41.

⁵ C. M. Jamison, 'St Neots in Toseland Hundred' in *V.C.H. Huntingdonshire* II, 337-46.

part in the development of the medieval town. The early presence of such a crossing here is suggested by the name of the hamlet on the west bank, Eaton Ford. It is therefore the more surprising that there is no evidence, at least up to the present, of Late Saxon occupation in this area.

The relationship of the Middle Saxon material to St Neots Priory is hard to assess. The many misconceptions and legends attached to the early history of both St Neot and of his priory have recently been reviewed by Marjorie Chibnall,¹ but from the documentary evidence one would expect a late tenth-century date for the founding of the priory, some 300 years later than that of the pottery and the sceatta. Excavations by Mr Tebbutt on the Priory site revealed no building earlier than the thirteenth century although some unstratified eleventh-century pottery was found.² Little excavation was undertaken below the floor levels of the later buildings, however, and further excavation may yet reveal earlier structures. Civilian burials were found to the south. It seems clear from the *Liber Eliensis* that the tenth-century priory, which apparently fell into decay in the eleventh century, was refounded after the Norman Conquest, perhaps c. 1086.³ Clearly Mr Tebbutt's excavations were concerned with the refounded priory, but there is no assurance that the earlier priory was on the same site. It is likely to have been, but it could have been sited almost anywhere within the Manor of Eynesbury, which at that time included what are now the separate parishes of Eynesbury and St Neots. There is therefore the remotest possibility that the Late Saxon site which is the subject of this report may be the pre-Conquest precursor of St Neots Priory.

One effect of the refoundation of the priory was to stimulate the growth of medieval St Neots. The priory was still within Eynesbury parish in the twelfth century, but it was a centre of pilgrimage, and the consequent growth of settlement around it is thought to have led to the formation of a new parish. Subsequently it was St Neots rather than Eynesbury which developed commercially. It was conveniently placed to profit from water-borne traffic up the Ouse, navigable to this point in the twelfth century. It was also the crossing point for main routes linking the locality to Cambridge, Bedford, Kimbolton and probably Huntingdon and their areas. The grant of weekly markets and fairs by Henry I and Henry II⁴ together with the river and bridge assured St Neots' future. Doubtless the market place and the clear traces of planning in the streets around it are the results of this growing prosperity.⁵ What is

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* LIX (1966), 67-74.

² *Ibid.* pp. 33-76, *passim*.

³ E. O. Blake (ed.), *Liber Eliensis* (Camden Soc., 3rd ser.), xcii (1962).

⁴ *V.C.H. Huntingdonshire* II, 337. Many general points about the early history of St Neots are made in G. C. Gorham, *The History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St Neots* (London, 1820), though the work is undependable in some respects.

⁵ The relationships of St Neots and Eynesbury and the formation of the new parish are discussed in *V.C.H. Huntingdonshire* II, 337-46 (St Neots) and 272-80 (Eynesbury). In his forthcoming

not clear in all this, however, is the relationship of the developing St Neots, or indeed of Eynesbury, to the Late Saxon settlement, nor the reason for the siting of St Mary's Church in St Neots, the parish church, so far away from the later medieval centre.

The two parish churches of St Mary, in St Neots and in Eynesbury, are themselves oddly close to one another. For St Mary's, St Neots, there is documentary evidence of twelfth-century church building, and there is thirteenth-century work in the chancel. St Mary's, Eynesbury was recorded in Domesday, though no eleventh-century work can be traced in the present building. St Mary's, St Neots is very close indeed to the Late Saxon settlement, which is itself the one major concentration of archaeological material of Late Saxon date within the joint parishes of St Neots and Eynesbury, the former Manor of Eynesbury. The late tenth-century grant of two hides of land in Eynesbury to the first St Neots priory by the founders Aelfric and Aelfleda demonstrates the existence of Eynesbury at this time; perhaps it would not be unreasonable to attach that name to the one major concentration of Late Saxon occupation material within the joint parish of St Neots and Eynesbury, and to identify the site as Late Saxon Eynesbury. Whether it would therefore be possible to suggest that St Mary's, St Neots is, in fact, the earlier church is quite impossible to say without careful assessment of the historical material or without excavation inside the two churches. Its prior existence would, however, at least explain its odd position in relation to the medieval centre of St Neots.

Mr Tebbutt's archaeological vigilance in St Neots has provided important corroborative evidence that no other main Late Saxon settlement is likely to be found within the St Neots or Eynesbury area. He was able to observe a long series of sewer trenches dug through the town almost as far as Eynesbury church and westwards through the Market Square to Priory Lane in 1954.¹ There was a preponderance of late medieval and post-medieval finds in these trenches, and a lack of Saxon material, in keeping with the idea that Late Saxon St Neots/Eynesbury was situated to the east of Church Street. His find of a twelfth-century hut near Eynesbury church on another occasion² has little bearing on the point, and the significance of the curious pot (pp. 97-8 below) found in the nineteenth century on Eynesbury Coneygeare (Appendix A)³ is difficult to assess. It may well be Middle Saxon in date, or it may have been a cinerary urn from a very late pagan burial.

Saxon St Neots became something of a type site for Late Saxon settlements in

history of St Neots Mr C. F. Tebbutt puts forward an alternative theory for the origin of St Neots which sees an original settlement based on The Cross at the east end of High Street, and any early settlement at the west end restricted to limited high unfordable ground. The present market place was probably originally on occasionally flood-covered ground and the centre of commercial activity only shifted there after the 4-ft make-up of the area in late medieval or post-medieval times.

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1956), 79-87.

² *Proc. C.A.S.* LIV (1961), 85-9.

³ G. C. Gorham, *The History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St Neots* (London, 1820), p. 128.

Eastern England, and certainly for the distinctive shell-filled wheel-thrown pottery of somewhat soapy feel which was found almost to the exclusion of other types in the original excavations. Mr Tebbutt had kept watch on the gravel diggings, in the former grounds of Hall Place, St Neots, for several years in the late 1920s, and in 1929 recognized pits and other features. His subsequent excavations revealed eight pits of three distinct types. Four were roughly rectangular, with bulging sides, rounded corners and vertical walls; three were oval or more or less round; and one was trapezoidal. Five of these were interpreted as hut-dwellings, and three, the smaller bowl-shaped ones, were thought to be rubbish pits. Two ditches, roughly parallel, ran between pairs of pits and were thought to have been drainage ditches to remove surplus water from the site and to prevent flooding of the pits. The finds were relatively meagre, consisting in the main of animal bones and domestic debris, with some Romano-British and an amount of Late Saxon pottery. In addition there were parts of clay loomweights, fragments of Niedermendig lava quernstones, a bone comb and 'pin beater' and several pieces of ironwork. The pottery was reassessed in Mr J. G. Hurst's definitive paper on St Neots ware.¹ The ninth-century date suggested for the site on the original report² depended in the main on the association of the material with a T-shaped axe. Mr Hurst puts some weight on the occurrence of a particular rim form, while admitting that the axe must have a broader date range than that originally suggested. These conclusions are reviewed below (pp. 75-83) and a brief new description of the axe, a ploughshare and other iron objects is given, in view of their exceptional interest (pp. 91 ff.).

The area south of Cambridge Street was extensively redeveloped in the early 1960s, and the excavation which forms the main subject of this report was undertaken by the (then) Ministry of Works in advance of the building of private houses on part of the former grounds of Hall Place, a mansion which once stood on Church Street almost opposite the church. This property was immediately adjacent to the 1929-32 excavation site (Fig. 3), and the Late Saxon settlement proved to extend into the area, at least where later disturbance had not destroyed it. In 1961 and 1962 an area at TL 186602, just south of the 1929-32 site, was excavated using a 12 ft 6 in. grid, with partial clearance by machine. The work was undertaken by permission and with the generous co-operation of Mr S. Smith, the owner of the property. Further development at the corner of Huntingdon Street and Church Street in 1964 revealed various medieval features, published elsewhere,³ and a 'deep defensive ditch' that ran roughly parallel with Cambridge Street and swept round the corner to follow Church Street which is believed to be the boundary ditch of the Late Saxon settlement. Mr G. T. Rudd and Mr Tebbutt have kindly provided a report on this im-

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1956), 51-2 and 67-8.

² *Proc. C.A.S.* XXXIII (1933), 145.

³ *Med. Archaeol.* x (1966), 158-60.

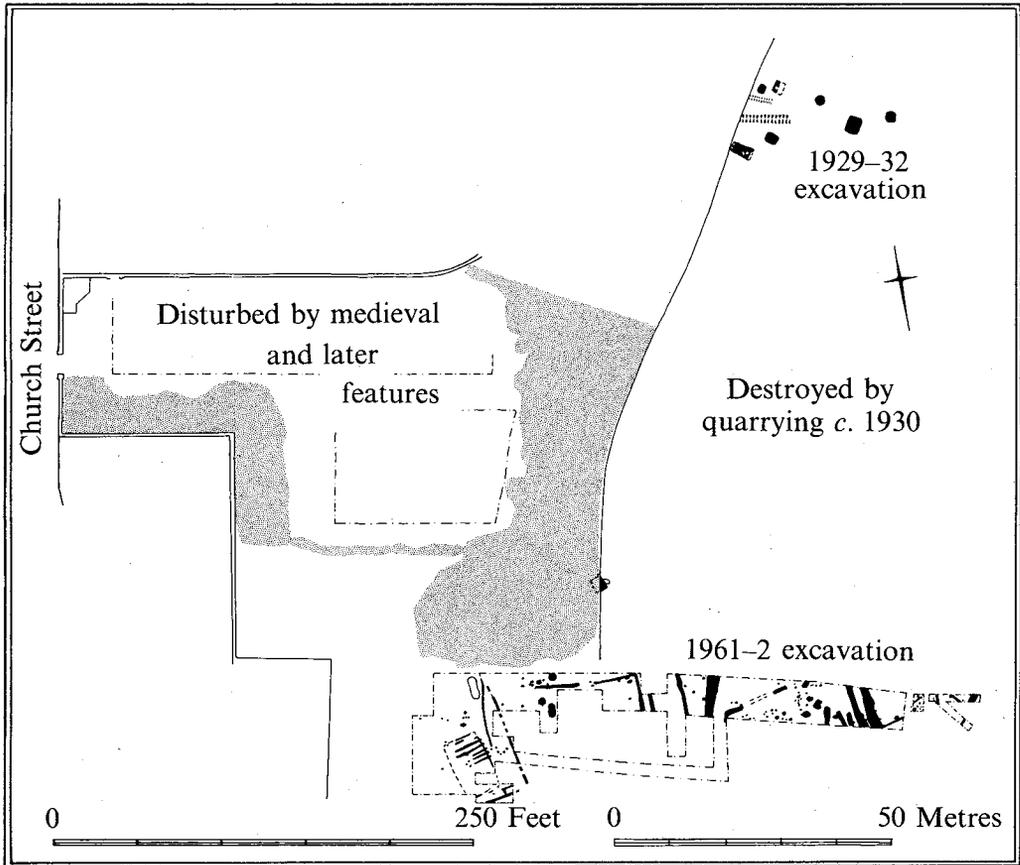


Fig. 3. The St Neots Anglo-Saxon settlement, showing the excavations of 1929-32 and 1961-2.

portant work (pp. 68 ff. below). It is only the latest of a series of observations made by Mr Tebbutt over 40 years which have made it possible for more to be said about the archaeology of Saxon and medieval St Neots than can be said about any other small town in England. This report is a small tribute to him. It is also an exemplar and reproach to those charged with the archaeological care of small towns throughout the country.

THE EXCAVATION

The main area under threat, that adjoining Church Street (Fig. 3) was shown by trial excavation, resistivity survey and extensive mechanical clearance to have been destroyed or hopelessly disturbed by late medieval, post-medieval or modern features, the subject of a separate report.¹ Only the ditch located near Church Street in 1964 (pp. 67 ff., below) is of consequence to this report, and no further consideration of the area is given here. Grid excavation and mechanical clearance in the orchard and market garden east of St Neots vicarage showed, however, that Late Saxon structures were preserved in a narrow strip between the quarry which led to the discovery of the site in the 1920s and a deep depression, perhaps a moat, pond or disused quarry, to the south. Garden features and other modern disturbances had locally destroyed other parts of the site. The excavation was further limited by the need to retain certain trees and, since this fortuitously preserved strip of the settlement was located at a late stage of the excavation, by lack of time. Post holes and flat-bottomed trenches were found in all parts of the area, some clearly being parts of substantial timber buildings. There were also a few pits of Late Saxon date, and several ditches. At the west end of the site the Saxon features were cut into the occupation levels and features of a Romano-British site of the third and fourth centuries. This site readily explains the extensive residual Romano-British material in Saxon features in both the 1929-32 excavation and in the present work. It also made difficult, however, the recognition and interpretation of the shallow Late Saxon features. In the western area there were also a few pits of the twelfth, thirteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, indicating continuity of use of the area long after the settlement nucleus had shifted.

The Western Area (Figs. 4 and 5; Plates II(a), (b) and III(a))

Some 15 in. of mixed garden soil was removed to reveal natural 'hogging' over much of the area, though there was an area of dark mixed gravelly soil with much Romano-British pottery over the western part. Into these materials were cut the various shallow trenches 67, 68-71, 101-4, 123 and 145. 67 had been set out in two straight sections with an oval post hole at the point of junction. The remainder ran up to it more or less at right angles, in some cases passing a short distance beyond it. The trenches were some 12 to 16 in. wide, regular, flat bottomed for the most part, with vertical sides where the sides were well preserved. The parallel trenches were some $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft apart. It seems clear enough that the trenches together represent a timber building, here termed Structure A. A post emplacement in the length of 145

¹ *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, forthcoming.

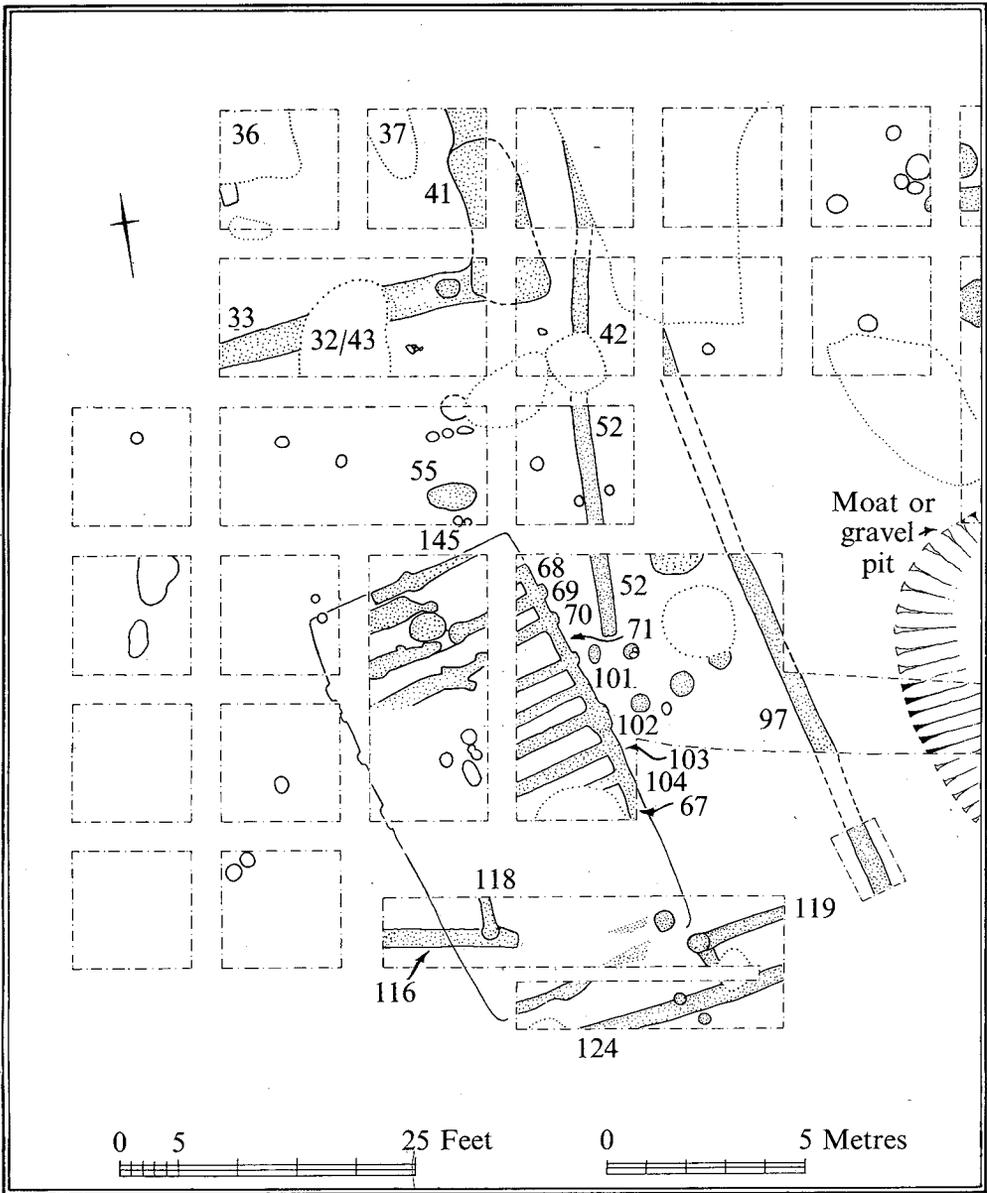


Fig. 4. St Neots Anglo-Saxon settlement: the western area showing a major structure, perhaps a granary, apparently based on ground-sills with joists for planked floor.

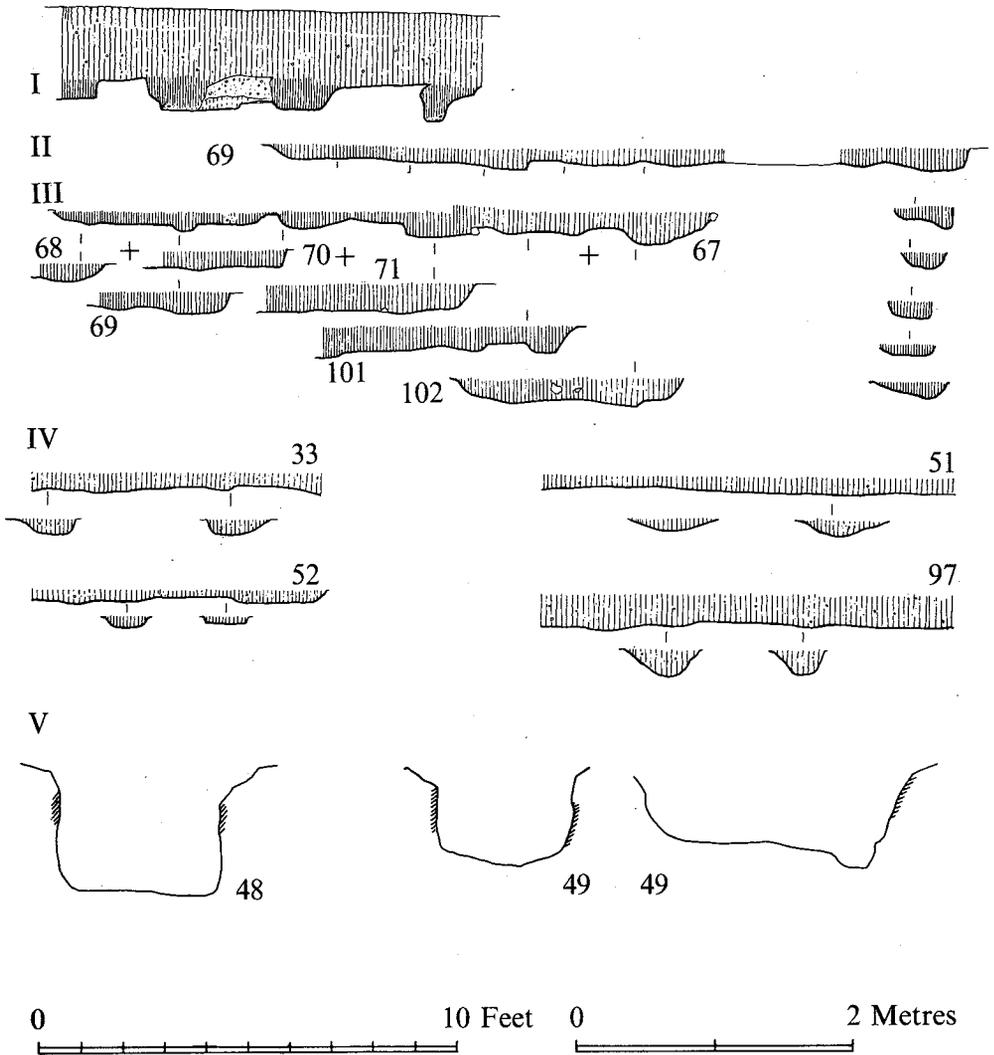


Fig. 5. Western and central areas: typical sections of trenches (IV) and profiles of pits (V). Structure A, sections: I, overburden and obliquely sectioned joists; II, longitudinal and cross-sections of typical joist 69; III, longitudinal sections of ground-sill 67 and joists.

and others within the structure perhaps represent the centre line, and trenches 145 and 123 the two ends. In the western part of the area the trenches, which were filled with dark even soil, were not distinguished in the dark occupation soil of the underlying Romano-British site. Indeed the Roman layers had already been excavated when

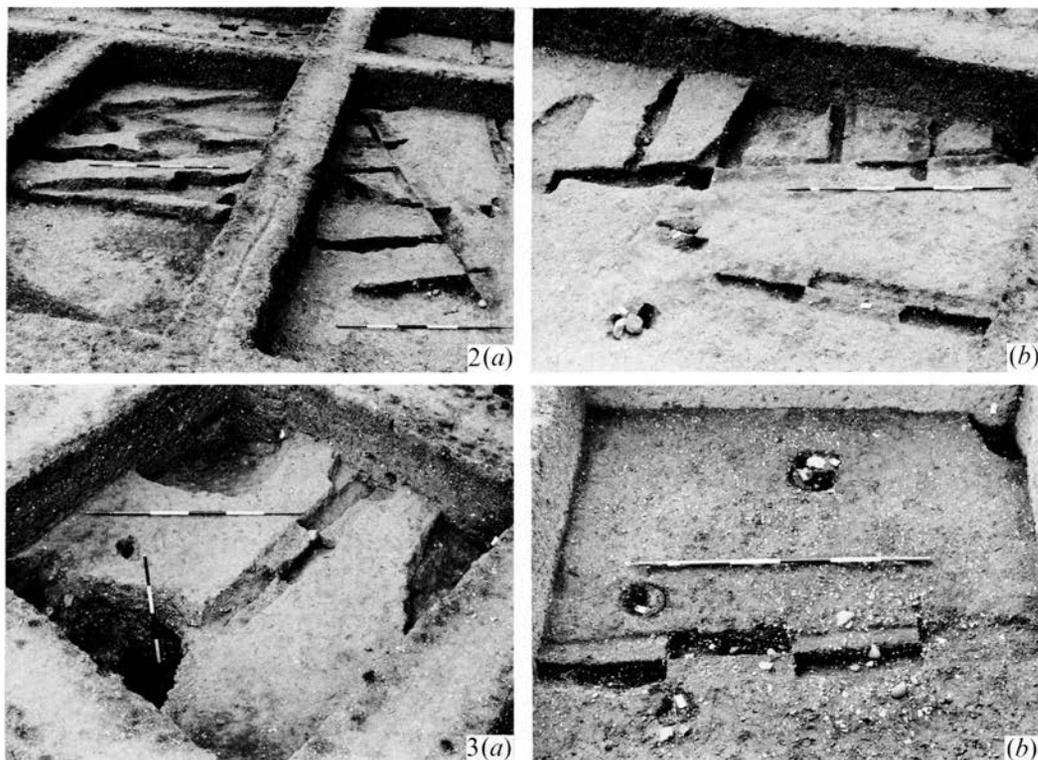


Plate II

- (a) Trenches of Structure A from the south, shown half-excavated by the quadrant system.
 (b) The same from the east, with trench 52 in the foreground.

