

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)



VOLUME LXVII

1977

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THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S ROOM

THE Society's books, MSS., photographs, etc., including a run of the Society's *Proceedings*, have now been returned to their old room, on the second floor, next door to the Haddon Library of the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, adjacent to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Members are reminded that the Society's room is available to them whenever the Haddon Library is open, and that they also retain their right to read in the Haddon Library. The Hon. Librarian reminds members of the usefulness of these resources. The books include all the principle publications dealing with shire history and topography for Cambridgeshire, some material for Huntingdonshire and for neighbouring counties. Prime sources like the collection of early topographical drawings and manuscript histories are included.

THE PROCEEDINGS

1. The Editor welcomes the submission of articles on the history and archaeology of the County for publication in the *Proceedings*, but in order to avoid disappointment potential contributors are advised to write to the Editor, to enquire whether the subject is likely to be of interest to the Society, before submitting a final text. The Editor, if necessary with the advice of the editorial committee, reserves the right to refuse to publish any papers even when an earlier approval of the subject has been given.
2. Authors are reminded that the cost of printing is high and that, all other things being equal, a short and succinct paper is more likely to be published than a long one. It would also assist the Editor if contributors who know of possible sources for subventions towards the cost of printing their paper would inform the Editor of this when submitting their manuscript.
3. The copyright of both text and illustrations will normally remain with the author, and where relevant the photographer and draughtsman, but to simplify future administration contributors are invited to assign their copyright on a form that will be supplied by the Editor.

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.

FIELD OFFICER'S REPORT

Sites and Monuments Record

A Sites and Monuments Record, intended to include every archaeological site in Cambridgeshire, is being compiled in the Planning Office, Shire Hall, Cambridge. The sites and finds are recorded on file-cards and on maps at the scale of 1:10,560, and at present there are some five thousand entries. These have been compiled from the Ordnance Survey's record, national and local journals (particularly from the R.C.H.M. volumes), the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology records, 'The Fenland in Roman Times' (C. W. Phillips, 1970) and private lists of sites, particularly those of J. Bromwich, H. J. M. Green and B. Beveridge. The sites revealed on photographs taken by the Department of Aerial Photography, Cambridge, are a very important element in this record and so, by kind permission of Prof. St Joseph, all photographed sites in the County have been plotted on to the 1:10,560 maps.

Clearly it is important that as full a record as possible is kept of all sites and objects noted in Cambridgeshire, and so all members are asked to record the positions of any archaeological finds and to report them to the field officer or their local museum.

Excavations

Since 1975 emergency excavations have been carried out on the ramparts of Huntingdon Castle, Fleam Dyke, Cromwell House, Huntingdon, the interior of Wandlebury (P.C.A.S. LXVI 1976), skeletons just outside Wandlebury hill-fort (P.C.A.S. LXVII 1977), and a medieval culvert near Wisbech (P.C.A.S. LXVII 1977).

In 1976-7 the Cambridgeshire Archaeological Committee also organised excavations at *Great Wilbraham*, a Neolithic causewayed camp, under J. Alexander and I. Kinnes, on behalf of Cambridge University and the British Museum; *Somersham*, an Iron Age settlement site, under S. Alexander, on behalf of the Department of the Environment; *Great Shelford*, an Iron Age and Roman settlement site, under J. Alexander, D. Trump and A. Legge, on behalf of London University Extra-mural department; and *Godmanchester*, the Roman town with a cemetery and kiln site, under H. J. M. Green, on behalf of the Department of the Environment. Post-excavation work on sites in *Cambridge* has continued under J. Alexander and J. Pullinger.

Further work

In the centre of *Whittlesford* (TL 469485) a road straightening scheme cut into some house platforms that had been preserved in a pasture field. The field

was surveyed before work started, and while the ground was being disturbed a considerable collection of pottery was made. This collection included some Roman and post-medieval sherds, but the majority ranged from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. No traces of buildings or other structures could be seen after earth-moving machinery had disturbed the site, apart from a number of modern drains.

In Spring 1977 earthworks at Eye Hall Farm, Horningsea, (TL 498636) (R.C.H.M., N.E. Cambs, 1973, p. 71-3) near the Roman kilns excavated by T. McKenny Hughes and F. G. Walker (P.C.A.S. LXV 1885, XXXIII 1903, XI 1913) were levelled. A small building of mortared flint rubble, partially excavated by F. G. Walker (P.C.A.S. XI 1913) who thought it might possibly date to the Roman period, was examined by the University Field Club under H. C. Mytum, but proved to be post-medieval (P.C.A.S. LXVII 1977).

The site was visited while earth-moving was in progress, and field-walking was organized when the field had been rotavated. A great amount of Roman coarse pottery, including the typical Horningsea storage jars, and much kiln debris, was retrieved. In the area beneath the mound (R.C.H.M. mon. 70 (e) p. 73) there were kilns that were apparently previously undisturbed. After the removal of the mound the farmer decided to direct drill an agreed area, ten metres square, so that there should be no further destruction by ploughing. The field will be cropped for barley for one year and then returned to grass. It is hoped that the results of the pottery analysis and a magnetometer survey to locate all the kilns in this area will be published in our next volume (P.C.A.S. LXVIII 1978).

In October 1976 David Hall started work as the County's Fenland Officer. He is working on an archaeological survey of the Cambridgeshire fens and will be presenting some preliminary results in the next volume (P.C.A.S. LXVIII 1978).

Alison Taylor
April 1977

SKELETONS ON WANDLEBURY HILL-FORT. TL 495533

ALISON TAYLOR *and* BERNARD DENTON

IN January 1976 gale force winds uprooted a number of trees on Wandlebury hill-fort. Beneath the roots of some elm-suckers just outside the fort human bones were noticed and had to be hurriedly excavated. The bones lay in a long, narrow and shallow grave cut into the chalk. They represented at least five individuals who had evidently been thrown on top of each other, probably in a mutilated form.

The uppermost bones had been confused by the growth and sudden uprooting of the tree, several bones being found still in the tree roots, but it was possible to plan the original position of the bones of the lowest two individuals. One lay face downwards with arms outstretched, partially covering another who lay on his back in a fairly natural position, except for one leg that was twisted under him. All the individuals represented were adults, ranging from 15 to 35 years where it was possible to tell the age, and with two possible exceptions were male. They were examined for wounds, but the only positive identification was a sword cut that had removed part of a chin. The trench continued to the east and west, with skeletons noted at each end, but these were not further uncovered. Human bones had also been reported when the nearby cricket-pitch had been levelled, so this cemetery is apparently extensive. No artifacts have been found with any of these skeletons but in the absence of nearby occupation sites of other periods, the skeletons are assumed to belong to one of the phases of the Iron Age hill-fort.

Skeleton 1.	Sex: Male	Age at death 30–35 years	Stature 5ft 11½in approx.
Skeleton 2.	Sex: Male	Age at death 30–35 years	Stature 5ft 6½in approx.
Skeleton 3.	Sex: ?	Age at death 15–20 years	Stature ?
Skeleton 4.	Sex: Male	Age at death Adult	Stature 5ft 8¼in approx.
Skeleton 5.	Sex: ? Female	Age at death Adult	Stature ?

The bones are now stored in the Department of Physical Anthropology, Cambridge.

AN IRON AGE AND ROMAN CROP-MARK SITE AT GIRTON
THE FIELD ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESCUE GROUP (F.A.R.G.)¹ and P. W. CROFT

INTRODUCTION

A three week excavation was carried out in 1975 on behalf of the Cambridge-shire Archaeological Committee in order to investigate crop marks apparent on an aerial photograph taken by the Cambridge University Department of Aerial Photography (Plate 1), in advance of the Cambridge Northern Bypass construction (TL 423613). Permission to excavate was kindly granted by the landowners, the Animal Research Council, and gratitude must be expressed for funds provided by the Crowther-Beynon Fund (administered by the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology), Girton Parish Council, Girton Womens' Institute, and also for one private donation. From the outset of the excavation the help of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society Rescue Group, and also Mrs Odette Wylie, has been invaluable and a debt of thanks is also due to Alison Taylor, the County Archaeological Field Officer, for her sustained help and interest in all aspects of the enterprise.

The site is about 300 metres north of Girton College, and is situated above the 15-metre contour on the extreme northern tip of the area of pleistocene and recent gravels which cap the gault clay in this locality. The frequently convoluted surface of the gravels beneath the topsoil presented difficulties in distinguishing between natural and man-made features, and the modern usage of the land as permanent pasture has meant that the aerial photograph almost certainly shows less of the archaeological features than would have been visible under an arable crop.

THE FEATURES

Exploration of the site commenced by reference to the aerial photograph which provided the chief line of evidence for the location of features. A magnetometer survey had previously been carried out in the area by J. Harrowdine but failed to reveal anything not already known from the photograph.

(a) *The Ring Features*

These features (Plate 1) comprise two adjacent, almost circular crop-marks of unequal size. The smaller and more southerly one, approximately 10 metres in diameter, was investigated as it was directly threatened by the bypass. A trench was cut across it and subsequently extended to cover the northwest quadrant of the area of the cropmark (Fig. 1, viii). This area was stripped down



Plate I: Crop-mark site at Girton.

to the natural gravel and revealed two irregular shallow depressions about 8cm. deep of average diameter 20cm. containing charcoal flecks. There was no trace of the large feature of circular form suggested by the aerial photograph and artefacts found were two sherds of very abraded pottery, possibly Roman, and two flint flakes. Apart from these only a sparse scatter of reddened fire-heated flints was noted.

(b) *The Y-shaped feature*

This feature measures about 10 metres long, bifurcating about mid-way along its length into two arms which extend to partially enclose a semi-circular

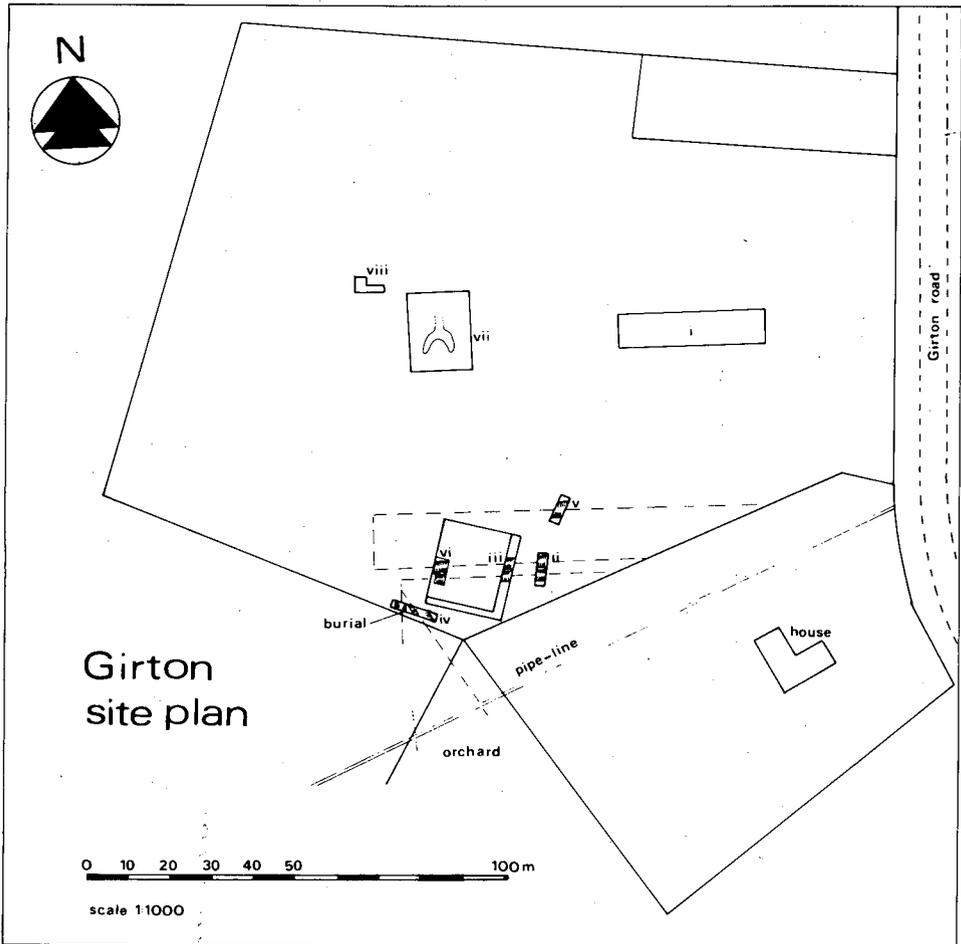


Fig. 1. Girton excavations, 1975.

area. The area above this feature was machine-stripped and cleaned off by hand to reveal a patch of what appeared to be quick-lime coinciding with the extent of the feature as shown on the photograph (Fig. 1 vii). A trench was cut through the extremity of one of the arms, the section of which showed that the lime deposit was over 1 metre deep. No finds were recorded from this trench. The evidence is consistent with the interpretation of this feature as a pit made for the disposal of the bodies of diseased farm animals, probably in the quite recent past. The initial cleaning of the area above the feature by hand produced a very mixed selection of potsherds which relate to the Roman, Medieval and post-Medieval periods, indicating an area of disturbed topsoil above the lime.

(c) *The Ditches*

The ditches relate to two separate but adjacent enclosures which could possibly form part of a larger enclosure network. The aerial photograph and the evidence of a nearby machine-cut section (in a pipeline trench) show that the ditches continue beyond the site. An area was machine stripped in order to examine the northern corner of this enclosure system, but due to anomalies in the results of the magnetometer survey the corners of the enclosures could not be found (Fig. 1, iii). Outside this main machine-stripped area three small hand sections were cut across the ditches (Fig. 1, ii, iv, v).

The northern enclosure, 14 metres wide and at least 95 metres long, was bounded by a shallow ditch approximately 2.3m. wide and cut into the natural gravel to a depth of 0.4m. It seems to have been recut on at least two occasions (Fig. 2, Layers 3 and 6).

The southern enclosure was bounded by a much larger ditch about 3.4m. wide cut 1.2m. into the gravel. The profile of this ditch was a well-formed V-shape and there are indications of one large recutting. (Fig. 2, Layers 2 and 4).

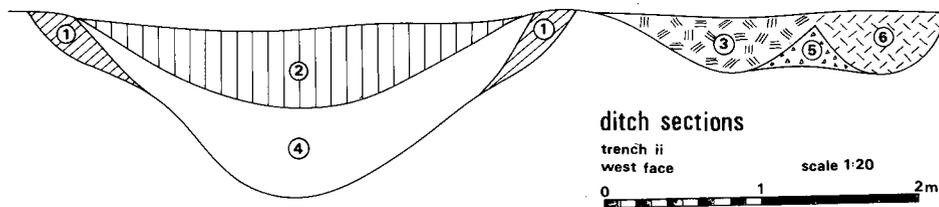


Fig. 2. Section through enclosure ditches, Girton.

The distance between the parallel ditches of these two contiguous rectangular enclosures seems to be no greater than about 50cms.

The dating is difficult due to the paucity of finds. The primary fill of the larger ditch has produced no more than half a dozen small potsherds of which

at least two are typically Iron Age. One of these, a brownish-black, burnished, finely grit-tempered rim sherd, closely resembles the finer pottery found at Wandlebury.² One sherd is of typical grey Roman fabric, but there are indications that it may have come from a Belgic form of vessel, in which case it may best be attributed to the latter half of the first century A.D. or slightly later. Another Roman sherd, a rim fragment of grey ware, could also be placed in the early Roman period.

The fill of the ditch recut contained five sherds of very abraded pottery that appeared to be of later Roman date, and also a considerable number of domestic animal bones, some of which showed evidence of butchering. In unstratified levels above the fill of the recut ditch there was an inscribed rimsherd from a Roman mortarium.

The smaller ditch surrounding the northern enclosure yielded a quantity of typical Iron Age pottery with a fine hard black fabric comparable to that of pottery found on local Iron Age sites, particularly New Addenbrookes.³ A single sherd with fine grey Roman fabric could be part of a vessel of characteristically Belgic form. In this ditch also occurred several undatable Roman sherds. Despite clear indications of recutting in this ditch, the exact limits of the recuts were indeterminate. The bulk of the Iron Age pottery came from the lowest levels of the ditch, and it therefore seems that it was first cut in the Iron Age and at least one of the recuttings occurred at some time in the Roman period.

On the evidence of the pottery, therefore, the ditch of the northern enclosure could have first been cut at an earlier date than that of the southern enclosure.

Another small ditch, diverging from the course of the western boundary of the southern enclosure and penetrating into the interior, was visible on the aerial photograph. This ditch was located and sectioned (Fig. 1, iv) showing it to be about 1.8m. wide and cut into the gravel to a depth of 70cms. The sides were gently sloping, and the bottom slightly rounded; it gave no indication of ever having been recut. About a dozen sherds of coarse, shell-tempered pottery with buff exterior and black interior surfaces came from this ditch and seem to form a distinct pottery group unparalleled in any other feature on the site. This pottery has a fabric very similar to that discovered in a badly recorded 'occupation ditch' at Shelford⁴ and seems to be of Iron Age date. This small ditch also contained a quantity of pot boilers. The evidence of the section indicates that the ditch, which lacks Roman pottery, was already silted up when the large southern enclosure ditch was first cut, placing the smaller ditch in an earlier period of activity on the site.

The lowest fill of this small, earlier, ditch contained an exceptional sherd of heavily shell-tempered coarse pottery, the only local parallel for which is a large sherd from a Bronze Age urn found at the site of a ploughed-out barrow at Melbourn.⁵ The only other evidence of Bronze Age activity in this immediate

locality is a flint barbed and tanged arrowhead found in an unstratified context during the excavation.

A flexed inhumation had been placed in a shallow gravel pit just over 50cms deep. The pit cut into the fill and side of the larger boundary ditch, and was near the angle of this ditch and the smaller older ditch which diverges from it (Fig. 1, iv). The date of the skeleton is problematic as it was accompanied by no grave goods or dating evidence, but the gravel pit was cut from the same level as the top of the ditch and must therefore post-date the final silting. Mr. C. B. Denston, who kindly examined the skeleton, reported that it belonged to a female, about 5ft 2in tall, aged 20-25 years at death. There were no indications of the cause of death, and the only obvious evidence of any ill health was a large abscess on the upper jaw.

CONCLUSION

The small scale of the excavations and the paucity of dating evidence make the exact nature and extent of the enclosure complex of which the bulk of the site seems to be a part uncertain, and the features revealed cannot be exactly dated. However on the basis of the existing evidence it is suggested that, of the two ditched enclosures investigated, the northern was first used during the Iron Age and its ditch was subsequently recut in the Roman period. The small ditch which intrudes into the area of the southern enclosure also seems likely to have been cut and infilled during the Iron Age. Possibly the southern enclosure itself should be attributed to early Roman times and need not relate to any earlier period. There is insufficient evidence to indicate continuous use of the site from the Iron Age into the Roman period, or even to suggest a more precise date than the late Roman period for the final abandonment of the enclosures. The inhumation must post-date this phase of silting. The Y-shaped lime filled feature was probably a disposal pit of no great antiquity, and no conclusions can be drawn about the ring features.

Examination of the pottery⁶ (mainly in terms of the fabric, as the fragmentary nature of the sherds has largely precluded the possibility of reconstructing pottery forms) has not provided firm conclusions for the date and history of any features on the site.

There was possibly a Roman dwelling on or near the site of the Girton Anglo-Saxon cemetery which is only about 300 metres away. Occupation of this dwelling is suggested from at least the second half of the second century A.D. through to the fourth century by Hollingsworth and O'Reilly,⁷ and if such a dwelling existed it could relate to the system of enclosure ditches, part of which has been uncovered on the present site.

1. K. Cammidge, I. Cummins, G. Ginty, W. Smith, L. Wake.
2. Hartley, B. R., The Wandlebury Iron Age Hill-fort excavations 1955-6, PCAS 1957, 1-27.
3. Cra'ster, M. D., New Addenbrookes Iron Age Site, Long Road, Cambridge, PCAS 1969, 21-8.
4. Museum of Arch. and Eth. Records.
5. Museum of Arch. and Eth. 59.223.
6. Thanks are due to Mrs M. Woudhuysen, Dr B. Hope-Taylor, Dr J. Alexander, Dr D. Trump, and Miss M. Cra'ster for comments and advice on the pottery, and especially to the latter for making available comparative material from the university collections.
7. Hollingsworth, E. J. and O'Reilly, M. M., The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Girton College, Cambridge (1925).

ROMAN BURIALS IN THE CAMBRIDGE AREA

JOAN LIVERSIDGE

No survey of the burials of Roman date found in Cambridgeshire has appeared since that made by Sir Cyril Fox more than fifty years ago,¹ so a summary of what evidence exists for this rather neglected subject may be useful as a basis for future research. In general the area considered is only the Cambridgeshire of pre-1974, but for completeness a paragraph covering recent work round Huntingdon is also included. Much of the material available was found in the nineteenth or early twentieth century and tends to be ill-recorded, but even so it includes much of value.

CAMBRIDGE CITY

As is to be expected at this period no interments have so far been found within the limits of Roman Cambridge, but they do occur outside the town walls, many of them near the Roman roads.

Madingley Road and Mount Pleasant

In the vicinity of Akeman Street, on the south-west of the Roman settlement, there is confused evidence for both Roman and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in areas where discoveries of Romano-British pottery may indicate ribbon development. Skeletons of uncertain date have been found near Mount Pleasant, Lady Margaret Road and Madingley Road on several occasions,² and a number of intact pots in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology may belong to grave groups. The same may apply to Roman material noted during the excavation of the important Anglo-Saxon cemetery in St John's College cricket fields which, with an earlier Roman cemetery, probably extended further along Akeman Street on the opposite side of Grange Road.³ The evidence for this, however, is somewhat confused. At Saxmeadham, 71 Grange Road, an inhumation accompanied by a bone pin, a small broken flagon of red ware and an iron spearhead was recorded in 1911.⁴ This may be a Roman burial mixed up with the spearhead from an Anglo-Saxon one. Nearby a metal cylinder, perhaps a knife handle, a cream ware flagon and a colour-coated beaker, both of late second or third century date, found in 1910, may also belong to a Roman burial,⁵ and Sir Cyril Fox's index mentions another one at Allickey, Grange Road.

Arbury

More burials, probably inhumations, may also have existed near the town walls,

and by Akeman Street on the north-east.⁶ Further away from Cambridge the excavation of the Arbury Road settlement has revealed both cremations and inhumations.⁷ The first discoveries were made in 1952 and comprised six skeletons, four of whom had been buried in wooden coffins and two in stone sarcophagi (Fig. 1).⁸ Burial (i) consisted of a man about 5 ft. 9 ins. in height, aged

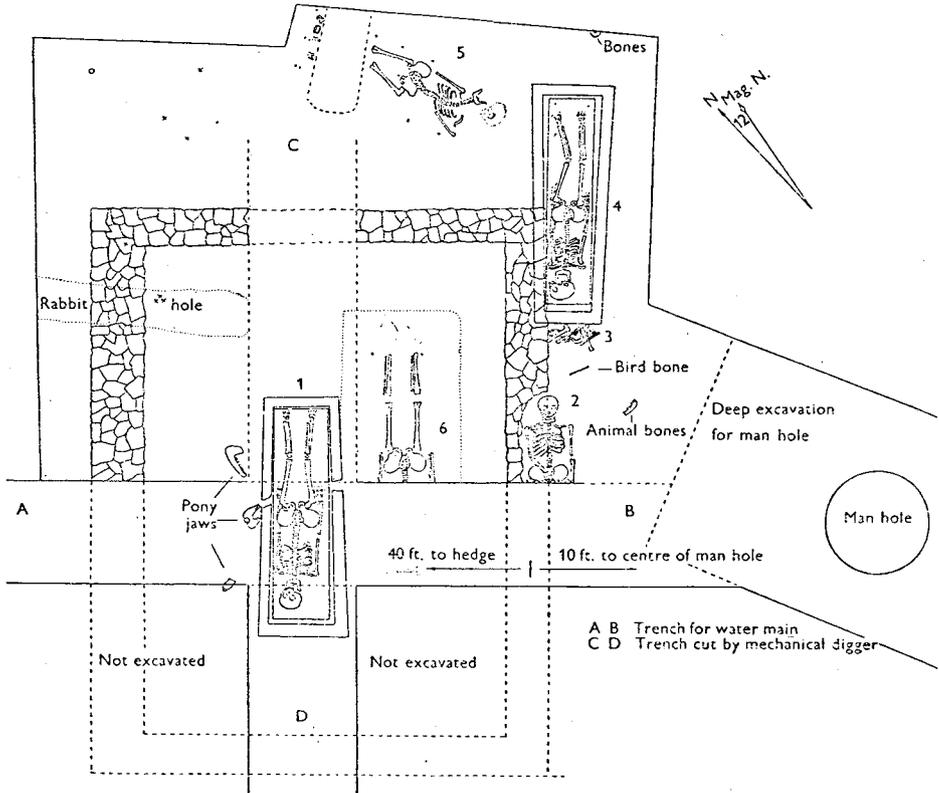


Fig. 1. Plan of tomb and burials, Arbury Road (Reproduced from P.C.A.S. 49, p.14).

between thirty and forty-five, in a lead coffin 6 ft. 4 ins. long enclosed in a roughly made coffin hewn from a single block of Barnack ragstone with a separate lid. The interior of this coffin is only 5 ft. 11 ins. long, so it had had to be broken in two at the time of the burial to make room for the lead lining. A few fragments of thin glass survive from a fluted vessel, probably a bowl, laid on the lid of the lead coffin.

Burial (i) lay just over a foot below the floor of a small tomb-chamber built of chalk blocks, probably Melbourn Rock from Cherryinton, and measuring

14¼ ft. by 10½ ft. internally, with walls 1-1½ ins. thick. Tile fragments found lying on the floor suggested the existence of a tiled roof. Parts of two more skeletons, burials (ii) and (vi) were found underlying the eastern foundation wall and the floor of the tomb-chamber respectively, and were probably buried before the arrival of burial (i). The bones of another body (iii) were also found in a heap



Pl. 1. Samian and glass vessels from an Arbury Road burial.

near and below the level of the eastern foundation wall, and had obviously been shovelled out of the way when burial (iv) was deposited. No grave goods were found with nos (ii), (iii), and (vi). Examination of the bones in the Duckworth Laboratory showed that they were all males, varying in age from 20-25 (ii), 36-50 (iii), and middle age (vi). Nos (ii) and (iii) were about 5 ft. 9 ins. in height.

Burial (iv) contained the skeleton of a woman 5 ft. 1 in. in height, aged 40-55. Like No. (i) she lay in a lead lining enclosed in a ragstone coffin. This coffin, however, is well made and shows clearly the marks of the workman's chisel and it was of suitable size for its inmate. However it may have been incorrectly orientated when laid in the ground as the lead lining and skeleton were placed in it the wrong way round. Fragments of the grave clothes were found with the skeleton but the textiles used could not be identified.

Burial (iv) lay partly below the east wall of the tomb-chamber, in fact its lid was pressed down by it so it must be earlier than burial (i). Further to the west and north of the tomb was No. (v), buried in a wooden coffin of which only the iron nails survived, a man of over 50, 5 ft. 7½ ins. tall. Near his right foot was a small colour-coated bowl and a pale green glass bottle with a reeded ribbon handle, dating the burial to the late third or early fourth century.

The lack of associated finds prevents close dating of these graves. The order of burial may have been (iii), (v), (ii), (vi), (iv), (i), as (iii) had apparently been *in situ* long enough for its bones to be treated with little reverence. The glass jug and pottery bowl found with (v) suggests that deposition began sometime in the third century and no doubt it continued well into the fourth. Analyses of the coffin linings showed that only burial (iv) had traces of tin. This suggests that the lead came from different sources, additional evidence that the linings were not made at the same time.⁹

The anatomical report made by the Duckworth Laboratory on the five individuals from this cemetery, whose skeletons with skulls and/or lower jaws have survived, showed several interesting features—Burial (v), for example, had a healed but badly set fracture of the left clavicle and marked signs of osteoarthritis, and most of these burials had worn teeth, heavily encrusted with tartar in the case of No. (iv), and suffered from periodontitis. The front teeth were also markedly overcrowded, so much so that a family relationship between the various individuals is not impossible. Presumably this site may have been a family grave plot used as required, but the interval between burials seems to have been long enough either for the whereabouts of the earlier graves to be lost or at least for any feelings of affection or respect towards them to be forgotten.

Twenty feet to the north of this burial site an earlier cremation was found a year later (TL 451609). The calcined bones were placed in a decorated samian bowl, form 37, with the cursive signature of the potter MERCATOR who worked at Lezoux between AD 145–70.¹⁰ Its presence probably dates this burial to the late second century and the same date is suggested for another cremation found near it consisting of two cooking pots, the smaller one containing the ashes.

Nearer the main settlement bones from three more skeletons were found and about ¼ mile to the south-east another burial occurred (TL 452604). Unlike the others, this was well furnished with at least six samian vessels (two of form 35, two form 36, one form 46 and one Curle 15) arranged in tiers, the smaller vessels being stacked inside the larger. On either side were four rectangular greenish glass bottles of different sizes, two at least containing ashes. The group also included a large cylindrical green glass jug, much broken, a flagon of cream coloured pottery and an iron lamp and hanger (Pl. 1).

Excavations in 1966 on the north side of Arbury Road (TL 455614) uncovered two inhumations probably of late third-century date.¹¹ Nothing was found with one, but the other was the skeleton of an adult man who had been buried in a wooden coffin. Not only did the iron nails from the coffin survive, but also the soles of his footgear which were thickly studded with hobnails.



Pl. 2. Glasses and beaker, Gravel Hill, Cambridge.

Huntingdon Road

Leaving Cambridge by the Godmanchester Roman road, there are no accredited burials until the discoveries between Howe House and the University Farm about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from Cambridge, although a scatter of stray finds of Roman material nearer the town may also indicate grave groups. In 1861 several cremation burials accompanied by two or three perfect pieces of dark pottery and fragments, including samian ware, were noted in coprolite digging in a field west of the road between Howe House and Gravel Hill Farm (now the University Farm) (TL 431599). Nearby two stone coffins were found two years later, placed at right angles to the road. One coffin is recorded as being mended with iron clamps. Inside was a male skeleton which had been disturbed by water

getting into the coffin. Nothing survives from this burial, The other coffin, however, is preserved at the Fitzwilliam Museum. In it was a woman's skeleton with four small colourless glass flasks at its feet, some form of shallow bronze vessel, a colour-coated beaker and another pottery dish, and an amulet and two pins



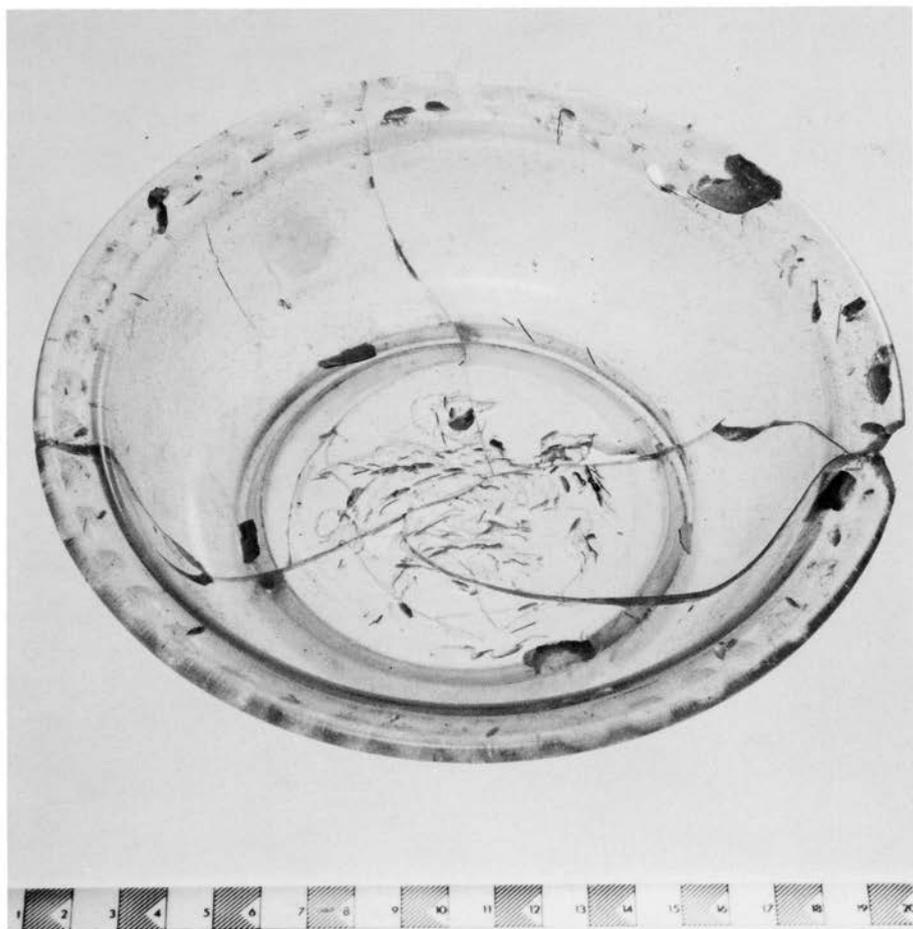
Pl. 3. Glass jug and jar, and brown-glazed jar, Girton College.

made of jet. Some doubt is felt about the association of these objects with the burial,¹² but the good preservation of the beaker and the four glasses, which alone survive (Pl. 2), suggests that they were found in a coffin or some form of container.¹³ Pottery found in the same area during the nineteenth century may come from further grave groups. Lysons mentions a mound containing Roman coins in the fields near Howe House.¹⁴ This was destroyed when the Cambridge to Godmanchester road was constructed. It could have been a Roman barrow. Further south, Roman pottery is preserved from the site of the Observatory, but it is again uncertain whether it comes from burials or dwellings.

Girton College

In 1881 evidence for an extensive cemetery was discovered in the grounds of Girton College on a site which now lies mostly beneath Emily Davies Court, Tower Wing and probably Old Wing (TL 425608).¹⁵ The majority of the graves

belong to the Anglo-Saxon period, the earliest dating back to the beginning of the sixth century or even before, but at least six burials are undoubtedly those of Romano-Britons. Two cremations seem to have been buried in wooden chests and each was accompanied by an iron lamp and hanger. With one grave-group was a large square green glass bottle with a reeded handle, fragments of thin

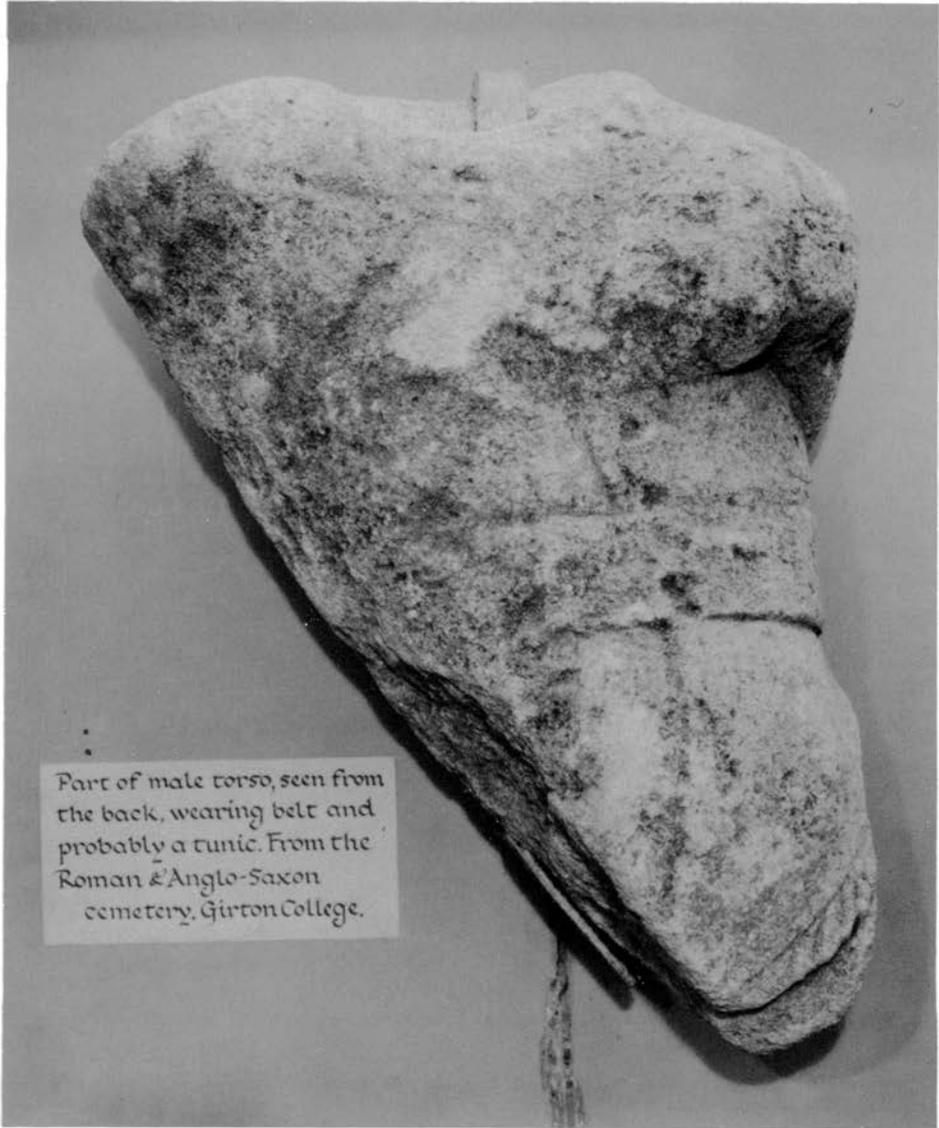


Pl. 4. Glass bowl, Girton College.

white glass from a small bowl or beaker, two samian dishes, both form 18/31, with stamps of potters at work in the period between Trajan and Antoninus Pius, and other pottery.

The ashes of the second cremation were placed in a hexagonal green glass jug. With it were a small colourless glass cylindrical beaker (Pl. 3), a glass

decanter, an unguentarium with the stamp C.LVCRETI-FESTIVI, and a pale green glass bowl with a realistic rendering of a duck with outstretched wings in a setting of Nilotic plants incised in outline within a circle on the exterior of the



Pl. 5. Stone torso, Girton College.

base (Pl. 4). Both this bowl and the beaker may have been imported from Egypt.¹⁶ The decanter and the unguentarium seem to have been lost. The pottery included an unusual brown-glazed bowl imported from Gaul (Pl. 3), a ring-necked buff ware flagon with reeded handle, two samian dishes (form 18/31) with the stamps BORILLI M. and PATERATI OF, Lezoux ware dating between Trajan and Antoninus Pius, and a form 33 cup of the same period of the potter Paulus, who also made one of the dishes found with cremation No. 1. Iron nails and bronze fragments including eight bosses decorated with lions' heads in relief, and rings with pieces of iron still adhering to them may come from the chest which held the cremation or from a box accompanying it. A third cremation with the burnt bones in a wide-mouthed grey flagon of late first-century type was found near the Anglo-Saxon grave 4. Traces of other cremations were also noted near graves 28 and 32.

