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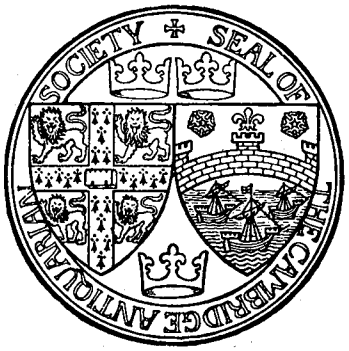

VOLUME LXXIV

for 1985

THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

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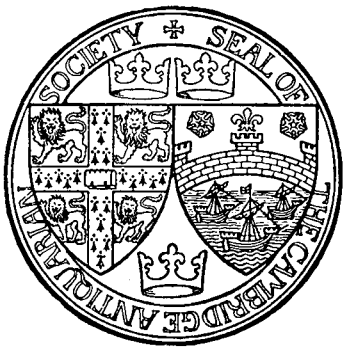

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PREHISTORIC, ROMAN, SAXON AND MEDIEVAL ARTEFACTS FROM THE SOUTHERN FEN EDGE, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

ALISON TAYLOR

Collections of archaeologically important objects, mostly of metal, from the southern fen edge in Cambridgeshire, are described, discussed and illustrated. The majority of the finds are Roman in date, including several 'cult objects', large collections of jewellery and a few iron tools. There are smaller collections of prehistoric, Saxon and medieval artefacts. Although all finds have been provenanced, their importance is strictly speaking that of casual finds. Their geographical context, clustering around the fen edge gives them especial interest, but detailed analyses of finds scatters as sites is tentative because of the random nature of collection.

INTRODUCTION

Artefacts were brought to the Archaeology Workshop in the Central Library in Cambridge from 1980–1983 by Richard Stripe, Albert Rank, Edward Morrell and Michael Paine, and it became clear that many of these objects were of more than local importance and merited full publication. Specialists were found who gave freely of their knowledge and time to produce the reports included here, but drawing 285 objects was a major task for which no funds were available. Eventually, a Community Programme came to our aid but inevitably many hands have been employed which tells in the differing styles of the illustrations. Many other finds were reported at the same time, including a fine selection of prehistoric flint tools from around Soham which we hope will be published in our next Proceedings, many hundreds of Roman coins, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, and post-medieval objects of little interest.

The article gives pride of place to the artefacts, with detailed specialist reports and an illustration of nearly every item, although we give some rather impressionistic notes on the sites in the 'Discussion' Section. We have therefore reversed the format of normal archaeological reports but hope to show how much can be learnt by the proper study of such collections. This should encourage the public to ensure that all archaeological artefacts, however found, are properly identified and recorded and also perhaps lead to more archaeological reporting on collections, thus broadening the contexts of many finds that were once thought so rare. Such a report also gives an opportunity to show some truly delightful objects, and readers tired of words can profitably concentrate on the illustrations.

THE ARTEFACTS

Artefacts are catalogued by material, with the exception of the coins which are dealt with separately. Each artefact is alloted to a general chronological period, where possible, within the material category. Unidentified and undated items are grouped together at the end of each category.

Most objects have been illustrated and their numbers coincide with the numbering in the catalogue. Some are not, however, illustrated, either because they were returned to their finders before a detailed drawing could be made (these objects are recorded on black and white photographs), or because they are duplicates of other illustrated examples.

In the catalogue a description of the object is given, including a measurement in millimetres. No detailed information of the find spot is given in an attempt to protect the sites involved. However, the parish in which the object was found is given at the end of the artefact description, in addition to a site number, where relevant, and the original drawing number (DN) which forms the basis of the report archive. More detailed information about the find spots is contained in this archive and on the County Council Sites and Monuments Record. Descriptions of sites and lists of finds arranged in Parish order are given under 'Discussion'. Unattri-

buted descriptions of artefacts are by Caroline Ireland.

The Coins

Iron Age. Identified by Terence Volk, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

> Icenian Silver coin corresponding to Allen's type IIIb, a normal Face-Horse coin. (Allen 1970, 28), dated to the end of the first century BC. (Soham, Site 11).
> Gold stater, issue of Dubnovellaunus (Mack 275A) (Soham, Site 11).