Plate III

- (a) St Neots Anglo-Saxon settlement: detail of western area, showing trench 42 cut by medieval pit 52 (foreground), with pit 41 top left and modern pit top right.
 (b) Trench 52 and post holes excavated by the quadrant system.

Structure A was first recognized in more propitious conditions further east. The structure has been reconstructed in outline (Fig. 13) on the assumption, perhaps unjustified, that it would have been symmetrical around the presumed axis. The trench 119 and adjacent post hole near the south-east corner of Structure A may be connected with it, or it may be part of another nearby building. Some 14 ft east of Structure A a long trench 97, some 8 in. deep with steeply sloping sides and V-profile, ran more or less parallel with the axis of Structure A. It is clearly different in character to the trenches of Structure A, and it may represent a small boundary ditch, or perhaps the emplacement for a fence defining the area around the structure.

Some 20 ft north of Structure A more or less on the same alignment was trench 33, similar to those of Structure A in profile, filling and depth, which seems to have turned at right angles to continue north. Unfortunately the complex pit 41 which contained a mixed series of pottery of the eleventh–twelfth century, and a few thirteenth-century pieces, and which may have been redug more than once, confused interpretation at the corner. The deep thirteenth-century pit 32/43 also destroyed part of 33. Even so, the character of 33 and its layout suggests it may be part of another timber structure. Equally it may be the corner of another boundary. Provisionally it has been designated Structure B.

Running athwart the alignment of Structures A and B is the somewhat dog-legged trench 52, apparently set out in three straight sections. It was about 15 in. wide, from 6 to 9 in. deep, with a U-profile in parts, and with a flat bottom and vertical sides in other parts. The thirteenth-century pit 42 cut through the trench, and its northern end was destroyed by a large modern disturbance. Its relationship to the trench 97 could not be established. A group of Late Saxon post holes near its southern end may be connected with it. From its character 52 could represent part of another structure, but there are no other features obviously associated with it by alignment, and it may have been a fence. The alignment at least suggests that it belongs to a phase of occupation other than that of Structures A and B.

In addition to the features assigned to Structures A, B, and the supposed boundaries there are a number of post holes in the western area, some of which contained Late Saxon pottery, which are not clearly associated with any other features.

Pre-Saxon features (Fig. 6)

Many of the Late Saxon features contained residual Romano-British pottery, derived doubtless from a third- to fourth-century occupation site of which part was revealed near the western edge of the excavated area. Above the 'hogging' here there was a layer of dark gravelly soil containing much Romano-British pottery, and nearby was a shallow ditch or trench, 25, some 3 ft wide, about 15 in. deep, and of U-profile, filled with yellow-brown sandy soil. In places there were clay patches in the filling.

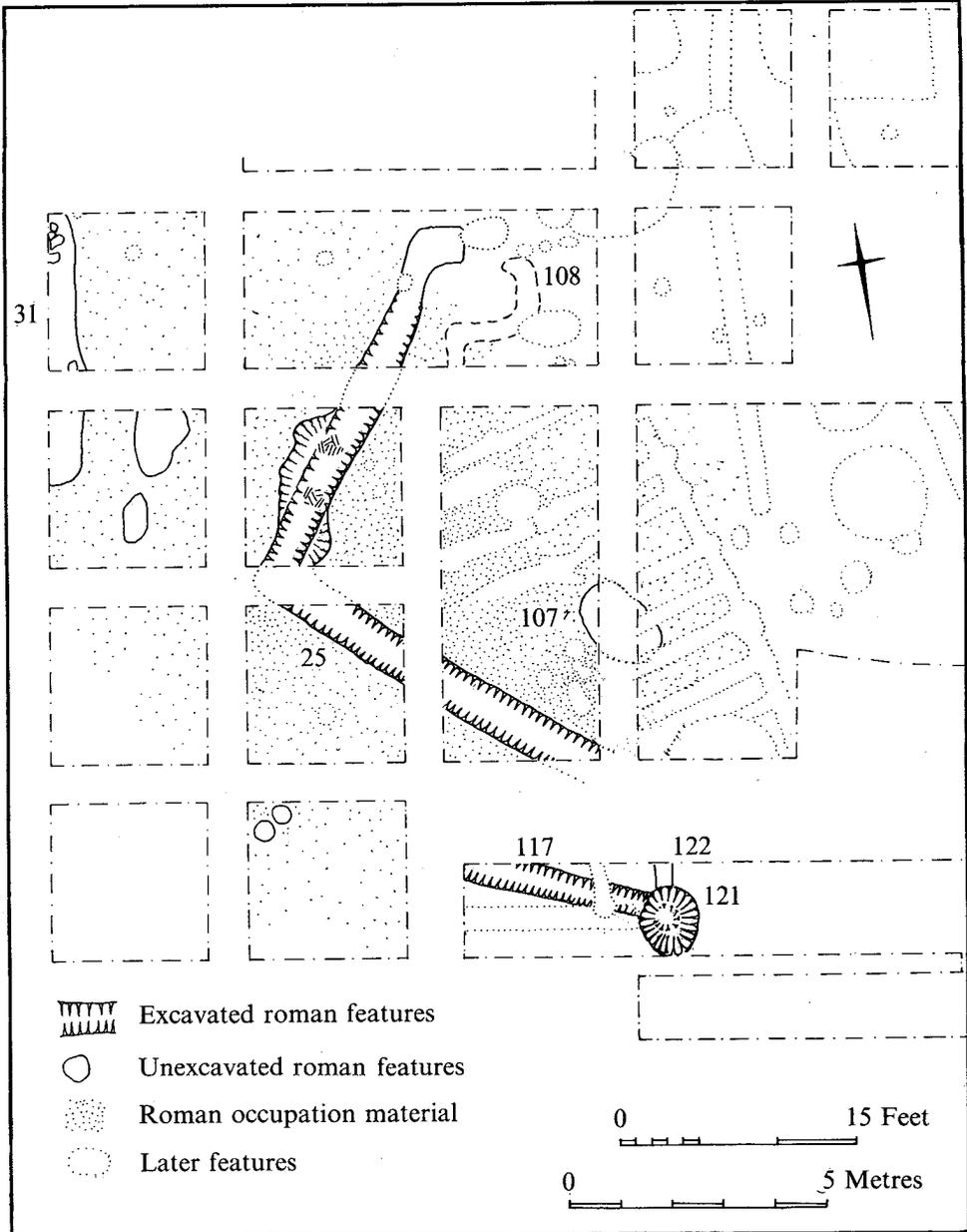


Fig. 6. Romano-British features in the western area.

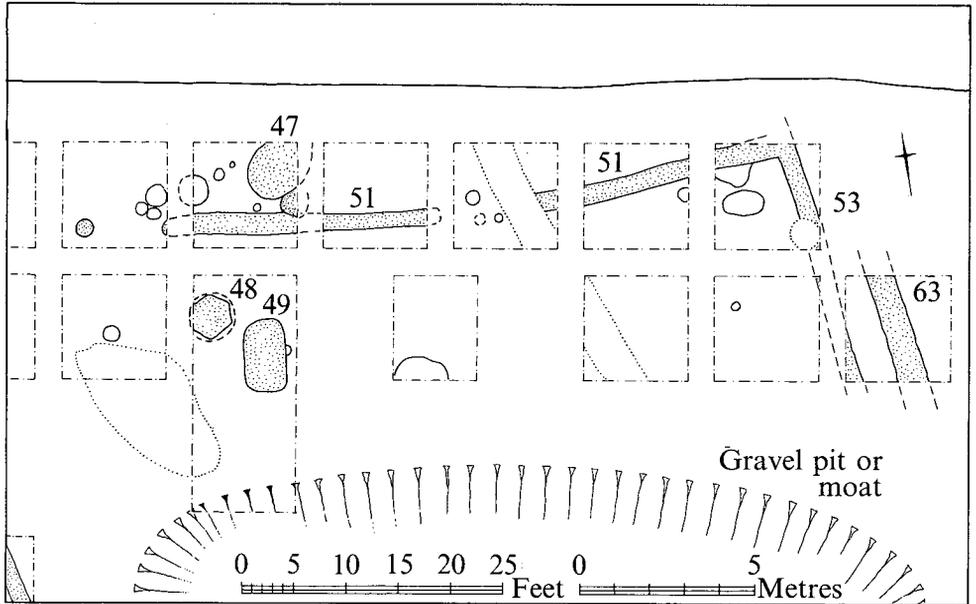


Fig. 7. St Neots Anglo-Saxon settlement: the central area, showing a possible timber structure and various pits.

The ditch was set out in two straight lengths meeting at right angles, and there were slight traces of some sort of curved termination at the north end. Within the angle formed by the two lengths of ditch were a few post holes and an oval pit. The various features also contained amounts of Romano-British pottery and a few small finds. At the western edge of the excavation another trench, 31, also contained Romano-British pottery in its lower filling, but Late Saxon sherds in its upper levels indicate it had remained as a hollow long after the site had been abandoned. Too little of the site has been excavated for any useful conclusions to be drawn, but the post holes suggest there were timber buildings, and the clay patches in the ditch may in fact have been packing material for posts set into it. The considerable amount of pottery and the small finds have been deposited in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

Post-Saxon features

Various modern garden features had disturbed the Saxo-Norman levels, but there were also a number of later medieval and fifteenth- and sixteenth-century pits. The complex oval pit 41, some 14 ft long and 2½ ft deep below the surface of the 'hogging', has been described above. It may have been redug, or at least have survived as a

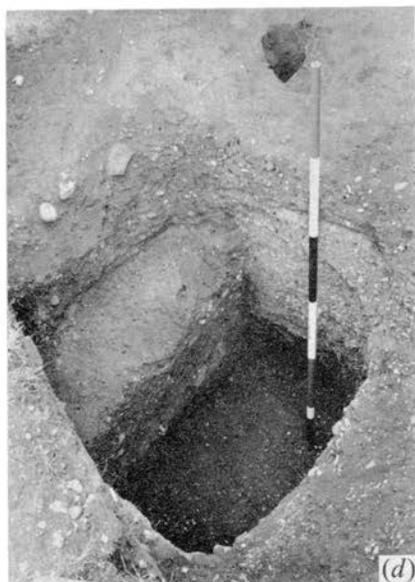
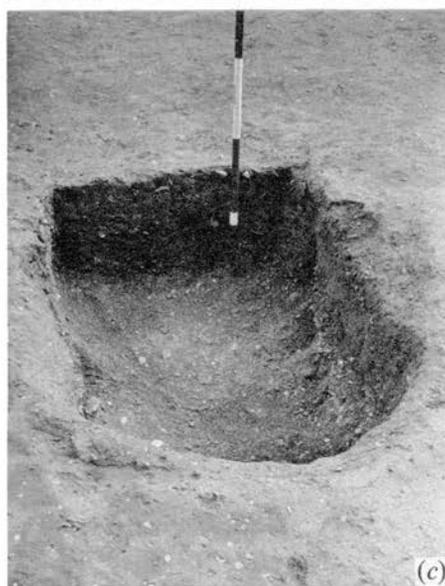
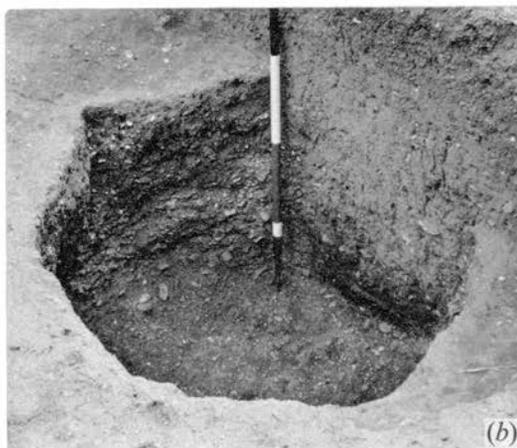
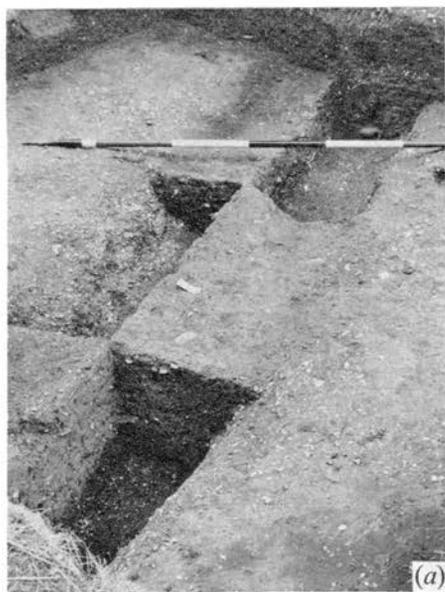


Plate IV

- (a) St Neots Anglo-Saxon settlement: Ditch 63 in the central area, excavated in quadrants.
 (b) Pit 48, possibly a St Neots ware pit kiln, from the east.
 (c) Pit 49 in the central area, half-sectioned.
 (d) Pit 42 in the western area, possibly a thirteenth-century latrine, shown partly half-sectioned.

hollow, for there were sherds of thirteenth-century pottery amongst the extensive but rather mixed group of eleventh- and twelfth-century pottery from it. The square pit 42 had vertical sides and a dark even soil fill, and was doubtless a latrine. It contained sherds of thirteenth-century cooking pots and glazed jugs. There were six pits for which pottery suggested a fifteenth- to sixteenth-century date, including one with clay and wood lining, which reached the water table and may have been a timber-lined well. These pits and the finds from them will be described in a separate report.

The Central Area (Figs. 5 and 7; Plates III(b), IV(a), (b) and (c))

The central area, a narrow strip between the quarry to the north and the pond or gravel pit to the south, contained three pits, three trenches, a ditch and several post holes of Late Saxon date and no other features apart from modern disturbances. The two trenches 51, both slightly curving, both shallow, with flat bottom and near-vertical sides, seem to be part of the same structure, and may be related to the post hole 67 in which a sherd of pottery of the ninth century was found. Though the middle part of 51 was partly destroyed by a modern feature and partly obscured by a baulk, it seems possible that there was a gap between the sections. There seems no reason to suppose that 51 and its associated post holes are not part of a structure of so-called 'boat-shaped' or 'barrel-shaped' plan. It is here designated Structure C. At its east end 51 ran into a trench 53 similar in character and identical in filling. It was not possible to establish the sequential relationship of 51 to 53, but from all appearances they were contemporary. Parallel to 53 some 3 ft to the east ran the much deeper trench 63, some 3 ft wide, with steeply sloping sides, flat base and filling of even dark brown soil. It differed in character from most of the trenches, and may perhaps have been a ditch forming the boundary of the property in which Structure C stood. Trench 97 some 86 ft away in the western area (p. 58 above), with which it was almost parallel, may represent the other boundary. Another nearby trench 64, also more or less parallel, is described below (pp. 66-7).

South of Structure C, near its west end, were two pits 48 and 49. The first, hexagonal with slightly undercut sides, was some 3 ft 9 in. deep. At its base was a layer of loose ash, probably wood ash, with compacted red-brown gravel above, and further ash above that. The upper filling was of grey-brown soil, with a charcoal layer near the top. The edges of the pit were heavily burnt in a band extending about 1 ft below the surface of the 'hogging', where the soil and gravel had oxidized a dark red. The edges of the pit were slightly eroded, suggesting it had been left open for a short time after the final burning. About one-half of a St Neots ware cooking pot, somewhat heat-cracked (Fig. 14, 30), lay on the bottom of the pit. The nearby pit 49 was oval, some 2½ ft deep, but otherwise similar to pit 48. It had steep sides, a basal layer of reddish-brown soil and gravel, and a small hole cut through the basal layer-

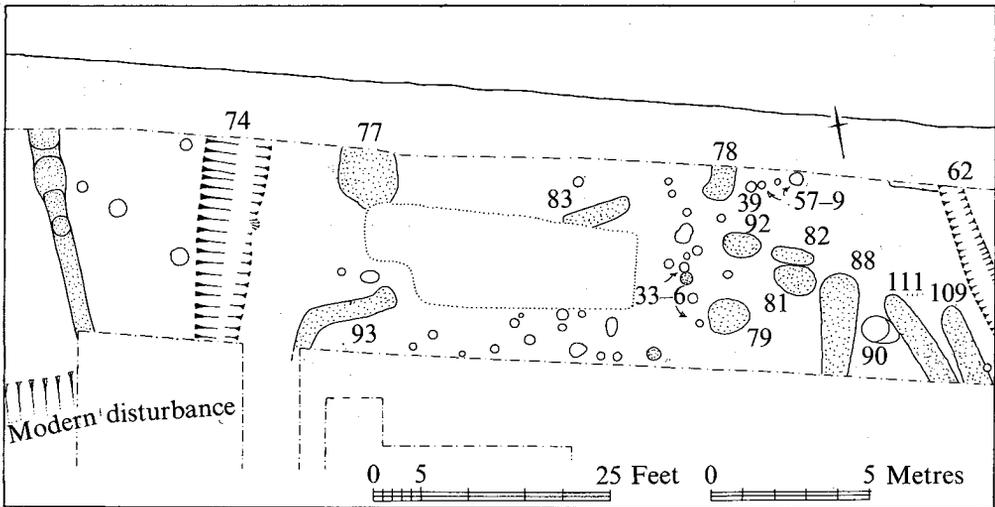


Fig. 8. St Neots Anglo-Saxon settlement: the eastern area I, showing ditches and post holes of two or more timber structures.

after burning. Above the basal layer were successive layers of ash, yellow-brown soil, grey-brown soil, further ash and further grey-brown soil. The edges of the pit were also heavily burnt in a band extending 1 ft below the top.¹ The burning is typical of what can be achieved when a wood fire is ignited in a pit; the underlying ground is scarcely scorched but the pit sides, where in contact with the flames, are left with clear signs of burning. Pit 49 contained an amount of St Neots ware (Fig. 14, 6, 8, 16, 22); and half of a St Neots ware cooking pot, heat-cracked, spalled and clearly overfired, was found in the upper of the two ash layers (Fig. 14, 17). The spalled pot is doubtless a waster and indicates the making of pottery at St Neots. Various possible interpretations of the pit in which it was found are suggested below (p. 75). Pit 47 was quite different in character; it was some 4½ ft wide and 1½ ft deep with a lower filling of grey-brown charcoal-specked soil containing some slag, and an upper filling of light-textured greyish soil. It may have been an internal feature of Structure C, but its purpose is a matter for speculation. The small shallow pit 54 may have been a structural feature of C.

¹ Because of a misunderstanding the section was removed before recording and is not, therefore shown here.

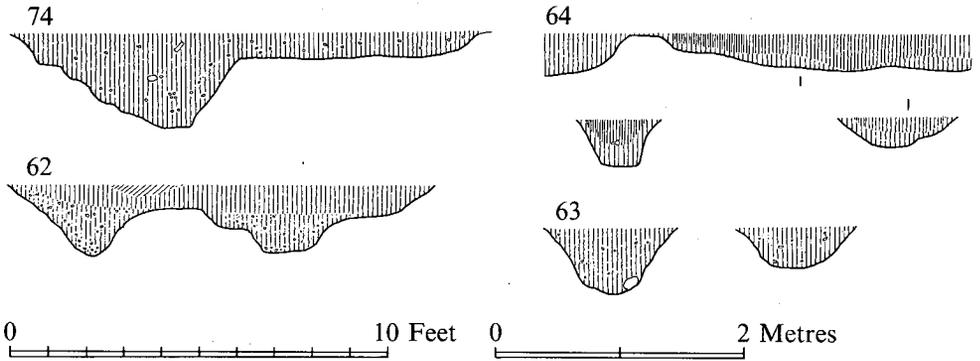


Fig. 9. Comparative sections of ditches and other features in the eastern areas.