The inhumations included grave 29 which lay beneath an Anglo-Saxon cremation, and 34 which had a dark brown colour-coated beaker decorated *en barbotine* with a trellis design with spots of white slip found by its left shoulder. The head and the three upper vertebrae of the spine of this skeleton lay between its feet. Several graves, both Anglo-Saxon and Roman, were accompanied by large stones or Roman tiles, sometimes still embedded in cement. Near grave 59 a large rubbish pit full of black earth was cleared out. The upper levels contained Anglo-Saxon inhumations, but fragments of Roman pottery, animal bones and charcoal were found lower down. At the bottom were five pieces of sculptured stone, one piece part of a male torso (Pl. 5). The surviving portion may be the back of a figure wearing a leather garment with vertical seams and a stout belt over a tunic, the folds of which can just be distinguished appearing above the right leg.

Three other pieces comprise the head, paws and tail of a lion (Pl. 6a, b). At first it was believed that these were the remains of a free-standing funerary monument, perhaps a lion pulling down a stag. But while this explanation could account for the head and the front paw, the other paw and the tail are in very low relief and there is no evidence for the lion's prey. Possibly the lion was carved on top of a tombstone.¹⁷ It is the work in Ketton stone of a good provincial sculptor, probably a Romano-Briton. A fifth smaller stone fragment does seem to belong to a free-standing monument set on a rectangular base (Pl. 7). It may be part of a crouching animal. Most difficult of all is an explanation for the torso. It might belong to a mounted figure with one arm upraised, but the fragment is in too damaged a condition for this to be certain.

The fragments of stone and tile found in the Girton cemetery could be evidence for a dwelling nearby, but on the whole it seems more likely that they were used for the construction of the more imposing tombs. The few Roman burials identified cover a wide period of time from the late first or early second centuries to the fourth or early fifth, with the Anglo-Saxon interments starting



Pl. 6. *a.* Head, *b.* Paws and tail of stone lion, Girton College.

at an unusually early date. One Anglo-Saxon was in fact buried with an enamelled Roman brooch on one shoulder and an Anglo-Saxon one on the other. The enamelled brooch might have been picked up in the vicinity or it might even have been an heirloom, but this burial does underline the possibility that the break in the use of this cemetery may have been short, or that there might even have been continuity from Roman into Anglo-Saxon times. Further investigations by F. J. H. Jenkinson in 1886 produced more Anglo-Saxon burials, and two fragments of a decorated samian bowl (form 37) are also among the 1886 material on loan from Girton College in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

Long Road

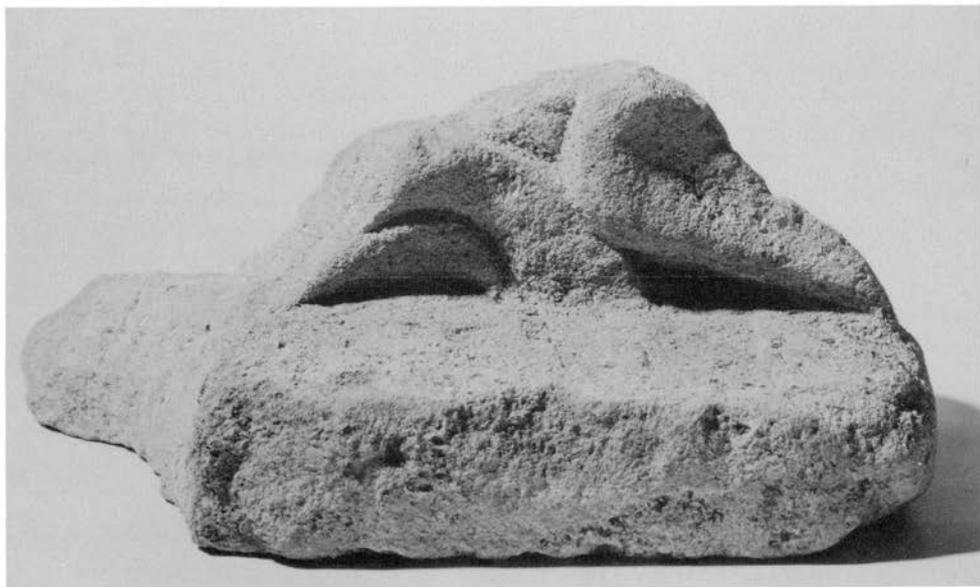
On the south side of Cambridge two pieces of cremated bone and four samian dishes were found during land drainage for the playing fields of the Perse Boys School in 1960 (TL 462558), not far from the 'Via Devana' as it makes its way towards Worstead bottom.

Grange Road and Newnham College

Other burials within a radius of two miles round Roman Cambridge include skeletons found along Grange Road, one accompanied by a ring-necked flagon of late second century date, during sewer excavations in 1903. The exact site of this burial is unknown. Potsherds dating from the first to the fourth centuries were retrieved from these sewer trenches, probably picked up over a considerable distance. Four skeletons were found in 1938 at Newnham College (TL 440577) near but not actually associated with Romano-British pottery, so that their date remains uncertain.

Chaucer Road

Another cemetery with both Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon burials probably lay near the river Granta at Dam Hill, Chaucer Road (TL 445571). Skeletons and Roman pottery were noted hereabouts in 1719 and the Deck Collection, presented to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1854 and now in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, includes both Roman pottery and Saxon brooches. The pottery comprises samian platters (form 15/17) with the stamps ARDACVS and OF.LIC, the work of Gaulish potters working at La Graufesenque between A.D. 15 and 68, first- and second-century coarse wares, and colour-coated beakers dating from the late second century or later. A cemetery in use for some time is indicated, some of the burials presumably being cremations. A bronze spiral bracelet and a steelyard weight also come from this area and the settlement site at the end of Latham Road is close by.¹⁸



Pl. 7. Two views of fragment of stone monument, Girton College.

SOUTH-WEST OF CAMBRIDGE

Barton

Further away from Cambridge some burials also occur near known Roman roads, and others may of course lie near small unidentified byways. Following the line of Akeman Street to Arrington Bridge on the south-west, the first site reached is Deadman's Hill, Barton (TL 414558) where a barrow, now destroyed, stood at the junction where the possible Roman road from Grantchester runs into Akeman Street. The site had already been levelled when it was examined by Walker in 1909, and he found human bones, iron nails, fragments of Roman pottery and Niedermendig lava millstones there.¹⁹ In 1878 many Roman urns, coins and skeletons were found about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile away in the rickyard of University Farm (TL 408557) but one fourth-century cream ware mortarium alone survives from these discoveries.²⁰

Lord's Bridge

Hey Hill, another barrow, also excavated by Walker, stands beside Akeman Street just after its crossing of the Bourn Brook near Lord's Bridge (TL 394544). It is recorded as measuring 48 by 24 ft. and was $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in height. Near the centre a stone coffin was found 2 ft. wide at one end narrowing to 1 ft. $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. at the other. Instead of the usual lid, the coffin was filled in with a layer of large stones and gault, below which lay the disjointed skeleton of a woman 5ft 2ins in height. Two bone hairpins lay near her skull and bones of a cock and a goose, with fragments of a large pottery jar were found in her coffin. The excavator believed that this burial had not been disturbed after deposition, so it is difficult to account for its state. More pottery fragments found outside the coffin include a piece of an 'engine-turned vase', probably third- or fourth-century colour-coated ware. A secondary burial, consisting of a skeleton without a skull and a few horse bones inserted into the side of this tumulus, is probably of post-Roman date.²¹ In 1943 several Roman cinerary urns were found near Cambridge Road Farm, Wimpole (TL 341498).

Bourn

Further north about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the Bourn Brook at Bourn, and a mile to the east of the Roman road from Braughing to Godmanchester (TL 325572) there are three barrows known as the Moulton or Arms Hills. The smallest barrow, 5ft high and 60ft in diameter, is surrounded by a ditch 15ft wide. Apart from a small exploratory hole which produced Roman pottery, it has not been investigated. Both the other barrows were explored by Walker.²² They were constructed of the local boulder clay and stood 8ft high. No. 1 was 82ft in diameter with a ditch 22ft wide. When its centre was reached a large patch of black earth 12 to 15ft square was uncovered, strewn with animal bones, scraps of bronze,

fibulae, pins etc., hones of micaceous schist, pieces of basalt-lava millstones from Mayen, West Germany, a coin of Marcus Aurelius and pottery, including the base of a samian dish with the mid-second century stamp of TRITVS F. In the centre of this patch, at the original ground level, was a layer of stones on which lay burnt wood, traces of human bones, and a piece of bronze with charcoal adhering to it, perhaps the remains of a cremation burnt *in situ*.

Barrow No. 2 was 68ft in diameter with a ditch 18ft wide, but excavation showed that these were the measurements of a post-Roman barrow superimposed on top of the Roman, which survived within it to a height of 5ft and a diameter of 31ft, with a ditch 5ft wide and 4ft deep. Debris, including three tile tesserae found in the ditch, may be stray occupation material from the original ground surface. At the centre another patch of black ashes was found 5½ft long containing a few fragments of human bone, a whetstone, part of a colour-coated beaker, bits of bronze etc., probably the remains of a burial similar to that found in barrow 1. From Walker's account and the fragments surviving in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology it seems that these two barrows were erected either to cover cremations of presumably late second-century date, probably burnt *in situ*, or are post-Roman mounds incorporating a scatter of earlier debris.

Burials of later date also existed at Bourn, as in 1942 a stone coffin was found during the construction of the aerodrome (TL 340590). As this was a wartime discovery no further particulars were recorded. The limestone coffin 7ft long and 2½ft deep, with a damaged lid, is preserved at the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology; others are believed to have been found with it.

NORTH-WEST AND NORTH OF CAMBRIDGE

Fen Drayton

On the way to Godmanchester from Cambridge are the sites of two possible Roman barrows. At Fen Drayton, Low Hill, a mound 80ft in diameter and now 4ft high has been noted, just south of the railway line in Low Fen (TL 479746), and pieces of Niedermendig lava and Roman pottery have been picked up on the surface of another mound, ¼ mile north-east of the windmill at Swavesey. In 1959 skeletons of two adults and a child accompanied by a colour-coated beaker with white painted scroll decoration were found near Middleton's Farm, Fen Drayton (TL 337683).²³

Godmanchester

Near Godmanchester the barrow, Emmanuel Knoll, excavated in 1914, was re-investigated by Mr. H. G. M. Green (TL 265701).²⁴ Several of the town cemeteries have been identified at Godmanchester,²⁵ and a second-century inhumation, in a stone-filled grave, with pottery, glass and a bronze flask ornamented

with satyr's heads in high relief was excavated at Nun's Bridge, Hinchingsbrooke (TL 223716).²⁶ Three inhumations, two in stone coffins, were also excavated at Eaton Ford near St. Neots, in 1968 (TL 171605).²⁷

Barnwell

In the British Museum are two glasses bequeathed by Felix Slade in 1868. The catalogue of his collection by E. Nesbitt records that they were both found together in a cemetery at Barnwell, Cambridge. One is a fine bluish-green flagon, the other a facet-cut colourless cup (Pl. 8). They date from the second half of the first or the early second centuries. Nothing else is known about Roman finds at Barnwell, apart from brief references to a samian dish and possible settlement in this area.²⁸

Wilburton and Sutton

Going north in the Ely direction, a group of possible Roman barrows has been noted at Wilburton (TL 479746),²⁹ and at Sutton a cremation placed in a small pot in a large second-century storage jar was found in 1955 in digging a drainage trench along Oates Lane (TL 358997). Two skeletons were found in the Grandford settlement at March in 1969, but these may have been the result of accidental death by drowning rather than of deliberate burial (TL 358997).³⁰ Burials have also been found associated with the Roman settlement at Whittlesey (TL 249971).

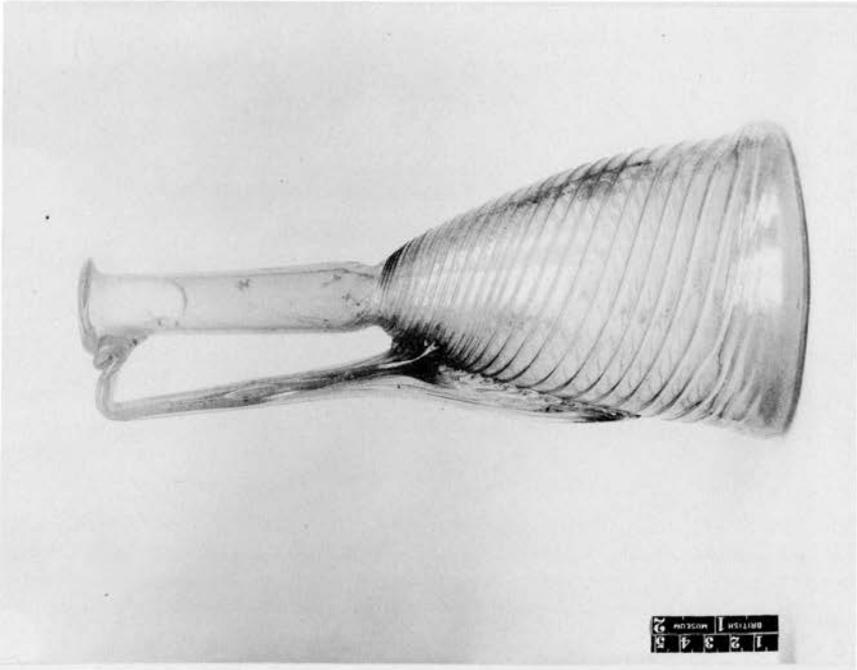
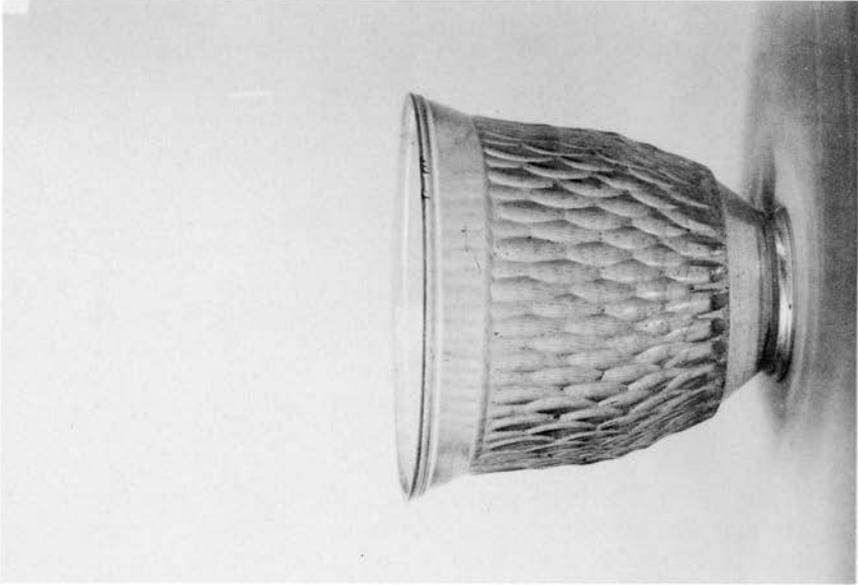
EAST OF CAMBRIDGE

Cherryhinton

More to the south-east of Cambridge, burials of Iron Age or early Roman date have been found at the War Ditches site at Cherryhinton.³¹

Fulbourn and Hildersham

A nineteenth century source mentions a square brick grave in which were some glass and pottery vessels at Fulbourn, and this may well be evidence for a Roman cremation.³² In 1852 Lord Braybrook excavated a barrow 190ft in circumference 150 yds west of Hildersham church. He found it had already been robbed and the burial destroyed, but noted that it had probably been laid in a saucer-shaped hollow lined with puddled clay. Presumably it was also a cremation. Pieces of tile, a fragment of samian and other potsherds and a few bird and animal bones were found in the hollow.



Pl. 8. Glass flagon and bowl, Barnwell (Photo—British Museum).

Linton

A year later Lord Braybrook investigated a cemetery on Linton Heath and uncovered some inhumation burials. A number of these were in a large barrow, but a reference to one deposit of burnt bones accompanied by a Roman urn of black ware suggests that the primary burial may have been a Roman cremation. A piece of decorated samian ware and a white mortarium also came from this barrow and coins ranging from Vespasian to Gratian; some of these, however, were pierced for suspension and were definitely associated with the burials of Anglo-Saxon date. The account in the Braybrook manuscript mentions that one of the other four barrows in the neighbourhood may be 'Roman or Saxon'.

In 1926 another cremation was found at Linton in Red Church Field, in a circular pit 4ft in diameter cut in the chalk.³³ With it was late first- or early second-century pottery, a bronze brooch, and a small bronze stud decorated with the mask of a lion. These studs were often used to decorate boxes, but as this burial was accompanied by the bones of a dog, possibly the stud may have come from its collar.³⁴

When the Warden's house at Linton Village College was built in 1936, the skeletons of two women and a child were found (TL 557469). Excavation revealed the graves of two more children. With one were buried five bronze bracelets—one with snake's-head terminals and with three small finger rings strung on it, 148 jet beads, a tiny fragment of a silver ring, and a bone pin. Between the thighs lay half a shale armlet, and the neck of a greenish glass bottle with dolphin handles. A small jar lay by the right thigh and a bowl by the right ankle, both of grey ware and apparently broken at the time of burial. A nail and some charcoal were also noted. The jet beads are mostly cylindrical but two are carved to represent dentalium shells and one is faceted. These three and one cylindrical bead were more worn than the others and may be re-used material from an older string. The grave goods suggest a second-century date for this burial. No other graves were noted when the main buildings of the Village College were built and the excavator suggested that these graves may belong to a family group rather than to a large cemetery. They could have lived nearby, as the site, on a gravel terrace near a ford, is very suitable for occupation.³⁵

SOUTH OF CAMBRIDGE

Haslingfield and Hauxton

To the south of Cambridge a cremation burial in a globular red-ware amphora was found near Cantelupe Farm at Haslingfield in 1877 (TL 412529).³⁶ A Roman cemetery of some pretensions was noted at Hauxton during coprolite

digging in the nineteenth century. It is situated on the right bank of the mill-stream on the east side of the road to Hauxton Mill (TL 434526). Both cremation and inhumation burials were found with coins of Salonina, Postumus and Constantine II. Some skeletons are in the Duckworth Laboratory, while others and pottery of Horningsea type are preserved in the Leys School Museum. Pottery recovered between 1870 and 1874 is now in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology and includes a wide-mouthed jar of sandy-grey ware dating between A.D. 45-70, a ring-necked flagon of the mid or late second century,



Pl. 9. Glass and bronze vessels, Hauxton Mill.

and two dishes, one of second-century date, the other of colour-coated ware imitating a samian form 38, dating from sometime between the end of the third and the end of the fourth centuries. Two small colour-coated beakers decorated *en barbotine* belong to the period between A.D. 120-230. One is a hunt cup, the other has foliate decoration. Two pottery lamps—one dating from the late first or early second century, the other a long-lived type found in Britain from the first century onwards—also occurred, as well as an open iron lamp of the second or third century which could be suspended from a hanger.

More unusual are the three fine imported bronze jugs, including an example with a trefoil mouth, which date from the late first to the end of the third century. Two bowls, a bottle and a flask of colourless white glass with a greenish tinge were also found and fall within the period A.D. 150–250 (Pl. 9). The flask is an unique object for which no complete parallel can be cited, although fragments from other sites can be compared with it. All four glasses were probably made in the Rhineland, possibly at Cologne.³⁷

The pottery and other objects from Hauxton show that the cemetery was in use for a considerable period of time and it is a pity we have no further particulars about the graves. The good condition of the glass and the bronze jugs suggests they were placed in a wooden box or protected in some other way. They may not all belong to the same burial, but such articles could indicate the existence of one or more barrows now flattened and unrecorded.

Whittlesford and Ickleton

Other barrows of possible Roman date in this part of the county include the three Chronicle Hills at Whittlesford which contained skeletons and fragments of red and black pottery (TL 453471),³⁸ and a tumulus containing a stone coffin and human remains found near Vallance's Farm, Ickleton (TL 482418).³⁹

Litlington

We come now to Litlington and Guilden Morden, the two Cambridgeshire Roman cemeteries which are known to have been in use for the whole Roman period and from which numerous grave groups survive in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. In 1821 a large cemetery was found in the course of gravel digging at Litlington (TL 314420) not far from a large courtyard villa. It measured 81 by 114ft and was surrounded by walls of flint and Roman brick. It contained rows of cremations orientated east to west parallel with Ashwell Street which runs past the site.⁴⁰ The cremations seem originally to have been deposited about 3ft apart, but many of them had been disturbed by Roman inhumation burials of later date. Eighty urns containing human bones are mentioned, and these cremations were sometimes buried in wooden boxes from which the nails and bronze lock-plates occasionally survived, in graves lined with flints or tiles or merely covered by a roof tile. Two hundred and fifty skeletons were also found, some buried in wooden coffins. In two or three instances skeletons were discovered underneath cremations. Among the more unusual features noted, are the probable sites for the funeral pyres at the south-east and south-west angles of the cemetery, in an area where no burials occurred but where heaps of wood ashes were found 'as much as would have loaded five carts'.⁴¹

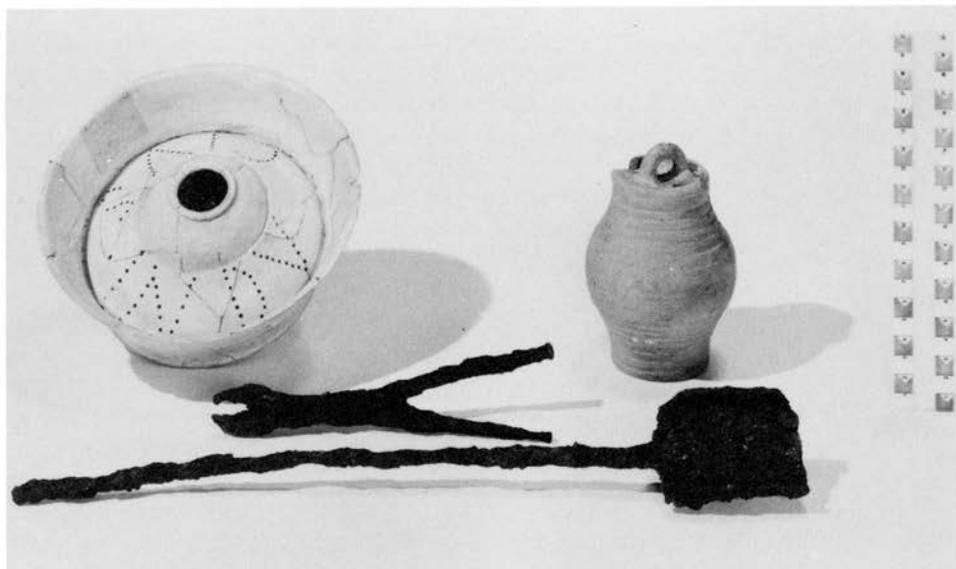
The pottery and other objects from the Litlington graves were collected by the Rev. Dr Webb, rector of Litlington and Master of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and given by him to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. A record of much of the material exists in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in the form of a book of water-colour drawings by Mrs Webb, and from this and the illustrations she drew for the brief published account of the cemetery, it has been possible to reconstruct many of the groups, although not all the vessels she drew have survived. Her record depicts 12 groups with two pieces of pottery, 20 with three, and 3 with four, as well as 57 vessels apparently found singly.

Usually the groups are made up of the cremation urn, a one-handed flagon, and/or a samian cup or dish, the larger dishes being used as covers for the urns. The pottery ranges in date from the late first to the late fourth century. One group is entirely made up of samian ware with cups of forms 33 and 35, and dishes of forms 18/31 and 36. Like the Arbury Road samian group it probably dates from the late second century. Many of the vessels apparently found singly probably accompanied the inhumations, as they are mostly third and fourth century types including 15 examples of colour-coated ware. Others may come from incomplete groups or poorly furnished cremations. The most noteworthy discoveries include a samian 'feeding-bottle', the 'honey-jar' (Pl. 10), and a red beaker decorated with white paint. An incense-burner of fine white ware (Pl. 10) has the base coned inwards and a fixed perforated domed cover with a central aperture rising to the rim of the vessel. Similar vessels found at Wall and Silchester and on the Continent date from the early second century.⁴² They were probably made in the Rhineland. The Litlington example, however, is unusual in that its perforations spell out the name INDV(L)CIVS. A small two-handed flagon of similar ware was found in another grave.

Other discoveries include small tongs and an incense shovel (Pl. 10), probably used in the funeral rites,⁴³ and Mrs Webb notes simple bronze bracelets, one apparently found with a jet bangle, a bronze lock-plate and key from a casket, and a bronze implement. A few bronze brooches are also mentioned in the *Cambridge Chronicle*.⁴⁴ Some large blue or white glass beads and one of carnelian survive in the Museum collections and Mrs Webb's record shows three smaller blue, green, and amber coloured beads, also presumably glass, and a bone pin and needle.

Several pieces of fine glass are recorded from Litlington, but are unassociated with any of the grave groups. The fine pale blue flagon with blown ribs and a human mask on the body at the base of the handle is well known (Pl. 11a, b). It dates from the early second century and was a product of one of the glass factories of the Seine-Rhine area. The lower half of an amber glass jug with brown ribs also survives and two green glass bottles with reeded handles, one still containing a cremation. Two unguentaria appear to be the sole survivors of the twenty lachrymatories recorded as accompanying the skeletons. More

unusual is part of a small horizontal keg-bottle, or 'barillet', of white glass with a yellow trail of a type made in the Seine-Rhine area in the third and fourth centuries (Pl. 11a). Numerous coins seem to have been found in the cemetery including examples of the issues of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Quintillus, Carausius, Constantine I, and Magnentius,⁴⁵ and these support the evidence of the other material that the cemetery was in continued use over a long period.



Pl. 10. Incense burner, 'honey-jar', tongs and shovel, Litlington.

About 30yds away a rectangular stone tomb chamber was found, 27 by 22ft, its longer sides parallel to the wall of the cemetery and each supported by two projecting buttresses. Inside was a stone coffin containing the skeleton of 'a young person'.⁴⁶ Unfortunately no drawing of this seems to have been made and no further details survive.

Limlow Hill

About half a mile from the walled cemetery, is Limlow Hill where trial excavations in 1934 revealed a rectangular area about 210ft across, enclosed by a carefully dug flat-bottomed ditch, 21 by 24ft wide and 5½ to 6½ft deep from which

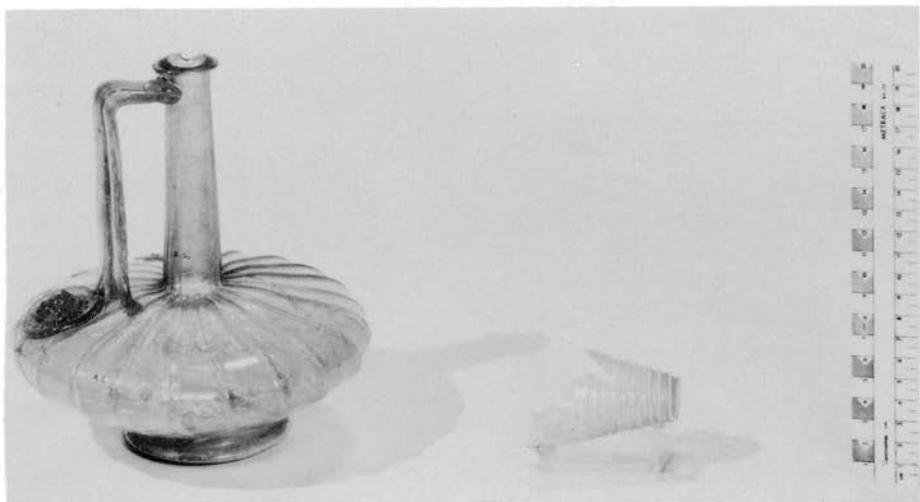
Roman tiles and pottery of second-century date were recovered (52/322417). The site stands within the circumference of an unfinished Iron Age hill fort. In the middle of the enclosure a barrow 18ft high and 42ft in diameter existed until it was flattened in 1888. A rectangular pit 4ft long, filled with large flints, was noted at its centre at the time of demolition and earlier records note skeletons with coins of Claudius, Vespasian and Faustina in or near the mound.⁴⁷

Guilden Morden

About 2½ miles from Litlington is the large Roman cemetery at Guilden Morden. The first discoveries were made during chalk quarrying and included a fine colour-coated beaker decorated with white paint. Some casual 'digging for gold' is said to have produced four bronze vessels from one grave but these were thrown away in disgust, and many graves seem to have been destroyed by treasure-seekers. In 1924 excavations were started by Sir Cyril Fox and Mr T. C. Lethbridge. Fourteen cremations and forty skeletons were found in an area of 160 square yards, but the bodies lay in all directions, earlier burials were disturbed by later ones, and cremations were often broken up by inhumations.⁴⁸ In 1935 Mr Lethbridge returned to the site and excavations continued there annually until the war interrupted work in 1939. In 1935 he found evidence for forty cremations, fifty-two inhumations and at least five graves which had been completely rifled. Eighty-five cremations and fifty-five inhumations were found during the next season's work. Further excavations were carried out by Kenneth Jefferies in 1968 and many more graves await investigation.

Like Litlington, the Guilden Morden cemetery continued in use throughout the Roman period, but in addition it has also produced a few cremations which definitely date back to the Early Iron Age. An inhumation burial of the first century A.D. is also probably of Iron Age or very early Romano-British date. It lay below two cremations, one with the fragments of two colour-coated beakers, and near another inhumation. A buff-ware flagon had been placed by its shoulder, a carinated grey beaker lay by the left thigh, and beside the left knee was a terra nigra platter on which lay four mutton cutlets.⁴⁹ First-century inhumations are uncommon, but examples are known from other sites including the Belgic cemetery excavated at Verulamium in 1967.

One cremation found in 1924 was placed in a red-ware urn, possibly of mid first-century date.⁵⁰ The neck had been partly broken away to allow the burnt bones to be put inside, and it was propped up by three stones in its shallow chalk pit, one foot square. With it were hobnails and two bronze wire bangles. An amulet probably originally hung from one of them, attached by a fine iron chain. Hobnails from a pair of boots with soles about 10ins long were also found with a cremation group in 1935, together with a red grit-ware storage jar, a small red-ware flagon and a samian dish, form 31, with the stamp BRICCI.M. Lezoux ware of Hadrianic-Antonine date.⁵¹ This burial had been



Pl. 11. *a.* Glass jug and 'barillet', Litlington *b.* Detail of mask at base of jug handle.

placed in a round pit in the filling over an earlier inhumation, and the pottery was accompanied by an iron lamp similar to the one found at Arbury Road.

One of the 1936 cremation groups included a samian platter of form 18 with the mid century stamp OF CRES, a sherd from a similar platter and a form 27 cup, dating perhaps from later in the century.⁵² So much samian recalls the groups from Litlington and Arbury Road, but here the group includes a small bowl of fine black ware, also a first-century type. Other cremations with unusual types of pottery include a cooking pot with lattice decoration, found in 1937,⁵³ a cream-coloured bowl containing the cremation ashes, recalling similar examples from Litlington,⁵⁴ and a black bowl decorated with raised dots and rouletting, imitating a samian form 30.⁵⁵ Similar vessels found elsewhere date from the second century up to A.D.200.⁵⁶ Two samian dishes, forms 35 and Curle 15, part of a white flagon and a red grit-ware jar also belong to this unusually well-furnished grave, and the group is completed by two colour-coated beakers, one decorated with ducks *en barbotine*. A fine cup of very delicate white 'eggshell' ware, recalling the fabric of the Litlington incense-burner was found with a samian dish form 18/31 and a small flagon in a rifled cremation burial.⁵⁷ Another disturbed cremation produced fragments of a samian dish of form Ludovici Tg, with the stamp RIPPINI. On the underside are traces of a very indistinct graffito. MALED may appear on one piece and BAVN or M on the other, perhaps as part of a curse or charm.⁵⁸

The rite of cremation seems to have continued at Guilden Morden at least into the third century if not later, as one inhumation disturbed a cremation which seems to have been associated with a group of later pottery, including a colour-coated dish and a beaker with a high foot and tall neck.⁵⁹ A bronze wire bracelet lay nearby. On the whole, little apart from pottery survives from the Guilden Morden grave groups. One 1939 cremation produced a pottery spindle whorl, placed inside the urn with a few bird bones. A small bronze wire ring and part of a little greenish/blue glass perfume bottle came with three pots from another group,⁶⁰ and a similar perfume bottle of clear glass was found with two more bracelets, a samian dish stamped PATERNI, a white-ware bowl and a small colour-coated beaker.⁶¹

Grave goods associated with the inhumation burials are less abundant and often difficult to identify with certainty, pottery from earlier disturbed cremations tending to be mixed up with them. One curious burial consisted of part of a charred skeleton in a grave 6ft long which was found lined with charred wood. The skull was missing and there were no grave goods. It is questionable whether this may not represent some transitional stage between the rites of cremation and inhumation. Flat-headed and disc-headed iron nails occur fairly frequently showing that many of the interments were buried in wooden coffins. Among the more unusual burials are those of several children. One had a coin of Vespasian

in its mouth, and another had two bronze beads and a small bronze bell with an iron clapper hung round its wrist.⁶²

The skulls were missing from several inhumations and two examples were found of decapitation, probably after death and before burial. Both were women, one possibly lame from rheumatoid arthritis, and their skulls had been placed at the feet in one case, and in the lap of the other. Decapitation of a corpse is a well-known way of laying a ghost, so possibly these two when alive had been unpleasant individuals, perhaps suspected witches. A male skeleton lay face downwards with his arms crossed as if he had been bound. His skull, although severed, was in its correct place.⁶³

Like the cremations, little but pottery and bronze jewellery was found with the skeletons. A Kimmeridge shale armlet turned up with one in 1924, and a bronze ring with another.⁶⁴ Two bronze bracelets occurred with one burial in 1935,⁶⁵ and a worn penannular bracelet found in 1939 was associated with a tall Castor-ware beaker of late type.⁶⁶ Two brooches lay near the throat of another skeleton, one an iron first-century type with several blue glass beads rusted onto it, the other an enamelled bronze of the second century.⁶⁷ They demonstrate the difficulty of dating burials, as many of the objects included in grave groups tend to be heirlooms or cast-offs from earlier periods. More interesting are four bone bangles and a double-sided comb found in 1938,⁶⁸ and fragments of iron and bronze recovered from a chalk hollow cut in the side of a grave found in 1924. They included an iron ring, and cylinders of iron and bronze. The bronze cylinder about 2¾ins long had rusted iron links at one end. These cylinders may have sheathed a wooden rod and sceptre from which the fourth object, a bronze phallic pendant mounted on a crescent-shaped plate with a ring at the top, may have been suspended.⁶⁹

SUMMARY

The evidence for Roman burial rites in Cambridgeshire therefore is very varied although the lack of adequate records or of sufficient organised excavation frequently makes it unsatisfactory. The absence of properly authenticated cemeteries immediately outside Cambridge is particularly frustrating. The majority of the burials are not richly furnished, but they have produced such interesting items as the Litlington incense-burner, tongs and shovel, the Guilden Morden bronze fragments of a sceptre, and the sculpture from Girton. Some notable glass comes from Litlington, Girton and Hauxton and the three Hauxton bronze jugs are also rare discoveries. Litlington provides a good example of a walled cemetery. The rectangular stone tomb chamber a short distance away from it is also unusual and so is the tomb chamber erected over the Arbury Road burial (i). The closest parallel to this is the temple mausoleum, also of fourth-century date, erected over a young couple laid in two decorated

lead coffins at the Lullingstone Roman villa in Kent.⁷⁰ The decapitated burials from Guilden Morden and probably Girton, and the presence of footwear with hobnailed soles at Guilden Morden and Arbury Road are other unusual features.

A good series of barrows is known from the county although here again the contents do not compare with examples such as the notable group just over the Essex border at Bartlow. The Arms Hills at Bourn, however, have the unusual features of two superimposed barrows in one case, and of ditches surrounding all three. Another barrow with a ditch has been found more recently in Kent at Holborough.⁷¹

Better evidence for prosperity, in the fourth century at least, is provided by the presence of a number of stone coffins. These must all have been brought from Northamptonshire and their use must have added considerably to funeral expenses. No details survive about the examples found at Ickleton and Litlington. The coffins from burial (iv) at Arbury Road, Hey Hill and Bourn are about 7ft in length (exterior measurements), and the woman's coffin from near Gravel Hill Farm about 6ft 6ins. The Arbury Road coffin with the male skeleton is 6ft 8ins, and it had to be split in half to accommodate the lead lining. The depth varies from 2ft 6ins at Bourn to 10½ins for burial (i) at Arbury Road. All the coffins seem to have been widest at the head, narrowed towards the foot, and the Gravel Hill female burial had a coffin with a semi-circular head end. The man's coffin from this site had been mended with iron clamps. The varying measurements provided by these examples suggest that there were no standard sizes for stone coffins in the Cambridge region. Mention should also be made of a coffin with a rounded head recorded as found in 1820 in clay-pits north-east of Cambridge Castle, and the stone coffin which Bede tells us the monks of Ely fetched from the 'waste chester' for the burial of their foundress, St. Etheldreda. These were both probably of Roman date.⁷²

NOTES

1. Sir Cyril Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1923), 188.
2. See D. Browne, *An Archaeological Gazetteer of the City of Cambridge P.C.A.S.* 65 (1974), Map 1.
3. See Note 1, 218, 242.
4. F. G. Walker, 'Roman and Saxon Remains from Grange Road'. *P.C.A.S.* 16 (1912), 122-32.
5. F. G. Walker, 'Roman Roads into Cambridge' *P.C.A.S.* 14, (1910), 240.
6. R.C.H.M., *City of Cambridge I* (1959), lxiii.
7. See Note 2, Map 12.
8. C. Fell, 'Roman Burials found at Arbury Road, Cambridge', 1952. *P.C.A.S.* 49. (1956), 13-24.
9. *Ibid* 18.

10. W. H. C. Frend, 'Further Romano-British Burials found at Arbury Road in 1953', *P.C.A.S.* 49 (1956), 56.
11. Information from Dr J. A. Alexander.
12. See Note 6, Ixiv.
13. *C.A.S. Comm.* ii (1864), 289.
14. S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia* II (i) *Cambridgeshire* (1808), 44.
15. I am indebted to the Mistress and Fellows of Girton College for permission to consult the manuscript report of the excavation by F. J. H. Jenkinson, preserved at the College. This formed the basis for E. Hollingworth and M. M. O'Reilly, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Girton College* (1925). Some material is on loan to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, the rest is in the College Museum.
16. Cf. D. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis* (1936), 135.
17. e.g. Tombstone of mother and child, Murrell Hill. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain* (1963), no. 89.
18. See Note 5, 192.
19. See Note 5, 53.
20. See Note 5, 170.
21. F. G. Walker, 'A Tumulus excavated at Lord's Bridge', *P.C.A.S.* 12 (1908), 273-84.
22. F. G. Walker, 'Excavations at the Tumuli at Bourn', *P.C.A.S.* 15 (1911), 165-77.
23. Council for British Archaeology Group 7. *Bulletin of Archaeological Discoveries* V (1959).
24. *P.C.A.S.* 64 (1973), 15-23.
25. M. Green, 'Godmanchester' in W. Rodwell and T. Rowley ed. *Small Towns of Britain* (1975), 204.
26. Publication forthcoming in *P.C.A.S.*
27. *P.C.A.S.* 63 (1971), 1-8.
28. See Note 1, 205-216.
29. See Note 1, 198.
30. Information from Dr T. W. Potter.
31. T. C. Lethbridge, 'Further Excavations at the War Ditches' *P.C.A.S.* 42 (1949), 117-38; F. G. Walker, 'Skeletons found in the War Ditches' *Ibid* 12 (1908), 267-73.
32. C. C. Babington, *Ancient Cambridgeshire*. (1883), 31.
33. *P.C.A.S.* 29 (1930), 109-10.
34. cf. the larger examples from Girton.
35. T. C. Lethbridge, 'Romano-British Burials from Linton' *P.C.A.S.* 37 (1937), 68-71.
36. *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries* III (1867), 36, 77.
37. J. Liversidge, 'Roman Discoveries at Hauxton', *P.C.A.S.* 51 (1958), 7-17, with an Appendix on the glass by D. Harden.
38. R. Jessup, 'Barrows and Walled Cemeteries in Roman Britain', *Brit. Arch. Ass. Journal* XXII (1958), 21.
39. Note by C. W. Philips in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (O.S. 6-inch map 59 S.E.).
40. *Cambridge Chronicle*, May 18, 1821.
41. A. J. Kempe, 'A collection of sepulchral vessels found in 1821 at Litlington', *Archaeologia* XXVI (1836), 368-76.
42. T. May, 'Roman Pottery found at Silchester', (1916) 119, Pl. L; 71, n.1; 208, Pl. XXI.
43. cf. the similar shovel from Santon Downham in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.
44. May 18, 1821.
45. *Cambridge Chronicle* April 27, 1821.
46. See Note 41, 374.