Roman.

Only the coins from sites in Cottenham parish have been studied in any detail, by Michael Sekulla. A larger number of coins were recovered from both Bottisham and Soham, and were submitted to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, where they are, at present, still being worked on. As a result only the Cottenham coins are included in the present report. It is hoped that details of the Soham and Bottisham parish finds will be available in due course.

The Roman Coins from Cottenham, by Michael Sekulla.

The three groups of coins from the sites in Cottenham catalogued below all present different patterns of coin loss and in order to make comparisons between them they have been tabulated in a manner uniform with other sites, according to the formula and periodicity devised by Casey (1974). However, the information that can be derived from such distributions is necessarily limited in this case, being a result of the small size of each sample and the fact that all the coins are without a proper contextual relationship.

Site 5. ? Settlement Area.

This is perhaps the least representative sample, comprising only 25 Roman coins. The majority of these are datable to the period AD 260 to 273 whilst there is a relative paucity of fourth century coinage. It is unlikely that this has any implications for the dating of the site.

Site 4.

Although 167 coins were recovered from this site only 91 proved susceptible to close identification. Two major anomalies are observable in the distribution pattern. From AD 260 to 317 (Periods 18 to 21) the frequency of coin loss is well below its expected rate (See Reece 1973 for examples) and there is a complete absence of issues of Carausius and Allectus. For the periods 25 and 27 there is a pronounced increase in coin loss and this is especially noticeable between 364 and 378. This pattern could have been due to the recent history of the site rather than to any mechanisms governing the circulation of coinage in antiquity. Compared with other local sites the pattern of recent activity on this site is unusual. Most sites appear to have been ploughed or otherwise subject to destructive action since the nineteenth century or even earlier and this has had the overall effect of severely damaging the latest Roman deposits and the artefacts contained therein. On Site 4 ploughing commenced only relatively recently and this may have allowed the preservation of more of the latest coins in an identifiable condition whilst leaving earlier deposits almost intact. It seems quite likely that this could have caused the skewing of the coin representation in favour of the later coins and to the detriment of the earlier – even though the site may well have been continuously occupied from the first or second century AD.

Site 5. Temple Site.

This site had the largest number of identifiable coins yet the smallest number from the site which could be dated to the first and second centuries AD. The three coins of this date were in a very worn condition and it is possible that all of them were lost in the third century rather than any earlier. This may point to a date of origin for the site in the early to mid-third century, especially since the occurrence of three coins of the period AD 222 – 244 in such a small sample is unusual.

Coin loss from this date until the late fourth century is almost constant but is unusual in presenting a much higher number of losses in the period AD 286 to 330 than might otherwise be expected. The reasons for this are not entirely clear but might be due in part to the votive origin of the coins rather than their direct use as currency of this site.

The lack of coinage from period 26 and 27 should not be taken to indicate that use of the site ceased after the third quarter of the fourth century.

The Coins

The notation used in this catalogue follows that

devised by Reece (1975) and all references are to the relevant volumes of *Roman Imperial Coinage* or *Late Roman Bronze Coinage*.

SITE 5. ? Settlement Area.

Vespasian	1	Sestertius (Illegible)
Hadrian	1	As (Illegible)
A. Pius	2	RIC as 944, Dupondius (Illegible)
Gallienus	1	RIC as 179K
Claudius 11	3	RIC 16, as 44, Copy as 260
Victorinus	1	Antoninianus (Illegible)
Tetricus 1	3	RIC as 130, Copy as 126, Copy (Illegible)
Tetricus 1?	1	Copy (Illegible)
Tetricus 11	1	Antoninianus (Illegible)
Carausius	1	RIC as 98
Constantine 1	1	RIC 7 Arl 145
House of Constantine	1	RIC 7 Arl as 318ff
Constans or Constantius	1	RIC 8 as Tr 231ff
Illegible	8	As (1st Century), Halved As (1st Cent?) Antoninianus, Copy of 3rd Cent Antoninianus (2) Fragmentary Roman (2) 18th Century Halfpenny
	26	

SITE 4.