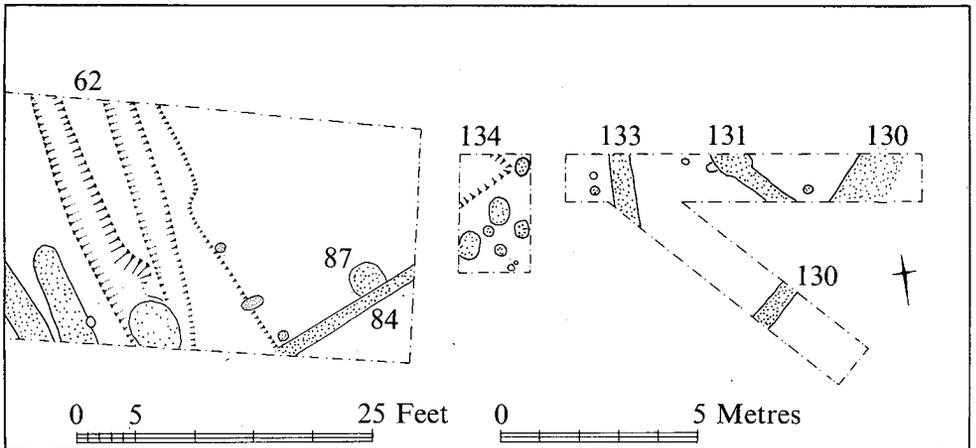
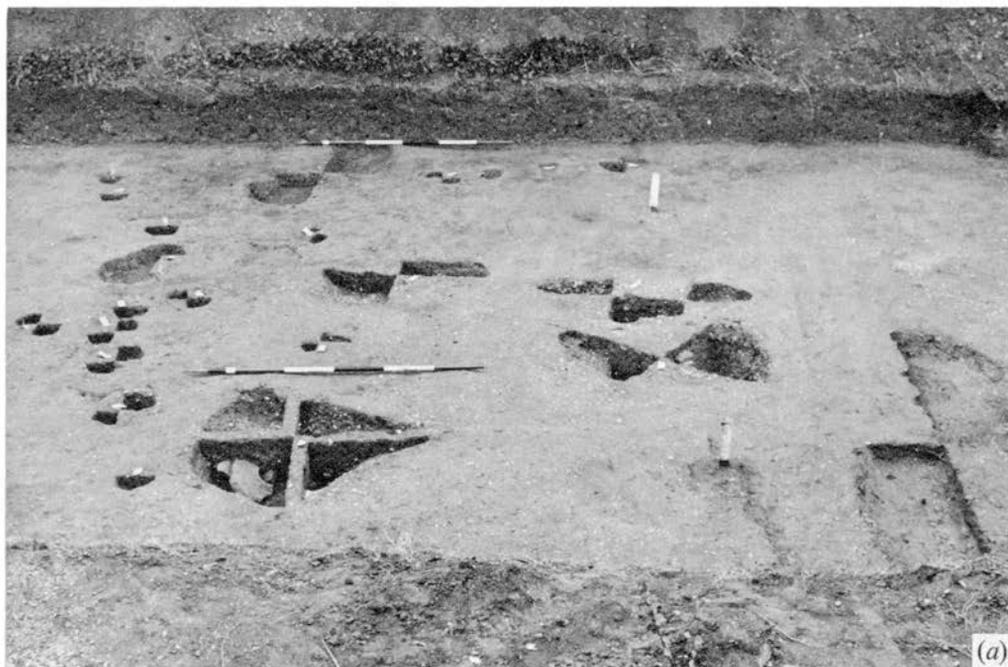


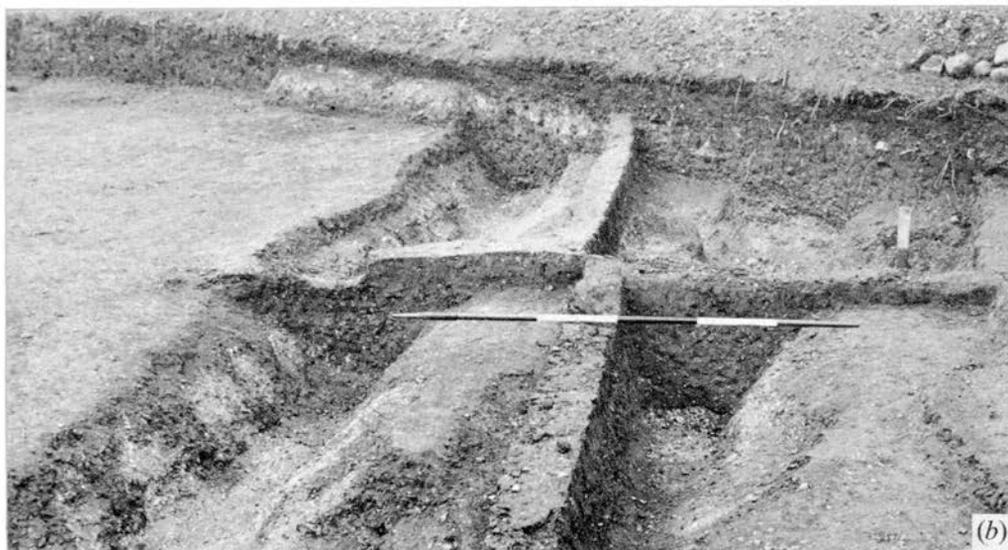
Fig. 10. St Neots Anglo-Saxon settlement: the eastern area II showing ditches, occupation platform and parts of various timber structures.

The Eastern Area I (Figs. 8 and 9; Plates III(b), IV(a), (b) and (c));
and the *Eastern Area II* (Figs. 9 and 10; Plates I(b), V(a) and (b))

With time short and baulks pointless in the local conditions the grid system was abandoned in the eastern area in favour of open clearance by machine. There was an evident improvement in results. The area was quite narrow; modern disturbance had again destroyed Saxon features to north and south, as trial excavation showed. Within the narrow strip various trenches and concentrations of post holes were found, some of which may represent structures. There were also several pits, two major



(a)



(b)

Plate V

- (a) St Neots Anglo-Saxon settlement: pits and post holes in eastern area, shown excavated by the quadrant system. Pit 79 contains a lava quern.
(b) The complex ditch 62, from the south.

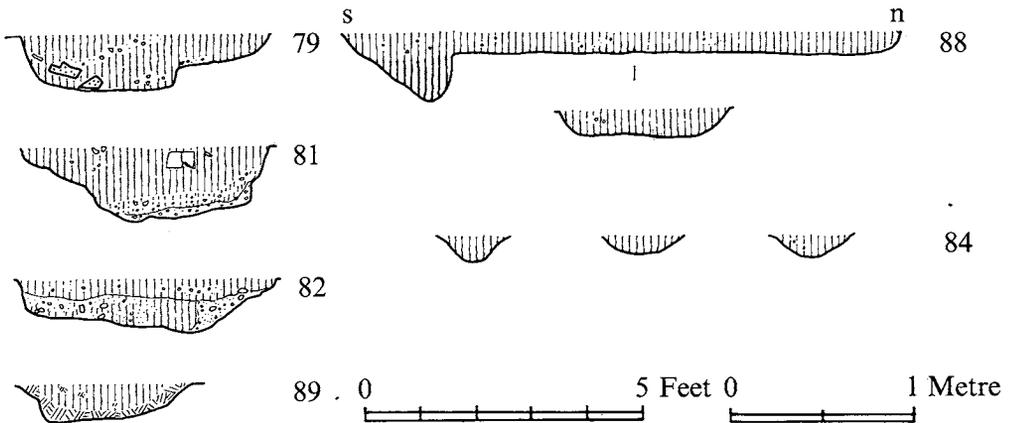


Fig. 11. Sections of various features in the eastern area.

ditches and a possible house platform. The features clearly represent several phases of Late Saxon occupation but interpretation is hazardous in so limited an area.

In Eastern Area I (Fig. 8) the trench 64, on an alignment shared by various other features of the site (Structure A, 97, 53 and 63 above, and some features further east) had steep sides and a fairly flat bottom in its southern part, but there were well-marked depressions in the bottom of the northern part, presumably post emplacements. The even grey-brown soil filling contained an amount of Late Saxon pottery including hand-made wares. The ditch 74 further east ran on a different alignment and was altogether more substantial. Its profile, with steep western slope, flat bottom, and eastern slope steep at first, then rather shallow, suggested that the ditch might have been recut. Even light brown soil in the lower part contained much St Neots ware and part of a Thetford-ware storage jar, while the dark brown soil of the upper part contained abraded pottery of all dates up to the Late Middle Ages. The ditch had clearly survived as a surface hollow for a considerable time. East of the ditch 74 much of the area was destroyed by the foundations of a greenhouse, but the discontinuous trench 93-83-78 seemed to divide the northern part, with very few features, from the southern part, with a large number. 93, the west part of the trench, was $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 ft wide, nowhere more than 7 in. deep though shallower at the east end, and with fairly steep sides. The trench turned into the destroyed area at its west end, and at its east there was a shallow oval depression, perhaps a post hole. The middle part, 83, was similar to 93 except that it has orange-brown soil amongst the normal dark earth filling. 78 was similar to 83 in profile and in filling. There was a post hole at its west end and it turned almost immediately north out of the excavated area. The two post holes between 83 and 78 and the four beyond 78 which continue the

same alignment were probably part of the 93-83-78 structure, whether fence or building. South of 93-83-78 were 26 post holes, most of which were probably Late Saxon though only two contained finds. Some are clearly in straight lines. It seems likely that they formed part of structures within an area bounded by 93-83-78. More than one structure of individual post construction is involved, but how many and of what plan it is impossible to say. There were five oval pits east of the post hole concentration, of which two, 79 and 81, were probably rubbish pits. 81 though shallow contained many finds in its two filling layers of dark grey-brown earth above and light grey sandy soil below. 79 had numerous animal bones, much pottery and various other finds including the almost complete quernstone (Fig. 16, 1). The oval pits 82 and 92, about 1 ft deep and of rounded profile, may have been structural features. They had a dark earth filling with some gravel. Nearby were three trenches 88, 111 and 109, with one or more of which they may have been associated. The trenches, flat bottomed and shallow, were thought of on excavation as timber emplacements rather than as ditches. They were all Saxon. The pit between them, 90, was of uncertain date.

Eastern Area II was bounded (Fig. 10) by the complex ditch 62. The ditch, though on the surface apparently a single feature, proved on excavation to have two converging parts with a flat area between. The filling of both parts was an even dark brown soil with some gravel and there was a top layer, sealing both parts, of a gravel-free, more even sandy soil. The complex profile suggested that the ditches may have been recut. On the flat area between the converging elements was a patch of red ashy soil, presumably burnt *in situ*, with St Neots ware and early medieval sandy wares. In the upper layer there was much abraded material of various dates, including the 'bar-lipped' sherd (Fig. 14, 9). If the two elements of the ditch can simply be considered the results of recutting then the ditch is probably a simple, if long-lived boundary, another of the series which honours the alignment of Structure A. It may be, however, that the ditches are in fact contemporary, and the seating for some more complex boundary, a double fence and platform, of the type suggested for the double ditch at the Yeavinger fort.¹ The ditch was excavated at the end of the 1961 excavation in a perfunctory way and it is doubtful if traces of timbering within it would have been found.

The somewhat enigmatic Structure F lay immediately east of ditch 62. It lay on a platform the edge of which was defined by a shallow shelf on the edge of the ditch. A shallow flat-bottomed straight-sided trench 84 ran back from the edge of the platform, and three post holes lay along the platform edge. Further excavation in 1962 to investigate the continuation of Structure F revealed post holes continuing

¹ B. Hope Taylor, *The Site of Ad Gefrin; an investigation of its archaeological and historical significance*, vols. I-II (1961): unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University Library 4049.

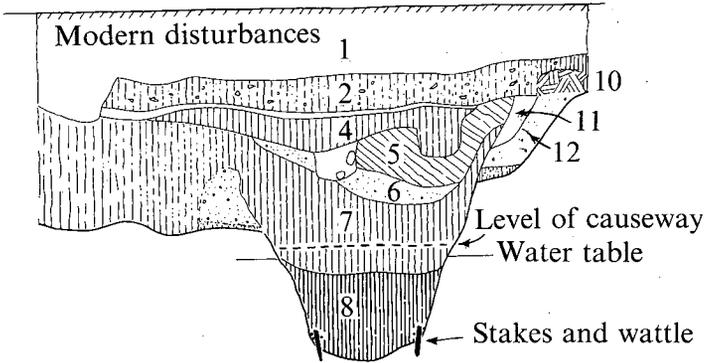
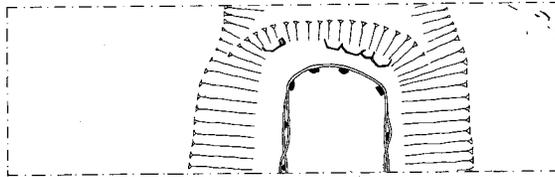
the line of 84, and a shallow depression 134 seemed to honour the same alignment and is doubtless some internal feature within the building. Exploratory trenches further east showed that Late Saxon features continued here, and thus the settlement must have continued right up to the banks of the tributary to Hen Brook. Excavation here was too limited for the character of the features to be established, but they were the familiar combination of post holes and shallow flat-bottomed trenches. One at least, 133, shared the recurrent north-south axis of many features of the settlement. Doubtless they represent further structures. The trial work suggested that modern destruction had not been extensive in this area, and future work here might reveal more of the stream-side part of the settlement. This is particularly so since field walking on the other side of the stream revealed (Fig. 2, 8) a scatter of Saxo-Norman pottery. The coin of Cnut (p. 95 below) found by Mr Daines in a building site further north (Fig. 2, 3) may even suggest the settlement extended there.

THE CHURCH STREET DITCH

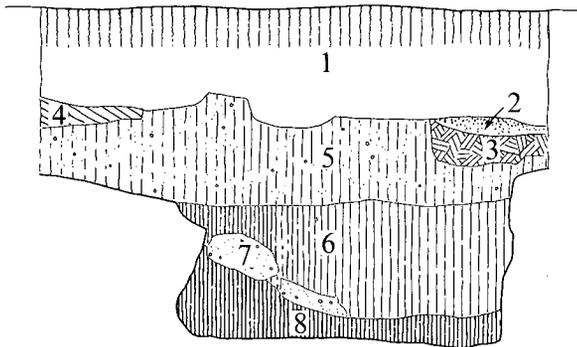
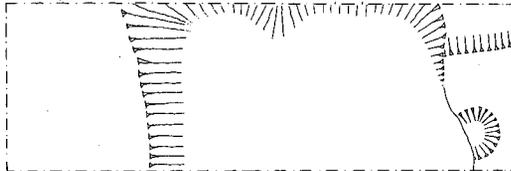
A note by G. T. Rudd and C. F. Tebbutt

The circumstances of discovery of the ditch have been described elsewhere (p. 45, above). It was first found at The Cross, on the corner of Cambridge Street and Church Street (Fig. 2, 4) where it swept round the corner to follow Church Street. Two cuttings were subsequently made to trace its line further south in Church Street, one on the site of demolished cottages some 140 ft from the corner (Fig. 2, 5) and the second inside the gates of Hall Place, some 390 ft from the corner (Fig. 2, 6). At the corner it was a deep defensive ditch, deliberately filled, in one operation, with soil containing pottery of which the greater part was Developed St Neots ware of the twelfth century, with a small proportion also of wares of thirteenth-century type. Immediately the ditch was filled buildings were erected over it, following the building lines of the present streets. It would seem therefore that this was the time when the streets were laid out, as part of the ditch passed under them.

The cutting at Site 5 produced a section of the ditch with a wattle-lined causeway supported by stones and split stakes (Fig. 12, upper part). The ditch, probably some 8 ft wide here, at the surface from which it was cut, and some 7 ft deep, reached some 3 ft below the present water table. It had a fairly uniform filling, the lower part (8) being of very black silt and the upper part (7) less dark. Layer (8) produced few finds but included St Neots ware inturned-rim bowl sherds, while Developed St Neots ware was found in (7). Above these were various layers of gravelly material comparable to natural 'hogging'. These layers spilled from the east and may have been derived from a bank on that side. Various post holes were cut into the ditch top, and



- Dark silty soil
- Dark soil
- Medium soil and gravel
- Gravel
- 'Hogging'
- Clay



Feet 0 10 0 2 Metres

Fig. 12. Sections and plans of cuttings across a ditch running along the east side of Church Street, St Neots.

the area was sealed by a mortar floor (3) of a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century building, the clay wall of which (10) was found nearby.

At Site 6 in Hall Place the ditch was approximately the same width and depth, but it had steep sides, indeed in places heavily undercut. Large lumps of gravel in the dark fill suggested considerable erosion of the sides had taken place, presumably with water undercutting, to produce this profile. Finds were again few, but one inturned-rim bowl came from the lower fill with Developed St Neots ware above and, higher still, hard black later medieval sherds. A layer associated with the top of layer (5) produced a half groat of Henry VII.

Evidence from the three sites is quite consistent, and indicates a substantial wet ditch, in places revetted with stakes, possibly with a bank on the east side, which was open in Late Saxon times until the twelfth century at least.

INTERPRETATION

Ever since its discovery in the 1920s the St Neots settlement has held a crucial place in the study both of Anglo-Saxon settlements and of Anglo-Saxon pottery. The present excavation provides considerably more data about the site and also gives an opportunity to review opinions on the evidence from the 1929-32 excavations.

The site has been quoted in all reviews of Anglo-Saxon settlement archaeology since its original publication in 1933,¹ as a Late Saxon example of the type of settlement found by E. T. Leeds at Sutton Courtenay, in the main consisting of sunken huts. Dr Radford's review of the evidence from contemporary continental settlements in 1957² concluded, however, that such buildings are only the more recognizable elements of settlements in which the main accommodation was provided by large timber halls. Extensive excavations are needed for such large timber structures to be recognized, and in recent years a number have taken place. Settlements of the early Saxon period have been investigated at Linford/Mucking in Essex and West Stow, Suffolk; of the Middle Saxon period at Maxey, Northants and Southampton, Hants; and of Middle and Late Saxon times at North Elmham and Thetford, Norfolk, at Lydford, Devon and other places. These excavations have shown that for each respective part of the Anglo-Saxon period, Radford's conclusions were just. In addition the excavation of royal palaces at Cheddar and at Yeavinger has shown settlements which must lie near the peak of Anglo-Saxon endeavour in secular building. These excavations alone would have necessitated reconsideration of the conclusions

¹ T. D. Kendrick and C. F. C. Hawkes, *Archaeology in England and Wales, 1914-31* (London, 1932), pp. 323-4; E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1936), p. 21; *Med. Archaeol.* 1 (1957), 30; D. M. Wilson, *The Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1960), pp. 72-3.

² *Med. Archaeol.* 1 (1957), 38.

from the 1929-32 excavations that the pits then discovered represented pit-huts, the main accommodation of the settlement. Mr Tebbutt who excavated them had, indeed, himself already had doubts and the 1961-2 excavations gave an opportunity to settle them. The recent excavations showed that there were indeed large timber buildings and many other features on the site. It also showed that the settlement was far more extensive than formerly envisaged. There was also some evidence of overall planning, or at least of systematic layout.

The significance of the evidence of the 1961-2 excavations depends very much upon the interpretation of the various structural features of the site. Clearly some buildings, for example structures D/E, had been constructed of separate individual posts in separate post holes, though no complete plan of such a building was recovered. Most other buildings were represented by narrow straight-sided flat-bottomed trenches. These trenches were carefully sectioned both across and along the axis: normally they were relatively or completely flat, though in a few cases they terminated in post holes. There was no evidence inconsistent with an interpretation that they had held horizontal foundation beams, ground-sills, into which uprights could have been mortised. The advantages of such a method of construction and its place in Anglo-Saxon building history have been discussed by Dr Hope-Taylor in relation to another building in the St Neots area.¹ The practice has not been found in early Saxon settlements except in the specialized form of horizontal foundation beams in sunken huts.² It is used in such huts in Middle and Late Saxon times also,³ but the ground level foundation beam seems to have been used, albeit in a specialized manner, in Structure B at Maxey, Northants, a Middle Saxon building,⁴ where the individual lengths of beam were distinguished. Amongst the important series of Middle and Late Saxon buildings recently excavated at North Elmham, Norfolk, one at least (P) may have had ground-sills. This large L-shaped building had shallow trenches or 'timber slots' very similar in character to those at St Neots. Dr Wade-Martins implies in his initial discussion of this controversial building that he considers vertical timbers to have been set directly into the slots, but horizontals, on the published evidence, seem at least possible.⁵ Building P is assigned to the late ninth or tenth century. It is in the tenth century that the use of ground-sills appears in the extensive and well-dated sequence of structures excavated by Dr Hope-Taylor at Old Windsor.⁶ The use of ground-sills at St Neots is therefore by no means without parallel and perhaps provides further evidence for the general introduction of ground-sills as a normal

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* LV (1962), 16-22.

² Building C1 at Yeavinger (Taylor, *Ad Gefrin*).

³ E.g. W. F. Grimes, *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (London, 1968), pp. 155-9. The evidence is discussed in P. V. Addyman, 'The Anglo-Saxon House: A New Review', in *Anglo-Saxon England* I (Cambridge, 1972).

⁴ *Med. Archaeol.* VIII (1964), 25-8 and 45.

⁵ *Norfolk Archaeol.* xxxiv, part IV (1969), pp. 371-5.

⁶ *Med. Archaeol.* II (1958), 185.

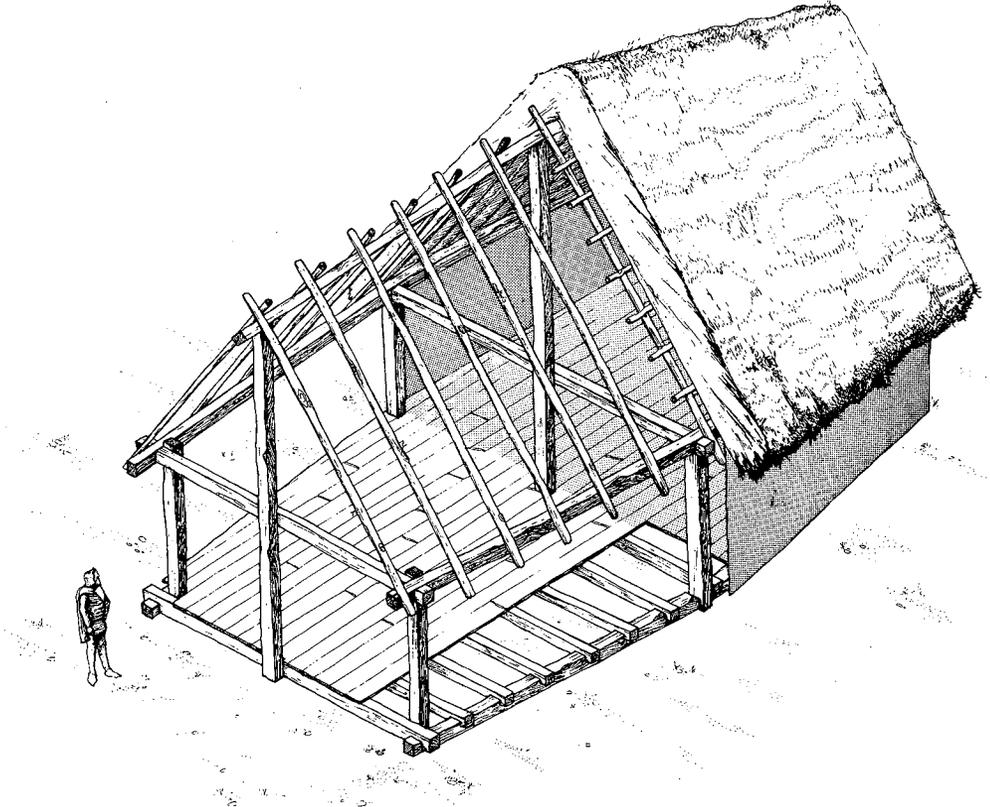


Fig. 13. Structure A: isometric sketch to show possible form of superstructure.

method of construction, at least for some types of building, in Late Saxon times. It must, however, be noted that such a suggestion gains little support from surviving later vernacular architecture, where ground-sills are associated with particular types of framing and appear relatively late in an apparently well-understood sequence.

Whatever the interpretation of many of the St Neots structures, one at least was without any doubt based on ground-sills and joists. Structure A, some 38 ft by perhaps 20 ft, for all that it was incompletely preserved, seems to have had sill-based side and end walls with slightly bowed sides giving the 'boat-shaped' plan characteristic of many contemporary north European buildings. There seem to have been posts on the mid-point of the end wall and side wall, perhaps mortised into sills, but reflected in the plan of the trench, and there were corner posts apparently just within the line of the side walls. The internal members must represent joists set into the surface of the ground, presumably halved over the side-wall ground-sills. The timbers

concerned may have been set directly into the surface of the 'hogging', but it is far more likely that the trenches to accommodate them were also dug through a substantial depth of topsoil. The timbers must thus have been relatively heavy, and the building a substantial feat of carpentry. Doubtless the joists supported a planked floor. Such floors must have been common in Anglo-Saxon buildings; West has recently suggested that they may have been normal in sunken huts,¹ and there is documentary evidence for planking even between buildings.²

Reconstruction of timber buildings from their ground plan is hazardous,³ and for Structure A particularly so since the plan is incomplete. The sketch (Fig. 13) serves therefore only as a reminder that the superstructure, taking into account the known verticals, the ground-sills, and the 'boat-shaped' plan, must have been of the hog-backed form, though its trussing, if any, and roof construction cannot be inferred. The provision of a curved roof is an inevitable implication of the bowed walls. The problems and analogies of 'boat-shaped' buildings have been repeatedly discussed in recent years. The present building and Structure C, which also seems to have been bow-sided, add little to the evidence from Warendorf, the tenth- and eleventh-century Danish fortresses, the town of Aarhus, Buckden, Cheddar and from the various caskets and hog-backed tombstones which appear to represent such buildings.⁴ What it does add, however, is a hint that such buildings were by no means uncommon at least in this locality.