47. J. G. D. Clark, 'A Report of Trial Excavations at Limlow Hill', *P.C.A.S.* 38 (1939), 170-6.
48. See Note 41, 374; Note 1, 194.
49. Museum no. 37.78.
50. See Note 4, 53.
51. T. C. Lethbridge, 'Further excavations at Guilden Morden', *P.C.A.S.* 36 (1936), 112, Pl. II, fig. 1.
52. Museum no. 49.620.
53. Museum no. 47.597.
54. Museum no. 37.53 and p. (above).
55. Museum no. 37.77.
56. K. Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall, Leicester*, (1948), fig. 21, no. 5.
57. Museum no. 37.76.
58. See Note 51, 110.
59. See Note 51, 116, Pl. VI.
60. Museum nos. 37.74; 49.617.
61. Museum no. 37.79.
62. See Note 41, 58, 119.
63. See Note 41, 117.
64. See Note 41, 58.
65. See Note 51, 117, Pl. X.
66. Museum no. 48.2290.
67. See Note 51, 117, Pl. VIIa.
68. Museum no. Z.11459 (38.3).
69. See Note 41, 58, fig. 6.
70. *J.R.S.* XLIX (1959), 132.
71. See Note 38, 5.
72. See Note 6, xl, lxix, n.2.

ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT TUDDENHAM, SUFFOLK

DAVID H. KENNETT

SUMMARY

A COLLATION, with illustrations and discussion, of the finds known from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery found at Tuddenham, Suffolk, in the 1890s isolates one definite grave group. This is reconstructed and it is suggested that the other objects represent about half a dozen female graves; the ironwork suggests about the same number of male graves. The cemetery seems to be a small one, of some prosperity, dating to the late sixth century, with some evidence of its surviving in use well into the seventh century.

INTRODUCTION

THE first finds from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Tuddenham, Suffolk, to be acquired by the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, were accessioned in 1894, but like so much of the primary material of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, they have remained without detailed publication. Research into the history of the finds is hampered by the lack of any known contemporary record of the discoveries and the researcher perforce must rely on some general accounts prepared much later than the discovery, a single publication of the only reliably recorded grave group and information attached to objects or entered in the museum register. The subsequent acquisitions of 1895, 1896 and 1897 are similarly without publication and it is only the group of material presented to the museum in 1927 for which record of association survives. This is the grave group noted by Sir William Ridgeway in his work on *The Early Iron Age in Greece* of 1901.¹ For the remainder of the cemetery's finds, there are incomplete and summary accounts by R. A. Smith in the *Victoria County History of Suffolk* of 1911² and by Cyril Fox in *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* of 1923.³ Individual items have been illustrated and these isolated pieces of publication have been noted in the catalogue. The catalogue seeks to list all known finds from the cemetery, with whatever information is available about their discovery. All finds are illustrated and the discussion seeks merely to place the cemetery in its context.⁴

As has been intimated, little is known of the circumstances of the discovery of the Tuddenham finds. The summary accounts place the cemetery close by the Cavenham Road, in a gravel pit, about half a mile south-east of Tuddenham church, in the region of TL 741704.

Limited evidence only is available for grave-groups. Only one is certain, that

recorded by Ridgeway, but there is one piece of more tenuous information worthy of record:

the great square-headed brooch of Leeds' class A2 (7) is exhibited with two small strings of beads (17).

For the remaining objects there is no concrete evidence, though labels on some of the pots point to further clues as to the original associations of these objects. Each scrap of such variety has been noted in the catalogue.

Catalogue

There are fifty-four objects in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, which can fairly readily be identified as coming from Tuddenham. These include eleven brooches and seven pots. The order of listing is arbitrary. After the grave-group, the brooches are listed before the other jewellery, the pots, the weapons and the bone finds. All museum catalogue numbers are noted, and also given are references to previous illustration, or, in the case of the cruciform brooches, listing. Throughout the catalogue, and the rest of the paper, left and right mean the wearer's left and right with the head of the brooch uppermost.

The Grave Group (Pls. 1, 2, Fig. 1)

The objects in the grave group were found on 21 December 1894 and were first recorded by Sir William Ridgeway.⁵ However, a shield-boss and a spear-head mentioned by him have not been traced, nor could they be identified by the museum when the group was catalogued in 1927. The group was placed under the overall accession number 1927.680.⁶

1. Bronze cruciform brooch, worn on the right-hand side of the winged headplate, and lacking side knobs. Top knob has a nipple expansion. There is a low, arched bow, divided down the centre and with two grooves on either side. There are divided lappets consisting of a stylised beaked head with a plain area between them. A stylised animal head ends in a spade foot below. Length 142 mm, width 54 mm.
Literature Ridgeway, 1901, fig 142. Not listed Aberg. (27.680A)
2. Pair of silver bracelets, flat design and repaired after ancient breakage. Decorated with triangular and V-shaped stamps on the outer edges and S-shaped stamps on the inner edges. Diameter 55 mm by 63 mm, width varies from 8 mm to 19 mm. (27.680.E.)
3. Pair of bronze annular brooches, both very worn, with D-shaped stamps round the edges. Diameters 43 mm by 46 mm and 44 mm by 46 mm. (27.680.D.)
4. Worn melon bead, mainly grey surface with the original blue vitreous surface showing only in the grooves. Height 20 mm, diameter 20 mm. (27.680.B.)
5. String of 19 amber beads. According to the Museum catalogue card, there were 27 amber beads. The 7 amber beads (16) without a catalogue number should probably therefore be added to the 19 here. (27.680.B.)



Pl. 1. Anglo-Saxon grave group of the late sixth century found at Tuddenham (1-6), scale in centimetres.



Pl. 2 Great square-headed brooch from grave group (6), scale in centimetres.

6. Pl. 2. Large bronze gilt square-headed brooch, very worn on right-hand side of the headplate and left-hand edge of the foot. The headplate has two protruding ears above a rectangular main panel, enclosed by a broad bar. In the centre is a smaller rectangular panel with billeted interior, and the surrounding zone contains a pair of incoherent animals, with their hind legs and stranded bodies at the sides, their forelegs and neck bent back to the centre where they adjoin a full-face mask. There is a low bow, divided by a median bar, with a knob on the top. On the foot are two well-defined down-biting jaws above a lozenge-shaped central panel containing a double S design. There is an eye in



Pl. 3. Great square-headed brooch (7), scale in centimetres.

either side of this panel with a plain lobe beyond, and at the bottom of the foot a face-mask terminates in a large disc. Length 115 mm, width of headplate 48 mm, width of foot 47 mm. (27.680.C.)

Literature Leeds, 1949, no. 25.

Brooches (Pl. 3; and Figs. 2 and 3)

The brooches from Tuddenham, other than those of the grave group are listed in order of museum accession, as available in 1972 when corrections which have subsequently come to light were not available.

7. (Pl. 3) Bronze gilt great square-headed brooch, complete and without damage. The headplate is bordered by a set of masks, two on either side and four on the top, with the corners co-joined, but worn (or broken) on the top right-hand corner. The central area of the headplate is enclosed by a broad plain bar and divided into three. The two outer areas are a jumble of limbs, each quite distinct but not making a coherent animal. The central area of the headplate has a face looking outwards with horizontal bars below, perhaps indicating a beard. The bow is plain except for some ribbing. The footplate has a pair of down-biting animal heads at the foot of the bow with a mass of jumbled limbs below them and outside the panel of the footplate. There is a running S design in the panel and a central group of bars. On both lobes and at the foot there is a face looking inwards. The lobes each have a flat face and the terminal one is raised slightly. There is a plain area round each face and a flattened band outside the main area of the foot.
Museum accession number, 1894.11.
Literature Leeds, 1949, no. 10.
8. (Fig. 3) Bronze cruciform brooch, complete: winged headplate decorated with circlets and bars, cast in one with three knobs of the half-round type with small excrescences. The bow is low, arched with a median bar and central top square. Finely executed lappets with complex animal head design and a long animal head foot with broad curling nostrils complete the piece. Length 138 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.13.
Literature Aberg, 1926, table 1 no. 115.
9. (Fig. 2) Bronze cruciform brooch, complete, tripartite winged headplate with a raised central area, with three well-made knobs, half-round but slightly flattened with a flat expansion. The bow is short with a raised central square, and plain lappets forming a single panel with the central area, decorated with dots. The foot is a stylised animal head with wide cheeks terminating in a broad bar, which has a row of small dots on it. Length 131 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.12, labelled as 'found February 1894'.
Literature Aberg, 1926, table 1 no. 113.
10. (Fig. 2) Small-long brooch, bronze, with square headplate, decorated with small circles on the edges but not on the top. It has a narrow bow and a diamond-shaped foot with a circular termination. Length 71 mm, width of headplate 26 mm.
Museum accession number, 1894.107.A, labelled 'December 1894'.
11. (Fig. 3) Disc brooch, bronze with five bosses on the face and lacking its pin. The brooch has been punched out of a single sheet of metal. Diameter 51 mm.
Museum accession number 1896.48.
12. (Fig. 2) Bronze cruciform brooch, worn on the right-hand side. There is a single top knob with a nipple expansion above a tripartite winged headplate, with its central part lined with square-shaped dots. The edges of the headplate are concave and probably were so originally. Short bow, ridged. Lappets with indistinct animal ornament and a stylised animal head with joined nostrils at the foot, terminating in the remains of a ring. Length overall 130 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.107.B.,
Literature Aberg, 1926, table 1 no. 114.

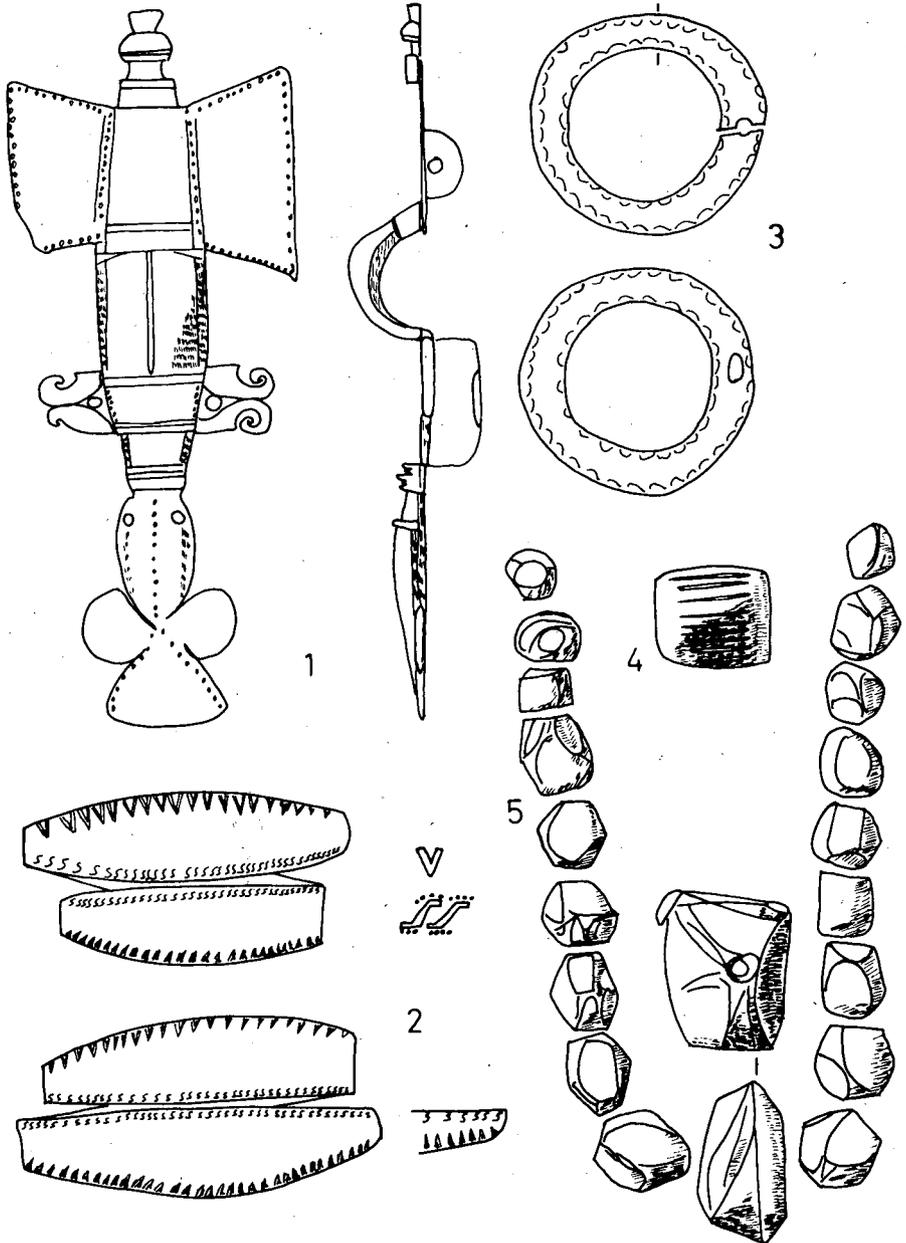


Fig. 1. Cruciform brooch (1), silver bracelets (2), annular brooches (3), melon bead (4), and amber beads (5), found in grave group at Tuddenham, associated with brooch (6, Pl. 2). Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

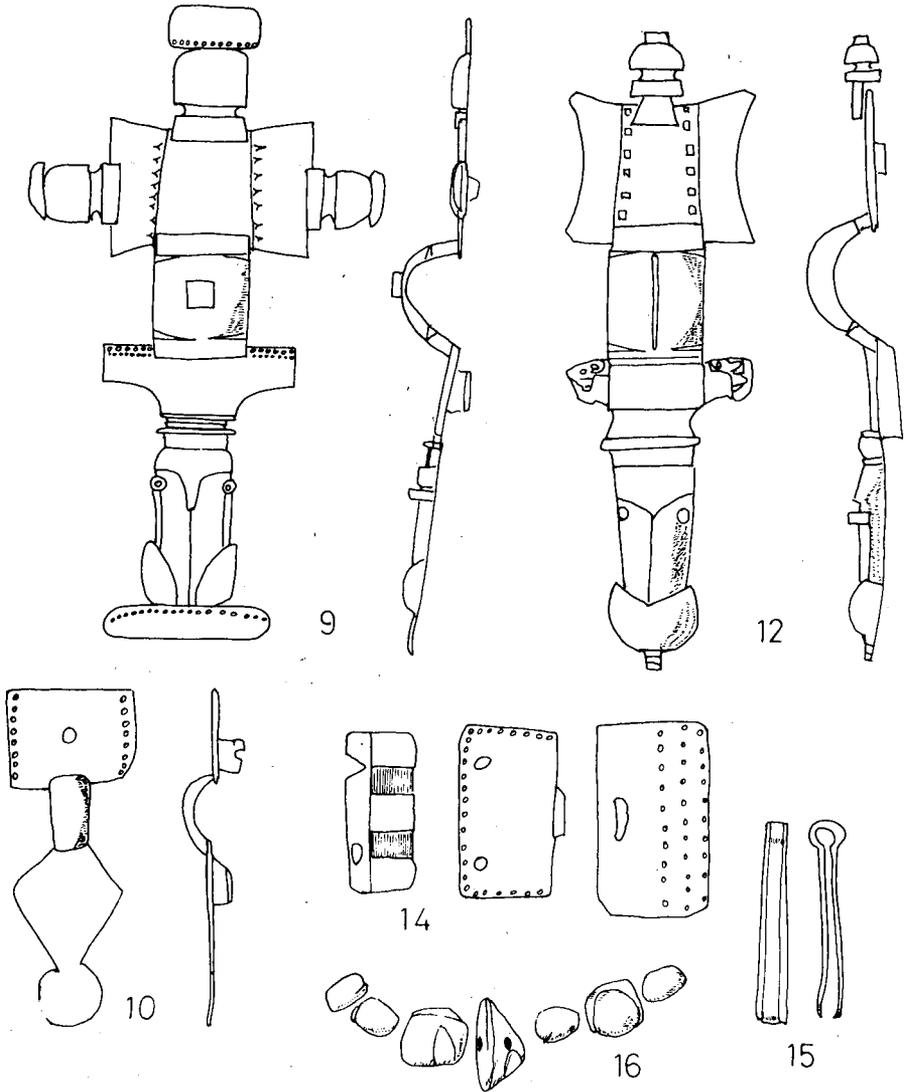


Fig. 2. Unassociated objects from Tuddenham. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

13. (Fig. 3) Annular brooch, bronze with heavy inner and outer rings, decorated with circles, most of pin missing. Diameter 43 mm.
Museum accession number 1897.132. The old catalogue card states "a pair of annular brooches".

Jewellery (Figs. 2 and 3)

Apart from the brooches, there are three sleeve clasps, all fragmentary, a pair of tweezers and strings of beads. Weapon jewellery is listed under weapons.

14. (Fig. 2) Sleeve clasp pieces, all of bronze, each from a different pair. One is divided into five bars, the second has a row of circles round the edge and the third three rows of dots.
Museum accession number Z.16168.A-C., found in a box labelled 'Tuddenham'.
15. (Fig. 2) Pair of bronze tweezers, ornamented with a single line on either side, length 43 mm.
Museum accession number 51.382.
16. (Fig. 2) String of seven amber beads: probably part of 5 (27.680.B.).
Museum Not previously numbered⁶, found in box labelled 'Tuddenham'.
17. (Fig. 3) String of twenty-one beads with three extra ones. Those on the string are eight amber, one side of a central group of three beads—two blue glass streaked yellow and flanking a red cylindrical bead streaked yellow and brown—with seven amber beads on the other side. The three individual beads are two small blue glass and one black with three red and yellow protruding knobs.
Museum accession number Z.21619.B., found on perspex, exhibited with great square-headed brooch (7).

Pottery (Fig. 4)

The seven pots from Tuddenham are catalogued in order of museum accession. All were found in the store of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, and have indistinct labels. However, there is an identifying mark on each in the form of a white diamond, affixed to the pot. Similar distinguishing marks are used for other cemeteries: a green spot for Little Wilbraham and a purple spot for Linton Heath.

18. Small bowl, brown, roughly burnished surfaces, no decoration. Height 85 mm, diameter at rim 108 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.243, with label saying 'found with skeleton, bronze flat fibula, thimble etc., February 1894', which is stratified over a further, partially indistinct label recording '. . . spearheads'.
19. Small bowl, light brown ware, fired to black surfaces, heavily pitted, with a row of stamps on the shoulder between grooves. Height 110 mm, rim diameter 92 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.246, with label recording it was found with a 'large T-shaped fibula' (? a Roman brooch: see note 6).
20. Small bowl, light brown burnished surfaces, without decoration. Height 70 mm.
Museum accession number 1897.143. with label 'Suffolk', found in store with pots from Tuddenham.

21. Small open bowl, brown burnished surfaces, no decoration. Height 62 mm.
Museum accession number 1897.144 with label 'Suffolk' found with pots from Tuddenham.
22. Small jar, dark grey ware, with three neck grooves above three-line chevrons, bordered by circle stamps on the left and without stamps on the right. These stamps also appear under the grooves inside the chevrons.
Museum accession number 1927.684, labelled 'Probably Tuddenham' (verbal information from Sir William Ridgeway).
23. Small bowl, brown ware, burnished surfaces. Height 65 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.245 labelled 'found Tuddenham February 1894'.
24. Small pot (? thumb pot) with a single pierced lug. Diameter 62 mm, height 46 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.244, found in tray of pots from Tuddenham.

Weapons and Ironwork (Figs. 5 and 6)

Ironwork, mostly weapons, now forms a considerable part of the material from Tuddenham, but it seems that not all items have in fact been discovered: Fox illustrated an axe,⁷ not yet traced, and various early accounts note a sword, spearheads and a shield-boss,⁸ of which only the second-named appears to have survived. In addition there is a sword jewel.

25. (Fig. 5) Bronze pyramidal stud, inlaid with white, possibly shell, paste and red-coloured glass fragments, with a chip in one corner. There is a place for a strap to pass through the back of the object. Size 15 mm by 15 mm, height 10 mm.
Museum accession number 1895.136.
27. (Fig. 6) Iron spearhead, lacks socket; length extant 215 mm, blade 180 mm, width 30 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.106.C., found November 1894.
28. (Fig. 6) Iron spearhead, lacks socket; length extant 188 mm, blade 165 mm, width 32 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.106.D., found November 1894.
29. (Fig. 6) Square iron plate with wood attached and bronze rivet in the centre. Size 32 mm by 29mm.
Museum accession number 1894.106.H., found November 1894.
30. (Fig. 6) Small circular silver plate, diameter 18 mm, probably a rivet capping.
Museum accession number Z.21619.A., found November 1894.
31. (Fig. 6) Square-sectioned iron hook, or bar, length 112 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.106.J., found November 1894.
32. (Fig. 6) Single-edged iron knife, length 146 mm, blade 107 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.106.G., found November 1894.
33. (Fig. 6) Iron spearhead lacking part of socket; length extant 321 mm, blade 203 mm, width 31 mm.
Museum accession number 1894, 126, found November 1894.
34. (Fig. 6) Iron ferrule, length 98 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.127, found November 1894.
35. (Fig. 6) Iron spearhead, broken at tip and lacking socket; length extant 184 mm, blade 162 mm, width 32 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.126, found November 1894.
36. (Fig. 6) Iron spearhead; length 191 mm, blade 110 mm, width 36 mm.
Museum accession number 1896.47, found November 1894.

37. (Fig. 6) Iron knife, with worn blade; length 112 mm.
Museum accession number 1896.46, found June 1896.
38. (Fig. 6) Iron knife, broken; length extant 73 mm.
Museum accession number 1896.46, found June 1896.
39. (Fig. 6) Iron knife with serrated edge; length 93 mm.
Museum accession number 1896.46, found June 1896.

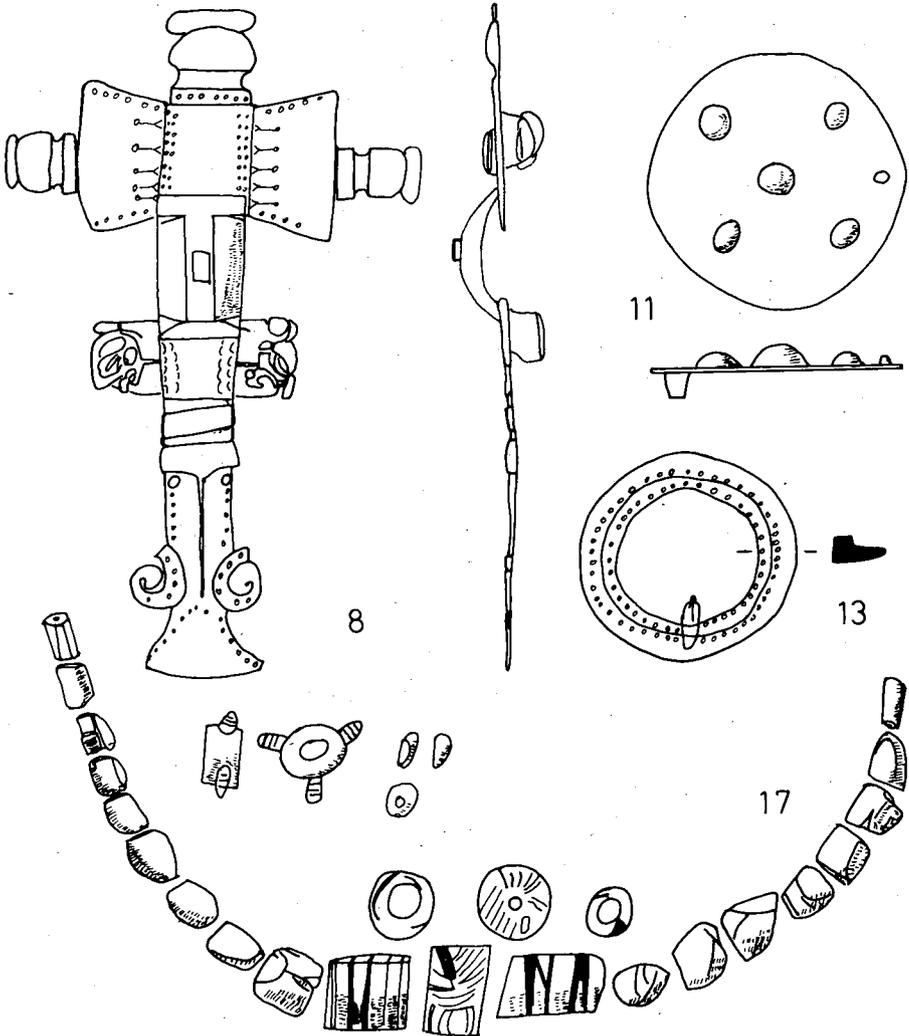


Fig. 3. Unassociated objects from Tuddenham. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

40. (Fig. 6) Iron knife with triangular blade; length 109 mm.
Museum accession number 1896.46, found June 1896.
41. (Fig. 6) Straight-backed iron knife with curved blade edge and very long square-sectioned tang; length 151 mm, blade 84 mm.
Museum accession number 1896.46, found June 1896.
42. (Fig. 6) Iron knife blade; length extant 86 mm.
Museum accession number 1896.46, found June 1896.

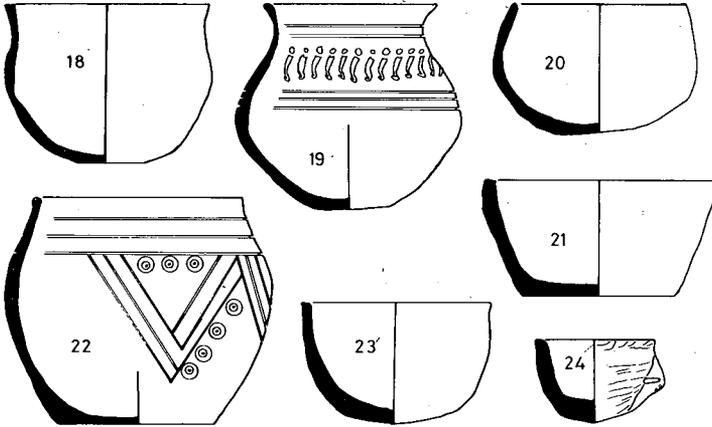


Fig. 4. Pottery from Tuddenham. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

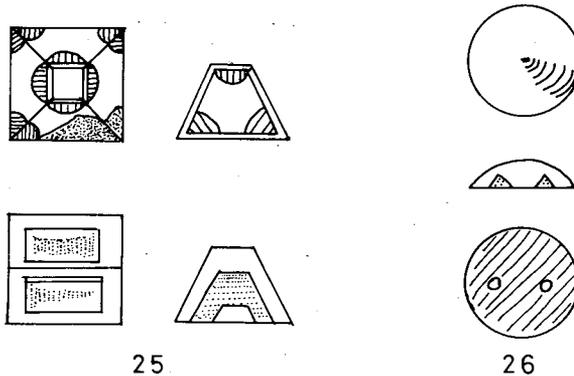


Fig. 5. Sword jewel (25) and bone gaming counter (26) from Tuddenham. The counter is one of a set of twelve. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

43. (Fig. 6) Iron ferrule; length 92 mm.
Museum accession number 1896.106.E.
44. (Fig. 6) Iron knife; length 116 mm.
Museum accession number 1894.106.F.
45. (Fig. 6) Iron hook.
Museum accession number Z 16363.
46. (Fig. 6) Iron hook plate.
Museum accession number Z 16363.
47. (Fig. 6) Centre portion of shield-boss grip; overall length 61 mm.
Museum accession number Z 20457, found November 1894.
48. (Fig. 6) Iron spearhead, with wood in socket; length 200 mm, blade 115 mm, width 23 mm.
Museum accession number Z 20458, found November 1894.
49. (Fig. 6) Iron spearhead, blade only; length extant 109 mm, width 28 mm.
Museum accession number Z 20457, found November 1894.
50. (Fig. 6) Iron knife blade; length 75 mm.
Museum accession number Z 20457, found November 1894.
51. (Fig. 6) Iron object, at one end square-sectioned but with spatulate end, probably a shield strut; length 131 mm.
Museum accession number Z 20457, found November 1894.

Bone Finds (Fig. 5)

There is a set of twelve bone discs from Tuddenham.

26. Set of twelve bone discs, lathe-turned gaming pieces, with two holes in back. Diameter 14 mm. Ten discs are white, two are black. All have passed through the fire.
Museum accession number Z.21620, found exhibited as 'Tuddenham'.

DISCUSSION

The Grave Group

It is strange that in the entire literature of the archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England the objects comprising the reliably recorded grave group from Tuddenham have never been discussed in depth. Individual items have received passing mention⁹ but there has been no previous attempt to evaluate the importance of the grave group as a whole. In a field where associations are few, the occurrence of a cruciform brooch in association with a great square-headed brooch and other objects is very important.

Because of its enlarged headplate the cruciform brooch (1) bears comparison with that from Holywell Row grave 16¹⁰ and its foot is a stylised smaller version of the foot of Little Wilbraham grave 171's larger cruciform brooch.¹¹ Associated with the Holywell Row brooch was a pair of sleeve clasps with zoomorphic

ornament, the date of which must surely be well into the second half of the sixth century.¹² Some features of the Tuddenham brooch are unusual. It is difficult to cite a parallel to the lappets and the lack of side knobs makes further comparisons invalid. The simple nipple extension to the top knob has many parallels

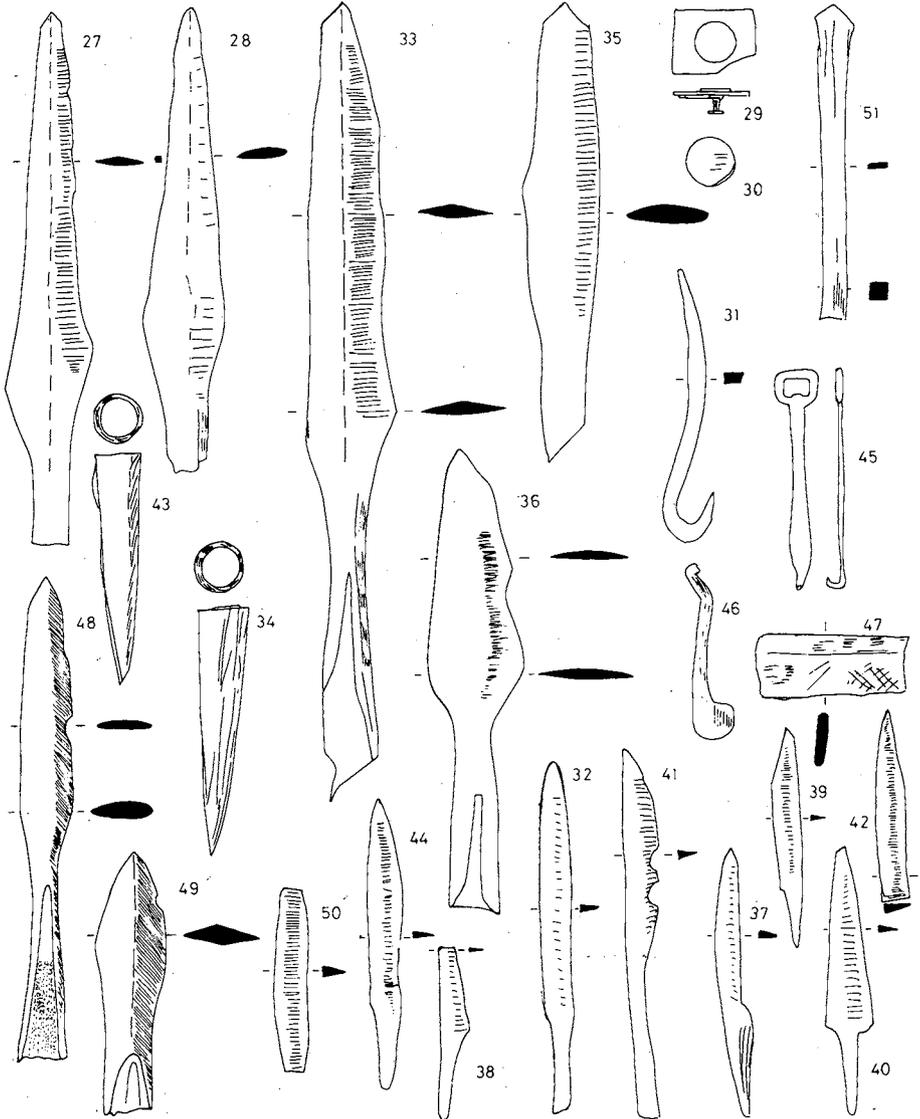


Fig. 6. Ironwork from Tuddenham. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

including brooches figured by Aberg from Kenninghall, Norfolk,¹³ and that from the Burton Latimer finds, a cemetery in Northamptonshire hitherto cited as being from the adjacent parish of Barton Seagrave.¹⁴

The pair of silver bracelets (2) have been cited previously in connection with flat examples from Holywell Row grave 11 and the single ridged piece from Sandy, Beds.¹⁵ In the recent account of the Sandy examples it was noted that there can be little doubt of a sixth-century date for the form. The flat type with stamped ornament is found extensively in the Cambridge region: with various objects in Holywell Row grave 11;¹⁶ with a fused fragment of a great square-headed brooch of Leeds' A3 class found in an urn of the Illington/Lackford potter at Lackford;¹⁷ and unassociated fragments from Barrington and Kenninghall.¹⁸ Similar stamps to those used on the bracelets are found in silver collars of which there is one without associations from West Stow, Suffolk.¹⁹ On occasion, as with the fragments from Barrington²⁰ and with the Longbridge, Warks., bracelet,²¹ the ridged examples are also stamped.

Flat annular brooches, such as the pair from the grave group (3), are common in the Cambridge region. Associated with florid cruciform brooches are examples from Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, Suffolk,²² and they have been found with great square-headed brooches of Leeds' classes A3 and B1 at Holywell Row in graves 11²³ and 14²⁴ respectively. Associations with developed examples of Aberg's group IV cruciform brooches include St Johns,²⁵ Holywell Row grave 58²⁶, and grave 171 at Little Wilbraham.²⁷

The melon bead (4) belongs to a common group of Anglo-Saxon beads, which are often used as the centrepiece of a necklace, as with the seventh century necklace from Garton II, Yorks., grave 7²⁸. Single examples are also found. An example is grave 11 at Holywell Row.²⁹ Their dating is uncertain. A seventh-century example has been quoted, but other examples, as for instance Minster Lovell, Oxon., grave 3³⁰, with a pair of disc brooches, are much earlier. At Duston, Northants., where an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, basically of the sixth century, has been found in close proximity to a Roman settlement which survived well into the fourth, if not the fifth, century, melon beads have been found on both sites.³¹

The amber beads (5) conform to the pattern of having their largest bead as a centre-piece. Twenty-seven were originally found but only twenty-six now survive. Amber beads are very common in Anglo-Saxon graves. A fifth century set occurs in Linton Heath grave 49 with an equal-armed brooch.³² Later are those with a five-coil spiral saucer brooch at Abingdon grave 60,³³ and those of the necklace from grave 27 at Argyll Avenue, Luton, Beds., associated with a pair of small-long brooches with square headplates and lozenge-shaped feet and a group of bronze belt fittings to be dated well into the sixth century.³⁴

The great square-headed brooch (6) was included by the late E. T. Leeds in his Cambridgeshire sub-group of his class A3 great square-headed brooches.³⁵

The discussion by Leeds brought out the salient features of the brooch in relation to the others of its group. This discussion will be concentrated therefore on indicating links of the brooch outside the great square-headed type. Some features need emphasis, however, particularly the eye on the left of the headplate and the eyes on the terminations of the diamond-shaped foot, which closely link the Tuddenham brooch with those from St John's³⁶ and Linton Heath grave 41.³⁷ The border to the central panel, an especially distinct area of the Tuddenham brooch's headplate, harks back in its clarity to brooches from grave 11 at Barrington A³⁸ and Market Overton.³⁹ This reaches a level of refinement not seen on the St John's brooch³⁶ and totally absent on a brooch from Lakenheath.⁴⁰ In its conjoining of the two central eyes of the headplate with a full-face mask, the Tuddenham brooch invites comparison with the central panel of the East Midland florid cruciform brooch from St John's,⁴¹ which has two eyes placed off-centre to imitate a face, with the distinct impression of a nose formed out of the bar below. The bow and down-biting jaws on the Tuddenham brooch are typical of its type, even though they are less elaborate than some. Similarly the eyes at the ends of the diamond foot have been mentioned, though it is worth emphasising that the brooch of Little Wilbraham grave 31⁴² has a face at this point, a development which can be seen emerging on the Lakenheath brooch.⁴⁰ This face is a squashed version of the faces of East Anglian florid cruciform brooches.⁴³ The East Anglian florid cruciform face, seen for example on a brooch from Exning,⁴⁴ is copied on the Cambridgeshire group of A3 great square-headed brooches. Tuddenham has a flatter version of this face but the whole comes alive on most of the Cambridgeshire group. The same face, adapted to have curling ends to the hair, is present on the three arms of the Linton Heath grave 40 brooch³⁷ and the same brooch has the same face with long side curls at its foot. With the square-headed florid brooch from Kempston,⁴⁵ the face makes its first appearance in the East Midland group and these brooches develop and stylise the face still further. The disc at the end of the Tuddenham brooch is quite distinct in form from the near bar of the other Cambridgeshire group brooches, but bearing in mind the opening comments, one does not have to look beyond the cruciform brooch of Little Wilbraham grave 81⁴⁶ to find at least more than an echo, which is repeated in the Exning brooch.⁴⁴

There can be little doubt that the group dates individually and as a whole to the second half of the sixth century and probably well into that half century.