Vespasian	1	RIC as 19
Trajan	1	As (Illegible)
Hadrian	2	As (Illeg)
A. Pius	1	RIC 934
Faustina 11	1	As (Illeg)
Gordian 111	1	RIC as 309
Gallienus	1	Antoninianus (Illeg)
Postumus	2	RIC 77A, 80
Postumus?	1	RIC as 77
Victorinus	1	Antoninianus (Illeg)
Crispus	1	RIC 7 Lon 291P
Crispus?	1	Follis 318 – 330 (Illeg)
Constantine 1	3	RIC 7 Tr as 530 Hera as 115ff RIC 8 Const 22
House of Constantine	6	RIC 7 Tr as 544–546, as 590ff (2) Gloria Exercitus 1 std (3)
Constans	1	RIC 8 Arl 85
Constantius II	6	RIC 8 Tr 180 as Ly 189 (2) Copies; FTR FH (3 – Illeg)
Constantius II ?	2	RIC 8 as Ly 189ff Copy as Ly 189ff
Constans or Constantius	2	RIC 8 Arl as 72/3P ff VictoriaeDDAuggQNN (Illeg)
Magnentius	2	RIC 8 Am 11B Copy as AM 9ff
Valens	7	LRBC TR 113s Ly as 301s, as Ly 280ff Arl 478, as 478, as Arl 499 Nico 2341
Valentinian 1	6	LRBC as Tr 96 Ly 321P, as Ly 283 Arl 477, as 508, as 515
Gratian	5	LRBC Arl as 503PS, as 503/5 (3)
Valens or Valentinian 1	4	LRBC as Tr 96ff as Ly 175ff (3)
Valens or Gratian	1	LRBC Ly as 303/4ff
Valentinian 1 or Gratian	1	LRBC Ly as 350/1
Valens/Gratian or Valentinian 1	17	LRBC AS Tr 84ff, as 96/7ff (4), as 96/7/8ff (3) as Ly 275ff (5), as 279ff, as 280ff Gloria Romanorum (1 – Illeg) Securitas Reipublicae (1 – Illeg)
Arcadius	2	LRBC as Tr 164ff as Rom 798ff
Arcadius/Honorius or Theodosius	5	LRBC as Tr 162ff (4) as Rom 796ff
Illegible	83	Sestertius (1st or 2nd Cent), As (2nd Cent), Antoniniani 253 – 273 (6), Copy 270+, Corroded (74)
	167	

SITE 5. Temple Site.

Domitian	1	RIC Vesp as 718
Faustina I	1	RIC Pius as 1120
Faustina II	1	As (Illeg)
Sev. Alexander	1	RIC as 626b
Gordian 111	2	RIC 129, 293b
Gallienus	3	RIC as 178K, 181K, Antoninianus (Illeg)
Gallienus?	1	Antoninianus (Illeg)
Claudius 11	4	RIC as 44, 261A, 266, Antoninianus (Missing)
Quintillus	1	RIC as 6ff
Victorinus?	1	Antoninianus (Illeg)
Tetricus	4	Antoninianus (Illeg), (Missing) Copy as 110, Copy as 130ff
Tetricus 11	5	RIC as 238, as 254ff, as 267, as 270ff Copy 280
Carausius	4	RIC as 98ff (3), as 255
Allectus	2	RIC 55, as 55
Galerius	1	RIC 6 Ly as 129b
Constantine 1	22	RIC 6 Lon as 103P, 280P, 284P RIC 7 as Lon 5ff, 6 var Bust left, as 154 as Lon 222 RIC 6 Tr 873P RIC 7 Tr 529S, 537, 542S (2), 547S as Tr 449, 518 RIC 7 Ly as 241S, 246P as Ly 20, 241 RIC as Rom 332 Soli Invicto Comiti (Missing) Constantinopolis (Missing)
Constantine 1?	2	RIC 6 as Lon 209 Urbs Roma Copy (Illeg)
Constantine 11	2	RIC 7 Tr 452S RIC 8 as Tr 69
Crispus	2	RIC 7 Tr 141, as 308P
Crispus?	1	RIC 7 Tr as 477S
Helena	1	RIC 7 Tr 458