Little can be said of any other structure at St Neots. Both B and C seem to have employed ground-sills. D/E are of individual posts and F seems to combine both techniques. It is clear that, whatever specialized techniques may have been available in Late Saxon times, some buildings at least were constructed of posts in individual holes. Most of the recently excavated Anglo-Saxon settlements have had them, and they were still being employed in Late Saxon times for quite important buildings, as the Eaton Socon excavations have shown.⁵

There was little evidence either for the nature of the walls or of the roof covering of the St Neots structures. Burnt daub from pits near Structures C and F perhaps imply that these structures had wattle and daub walls, as had the post-built structure at Eaton Socon, and as appears to have been thought of as a norm in the ninth century.⁶ Some of the walls may have been of timber, but there is no evidence. No structural stonework, window glass, roofing tile or slate, constructional ironwork or significant quantity of nails were found, and the implication is that the superstructures were

¹ *Med. Archaeol.* XIII (1969), 5.

² Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1903-16, repr. Aalen, 1960), I, 453-5, para. 13.

³ *Med. Archaeol.* XVI (1972), forthcoming, where several possible reconstructions for buildings at Chalton, Hants., are discussed.

⁴ *Frühmittelalt. Stud.* 3 (1969), 244-56.

⁵ *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), 43-52.

⁶ D. Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents c. 500-1042* (London, 1968), p. 844, King Alfred's interpolation in his version of St Augustine's *Soliloquies*.

entirely of non-durable materials, the roofs having been thatched or shingled, and the structure and its details effected entirely in timber with carpentered and pegged joints.

In addition to the shallow trenches suitable for ground-sills there were some, for instance 64, which had clearly held upright timbers. Others from their profile seem more likely to have been very small ditches, though they can hardly have remained as effective boundaries for long even if originally dug from a higher surface through a considerable depth of topsoil. 97 is an example of this enigmatic class. Yet others were quite substantial ditches. Linear features similar to these at St Neots seem to be a common feature of Late Saxon sites, and also of early medieval settlement sites on the continent. At Lydford in Devon they were set out regularly at right angles to the main street of the burh and there probably held close-set uprights, as indeed many of the continental examples are shown to have done.¹ At North Elmham the site was also subdivided in Period I, but here by ditches from 5 to 10 ft across. The extensive excavations at the Late Saxon town of Thetford revealed so many linear features that they are, as Davison points out, the most noticeable elements of the plan. He considers them boundary ditches, and they are certainly very similar in scale and character to those at St Neots.² Ditches or trenches of this general type formed the enclosure and field boundaries of the Little Paxton settlement and there can be little doubt that the function of the St Neots examples was to subdivide the occupied area. The general plan (Fig. 3) shows clearly that many share an approximate north-south alignment; in two cases they are about 85 or 86 ft apart; and the trenches 63 and 64 may well have flanked a track through the settlement. Had a larger area been available for excavation doubtless a layout essentially similar to those of North Elmham's Period I, or of Thetford, would have been found.

Clearly several periods or phases of occupation are represented at St Neots, but it has proved impossible to establish any sort of a sequence. There were no general occupation levels to provide a stratified sequence and in only two cases did one feature cut another. Finds from the site were relatively infrequent, and were anyway datable in general terms only. Furthermore, much of the pottery was abraded, which suggests that residual material may often be present, a problem which appears to be vitiating attempts at Thetford to date by the occurrence of particular types of pottery. For what it is worth, features around or forming part of Structure C produced a certain amount of hand-made and other pottery of somewhat archaic aspect as well as normal St Neots wares, and it may be that this building holds an early position in the sequence. Clearly, also, some of the ditches remained in use well into the eleventh century when sandy, early medieval wares became increasingly available.

¹ W. A. Van Es, *Wijster* (Groningen, 1967), pp. 44-8, with *passim*, extensive discussion of these features here and at comparable sites.

² *Med. Archaeol.* XI (1967), 191.

The 1929–32 excavation revealed a number of pits and ditches in a relatively limited area. The 1961–62 work revealed very few, and in most areas none at all. Moreover the more recent excavation produced no single example of the sunken huts located in the earlier. While some of the 1929–32 pits were clearly rubbish pits, others seem to have approximated very closely to the well-known sunken type, one at least being of the four-post variety, several apparently having contained hearths, and one having contained loomweights and a ‘pin-beater’, weaving equipment which so often is found in such huts. The finds from the two excavations are not obviously different in character, and are presumably contemporary. The conclusion seems inescapable that both sunken huts and larger timber buildings existed at St Neots, and that sunken huts existed in some areas but not in others. The huts were presumably work places and the area in which they were grouped a working area.

Pits 48 and 49 deserve special comment. The excavated evidence clearly indicated that they were specifically dug as deep fire-pits, and that they had been repeatedly used. Their function, however, is not clear. Such pits are used in various cultures – including modern Boy Scout culture – as barbecues, giving a controlled fire and obviating the need for a built superstructure. The pottery from the pits, however, does include sherds of St Neots ware which may have been wasters. It is therefore possible that the two pits are pit kilns. No St Neots ware kilns have ever been found because, it has been said, the soft soapy ware was fired at a relatively low temperature and nothing more than a bonfire would be needed. Experiments have shown this to be possible, but the pit kiln would have been equally suitable for the production of this normally reduced or partly reduced pottery and might give more controlled conditions. Experiment is needed both with firing techniques and with the various locally available clays and sources of shell-inclusion. It is satisfying, however, that there should be at least a hint of pottery production on the type site of St Neots ware.

The environment and economy of the settlement will be discussed in Part IV. Suffice it here to say that the 1961–2 site seemed to have been the residential part of a settlement, depending partly on stock-raising as animal bones showed, and partly on agriculture. Grain production is doubtless implied by the extensive use of querns, and by the ploughshare from the earlier excavations. Slags suggested small-scale iron working; weaving and the possibility of pottery production has already been discussed. External contacts, at least as evidenced by the finds, were for essentials only, and very much of the same nature as seen in the Little Paxton settlement.¹ The St Neots settlement is reminiscent indeed of the type of estate which is heard of so often in Late Saxon documentary sources, with the same functions and horizons.

St Neots provided the original type series for St Neots ware. The present excavations have added little to the range, though they have confirmed that the previous

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* LXII (1969), 78.

sample was a representative one. There are also one or two sherds which seem to be hand-made, recalling that at Eaton Socon the hand-made antecedents of St Neots ware have been found. Several sherds of upright-rimmed forms were found in the excavations. The type is known elsewhere, but one example has the previously unknown feature of an upright loop handle of circular cross-section (Fig. 14, 8); another seems most likely to have been a 'bar-lug', the second example from St Neots. True 'bar-lug' pottery is a feature of the contemporary Cornish ceramic series, but the idea does appear, applied to pots of varied fabrics and forms, in many parts of northern Europe at this time. The significance of the widespread distribution has been variously interpreted, unfortunately somewhat inconclusively. The St Neots ware area seems to be another which was attracted by this good idea, even if after experiment it did not adopt it extensively. Who brought the idea to the area is another matter.¹

In Mr Tebbutt's original report some weight was given to the T-shaped axe (Fig. 19, 29) to provide a date; Mr Hurst's definitive paper on St Neots ware² indicated that the axe may have less value than was then thought in this respect. Mr Hurst outlined, however, the steps by which at least some sort of broad date range for St Neots ware had been established. The evidence was and still is tenuous. It is particularly unfortunate, therefore, that the present excavation has not produced a single datable object in association with pottery, nor a single reliable stratified sequence. The only datable find, a tenth-century strap end (Fig. 18, 7), was unstratified and serves no more than to confirm the general impression that St Neots is a Late Saxon site. The small associated groups of pottery from the various features no more than confirm the sequence already established, from early stages associated with, or approximating to, Middle Saxon hand-made pottery; through the stereotyped St Neots ware thrown on a fast wheel; to a period when early medieval wares were current; and ending the shell-filled oxidized wares approximating to medieval forms, and datable to the twelfth century.

THE FINDS

No occupation levels or major rubbish deposits were found in the 1961-2 excavations, and finds, even by comparison with those from the 1929-32 work, were relatively few. There was a certain amount of pottery, but the sherds were often abraded and may have been lying around the site for some time before they reached the contexts in which they were found. There were also many fragments of lava quern. Had it not been for these two types of material, however, it would have been difficult to place the site culturally, or to assign a date. Some areas of Britain appear to have been

¹ *Med. Archaeol.* III (1959), 48-9; for more recent work on the Cornish series *Cornish Archaeol.* 2 (1963), pp. 60-4.

² *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1956), 51.

TABLE I. *Associations of finds in Late Saxon features*

Feature	Stone	Lava	Slag	Burnt clay	Iron	Bone objects	Other materials	Animal bones
43	×	.	.	.
47	Burnt thatch	.
48	×	×	×	.	.	1 bodkin 1 comb	Silver trace	.
49	×	.	.	.
51	.	.	×
52	×	.	.	.
53	.	.	×	Daub
62	.	×	Vitrified wattle	.
63	.	×	×	.	×	.	.	.
64	.	×	.	.	×	.	.	.
79	.	×
84	.	.	×
87	.	×	.	Daub and withy marks	×	.	.	.
93	×	.	.	.
109	.	.	×
124	.	.	×
130	×
Totals	2	6	7	2	7	2	3	—

aceramic at this period and, in the light of the St Neots evidence, it is hardly surprising that occupation sites are unknown and unexcavated in these areas. The poverty of the finds is probably not representative of the true state of affairs in the settlement. Doubtless, as contemporary sources suggest, carpentry, woodworking and allied crafts supplied most of the necessities, carried out in non-durable materials for the most part. The range and implications of the finds from St Neots area settlements will be described in Part IV. Here the St Neots finds are briefly described, including some already published from the 1929-32 excavation, beginning with the pottery. Table 1 summarizes the occurrence of various types of material in different major contexts and in each section there is a summary of the contexts of the objects discussed. In practice, however, the contexts are not usually particularly significant, at least in the present state of knowledge. With the possible exception of the finds from pit 87 there is no major associated group and the internal evidence for a relative sequence is uncertain.

THE POTTERY

The St Neots Saxon settlement has now produced pottery covering the entire developmental range of St Neots ware, in a considerable variety of forms. The series starts with proto-St Neots ware in shelly hand-made fabrics of the type defined at Eaton Socon.¹ The bulk of the pottery, however, belongs to the classic wheel-thrown series well known from Mr Hurst's definitive publication.² There are also examples of Developed St Neots ware, which in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries forms but one element among many local wares.³ In earlier times anything other than St Neots ware is rare indeed, and almost always an import to the area. The series from the site overlaps with that obtained by Mr Tebbutt at St Neots Priory, from which a clear idea has been gained of local ceramic traditions in the later Middle Ages.⁴ With the forthcoming publication of the finds from Hall Place and the timber-lined structure which preceded it⁵ the story will be taken to post-medieval times, giving a very complete ceramic history for the locality.

Sixty sherds have been chosen for discussion to give some idea of the range of ceramics present. For the most part these come from contexts of some significance archaeologically, but sherds have occasionally been included for their individual interest or to complete the range. The hand-made pottery and some of the St Neots ware may belong to the Middle Saxon period, say the ninth century, and the series continues without a break to the fourteenth century, though the main bulk of the sherds are Late Saxon. Dates are in every case assigned typologically, and there is no independent dating evidence for any of the material.

The origins of St Neots ware are still obscure, but it seems likely it grew out of an existing tradition of hand-made pottery in shell-filled fabric or in sand-tempered fabric, existing in the Ouse Valley and in other valleys draining into the Wash. Recent excavations at Bedford (11 miles) have produced examples,⁶ and there is an extensive series from Maxey, Northants (31 miles).⁷ Though none was found at Little Paxton, the Eaton Socon excavations have produced hand-made pots which could well be the precursors locally of the St Neots series.⁸ If St Neots ware was introduced in the ninth century, as has been argued,⁹ then it is felt these pots should be earlier. The present excavation and the 1929-32 excavation have both produced pots which probably should be placed in this group. They are shown in Fig. 14, 1-10. Nos. 5 and 10 are in grogged or gritted fabrics. The forms include bowls and cooking pots.

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), 53-5 and Fig. 8, 6-11.

² *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1956), 43-70.

³ *Proc. C.A.S.* LIX (1966), 55-64; *Med. Archaeol.* v (1961), 258.

⁴ *Proc. C.A.S.* LIX (1966), 55-67.

⁵ *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, forthcoming.

⁶ Excavations in 1970 in the area of Bedford Castle, to be published in *Beds. Archaeol. J.* I am grateful to Mr David Baker for this information.

⁷ *Med. Archaeol.* VIII (1964), 49-50 and 56-8.

⁸ *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), 53-6.

⁹ *Proc. C.S.A.* XLIX (1956), 53.

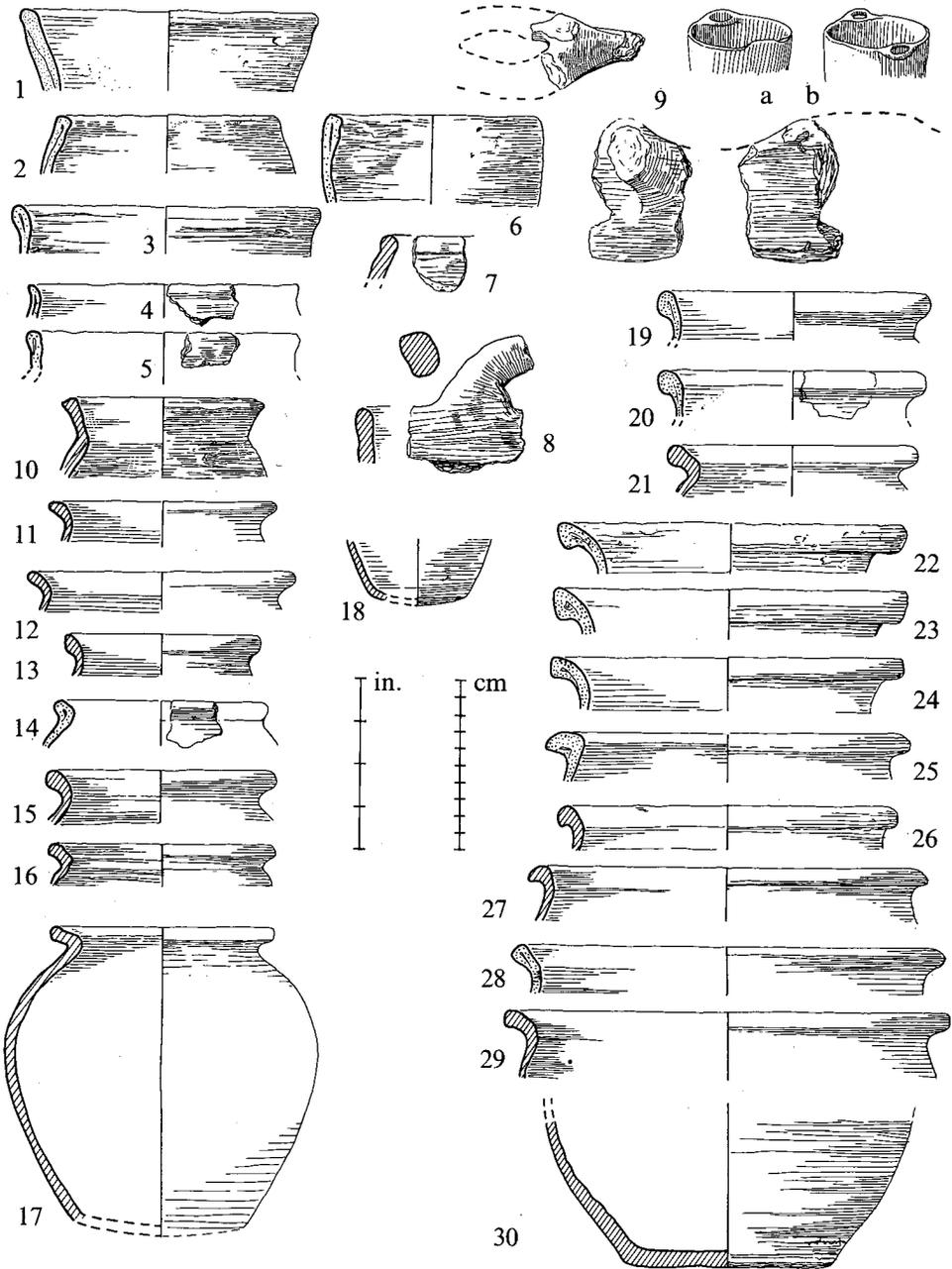


Fig. 14. Hand-made pots mostly in shell-filled fabric (1-10); St Neots ware cooking pots (11-24); Developed St Neots ware cooking pots (25-9) and a cooking pot base (30).

The simple undifferentiated and sometimes squared-off rims and the upright, out-flaring or barrel-shaped forms are all reminiscent of the Group III assemblages at Maxey,¹ and it is possible that the distribution of wares of Maxey type, recently seen as centring on Lincolnshire, should be extended further south.² The two sherds with applied handles have been included here though they may well belong to the classic St Neots series, and the apparent roughness may be the result of the application of the suspension device. The handle in the vertical plane applied to the rim top is unusual in the St Neots ware series, though various suspension devices have been noted.³ The bar-lip, for that is what it almost certainly must be, is unusual in the St Neots ware series though a fine example has already been published from St Neots⁴ and there is another from Abington Pigotts.⁵ The bar-lip idea has clear chronological limits in Cornwall, but it is doubtful whether its occurrence – widely in early medieval contexts in western Europe, but in pits of widely differing form and fabric – should necessarily be taken as everywhere contemporaneous.⁶

The bulk of the pottery in the present series, and from the 1929–32 excavation, is St Neots ware of classic type. It is normally fairly soft with copious crushed shell inclusions. Many descriptions of the fabric mention a soapy feel. This is certainly true of the Oxford region versions of St Neots ware, but it is not always an obvious characteristic of the type specimens from St Neots, which are often palpably harsh. As a criterion it should probably be abandoned. The colour of the St Neots ware ranges from pink through tones of grey to black. Overfired sherds are often light pink or light grey. An individual pot can cover the whole range of surface colour, though many are fairly even. Such variation is clearly the result of minimal control in cooling processes after firing. It has been suggested that the firing temperature of St Neots ware must be low, for otherwise the shell-filled fabric would collapse. Such low temperatures can easily be achieved in bonfires or pit-kilns, which do not readily allow of controlled cooling. Indeed, in recent experiments in bonfire firing, a range of surface colour quite comparable to that of St Neots ware was produced quite fortuitously, varying from pot to pot according to the position of the pot relative to others in the load, and to the prevailing wind.⁷ It therefore seems pointless to describe

¹ *Loc. cit.* in p. 84 n. 3.

² *Antiq. J. L.*, part 1 (1970), pp. 96–102.

³ *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1956), fig. 2 on p. 55.

⁴ *Med. Archaeol.* III (1969), 46, fig. 20, no. 2. This interesting sherd was presented to the British Museum by Professor Stuart Piggott, who kindly states: 'I acquired this by chance as a schoolboy in the drawer of a cabinet bought in a sale in or near Petersfield, Hants, by my father. It had so far as I remember a label pasted on it saying St Neots. . . This, unfortunately, is all the documentation there was.'

⁵ Published by Hurst as a spouted bowl, which is possible; *loc. cit.* in n. 8, p. 84; *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Angl.* IV (1922–4), 227–31.

⁶ For the dates of the Cornish series see *Cornish Archaeol.* 2 (1963), pp. 60–4.

⁷ I am grateful to Dr Peacock, Mr Coleman-Smith and Mr Johnston for permission to refer to the results of their experiments in advance of publication.

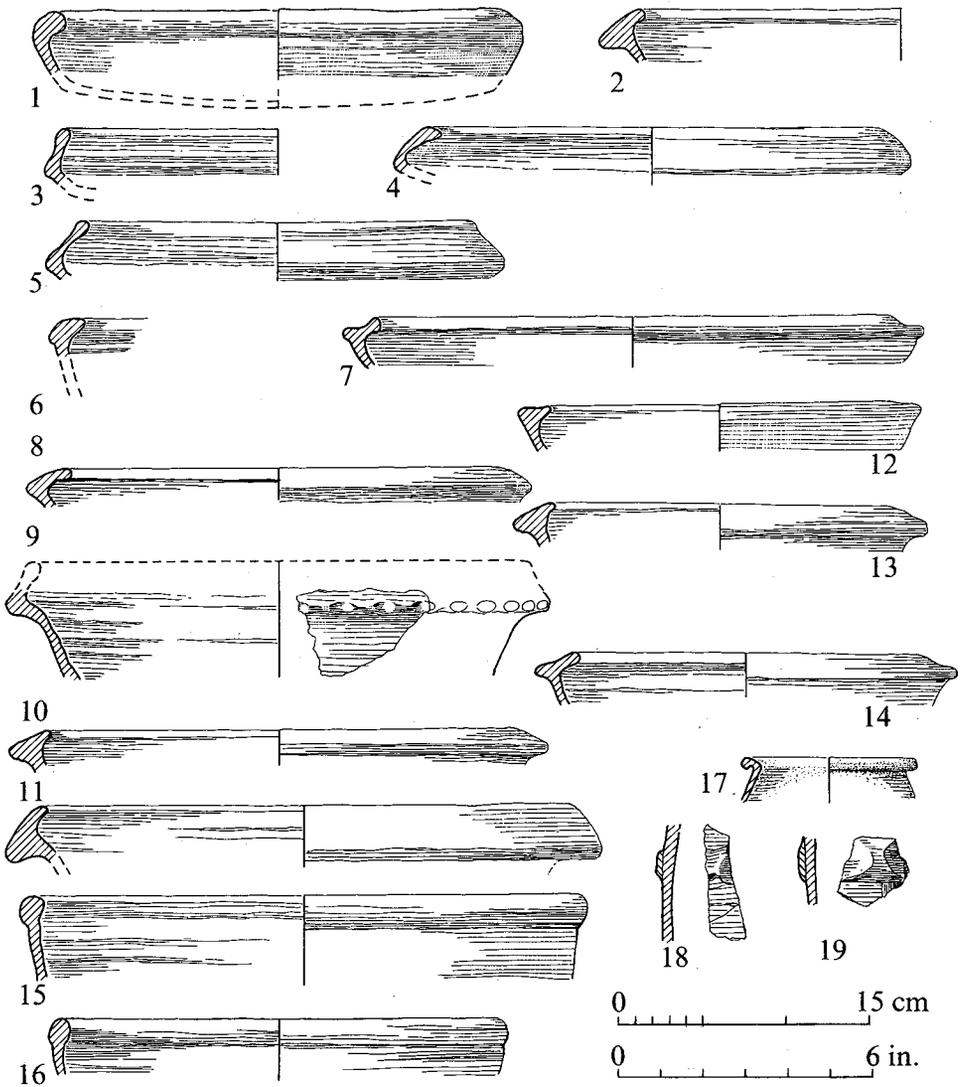


Fig. 15. Dishes and bowls in St Neots ware (1-14); in Developed St Neots ware (15-16); and sherds of wares of Thetford type.

surface colour except where it varies considerably from the norm. In the Developed St Neots ware series some forms are nearly always oxidized, and specific mention is made below of the resultant brick-red colour.