Brooches

In his discussion of the other great square-headed brooch from Tuddenham (7), Mr Leeds in 1949⁴⁷ saw it as a poor relation of the principal brooch of Linton Heath grave 9,⁴⁸ and related both at somewhat long range to a brooch from Chessel Down, Isle of Wight.⁴⁹ The Chessel Down and Linton Heath

brooches share the same basic design of the headplate, which is repeated in a jumbled fashion on the Tuddenham brooch. Differences in the border are readily apparent. The Chessel Down piece has a framed border, but on the others the border is a series of free-standing masks. These are joined at the upper corners on different ways on both brooches. Finely executed free-standing masks, though of different conception, are a feature of Leeds' class B6 group of great square-headed brooches.⁵⁰ Their corner treatment shows how they can coalesce. A brooch from Fairford⁵¹ has a joined corner, but the brooches from Luton grave 41⁵² and Haslingfield⁵³ have the upper corner mask standing out. Probably analagous would be a comparison between the lost Marston St Lawrence, Northants., brooch⁵⁴ and that from Horton, Oxon.,⁵⁵ with the brooch from Coleshill, Berks.⁵⁶ Here the process seen between the Linton Heath masks, joined by a pair of eyes, and the Tuddenham masks with squashed inward-looking corner masks, is repeated. Not only is the use of free-standing masks a point of comparison between the A2 and B6 groups but the masks of the Tuddenham brooch are themselves closely paralleled by those of brooches from Fairford⁵¹ and Market Overton⁵⁷ of the B6 class. Individual brooches in both the B6 and A2 groups show either a decorated or a plain bow. Like that from Tuddenham, the Chessel Down brooch has a plain bow, as do Marston St Lawrence⁵⁴ and Market Overton⁵⁷ in the B6 group. Linton Heath grave 9⁴⁸ has a decorated bow like brooches of Leeds' B5 class⁵⁸: grave 32 at Linton Heath,⁵⁹ Quy,⁶⁰ and Ragley Park.⁶¹ The Tuddenham bow may be compared too with the bows of brooches of Leeds B3 (South Midland) class.⁶² The down-biting jaws of Linton Heath grave 9 are less jumbled in their accompanying ornament than those of the Tuddenham brooch. If anything these are the most cluttered heads found on any great square-headed brooch. The design of the central panel, a group of distinct 'S' shapes round a central motif, is not as clear on the Tuddenham brooch as on the Linton Heath piece, but the idea is repeated in an even less exact way on the B6 brooch from Horton.⁵⁵ The motif appears also on the B1 group,⁶³ though it might be argued that these brooches have cabling rather than an 'S' motif. The flattened band round the outside of the foot of the Tuddenham brooch is a poor substitute for the light-and-shade border on the Linton Heath piece. This feature indicates a wider contact than is sometimes found in these brooches. In their treatment of the lobes, these two brooches differ markedly. Linton Heath has a pattern on the lateral lobes and an upturned raised head on the basal lobe. Tuddenham by contrast has two flat faces on the lateral lobes and a very weak face on the basal. The apposite comparison for the Linton Heath brooch is with the lateral lobes of the great square-headed brooches of Leeds' class B3 from Baginton⁶⁴ and Bidford-on-Avon,⁶⁵ all three from Warwickshire. The *piece-de-resistance* of basal lobes with a face must be the Linton Heath brooch, but its parallels are B6 brooches like those from Luton⁵² and Fairford,⁵¹ and probably that from Market Overton,⁵⁷ presumably also that

from Haslingfield.⁵³ Other raised basal lobes occur on the B2 (Southern) class⁶⁶: from graves 28⁶⁷ and 43⁶⁸ at Alfriston, Sussex, and Guildown, Surrey, grave 46⁶⁹. In the B3 group, the feature can be seen in the brooches from Bidford-on-Avon,⁶⁵ Offchurch,⁷⁰ Cherbury Camp,⁷¹ and Bighthampton.⁷² For these the basal lobe of the Tuddenham brooch is poor company, being a degenerate example, perhaps to be bracketed loosely with the Chessel Down⁷³ and Fairford⁷⁴ brooches of the B3 group, as deviating far from the model on which it was fashioned.

Because it is so far removed from its prototype, the brooch of Linton Heath grave 9, the Tuddenham brooch is probably to be dated somewhat later than the other. The associations of the Linton Heath grave 9 brooch, particularly the pair of applied saucer brooches of the Kempston type,⁷⁵ suggest a late sixth century date.⁷⁶ Equally, this discussion has cited mainly brooches of types known to be of the sixth century, many of them unlikely to date early in the century. One can thus reinforce the suggestions of a late sixth century date for the Tuddenham brooch.

The three cruciform brooches (8, 9, 12) all belong to Aberg's group IV,⁷⁷ and like the cruciform brooch from the grave group (1) to Leeds' sub-group IVb: brooches with lappets and having knobs with expansions.⁷⁸ The first of the three unassociated examples (8) is a splendid piece. It resembles a brooch from Girton⁷⁹ in all but its knobs. Aberg classed it with a group of brooches typified by one from Londesborough, Yorks.,⁸⁰ but in reality it differs too much, particularly in view of the knobs, the lappets, the bow and even the foot. The local parallel, except for the top knob's florid excrescence and the plain side knobs, is much more close. A fairly close parallel to the brooch from Tuddenham is a brooch from Lakenheath.⁸¹ The type with plain knobs is known as Barrington,⁸² Cambridge⁸³ and Girton.⁸⁴ There are three examples among the finds from Lakenheath⁸⁵ and another brooch from Lakenheath⁸⁶ has many of the characteristics of the type but differs in the style of its lappets and the top knob.

The second of these brooches (9) can be compared to a brooch from Newnham⁸⁷ and some very close parallels from the same site.⁸⁸ Many features, like the headplate, the knobs, the bow and the plain lappets, do find further parallels in this group which includes brooches from Great Chesterford, Essex;⁸⁹ Exning, Suffolk;⁹⁰ Little Wilbraham, grave 168;⁹¹ Barrington;⁹² and St John's Cricket Field.⁹³ However, the Tuddenham piece differs from these in having a bar at its foot. Most readily paralleled in brooches of the Cambridgeshire group of Leeds' class A3 great square-headed brooches, there are brooches with this feature among those already cited from Barrington A grave 11,³⁸ Linton Heath grave 41,³⁷ and Lakenheath.⁴⁰ The cheeks of the foot of the Tuddenham brooch can also be found on a cruciform brooch of Aberg's group III from St John's.⁹⁴

The third brooch (12) has some affinity with a brooch from Lakenheath,⁹⁵ which retains its terminal ring, but this is very different from the lappets up-

wards. Perhaps the closest parallel is a brooch from Trumpington,⁹⁶ though this does not have lappets and there is a simple form of top knob.

The small-long brooch (10) is one of a group with square headplates and lozenge-shaped feet ending in a disc, of which there are other examples from Bidford-on-Avon⁹⁷ and Newnham, Northants.⁹⁸ Other finials found are triangular as at Barrington B graves 23⁹⁹ and 79¹⁰⁰ and crescentic such as single pieces from Watling Street¹⁰¹ and Stapleford.¹⁰²

The disc brooch (11) is difficult to place but the annular brooch with a stepped cross-section (13) can be seen as a more elaborate version of the basic flat annular brooch.

Weapons

The Tuddenham sword jewel (25), a bronze pyramidal stud inlaid with shell and red glass, is one of a number of such objects usually found in rich male graves of the early seventh century, such as Salisbury Racecourse¹⁰³ and Broomfield, Essex.¹⁰⁴ One unassociated from a site without any seventh century material is that from Longbridge¹⁰⁵ but this may as at Tuddenham indicate a longer survival of the site than the other objects allow us to postulate. It could be that these objects are found earlier than the seventh century, as the remaining objects from Tuddenham and Longbridge might suggest.

Bone finds

The discussion has omitted the pottery from Tuddenham,¹⁰⁶ but there is a set of twelve bone discs, which may indicate cremation. They look to have passed through the fire, or to have been in contact with a cremation before it cooled. There is a set of fifty-five gaming discs from Shudy Camps grave 85,¹⁰⁷ and another Cambridgeshire set of bone gaming pieces are the three horse-tooth draughtsmen from Haslingfield.¹⁰⁸

The Tuddenham finds

The material from Tuddenham is scanty, with only one grave group reliably recorded; the four unassociated large brooches—three cruciform and one great square-headed—probably each represent another grave. The remaining objects could be envisaged as other finds from these graves. This suggests about half a dozen female graves with objects. The seven spearheads suggest an equivalent number of male graves.

Tuddenham, from the available evidence, is seen as perhaps a dozen graves with associations indicating a modest degree of prosperity. Two great square-headed brooches in a sample of only fifty objects suggests a certain degree of affluence, as does the sword jewel.

It has been argued that individually the majority of the finds date from the late sixth century, with one possible exception: the sword jewel whose associated parallels are exclusively early seventh century. If the Tuddenham example is to be placed there, then the site must be seen as one which continues into the early seventh century. There is a growing number of sites of earlier origins which are seen as having a seventh century phase.¹⁰⁹ They include well-known cemeteries like Kempston, Beds., and Holywell Row, Suffolk, and also less obvious groups such as Little Wilbraham and Barrington B. To these it would seem that Tuddenham should be added, and also Exning, as there are amethyst beads from this site.¹¹⁰

The importance of the Tuddenham finds lies in the material of the second half of the sixth century. Of these the grave-group with its overlapping series of finds is beyond doubt a critically important group for the late sixth century in the Cambridge region. For that alone, the Tuddenham finds have long been worthy of the publication given to them here.¹¹¹

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper owes much of what merit it may possess to the most ready co-operation of the authorities of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, who not only kindly provided facilities for study at the museum, and answered requests for photographs of objects, but also gave an inquiring student the means whereby he could construct his discussions unhindered around the collections. I am grateful to the museum for permission to publish the Tuddenham finds and my especial thanks are due to Miss M. D. Cra'ster. Mrs. S. C. Hawkes was kind enough to read this paper in draft form and to her I also tender my grateful thanks for assistance.

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 Neville, 1852
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NOTES

1. Ridgeway, 1901, 587, with fig.142; for items cited by author and year of publication, see bibliography, p. 00.
2. *V. C. H. Suffolk* 1 (1911), 344.
3. Fox, 1923, 265.
4. A.L. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Sites*, 1964, 235 giving references cited n.1-3 and a short summary of the material is a more recent listing.
5. Ridgeway, 1901, 587, is cited by Meaney, *loc. cit.* n.4, as including a sword and a knife. These I find no evidence for in Ridgeway's account, nor have I been able to find them in the museum.
6. The original catalogue card also records: "a T-shaped fibula, Roman I-II century type, labelled '1 of 4 found with 2 skeletons, 1894'. A loose label, attached to the [cruciform] fibula reads 'Two skeletons were found together. Four fibulae, 27 amber and 1 earthenware bead, 2 silver bracelets, a boss of a shield, a spear, 2 circular brooches, etc.'"
7. Fox, 1923, pl. XXXVI, 8A.
8. Ridgeway, 1901, 587; *V. C. H. Suffolk* 1 (1911), 344; summarised by Meaney, *loc. cit.* n.4.
9. Summarised in the literature, cited individually. I have not attempted to collate the references to Tuddenham material in general discussions, but it is limited basically to the items cited.
10. Lethbridge, 1931, 12 and fig. 6.1.
11. Neville, 1852, pl. 4, no. 171.
12. Lethbridge, 1931, 12 and fig. 6.3.
13. Aberg, 1926, fig. 71, and table I no. 124.
14. Aberg, 1926, fig. 77; see also D. H. Kennett, 'Burton Latimer: Anglo-Saxon finds made in the late nineteenth century', forthcoming. The site, ironstone workings, is in the parish of Burton Latimer, on the road from Barton Seagrave.
15. Lethbridge, 1931, 8 and fig. 2.3; D. H. Kennett, 'Pottery . . . at Sandy, Bedfordshire', *Med. Arch.* 14, 1970, 27-28.
16. Lethbridge, 1931, 4-9 with fig. 2 and 3.
17. T. C. Lethbridge, *A Cemetery at Lackford, Suffolk*, (1951), fig. 17, 50.178B.
18. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, without accession numbers, and British Museum, register numbers, 1883, 7-2, 20-21.
19. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, unpublished.
20. British Museum, register numbers, 1876, 2-12, 31-32; there is also a worn fragment of a flat stamped bracelet from Barrington, British Museum, register number, 1876, 2-12,33.
21. Kennett, *loc. cit.*, n.15 discussed the affinities of the piece before the stamps were visible, following a recent cleaning.
22. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, accession number, 1909.470.
23. Lethbridge, 1931, 4-9, with figs. 2 and 3.
24. Lethbridge, 1931, 11-12 with fig. 5.
25. Fox, 1923, pl. XXVII.1.
26. Lethbridge, 1931, 30-32, with fig. 15.
27. Neville, 1852, 12, with pl. 4 and 8 for the associated brooches.
28. Leeds, 1936, pl. XXVIII.
29. Lethbridge, 1931, fig. 3.6.
30. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, unpublished.
31. Northampton Museum, material from both the Romano-British settlement and the Anglo-Saxon cemetery is largely unpublished. For a summary of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery see *P.S.A.* 19, (1903), 310-314.

32. Neville, 1854, 106; the objects have not been illustrated to the best of my knowledge.
33. E. T. Leeds and D. B. Harden, *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Abingdon, Berkshire*, (1936), 43 and pl. XII.
34. W. Austin, 'A Saxon cemetery at Luton', *Ant. J.* 8, (1928), 190 and pl. XXXIII.
35. Leeds, 1949, 23-29, especially 25.
36. Leeds, 1949, no. 22.
37. Leeds, 1949, no. 23; not from grave 40 as given by Leeds' plate and text. For the brooch from Linton Heath grave 40 see E. T. Leeds in *Ant. J.* 35, (1955), 89-90 with pl. XXIIIb.
38. Leeds, 1949, no. 21.
39. Leeds, 1949, no. 20.
40. Leeds, 1949, no. 19.
41. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, unpublished; for a brief discussion of the affinities of this brooch see D. H. Kennett, 'Anglo-Saxon finds made at Brooke, Norfolk, 1867-1869', *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, 66, (1975-76), 99-103.
42. Leeds, 1949, no. 26; not from grave 6 as given by Leeds.
43. For general discussion of the florid cruciform brooch see E. T. Leeds and M. Pocock, 'A survey of the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch of the florid type', *Med. Arch.*, 15, (1971), 13-36; D. H. Kennett, 'A fragmentary florid cruciform brooch from Brixworth', *J. Northampton. Mus.*, 10 (1974), 20-37; D. H. Kennett, *loc. cit.* n.41.
44. Fox, 1923, pl. XXI.2; the present author has in preparation a study of the Exning finds.
45. Leeds, 1949, no. 141; for a full discussion of the varied affinities of this brooch see the appropriate section of D. H. Kennett, 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Kempston, Bedfordshire: a reconsideration', (1968, unpublished). [Copies of this work are available for consultation Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum, London, and Bedfordshire County Record Office, County Hall, Bedford.]
46. Aberg, 1926, fig. 81; table I no. 133.
47. Leeds, 1949, 11-16; the discussion of the Tuddenham brooch was written before the discovery of the very fine brooch from Paglesham, Essex, which in style is between those from Chessel Down and Linton Heath see *Current Arch.* 5 pt 7 (no. 54), (1976), 214 with photograph.
48. Leeds, 1949, no. 9.
49. Leeds, 1949, no. 8.
50. Leeds, 1949, 61-65.
51. Leeds, 1949, no. 97.
52. Leeds, 1949, no. 95; the grave is not directly given in the register of graves from the Luton cemetery, *Ant. J.*, 8 (1928), 186-192; it can, however, be reconstructed from comments, *ibid.* 182.
53. Leeds, 1949, no. 98.
54. Leeds, 1949, no. 102.
55. Leeds, 1949, no. 101.
56. Leeds, 1949, no. 103; a probable further example to be added here is Toddington, cited by J. Morris, *Beds. Arch. J.* 1 (1962), 71.
57. Leeds, 1949, no. 96.
58. Leeds, 1949, 60-61.
59. Leeds, 1949, no. 91.
60. Leeds, 1949, no. 92.
61. Leeds, 1949, no. 93.
62. Leeds, 1949, 47-53, nos. 71-82.

- 63 e.g. a brooch from Ipswich, Leeds, 1949, no. 57, being a late example of the feature seen on three other brooches from Ipswich, Leeds, 1949, nos. 41-43.
64. Leeds, 1949, nos. 74 and 75.
65. Leeds, 1949, no. 71.
66. Leeds, 1949, 45-47.
67. Leeds, 1949, no. 66.
68. Leeds, 1949, no. 68.
69. Leeds, 1949, no. 70.
70. Leeds, 1949, no. 72.
71. Leeds, 1949, no. 73.
72. Leeds, 1949, no. 76.
73. Leeds, 1949, no. 79.
74. Leeds, 1949, no. 80.
75. Neville, 1854, 97.
76. D. H. Kennett, 'Applied brooches of the Kempston type at St John's', *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* 63 (1971), 27-29.
77. Aberg, 1926, 42-9, figs. 70-81 with table 1, nos. 102-201.
78. E. T. Leeds, 'The distribution of Angles and Saxons archaeologically considered', *Archaeologia* 91 (1945), 69-72 with figs. 37 and 38.
79. Fox, 1923, pl. xxvii.2, with associated finds.
80. Aberg, 1926, fig. 76.
81. Aberg, 1926, table 1, no. 104; Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, accession number, 1899.89.
82. Aberg, 1926, table 1, no. 147.
83. Aberg, 1926, table 1, no. 166.
84. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, no accession number, displayed as from 'Girton'.
85. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, accession numbers 1899.90, 1897.46 and without accession number, found 1897.
86. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, no accession number.
87. Fox, 1923, 244 and pl. xxvii.5.
88. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, without accession numbers. These two brooches differ in their treatment of the foot. These two brooches and that cited n.87 are part of a current study by the present author of the finds from Newnham, Cambridge, publication forthcoming.
89. G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England* 3 (1915) 270 and pl. xlvi.7; *contra* A. L. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*, (1964), 85, this brooch is still extant in Liverpool Museum, accession number 7370. It was examined by the present author in February 1968.
90. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, accession number 1904.448.
91. Neville, 1852, pl. 4.168.
92. *Med. Arch.* 15 (1971), 29 and fig. 3.d.
93. Fox, 1923, pl. XXVII.1.
94. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, unpublished.
95. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, accession number 1897.210c.
96. Aberg, 1926, fig. 60; table 1, no. 49.
97. *Archaeologia* 73 (1923), 102 and pl. xiii.1.
98. Northampton Museum, unpublished.
99. *Camb. Ant. Soc. Comm.* 5 (1883), 18, pl. ii. 3.
100. *Camb. Ant. Soc. Comm.* 5 (1883), 25, pl. ii. 2.

101. J. Y. Akerman, *Pagan Saxondum*, (1855), pl. xviii. 8.
102. *V.C.H. Leicestershire I* (1904), 234, pl. 1.3.
103. V. I. Evison, 'Sugar-loaf shield bosses', *Ant. J.* 43 (1963), 42 and fig. 15.b.
104. *P.S.A.* 15 (1894), 250-255; *V. C. H. Essex I* (1903), 320-326.
105. British Museum, Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, have the finds from Longbridge, mostly accessioned under register number 1880, 2-14, x.
106. For a discussion of pottery with general affinities to the Tuddenham pots see Kennett, *loc. cit.* n.14.
107. T. C. Lethbridge, *Study Camps, Cambridgeshire*, (1936), 23.
108. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, unpublished.
109. The evidence has been summarised D. H. Kennett, 'Seventh Century Cemeteries in the Ouse Valley', *Beds. Arch. J.* 8 (1973), 99-108, with full documentation.
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111. Paper completed May 1973, revised January 1974.

“ROMAN BANK”: A MEDIEVAL SEA-WALL

I. A CULVERT BENEATH THE SEA BANK AT NEWTON, NEAR WISBECH

ALISON TAYLOR

THE Sea Bank is one of the most noteworthy archaeological monuments in the Fens, marking the seaward limit of land-reclamation during the Middle Ages. Originally it consisted of a continuous bank around much of the Wash, built of earth and clay, which William Dugdale in the seventeenth century claimed 'ought to be 50 feet in height (viz. from the first sloping thereof unto the crest) and in breadth at the top six feet'. It was built to protect the land between the villages and the apparently irredeemable salt-marshes from the high tides and sea-floods which, in 1251 for example, are known to have laid waste part of Leverington parish. In the southern fens it consolidated the piecemeal enclosure of fields for cultivation that had been encouraged by continual land-hunger up to the fourteenth century. Although the marshes on the seaward side gradually silted as the sea receded and were used for many purposes including salt-making and grazing cattle, they were not improved and divided up until the Bedford Level Act of 1663.

The Bank, which was first referred to as the 'Roman Bank' by Sir William Dugdale in his seventeenth-century 'History of Embanking and Draining', (without there being any evidence for such a date) has been levelled along much of its length, but in places, such as the stretch between Wisbech and Leverington, it is visible as a three metre high bank between the modern fields. Elsewhere the modern roads run along the top of it, for example between Newton and Leverington and along part of the Wisbech to Long Sutton road, near Four Gotes.

The section of the Sea Bank near Thulborn's Poultry Farm where the culvert was excavated (TF 442136) lies partly under the road and partly along the west side of the road. This western half stood about two metres above the road until a few years ago when it was lowered to the road level. Then in March 1976 it was lowered again to the level of the silt to the west, to accommodate an extension of a cold storage unit.

While this levelling was being carried out, the owner noticed some wood preserved in the blue clay beneath the bank; so with the co-operation of Wisbech Museum an excavation was organised, which revealed a culvert beneath the Sea Bank running from the landward to the seaward side.

The section exposed was about ten metres long and was obviously continuing for some distance beneath the road. It consisted of three massive trunks,

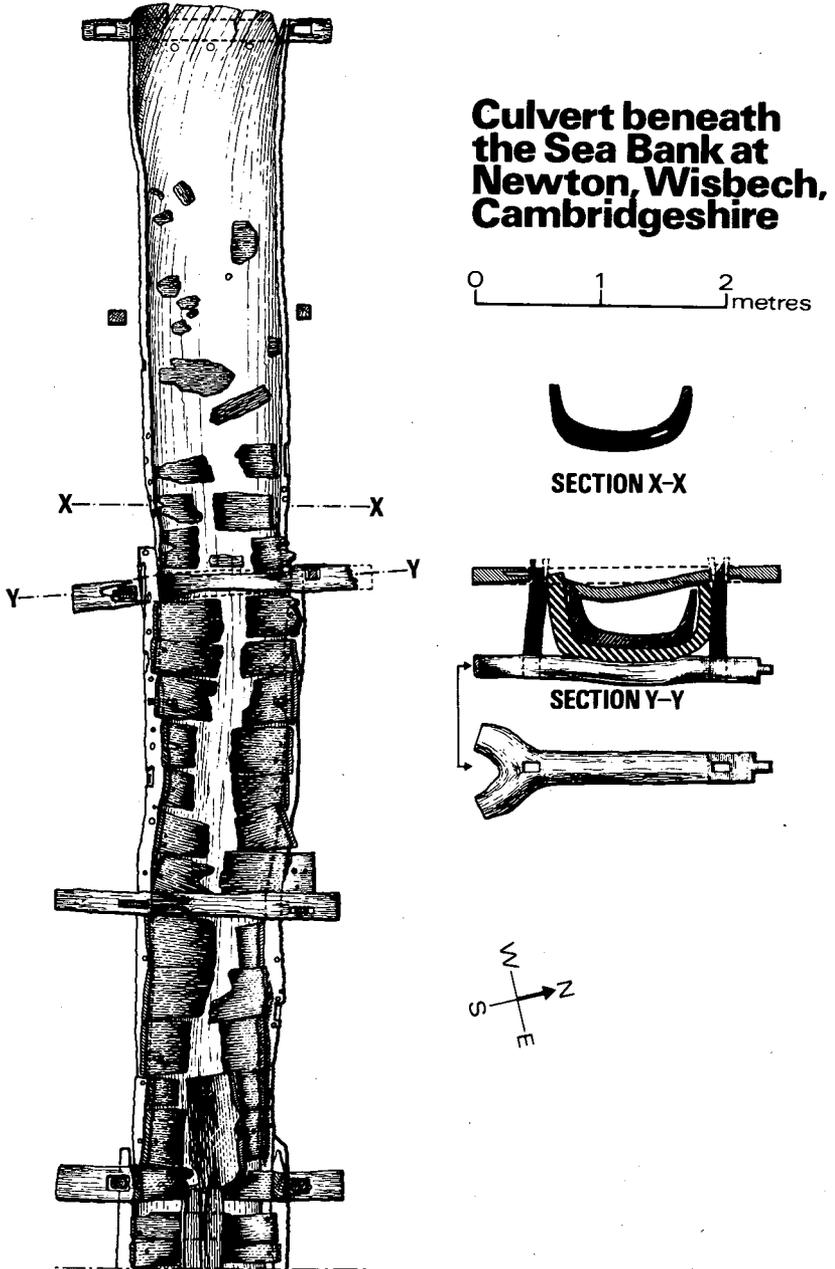


Fig. 1. Medieval culvert.
(Drawn by J. Christiansen)

probably elm, about one metre in diameter, that had been hollowed out and shaped slightly so as to interlock with each other (Fig. 1). They were laid on sleeper beams to prevent them sinking into the clay and these sleeper beams were tied by upright posts to strong beams across the top of the structure so that there was also lateral support. Planks had been laid to provide a complete cover, being pegged into position with wooden dowels. These had collapsed beneath the weight of the bank when slightly rotten and fallen inwards. The function of the stakes and spare planks at the eastern end was not determined, nor was that of the holes at the western end, though these possibly held some sort of gate. The carpentry involved in the culvert was evidently quite sophisticated and the whole structure was strongly and accurately made with elaborate joints. One of the trunks had evidently started to split before it had been lowered into position and so had to be mended with a wooden wedge (Section X-X), a repair so successful that it was not detected until this section was cut in order to take the radiocarbon sample.

The state of preservation was very good at the eastern end, but the waterlogging was not so complete beneath the tail of the bank at the western end, and the timbers had deteriorated progressively. The whole structure sloped about 30cm. in 10 metres towards the sea.

This is apparently the first culvert found beneath the Bank, but it seems likely that there was a series of them which drained excess water from the Fens; they were probably fitted with simple, hand-operated sluice gates, an example of which is preserved in the Wisbech Museum, which could be closed when the waters rose outside.

A section of the wood was taken for radiocarbon dating by the Sub-Department of Quaternary Research, Cambridge University. The date given is A.D. 1250 ± 40 years, which fits in well with the national pattern of land reclamation during the thirteenth century and suggests that its construction might have been a reaction to the flooding known to have occurred in 1251 in this area.

One of the sections of the culvert was taken to the North Level Drainage Museum at Parson Drove to be dried out slowly, and small sections are being kept in polythene wrappings, but otherwise conservation of the timbers has not been attempted.

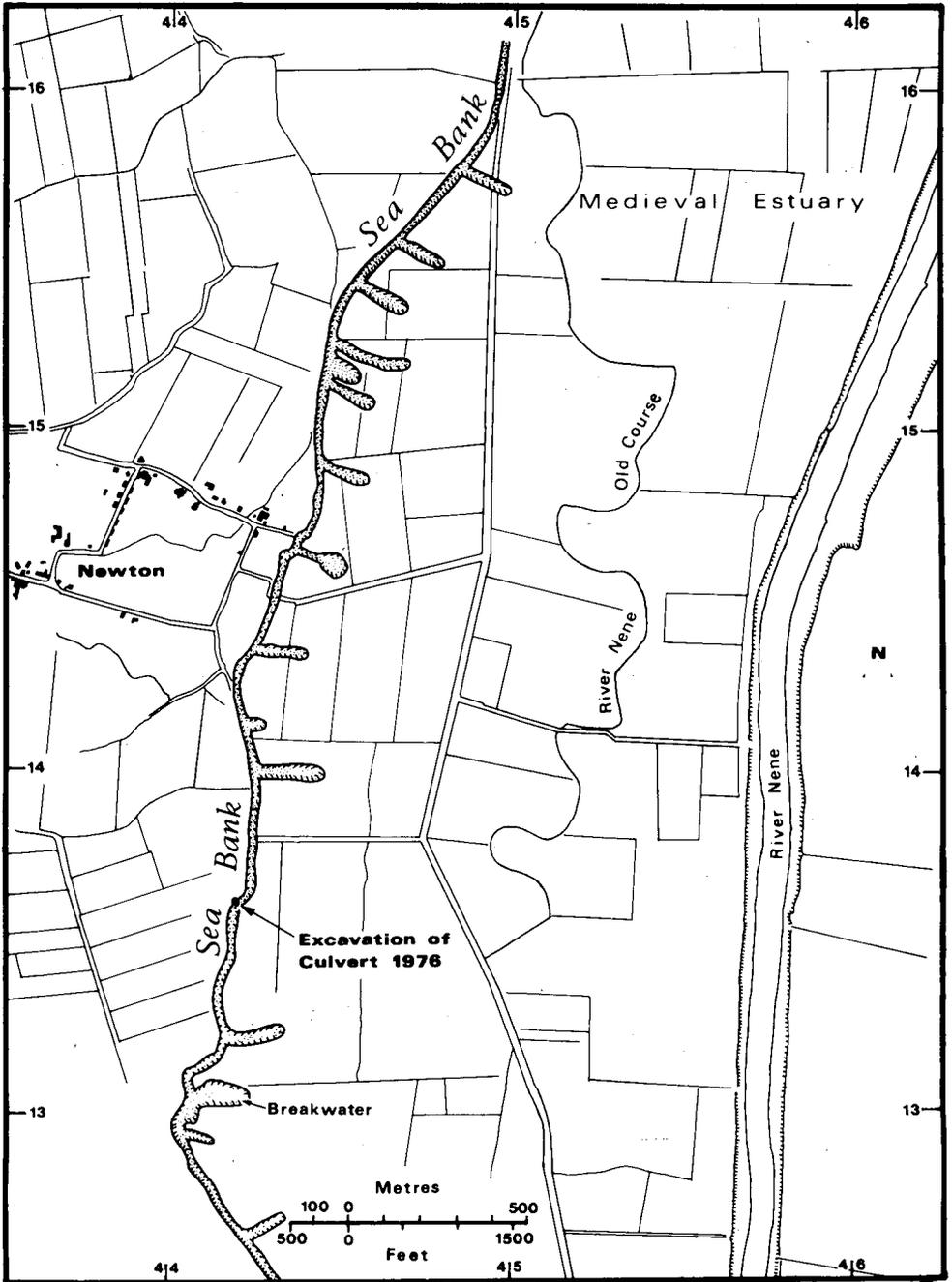


Fig. 2. The Sea Bank with breakwaters at Newton in the Isle.
(Drawn by B. Burk)

II. THE SEA BANK IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE

DAVID HALL

THE Cambridgeshire section of the Sea Bank was examined in the winter of 1976–7 as part of the fenland fieldwork programme on behalf of the Cambridgeshire Archaeological Committee.

One of the most interesting results of this work is the recognition that on the seaward side a series of ramparts spaced at two to three hundred metre intervals have been built up against the Bank (Fig. 2).

These ramparts are about the same height as the better preserved parts of the Sea Bank, but are generally wider. They are about thirty metres wide and from fifty to three hundred metres long (Fig. 2). Fifteen ramparts have been identified along the five km (three mile) stretch of the bank in Newton and Leverington parishes; they are clearly breakwaters built to reduce the force of high seas striking the Sea Bank and are likely to be part of the original construction. The breakwater interpretation is further strengthened by the strategic positioning of many ramparts and by their precise alignment to the Sea Bank, which is often at an angle of about 100° (measuring clockwise from the north). This would reduce the force of waves bearing from the north-east and deflect the water into the centre of the Nene estuary. The whole Sea Bank structure is a major earthwork raised against a threat from the sea.

The date of the Sea Bank has been the subject of some discussion. Such a major construction is likely to be Romano-British or later; no earlier population would have had an interest in protecting land on such a large scale. There is no ancient authority for the 'Roman' legend; this was created by the seventeenth century antiquarian, William Dugdale. Since the fens are known to have been relatively dry in Roman times, and the Wisbech region lies on the highest and driest deposits, a Roman date is unlikely. The work of Alison Taylor described in the previous article confirms a medieval construction with a date of A.D. 1250±40 years. In 1437 the Bank was ordered to be kept fifteen feet high and six feet wide at the top.¹

This season's fieldwork shows that the relatively high ground of the Wisbech silts, deposited during the Bronze Age, has been occupied by settlements since the Roman period. Newton was settled by 972, Leverington by 1130 and Tydd St. Giles by 1165.² Immediately around the villages the fields have a plentiful scatter of pottery sherds dating from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, deposited by manuring and demonstrating intensive and extensive medieval agriculture. There are documentary references to flooding at Leverington in 1251 and at other dates in the thirteenth century, indicating a serious threat to continued occupation of the villages. This threat was met by the construction of the Sea Bank and its breakwaters. As late as 1616 the Bank was stated to be 'for defending of the landes from the force and Rages of the sea'.³ The reality

of the threat can still be appreciated in that the soil deposited on the seaward side is between one and two metres higher than the original dry land on the west: the high tides must have been even higher.

The period of high seas in the thirteenth century can perhaps be equated with known climatic changes. There are frequent historical references to (outdoor) vineyards, with the obvious implication of a warmer climate than now. If this trend was worldwide the ice caps would partially melt, causing a concomitant rise in the sea levels. The Sea Bank and its breakwaters were important to a wider area than just the villages immediately adjacent to Wisbech. Had it not been built the sea would have spilled over the relatively high Wisbech silts, going into the freshwater fen as far as Peterborough and Cambridge. Indeed the islands of Thorney and Whittlesey would have been seriously flooded by a rise in water-level to about fifteen feet OD. Thus the Sea Bank must be seen as a major piece of medieval civil engineering which prevented the inundation of several million acres of the Great Level.

NOTES

1. *Victoria County Histories (Cambridgeshire)* IV, 201.
2. P. H. Reaney - *The Place-names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, English Place-name Society XIX (1943), pp. 271, 274 and 283.
3. Public Record Office, *Depositions* (1617).

EXCAVATIONS NEAR THE ROUND MOAT, FOWLMERE, CAMBRIDGESHIRE. TL444458

BRENDAN P. J. MURPHY

SUMMARY

IN advance of the construction of ninety-six houses in the centre of Fowlmere, a rescue excavation by the Cambridge Archaeological Committee on behalf of the Department of the Environment examined a large enclosure area. No definite structure was unearthed but the medieval pottery, whose diverse assortment was plentiful, provides a basic outline of a vernacular pottery tradition.

THE SITE

There are two moats in Fowlmere, a small square one and a very large, round, presumably defensive moat a hundred metres from the parish church of The Blessed Virgin. It was in the area between the larger moat and the church that the excavation was centred (Fig. 1).

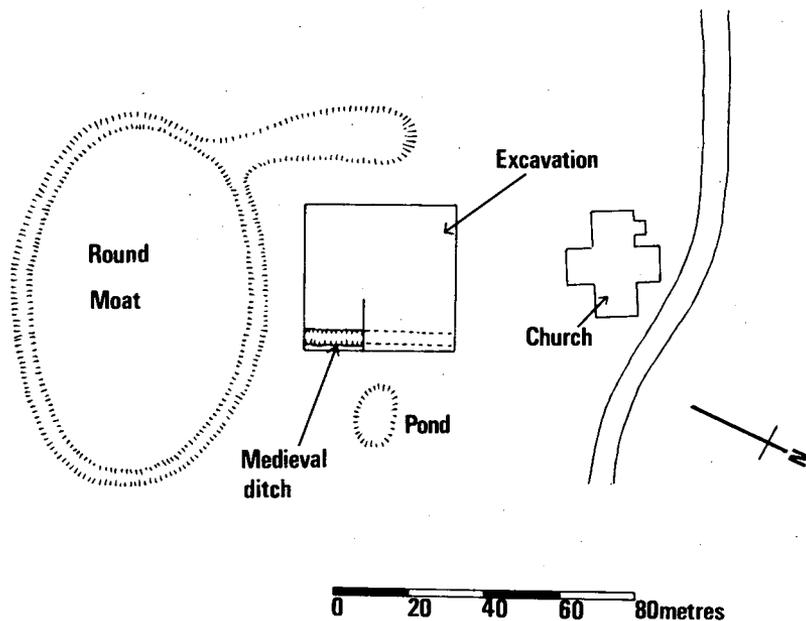


Fig. 1. Fowlmere. Site of excavation.

The enclosure, referred to in the Inclosure Award map of 1845 as 'Cassander's Close', has water on three sides; to the east a pond, to the west a forty-metre extension of the moat, and to the south the moat itself. An excavation in 1906 was undertaken by the 'Cambridge Antiquarian Society within the moat, (Rev. A. C. Yorke, P.C.A.S., 1906-9, vols 12, 13), and '... some small pieces of broken pottery; just enough to shew that they were possibly British,' were recorded.

The water table in the area is very close to the surface, and the soil is a springy clay overlying chalk and gravel deposits.

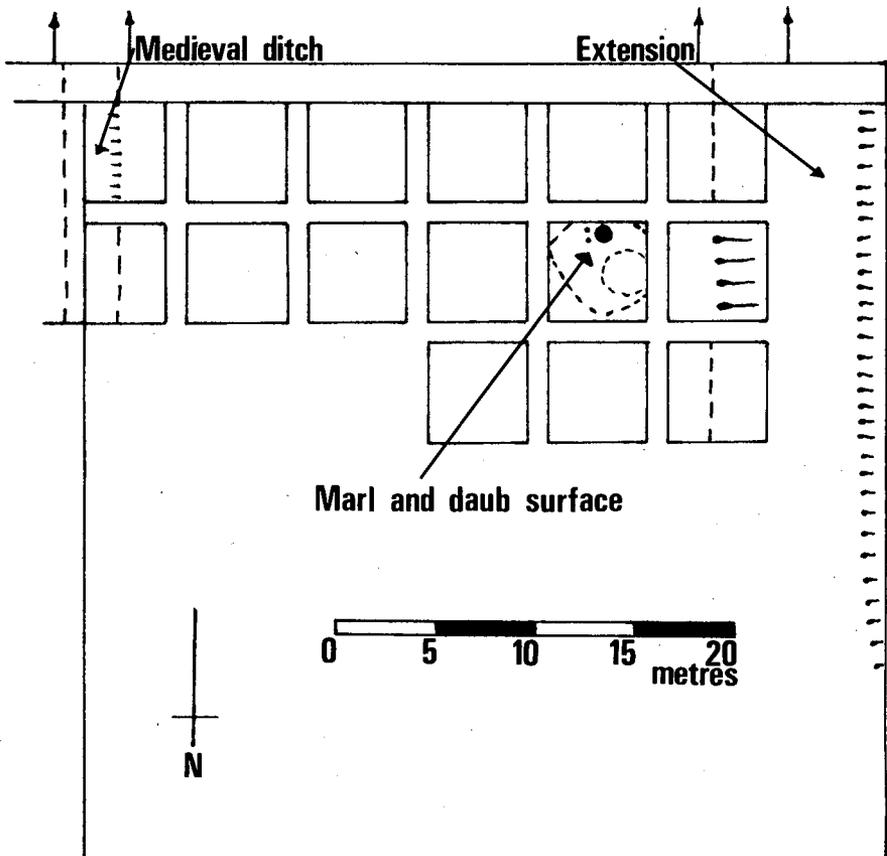


Fig. 2. Fowlmere. Plan of excavated area.

THE EXCAVATION

An area approximately 40 metres square was mechanically stripped of topsoil to within some 10 metres from the edge of the moat. Trowelling discovered a loose stony surface associated with medieval pottery of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The most noticeable find and striking feature here was the large quantity of snail shells which, with numerous fragments of sheep and cattle bone, were found to frequent a layer 20 centimetres thick. At the base of this layer, a dark almost black surface with charcoal flecks appeared, consisting of a very fine loamy soil containing small quantities of early medieval shelly wares, including a later form of St Neot's ware.