A typical series of cooking pots, bowls and dishes are illustrated here (Fig. 14, 11-24 and 30; Fig. 15, 1-14), mainly from rather fragmentary specimens, of which it has often been difficult to establish the rim diameter (witness Fig. 15, 10 and 13). The 1961-2 excavation confirms Mr Hurst's impression that the majority of cooking pots from St Neots, at least in pre-twelfth-century deposits, are small. Most are 6 in. (15.2 cm) or less in rim diameter and some (e.g. Fig. 14, 18) are very small. If no. 17 is indeed a waster then St Neots was a centre of production of such pots. Mr Hurst felt that assemblages in which small cooking pots predominate might be early, perhaps pre-Conquest in date. It is difficult to see why, for rather larger cooking pots were in use in other parts of England at the time. Nevertheless it does seem to be so in the present excavations, for the small pots only rarely occur together with the larger, and even then the smaller ones may be rubbish survivals. This, if nothing else, indicates that some of the St Neots ware is relatively early in the sequence. Most vessels have close parallels in the Little Paxton series, for which a pre-Conquest date was argued.¹ The bowls and dishes from St Neots are also similar to those from Little Paxton, though it is not apparent whether the great variety of profile and rim form has either a functional or chronological significance. Similarly negative conclusions were recently reached in study of the fine series from Bedford.² Clearly, well-dated associated groups are urgently needed, together with the application of physical techniques of relative and absolute dating, for the solution of this intransigent problem of 40 years.³

The Middle Ouse valley settlements seem, then, in Late Saxon times to have depended for their pottery on local kilns producing St Neots ware with a small range of basic forms, the cooking pot, dish and bowl, though with great variation of rim form and other minor detail. There were occasional vessels of exceptional form and, perhaps, specialized use. Only very exceptionally did people who lived in the settlements have vessels that were not local products. The few sherds of cooking pots and storage vessels in wares of Thetford type stood out in the assemblages, conspicuous by their rarity. Stamford ware was even rarer, confined to a few small sherds. A few sherds of sandy fabric may come from a relatively local source. The site, however, is clearly on the limits of distribution of these wares. The reason is clear. Some of the best St Neots ware is very handsome pottery; it was made locally, abundantly and doubtless, with its minimal technical requirements, cheaply. There was no market for imports even when markedly superior in fabric, as Stamford ware would have been; or in structural strength and (for the storage vessels) in size, as Thetford ware would have been.

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* LXII (1969), 78-9.

² *Beds. Archaeol. J.* IV (1969), 17-25.

³ A review of local ceramic traditions in Late Saxon times will be attempted in Part IV of this paper.

Some of the ditches of the Late Saxon settlement remained open, or at least as hollows, long enough to have collected in their upper filling various sherds of Developed St Neots ware and early medieval wares. Excellent series of such pottery are already available for the area¹ and good parallels in twelfth- or thirteenth-century contexts can be found for most of the jugs shown in Fig. 16, 1-5 and the bowls in Fig. 15, 15-16. There are close parallels for most of them in the Bedford Museum collections. Nothing has yet altered Mr Hurst's conclusions of 1955 that the St Neots ware jugs and bowls of this form and fabric belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is significant that three of these sherds were found in the same context, the ditch 62, which clearly remained open for many years, and may have remained as a hollow long after the main occupation had ceased. Features 42 and 43 also contain Developed St Neots ware, in each case associated with sherds which would normally be attributed to the thirteenth century. It is no novelty that thirteenth-century deposits locally contain shell-filled fabrics. Unfortunately there are very few groups from the site to demonstrate adequately the slow appearance of sandy early medieval wares in the eleventh-twelfth centuries; most of the examples found are small sherds and there are no good associated groups. This phase in local ceramic history will clearly be better understood with publication of the stratified series and very large pit groups from the current excavations at Bedford Castle.² The remaining sherds illustrated in Fig. 16 are normal later medieval wares of the locality. The jug handle 6, in hard sandy grey ware with extensive thumb and finger moulding and stabbing, is distinctive enough, and related to an extensive series from the Home Counties, which are now termed Elstree jugs and dated to the thirteenth century or later.³ Both of the glazed jug sherds may be of Brill type, one apparently being almost biconical.

POTTERY CATALOGUE

If no description of the fabric is given the sherd is in normal grey or black-cored St Neots ware with pin, grey or purplish-black surfaces and abundant shelly inclusions. Colour codes refer to Munsell Soil Colour Charts (1954).

Hand-made bowls and cooking pots (Fig. 14, 1-10).

1. Bowl with simple upright or slightly outflaring rim; probably hand made with clear final wipe along the outside of the rim. Feature 64, cf. Maxey no. 35.⁴
2. Bowl or barrel-shaped pot in medium-hard dark grey fabric with shell and perhaps a few limestone inclusions. Flat rim and uneven outer surface. Feature 62. Maxey, fig. 14 for general parallels.
3. Bowl or cooking pot in fairly hard shell-filled ware, harsh for St Neots ware, with slightly

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1956), 49-70; *idem*, LIV (1961), 87-8; LVIII (1965), 52-60; LIX (1966), 55-66. *Beds. Archaeol. J.* v (1970), 75-81; and various other local sites.

² Mr Baker's excavations at Bedford Castle in 1970 have produced groups covering the entire period of change-over from St Neots to later medieval pottery. Publication anticipated in *Beds. Archaeol. J.* ³ *Beds. Arch. J.* 7 (1972), 68-72 and n. 4. ⁴ *Med. Archaeol.* VIII (1964), 56-7.

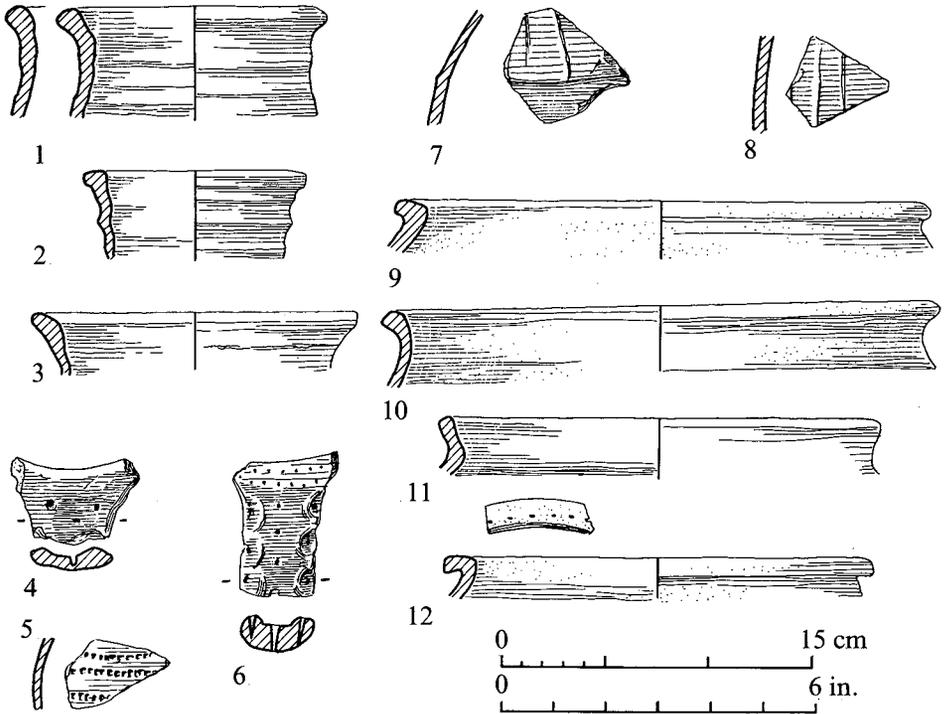


Fig. 16. Jugs in Developed St Neots ware (1-5); later medieval jugs (6-8) and later medieval cooking pots (9-12).

everted rim; irregular surfaces though with some horizontal striation, so probably hand made or finished on a slow wheel or turntable. Topsoil over Structure A.

4. Cooking pot in fairly hard shell-filled fabric; slightly everted rim; irregular surfaces indicate it is hand made. Feature 51.

5. Cooking pot in dark grey rough-surfaced fabric (2.5Y 3/0) with many inclusions, apparently mostly grog. Fairly thick rim, probably upright, though the sitting angle and rim diameter are difficult to establish from so small a sherd. Feature 121, layer 5.

6. Barrel-shaped pot in fairly hard shelly fabric with pronounced internal and external unevenness; hand made. Cf. no. 2 above. Feature 49, layer *d*.

7. Barrel-shaped pot in shell-filled fabric with heavy almost beaded rim. 1929-32 excavation (not previously published).

8. Upright-sided pot, perhaps barrel shaped or bucket shaped, in shell-filled fabric with black external and red internal surfaces, with oval-sectioned vertical loop handle attached to the rim top, possibly best considered as a variation on the more normal horizontally perforated lug. Hand made. Feature 49, layer *b*.

9. Apparently a barrel-shaped or bucket-shaped pot in shell-filled fabric with pinkish-grey external and red internal surfaces. An oval-sectioned horizontal bar has been applied internally with the side of the pot pulled out in front of it. This gives the 'bar-lip' effect, though if the bar is in fact applied externally, as is possible, it would in effect be a horizontal handle (reconstruction 9*b*).

The former interpretation is preferable, both from the colour of the pot (the insides are usually pink and the outsides grey-black, if there is any variation), and from the structural weakness of *9b*. Other bar-lip pots are known, and it is possible that the form of this vessel is like that of the British Museum specimen, reconstructed by Dunning as an outflaring open bowl. It is unlikely that the similarly constructed Abington Pigotts example, where the bar produces a spout rather than suspension device, quite falls into the bar-lip group. Hand made. Feature 62.

10. Small cooking pot in hard or fairly hard dark grey to black fabric with small rounded grits, perhaps flint and quartzite. Sharply moulded everted rim with flat top; some horizontal striation suggests finishing on a slow wheel. Feature 74, layer *a*.

A number of unillustrated sherds, mainly body sherds, are apparently in hand-made fabrics. Feature 74, layer *b*, produced for instance a thick body sherd of a small or medium-sized cooking pot in shelly fabric, apparently with everted rim.

St Neots ware cooking pots (Fig. 14, 11-24 and 30).

11. Small cooking pot with simple everted rim. Feature 53, layer *a*.

12. Small to medium-sized cooking pot with simple everted rim. Feature 94, layer *a*.

13. Small cooking pot; the shell inclusions are very finely comminuted and the fabric has a harsh feel. Everted rim flattened externally. Feature 53, layer *a*.

14. Small cooking pot; fabric as no. 13, with rim folded over externally to give clubbed effect. Feature 41, layer *a*.

15. Small cooking pot with rounded everted rim. Feature 53, layer *a*.

16. Small cooking pot with sharply everted short rim with hollow internal moulding. Feature 59, unstratified.

17. Small cooking pot with sharply everted rim and slight hollow moulding internally. The pot, a complete half, but with the base missing, shows evidence of overfiring and spalling. It seems to be a waster. Feature 49, basal layers.

18. Very small cooking pot with deeply sagging base. Feature 63.

19. Medium-sized cooking pot with clubbed rim. Feature 121, layer 5.

20. Similar. Feature 41.

21. Small to medium-sized cooking pot with thick short everted rim. Topsoil west of Structure C.

22. Medium to large cooking pot with rounded everted rim with sharp external undercutting. Though the fabric is indistinguishable from *St Neots ware* and the context Late Saxon, this sherd may be a Romano-British rubbish survival. Feature 121, layer 5.

23. Similar. Feature 59, layer *c*.

24. Medium to large cooking pot with rounded everted rim squared externally. Probably a Late Saxon sherd as it has close parallels in sherds from impeccable contexts. Feature 31, layer *a*.

30. Cooking pot base, probably from a medium sized pot. Slightly heat-cracked, and thus possibly a waster. Feature 49.

Developed St Neots ware cooking pots (Fig. 14, 25-9).

25. Medium-sized cooking pot in shell-filled fabric with brick-pink internal surface and grey-pink external surface (2.5 YR 5/2 and 2.5 YR 5/6 respectively). Clubbed rim and sharp external moulding. Feature 41.

26. Medium-sized cooking pot in salmon-pink to grey shell-filled fabric; the slightly squared, slightly everted rim has a sharp undercut. Feature 41.

27. Medium/large cooking pot in salmon-pink (2.5 YR 5/4), shell-filled fabric with rounded everted and somewhat undercut rim. Topsoil over Structure B.

28. Medium/large cooking pot in brick-pink (10R 5/6) shell-filled fabric with short squared-off everted rim formed by folding over. Feature 42.

29. Large cooking pot in brick-pink shell-filled fabric with rounded everted rim formed by folding over. Feature 62.

Dishes and bowls in St Neots ware (Fig. 15, 1-14).

1. Dish with thickened rounded inturned rim, the thickening being achieved by folding the rim inwards. Topsoil west of Structure 3.

2. Dish or, possibly, bowl with flat-topped internally folded inturned rim. Topsoil near east end of Structure C.

3. Dish with inturned rim with slight thickening and moulding. Feature 63.

4. Simple inturned rim dish. Feature 85.

5. Inturned rim dish with slight thickening and hollow internal moulding. Feature 85.

6. Probably a bowl; thickened inturned rim; a small fragment. Feature 63.

7. Dish, vigorously thrown, with inturned rim. The slightly inclined top has a pronounced hollow moulding; there is an emphatic hollow moulding internally; and externally the rim is given accent by slight undercutting. Feature 53 and topsoil nearby (2 sherds).

8. Deep bowl(?) with simple inturned rim and pronounced internal hollow moulding. Feature 63.

9. Deep bowl with pronounced inturned rim. The angle of the rim has carefully formed small finger mouldings. Feature 63.

10 and 13. Deep bowl with rim of triangular cross-section. This is a small sherd and it has been drawn in two versions representing the range of possible diameters; the two versions represent very different vessels. Feature 74, layer *a*.

11. Bowl with massive inturned rim with rounded external and hollow internal moulding. Feature 63.

12. Bowl with precisely thrown rim of triangular cross-section. Feature 64.

14. Bowl with sharply angled inturned rim. Feature 53.

Bowls in Developed St Neots ware (Fig. 15, 15-16).

15. Upright-sided bowl in grey-cored fabric with brick-pink surfaces (10R 5/6) and some shell inclusions. Simple semi-round moulding externally. Feature 43.

16. Upright-sided or slightly inturned bowl in pinkish grey shell-filled fabric with thickened rim with rounded moulding externally and slight undercutting within. Akin to true St Neots ware but the form suggests it lies outside the main series. Feature 62.

Wares of Thetford type (Fig. 15, 17-19).

17. Small cooking pot in hard harsh pimply fabric ranging from buff-grey to grey (10YR 6/3) with everted rim with sharp undercut. Feature 31, layer *a*.

18. Thetford(?) ware storage vessel in hard harsh medium-grey sandy fabric with slightly darker surface skin. Applied finger-moulded strip. Topsoil over Structure C.

19. Storage vessel in hard harsh sandy fabric with considerable amounts of small rounded grit in otherwise smooth fabric. Dark grey to pink (2.5Y 3/0 to 5YR 5/4); probably within the Thetford ware range. The applied finger-moulded strips run vertically and horizontally. Feature 74.

Jugs in Developed St Neots ware (Fig. 16, 1-5).

1. Jug in shell-filled light pink fabric (5YR 6/4) with simple slightly outflaring rim and simple pulled lip. Feature 62.

2. Jug in shell-filled brick-pink fabric (2.5YR 5/4) with outflaring rim, precisely formed flat top and neck ridging. Feature 62.

3. Jug in shelly greyish-pink fabric with everted rim, flattened on top. Topsoil at west end of Structure C.

4. Jug handle in shell-filled fabric with grey core and brick-pink surfaces (2.5 YR 5/6); the stabbed strap handle is applied to the top of the rim, and has a central hollow moulding. Feature 43, layer *a*.

5. Jug (?); body sherd in fairly harsh fabric with some sand and some white inclusions, perhaps limestone and shell; horizontal square single-wheel rouletting. Topsoil at west end of Structure C.

Later medieval pottery (Fig. 16, 6–12).

6. Jug in sandy dark grey fabric with pinkish grey core (7.5 YR 4/0 and 2.5 YR 5/2 respectively). The strap handle is applied at the level of the rim top and is stabbed centrally and at the centre of each of the lateral finger mouldings. There are also small stabs along the rim top. Topsoil at west end of Structure C.

7. Jug, probably biconical, thrown on a fast wheel in fine light grey fabric, fairly hard, with grey core and light pinkish buff surfaces. Ridges, applied decoration and brownish green glaze (10 YR 3/3). Ware of Brill type. Feature 42.

8. Jug in fabric similar to no. 7. The glaze is nearer sage green. Feature 43.

9. Cooking pot in pink hard sandy fabric with dark grey surfaces. Short flat-topped outfolded rim. Feature 62.

10. Cooking pot in hard sandy fabric, pinkish grey with pink surfaces (5 YR 6/6). Slightly everted with precise external moulding. Feature 41, layer *a*.

11. Cooking pot in hard sandy fabric; simple everted squared-off rim. Feature 42.

12. Cooking pot rim in hard harsh sandy medium-grey fabric. The out-turned flat top is stabbed. Feature 41, layer *c*.

Summary of associations of the illustrated pottery

Although some fifty features produced Romano-British, Saxon or medieval pottery very few contained more than a handful of sherds, and most of those which contained a substantial number had clearly been open to receive rubbish for a long period. In addition the sherds were often abraded and small, suggesting that many must have been derived from earlier contexts than those in which they were found. The value, therefore, of any of the associations noted below is small, and certainly they do not invite generalization in the light of present knowledge.

Feature 31: Fig. 14, 24; Fig. 15, 17; and some Romano-British sherds.

Feature 41: Fig. 14, 25, 26, 30; Fig. 16, 10, 12 and two sherds of Stamford ware, early medieval wares, late twelfth- and thirteenth-century sherds.

Feature 42: Fig. 14, 28; Fig. 16, 7, 11; sherds of thirteenth-century cooking pot.

Feature 43: Fig. 15, 15; Fig. 16, 4 and 8; various abraded sherds of St Neots ware, early medieval ware and thirteenth-century pottery.

Feature 48: Fig. 14, 30; and various Romano-British, St Neots and a few early medieval sherds.

Feature 49: Fig. 14, 6, 8, 16, 17, 23; a few Romano-British and over 40 St Neots ware sherds.

Feature 51/59: Fig. 14, 4 and a Romano-British and a St Neots ware sherd.

Feature 53: Fig. 14, 11, 13, 15; Fig. 15, 7 and 14; and 50 St Neots ware sherds with 1 Romano-British sherd.

Feature 62: Fig. 14, 2, 9, 29; Fig. 15, 16; Fig. 16, 1, 2, 9; with 75 St Neots and 14 early medieval sherds. There were a few Romano-British sherds throughout, and late and post-medieval pottery in the top.

Feature 63: Fig. 14, 18; Fig. 15, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11; various St Neots ware and Thetford ware sherds.

Feature 64: Fig. 14, 1; Fig. 15, 12; several small St Neots ware sherds, a few Romano-British and a sandy ware sherd.

Feature 74: Fig. 14, 10; Fig. 15, 4, 10, 13, 19; and a few Romano-British and 16 St Neots ware sherds.

Feature 85: Fig. 15, 5.

Feature 94: Fig. 15, 12; and a Romano-British and a St Neots ware sherd.

Feature 121: Fig. 14, 5, 19, 22; together with some Romano-British material.

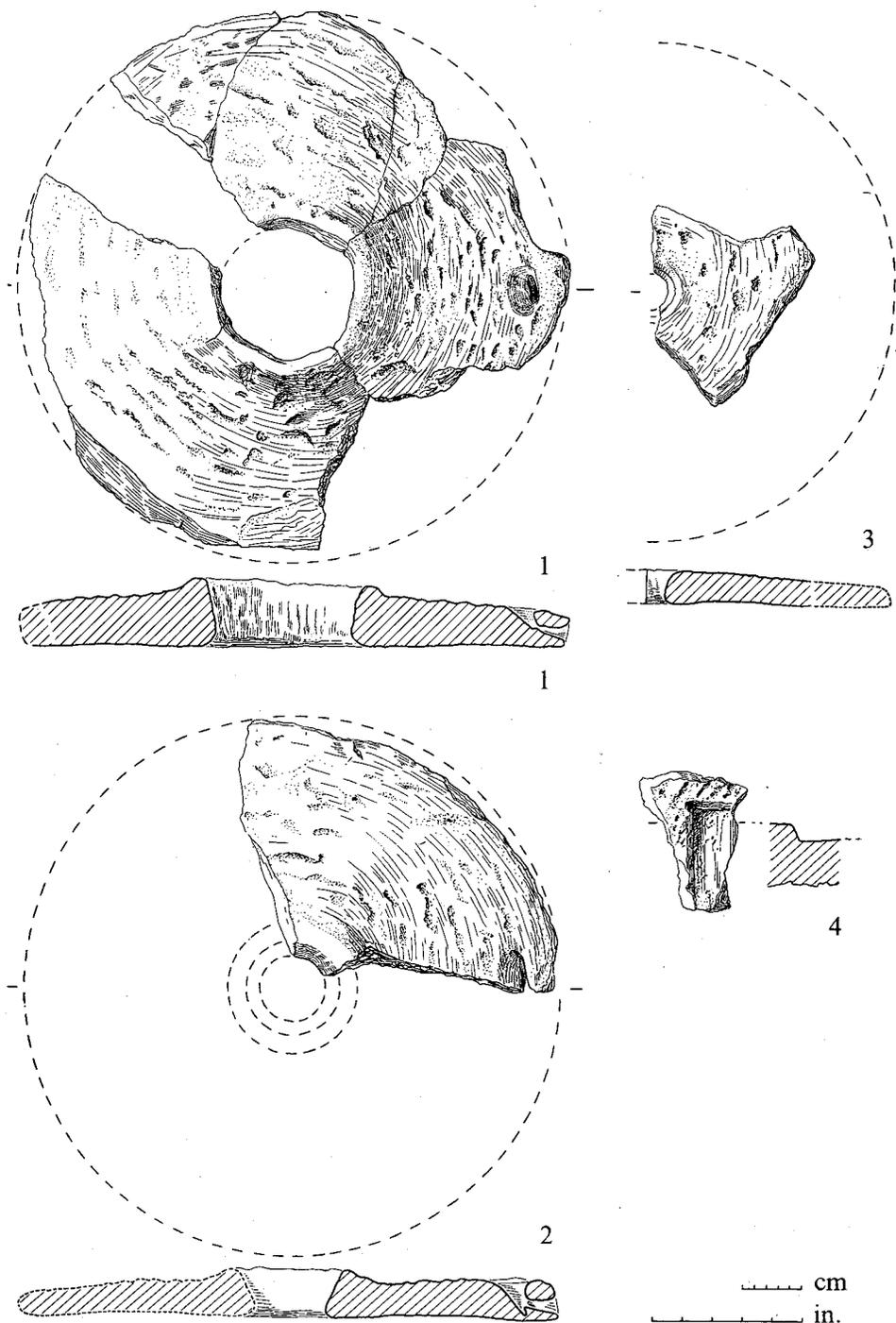


Fig. 17. Lava: fragments of four querns.