Over this dark soil a chalky marl surface was found, with some dark circular features. Subsequent sectioning revealed two stake holes 8 centimetres in diameter and 15 centimetres apart, slanting at an angle of 70 degrees from a larger feature 65 centimetres in diameter, and 40 centimetres deep. An extensive scatter of fired, or burnt clay, possibly daub, was evident around these features. The marl was on average 5 centimetres deep and covered an area approximately 3 metres by 5 metres. These features were very nebulous and only a tentative inspection could take place.

To the west of the enclosure the medieval infill is sealed by some 45 centimetres of a silty clay cap (Fig. 2), on the surface of which sherds of Staffordshire slipware and Delft were stratified. This may be interpreted as an effort in the seventeenth century either to widen the extension or revet the enclosure. On the east side, a ditch of uncertain original date runs parallel to the extension, and a recutting containing medieval pottery suggests contemporaneity with the enclosure's main period of use, (Fig. 3). Some Roman buff and grey ware bases together with a few potsherds of Samian ware were found in the lower areas, but their presence was probably residual.

In general there were few finds from the third century to the mid-twelfth century, and occupation ceases after the late fourteenth century with the exception of the western bank. The pottery (Fig. 3) found in the thick medieval layer suggests that the enclosure was continually in use during the second period, but whether it be a house platform or animal enclosure remains uncertain. The vast quantity of pottery, the coin, the buckle, the key, and weight (Fig. 4) would point to the former use, but because of the brief time allotted to the excavation neither was proven.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the property developers for permission to excavate on their land, to Dennis Mynard for assistance with the pottery, to Mr G. O. Vinter for his help on historical research, to Miss R. Luff and Miss S. Stallibrass, and to the Department of the Environment whose grant enabled the work to be undertaken.

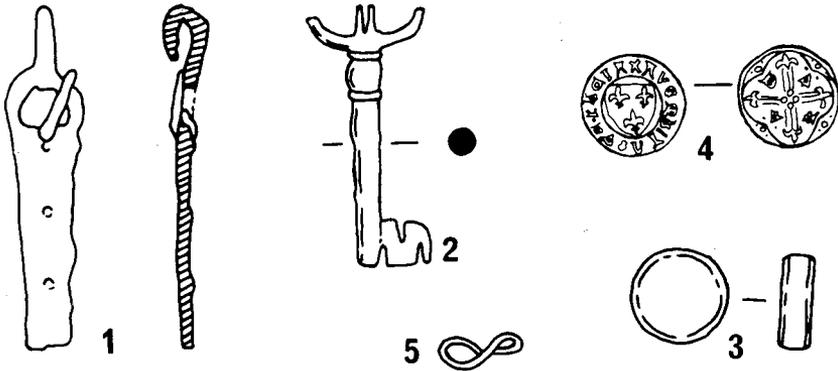


Fig. 3. Fowlmere. Small finds. Scale 1/2.

THE FINDS

The excavation at Fowlmere produced a number of small finds, all of which were stratified on the mediaeval surfaces (Fig. 3).

1. An iron buckle or clasp 90mm long 12mm wide and 3mm thick. Three rivets appear at 20mm intervals. The eye is 14mm diameter internally from the end of which protrudes a 15mm long hook.
2. An iron key 70mm long and 6mm in diameter.
3. An iron ounce weight 22mm in diameter and 9mm thick.
4. A French jetton, 27mm in diameter and 1mm thick, with Fleur de Lys motifs on both sides.
5. A bronze link from a small chain, 23mm long and 9mm wide.

THE POTTERY

The pottery has been divided into fabric types from the enclosure's main period of use.

Of the 17lbs. 12 oz. of mediaeval pottery, the oxidized/reduced ratio was 42.4% and 57.6% respectively, and the shelly ware comprised 7% of the total.

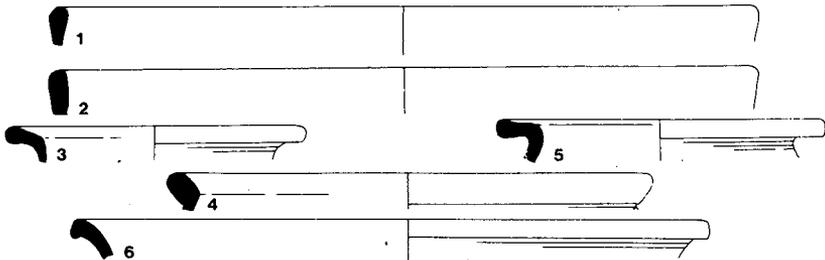


Fig. 4. Fowlmere. Medieval Shelly wares. Scale 1/4.

Early Medieval Shelly Ware

11th–12th century. (Fig. 4)

A fine shelly ware with smooth surfaces, light to dark grey brown in colour.

1. Rim of bowl. Diam. 38cms.
2. Similar rim but thickened internally. Diam. 38cms.
3. Everted rim of cooking pot, very dark almost black. Diam. 16cms.
4. Cooking pot rim, light buff brown. Diam. 26cms.
5. Similar cooking pot rim to no. 3, but lighter with red undertones. Diam. 17.5cms.

Late Medieval Shelly Ware

13th–14th century. (Fig. 4)

A hard-fired shelly ware with lime-stone and shell grits; tempering is sparser than above.

6. Rolled-over rim of bowl, rougher texture than those above. Diam. 36 cms.

Medieval Sandy Wares.

(Fig. 5)

Coarse Sandy 11th–12th century.

7. Very thick rim of cooking pot. Diam. 28 cms.
8. Similar but smaller rim and slightly lighter in colour externally. Diam. 28cms.
9. Rim from cooking pot more rounded than above. Diam. 26cms.
10. Rim of jug, coarse pink surface with grey core. Diam. 14cms.

Medium Grey Sandy Ware

13th century

Hard-fired smooth textured ware.

11. Rim of large bowl, thickened internally. Diam. 40cms.
12. Rim of cooking pot, off white. Diam. 18cms.
13. Cooking pot rim. Diam. 34 cms.
14. Rim of bowl, finer texture than no. 11. Diam. 30cms.
15. Cooking pot rim, blackened externally. Diam. 14cms.
16. Cooking pot rim with a slight internal groove. Diam. 32cms.
17. Rolled over rim of cooking pot. Diam. 20cms.
18. Rim of cooking pot. Diam. 28cms.
19. Rim of cooking pot blackened externally. Diam. 14cms.
20. Cooking pot rim with a deep groove around the head. Diam. 24cms.
21. Square-headed rim of cooking pot, thumb designs on the outside of the rim are widely spaced and spasmodic in application. Diam. 20cms.
22. Wall sherd with thumb impressions running horizontally.
23. Wall sherd with applied thumb strip, heavily blackened externally.
24. Wall sherd with circular grooved patterns.
25. Rim of cooking pot. Diam. 22cms.
26. Cooking pot rim with a pink internal surface, grey core. Diam. 25cms.
27. Similar slightly larger rim, with deeply cut lines externally under the rim. Diam. 26cms.
28. Large bowl rim thickened internally, very dark surface. Diam. 14.5cms.
29. Rim of cooking pot, similar to no. 25. Diam. 26cms.
30. Hard fired rim of cooking pot, buff grey. Diam. 24cms.
31. Slightly oxidized base of strap handle with grey core.

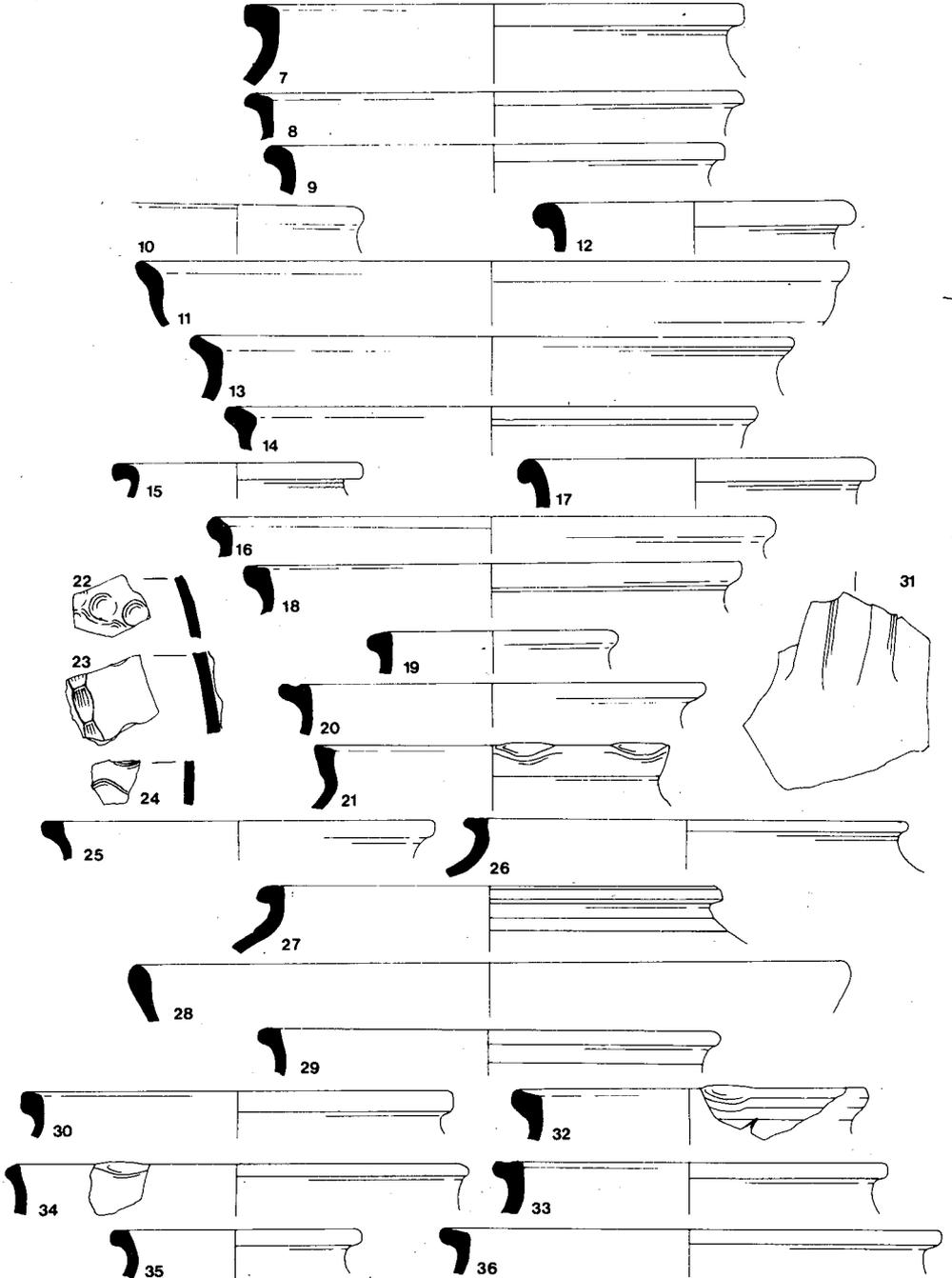


Fig. 5. Fowlmere. Medieval Sandy wares. Scale 1/4.

32. Cooking pot with thumb impressions on the outer rim; the under side of the rim has been stabbed. Diam. 20cms.
 33. Rim of cooking pot with an internal groove. Diam. 22cms.
 34. Cooking pot rim with thumbing internally. Diam. 36cms.
 35. Rim of cooking pot, similar to nos. 25 and 29. Diam. 14cms.
 36. Thin flanged rim of cooking pot. Diam. 36cms.
 37. Jug rim, finer texture than those above. Diam. 15cms. (Not illustrated).

Medieval Glazed Wares

13th–14th century. (Fig. 6)

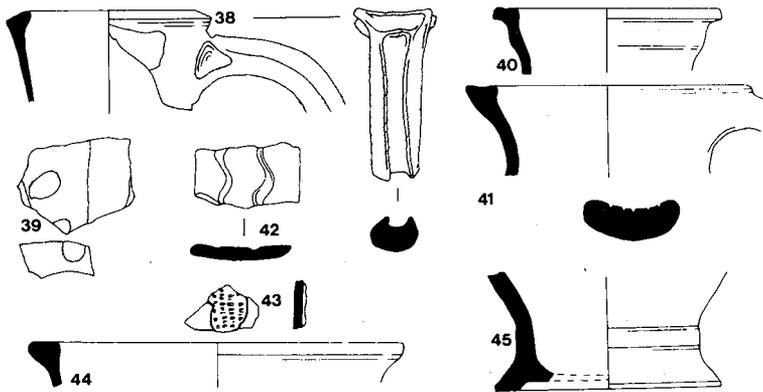


Fig. 6. Fowlmere. Medieval Glazed wares. Scale 1/4.

Orange Glazed Ware

38. Pointed rim and rod handle of small jug. A white slip trail over the smooth fabric runs horizontally around the underside of the rim. The handle has a deep vertical groove. Diam. 11cms.
 39. Two wall sherds from the above jug. The slip trails here run vertically with spots between the strips.
 40. Rim of jug with iron-spotted decoration in the glaze. Diam. 12cms.
 41. Jug rim with slashed strap handle. Diam. 12cms.
 42. Part of strap handle with incised wavy line decoration running vertically.
 43. Wall sherd from jug with rouletted applied stamp.
 44. Rim of bowl with slight traces of glaze externally. Diam. 20cms.

Green Glazed Ware

45. Raised flat base of jug, medium grey fabric with olive green glaze. Diam. 12cms.
 A few wall sherds of buff brown fabric with slightly grey core bearing a green glaze over white slip trails were also found. This is not Lyveden ware, though their similarities may indicate a comparable decorating technique in use in Cambridgeshire during the same period.

BONE REPORT

R. LUFF *and* S. STALLIBRASS

THE bone has been considered in four chronological groups, in accordance with the associated pottery finds: medieval, seventeenth century, disturbed, and undated. The fragments have then been allocated to one of three types: first class joints (thorax and upper limbs), second class joints (head and lower limbs), and loose teeth. They have been separated into adult and juvenile; no remains of newborn animals were found.

All the possible food-providing species show a slight bias towards fragments from second class joints with the exceptions of roe deer (one first class and one second class fragment) and horse/pony. The horse/pony remains consist of three phalanges, four metapodials and two teeth, all of which may represent two or three animals from the medieval period and one from the seventeenth century. Their social/economic functions cannot be inferred from such scanty evidence and there are no associated finds such as horseshoes or harness fittings/decorations. The total sample of bone from the site is very small and therefore the bias towards non-meaty (second class) joints may be due to factors such as soil acidity: this was quite high and likely to destroy ribs and vertebrae rather than metapodials, teeth etc. An hypothesis that the site was used for slaughtering rather than consumption may be put forward only tentatively. Very few juvenile animals were represented: one medieval calf, a young sheep/goat from the seventeenth century and a young pig whose remains were found in a disturbed context. This paucity may reflect a form of husbandry in which animals were kept until they were fully-grown when they could provide a continual supply of wool/milk/traction or at least a larger amount of meat and hide.

Horse/pony, cow, pig and sheep/goat are all represented in both medieval and seventeenth century contexts, sheep/goat being slightly more common than any other species in both periods. Roe, deer and rat were only found in medieval contexts and dog in medieval and disturbed. The one cat bone was associated with seventeenth century pottery.

Table of the Distribution of Bone Fragments

Species	Total no. frags.	1st class joints		2nd class joints		Loose teeth	Minimum no. animals		
		A	J	A	J		A	J	
MEDIEVAL									
Horse	5			3		2	1		
Pony	3			3			1 (or 2)*		
Cow	24	9		12	2	1	1	1	
Roe deer	2	1		1			1		
Pig	8	2		2		4	1		
Sheep/goat	26	8		13		5	3		
Dog	2			2			1		
Chicken	1	1					1		
Rat	5						1		
	<hr/> 76	<hr/> 21		<hr/> 36	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 12	<hr/> 11(12)	<hr/> 1	
17th CENTURY									
Horse	1			1			1		
Cow	2	1		1			1		
Pig	5			1		4	1		
Sheep/goat	6	2			2	2	1	1	
Cat	1	1					1		
Cockerel	1	1					1		
	<hr/> 16	<hr/> 5		<hr/> 3	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 6	<hr/> 6	<hr/> 1	
DISTURBED									
Cow	1					1	1		
Pig	1				1			1	
Sheep/goat	7	2		3		2	1 (or 2)*		
Dog	45	from one incomplete inhumation						1	
	<hr/> 54	<hr/> 2		<hr/> 3	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 3	<hr/> 3(4)	<hr/> 1	
UNDATED									
Cow	3	1		1		1	1		
Sheep/goat	1					1	1		
	<hr/> 4	<hr/> 1		<hr/> 1		<hr/> 2	<hr/> 2		

A—Adult.

J—Juvenile.



EXCAVATIONS AT HORNINGSEA, 1977

H. C. MYTUM

INTRODUCTION

HORNINGSEA lies four miles north-east of Cambridge, to the east of the river Cam. The area had been much disturbed by coprolite digging, but in a field south of Eye Hall Farm a series of earthworks survived (TL 498636). The archaeological potential of the field has long been recognised, and two previous excavations have taken place there. In 1901 T. McKenny Hughes discovered an 18th-century brick well and trenched the large circular feature in the south-western part of the field, finding within it bones and Roman pottery.¹ Excavation again took place in 1911 when F. G. Walker uncovered a rectangular building made of nodules of flint held together by mortar. No finds were mentioned or illustrated in the text relating to this structure, but on the basis of its form it was assumed to be Roman.² A plan of the building appeared in the final report. The earthworks were subsequently mapped by the R.C.H.M. and amended by D. Hall immediately prior to the most recent excavations.³

When it was discovered that the earthworks were to be levelled, a trial excavation was arranged. The building examined in 1911 was still visible through the turf and it was to be re-excavated and its relationship to the surrounding earthworks ascertained. The work was carried out by the Cambridge University Archaeological Field Club in February 1977.

The Excavation

Three trenches were opened to expose the building investigated in 1911 and to section the adjacent earthworks. The only evidence of the previous excavations was inside the building to the west where disturbed soil reached below the topsoil and may have been where the previous excavators had dug to some depth (Fig. 1).

The building was shown to have been made of mortar with many flint nodules. Most surfaces of the walls were smooth, although the outer surface of the west wall showed some marks which could be interpreted as impressions left by shuttering used in its construction. Both the external and internal corners of the building were rounded, unlike those in the drawing of 1911, and the north wall was almost completely absent. Moreover, it was clear that this wall had never been present because the construction layer extended over the area where the wall should have lain. If the wall had been later removed, a robber trench should have been visible and this was not the case. The pottery from the

construction layer has been dated to the 18th century but unfortunately these were only body sherds and a fragment of clay pipe stem, and so could not be illustrated.

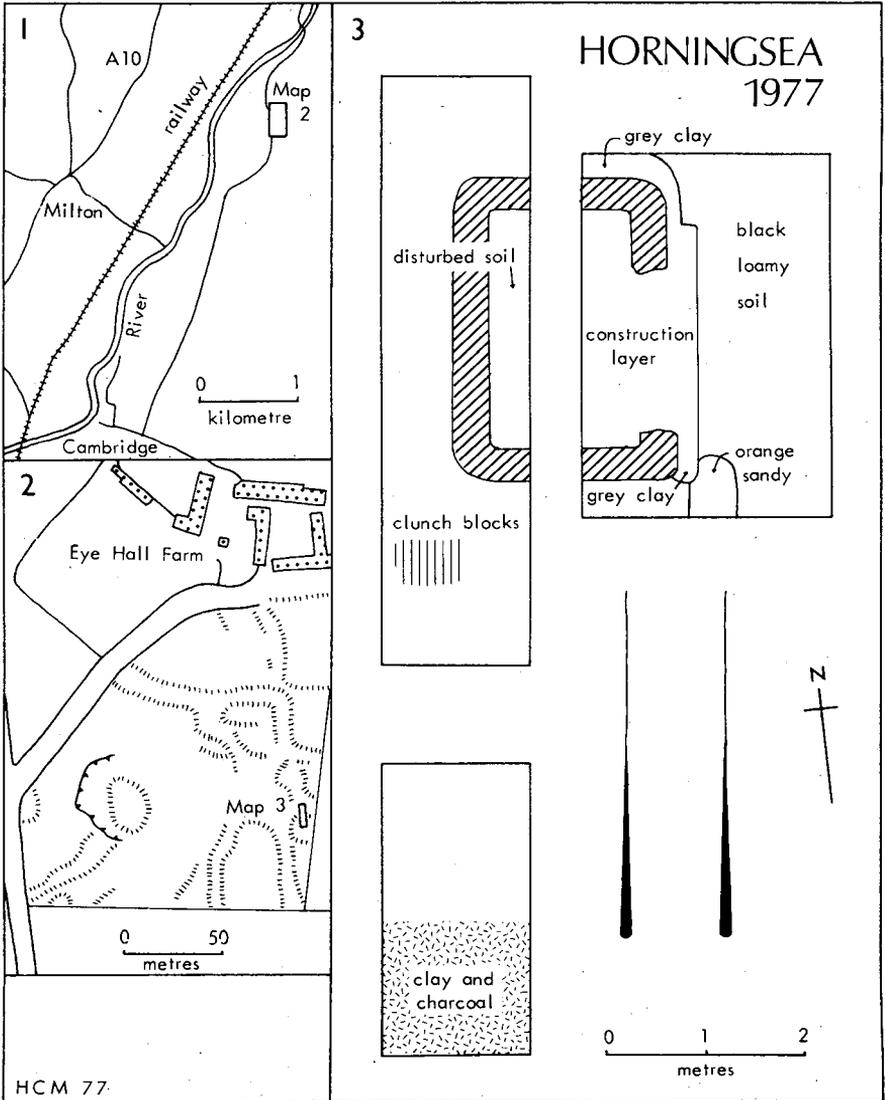


Fig. 1. Horningsea excavations, 1977.

The building seems to have been made by pouring mortar and flints into a frame with wood bent around it—hence the curved corners. A construction trench, full of grey-white clay, was visible on parts of the outer eastern and northern sides, but not on the west and south. Within the building was the construction layer of sandy soil with mortar, clay and flints. The foundations of the structure rested on the natural subsoil of orange pebbly clay, 40cm below the present ground surface. The superstructure of the building is totally unknown. The large opening on the eastern side, and the small size of the structure, suggest no obvious purpose. It bears no relationship in its siting to the surrounding earthworks. Date of demolition is not known but the building is not marked on a map of 1885 showing the Eye Hall Farm estate prior to its auction.

Outside the building to the east were found sherds of 13th-14th century date (Fig. 2, nos. 7-9), not in association with any structures, but in black loamy soil stratigraphically earlier than the building. The earthworks to the south produced a layer of mixed charcoal and clay on the flat top of the toft. A few medieval body sherds were recovered together with a fragment of daub and an iron knife (no. 12). In the loam beneath were found further medieval sherds, including one with specks of green glaze, and nos. 10, 11. At the foot of the slope were found a number of clunch blocks, some faced, which may have formed a revetment wall, running east-west along the northern side of a medieval house toft. The blocks were beneath a spread of small clunch fragments. This could be interpreted as a destruction layer, and may date the desertion of the toft to the 16th-17th century on the basis of the pottery within it (nos. 1-5).

There was little residual Roman pottery from the excavated area and it is likely that most of the earthworks were of medieval date. When the site was levelled, much Roman pottery and evidence of kilns could be seen, although confined to the circular earthwork in the south-west part of the field, previously examined by T. McKenny Hughes. Therefore the assumption that the other earthworks may be part of a deserted medieval village can still be upheld.

The Finds

1. Hard orange fabric with blue-grey core. Thick shiny dark green glaze. Late 16th-early 17th century. Debris above clunch blocks.
2. Hard fabric with orange surface and blue-grey core. Debris above clunch blocks.
3. Orange-pink surface and grey core. Some white grits. Debris above clunch blocks.
4. Rhēnish stoneware with blotches of pale green glaze. 16th century. Debris above clunch blocks.
5. Hard pale grey fabric. Debris above clunch blocks.

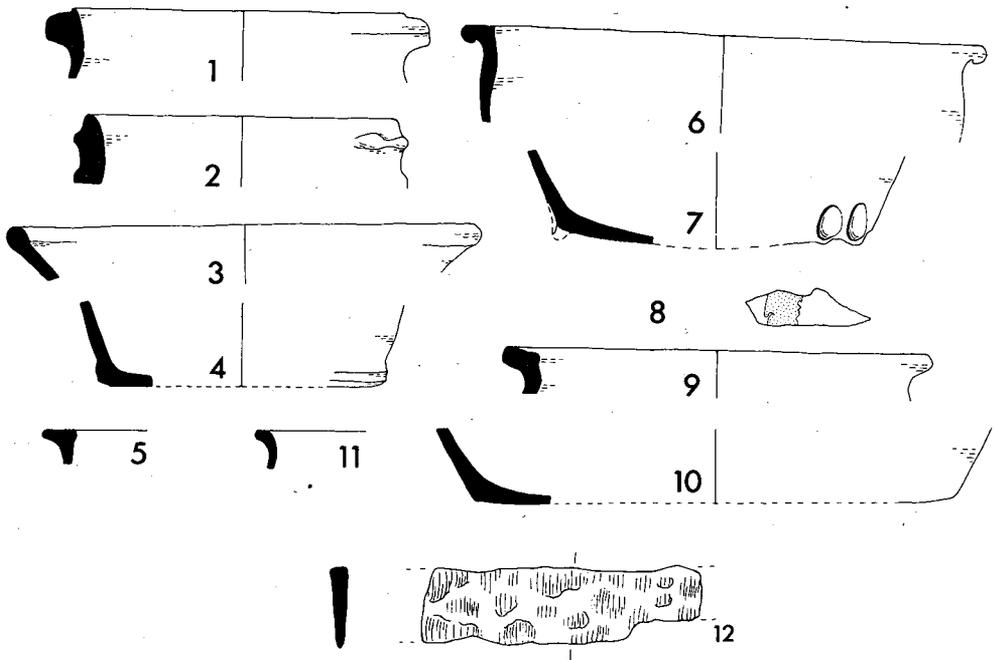


Fig. 2. Horningsea. Pottery (scale 1/4): 1-5 Sixteenth-seventeenth century; 6-11 Medieval. 12 Iron knife (scale 1/2).

6. Hard grey fabric with fine white grit and pinkish surface. Blotchy green glaze on inside. Topsoil.
7. Hard red fabric with a pair of thumb impressions. 14th century. Black loamy soil.
8. Hard grey sandy fabric. Dark green glaze with a stripe of dark brown glaze. 14th century. Black loamy soil.
9. Light grey fabric. Black loamy soil.
10. Hard grey-black fabric with some micaceous grains. Beneath spread of clay and charcoal.
11. Hard grey-black fabric with some micaceous grains. Beneath spread of clay and charcoal.
12. Iron knife with tang. Broken at both ends. Spread of clay and charcoal.

SUMMARY

Excavation revealed a medieval house toft, possibly revetted by dressed clunch blocks. After desertion, a rectangular flint and mortar building with rounded corners and a large eastern doorway was constructed on the site, in no way related to the earlier earthworks. The building was securely dated to the 18th century, and was not Roman as previously stated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The owner of Eye Hall Farm, Mr Gingell, kindly gave permission to excavate. Miss Taylor and Mr Hall, both of the Cambridgeshire Archaeological Committee, helped organise the excavation. The Faculty of Archaeology lent the tools and Dr Alexander allowed the use of his van for transport. Special thanks to all who helped on the excavation: Messrs Burkill, Buxton, Newman and Richards, and Miss Johnson and Mrs Putnam. Mr Gorman carried out the surveying and photography, and Miss Bird dealt with the finds. The drawings of the pottery and iron knife were prepared by Miss U. Mytum. Miss Cra'ster kindly helped with the dating of the pottery. The finds and records have been deposited in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Downing Street, Cambridge.

NOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

1. *Proc.C.A.S.* X (1903), 188-194.
2. *Proc.C.A.S.* XVII (1913), 15-16.
3. *R.C.H.M.* (Eng.), *North-East Cambridgeshire* (1972), 73.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE EARTHWORK SURVEYS, II

A. E. BROWN *and* C. C. TAYLOR

THIS paper continues the work published by one of the present writers in these Proceedings some years ago.¹ The surveys have been carried out by students attending various field archaeological courses organised by the Department of Adult Education, Leicester University, London University Extra-Mural Department and the Cambridge University Extra Mural Board.

Leighton Bromswold: Manor House, Garden and Village Remains (TL 117753: Fig. 1)

The remains of Leighton Bromswold Manor House lie at the south-east end of the main street of the village on Boulder Clay at 200 feet above O.D. The site has already been described on at least three occasions but, as there is still some doubt about its true function and history, it has been re-examined.

The first account of the earthworks was that by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in 1926.² At that time the Commission's main interest was the fine moated gatehouse which survived on the north-west side of the site. This is a remarkable brick structure, built by Sir Gervaise Clifton in 1616 as the entrance to a new house. The Commission suggested that this house was in fact never built. The earthworks which lie to the south-east, together with the moat around the gatehouse, were correctly interpreted as part of a former garden, but no date was assigned to them.

Ten years later a more detailed history of the site was published.³ The Victoria County History showed that the Manor of Leighton passed to Clifton in 1616 and that it was he who not only erected the gatehouse, but also constructed the embanked garden. However the V.C.H. could not be sure that the house which was intended to lie within this garden was ever built. Though a house is shown as standing there on a map of the village of around 1680, the V.C.H. suggested that this was perhaps an imaginative reconstruction. This, in spite of the local tradition that a house had existed and was not demolished until 1750. A plan of the intended house survives and was published by the V.C.H. It was drawn about 1605 by John Thorpe who probably carried out the original design for Clifton. The plan shows the gatehouse, as it was built, with the house to the south-east of it, standing on one side of a large walled court.

The site was again described in 1958.⁴ There the earthworks were confidently interpreted as part of a medieval castle. This suggestion can be safely ignored. There is no doubt that the remains are those of an early seventeenth-century formal garden and that they were constructed with the intention of forming a

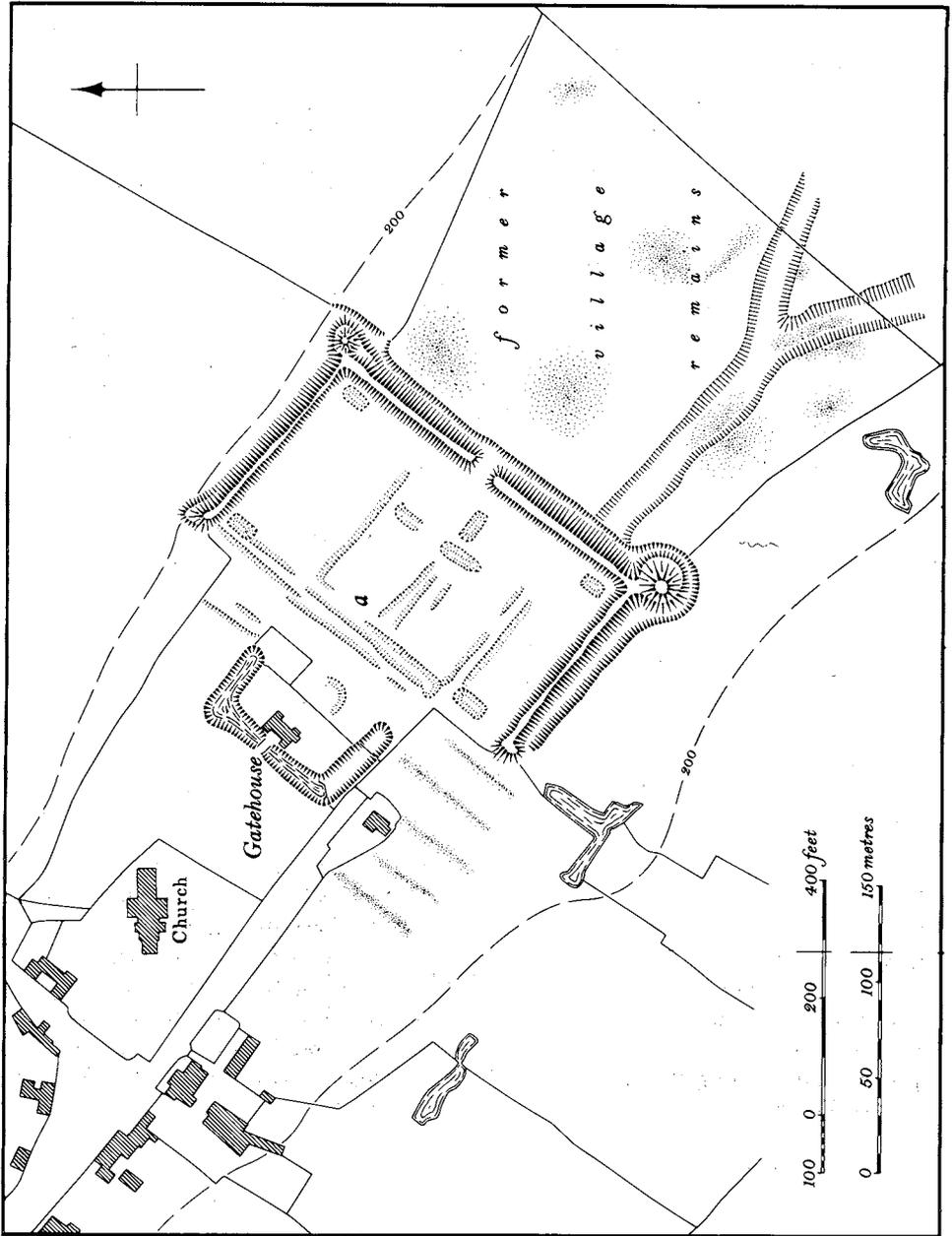


Fig. 1. Leighton Bromswold: Manor House, Gardens and Village Remains.

back-cloth to Clifton's new house. The only problem is whether or not the house was ever built.

The present writers have no doubt that it was. The evidence that the V.C.H. gave, and then rejected, of the 1680 map and the local tradition is convincing and much more so when the map itself is examined carefully. The house depicted there is not an imaginative sketch but the carefully drawn elevation of a building which agrees exactly with the 1605 architect's plan. It is hardly likely that the 1680 cartographer had access to the earlier plan.

The new survey, published here, proves conclusively that the house was built. It has revealed that within the garden area is a series of extremely slight earthworks. These fall into two parts. On the north-west side of the garden is a strip of ground, bounded by low scarps, 76 metres long, 20 metres across and 50 metres from the gatehouse (a. on Fig. 1). The 1605 plan of the house shows it to have been 73 metres overall, 20 metres wide and 50 metres from the gatehouse. The close correlation between the scarps on the ground and the dimensions of the intended house indicates that the former are the disturbed remains of the house foundations. The second group of slight earthworks consists of a number of low banks and depressions of markedly rectangular form to the south-east of the house site. These appear to be the remains of the contemporary footpaths within the garden. In addition four shallow ponds, one in each corner of the garden, have been recorded.

Thus the whole site can now be seen as a fine example of the remains of a sophisticated house and garden of the early seventeenth century, the latter bounded by a high terraced walk with prospect mounds at the outer corners. Though many gardens of this date exist, the closest parallel, though on a smaller scale, is that at Childerley, Cambridgeshire, which is also of the early seventeenth century.⁵

To the south-east and west of the garden, and now almost completely destroyed by modern cultivation, are the settlement remains which were formerly part of Leighton Bromswold village. All that now exists is a much damaged holloway extending south-east from the garden with considerable areas of stone, as well as medieval pottery, on either side of it, while to the west is a series of ploughed out parallel banks. These remains were noted by both the Royal Commission in 1926 and by Beresford and St Joseph in 1958. However, neither of these authorities apparently recognised that the holloway is the former continuation of the existing village street along which houses had stood in the medieval period. Judging from the pottery, these houses had already been abandoned long before the seventeenth-century house and garden were constructed over their remains.

Before the modern destruction, the area north of the holloway was occupied by large earthen mounds and irregular pits. Though these have now gone, large quantities of narrow red bricks, including many wasters, cover the ground.

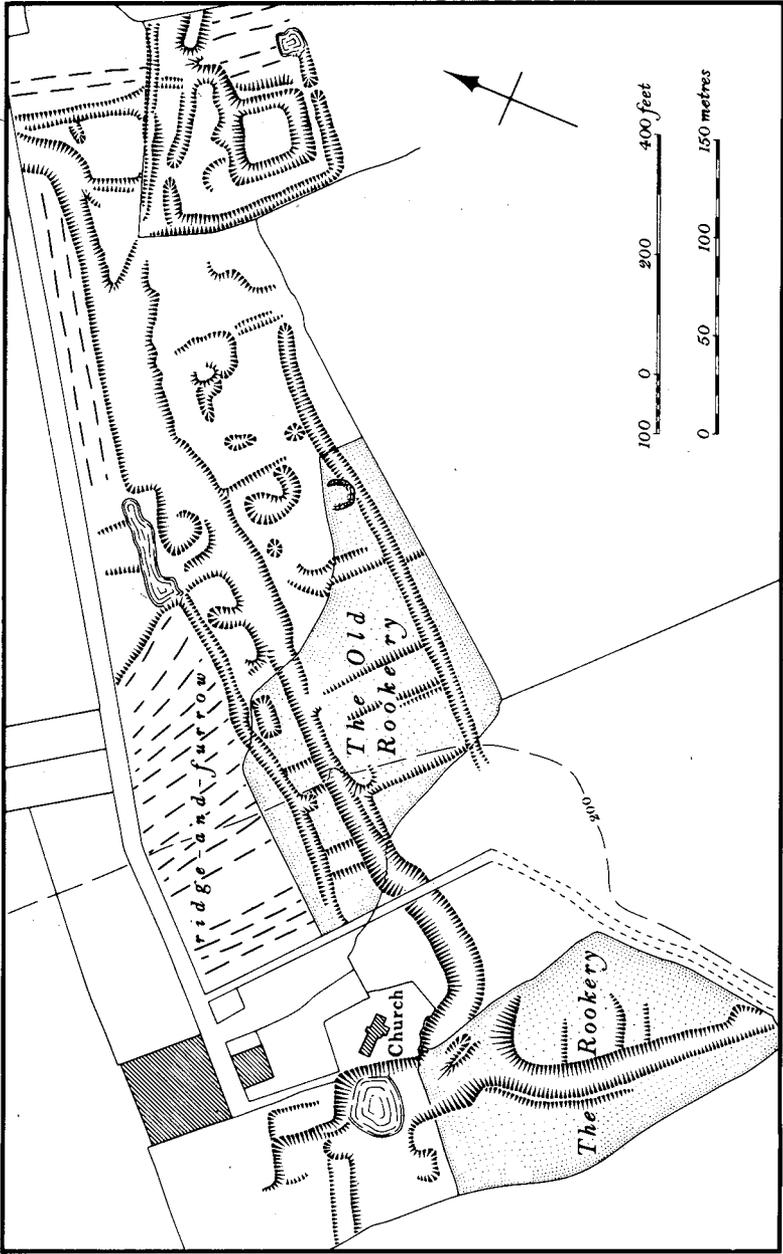


Fig. 2. Little Gidding: Deserted Village.

These are identical to the bricks used in the standing gatehouse. Thus the mounds and pits were probably the site of a brick-making plant, set up to produce the building materials for the new house.