LAVA QUERNS

Many fragments of lava, sometimes heavily weathered, were found in the excavations. Presumably all were derived from querns. Most fragments seemed to have come from upper stones, presumably because these tend to break while the lower stones tend to wear out. Four examples are shown here (Fig. 17). The diameter of 1 and 2 is about 18 in. (47 cm), and this may well be a normal size for Late Saxon examples. That from Southampton is about the same, as are contemporary examples on the continent, as for example the series from Trelleborg.¹ The holes, however, differ in size considerably. In 1 it is $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (11 cm) and in 2 2 in. (5.4 cm). In 3, if the reconstruction is correct, it is only $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (c. 3 cm). The querns also vary in thickness. The maximum thickness of 1, the thickest, is $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. (6 cm) at the lip, while the minimum thickness of 3, the thinnest, is about 1 in. (2.2 cm). All show considerable wear on the underside. 1 and 2, complete enough to show the diameter, also retain the handle hole, made by piercing from the top and side respectively in hourglass fashion, though the two apertures are not on the same axis. The querns 1-3 all show traces of tooling, broad but even. The tooling on 1 is applied in more or less parallel bands in segmental sections. The small fragment 4 is apparently part of the type of ribbed quern normally associated with post-Conquest contexts. It came from ditch 62 which has produced (above, p. 87) Developed St Neots ware and early medieval ware.

All these querns are of the well-known vesicular lava of Niedermendig in the Eifel, and they accord well in form with the typology worked out for quern production for the region, now being given increasing chronological precision with the excavation of the very many sites throughout northern and western Europe to which it was exported.² Most Middle and Late Saxon sites in south and east England seem to produce examples.³

Findspots: 1, Feature 79; 2, Feature 87; 3, Feature 87; 4, Feature 62.

OTHER STONES

Two pieces of granite and a piece of sandstone were found in contexts containing a great preponderance of Romano-British material. They are probably Roman and

¹ P. Nørlund, *Trelleborg* (Copenhagen, 1948), pl. xx. For Southampton examples, *Proc. Hants Field Club* xxvi (1969), 79.

² *Jahrbuch für Kunst und Kultur des Mittelrheins* II-III (1950-1), 1-32; *idem*, VI-VII (1954-5), 7-32. There are summaries in *Antiquity* xxix (1955), 68-76 and in W. Krämer (ed.) *Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1958), pp. 268-85.

³ The number of findspots has multiplied greatly since Dunning's discussion of the English examples in D. B. Harden (ed.), *Dark Age Britain* (London, 1956), p. 232, and a new study is overdue.

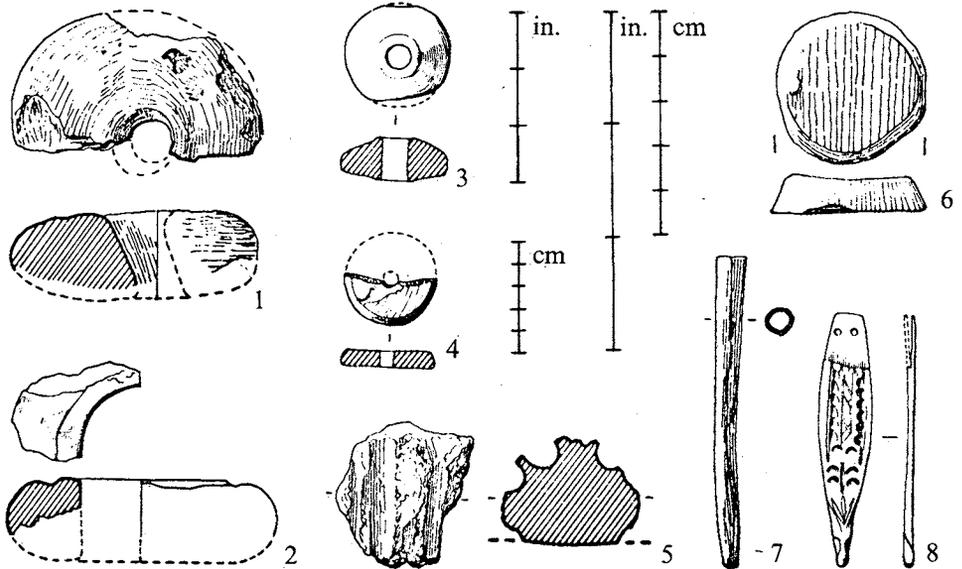


Fig. 18. Objects of fired clay (1-4) and burnt clay (5): Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ (approx.); and objects of lead (6) and copper alloy (7-8). Scale $\frac{2}{3}$ (approx.).

represent querns and a rubber respectively. Such materials were used in Middle and Late Saxon times, and the possibility that they are indeed Saxon should not be ruled out.¹

FIRED AND BURNT CLAY

Loomweights have not been common finds in the St Neots area Late Saxon settlements, but the 1929-32 excavation and the 1961-2 excavation each produced one example (Fig. 18, 1 and 2). The first is a poorly formed heavy weight, intermediate in form rather than bun-shaped, with central hole produced by piercing with the finger, in this example on a pronounced slant, doubtless through carelessness. The fabric is fairly soft and smooth with a few large broken oyster-shell inclusions. The colour varies from pink to dark grey. The weight is doubtless an example of the local product. The second, however, is in medium-hard sandy fabric with rounded quartzite inclusions such as might have been derived from river sands, and is grey in the core with orange oxidized surfaces. It does not resemble local wares. In form and size it is not dissimilar to the first, though more carefully formed and exhibiting the pro-

¹ Recent study of stones transported to Southampton from various parts of England shows the possible extent of contacts. *Proc. Hants Field Club* xxvi (1969), 79-81.

nounced ridge around the hole so often found in loomweights manufactured in this way. These loomweights seem to fall into the rather amorphous group between the annular loomweights of Early Saxon times and the very characteristic bun-shaped loomweights of Late Saxon sites. The validity of these groups cannot be questioned, since they represent changes in the technique of manufacture. Whether the different forms are necessarily chronologically distinct, particularly in Late Saxon times, is doubtful. On the face of it, these are Middle Saxon loomweights.¹

The two spindle whorls come from disturbed contexts but both may well belong to the Saxon or Saxo-Norman occupation. Fig. 18, 3, is a well-formed whorl in sandy fabric with inclusions of well-indurated sandstone. It has dark grey surfaces with thin bright red layer below, and a grey core, giving a grey-red-grey-red-grey cross-section. Torksey ware often exhibits this feature, distinctive because of its implications in terms of firing practice. This example, though clearly foreign to the site, may well, however, come from a sandstone area rather closer than Torksey. To characterize the object would entail its destruction and this has, therefore, not been undertaken. The second whorl (Fig. 18, 4) is cut from a sherd of medium-hard sandy medium-grey pottery with dark grey surfaces; it is probably a Roman sherd.

The daub fragment (Fig. 18, 5) shows impressions of close-set vertical wattles of $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (15 mm) diameter and has a carefully smoothed outer surface. It comes from Feature 87, which either impinged on, or was cut by, the wall of Structure F. It may thus indicate the type of wall cladding either of Structure F or of its predecessor. Trench 53 also produced burnt clay daub, some 168 g in featureless small fragments. This may indicate the wall-cladding of the nearby Structure C.

METAL OBJECTS

Iron (Fig. 19)

The St Neots settlement has produced a series of iron objects exceptional for the area and period. All recognizable objects from both excavations are described here and drawn in most cases with the aid of X-ray photographs. The latch, 1, is much like any modern example. The small and large holes are presumably for pivot and lifter respectively. The type, if this interpretation is correct, does not seem to be as common as might be expected. The object resembles in some ways certain types of strike-a-light, but the former interpretation is to be preferred. It has an impeccable Late Saxon context. 2 and 3 are knives with tangs of rectangular cross-section and blades of triangular cross-section. No. 2 is of the very common Saxon scramasax type, while 3, with its long tapering tang and blade of S-shaped profile, is related to the series with

¹ *Med. Archaeol.* III (1959), 23-5, where the St Neots examples are described as properly bun-shaped.

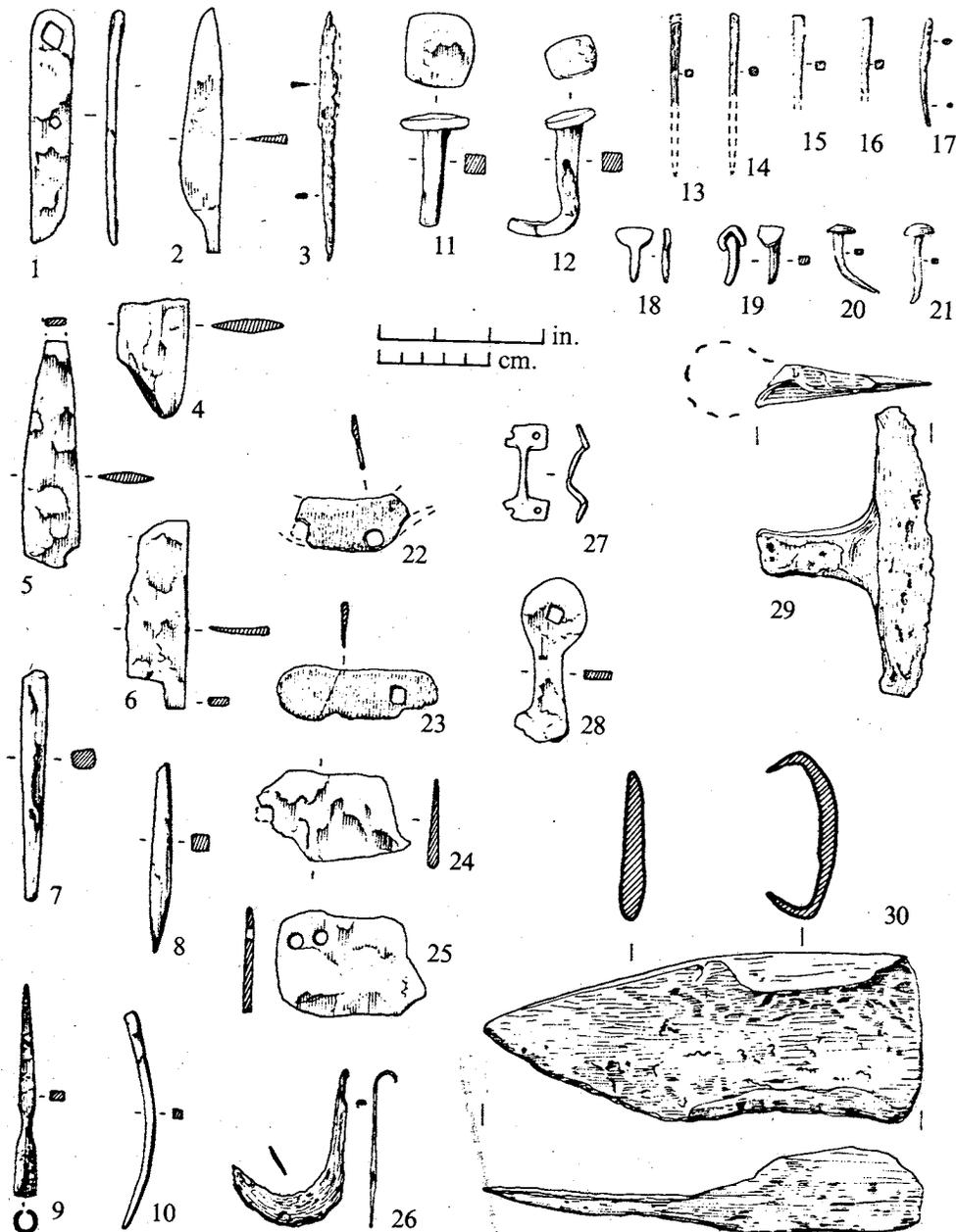


Fig. 19. Objects of iron, some drawn with the aid of X-ray photographs.
Nos. 3, 13, 14, 17, 26, 29 and 30 are from the 1929-32 excavations.

Viking associations, more usually found with off-set blade.¹ It is the only example of the type from the St Neots area, where on general and historical grounds one might expect to see considerable Viking influence. From its associations in the 1929-32 excavations it is presumably of tenth-century date. Nos. 4 and 5 are small fragments of double-edged blades. 5 narrows to a tang of rectangular cross-section, probably incomplete, set well to one side of the axis. Double-edged knives are not common at this period, and the asymmetry suggests the object is not a spear of the common tanged Viking types. 4 could certainly be a fragment of such a spear,² but both fragments are probably too small for positive identification. 6 is part of a tanged straight-bladed knife of the type more common in the later Middle Ages, which, since it comes from a disturbed context, may be its date. 7 and 8 are bars of rectangular cross-section, the first tapering at one end and the other tapering at both ends. 8 may be a tool of some sort, perhaps a reamer or a point.³ The square-sectioned arrowhead 9 has a hollow shaft beaten out on a mandrel, and is a common type of late Viking and Saxo-Norman sites.⁴ The association of this example with St Neots ware in Feature 63 is useful confirmation that it is a type fossil of the period. Another recurrent type on Late Saxon sites, the simple tapering long pin, is represented by nos. 10 and 13 to 17. Most of these are incomplete, but they are reconstructed with a length of about 3 in. (7.5 cm) by analogy with examples from other sites. Whether they were specialized nails or whether they had some other function is not clear.⁵ The two large square-headed nails 11 and 12 are not dissimilar from other Middle and Late Saxon examples. 19, a worn horseshoe nail, is a twelfth-century type,⁶ though it has no datable associations here. 19 to 21 are three types of headed nail, the last having a hollow domed head. The objects 22 to 25 are all essentially flat iron plates with perforations for attachment; beyond this they are unidentifiable, except that 22 may be part of a horseshoe, for it seems to have a wavy outline and square holes. The holes are not, however, countersunk, so it is not of the usual early medieval type.⁷ The small reaping or pruning hook, no. 26, with curled tapering tang of rectangular cross-section and flat forged blade, is a rare survival of a type which was doubtless quite

¹ *Archaeologia* xcvii (1959), 73; *Archaeol. J.* cxvi (1959), 82-3; (examples from Viking contexts in England); or Nørlund, *Trelleborg*, pl. xxviii (examples from Viking contexts in Scandinavia).

² Nørlund, *Trelleborg*, pl. xli.

³ *Idem*, pls. xlIII and xlvi. Such objects could be almost anything from part of a corroded arrowhead to a punch or other worktool.

⁴ *Idem*, pl. xlIII, 7.

⁵ *Proc. C.A.S.* lxii (1969), 86-7; possibly linen heckle teeth (Brodrigg *et al.*, *Excavations at Shakenoak Farm*, iv (Oxford, 1972), 134).

⁶ *Antiquity* 40 (1966), 305-8; and 41 (1967), 61-3. 11 and 12 are similar to the Eaton Socon example, *Proc. C.A.S.* lviii (1965), 65-6, fig. 11, no. 11, and those from Southampton, *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xxvi (1969), 64-5, fig. 24, 1-2.

⁷ *London Mus. Mediev. Cat.* (London, 1954), 112-15.

common. It has parallels from contemporary settlements on the continent, where excavation has been on a large enough scale to provide a representative series of small finds.¹ The type is a simple one with a long life; it is still with us in essence in modern tools. The same problems of longevity apply to the T-shaped axe, also from the 1929–32 excavation, no. 29. This example lacks the expanded haft loop, and the blade is seen, after cleaning, to have been forged over the neck, which itself shows the flow lines revealing the sequence of construction. Such axes are seen in contemporary illustrations from the ninth to eleventh centuries² and have archaeological contexts on the continent and in England from the seventh century onwards.³ Some were clearly objects of prestige and thus presumably weapons⁴ but others, perhaps including this slender specimen, seem to have been carpenter's tools. A very similar example was found with various other tools at Hurbuck, Co. Durham.⁵ The small handle, no. 27, has expanded rectangular attachment plates each with two holes for attachment, and a low loop to provide the handle. 28 seems to be a latch-lifter.

Some interest attaches to the ploughshare, no. 30, found in the 1929–32 excavation but not previously published in detail. It is a thick bowed plate of iron of flattish asymmetrical cross-section near its pointed tip, with sides forged upwards and inwards to form a socket for the plough towards the other end. Such a share would have been used with a coulter, as was the very similar example from the Westley Waterless, Cambridgeshire, hoard, dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century from the container in which it was found.⁶ These appear to be the only English examples yet recorded, but the type is known on contemporary sites in northern Europe. The find has clear implications for the dispute over the form of the Late Saxon plough and its capabilities.⁷ It also emphasizes the agricultural basis of the St Neots settlement, which is only indirectly implied by the querns.

A full discussion of the slags from the site will appear in Part IV, but suffice it here to say that seven Late Saxon features produced slags, and there was an amount in the

¹ Nørlund, *Trelleborg*, pls. XLIV, xv.

² British Museum *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities* (London, 1923), 90 (a St Gall MS) and Sir Frank Stenton (ed.), *The Bayeux Tapestry* (London, 1957), p. 66 and figs. 25 (Aelfric's Paraphrase of Pentateuch and Joshua, eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon MS), 18 and 38. In each of these illustrations the T-headed axe is being used by a carpenter; all the Bayeux Tapestry axes used for war are of a different type.

³ G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts of Early England I* (London, 1915), 232–3.

⁴ Nørlund, *Trelleborg*, pls. xxxvi and xxxviii, for a large decorated specimen.

⁵ D. M. Wilson, *The Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1960), pp. 76–9; Wilson has surveyed Anglo-Saxon carpentry tools in Claus, Haarnagel and Raddatz (eds.), *Studien zur Europäischen Vor und Frühgeschichte* (Neumunster, 1968), pp. 143–50.

⁶ C. Fox, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (Cambridge, 1923), pl. xxxv; and *C.A.S. Reports* xxxix (1881), xiv–xvi.

⁷ H. P. R. Finberg (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1–11* (Cambridge, 1972), 418–20.

disturbed layers; the evidence is sufficient to imply at least small-scale iron working at St Neots, and the township presumably had a smith or smiths capable of turning out most of the minor ironwork described above.

The findspots of the iron objects were: 1929-32 excavation: nos. 3, 13, 14, 17, 26, 29 and 30; Feature 29: no. 19; Feature 52: no. 4; Feature 62: no. 10; Feature 63: nos. 9 and 27; Feature 87: nos. 1 and 5; Feature 93, nos. 11, 12 and 24; Feature 95: no. 18; area on west side of Structure A: nos. 6, 7, 8, 21, 25 and 28. The Romano-British site underlies the last context and there is a possibility that some of the objects from it may be Roman.

Copper alloy (Fig. 18, 7 and 8)

The tapering tube no. 7 is almost certainly a ferrule of a thin staff or possibly the metal tag from the end of a thin rope. It resembles in form the much smaller late medieval bootlace and tag ends, and since it comes from a disturbed context it may be of that date. The strap end no. 8 is also an unstratified find but it can be assigned typologically to the tenth century. This type of strap end with zoomorphic terminal has recently been studied by Wilson, and this example is comparable to many in his corpus.¹ It is a flat copper alloy plate split at one end to accommodate the strap or tag, and there are two perforations for the attachment rivets. The upper surface of the object is decorated with criss-cross incision between two parallel lines, flanked by semicircular depressions. Four crescent-shaped depressions near the tip are arranged in pairs separated by an incised line. The object terminates in a rather vaguely moulded animal head, emphasized by an incised arrow on the upper surface. The strap end is the only object from the Late Saxon settlement for which anything like a close date can be assigned. It and the coin of Cnut (see below) from a building site nearby are the best confirmatory evidence available for the general conclusion that the main period of occupation of the settlement is in Late Saxon times.

Lead (Fig. 18, 6)

The circular disk of lead from Pit 8 in the 1929-32 excavation weighs 1 oz. 15 dwt. It is somewhat roughly formed and may in fact have been rather a sinker than a weight designed for measurement, though a comparative study of Anglo-Saxon weights might well show some metrological correlation.

Silver coin

A Cnut penny was found during the excavation on an adjacent building site (Fig. 2, 3), almost certainly within the Late Saxon settlement area. Its finder, Mr C. Daines,

¹ D. M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700-1100* (London, 1964), pp. 62-3.

has kindly permitted publication, and Mr Michael Dolley has provided the following note:

'The coin is a penny of Harthacnut (in the name of "Cnut") of the coinage of 1040-42.

Obv. + LNVTR/EC + AN

Rev. + SPERT ON STANFO:

(Swert at Stamford)

cf. Hildebrand "Cnut" 3346: Brunn 898, etc. Wt. 16.7 gm. Perhaps only the third recorded specimen.'

BONE OBJECTS (Fig. 20)

The bone objects are quite typical of Middle and Late Saxon domestic sites. They include a 'pin-beater' (1), used in the weaving process on an upright loom¹ and a roughly shaped polishing tool (2) with a high polish on its much-used tip, perhaps produced through use in leather working. The small pin with perforated triangular head is also of a common type, and is only exceptional in having nicks along one edge.² The comb fragments are single pieces from composite double-sided combs. These are presumably from finished combs, and there is no evidence of manufacture or bone working on the St Neots settlement. Many Early, Middle and Late Saxon settlements have produced combs of this type; the processes of manufacture have recently been studied and comparable examples discussed in relation to the site of Saxon Southampton;³ they seem to have no value for dating. Findspots: 1, 2 and 4: 1929-32 excavation; 3 and 5: Feature 48.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The excavation was instigated by Mr C. F. Tebbutt, organized by Mr J. G. Hurst for the (then) Ministry of Works, and carried out by kind permission of Mr Stanley Smith, the site owner. Mr Tebbutt's indefatigable help before and during the excavation, and with preparation of the report afterwards, has contributed greatly to the results. The excavation was carried out by contract and volunteer labour and I am grateful especially to W. G. Simpson, Mrs M. G. Hebditch and J. Doran for their help with the running of the excavation. Much of the supervision was undertaken by M. Brett and R. G. W. Prescott and, in 1962, by S. G. Rees-Jones, and the photography by K. Jepson. Ministry of Works Tests Branch provided a preliminary geophysical survey through Mr P. Mayes. A number of volunteers, both local and from afar, provided invaluable help. To all these an inestimable debt is owed.