Little Gidding: Deserted Village (TL 128818: Fig. 2)

The deserted village of Little Gidding lies south and north-east of the almost isolated church on Boulder Clay at 200 feet above O.D. Little Gidding is not recorded separately in Domesday Book but is probably included under the entry for Great Gidding.⁶ The Hundred Rolls of 1279 record 31 households in the village, but by 1377 only 18 people over the age of 14 paid the Poll Tax. This suggests that the village had declined in size between these two dates. By 1566 only six houses remained there and soon afterwards the common fields were enclosed and these houses demolished. This was probably undertaken by the then Lord of the Manor, Humphrey Drewell. In 1594 only one farm and the church still stood. Though by 1801 as many as 47 people lived in the parish, most of these were occupying outlying farms, and the village remained abandoned.⁷

The earthworks of the former village are in poor condition and the best preserved parts are those within the two woods known as The Rookery and The Old Rookery. The main feature of the site is a broad holloway, presumably once the main street, which crosses the area from north-east to south-west. To the north-east of the Old Rookery the holloway is very irregular and exceptionally wide, largely as a result of later quarrying within it and alongside it. Flanking it are other pits and quarries, but on its south side are traces of two large rectangular closes bounded by low scarps and shallow ditches.

Within the Old Rookery the holloway is undamaged, up to 1.5 metres deep, with small closes separated by low banks on either side of it. The closes are bounded on the north and south by shallow ditches. As ridge-and-furrow still exists to the north, these ditches probably mark the boundary of the village here. Beyond the wood the holloway continues, though much damaged by modern tracks. It passes to the south of the church and enters Rookery Wood. Here the original road probably bifurcated, for another holloway extends up through the wood as far as its southern corner where it meets the present track to Steeple Gidding. The main holloway seems to have continued to the south-west of the church, but a modern pond and later disturbances have obscured it.

At the extreme north-east end of the village is a small moated site, presumably the site of the medieval manor house. It consists of a small, almost square island surrounded by a broad ditch up to 1.5 metres deep, with the remains of an outer ditched enclosure to the north, west and south. To the east of the moat, ridge-and-furrow has been cut through by a ditch which drains the moat on the north, and by the ditch of the outer enclosure to the south. This suggests that the moat was constructed on land which had formerly been under cultivation.

Steeple Gidding: Village Remains, Manor House Site and Gardens (TL 134813: Fig. 3)

The land around the church and the few remaining houses of Steeple Gidding is covered by earthworks of various types. These lie on a hilltop and along a small valley, on Boulder Clay, between 150 feet and 200 feet above O.D.

The village of Steeple Gidding was held throughout the medieval period by Ramsey Abbey. In 1086 the recorded population was 18.⁸ By 1279 some 34 households existed there, while in 1377 some 20 people over the age of fourteen paid the Poll Tax. These figures suggest that the population of the village rose after 1086 and then declined before 1377.⁹ On a map of the village of 1648 (in the Huntingdon Record Office) about 15 houses are shown lying along the existing single street. The enclosure of the common fields of the parish took place in 1655 (map in Huntingdon Record Office) though whether this had any effect on the size of the village is not known. By 1801 there were 71 people in the parish though as some of these were living in outlying farmsteads, the village itself was probably smaller than it had ever been. This is confirmed by the Tithe Map of 1843 which shows only five houses left in the village. Later in the nineteenth century two new houses were built there and a row of eight cottages erected south of the church. The latter were abandoned and pulled down in recent years.

Though all the extant earthworks have been ascribed to village desertion, the survey published here shows that only part of them can be interpreted as such. The remains fall into three parts. To the north-east of the church is a series of rectangular enclosures (a. on Fig. 3), bounded by shallow ditches, and much damaged by later activity. None appear to contain house sites and all are probably in part the former closes behind the houses which lay along the main street and which are shown on the 1648 map. To the south-east of the church is an area of much disturbed earthworks (b. on Fig. 3), cut into by later trackways and difficult to interpret. However they have a generally rectangular form with scarps up to 1.5 metres high. They may represent the positions of former houses and closes which had already been abandoned by 1648. By that time the land on which they stood had become part of the manorial yard.

To the north-east (c. on Fig. 3), and now ploughed, is an area of slight earthworks lying along the south side of the village street and associated with dense scatters of stone rubble and medieval pottery of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. No buildings stood here in 1648. Immediately to the south-west (d. on Fig. 3) are the remains of a small moated site. It consists of a rectangular enclosure, level with the adjacent ground, and surrounded by a shallow ditch only 0.5 metres deep. The ditch has been damaged by later activity. The site is perhaps that of the medieval manor house.

Due south of the church is a large level platform (e. on Fig. 3) built out into the valley and bounded on the east by a massive scarp 2.5 metres high. At the

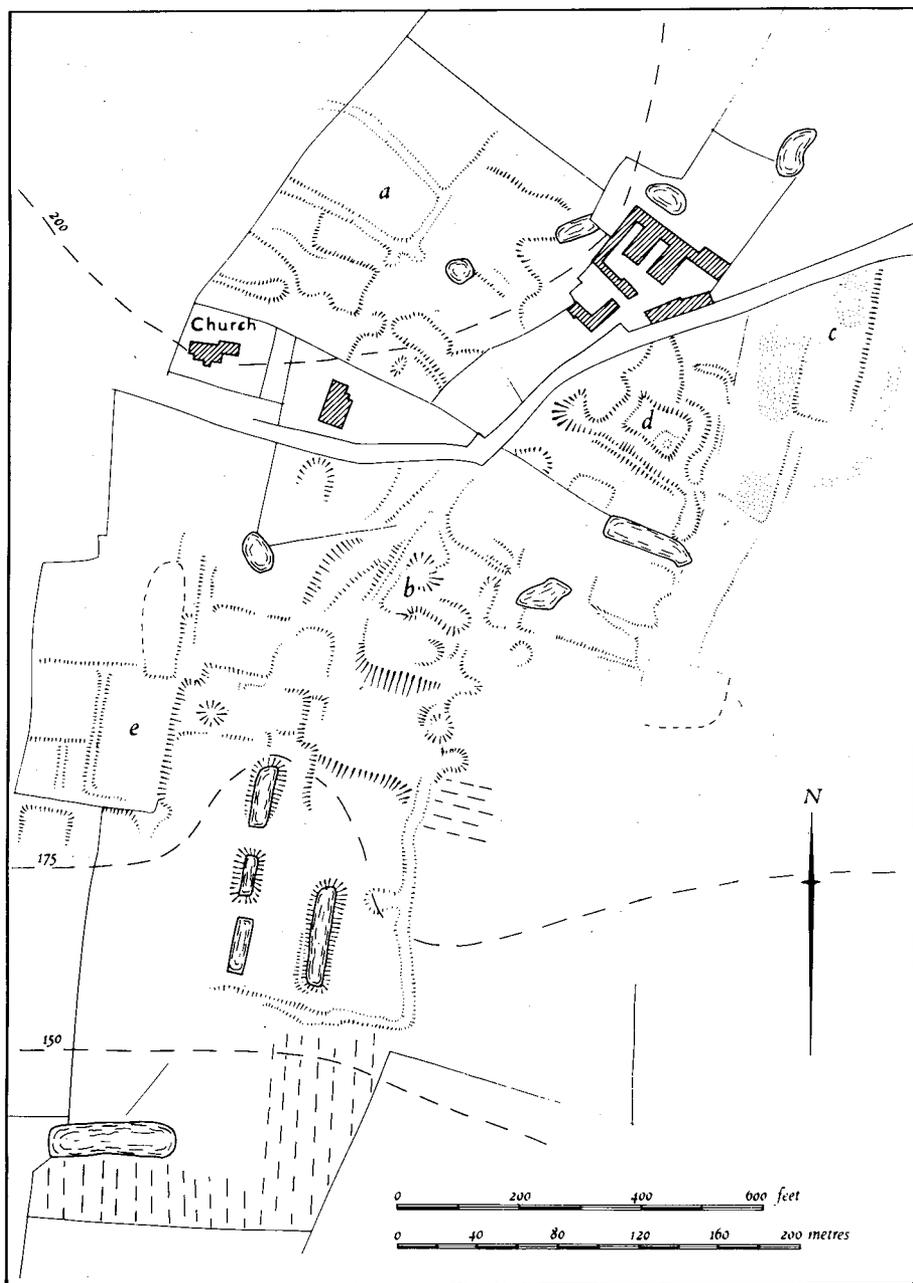


Fig. 3. Steeple Gidding: Village Remains, Manor House Site and Gardens.

north-east corner of this platform are the remains of the demolished range of nineteenth-century cottages. South-west of these the platform is crossed by a low bank or ridge and other scarps. In 1648 a large building stood here in an area which was then called The Orchard. The plan at this point is inscribed 'scite of Howse'. It thus appears that a major house had once stood here which was presumably ruinous by 1648. Below the platform to the east is a group of small rectangular depressions cut back into the hill slope and bounded by low scarps. The platform and these scarped areas appear to be the remains of a formal garden.

This type of garden layout is unlikely to be of medieval date, and its form suggests that it belongs to the late sixteenth or seventeenth century. When the manor of Steeple Gidding passed into the hands of the Crown at the Dissolution it was leased to the existing monastic tenants, a family called Boton, until 1590 when it was granted to the Cotton family. However, the Cottons seem to have had little direct interest in the manor until 1648 when it passed to Sir Thomas Cotton who was apparently responsible for the contemporary map and the subsequent enclosure of the common fields of the parish. A branch of the Cotton family appears to have taken up residence there and Sir Robert Cotton was buried at Steeple Gidding in 1679. Presumably the old house was rebuilt or a new one erected soon after 1648 and the formal gardens laid out around it. Subsequently the Cottons left Steeple Gidding, probably about 1752, when Sir John Cotton, the last of this side of the family, died. What remained of the house was converted into the parish workhouse in 1794.¹⁰

Below and to the south-east of the gardens, in the valley bottom, are three large rectangular ponds with another set into the opposite valley side and a fifth on flat ground to the south. These have been much altered in recent times but still retain the general form that they had when the first large-scale O.S. map was made of the area in the late nineteenth century. They have been described as medieval fish ponds but they are not shown on the 1648 plan and thus are presumably later. The most likely explanation is that they too are part of the seventeenth-century gardens.

Keyston: Site of Manor House (TL 045754: Fig. 4)

The site of the former manor house stands on the side of a small valley, 200 metres south east of the church at 170 feet above O.D. The manor of Keyston was acquired by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, in the middle of the sixteenth century. By 1589 it was held by Robert, Earl of Essex, who in that year was forced to sell it in order to pay his debts to the Crown. The manor was regarded as having been returned to Queen Elizabeth, and the Crown continued to hold it until 1614 when it was granted by James I to Thomas Emerson. However in 1588 the Earl of Essex had leased the manor for 41 years to Henry Clifford who lived in the manor house. This house was described in 1589 as 'newly

built' and was said to be 'in good and sufficient repair'. It was occupied continuously until the early nineteenth century when it was pulled down.¹¹

The remains fall into a number of distinct parts. The site of the house itself (a. on Fig. 4) consists of a sub-rectangular platform, bounded by a ditch up to two metres deep on the south-west but only one metre deep on the north. This ditch has been interpreted in the past as a surrounding moat and thus the whole site as a medieval moated manor house. However, as a result of the steeply

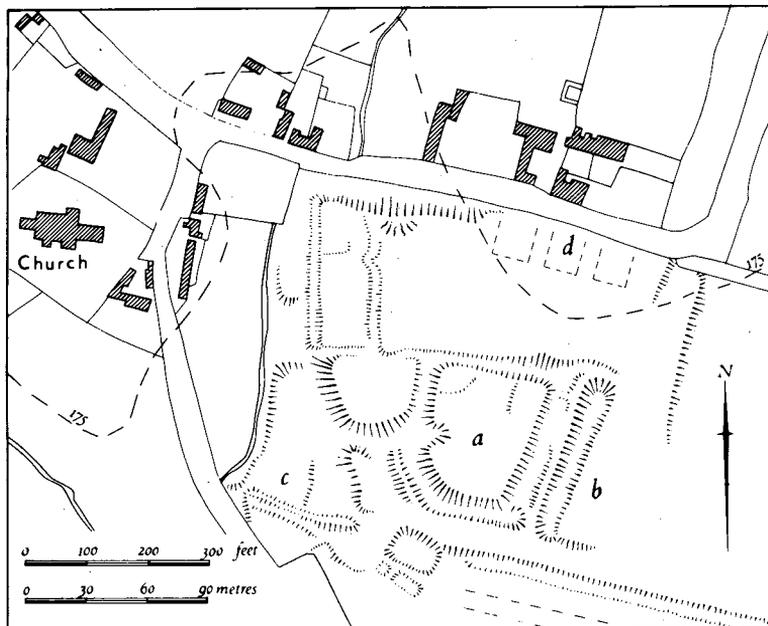


Fig. 4. Keyston: Site of Manor House.

sloping ground, it is clear that this ditch never held water. Indeed at the north-east corner the ditch is 'stepped' in order to maintain the appearance of a true moat. Thus the site, whether medieval or not in origin, is one of the rare examples of a 'moated' site which was not intended to be surrounded by water. Other instances are known, and the nearest one, although unpublished, is at Potts Grove in Bedfordshire.

Immediately east of the manor house site and parallel to its east side is a long rectangular depression up to 2 metres deep at the north end but only 0.5 metres deep at the south end, cut back into the rising ground (b. on Fig. 4). This is presumably a former pond. To the south-west of the manor house (c. on Fig. 4) and spanning the shallow valley there, is a large earthen bank or dam 2 metres

high which once ponded back a small lake. This may have been another fishpond, or perhaps a lake in the manor house garden. To the north and north-west of the manor house site is a series of double terraces only 0.5 metres high, lying parallel to the valley side. These are likely to be the remains of a garden.

On the extreme northern edge of the site, fronting the present road, are three very slight embanked platforms (d. on Fig. 4). These are probably the remains of a row of former houses along the village street. On the south of the site is a shallow ditch with three rectangular depressions at its western end. Beyond are traces of ridge-and-furrow.

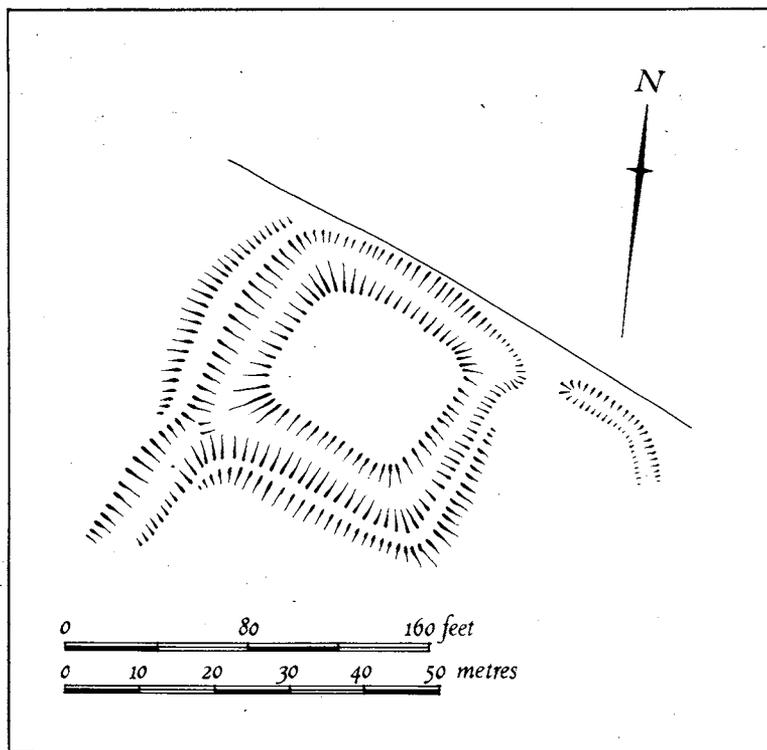


Fig. 5. Buckden: Moated Site.

Buckden: Moated Site (TL 174671: Fig. 5)

This moat lies in the extreme west of Buckden parish, on the crest of a low south-facing spur, on clay at 130 feet above O.D. It is situated near the centre of a small block of land which projects west into Grafham parish. As the whole of Buckden parish belonged to the Bishops of Lincoln throughout the medieval

period there are no records of the history of this particular site. The farmstead that lay within the moat must have been occupied by a tenant farmer of the bishops and it may have originated as a farm formed by the clearance of medieval woodland in the area. It is possible that the land around the farmstead was cleared from the forest in the twelfth century, for in 1155-8 fifty acres of assarts were granted to the bishop by the King in Buckden¹² and the area of land in which the site stands is around fifty acres in extent. Certainly by 1813 the Enclosure Map of Buckden (in Huntingdon Record Office) shows the area occupied by a group of 'old enclosures' beyond the western limit of the existing common fields of Buckden. At that time these enclosures were called The Hermitage.

The site, which is a typical example of the small medieval moated sites found all over East Anglia and the Midlands, consists of a rectangular island bounded by a broad ditch up to two metres deep. Because of the sloping ground on which it is situated and the need to keep the ditch filled with water, there are outer banks on the south, east and west sides up to 0.25 metres high. In the south-west corner a deep ditch extends down the hillside. This may have been the original outlet channel for the surplus water which, as there is no inlet channel, presumably entered the moat by seepage from the surrounding land. The interior of the site is flat but has a number of relatively recent excavation trenches dug into it. No record of this excavation exists.

Grafham: Moated Site and Deserted Village (TL 170693: Fig. 6)

About 0.5 kms. east of Grafham village is an isolated moated site, lying on level clay land at 180 feet above O.D. near the Buckden parish boundary. It consists of a roughly trapezoidal enclosure, bounded by a relatively narrow ditch, less than one metre deep, with a steep-sided inner bank along the western side. The interior is much disturbed by quarrying and other activities, especially in the north-east corner. In the south-east corner is an L-shaped water-filled ditch, widened on the west to form a pond, but with indications that it once returned on the north to enclose a small flat rectangular area. If this interpretation is correct, this inner enclosure may have been the site of the medieval farmhouse and the larger enclosure the outer stockyard. An important feature of the site is that, despite the later quarrying, it is still possible to recognize traces of ridge-and-furrow within this outer enclosure. This indicates that the moat was constructed over former arable land.

Though this moated site is now devoid of any occupation, this is a relatively recent situation. In the early nineteenth century not only was there a building in the north-east corner of the main enclosure, but immediately to the east, in what is now a ploughed field, there were also five other buildings each within its own fenced plot, and all possibly houses.¹³ A century earlier an even more complex situation existed. On a map of around 1750 (in Huntingdon Record

Office) the site of the moat is occupied by a large L-shaped building, presumably a farmhouse. In addition at least two other buildings, probably barns or sheds, lay near it. To the east, and outside the moat, a row of at least seven and perhaps eight houses are shown.

It thus appears that in the eighteenth century the moat was only one part of a small hamlet, quite separate from the present village of Grafham. An examination of the arable land to the east of the moat confirms the existence of this settlement and greatly extends the period of its life. For there, as well as much stone rubble and brick, is pottery of all dates from at least the twelfth century up to the nineteenth century. Pottery of the medieval period alone extends further east than the position of the easternmost house shown on the 1750

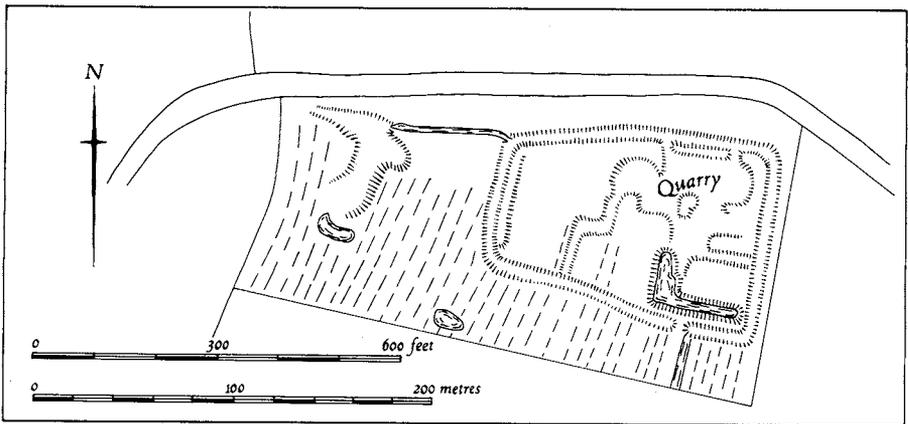


Fig. 6. Grafham: Moated Site.

map and can be traced as far as the Buckden parish boundary. Therefore it seems that the site is a medieval hamlet or small village which was already largely deserted by the eighteenth century and which finally disappeared in the nineteenth century.

There is no record of a lost village in Grafham in the surviving documents and it may be that the site is an example of what has been described as poly-focal settlement: that is the existence, in medieval times, of two or more separate groups of settlement within a parish, all being economically integrated and working a single common field system, but often tenurially separate. It is not possible to prove with absolute certainty that this is the case in Grafham but there are indications that it may be so.

In 1086 the manor of Grafham was held by seven sokemen of the King and was assessed at five hides. This land had been seized by Eustace the Sheriff and

it appears that Eustace retained half of this land while the other $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides passed, at some time before 1167, to the Earls of Gloucester. The main tenants of the Gloucester land were a family variously called de Grafham or Engaine who held it from 1166 until the fourteenth century. There is no doubt that this manor was centred on the present village of Grafham and that the Engaine Manor House was situated within the moated site which still remains on the north side of the village. However the $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides held by Eustace passed to his descendants the Lovetots who remained the Lords until 1219. It was then divided between three co-heiresses and became fragmented.¹⁴ It is possible that this $2\frac{1}{2}$ hide manor was centred on the separate settlement being described here with its own moated manor house. No absolute proof is possible but a curious document may shed some light. At some time between 1199 and 1216 Nigel de Lovetot leased to one Robert Rufus a tenement and a 'hermitage' in Grafham.¹⁵ The exact meaning of hermitage is not clear, but in a number of places in Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire, the term appears to be used to describe moated sites. The use of this word by Nigel de Lovetot may be a reference to this moated site.

Rampton: Giant's Hill (TL 431680: Fig. 7)

This site lies immediately east of Rampton village, near the fen edge, on Ampthill Clay at five metres above O.D. It is the remains of an unfinished castle, dating from the mid-twelfth-century Civil War between King Stephen and Geoffrey de Mandeville.

In 1143 Geoffrey de Mandeville, who had fallen from power, seized the Isle of Ely and from there proceeded to devastate the surrounding countryside. In an attempt to contain him the King ordered the erection of a number of temporary castles along the fen edges. Burwell Castle is known to have been one of these and others perhaps existed at Swavesey and Cottenham. In August 1144 de Mandeville attacked the still incomplete castle at Burwell and was mortally wounded. The rebellion then collapsed and all the castles were abandoned.¹⁶ It has for long been assumed that Giant's Hill was also unfinished when it was deserted and the new survey confirms this. Many of the features noted at Burwell are repeated here and the survey shows that this castle, like Burwell, was actually constructed on the sites of earlier houses which were perhaps demolished to make way for the fortress.

The castle consists of a roughly rectangular, flat-topped mound, with markedly curved south and east sides, up to 1.5 metres above the adjacent land. It is surrounded by a deep flat-bottomed moat or ditch up to two metres deep. This ditch is partly blocked in the south-west corner by a large sloping causeway or ramp. It is not possible to ascertain whether this ramp has been produced by the dumping of soil or if it is the natural ground surface left undug by the builders. However by analogy with Burwell Castle it is likely to represent the

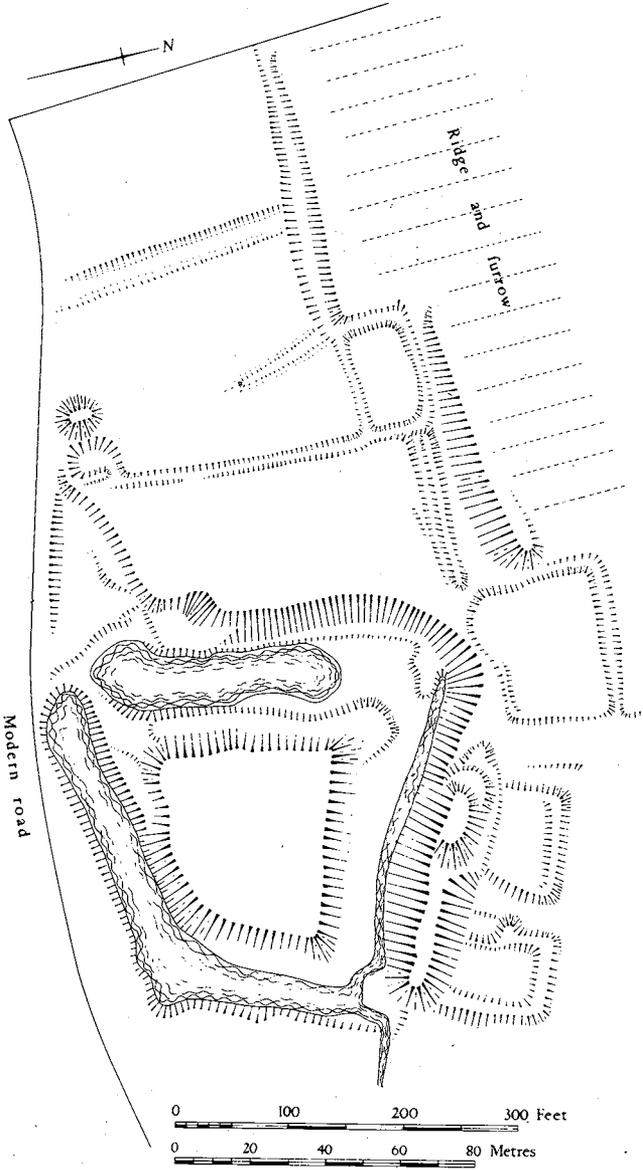


Fig. 7. Rampton: Giant's Hill.

route by which earth was being taken onto the mound when the work was stopped.

Within the surrounding ditch on its west side are low scarps no more than 0.25 metres high. These features occur at Burwell and there excavation proved them to be the result of the work being abandoned before the ditch was completed. Immediately north of the castle is a large irregular mound 1.5 metres high lying along the edge of the moat. At its west end it takes the form of a series of uneven mounds, apparently the result of dumping spoil. Uneven mounds such as these also exist at Burwell, on a larger scale, and all must represent the piling up of earth dug out of the adjacent ditch prior to its intended removal. The mound lies on top of, and clearly post-dates, two small rectangular embanked enclosures, the southern ends of which are buried under the mound. Immediately west of these is a larger ditched enclosure whose irregular south side also indicates that it once extended further south and has been cut by the moat. To the west of the castle are the remains of three more rectangular closes, separated by shallow ditches, and bounded on the north by a larger ditch up to one metre deep. These closes may also represent crofts of former houses, though no trace exists of any buildings within them. The realignment of the modern road to the south, which took place in 1852 during the enclosure of the common fields of the parish, may have destroyed any house sites which existed.¹⁷

Haddenham: Garden Remains, Hinton Hall (TL 470755: Fig. 8)

These earthworks lay to the east of Haddenham village, on the north side of an east-west ridge, on land sloping gently to the fen edge between 17 metres and 40 metres above O.D. The remains were surveyed in 1969 when, prior to their complete destruction for agricultural purposes, the Department of the Environment carried out excavations on the site of the medieval and later house (a. on Fig. 8).¹⁸

The remains consisted of a series of elaborate garden earthworks, perhaps of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries, and included ponds, canals, terraces and other features. No documentary evidence has been discovered to enable a firm date to be given to the site, and the published account of the manor in this period is confused owing to rapid and ill-documented changes in ownership.¹⁹ It is possible that the gardens were laid out either by Thomas Towers who sold the land in 1693 or by David Rowland who then bought it. However, they might date from the period after 1717 when the March family owned the manor.

The present Hinton Hall, a late nineteenth-century building, stands partly on the site of the earlier house. The rectangular platform south-east of the hall was proved, during the excavations, to be the south-east end of an eighteenth-century building which extended north-west under the existing house, with its main elevation to the south-west. This eighteenth-century house stood on the

side of an almost square area, bounded on three sides by a low scarp under one metre high. To the south-west and in front of the house, partly mutilated by a modern farm track, was another roughly rectangular area, bounded on the

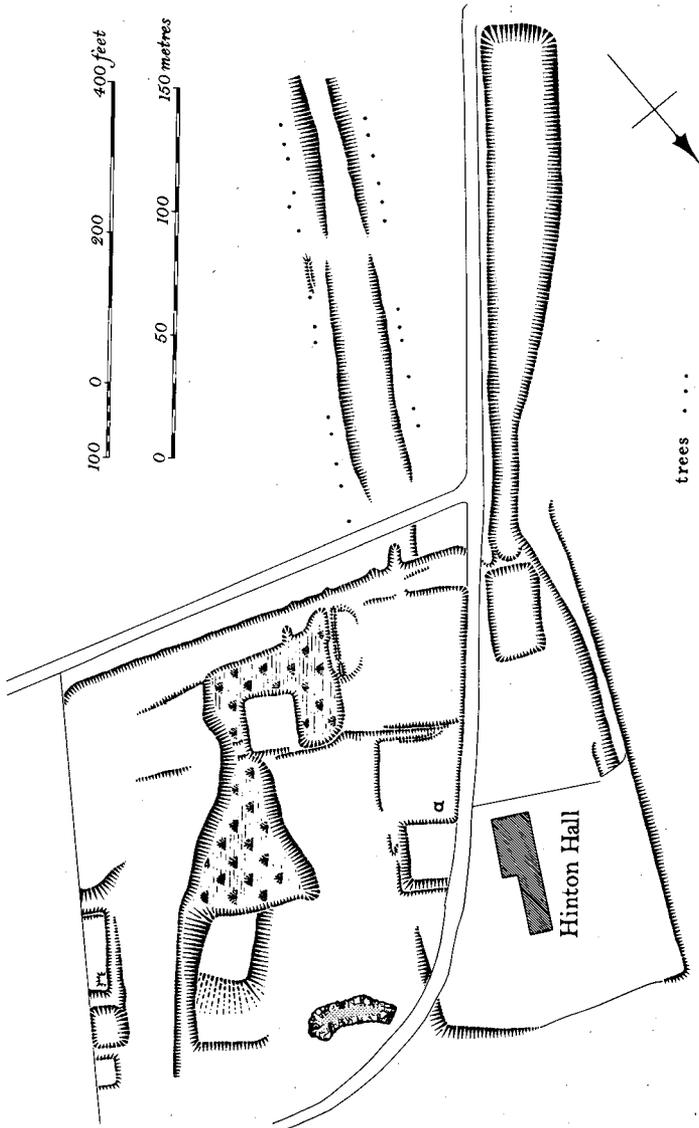


Fig. 8. Haddonham: Garden Remains.

north-west by a large flat-topped bank or terrace walk up to 1.5 metres high and with a shallow rectangular basin in the western corner. Slight banks, and scarps to the south-east of the track were probably the remains of terraces and flower beds. To the east and south-east of the Hall a complex arrangement of ponds existed, associated with other low scarps or terraces. The south-west or upper pond was U-shaped in plan, almost completely surrounding a small square platform or island. Excavations on this platform revealed no evidence of any structure there. The water in the pond flowed out at its north-east corner and down a series of scarps, perhaps once a waterfall, into a large triangular pond. The north side of this pond was bounded by a large bank or dam up to 2 metres high. North-east of this pond lay a series of low platforms and scarps partly cut by the modern hedge. These may have been the remains of out-buildings.

Beyond the main area of gardens are two other features associated with them, projecting south-west into and across the rising ground. These are an avenue of trees, probably between 200 and 300 years old, and a deep 'canal' or pond. The trees in the avenue are in poor condition and many have been removed, but the pathway between them has been deliberately constructed to create a vista from the former house of constantly rising ground over and through the natural curve of the ridge. On the lower part, earth has been removed to form a slight depression or cutting up to 1.5 metres deep while further on there is a low bank or walkway built up on the higher land. The 'canal' is a long pond cut deep into the hillside so that at its south-east end it is some five metres below the adjacent ground. Both it and the avenue appear to have been constructed to provide two different views from the house, projecting beyond the limits of the main garden.

NOTES

1. *Procs. Camb. Ant. Soc.* 65 (1973), 35-43.
2. R.C.H.M. *Huntingdonshire* (1926), Leighton Bromswold (2).
3. V.C.H. *Huntingdonshire* III (1936), 86-9.
4. M. W. Beresford and J. K. S. St Joseph, *Medieval England: An Aerial Survey* (1958), 14-6.
5. R.C.H.M. *West Cambridgeshire* (1968), Childerley (1) and (4).
6. V.C.H. *Huntingdonshire* I (1926), 399-406.
7. V.C.H. *Huntingdonshire* III, 53-7; Beresford and St Joseph *op. cit.*, 83-6.
8. V.C.H. *Huntingdonshire* I, 345.
9. Beresford and St Joseph, *op. cit.*, 85.
10. J. Nicholls, *Hist. and Ants. of Leics.* II (1795), 839-41.
11. V.C.H. *Huntingdonshire* I, 299; III, 70-1.
12. V.C.H. *Huntingdonshire* I, 264.
13. O.S. 1 inch map, first ed. (1834).
14. V.C.H. *Huntingdonshire* III, 61-3.
15. V.C.H. *Huntingdonshire* III, 63.

16. V.C.H. *Cambridgeshire* II (1948), 386-9; R.C.H.M. *Cambridgeshire North East* (1972), Burwell (132).
17. Enclosure Map of Rampton, 1852 (Cambridge Record Office).
18. The excavations are to be published for the Department by Mrs J. Le Patourel who directed the work.
19. V.C.H. *Cambridgeshire* IV (1953), 144.

SAUNFORD AND VERE

R. SWANSON

OF the collection of medieval manuscripts in the possession of Christ's College, Cambridge, one of the prizes is undoubtedly an English Book of Hours, dating from the thirteenth century. The following notes began as an attempt to trace the history of the book before it passed into the College's hands, taking as a starting point a series of obits in the Calendar.¹ From a consideration of these, it soon became apparent that the previously postulated history of the manuscript² was quite incorrect. The obits themselves fall into two distinct sets, one being from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while the other is of Tudor origin. It is with the first of these groups, largely dealing with the families of Saunford and Vere (together with some of their connections) that this article is concerned. The later group consists of members of the Vernon family, ancestors of the present Lord Vernon. Although there was a distant connection between them and the earlier Saunfords and Veres,³ it is nevertheless impossible even to guess at the book's history between the writing of the two sets of entries.

In the first series, it is the family of Saunford which deserves most consideration. This family has never received the attention it merits, an omission probably due to problems about the name which, besides being relatively common, appears in every possible variant spelling from Samford through to Staunford, although the most common forms are Sanford and Saunford. The family first achieved prominence when John de Saunford held Aston Sandford in Buckinghamshire at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, being also chamberlain to the queen, an office carrying considerable estates in serjeantry⁴. The descent of these lands has already led to the theory that the Saunfords were connected to a family of chamberlains mentioned in earlier pipe rolls; specifically that John de Saunford's grandfather may have been Adam, son of Ailwin the chamberlain, and brother of Samson, who appears on the roll of 1130. Samson seems to have still been living in 1148.⁵

The connection between Adam and John seems, however, not to have been in the male line. In some legal proceedings of 1240, involving a dispute with the abbey of Waltham, Gilbert de Saunford (son of John) produced a pedigree which is invaluable for the history of the family. From this it is clear that Adam and John were related through the former's daughter and heir, Cecilia, who was John's mother⁶. Who his father was is not recorded, but it may well have been another John de Saunford, who is mentioned elsewhere as holding some of the serjeantry lands (presumably *iure uxoris*) in 1165.⁷

Ancestry is, however, only one of several problems which beset the Saunford family. The immediate family of John (II) requires some disentangling. From the proceedings of 1240, it seems that he had two brothers, Henry and Adam, who predeceased him, and to these can possibly be added a further brother, Jordan, who may, with Adam, have co-founded the Augustinian priory of Blakemore.⁸ There may also have been a sister, Cecilia,⁹ but this is uncertain: possibly the person in question was actually John (II)'s daughter of the same name.¹⁰

As to his issue, again the legal proceedings prove useful. Besides Gilbert, who brought the case, there are two other sons mentioned, John and Alan, both of whom seem to have been dead at that date. But, although from the context John (III) predeceased Alan, there is a slight problem, in that a compact made between the Saunfords and the prior of Blakemore, in which Alan is specifically mentioned as already dead, was nevertheless witnessed by another John de Saunford.¹¹ He, however, may well have been John (IV), of whom later.

The compact made with the prior of Blakemore is crucial for any consideration of the Saunford genealogy in this period. Alan de Saunford is named as son of John and Alice his wife, and nephew of Gilbert Basset, the document being witnessed by a second John de Saunford, by Gilbert de Saunford, and by Thomas, Warin, and Fulk Basset. This Basset connection was a vital factor in the Saunford family's history throughout the thirteenth century. Alice de Saunford, alive at the time this agreement was made – her husband being already dead – must have been the daughter of Alan Basset, of Wycombe in Buckinghamshire. The kin-group derived from this connection was to have an important influence on English politics during the remainder of the century; while on a more mundane level it frequently appears to have acted in concert to attest documents.¹² Alice and John de Saunford were both living in 1231,¹³ but in 1233–4 Gilbert, their son, appears to have been finalising business begun by his father,¹⁴ whose death can therefore be placed between these two dates.

Apart from Gilbert, John, and Alan, John (II) is generally credited with two other sons – Nicholas and Laurence (who himself causes slight problems, being on one occasion referred to as *nepos* of Gilbert de Dauntsey,¹⁵ a member of a Wiltshire family of that name with whom Laurence certainly had dealings¹⁶) – and a daughter Cecilia.¹⁷ These, however, do not appear to have been all his children. Throughout the records in which the family appears, there are several instances of names appearing together as brothers, giving an overlap, but no concrete evidence of filiation. This occurs in at least three cases, with Thomas, Roger, and William de Saunford. In each instance there is circumstantial evidence to support a possible connection: Thomas and William may both appear in the obits in the Christ's MS., while Thomas certainly appears, as a brother of Nicholas, in the Basset connection.¹⁸ William, however, is mentioned as a brother of Nicholas only in a Roll of Arms, where he appears bearing the

normal Saunford coat.¹⁹ It seems possible that he was himself the father of another Nicholas.²⁰ Finally, Roger is mentioned only once, as a brother of Laurence, in a lawsuit involving Gilbert de Saunford's widow.²¹ However, a Roger de Saunford does appear attesting documents among the Basset group.²² Clearly, the evidence for any of these being definitely sons of John (II) is not convincing, although it does seem a reasonable probability in each case.

On the other hand, there are two further children who can be added to the list, and who are much better known. These are Fulk and John de Saunford (IV), both of whom became Archbishops of Dublin.²³ Only Fulk appears in the Christ's obits. Accepting that John (IV) was the son of John (II) is dependent on providing sufficient proof of Fulk's paternity, which does not seem to have received much serious consideration. While his kinship to the Bassets has been acknowledged – he occasionally used their name as an alias – this has generally been interpreted to suggest that he was a bastard son of either Fulk or Gilbert Basset.²⁴ This, however, ignores his brother John, who is known to have been a bastard,²⁵ and who constantly used the name of Saunford, never that of Basset. Unless a Saunford mother is to be postulated, this situation cannot readily be explained. Yet, there is a fairly obvious answer: that Fulk, nephew of Philip Basset, was the son of John de Saunford (II) and Alice Basset. This clears up all the difficulties, allowing Fulk to remain legitimate, whilst leaving John (IV) as the bastard son of John (II).

Finally, there is the possibility that Cecilia de Saunford may not have been John (II)'s only daughter. One of the reasons asserted for the aid which Philip Basset and Gilbert de Saunford gave to Henry de Bathonia in his struggles with Henry III is the close family connection between all three, Bathonia's wife Aline²⁶ being descended from both the Bassets and Saunfords.²⁷ As the marriage of John de Saunford (II) and Alice Basset appears to be the only such connection, she was probably their daughter. Certainly her name links her to this kin-group, appearing twice more within three generations of Wycombe Bassets.²⁸

All this is rather circumstantial to the obits in the Christ's MS, in connection with which Alice, daughter of Gilbert de Saunford, is of considerable importance, especially because of her marriage to Robert de Vere, subsequently Earl of Oxford. She appears to be the pivot of the whole genealogical construction derived from the obits, and it therefore seems a reasonable probability that the book belonged to her. Those mentioned in the Calendar include many Saunfords, among them her parents Gilbert – whose date of death can now be fixed at 30th March 1249²⁹ – and Lora (née de la Zouche³⁰). Others listed are William, Laurence, Nicholas, Thomas, Fulk, and possibly Sewal.³¹ Occasionally these confirm or amend previously known dates: that of Fulk is unchanged at 4th May,³² but the date for Nicholas is here given as 20th rather than 23rd January.³³ For the others, the obits provide new information, but of varying importance.

Laurence is recorded, in 1272, as having only recently died,³⁴ and his death can now be fixed at 8th March in that year. But Sewal is not otherwise known, William is too obscure, and Thomas poses difficulties: there are two possible candidates, either the brother or the son of Laurence de Saunford. The son was certainly dead by December 1299,³⁵ but as the Thomas of the obits died in March, the gap between death and inquisition seems too long for the son to be meant, so the individual can probably be identified as the brother. If this is so then Alice is, significantly, the only Saunford of her generation to be listed.

It is when consideration turns to the obits entered for the later part of the thirteenth century and early years of the fourteenth that greater genealogical precision becomes possible. Here, the extensive Vere connection dominates the entries. All the children of Alice de Saunford who died in her lifetime are listed, with the exception of her daughter Hawise.³⁶ Her daughter-in-law Margaret also appears, the first wife of her son Robert. Her death can now be fixed at 25th March 1296, thereby eliminating uncertainties as to whether she was alive when her husband succeeded to the earldom later that year.³⁷ Three other members of the Vere family are listed: Alice's husband and his parents. The confirmation of her mother-in-law's death as occurring on 3rd February is of little value, as it does not help to provide a year.³⁸ However, the appearance of the obits of the Earls is of great importance: this appears to be the only record of their precise dates of death. That of Hugh can now be assigned to 18th December 1263, and that of his son to 25th August 1296.³⁹

Apart from actual Veres, some of their relatives are also listed. Of these, the most important are undoubtedly the Mountchesneys; but there is one other, Reginald d'Argentine. Him I take to be the husband of Laura de Vere (whose death, however, is not recorded), and thereby brother-in-law to Earl Robert, Alice's husband. His death occurred in 1307/8, now being fixed at 13th February.⁴⁰

The Mountchesneys provide some uncertainties, it not being clear whether two or three generations are represented. Warin and William, father and son, both appear;⁴¹ but whether the Denise who is also mentioned was wife of the first or daughter of the second is uncertain. The latter is, however, the more likely: the entry is written in a hand which differs from the rest (with the possible exception of the entry for d'Argentine), and this particular Denise married Hugh de Vere, one of Alice's sons.⁴² It seems a probability that, after Alice's death, the book passed to her son; and what more natural than that he should record his wife's death in it?

In addition to all these individuals who can be fitted into something of a genealogical pattern, there are several names in the obits which do not seem to have any direct connection with either the Saunfords or the Veres. Some, but not all, can be identified. Simon de Scharstede, for example, is already known from his inquisition *post mortem*;⁴³ while Guy de S. Amand I take to be the

son of Amaury of that name.⁴⁴ These two are from the later part of the thirteenth century, but others may not be. Richard de Ruly, for instance, may be the individual of that name who frequently appeared among the Basset connection attesting documents in the first half of the century.⁴⁵

Even this still leaves a few individuals unaccounted for, and for whom I have not been able to find any suggestive evidence as to identity. Nevertheless, the obits do provide a useful illustration of the family connections prevalent in thirteenth century England, connections which all too often transformed into potent political forces.

NOTES

1. Christ's College, Cambridge: MS. 8, p. 1-12. A transcription appears in M. R. James: *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Christ's College, Cambridge* [Cambridge, 1905], 10-12. This contains a few minor errors, but none of sufficient magnitude to merit a retranscription (which would, in any case, be virtually impossible, even using ultra-violet, as before the second series of obits was entered, there seems to have been a deliberate attempt at erasure of the first, so that many are no longer recoverable). In addition to the obits, the entries for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries include four other historical references: to the battle of Bellegarde (13th February, 1297), to the deaths of King Edward I (7th July, 1307) and his brother Edmund (5th June, 1296) and, under the 18th February, the statement "Cecedit dominus Rex apud Burdeus", the meaning of which is not clear.
2. James: *op. cit.*, 26.
3. R. W. Eyton: *Antiquities of Shropshire* [London, 1854-60], ii, 226, 233.
4. *Victoria County History, Bucks.*, iv, 8; J. H. Round: *The King's Serjeants and Officers of State* [London, 1911], 133.
5. *ibid.*, 134 n.1.
6. H. G. Fowler: 'Roll of the Justices in Eyre, 1240' [in *The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, ix (1925)], 109-11.
7. *V.C.H., Herts.*, iv, 70.
8. Sir W. Dugdale (ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel): *Monasticon Anglicanum* [London, 1817-30, facsimile reprint Farnborough, 1970], vi, 552.
9. *Curia Regis Rolls*, xi, no. 1674, concerns an agreement between John de Saunford and Cecilia his sister.
10. On her, see *Collectanea Topologica et Genealogica*, v (1838), 192-3.
11. *Ancient Deeds*, A.501. It is there dated 1213-34, but more precise dating can be applied from other evidence.
12. E.g. *Ancient Deeds*, A.199, A.488, A.773, A.844, A.4871, A.6783.
13. They are mentioned in a legal matter of that year: *Curia Regis Rolls*, xiv, no. 1168.
14. *ibid.*, xv., 299.
15. J. Hutchins: *History of the County of Dorset* [3rd ed., Westminster, 1861-74; facsimile reprint East Ardsley, 1974], ii, 656.
16. E. A. Fry (ed): *A Calendar of the Feet of Fines relating to the County of Wiltshire, remaining in the Public Record Office* [Devizes, 1930], no. 49:4.
17. Hutchins: *op. cit.*, ii, 659; *Collect. Top. et Gen.*, v, 192-3, 199.
18. *Ancient Deeds*, A.3220, A.6783.
19. T. D. Trewlett, H. S. London, and Sir A. Wagner (eds): *Rolls of Arms, Henry III* [Oxford and London, 1957], 137.

20. *ibid.*
21. M. T. Clanchy (ed): *Civil Pleas at the Eyre of 1249* [Devizes, 1971], no. 440.
22. *Ancient Deeds*, A.405, A.773, A.3166, A.3217—both he and Laurence are mentioned in the first two.
23. For their careers, see *D.N.B.*, under Sandford, also A. B. Emden: *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500* [Oxford, 1957-9], iii, 2212-4.
24. *D.N.B.*
25. *Calendar of Papal Letters*, i, 479.
26. *Charter Rolls, 1226-1257*, 467.
27. Matthew Paris: *Chronica Majora* [Rolls Series], v, 213.
28. With the wife of Alan Basset of Wycombe [*Cal. Close Rolls, 1227-31*, 336], and again with the daughter and heir of Philip Basset [*Complete Peerage*, iv, 261].
29. On 5th April, 1249, his executors were granted a mandate to execute the will, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1247-51*, 151.
30. The article on Oxford in the *Complete Peerage* considers her parentage as unknown, but then gives it when dealing with the family of Zouche. See also Eyton: *op. cit.*, ii, 208-9.
31. The surname is spelt differently from its other occurrences in the obit list, which suggests that he may not have been from the same family.
32. See refs. in n. 23.
33. 23rd is given in *Collect. Top. et Gen.*, v, 193.
34. *Ancient Deeds*, A.4636. Philip Basset, who died later in the year, was an executor.
35. *Cal. Inquisitiones post Mortem*, iii, no. 510.
36. *Complete Peerage*, x, 218 n.(b); xii/1, 507. For none of the sons is it possible to fix a precise year of death; but the death of Joan de Warenne can now be dated to 23rd November, 1293.
37. *ibid.*, x, 220 and n.(j).
38. *ibid.*, x, 215, 217. Their precise dates of death appear neither in that work, nor in F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde (eds): *Handbook of British Chronology* [2nd. ed., London, 1961], 443.
39. *Complete Peerage*, x, 216.
40. *ibid.*, i, 197.
41. At 20th July and 5th August. See *ibid.*, ix, 421, 424.
42. For the two Denises, see *ibid.*, ix, 424; xii/2, 254-6.
43. *Cal. Inquisitiones post mortem*, iii, no. 414.
44. *Complete Peerage*, xi, 297.
45. *Ancient Deeds*, A.488, A.773, A.5018.

APPENDIX

Postulated Genealogy of the Saunford Family

Aldwin. Mentioned as a chamberlain in 1130.

1. Samson. Mentioned 1130. 1148.
1. Adam. Mentioned 1130. Died during the reign of Henry II.
2. Cecilia. A minor at her father's death. = ?John de Saunford (I).
Mentioned as holding lands, presumably *iure uxoris*, in 1165.
3. Henry. d.s.p.
3. Adam. d.s.p., before 1234.
3. ?Cecilia.
3. John (II). Living 1199, 1231. Dead by 1234. = Alice Basset.
4. John (III). d.s.p., by 1231-4.

4. Alan. Living 1223. d.s.p. by 1231-4.
4. Gilbert. Died 30th March 1249¹ = Lora de la Zouche.
 5. Alice. Died 7th September, 1312. = Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford.
4. Laurence. Held Melbury Sampford. Died 4th March, 1271. = Hawise Basset.
 5. Thomas. Died 1299.
 5. Alda. = Walter Foliot, of Melbury-Osmond.
4. Fulk. Later Archbishop of Dublin.
4. Aline. (1) = Henry de Bathonia.
 - (2) = Nicholas de Yatingdon.
4. ?Nicholas. Held Aston Sandford 1234. Died 20th January 1252.
4. Thomas. Died 17th March.
4. Cecilia. Died 23rd July, 1251. = William de Gorham.
4. William. Mentioned c.1252². Died 16th December.
 5. ?Nicholas. Mentioned c.1275².
4. Roger. Mentioned 1250.
 - Illegitimate:
 4. John (IV), later Archbishop of Dublin.

NOTES TO APPENDIX:

1. Eyton remarks [*Antiquities of Shropshire*, ii, 233 n.95] that at his death he left a son, a minor. However, no evidence is given in support of this statement.
2. On these dates, see Trewlett, London, and Wagner: *Rolls of Arms, Henry III*, 92, 102-3.



ACCOUNTS OF SAINT KATHERINE'S GUILD AT HOLY TRINITY
CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE: 1514-1537. [1]

MARY SIRAUT

MUCH has been written on the medieval guilds of the borough of Cambridge, for which considerable material survives. Less attention, however has been paid to the guilds in the sixteenth century probably because information on their history in this period is harder to come by. The history of the Cambridge fraternities dates back to the thegn guild of the eleventh century for which a remarkable set of statutes exists. The guilds in the town were never very strong and played little direct part in its commercial life, partly owing to the University's supervision of fairs and markets. Very few could hope to match the achievements of the guilds of St Mary and Corpus Christi who joined together in founding a college of the same name, or the twelfth-century guild of the Holy Sepulchre which was responsible for building the Round Church. The Cambridge guilds appear to have been of the social-religious type, providing help for needy brethren, living and dead, and the fraternities of the parish of Holy Trinity are no exception. Only the guild of the Holy Trinity and the guild of the Assumption possess surviving returns of 1389 but we know from other sources of the existence in the early sixteenth century of guilds dedicated to St Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, St Clement, St George and St Katherine.

St Katherine appears to have been a popular guild patron, for there are no fewer than five guilds of St Katherine in the borough of Cambridge, twelve in nearby Northamptonshire and many elsewhere. The interesting preamble to the 1389 return for the guild of St Katherine in St Andrew's parish, having referred to the conveyance of the saint's body by angels to Mt Sinai and her miraculous conversion of fifty orators, declares that 'the bretheren are obliged to omit any account of other miracles because of their vast number.' An image of the saint was revered in Holy Trinity church somewhere near Our Lady's altar. The wills of Thomas Rede, 1504, Agnes Rede, 1521, Robert Robinson, 1529, and Agnes Chapman, 1536, all contain requests to be buried before the image of St Katherine in Holy Trinity church. Thomas Rede, a doctor of medicine, was a benefactor of the Cambridge guilds making bequests of 20s. to St Ursula's and 6s. 8d. each to St Katherine's and St George's at Holy Trinity, also 3s. 4d. each to St Thomas's and St Augustine's in the town. The Holy Trinity churchwardens' accounts for 1504-5 record the sum of 6s. 8d. paid for 'hys [Rede's] sepulchre yn ye cherche before seynt Cateryn.' Later his widow Agnes Rede in her will of 1521 asked to be buried before St Katherine

between Our Lady's altar and her husband's grave and also bequeathed 3.s 4d. to the guilds of St Katherine and St George. Thomas Pecoke, guild alderman in 1534, left two torches each to the same guilds.²

Apart from references in wills and in the Holy Trinity churchwardens' accounts, which record annual payments of between 4d. and 6d. for lights for the guild dirge, little is known of St Katherine's guild before the accounts begin in 1514. The guild accounts, covering the period 1514 to 1537, are to be found among the parish records of Holy Trinity church, Cambridge. The survival of guild documents among parish records is rare and this is a unique instance in Cambridge. Written on paper as two separate books, the second part being slightly smaller and of different paper to the first, these accounts are bound in parchment, possibly an old deed, and are virtually complete except for the year 1534 which has been cut out, and some gaps in the general expenses. The main account is in Latin from 1514 to 1520, but after this date it is written in both Latin and English, the general expenses being entirely in English. The accounts fall into two parts, the formal account, dealing mainly with loans and the election of officers, and the detailed accounts of expenditure on dinners and obits, entered at the end of the first section, which survive only for the years 1514-16, 1518-20, 1522 and 1526. The earliest accounts are the most detailed being entered under a standard heading, which (with the exception of the year 1529) is always in Latin and takes the following form 'the account of A.B. and C.D. masters of the guild of St Katherine the virgin in the church of the Holy Trinity, Cambridge in the year of the reign of King Henry the eighth N. made the Sunday next after the feast of St Katherine the year abovesaid.' Below this come the details of the election, receipts into the guild stock, admissions of new members, monies due to the guild and old debts. The accounts take this form until 1521 when the details of receipts and debts are summarised and the annual account becomes much shorter.

It is not known where the guild held its meetings. St Katherine's guild at Barnwell Priory had a house in Barnwell Street consisting of a hall, two chambers, a garret, a kitchen and a rye chamber.³ Some guild brethren left household goods for the use of their fraternities but there is no evidence that the guild of St Katherine at Holy Trinity had property of this kind. It is probable that they met at the church, adjourning to a tavern for dinner. At these annual meetings the officers of the guild were elected each year by the usual complex process favoured by Medieval corporations and the accounts were audited. The alderman and the two masters each chose one elector who in his turn chose a further elector. These six then elected the guild officers for the following year. Despite this process, or perhaps because of it, the same names appear in office year after year. Thomas Pelles was alderman from 1514 to 1523 and during the same period the councillors and masters changed very infrequently. John Thirleby was clerk of the guild from the beginning of the accounts in 1514

until 1530 and John Alcetir was beadle until 1522. In the later period of the accounts such prolonged tenure of office was rare.

The chief officer was the alderman, a man of some importance; Thomas Pelles is described as 'doctor of laws', Robert Harvey, clerk and Thomas Pecoke are called 'master' and many held high office in the town including that of Mayor. The alderman appears to have had the final word in disputes and to have supervised the distribution of money. The exact nature of the office of councillor, of whom there were usually two, is uncertain as they do not appear in the accounts. This office was also filled by men who described themselves as 'magister' and many of them had been or were to become, aldermen of the guild. In the years 1531 and 1534-36 four councillors were elected and in 1537 there were three: unfortunately no reason for this is apparent from the accounts. The two masters of the guild seem to have been chosen from among slightly less exalted persons including two shoemakers, Edward Harrison from 1515 to 1519 and John Clerk in 1522 but many holders of this office were also substantial burgesses. The masters were responsible for drawing up the accounts and for making payments such as those to the churchwardens for lights.

The duties of the clerk were presumably not very onerous as the holder of this office from 1514 to 1530 was John Thirleby, town clerk and treasurer of Cambridge, who also enjoyed various positions in Great St Mary's church. It appears that the clerk drew an annual fee of between 4d. and 12d., but unfortunately the accounts do not always distinguish between the clerk of the guild and the clerk of the parish who also received small sums from the brethren. The duties of the beadle were probably as varied as they were in other guilds including attendance at obits. The only reference to him in the accounts, apart from his election, is his receipt of a fee of 8d. The relatively light burden of duties on these officials, the guild having no property to maintain or craft function to perform, enabled many of them to hold similar positions elsewhere. A number of them were prominent in the life of Great St Mary's church holding offices such as keeper of the various lights and churchwarden.⁴ In the church of Holy Trinity itself the guildsmen held similar positions. Some of the officials of the guild lived outside the parish altogether and were buried elsewhere: the obits of Hugh Chapman and John Thirleby were kept at Great St Mary's.

Although the accounts themselves give very little information on the individual officers there are fortunately a number of other surviving documents which tell us a great deal about the men who governed St Katherine's guild. The town clerk John Thirleby has already been mentioned, he appears frequently in the town records and in the churchwardens' accounts of both Holy Trinity and Great St Mary's where he acted as auditor. In 1522 he took to London a petition for relief of part of the town's quota of archers and in 1529 was again

in the capital, this time to deliver the Duke of Norfolk's appointment as High Steward of Cambridge.⁵ In 1512 he is described as a scrivener with profits assessed at between 40s. and £10, goods valued at between £10 and £20 and copyhold property worth 20s. per annum.⁶ He was buried in Great St Mary's, his dirge being kept in the same church from 1540 to 1547.⁷ The first alderman of the guild to appear in these accounts, Dr Thomas Pelles, clerk, is probably the Thomas Pellys or Pells, Prior of Hoxne, Suffolk who was admitted LL.D. in Cambridge in 1514 and in the following year became Chancellor of the diocese of Ely.⁸ Pellys resigned this post in 1525 and left Cambridge in 1526, the same year in which Dr Thomas Pelles disappears from the guild accounts. His successor was Richard Rolfe who had been a councillor of the guild and churchwarden of Holy Trinity church. Rolfe, a fishmonger, was obviously a man of substance employing five servants in 1512.⁹ In 1525 he became Mayor of Cambridge, in which office he became involved in a dispute with Corpus Christi College. The college had been in the custom of inviting the Mayor to dine on the feast of Corpus Christi but Rolfe demanded his invitation as of right. No justification for this claim could be found and the Mayor was never invited to dinner at the college again.¹⁰ In 1527 the alderman was George Foyster, a former councillor of the guild and a wealthy burgess with lands worth up to £20 per annum in 1512, together with property in Preacher's ward which he rented from St Benet's College and Holy Trinity parish.¹¹ He was Mayor of Cambridge in 1523 but his period of office was not a happy one. He was excommunicated by the university because he failed to attend the assize of bread and ale, an offence for which he was made to do penance in the chapel of the Augustinian Canons. In his will dated, 1539, he asked to be buried in Holy Trinity parish and among various bequests he left a riding coat to William Robinson, a fellow guildsman. Another prominent townsman to hold office in the guild was John Ray, a wealthy citizen.¹² A John Ray was treasurer of Cambridge in 1490 and Burgess in Parliament in 1503 but as John Ray the guildsman is described as the younger, the burgess may have been his father whose burial is recorded in 1513 in the churchwarden's accounts of Great St Mary's. The Mayor Christofer Franke was also an alderman of the guild. He was a man of some importance, being described as a tailor with four servants in 1512. He was made a freeman in 1519, and in 1524 was assessed at £18 in Market ward where he had a tenement on the north corner of the Market, for which he paid four shillings quit rent annually to Holy Trinity church. He became Mayor in 1539 and again in 1551 when he was forced by Protector Somerset to take the oath to conserve the privileges of the University. In his will, dated 1558, he left three booths in Sturbridge Fair to the corporation to provide for obits for himself and John Goodwin, a fellow guildsman and town bailiff.¹³ Among other important guild aldermen were Thomas Pecoche and Thomas Bracebrigg. The former was a brewer and father of Thomas Peacock,

President of Queens' College, who left 20s. in his will to the use of the poor of Holy Trinity parish, the amount to be a rent-charge on the Crane in Cordwainer Row [Market St]. Thomas Bracebrigg, one of the University beadles, is described as a barber and was employing four servants in 1512.¹⁴

Among some of the more notable councillors of the guild during these years were no fewer than six Mayors of Cambridge. John Crakynghorpe, an Alderman of some standing, his moveables alone being worth over £100 in 1512, had been Mayor in 1506 and 1507 and also held office as Bailiff, Justice of the Peace and Commissioner for Gaol Delivery. In his will, dated 1526, he left 5s. to the guild.¹⁵ Crakynghorpe's successor as Mayor of Cambridge in 1508 was Hugh Chapman who held office again in 1513 and also served as councillor of the guild. He held a multiplicity of offices and became a wealthy man with considerable property including a shop at the corner of the Tolbooth. When he died in 1520 he left £10 for repairing the highways about Cambridge, the same amount towards building a south aisle in Holy Trinity church and £4 8s. for repairs in Great St Mary's, to which church he had already given money for stools in 1518. He directed that his obit should be observed for twenty years in Holy Trinity.¹⁶ William Barber was Mayor of Cambridge three times, in 1513, 1518 and 1519, having previously represented the town in Parliament in 1503. Like his fellow councillor, John Crakynghorpe, he held office as Bailiff, J.P. and Commissioner for Gaol Delivery, and also acted as arbitrator in a dispute between the town and the Priory of Barnwell over fishing rights in Barnwell Pool. He was a wealthy goldsmith, his lands were worth over £20 per annum and he kept six servants in his house, a new one in Walls Lane [King St/Hobson St] near the King's Ditch.¹⁷

The masters of the guild were chosen from a wider cross-section of the community. David Ryveley, guild master for six years, is described as a cook in the Poll tax of 1512, and among his fellow masters were Edmund Harrison, shoemaker and James Senewes, a prosperous brewer in Preacher's ward.¹⁸ A later master, Thomas Alofte, described as a fishmonger in 1512, held civic office including that of treasurer in 1525 and auditor in 1538. John Alcetir, beadle of the guild until 1522, was a capper in Market ward and of humbler status than most of his colleagues. He was paid 8d. annually by the churchwardens of Great St Mary's for scouring their candlesticks and was also responsible for setting up and taking down the sepulchre and the hyrst [herse] in the same church.

In common with the practice of most guilds, St Katherine's had a stock from which the activities of the guild were financed. The income of the guild appears to have been derived mainly from admission fees, interest on loans and members' subscriptions. Apart from the general expenses of the guild, accounted for separately, payments out of the stock were mainly in the form of loans at

interest. These loans were made to members of the guild on the surety of other members; occasionally two sureties seem to have been required for a loan but normally one was sufficient. It seems to have been common practice for two brethren requiring a loan to stand surety for each other and also for the same person to stand surety for more than one borrower. The amount of the loan was usually ten shillings though officers of the guild appear to have been able to borrow up to twenty shillings or more, the annual sum of these disbursements being in the region of £7-8. These sums were repaid the following year with interest at the rate of one penny in every shilling, the masters of the guild apparently paying a lower rate. The interest thus received was commonly paid to a brother or sister in need, as in 1521 when it was decreed by the alderman that 'it shalbe applied to the relief of Margaret Burwell by the alderman of the gylde every weke iid.' Sometimes the money was devoted to other purposes, as in 1523 when it was directed that 'the intrress money viis. ys delivered to Cristofer Franke and Roger Chaunles towards the reparacions of the Torchis'. Unlike St George's guild in the same parish, St Katherine's rarely gave any of its income to the church but in 1520 the residue of the interest money was 'to be applied to the use of the cherche'.¹⁹ The gift is recorded in the Holy Trinity churchwardens accounts, 'receyved . . . of the maister and bretheren of seint Kateryn gylde towards the same newe organs xiis.' The church had recently purchased 'a peyer of new organs' at a cost of nine pounds. This gift is unique in these accounts, perhaps because the guild had difficulty in finding surplus funds for such purposes. The annual income of the guild seems rarely to have exceeded 60s., excluding loan repayments, but the total income is difficult to determine as the accounts differ in detail, are variously totalled and some years are not totalled at all. From 1521 the income of the guild is not recorded, apart from the sum of the interest received on loans. The list of debts each year, some very old indeed, was often quite considerable and in the later accounts provision was made for debts to be repaid on a weekly basis or even to be remitted altogether.

The total membership of the guild is uncertain and any figure can only be tentative. The money collected from members is recorded in the first seven accounts where the total received from this source varied from 19s. 1d. to 29s. 11d. If one calculates on the basis of an average receipt from subscriptions of twenty five shillings per annum and a fee of 2d. or 3d., the usual fee in other guilds and the amount sometimes entered in the accounts as received 'pro pensionibus', the membership must have been between one hundred and one hundred and twenty persons. Membership of the guild was open to men and women, laity and clergy, burgesses and artisans, town and university. The admission fee was 2s. for a man, 6d. for a women, though it appears that many were admitted to the guild without paying the fee immediately, on the surety of a guild member. In the earlier period of the accounts there was an average

entry of six new members each year. Later, however, admissions are not always entered, but as these accounts are scanty in other respects it is probable that the influx of new members was fairly constant. Among those admitted in 1518 were two clerics including the vicar, John Glaundeville, two women, a tailor and a scrivener. Unlike certain other sixteenth century guilds, the admission fee was not so exorbitant as to exclude the less wealthy but those who aspired to be officers in the guild were probably prosperous citizens seeking social distinction rather than the service of their less fortunate brethren.

One of the main objects of the guild was to aid the souls of deceased members of the fraternity by means of obits. These obits, or dirges as they are sometimes called, were religious celebrations held on the anniversary of death. Usually performed at the expense of the deceased, it was customary before the Reformation to leave a sum of money in one's will to provide for obits, often for a period of twenty years. If no such provision had been made relatives would donate money to the church for the purpose or if the deceased had been a member of a guild an obit would be financed out of the common fund. The service was held in church, often with a procession and commemorative sermon if the deceased was of some importance, followed by a meal with a distribution of alms to the poor. Bequests in money or in kind were often made to guilds for the provision of obits, especially torches and candles, wax being a heavy item of expenditure. Such bequests were frequently in the form of rent charges on property commonly known as 'candle-rents'. Most of these funds were confiscated by act of Parliament in 1547 as it was held by the Reformers that the Medieval belief in Purgatory was a superstition which should not be encouraged. Obits were no small expense, the alderman frequently assigned ten shillings 'to the reparacions of the Torches of the guyld.'²⁰ The accounts for general guild expenses show that obits for individual member cost 1s. 3d. or 2s. 6d. and in 1519 no less than seven such obits were recorded at a total cost of 13s. 9d., about one quarter of the guild's average income. St Katherine's guild held a general dirge for all deceased members in Lent when the alderman was allowed a penny from his offering and the clerk of the church received fourpence for 'ringing'. Refreshment on these occasions was given in the form of bread and ale to the value of eighteen pence. The guild had its own torches, lights 'about the herst' being provided by the church at a charge of six pence paid annually to the churchwardens. The fraternity also possessed its own candlesticks, scoured annually at a cost of two pence, which probably stood before the image of St Katherine in Holy Trinity church and held 'the lyght byfore Seynt Katherine all the yer'. The light cost 3s. 9½d. in 1514 and 7s. 2d. in 1520. There was also a banner which would have been carried in procession or hung in the church. Richard Rolfe held 15s. 7d. with which to buy a banner for the guild from 1515 until 1520 when it was finally recorded that he had paid for it, and

later in 1548 an inventory among the churchwardens' accounts includes the item, 'a crosse crosse' [cross cloth/banner] 'of greene sylke with thymage of Katheryn'.

Perhaps the most interesting section of the manuscript is that detailing the general expenses of the guild and it is disappointing to find that these accounts exist for only eight years between 1515 and 1526. They are recorded separately at the end of the first book and in the main account only the total sum disbursed is given, 'tam in onere Jantli' quam in aliis oneribus Gilde ut prius scriptum in fine huius libri'. In 1515 and 1516 the two masters accounted separately for the expenses each had incurred on behalf of the guild, which might explain the fact that the total sum spent was much higher than usual, 50s. 3d. in 1516 as compared with 30s. 11d. in 1514, the average sum expended annually being about 35s. Some of the items are grouped under headings such as 'the dyner' which enables one to distinguish between the various occasions on which expenses were incurred. Besides the Lenten dirge, obits and officers' fees already mentioned, there are payments for a dinner, a supper, a celebration on St Katherine's night and various miscellaneous items including 13s. 'to modir lynsey in almesse' in 1516 and one penny 'for the holly watter clerk' in 1520.²² The 'drynkyng upon seint Kateryn's night' was a fairly simple affair when bread, cheese and ale were provided at a cost of six pence. Fire the same night cost one penny and a fee of two pence was paid to the clerk. The guild dinners were more costly affairs and the individual items are listed in detail. On these occasions the clerk and beadle of the guild probably received their fees, twelve and eight pence respectively in 1526. There were also wages to be paid to the cook, between twenty pence and two shillings, except in 1517 when he only received ten pence because there was also the 'labor of David', presumably David Ryveley, master of the guild that year and a cook by profession. There were also 'the torners [turnspits?] and dysshewasshers' who cost the guild four pence. Payments of three or four pence were made to the clerk of the church for fire and a further two pence for heating the oven, in addition to purchases of wood, coal and sedge, while candles at supper could cost between one penny and two shillings. The total sum expended on the feasting in 1516 was about 28s., accounted for as follows;

"Item for brede for the dinner	iid.
Item in ale for the dinner	iiis. iid.
Item for motton pyes	xxiid.
Item for suet for the same	iiid.
Item for flower	xiiid.
Item in pepir	viid.
Item in great Reaysons [raisons]	viid.
Item in covis [cloves] & maces	iid.
Item in saffron	iiid.

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I	
Item in salte	id.
Item in butter	iid.
Item in a legge of bief for potage	iiid.
Item in conyes	iis. viiid.
Item in fagettes and charcolles	xiiiid.
Item for ii rakkess of motton	iiiiid.
Item for veynson for the ingrediences to bake it	iis. iiiid.
Item for candell	iis.
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
Item for Dokes [ducks]	iiiis.
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
Item for colys [coals]	vd.
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
Item for the Coke's wages	iis."

In 1518 the dinner cost considerably less, about 19s.;

"the dyner

Item in brede	xvid.
Item for flower	iiiiid.
Item for fyer	xvid.
Item for candell	iid.
Item for motton and suet for pies	xviiiid.
Item for spices	xxd.
Item for pigges	iiiiid.
Item for conyes	iis. i d.
Item motton for soper	iiiiid.
Item for milke and whete [23]	vid.
Item for Egges, milke & mary [rosemary?]	xiid.
Item for sugar	iiid.
Item for ale	iis. viiid.
Item for the cooke's fee besides the labor of David	xd.
iid.	
Item the bedell & scoryng of the candelstykes	xd.
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
Item to the torner & dyshewasher	iiiiid."

By 1526, the last account we have of a guild dinner, about 25s. was spent;

First in Bredde	iis.
Item in good ale ii barelles	iiiis.
Item in iiiii pigges	xxid. ob.
Item in vi giesse	iis. xid.
Item in motton & bief	iis. viiid.
Item in porke for soper	vid.
Item for viii Couple Conyes	iiiis.
Item for flower for pyes etc.	xid.
Item for chese	iiiis.

Item in spice				iiis. iiiid.
	id.	id.	id.	
Item in sauces mustard, alegar [24], salte				iiiiid.
Item in butter				iiiiid.
Item in Whete				iiid.
Item in milke				iiiiid.
Item to the clerk of the Gilde for his fee				xii.
Item to the bedell of the guylde				viiiid.
Item to the Cooke				xviiid.
Item to the torners & disshewashers				iiiiid.
Item for Woode & Cole & Segge				iiis. iiiiid.
Item for the Candell att Soper and for the Clerke of the Cherche & for fuyer				vid."

The other dinners follow a similar pattern though in 1519 the menu included ten mallard and two teal and in 1520 the brethren ate two dozen larks which cost five pence. Another delicacy consumed by the guild was 'humbles', the offal of deer from which humble pie was made.²⁵ Vegetables and fruit do not appear in the accounts, the former not being in common use until the end of Henry VIII's reign, although in 1519 there is a reference to 'oyneons' which cost one penny. Spice at twenty pence was a costly item whilst a leg of beef at three pence was comparatively cheap. Pies seem to have been very popular especially for supper and in 1522 the guild used one bushel of flour at a cost of eight pence. The ale consumed was of two types, 'good' ale at 1s. 6d. the barrel and 'hostel' ale at about 2s., the latter as its name suggests was public house ale, equivalent to the modern mild. Wine is not mentioned.

The accounts end abruptly in 1537 and the last entries are badly written. The guild may have been in decline at this time although admissions are still recorded, or the accounts may have been entered elsewhere and subsequently lost like the earlier accounts. As the chantry certificates for Cambridge do not survive we have no details of the fraternity on the even of the Suppression and there is always the possibility that the guild of St Katherine had disappeared before 1547. During the period covered by these accounts there was already controversy over belief in Purgatory and the effectiveness of masses for the dead. The dissolution of the monasteries must have alarmed all religious organizations especially those with property to lose and the decade from 1537 to 1547 was a time of uncertainty for the guilds. In 1545 an act was passed conveying to the King the property of all 'colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds and stipendiary priests'. [37 H.VIII c.4] Henry died before the provisions of the act could be implemented but in 1547 the new Protestant government took the final step in the 'Act whereby certain chantries, colleges and free chapels and the possessions of the same be given to the king's Majesty,' [1 E.VI c. 14] and the guilds disappeared.

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NOTES

1. This document is to be found among the parish records of Holy Trinity church at the County Record Office, Cambridge (P.22/5/15) and the writer wishes to thank the Vicar of Holy Trinity for kindly giving permission for the MS. to be used in this paper.
2. Vice-Chancellor's Court, Register of wills, vol. 1; Archdeaconry of Ely, Register of wills, vol. 1.
3. Atkinson, *Cambridge Described and Illustrated*.
4. John Thirleby was churchwarden in 1516 and from 1521 to 1522. Great Saint Mary's Churchwardens' Accounts vol. 1 C.R.O. (P.30/5/1).
5. He had bought his freedom for 20s. in 1498 and first appears as town clerk in 1510 and treasurer in 1519. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. 1.
6. Poll Tax 1512, Palmer, *Cambridge Borough Documents*.
7. Archdeaconry Wills vol. 1. Great St Mary's Ch. Acc.
8. C. H. & T. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigiensis*.
9. Poll Tax 1512.
10. A. Gray, *Biographical Notes on the Mayors of Cambridge*.
11. Holy Trinity Churchwardens Accounts (P.22/5/1).
12. His property was valued at between £40 and £100 in the Poll Tax of 1512.
13. Cooper, *Memorials of Cambridge* vol. III. p. 381.
14. Holy Trinity Ch. Acc. Poll Tax 1512.
15. Palmer, *op. cit.* P.C.C. Wills, Porch 12.
16. Cooper, *Memorials* vol. III. p. 380.
17. Palmer, *op. cit.*
18. He employed three servants and one apprentice, and his moveables were valued at £10 to £20 in 1512.
19. St George's guild gave not only 5s. towards the buying of a fertor [bier] but also regularly paid over to the church the profits from the votive lights before St George.
20. Torches were originally made of twisted wax-'intorticia'. By this period, however, they were a form of coarse taper containing resin and used mainly for escorting corpses to and from church.
21. A frame for candles usually erected over the coffin at funerals.
22. The nature of this office is uncertain, possibly the parish clerk responsible for the holy water stoup etc.
23. Probably for frumenty-hulled wheat boiled in milk and flavoured with spices and sugar.
24. A cheap substitute for vinegar made from sour ale. 'Alegar is to ale what vinegar is to wine'. O.E.D.
25. Also called umbles or numbles. O.E.D.



A MID-SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VIEW OF NEWMARKET COURT HOUSE

DANIEL W. HOLLIS III

DURING the Civil War, the Parliamentary government was forced by the exigencies of war finance to rely partly upon income from church, crown and royalist properties in areas where the Parliamentary armies controlled these lands. The lands became subject to sequestration in 1643, and the county committees were designated to administer them for Parliament. Because the collection of rents was slow and the administration of the lands expensive, the Parliament was eventually faced with the necessity of selling part or all of the properties in order to pay the army and other Parliamentary creditors.

The initial legislation for the sale of confiscated lands was passed in 1646 and applied to the bishops' lands.¹ The sales began the following year after surveys had been made to determine the market value of the properties. The precedent for sale of the confiscated lands was thus established and shortly utilized on a vast scale. In April 1649, the dean and chapter lands were ordered sold.² The following July the Parliament passed an 'Act of the Commons Assembled, for the sale of the Honors, Manors, and Lands heretofore belonging to the late King, Queen, and Prince.'³ The Act excluded such items as the King's personal goods, fee-farm rents, forest lands, and certain royal properties to be utilized by the Commonwealth (e.g., Whitehall, Westminster, St James's, Windsor Castle, and the Tower of London). The legislation provided for comprehensive surveys to be made before the lands were offered for sale. In addition, the legislation named trustees and established the office of Surveyor-General to supervise and coordinate the surveys and sales. Colonel William Webb, the Surveyor-General, and the trustees devised a precedent or model survey to be used by the surveyors as a guide. The surveyors were appointed in groups of three or four to work in various regions of the country.⁴

The crown lands in Cambridgeshire subject to survey and sale were neither as numerous nor as valuable as in many counties, but they were nonetheless important. Two of the crown lands were manors, two were urban court houses, one was a small parcel of land, and there were also rents from properties under the jurisdiction of the Honor of Clare and Richmond in the county. The rental income from crown lands was generally far below the market value because

the crown traditionally utilized its lands primarily for political rather than financial purposes.⁵ However, the rental income from Cambridgeshire crown lands was above the national average.