Miss J. Hassall has done much of the preliminary work on the report and she has

¹ *Trans. Leics. Archaeol. Soc.* xxviii (1953), 50.

² *Proc. C.S.A.* LXII (1969), 86-7, fig. 16, no. 11; their manufacture has been discussed in relation to Saxon Southampton in *Proc. Hants Field Club* xxvi (1969), 76 and pl. vii b.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-6 and pl. vii a.

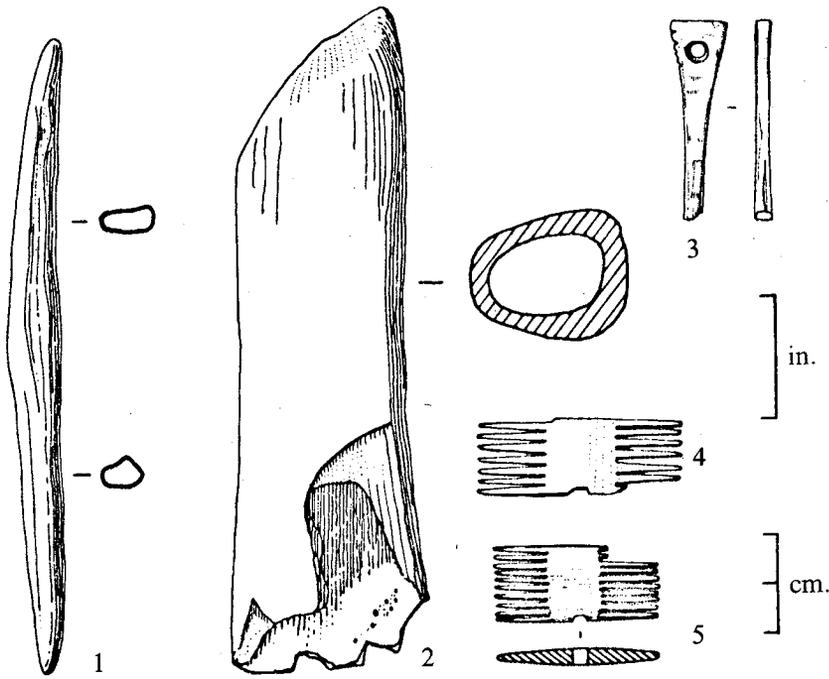


Fig. 20. Objects of bone.

contributed many of the ideas incorporated in the text. I am grateful too to Professor E. M. Jope, Mr J. G. Hurst, Mr L. Biek, Mr R. H. M. Dolley and Mr D. M. Wilson for their help with various aspects of the work. My wife has helped throughout the later stages of production of the report.

APPENDIX A

THE MIDDLE SAXON VESSEL FROM THE CONEYGEARE, EYNESBURY

In addition to the various Anglo-Saxon sites noted in and around St Neots there is some evidence to suggest that an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery existed at The Coneygeare, Eynesbury. This site was extensively occupied in Roman times, and aerial photographs show that, although gravel digging took place in early times, nevertheless there are many structures, ditches and other features in the area. Sporadic finds have been made over many years. The vessel shown in Fig. 21 has been published twice before¹ but not to modern standards. A new description is given below and we have kindly had the benefit of comments on the vessel from Dr J. N. L. Myres. The vessel is in the

¹ G. C. Gorham, *The History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St Neots* (London, 1820), pp. 12-13, and *V.C.H. Huntingdonshire* II, 277.

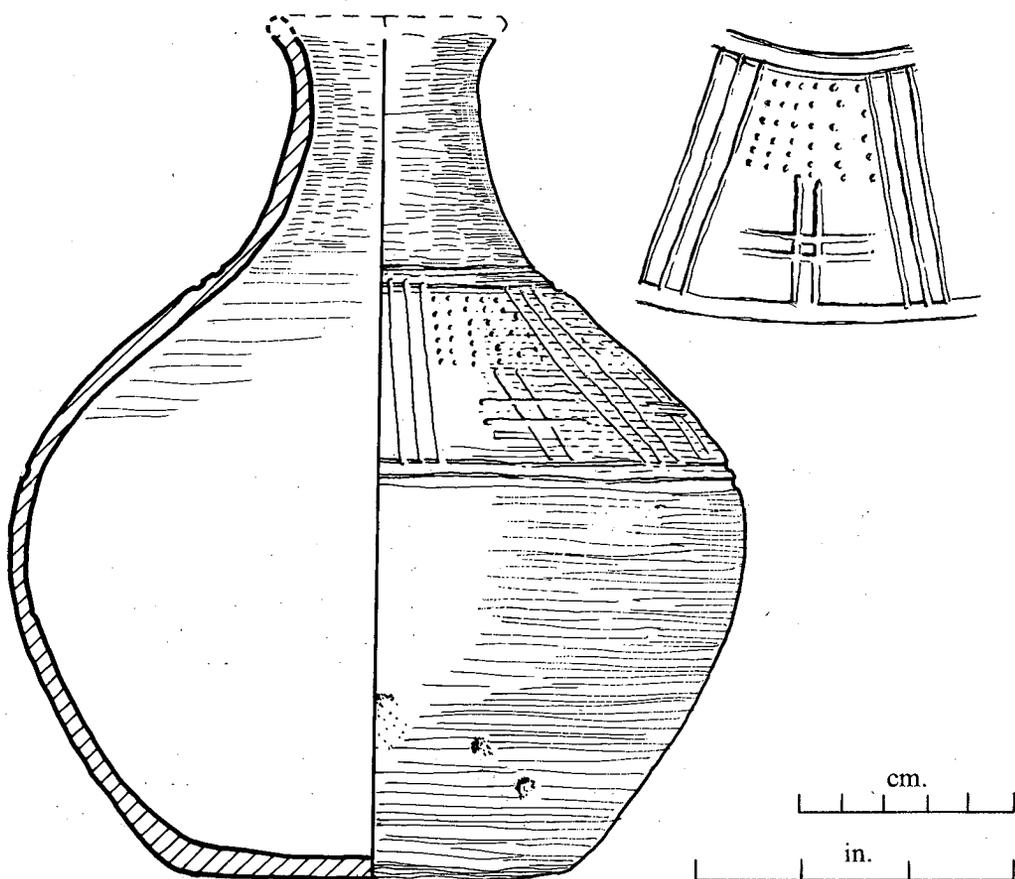


Fig. 21. Seventh or eighth-century vessel from the Coneygeare, Eynesbury.

University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, having arrived there via Trinity College Library, whose number RM 7 9. 12. 84 it bears.

Fig. 21. A more or less globular vessel with flattish base and tall neck, slightly everted at the rim, in fabric of medium fineness and medium hardness, being slightly sandy and micaceous. The fabric is burnished internally and externally above the shoulder, and the surface is brownish red, with a medium grey core. The lower part of the pot, apparently only smoothed and not burnished or finished, is slightly degraded, the sand is more apparent, and there is some spalling. The vessel is decorated with two pairs of horizontal grooves, at top and bottom of the shoulder, the area between which is divided into trapeziums by groups of three vertical lines. Within the spaces so defined are five or six vertical lines of small stab marks with, below them, a cross formed of pairs of incised lines. All the decoration is applied to the vessel when in the leather-hard state, presumably immediately after the burnish.

Dr Myres says of this vessel in a letter to Mr Tebbutt '... I think it is probably related to the Kentish bottle-vase type of the seventh century, though so far as I know it is not exactly paralleled there. It seems to be an extreme example of the seventh-century tendency to produce vessels with a low centre of gravity and tall conical neck, as shows e.g. in the Leighton Buzzard so-called "Christian" cemeteries published by Mrs Hyslop.¹ The type of decoration is also reminiscent of her examples.² Although the parallels are not at all close I feel that a date not earlier than the seventh century is much nearer the mark than the A.D. 500 suggested by R. A. Smith as quoted by Fox.'³

The vessel is of some interest in providing an indication of local ceramic preferences in a period for which there is little enough evidence in the area. Gorham's account indicates that other vessels were not preserved.

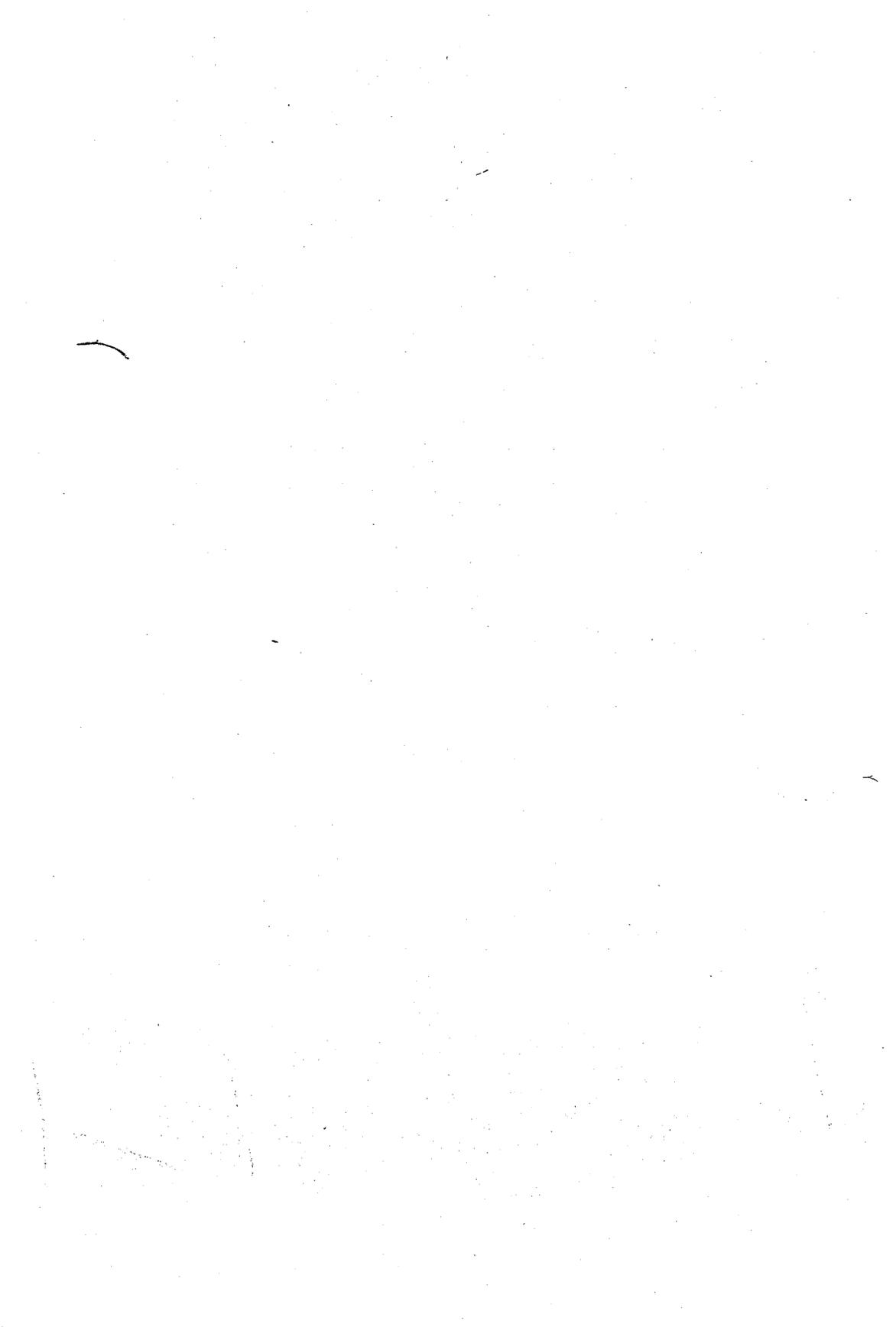
'Fragments of Roman pottery are frequently found up on Eynesbury Cony-geer. They consist chiefly of an unbaked black or dark-blue clay, with very little ornament. Urns, of inferior workmanship, have also been found on the same spot: they have probably been sepulchral; although the fact of their having contained bones has not been ascertained. Of these Antiquities a single specimen (found in 1816) has hitherto been preserved' (the vessel discussed here).

The site was thus presumably a late pagan cemetery, still practising cremation, and another factor, therefore, in the developing pattern of Anglo-Saxon occupation locally.

¹ *Archaeol. J.* CXX (1963), 161-200.

² *Ibid.* p. 174, fig. 8g and p. 178, fig. 11a.

³ C. Fox, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 267.



THE GROUP OF
FOREIGN STAINED GLASS WINDOWS
IN THORNEY ABBEY CHURCH¹

HEINZ OETTLI

THE Abbey Church of St Mary and St Botolph at Thorney contains a group of three stained glass panels in the lower easternmost window on either side of the nave. Moving from east to west the panels on the south side depict the Denial of St Peter (1), the Supper at Emmaus (2) and the Pietá (3). On the north side from west to east the three panels show the Mocking of Christ (4), the Women on their Way to the Sepulchre (5) and the Harrowing of the Souls in Hell (6).

The six panels are the same size – approximately 4 ft high and 3 ft wide. They have a similar basic construction in that they all consist of a central scene or subject painted clearly and in fine though simple detail in dark brown on a white background.² The central scene is contained within a Gothic arch at the top and a line of text beneath (except in panel (6) where the text section is missing); decorative borders beyond these complete the panels. An exception is panel (5) which has an ornamental frame but no surrounding decoration. In this panel the central scene is also of smaller dimensions than in the other five panels: the dimensions are made up by the inclusion of plain diamond-shaped glass. The frames and surrounds are altogether a mosaic of old fragments in which light green glass with leaf, tendril and small yellow-stained flower motifs predominates.

The subjects depicted are of simple rather than lofty conception. The interpretations of biblical scenes are suited to humble understanding: they are conventional and easily identifiable. However, apart from Christ, Peter and the holy women, who appear in traditional garb and with haloes, the figures wear medieval clothes.³ This feature is reflected in the contemporary depiction of the three interiors in panels (1), (2) and (4), as also in the city walls and turrets in (3) and (5). Here realism and perspective are indicated by the roof beams of panels (1) and (2), the tiled floor of panels (1), (2) and (4), the background garden details of panel (3), the towers in panel (5); and in the general smaller details by fine shading.

¹ This article owes much to Professor L. W. Forster's kind help and encouragement.

² The white background is one of the principal characteristics of fifteenth-century stained glass. Cf. Armitage, *Stained Glass*, p. 34; Eden, *Ancient Stained and Painted Glass*, p. 91. Also typical of fifteenth-century glass are the delicate painted work and the process of 'stipple' shading. See Nelson, *Ancient Painted Glass in England*, pp. 28 and 31.

³ This is a common phenomenon of fifteenth-century stained glass (cf. Nelson, *op. cit.* p. 31).

At the base of the five panels portraying Christ's passion there are the following inscriptions in gothic script:

- (1) DOUSN KLOYD DEN¹
- (2) STYNGYN² [] HUS(F)RAW³
- (3) BEYLCHGYN SYN HUSWURAU⁴
- (4) LISGIN⁵ SIN⁵ HUSFFRAU
- (5) []UR⁶ GODART HAUYSER

Panels (1) and (4) are not only strikingly similar in colour and detail but also have the distinguishing feature of a script which is not as fine and clear as in the other three panels. In only two cases – (3) and (5) – does the arrangement of the lead strips make it certain that the inscription actually belongs to the picture with which it appears, as the piece of glass bearing the inscription is also an integral part of the design of the picture. In all the other cases the inscription is on one or more glass strips separate from the picture.

Although there exist several detailed architectural descriptions of the Abbey Church⁷ the six panels of foreign glass are, unlike the English stained glass in the church, either completely ignored or dismissed in a short sentence. This neglect can hardly be explained by any inferior artistic quality of the work but rather by the unknown, foreign character of the windows. The obscure nature of the panels is borne out by the contradicting statements as to their origin. They are referred to simply as 'foreign glass',⁸ as 'German or Swiss panels',⁹ as 'remains of late German glass'¹⁰ and as 'late 15th century Flemish glass'.¹¹

We have seen that several artistic elements coincide with the general characteristics

¹ Besides being partly erased the letters in this panel are so close to the lead strip above them that especially the first two groups of letters are difficult to decipher with any certainty.

² The S is partly obscured by a band of lead.

³ The fourth letter is almost completely covered by a strip of lead. In the large gap between the two words two pieces of plain glass were inserted at some later date.

⁴ The fifth and sixth letters of this word are partly obscured by a band of lead.

⁵ The last two letters of both these words are joined together so that -IN in LISGIN could be mistaken for a W and in SIN for an M. Moreover, unlike panels (2), (3) and (5) N's and U's are identical; their vertical parallels are joined both at the top and at the bottom.

⁶ It is probable that several letters of this first word are missing because the final -UR and the ornamental flourish on the far left are separated by a large gap which is covered by two pieces of plain glass. The letter immediately preceding -UR is only fractionally visible.

⁷ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, II, 593 ff.; Lynam, *Architectural Notes on Thorney Abbey*; Sweeting, *Historical and Architectural Notes of Thorney and Crowland Abbeys*; Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Cambridgeshire*, pp. 384 f.; *V.C.H. Cambridge and the Isle of Ely* IV, 222 ff.; Warner, *The History of Thorney Abbey*; Willis, *An History of the Mitred Abbies and Conventual Cathedral Churches*, pp. 187 ff.

⁸ Sweeting, *op. cit.* pp. 8 f.

¹⁰ Lynam, *op. cit.* p. 288.

⁹ Pevsner, *op. cit.* p. 385.

¹¹ *V.C.H. Cambridgeshire* IV, 223.

of late fifteenth-century stained glass windows. The contemporary costumes worn by some of the figures as also some of the realistic touches of the settings are even for the layman clear indications that the artist(s)¹ was Germanic. However, the panels are not, as is locally believed, of Flemish origin.² An analysis of the inscriptions reveals that the dialect is plainly that of fifteenth-century Cologne. This is apparent from undiphthongized *i* and *û*; the use of *y* as a sign of vowel length; and the diminutives ending in *-gyn*.³

It has been observed that the inscriptions fall into two groups: I, (1) and (4); II, (2), (3) and (5). Group II, apart from one word, presents little difficulty. STYNGYN (2) and BEYLCHGYN (3) are both names of women, the former being the diminutive of Augustina or Christina and the latter of Bela. As the possessive adjective SYN (3) indicates, HUS(F)RAW (2) and HUSWURAU (3) are both variations of *husfrau* or wife. GODART HAUYSER (5) is a personal name which is the equivalent of NHG Gottfried Hau Eisen. Because -UR on the same panel was probably originally preceded by several other letters it is impossible to reconstruct the meaning of this word. Panel (4) in Group I presents no problem as far as the determination of the meaning of its indistinct text is concerned. LISGYN is, of course, the diminutive of Elisabeth. However, panel (1) is more problematic. We have already noted that the impaired state of the script makes a conclusive rendering of the first two words impossible. As they stand no meaning can be extracted from them and I can think of no emendations which might produce recognizable semantic forms. The definite article DEN is on a separate piece of glass and there is therefore no guarantee that it belongs to the other two groups of letters; it could have been inserted when the window was installed in Thorney. However, if it does belong to the panel then the text would obviously be a continuous one. This is substantiated by the fact that no identifiable word in the five panels has any relationship with the picture above it. Indeed, the four personal names clearly indicate that the text represents a dedication and that the panels are remnants of a donation for some pious purpose, by several citizens and their wives,⁴ of a complete set of pictures depicting Christ's passion and

¹ I believe that the distinct differences between (1) and (4) and the other panels clearly show that at least two artists created the works. It is also significant that (1), the Denial, and (4), the Mocking, are the two windows depicting scenes before Christ's crucifixion, for this could mean that the artist of (2), (3), (5) and (6) continued the work begun by the first artist.

² Both the Vicar, the Rev. Leslie Young, who has himself written a pamphlet on the history of Thorney Abbey, and the locally recognized expert on the history of Thorney Abbey, Mr Cave of Church Street, Thorney, believe that the panels come from Flanders.

³ See e.g. the specimens in Götze's *Frühneuhochdeutsches Lesebuch*, pp. 45 ff. and the description in Heinzel's *Geschichte der niederfränkischen Geschäftssprache*, pp. 270 ff.

⁴ Donors of stained glass were particularly numerous during the fifteenth century – at times even appearing on the glass themselves (cf. Gessert, *Geschichte der Glasmalerei*, p. 113; Harries, *Discovering Stained Glass*, p. 48; Nelson, *op. cit.* p. 32).

resurrection.¹ The four inscriptions we are able to interpret indicate that originally each panel listed one name. Unfortunately, three of the extant panels contain the first names of wives, and only one a man's surname. Nevertheless, besides having been able to establish the provenance of the panels, their approximate date and their general function, we have at least one identifiable full name: Godart Hauyser. People who donate objects for pious purposes are usually persons of some consequence, who may be expected to occur in other contexts as well.

The family of Hauyser was in fact prominent in fifteenth-century Cologne, and the name does not seem to have been common elsewhere in the area.² 'Jac. Haeuysyer de Colonia' matriculated at the University of Cologne in May 1482, and three others, all from Cologne, during the second half of the fifteenth century;³ by contrast there are no Hauysers in the Louvain matriculation registers. Godart Hauyser himself was an eminent citizen of Cologne. He was a merchant of some wealth⁴ and from 1484 onwards was a member of the Cologne City Council.⁵ In March 1492 he was still on the City Council⁶ and signed documents as *magister memoriarum*,⁷ but he was dead by December 1494.⁸ He was evidently the sort of solid citizen of local importance one would expect to donate a piece of stained glass.

The problem we are now faced with is to determine who the stained glass was donated to. Since the panels, in their remnant state, were installed in Thorney in 1638,⁹ they were presumably not loose but set in another window or series of windows in some definite locality before this date. If this was in Cologne it is difficult to see how they could have reached England as early as 1638.¹⁰ An alternative assumption is that they were originally installed in some building in England as a specific donation.

¹ These remains are now arranged in a peculiarly haphazard fashion. The two panels depicting scenes occurring before Christ's crucifixion, the Denial of St Peter (1) and the Mocking of Christ (4), are placed diagonally opposite each other, and Christ after his resurrection at Emmaus (2) is framed by the Denial (1) and the Pietá (3).

² References are provided by the following well-indexed works: Thea Buyken and Hermann Conrad, *Die Amtleutbücher der Kölnischen Sondergemeinden*; Bruno Kuske, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kölner Handels und Verkehrs im Mittelalter* (esp. vols. II, III, IV); W. Stein, *Akten zur Geschichte der Verfassung und Verwaltung der Stadt Köln im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (esp. vols. I and II); *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. W. Stein (vols. IX and X).