The most impressive and best known royal property in the county was Newmarket Court House. The property contained only fifty acres of land, but the surveyors found the per annum value to be £123. There was no lease for Newmarket because it was frequently used by the early Stuart monarchs on their visits to the races at Easter and Michaelmas. Another royal house was located in Royston, a corn and cattle market on the border with Hertfordshire. Royston Court House contained only four acres, and the annual value was estimated to be £51 by the surveyors. There was also no crown lessee for the property because the house was used by the royal family, usually as a rest stop on journeys. The house was a two story brick structure which was probably built by Inigo Jones. The largest royal property in the county was Burwell and Ramseys Manor which contained 560 acres and rented for £77 per annum. The lessee before the Civil War was Justinian Povey, the Auditor General to Queen Henrietta Maria. His lease of sixty years was dated 1639. The other crown manor in Cambridgeshire was Waterbeach which was formerly parcel of the House of Minoreesses. It rented for £48 per annum and was leased to Walter Knight at the time it was confiscated. The remaining royal property was the Swinecroft parcel of five acres at Cambridge. The rental had been seven shillings per annum for Richard Wichalls whose lease of twenty-one years was dated 1640.⁶

After the Cambridgeshire crown lands were surveyed between December 1649 and September 1651, they were offered for sale. In almost every county many of the purchasers were soldiers, and Cambridgeshire was no exception. The soldiers were allowed to use their debentures toward the payment of the royal properties. One of the best examples of a regimental purchase with debentures was the sale of Newmarket Court House. The property was obtained for Captain Christopher Mercer's troop in Colonel John Okey's regiment of dragoons. The regimental agent or attorney acting on behalf of the officers and rank and file who held debentures was Major Tobias Bridges. Newmarket was sold at fourteen years purchase of the annual income for a total of £1722.⁷

The Parliamentary survey of Newmarket Court House reveals a number of interesting details about the structure and premises which are not found in other sources. The survey followed a pattern similar to most of the crown land surveys, but in the case of Newmarket the descriptions by the surveyors were more specific than usual. It was obviously an impressive property for the surveyors to have taken the time and effort to provide details which were not otherwise required. The following transcript includes not only the original manuscript wording but also the form used in the surveys. Explanatory notes have been added to enhance the understanding of the document.

Parliamentary Survey of Newmarket Court House, Cambridgeshire¹
 A Survey of New Markett Courte house, with the Rights, Members
 and appurtenances thereof lying and being in the Towne of
 New Markett in the Countie of Cambridge aforesaid late p-
 cell of the possession of Charles Stuart, late Kinge of
 England made and taken by us whose names are hereunto
 subscribed in the Monneth of Januarie 1649² By ver-
 tue of a Comission grannted upon an Acte of the
 Commons assembled in Parliament, for sale of
 the honners Mannors and Lands heretofore
 belonginge to the late Kinge Queene,
 and Prince, under the hand and
 seale of five or more of the
 Trustees in the said Acte
 named and approved⁴

All that Capitall Messuage, Mansion howse or Courte howse with the Appurtenancies
 Commonly called New Markett howse scittuate lying and being in the Towne and Parish of
 New Markett aforesaid, in the foresaid Countie of Cambridge consistinge of severall distincte
 buildings, as followeth (viz.)

All that Bricke buildinge Commonly called the kinges lodgings, adioyning to the Tennis
 Courts conteyninge 84 foote of Assize in length, and 38 foote of Assize in breadth, being
 double built, cont divers and severall lodginge roomes, & other Roomes of service, being
 Three stories high, guttered with lead, the Chimneyes built in ye midst of the said buildinge,
 the severall Chambers beinge all well flowered with sawen boardes, and matted; With a
 small Gardin to the same belonginge on the Southside thereof, inclosed with a Wall conteyn-
 inge one Rood of ground in good reparacons not fitt to be demolished, and is worth p. an

acres	roods	Yearely value
00	01	xv £i.

All that Bricke buildinge called the Tennis Court, with Two other small Brick buildings
 equall with the said Tennis Court at the South and North ends thereof conteyninge in the
 whole 120 foote of Assize in length, and 36 foote of Assize in breadth worth p an xiii £i.

All that old Buildinge beinge partly Bricke, and partly Tymber called the Kings Kitchin
 beinge 40 foote of Assize in length, and 28 foote of Assize in breadth wch standeth distincte
 from the other buildings and are very much out of reparacons worth p an. xx s.

All that Tymber buildinge that leadeth from the Kings lodgings, to the Princes lodgings
 northward called the longe Gallery beinge 72 foote of Assize in Length, and 32 foote of Assize
 in breadth, under which said Gallery are Divers lodging Roomes and Offices under which
 said Roofe, and on the West side of the said Gallery devided with a wall a Rainge of divers
 lodginge Roomes below stayres, and above stayres, equal in depth and length with the said
 Gallery, and fitt to make convenyent Tennementes for habitation, and are worth p an x £i.

All that Bricke buildinge scittuate nex to the Common streete in New Markett, called the
 Princes lodginge, being double built Three storyes highe, conteyning 70 foote of Assize in
 length, and 44 foote of Assize in breadth well floured with sawen boardes and matted, and
 conteyninge 6 Chambers belowe stayres and 6 Chambers above stayres, with fayer Garrets
 in very good reparacons, and very fitt for habitation and worth p an xx £i.

All that old Tymber bulidinge that runneth flush with the said Princes lodginge scittuate nex to the Common streete in New Markett aforesaid, and being 44 foote of Assize in length and 26 foote of Assize in breadth, conteyninge divers Roomes and Offices, belowe staires, & sundrey Roomes above stayres, in parte whereof dwelleth Mr. Richard Grymes, the howse-keeper, fitt for convenyent habbitacone, but out of reparaire, and worth p an vii £i.

All that Crosse old Tymber buildinge, that abutteth with the foresaid buildinge, and runneth flush with the kings lodginge conteyninge 88 foote of Assize in length, and 16 foote of Assize in breadth, heretofore called the pantrey, Buttery, and Wardrobe, all old and very much decayed worth p. an. ii £i. x s.

All that Bricke buildinge with a Turrett called the Princes kitchen beinge a square of 24 foote of Assize, With one other small Tymber howse which are fitt to make Two convenyent small Tennementes, and worth p an. v £i.

Memord. all the foresaid Buildinges and houses are encompassed with a stone wall upon the West, South and East sydes of the same, and with the Comon Streete on the North the Scite of which, with the foresaid Gardin and Courte yeardes contaynes one Acre or ther aboutes And all Wayes, Passages, Lightes, Casementes, Waters, Watercourses, Commodities, advantages, and Appurtenancies whatsoever to the said Manor or Courte House, and Scite thereof, or any pte or parcell thereof in any wise belonginge or appurtaing, and are worth in the whole as aforesaid p an.

acres	roodes	lxxij £i. x s.
01	00	

Memorandum

We have vallued the foresaid howse, with the buildinges, and Offices thereunto belonginge before menconed, and as they nowe stand att lxxij £i. x s. P an. in consideracon that many of the said howses, buildinges and Offices, abutt upon the Streete side, may bee sett out and devided into severall Convenyent habbitacons, with distincte accomodacons to each of them.

Memord. divers of the howses, and Buildings before menconed are in very good reparaire, and not fitt to be demolished yet wee have taken a viewe of the severall Materialls thereof & doe estimate the same, togeather with the Materialls of the severall Outhouses, Offices, and Buildinges thereunto belonginge to be worth in Tymber, Lead, Tyles, Stone, Bricks, Glasse and Iron, upon the place, besides the takeinge of them Downe^t ix Cxx £i.^s

And then the Scite thereof conteyneth one Acre as aforesaid, when the said Materialls are cleared of, wilbee worth P an. xxx s.

All that old decayed Tymber Stable conteyninge 132 foote of Assize in length, and 16 foote of Assize in breadth beinge Thatched, with Two other old Decayed Barnes Thatched alsoe beinge 90 foote of Assize in length, And 18 foote of Assize in breadth scittuate upon the Church Yeard on the South, and North, Togeather worth P an. xl s.

All that newe Bricke buildinge conteyninge 116 foote of Assize in length att 40 foote of Assize in breadth conteyninge Stables for the greate howse belowe stayres, with divers fayer lodgings above staires, and Garretts over them, well Tymbered and Tyled, worth P. an. xv £i

All that Tymber Rydinge howse rayسد upon substancyall Tymber, and boarded upon one side and one end with a Deepe Tyled Roofe conteyninge 104 foote of Assize in length, and 36 foote of Assize in breadth worth P. an. ij £i. x s.

All that Bricke buildinge called the Dogghouse, beinge 44 foote of Assize in length, and 28 foote of Assize in breadth, with a Bricke stable thereunto belonginge, and a Gardin thereto adioyninge conteyninge by estimacon 1 Rood, as ye same are inclosed with a Pale, & Stone Wall, worth P an. iiij £i

All that Bricke buildinge called the Clarke of the Workes his howse, beinge 32 foote of Assize in length, and 28 foote of Assize in breadth, with a Stable thereunto belonginge beinge Twenty foote of Assize in length, and fowerteene foote of Assize in breadth, built all of Tymber, and alsoe a Gardin plott thereunto belonginge conteyninge Two Roodes or there aboutes, as it is nowe inclosed with a stone wall, worth P an. iiij £i.

All that peece of Arrable land, nowe plowed up, lyinge and being upon the West side of the Clarke of the workes his howse, and thereunto adioyninge as the same is nowe inclosed conteyninge, fower Acres, worth P an.

acres	Roodes	iiij £i.
04	00	

All those two peeces of Pasture, lyinge and beinge upon the South syde of ye Church, with the Walkes thereto belonginge cont Sixe Acres, worth P an 06 00 iiij £i.

With all Wayes, Passages, Lightes, Casementes, Waters, Watercourses, Commodities, Advantages, and Appurtenance whatsoever to the above menconed, Buildinges landes and Pasture or any Pte or Pcell thereof in any wise belonginge or apptayninge as Pte, and Pcell of the said Mannor or Courte howse of New Markett, aforesd, and are worth in the whole as aforesaid P an. xxxv £i. x s.

Memord all the last recyted severall and distincte buildinges and houses are scituate in and sevall places and partes within the Landes before mencoed called the Kinges Closes, and belonginge and neare adioyninge to ye backside of the Chiefe Mancon, or Courte howse aforesd upon ye South beinge sewed^e from the greate howse and buildings thereunto belonginge with ye Comon Streete Church & Churchyard on ye South, & cont by admeasurement 11 acres Roodes

11	00
----	----

Memorandum

We have valued the foresaid howses, and Buildinges with the 11 acres of Land thereto belonginge att xxxv £i. x s. P an, And in consideracon that the same may be sett forth and divided into severall commodious habitacons with distincte accomodacons to each of them The Dogg-howse and the Clarke of the Workes his howse are in very good repaire and not fitt to be demolished, wch we have valued distinctly att ye annuall Rent as aforesaid Viz viiij £i.

The New Bricke stables, the Ridinge howse with the longe Stable, & the Two old Barnes thatched are all decayed, and not more worth then the Materialls/ Wee have taken a viewe of the sevrall Materialls thereof and Doe estimate the same togeather to bee worth in Tymber, Lead, Tyles, Bricks, Stone, Glasse, and Iron upon the place besides the charge of takinge them Downe cclx £i.⁷

And then the Scite thereof with the Landes thereunto belonginge conteing Tenn Acres when the said Materialls are cleared of, and will be worth P an vij £i.

All yt Stone buildinge called ye Brewhouse cont 82 foote of Assize in length, and 60 foote of Assize in breadth, haveing two distincte Roofes thereupon well tyled, not fitt to be demo-

lished, but fitt to make convenyent habitacons, wch said brewhouse is Scittuate on ye backside of ye Greyhound in Newmarkett aforesd on the South wth $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre of ground more or lesse thereunto belonging, and worth P an

00 02 iij £i.

All that Bricke buildinge called the Coachhowse in Pte whereof there is a Smythes forge in the possession of John Reade conteyning in length 56 foote of Assize, and in breadth 20 foote of Assize, and is in good repaire and not fitt to be demolished, beinge fitt to make convenyent habitacons with halfe an acre of Land thereto belonging worth P an

Acres Roodes iij £i.
00 02

Memord that the Brewhouse and Coachhowse are in very good repaire, and nott fitt to be demolished, yet very fitt for convenyent habitacon and soe wee have valued them they standinge distinctley, and severed from all the rest of the other Buildings, beinge bounded with the Signe of the Greyhound on the North, and with the Landes of Jeremie Gawen on the South worth in ye Total P an.

vij £i.

Memord that all the premises aforesaid are in present possession, and in the whole are worth P an.

cxvj £i.⁸

Wardrobe Thomas Hide, nowe dwellinge in the Towne of Royston in the foresaid Countie Keeper of Cambridge gent Claymeth the Office of Wardrobe keeper by and under Lres⁹ pattentes dated ¹⁰ in the 3d yeare of the late kinge Charles, duringe the naturall lyfe of him the said Thomas in both the howses of Newmarkett, and Royston,¹¹ with an Annuall sallary thereto belonginge and a certaine allowance alsoe yearely for Broomes, & Brushes And fower pound a year for a Liverie, as may more fully appeare by the Lres Pattents produced before us reference thereto beinge had/

All those Acres of Pasture ground lyinge and beinge upon the Common heath called Newmarkett heath in the Parishes of Swasham Bulbeck and Burrowegreene in the Countie of Cambridge aforesaid commonly called the Hare Parke, as it was heretofore Inclosed, with the Appurtenancies thereunto belonginge, And as it was used occupied and inioyed to and with the said Capital Messuage, Mancon howse or Courte howse of Newmarkett aforesaid Scittuate in the foresaid Countie of Cambridge, conteyninge by estimacon in the Whole Thirtie fower Acres more or lesse, Whereof Thirtie acres more or lesse are nowe in the teanure and occupacon of Ambros Mortlocke of Birchelock in the said Countie of Cambridge And the other fower Acres more or lesse are in the occupacon of Thomas Renowe of Dullingham in the said Countie of Cambridge worth P an.

34 00 vij £i.

Memord the said Hare Parke with th appurtenance thereto belonginge is in present possession

Memord that wee have Contracted with the above named Ambrose Mortlocke, who is to hold Thirtie Acres more or lesse of the said Hare Parke, and in his owne possession, att the Rente of Sixe pound, for one whole yeare from the birthday of our Saviour last past, and payable att the feastes of the Nativitie of John the Baptist, and the birth of our Saviour aforesd 1650, by equal porcons¹²

An abstracte of the present value of the Courte Howse of Newmarkett aforesaid The said Courte, with all the Howses and Landes thereto belonginge as aforesaid are in present possession, and are in ye whole P an

cxxij £i.¹³

The Materialles of the said Courte Howse, and Outehouses, besides those Howses that are fitt for habitacons are valued in grosse att Mciiijxx £i.¹⁴

Signed and subscribed by us whose names are here under written beinge nominated and appointed Surveyors for the Countie of Cambridge by the Trustees, accordinge to the foremenconed Acte this fiste ¹⁵ day of Febr. 1649¹⁶

Tho: Fowle

S. Tine

Jn. Ward

Ex. Will Webb Suprs Generl ¹⁷

1. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, edited by C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (3 vols.; London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), I, 879–83.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 81–104.
3. *Ibid.*, II, 168.
4. *Ibid.*, II, 170–75, 188–89.
5. On this subject, see especially B. P. Wolffe, *The Royal Demesne in English History: The Crown Estate in the Governance of the Realm from the Conquest to 1509* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1971).
6. Public Record Office, Exchequer 317, Cambridgeshire Parliamentary Surveys 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; *Victoria County History of Cambridgeshire*, II, 292, 298; Joseph Beldam, "Royston Court House and Its Appurtenances," *Archaeologia*, XL (1866), 119–21, 124; Edmund Carter, *The History of the County of Cambridge, from the Earliest Account to the Present Time* (London: S. & R. Bentley, 1819), 242–43, 258, 300.
7. Public Record Office, Chancery 54/3606/38; Exchequer 121/1/56; Exchequer 320/C11; British Museum, Add. MS. 21327, f. 53; Add. MS. 30208, f. 22; H. J. Habakkuk, "The Parliamentary Army and the Crown Lands," *Welsh History Review*, III (1967), 415–18. For a detailed explanation of the use of debentures and the military purchases of crown lands, see Ian Gentles, "The Management of the Crown Lands, 1649–60," *Agricultural History Review*, XIX (1971), 25–41, and Gentles, "The sales of Crown Lands during the English Revolution," *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, XXVI (1973), 614–35.

REFERENCES

¹ Public Record Office, Exchequer 317, Cambridgeshire Parliamentary Survey 3, 8 folios. The transcript of Crown-copyright records in the Public Record Office appears by permission of the Controller of H. M. Stationery Office.

² The date is Old Style so that the year by the New Style calendar would be 1650.

³ The titles of the crown land surveys are in the shape of an inverted pyramid. The form was used mainly to distinguish the crown land surveys from the fee-farm surveys which are included in the same set of documents.

⁴ Part of the surveyors' instructions included the valuation of the building materials of structures. If the structure was so badly decayed as to be uninhabitable or unusable, the trustees might decide to have the structure destroyed and the materials and site sold separately.

⁵ £920.

⁶ The word is probably severed.

⁷ £260.

⁸ £116.

⁹ Letters.

¹⁰ Apparently, in his claim, Thomas Hide could not provide the surveyors with the precise date of his patent. The blank space could be filled later when the letters patent were produced.

¹¹ The reference to Royston could mean that Hide was also the wardrobe keeper for the royal property of Royston Court House.

¹² The surveyors were allowed to let unleased lands for up to one year before their sale. See *Acts and Ordinances*, II, 180.

¹³ £123.

¹⁴ £1,180.

¹⁵ first.

¹⁶ Again, the date is Old Style so that the year by the New Style calendar would be 1650.

¹⁷ The Surveyor-General, Colonel William Webb, examined and signed virtually all of the Parliamentary surveys.

RIDGE-AND-FURROW IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE

ROGER KAIN *and* W. R. MEAD

INTEREST in relict features of the landscape waxes and wanes with fashion. The climax of concern for ridge-and-furrow was probably reached more than a decade ago; but much remains to be done in the simple recording of this familiar rural feature and, as its broader distributional occurrence is revealed, in the detection of significant correlations. The first exercise in recording the distribution of ridge-and-furrow at a county level was undertaken for Buckinghamshire¹ and was subsequently broadened into a four county map². Maps of ridge-and-furrow for Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Kent have also been compiled, though they are unpublished.³ The map reproduced in Figure 2 extends the study into Cambridgeshire.

Cambridgeshire is a county characterised by marked variation in soils which gave rise to the development of distinctive farming and field systems in the past. Its traditional agricultural regions based on soil types, are summarised on Figure 1. At this general level the county can be divided into two parts with the Fenland to the north and the Upland to the south. There is also an important distinction between the heavy soils of west Cambridgeshire that are derived from boulder clay and the light soils of the south and east with parent material of chalks and sands. The one-inch soil map of the Cambridge region published for the Soil Survey of England and Wales in 1963, indicates that there is a great deal of local variation within these main divisions. It identifies some soil series in the west with free drainage and others in the south and east where drainage is imperfect and locally poor.⁴

H. L. Gray in *English Field Systems* (1915) considered that Cambridgeshire occupied a transitional position between his Midland and East Anglian areas and that it possessed elements of the field systems of both. Recent work has tended to support Gray's basic assumptions, if not his opinions on the method of tillage. M. R. Postgate argues that in west Cambridgeshire field systems developed along Midland lines. He reviews documentary evidence from the thirteenth century which shows that assarts from the waste were assimilated directly into the common fields.⁵ Much the same happened in the centre of the county but in the south and east 'it is clear that the development of field systems occurred, not according to Midland custom, but according to that common in East Anglia.'⁶ Here, irregular field systems developed out of the amalgamation of assarts.

The ridge-and-furrow map of Cambridgeshire has been constructed in the same way as those for other counties. It is based upon air photographs flown

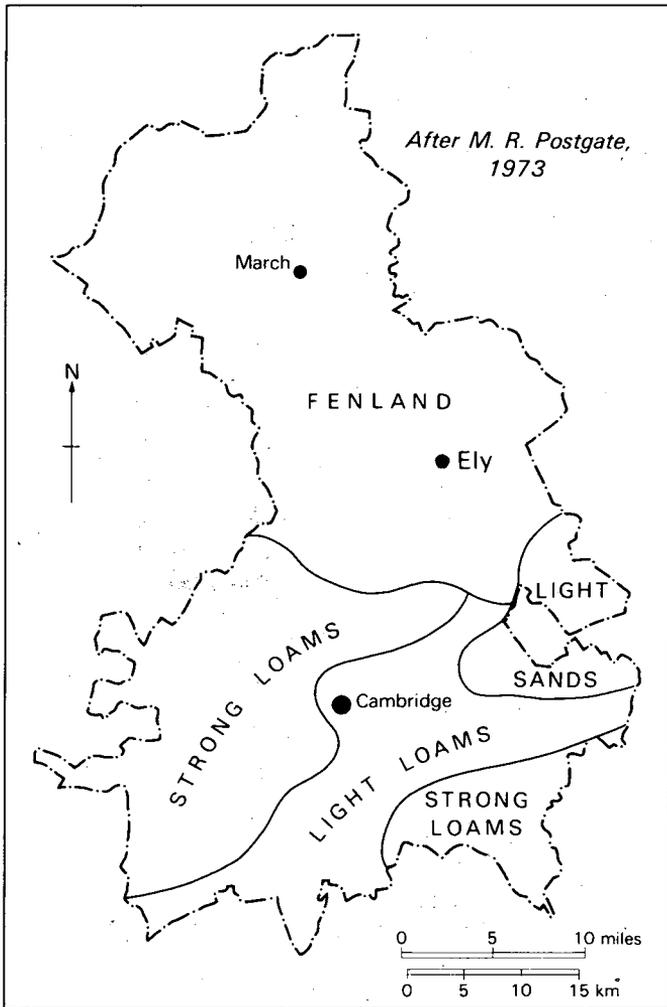


Fig. 1. Agricultural Regions of Cambridgeshire (after M. R. Postgate, 1973).

by the R.A.F. between 1947 and 1963 at a scale of 1:10,000. These photographs cover the whole county with the exception of some narrow strips between adjacent sorties and some military airfields. The patterns of ridge-and-furrow detectable on the photographs have been transferred to 1:25,000 scale Ordnance Survey maps. Since the Second World War, with the development of high-powered tractors and in response to the system of deficiency payments for

cereals, much of the heavy land of Cambridge traditionally laid to permanent pasture has been ploughed up. These facts should be borne in mind when interpreting the map or when comparing it with the distribution of ridge-and-furrow obtained from other sources and from photographs taken at a later date.

Figure 2 is therefore a record of the distribution of a rapidly disappearing micro-relief feature as it existed in the middle years of the twentieth century. No attempt has been made to distinguish between different types of ridge-and-furrow. For thirty-seven parishes on the heavy land of west Cambridgeshire and ten parishes on the fen margin in north-east Cambridgeshire, the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments has produced such a classification.⁷ From aerial photograph and field evidence it recognises three types of ridge-and-furrow. The first type is associated with the open fields, arranged either in straight furlongs or, more usually, in curved furlongs. The second type derives from 'old enclosures'; it is generally similar in shape and form to that of the open fields but different in that headlands were formed within the field boundary. The third type is considered to be of post-enclosure age, is usually straight and commonly aligned downslope. A detailed description of the shape and extent of ridge-and-furrow is given under the heading of 'cultivation remains' in each parish account in the two volumes.

From Figure 2 it can be calculated that over 80% of the fields bearing the imprint of ridge-and-furrow are located on the heavy soils of the western part of the county. While it is absent from the Fenland proper, there is a close correlation between clay soils and the occurrence of ridge-and-furrow on the fen 'islands'. Contrastingly, in the south and south-east of the county, no such simple relationship between ridge-and-furrow and soil type can be found. Although some fields on the river deposits of the river Cam in the parishes of Hinxton, Whittlesford and Sawston are ridged-and-furrowed, very few fields on the heavy soils of the south-east display the feature.

This distinction between the east and west of the county was noticed by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century agricultural commentators. Charles Vancouver in his 1794 Board of Agriculture Report on the farming of Cambridgeshire says that in the parish of Shudy Camps in the extreme south east of the county, 'the open field, as well as the enclosures, lie flat; no high back'd lands; they are all hollow drained, and in that respect managed in a very husbandlike manner.'⁸ In the west at Childerley there was a contrasting situation and he bemoaned the difference in quality of crops, 'between the tops of the lands and the furrows; a distinction which must strike the traveller with melancholy, as he traverses the open common fields, of this and some of the neighbouring counties.'⁹

In Cambridgeshire the plough itself was also a variable which could influence the character of ridge-and-furrow. The fenland was cultivated by turn-wrest ploughs and it has been argued that it would be difficult to throw land into

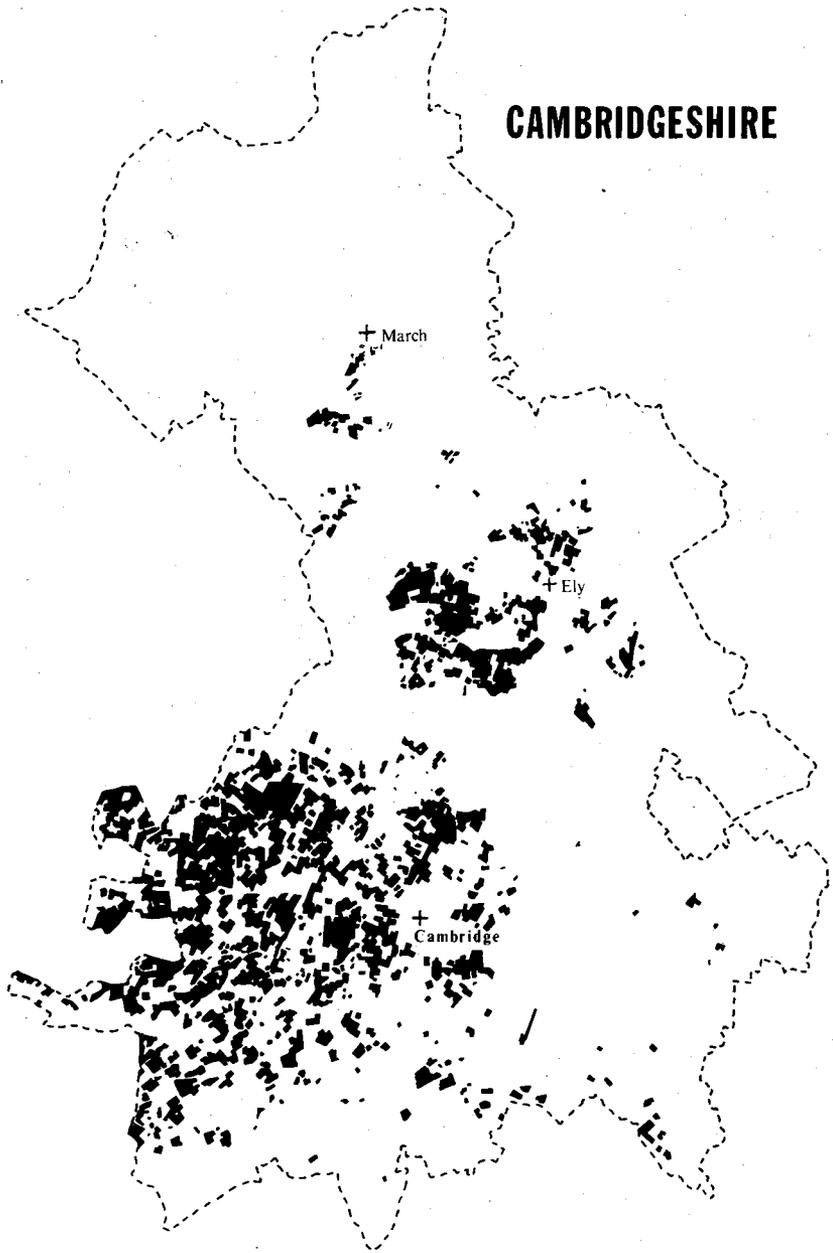
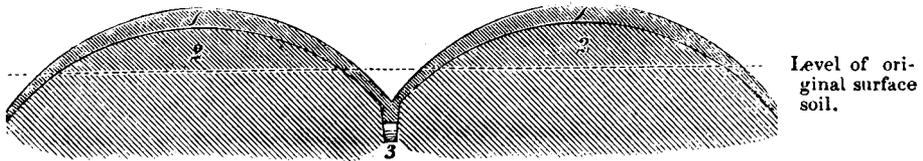


Fig. 2. The Distribution of Ridge-and-Furrow in Cambridgeshire.

ridge-and-furrow with these implements. In upland Cambridgeshire the fixed mouldboard plough was traditionally used and ridge-and-furrow can be considered the direct consequence of its employment. In addition, it is likely that the light soils of Cambridgeshire were never ridged-and-furrowed because of the practice of cross-ploughing. One of the three methods of ploughing common in England at the end of the sixteenth century was to lay land 'flatte and plaine, without ridge or furrow, as in most parts of Cambridgeshire.'¹⁰ This method of treating the light soils of Cambridgeshire is corroborated by Samuel Jonas in his prize essay of the Royal Agricultural Society of England written in 1847. He describes in detail how fields were laid flat by several cross ploughings.¹¹ He

Section of Ends of Lands lying on high Backs.



1. Present surface soil.
2. Land gathered up above original level of surface soil, now become, to a certain extent, dead inert clay.
3. Hollow drain up the middle of old furrows.

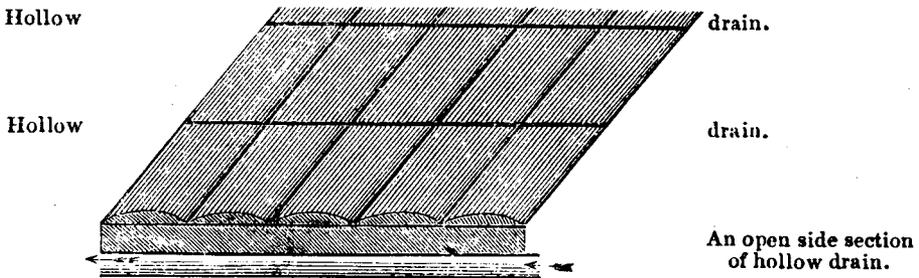


Fig. 3. A comparison of the Landscape Effects of Ridging-and-Furrowing and Hollow Draining by Samuel Jonas in 1847.

also noted the different ploughing on heavy soil in east and west Cambridgeshire. He thought that drainage in the east was much better managed than in the west. In the eastern district every field was ploughed in straight lands of uniform width and fallows were cross-ploughed. Excess water was removed by hollow drains.¹² Jonas severely castigated farmers in the west of the county who continued to plough in ridge-and-furrow. 'You here perceive the plan our forefathers adopted to get rid of the water; for instead of taking the water from the land, they endeavoured to take the land from the water.'¹³ He produced a diagram to illustrate the landscape effects of these two methods of ridding the soil of excess moisture and it is reproduced in Figure 3.

This short note demonstrates that the distribution of ridge-and-furrow in Cambridgeshire is not simply explained. In the first place, there is no direct and universal correlation between heavy soils and the presence of ridge-and-furrow. Some fields on light soils are ridged-and-furrowed, while few fields on the heavy soils of the eastern part of the county bear its imprint. Early observers explained the mass of ridged-and-furrowed fields in the west as a crude attempt to rid soil of excess water while in the east this was not necessary because of the widespread adoption of hollow drains for this purpose. In the second place, a distinction exists between the regular three field system of cultivation practised before enclosure in the west and the irregular multi-field practices of the east; but this is no simple distinction. It would seem that an extension of this study into High Suffolk might yield useful results. High Suffolk is another area of heavy soils with drainage problems, where the past organisation of agriculture was quite different from that of the Midland Plain.

Nor, to put the feature into a wider perspective, is East Anglia so far removed from complementary lands across the North Sea, where ridge-and-furrow continues to attract the attention of investigators. The evidence and approach have different forms in Scandinavia. In Germany, the theme has been intermittently recurrent in academic enquiry for a full century.¹⁴

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6. M. R. Postgate, *op. cit.* (1973), 295.

7. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of Historical Monuments in the County of Cambridge*, Vol. 1, (1968), *West Cambridgeshire*, lxvi-lxix; Vol. 2 (1972) *North-east Cambridgeshire*, xxxiv.
8. C. Vancouver, *General view of the agriculture of the county of Cambridge* (1974), 62.
9. *idem.* 121.
10. An addition by 'I.R.' in 1598, *Fitzherbert's Book of Husbandry*, reprinted from the edition of 1534 and edited by W. W. Skeat, (London, 1882), 132.
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INSTRUCTIONS TO AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COMMERCIAL TRAVELLER

DAVID H. KENNETT

IN 1716, Richard Tyler became the manager of a soap factory in Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, and was still in this post when the available records of the concern, dating from 1722 to 1726, are extant.¹ This rural business seems to have flourished in a small way during the known years of its existence though it was not without its difficulties. Chief among these was fear of competition by London soap manufacturers,² alarmed at a company of its size capturing a large rural market, for principal among the documents relating to the company is a series of '*Instructions to the Rider for the Soap Company*'³ which this note seeks to draw attention to. These instructions show a wide appreciation of the area covered and also give a clear indication that in rural Cambridgeshire and the surrounding counties this company intended to hold its own against competition.

The scale of the company's business may be judged from the following, undated, memorandum:⁴

Suppose to make in one year 2816 barrels of soap [which] is 54 barrels a week and 8 over [and] suppose will gain 8s a barrel [which] is £1126-8s. For carrying on the trade requires £14000 [which] is £700 per annum, so that there will be gained £426 over and above paying 5% interest; with for bad debts £126, [there] remains £240 yearly.

The memorandum goes on to state the charges against making that quantity of soap:

Salaries (one at £100; two at £50)	£200
Expenses	£80
New casks and mending the old	£532-1-5
Old casks cost	£102-2-0
Covers	£50
Coals	£50
Repairs, taxes, expenses	£42
House Rent	£150

The total cost of the 2,816 barrels came out at £1,206-3-5, which is 8s 7d per barrel. The company's expenses in making the soap also included the very heavy costs of the raw materials:

Foreign potash	£2658
English potash	£462
Lime	£104

This gave a total of £3,224 for the potash and lime but at the time of the memorandum the company had a stock of potash valued at £945, giving a

cost of 16s 2½d per barrel of soap which came to £2,279 for all 2,816 barrels. The original estimate in the memorandum of the cost of casks may have been too high by as much as £150, for a codicil states:

Suppose to employ 6 men at £25 per annum	£150
Allow a master to look after them	£30
Beech	£110
Hoops, 112320 at 16d per hundred	£62-8-0
Suppose more for rent, nails, etc	£29-12-0

This gave a total cost of the barrels of £382.

However, we do not know how far these figures are actual rather than hypothetical, for no account book survives. The partners in the firm seem to have changed in 1725 for a Mr Wright agreed to serve for only ten years from Michaelmas 1716 and the others allowed him to leave.⁵ Much of the extant correspondence concerns this change of partners, which in the absence of a more detailed knowledge of the firm is somewhat without interest.

The marketing arrangements of the firm, however, display both its wide range of contacts and its intention not to be driven out of business by London soap makers. In this it may well have been successful, for a letter of 10 November 1725 feared the speedy dissolution of the company, but one written only three months later is much more hopeful and speaks of the re-establishment of the partnership without Mr Wright but with a new man. Unfortunately the papers are not extant beyond this date.

What is extant, however, is the '*Instructions to the Rider for the Soap Company*':⁶

At March send to the shopkeepers to the White Hart or go to the shops.

At Doddington call of Mr Boydon.

At Chatteris go to the shopkeepers and desire their company.

At Haddington send for the two principal shopkeepers or rather go to their shops and invite them to take a glass with you at the Three Kings.

Sell Oil oil for 3s 3d to 3s 6d; sell B B 5s 10d down to 5s 6d; sell B x S 5s 2d down to 4s 10d; B 54-14 at 4s 10d; note we now sell B S fish oil soap.

If you find the landowners have by their letters offered to sell under, abate accordingly.

Enquire of some substantial person in every town who are the best and safest dealers and go to their businesses accordingly.

Never ride after sunset when you have money or bills that are due.

Enter into your book copies of what bills you take and get them endorsed by them you have taken of.

If any be found of selling tallow at 39s delivered here either exchange for soap or take some for an answer from your principals and if any want to buy tallow may have some at Wisbech or Lynn at 41s ready money.

At Ely advise with Robert Lightfoot Esq, Receiver General; call of Mr Marsh and other best traders as he advises at their houses and desire their company in the evening at the Lamb if you stay there.

At Cambridge go to all our customers and if you are advised of any new ones there or elsewhere get their orders.

Go to Everard at Newmarket and desire his advice whom else you shall apply to there.
 Go to Bury to Mr Hannibal Hills at the Eagle and enquire of all the good dealers in Bury; go to their houses to get what orders you can either from shopkeepers or combers that are great dealers and note in your book who are combers.
 At Thetford take Mr Sharpes advice or Mr Cardells where you set up.
 At Brandon call of Mr Brewster and as also at Stoke of Mr William Brewster and set up at the White Hart in Brandon.
 At Downham call of Mr Jay and keep a diary.
 When you reckon with any customer compare their books with your account.
 Write every post night of what business happens direct to Mr Peter Hardisway.
 At Cambridge if you have money may pay to Mr Finch or Mr Patterson or Mr Whitting and take a London bill.
 At St Ives enquire of Mr William Bentley at the Crown and Mr Ephraim White who are the best dealers in the town.
 At Huntingdon advise with Mr Sethwell who are the best dealers.
 If there should happen to be any complaint of any soap already delivered take the number and what is the particular objection.
 If complain of B S soap not being so strong as they would have it tell them it is for want of fish oil which they shall have if desired but the other much sweeter and better for all household uses for linen but for combers not so good.
 If any bills longer due that six months make them ask for money.

First Journey:

To March, Doddington, Chatteris, Maypole, Ely, Haddenham, Cambridge, St Ives, Huntingdon, Newmarket, Mildenhall, Wallington, Bury, Herley, Thetford, Brandon (abide at the White Hart), Melvill, Stoke, Finden, Downham.
 If complain it is too hard and won't spread on their clothes it should be kept warm and will be as good in winter as in summer; frosty weather will make all second soap either heavy or hard; warm weather will bring it to itself if kept close.

We do not know if the journey was ever undertaken but it would seem probable that these instructions represent a standing arrangement and most probably drawn up when a new rider was engaged by the firm. Who he was, or the fate of the firm, is not known, but the document itself does throw some light on the marketing of a product in a rural area: in this case soap in Cambridgeshire and the adjacent counties.⁷

NOTES

1. The material on which this note is based is contained in a volume of transcripts made in the mid-eighteenth century by Luke Francklin of Great Barford, Bedfordshire. This volume (Beds C R O document FN 1255 pages 483-501) is one of a series of twenty-three such volumes. For the Wisbech soap factory no original documents are extant and so the transcript is our only source. The exact relation of the soap factory and a series of other Wisbech papers, principally a school subscription list of 1717 and a court roll of the early eighteenth century, is not clear. Six items exist for the soap factory: three are letters, one a memorandum, one the instructions to the rider and the sixth a meaningless account for £18264 as the total liabilities or assets (which is not clear) for the company.
2. Beds C R O document FN 1255 pages 493-496: Richard Tyler to John Thompson, Market Street, London, 10 November 1725.

3. Beds C R O document FN 1255 pages 488-491.
4. Beds C R O document FN 1255 pages 486-487.
5. Two items mention Mr Wright: Beds C R O document FN 1255 pages 483-485: Richard Tyler to Mr Thomas Stevens and Mr Edward Stevens, Botolph Lane, London; 22 December 1722; FN 1255 pages 498-501: Richard Tyler to Samuel Jerimiah, 14 February 1725/6.
6. Beds C R O document FN 1255 pages 488-491. The transcript follows the original but has modernised the spelling and the punctuation.
7. For access to the material on which this note is based, I wish to thank Bedfordshire County Record Office. Paper completed 1 April 1971.

*Please note that titles are no longer necessarily under first word,
but are now entered under the first significant word.*

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