³ *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln* III, ed. H. Keussen, p. 488.

⁴ See *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* IX, 164, 484 f., 487 f., 528, 542 f., 555 ff., 574 ff., 616 f., 652 f.; X, 55, 494 ff.; Kuske, II, 182, 272, 451, 598; Buyken and Conrad, p. 162.

⁵ Kuske, II, 484.

⁶ Stein, *Verfassung und Verwaltung der Stadt Köln* I, 541 f.

⁷ Stein, *op. cit.* pp. 532, 535, 745, 758; II, 581, 585, 625 f.; Kuske, II, 591 f.

⁸ Kuske, III, 224.

⁹ See p. 107 below.

¹⁰ Sixteenth-century foreign glass in parish churches was usually 'imported in the early years of the nineteenth century, purchased by enlightened squires', M. R. James, *Suffolk and Norfolk*, p. 8.

There was one group of buildings in England where one would naturally expect to find panels of this kind. This was the Steelyard, the depot of the Hanseatic merchants in London, which in the Middle Ages stood on the site of what is now Cannon Street Station.¹ There was both a chapel² and a richly adorned Great Hall³ within the bounds of the Steelyard, and we know that stained glass was used for decorative purposes by the merchants⁴ and that they celebrated some of their religious festivals in the Great Hall.⁵ Cologne was one of the oldest members of the Hanseatic League⁶ and its merchants played an important part in the affairs of the Steelyard.⁷ Indeed, the Cologne merchants were sole owners of the Steelyard until they joined the Hanseatic League at the end of the 13th century⁸ and from 1470 to 1476 they were the only Hanseatic merchants admitted by Edward IV to trade with England; they took over the Steelyard but had to restore it to the other Hanse Towns in 1476.⁹

Godart Hauyser was engaged in lively trade with England.¹⁰ He not only maintained close contact with the Steelyard for many years¹¹ but actually resided there in 1466-7 as well as at the beginning of 1469;¹² in 1467 he is even recorded as an alderman of the Steelyard.¹³ His connection with the Hanseatic seat in London goes back quite a considerable time. In 1447 a new set of statutes drawn up for the Steelyard has an appended list of signatures including that of 'Godert Hofister'.¹⁴ The extant manuscript of the statute book is a poor copy, and its editor points out that it is characterized by 'unerhörte Nachlässigkeit oder Unkunde des Schreibers';¹⁵ the entry may

¹ Cf. Norman, *Notes on the Steelyard*, p. 411; Steinberg, *Ansichten des Londoner Stalhofs*, p. 159; Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns*, p. 353.

² Pagel, *Die Hanse*, p. 345.

³ Barthold, *Geschichte der deutschen Hansa* II, 218; Lappenberg, *Urkundliche Geschichte des hansischen Stalhofs zu London*, 'Geschichte', p. 93.

⁴ Lappenberg, *op. cit.* p. 111.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 125.

⁶ Zimmern, *op. cit.* pp. 34 f.

⁷ In Schulz's (*Die Hanse und England*, pp. 190 f.) list of Hanseatic aldermen at the Steelyard the merchants of Cologne are by far the most frequently represented - especially during the second half of the fifteenth century.

⁸ See Engel, *Die Organisation der deutsch-hansischen Kaufleute in England im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert bis zum Utrechter Frieden von 1474*, pp. 461, 483; Höhlbaum, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Hanse in England*, pp. 23 ff.; Kölns älteste Handelsprivilegien für England, pp. 41 ff.; Kunze, *Das erste Jahrhundert der deutschen Hanse in England*, pp. 129 ff.; Kurzinna, *Der Name 'Stalhof'*, p. 430; Pauli, *Notizen über Osterlinge und Stahlhöfe*, pp. 129 ff.; Stein, *Die Hansebruderschaft der Kölner Englandfahrer und ihr Statut vom Jahre 1324*, pp. 197 ff. On the privileges granted exclusively to the Cologne merchants by Henry II and Richard Coeur de Lion, see Lappenberg, *op. cit.* 'Urkunden', pp. 3 ff.

⁹ See Lappenberg, *op. cit.* 'Geschichte', pp. 53 ff.; 'Urkunden', pp. 134 ff.

¹⁰ See *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, IX, 348 f., 363 f.; X, 54, 317 f., 546 f. In his index Kuske (IV, 278) lists Godart Hauyser under three separate headings although several of his edited documents (Kuske II, 272 f., 293, 484) prove that the three separate lists all refer to the same man.

¹¹ See *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* IX, 405 ff., 490 ff.; X, 100 f., 692 f.; Kuske, II, 195 f., 273. This extant evidence of Godart Hauyser's association with the Steelyard covers the years 1468-84.

¹² See *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* IX, 295 ff., 445, 477 ff., 535 ff.; Kuske, II, 200 f.

¹³ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* IX, 296 (item 17).

¹⁴ Lappenberg, 'Urkunden', p. 110 f.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 102.

thus contain the name of Godart Hauyser in a corrupt form. This is made highly probable by the circumstance that another of the names on the list is that of Hermann Ring, later (in 1482–3) burgomaster of Cologne, Godart Hauyser's brother-in-law and business associate.¹ Moreover, the name 'Hofister' appears neither in the relevant volumes (IX and X) of the *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* nor in Kuske's (vol. IV) index of fifteenth-century Cologne merchants. In view of Hauyser's close and long association with the Steelyard it would not be surprising if he had donated a piece of stained glass to it.

This is made all the more plausible by the fact that his wife's name was Elisabeth² and that the diminutive of this name – LISGIN – actually appears in one of the inscriptions (5). The other two names in panels (2) and (3) unfortunately cannot be identified with Ring's wife (Elisabeth's sister) whose name was Drutgin.³ However, STYNGYN and BEYLCHGYN can be identified as the names of the wives of other prominent Cologne members of the Steelyard during the late fifteenth century. Styngijn was the wife of Johann Hupe,⁴ who was not only closely connected with the Steelyard from at least 1461 to 1476 but was also a business associate of Godart Hauyser and Hermann Ring.⁵ Peter Kannengiesser, who was married to Beilgin,⁶ had a similarly intimate association with the Steelyard.⁷ Besides being a business colleague of Hauyser and Ring⁸ he was related to them through his son's marriage to Ring's daughter Elisabeth,⁹ and he left money to both Ring and Hauyser when he died in 1485.¹⁰ Johann Hardenroide's wife was also called Bielgin.¹¹ He is recorded as being connected with the Steelyard from 1463 until 1481 and was another business associate of Hauyser and Ring.¹² He was probably identical with the 'Johanne Hardenroide' who appears as *magister memoriarum* in some documents of 1473.¹³ Another

¹ For the relationship of Hauyser and Ring see Kuske, IV, 278 and 356. The names of these two prominent citizens frequently appear together on documents that bear witness to their mutual trade with England (*Hansisches Urkundenbuch* IX, 296, 348 f., 363 f.; X, 54, 546 f., 692 f.; Kuske, II, 195 f., 273; III, 235, 298 ff., etc.).

² Kuske, III, 168, 224, 234 f., 261; IV, 278.

³ Kuske, IV, 278, 356.

⁴ Kuske, II, 422 f.

⁵ See *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* IX, 348 f., 363 f., 616, 622; X, 55, 317 f.; Kuske, II, 119, 195 f., 219, 272, 275 f. Kuske, II, 379 and 422 f., prove that this editor again refers to the same man under separate headings in IV, 294 f. (cf. also the index of *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, X, 764).

⁶ Kuske, III, 162, 234 f.

⁷ See *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* IX, 345 ff., 348 f., 351 f., 363 f.; X, 317 f.; Kuske, II, 119, 178 f., 195.

⁸ See n. 7 above and *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* IX, 132 f., 548 f.; X, 55, 57; Kuske, II, 190 f., 275.

⁹ Kuske, III, 224.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* pp. 234 f.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 168, 337. Variations in spelling of the same name were, of course, still common in the fifteenth century (cf. *husfraw*, *huswurau*, *husffrau*).

¹² *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, IX, 38 f., 132 ff., 164, 345 ff., 348 f., 363 f.; X, 55, 57 f., 317 f., 546 f.; Kuske, II, 140, 178 f., 195 f., 272, 275, 451; III, 337.

¹³ Kuske, II, 295, 310; Stein, *Verfassung und Verwaltung der Stadt Köln* I, 429 f.

Belgin was married to Robert Blitterswich,¹ who was for a considerable time a member of the Steelyard and a business colleague of Hauyser and Ring.² He was also a Cologne *magister memoriarum* from 1457 to 1486.³ We therefore have three possible candidates for the husband of BEYLCHGYN and one for that of STYNGYN.⁴

However, if our above assumptions are correct then we are still left with the problem of how the panels found their way from the Steelyard to Thorney.

The Rev. Leslie Young informed me that our stained glass windows were installed in the Abbey Church during its restoration in 1638. That the church was rebuilt at this time is confirmed by the figures 1638 above the western doorway.⁵ 'The Isles being ruinous were taken down and part of the stone thereof employed in filling up the Arches of the Nave':⁶ it therefore follows that the windows under these nave arches were inserted at the same time.

From about 1630 onwards a considerable number of Dutch, Flemish, Walloon and French people began to settle in Thorney. They were employed by the fourth Earl of Bedford, the owner of Thorney, in the reclamation of the drowned fen lands in the area.⁷ On 17 March 1639 the following agreement was signed by the Earl of Bedford and the Bishop of Ely:

'That for the French and Dutch planters in the fens about Thorney in the diocese of Ely, the old ruins of the church and the abbey there, being in part re-edified, shall be finished and perfected⁸ for the receipt of them, and for divine service and sacrament there.'⁹

Although no extant record tells us how or why the six panels were installed during the renovations of the church, it would seem likely that there is some connection between the building of the parish church for the foreign settlers and the German

¹ Kuske, III, 160, 214.

² See *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* x, 54, 57 f., 317 f.; Kuske, II, 273 f., 275.

³ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* x, 656; Kuske, II, 93 f., 216, 220 f., 224, 228, 367; Stein, *op. cit.* I, 407 ff., 412 ff., 533 f.; II, 429, 452, 463 f., 470, 591, 593 ff., 623.

⁴ Johann Questenberg's wife was also called Styngin (Kuske, III, 173, 327), but his long association with the Steelyard does not seem to have begun until 1476 (*Hansisches Urkundenbuch* x, 317 f., 465; Kuske, II, 559 f., 600 ff., 656, 658, 672, 731 f.).

⁵ Cf. Lynam, p. 285; Sweeting, *op. cit.* p. 9; Porter, *Ancient Thorney*, p. 42; *V.C.H. Cambs.* IV, 222; Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 225 ff.; Willis, p. 187.

⁶ Willis, p. 187.

⁷ See Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France*; Cole, *A Collection of Laws which form the Constitution of the Bedford Level Corporation*; Darby, *The Medieval Fenland*; *The Draining of the Fens*; Dugdale, *The History of Imbanking and Draining of Divers Fens and Marshes*; Peet, *Register of Baptisms of the French at Thorney, Cambridgeshire*; *Peterborough Advertiser* (12 July 1935), *Thorney and the Huguenots*; Smiles, *The Huguenots. Their Settlements, Churches and Industries in England and Ireland*.

⁸ Reconstruction had, of course, already begun in 1638.

⁹ Thomson, *Thorney Abbey: An Interlude*, p. 177; cf. also *V.C.H. Cambs.* IV, 220. This agreement corrects Warner's (*op. cit.* pp. 235 f.) and others' statements that the church was re-established as a parish church in which the foreign settlers were merely to be allowed to hold services.

stained glass. It is not inconceivable that the Earl of Bedford somehow obtained and donated the panels to his new parishioners, especially seeing that the rapid progress of the draining would well have warranted such a donation.¹ He may have thought that these obviously foreign panels were appropriate for the continental workers draining his fens.

In 1598 the Hanseatic merchants were expelled from the Steelyard by Queen Elizabeth I, and it was not restored to them until 1606.² When they regained possession of the property it was in a deplorable state. Most of the tables, benches, bedsteads, *even panels and stained glass windows* were found to have been stolen.³ The inventory of 1598 was handed over to the Lord Mayor of London in 1600, but it is no longer among the records of the Corporation of the City of London. Unfortunately, the Hanseatic archives at Lübeck likewise contain no copy of this inventory which might have enabled us to identify the series of panels. The stolen furniture from the Steelyard was presumably sold on the market in London and in some such way our panels could have come into the possession of the Earl of Bedford.

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¹ Cf. *V.C.H. Cambs.* IV, 221.

² Cf. Barthold, *Geschichte der deutschen Hansa* II, 492; Dollinger, *La Hanse*, p. 421; Norman, *Notes on the Steelyard*, p. 394; Steinberg, *Ansichten des Londoner Stalhofs*, p. 159; Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns*, pp. 350 f.

³ Lappenberg, 'Geschichte', p. 111: 'Das Mobilier an Tischen, Bänken, Bettstellen, selbst Panele und Glasfenster, worüber 1598 ein notarielles Inventarium in Gegenwart einiger Londoner Stadtbeamten war aufgenommen worden, waren fast gänzlich gestohlen.'

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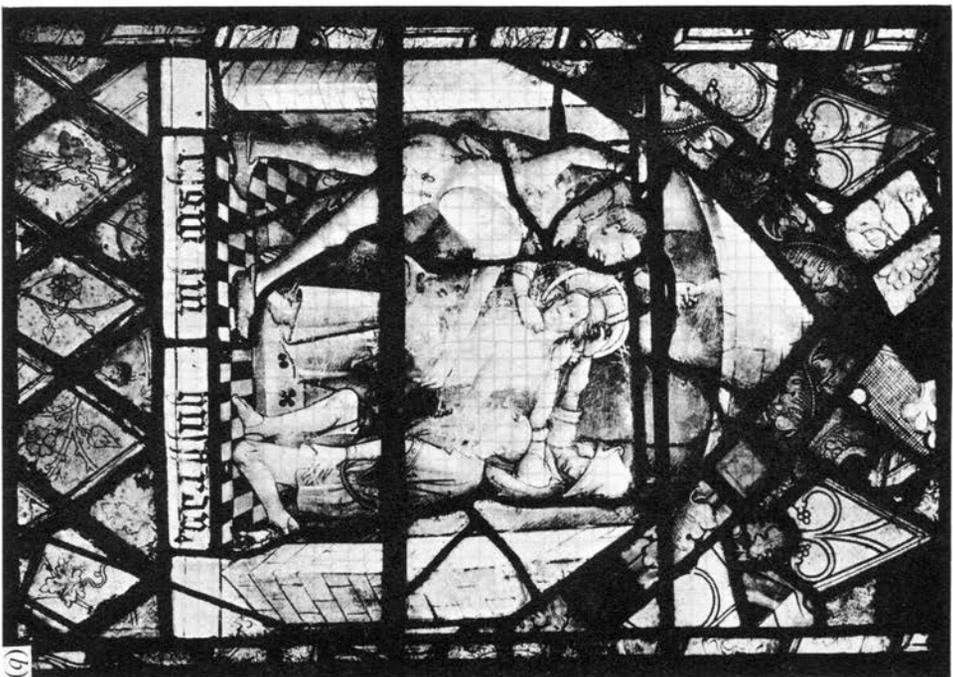


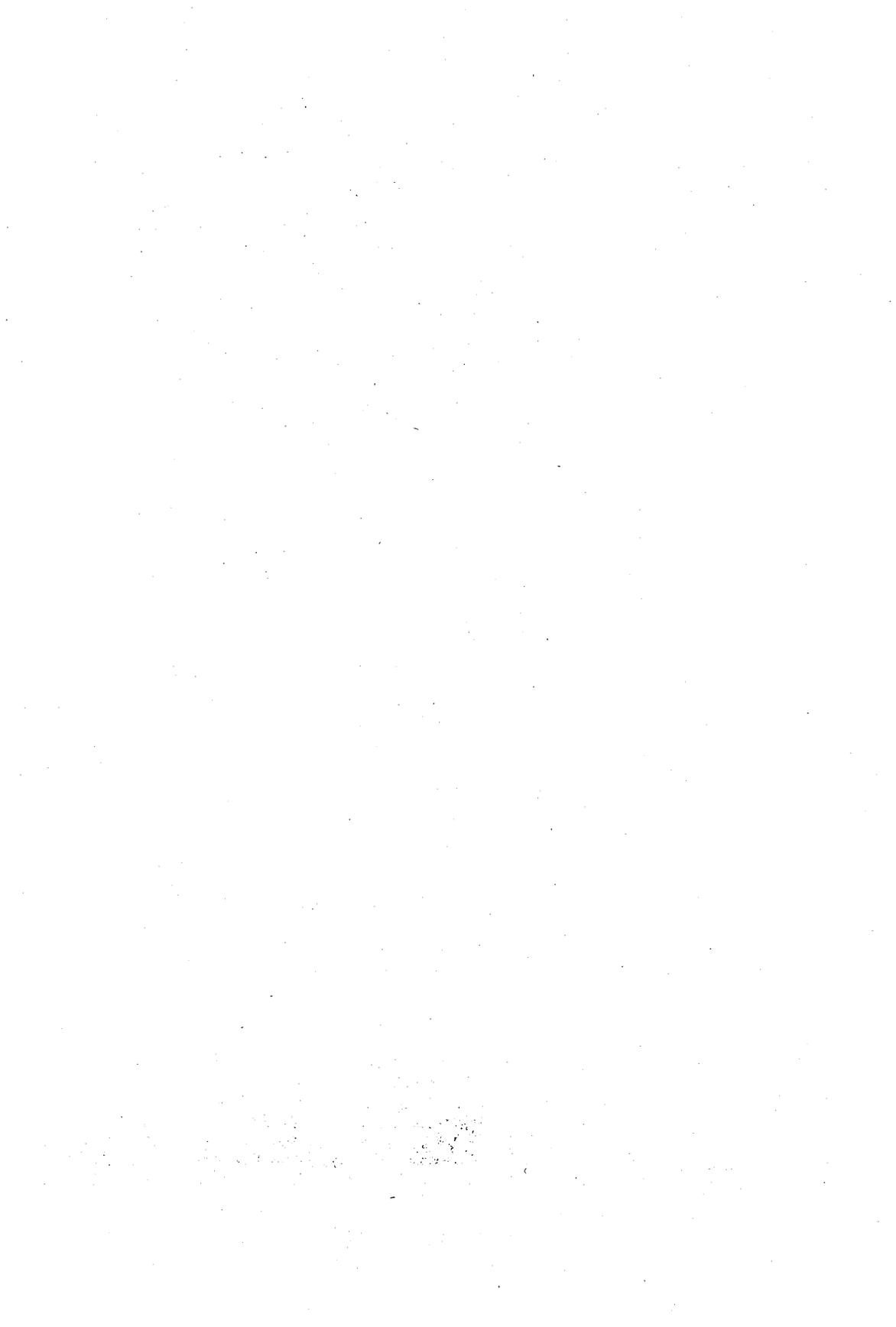
Plate I. (a) Panel (1): the Denial of St. Peter. (b) Panel (4): the Mocking of Christ.



Plate II. (a) Panel (3): the Pietà. (b) Panel (6): the Harrowing of the Souls in Hell.



Plate III. (a) Panel (5): the Women on their Way to the Sepulchre.
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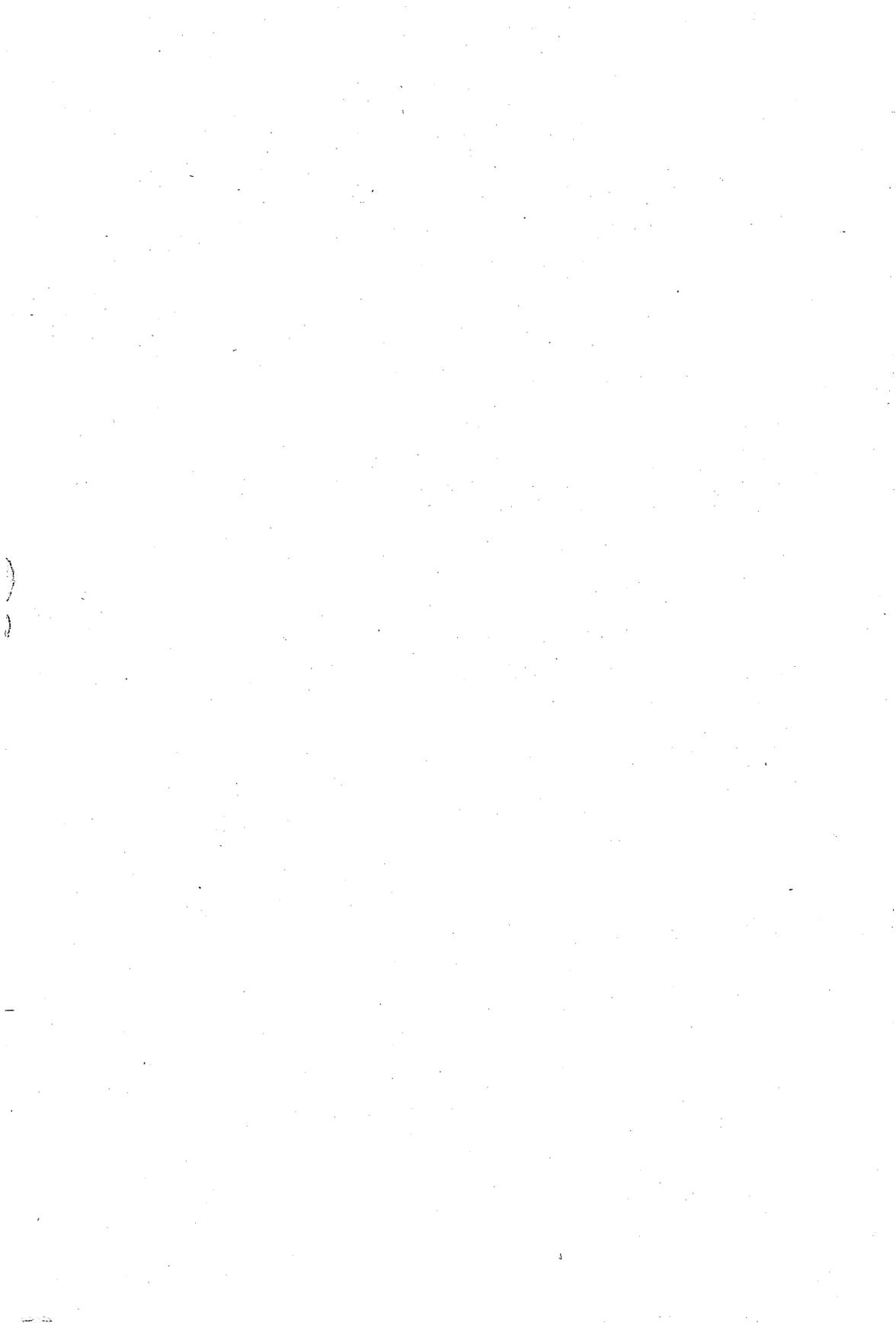
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