House of Constantine	4	RIC 7 Lon as 238ff, as Tr 449ff (2) Follis 319 – 329 (Illeg)
Constans	4	RIC 7 as Tr 593 RIC 8 as Tr 100, 198 Tr 234S
Constantius 11	4	RIC 7 TR 528S, 540S RIC 8 as Tr 359 Follis 319 – 329 (Illeg)
Constans or Constantius 11	4	RIC 8 Tr as 204/6P as Tr 220ff (2) 347 + ? (Illeg)
Constantius 11?	3	RIC 8 Copy as Tr 359 (2) Gloria Exercitus 1 std (Missing)
Magnentius	4	RIC 8 Am 4B Tr 264S, as Tr 320 Ly as 109
Decentius	1	RIC 8 as Tr 322
Valens	3	LRBC as Ly 275, 280 Arl 480
Valentinian 1	2	LRBC as Ly 296 Sis 1419
Valens or Valentinian 1	4	LRBC as Tr 92ff, 96ff, 97ff as Ly 281ff
Valens/Gratian or Valentinian 1	3	Illegible (3)
Illegible	18	As (2nd Cent), Antoninianus (8) Corroded (8 – 4th Cent) 18th Century Halfpenny
	116	

Table 1.

Period	Date Range (AD)	Site 5 (Temple Area)	Site 5 (Settlement)	Site 4
1	43–54	0	0	0
2	54–68	0	0	0
3	68–81	1	1	1
4	81–96	0	0	0
5	96–117	0	0	1
6	117–138	0	1	2
7	138–161	2	2	2
8	161–180	0	0	0
9	180–192	0	0	0
10	192–217	0	0	0
11–17	217–260	3	0	0
18	260–273	22	10	12
19	273–286	0	0	0
20	286–296	6	1	0
21	296–317	11	0	0
22	317–330	12	2	2
23	330–348	20	0	13
24	348–364	12	1	9
25	364–378	12	0	41
26	378–388	0	0	0
27	388–402	0	0	7
TOTALS		101	18	90

Saxon.

Three silver coins of Cnut (1016–35). These coins have been published separately by Dr Mark Blackburn (1983, 177), and we are grateful to him for allowing us to use details from his report.

i). London, moneyer Brungar.
+C//////T RECX
+BRVNGAR ON LV:

ii). London, moneyer Swan.
+CVN / T RCCX
+SPAN ON LVND

iii). Stamford, moneyer Fargrim.
+CNV / TRE+
+FARGRIM ONI STAN

The three coins were found within five yards of each other and can be regarded as a small purse hoard of *Short cross* pennies dated c. 1030 – 35 (Bottisham, Site 3).

WORKED STONE (figure 1)

Geological identifications by Colin Forbes, MA, PhD.

Roman.

1. Bead of jet. Diameter 16 mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 60) Two jet beads were found in the Willingham Hoard. (VCH 1978, 84–5)

Saxon.

2. Bead of rock-crystal, by Martin D. Howe, BA, AMA.

The ovoid bead has been extensively chipped around the central piercing and there is further cracking in the body of the bead. The perforation is straight and does not show any evidence for the use of the 'hour-glass' technique in its manufacture. Two regular incised lines encircle the bead and their regularity confirms that it was lathe-turned. 23mm diameter × 16mm thick. (Lode, Site 10, DN 61).

Beads are frequently found in Germanic burials and are most common in female graves where they represent the remains of strung necklaces. These most commonly consist of beads of glass, both coloured and millefiori as well as plain, and beads of amber. Rock-crystal beads occur more rarely. The item in question can be readily paralleled with a bead found during the excavation of the cemetery at Little Wilbraham, Cambs in 1851 (Nevile 1852, 122). Although there is no detailed account of this bead, it is illustrated with other beads that certainly formed necklaces and it is likely that it also performed this function. However, crystal beads also occur in male burials as single finds associated with swords. These beads formed 'sword knots' attached to the pommels of Anglo-Saxon weapons, which are frequently richly embellished. These sword beads have been discussed at length by Vera Evison (1967, pp 63–118).

Because this bead has no contextual information, it is impossible to definitely ascertain whether it came from a sword or a necklace. Such beads are normally found in sixth century contexts and this example can be dated to the mid-sixth century.

3. Fragment of a long, thin tapering hone of mica-schist, with a groove worn around one end. This type of stone is

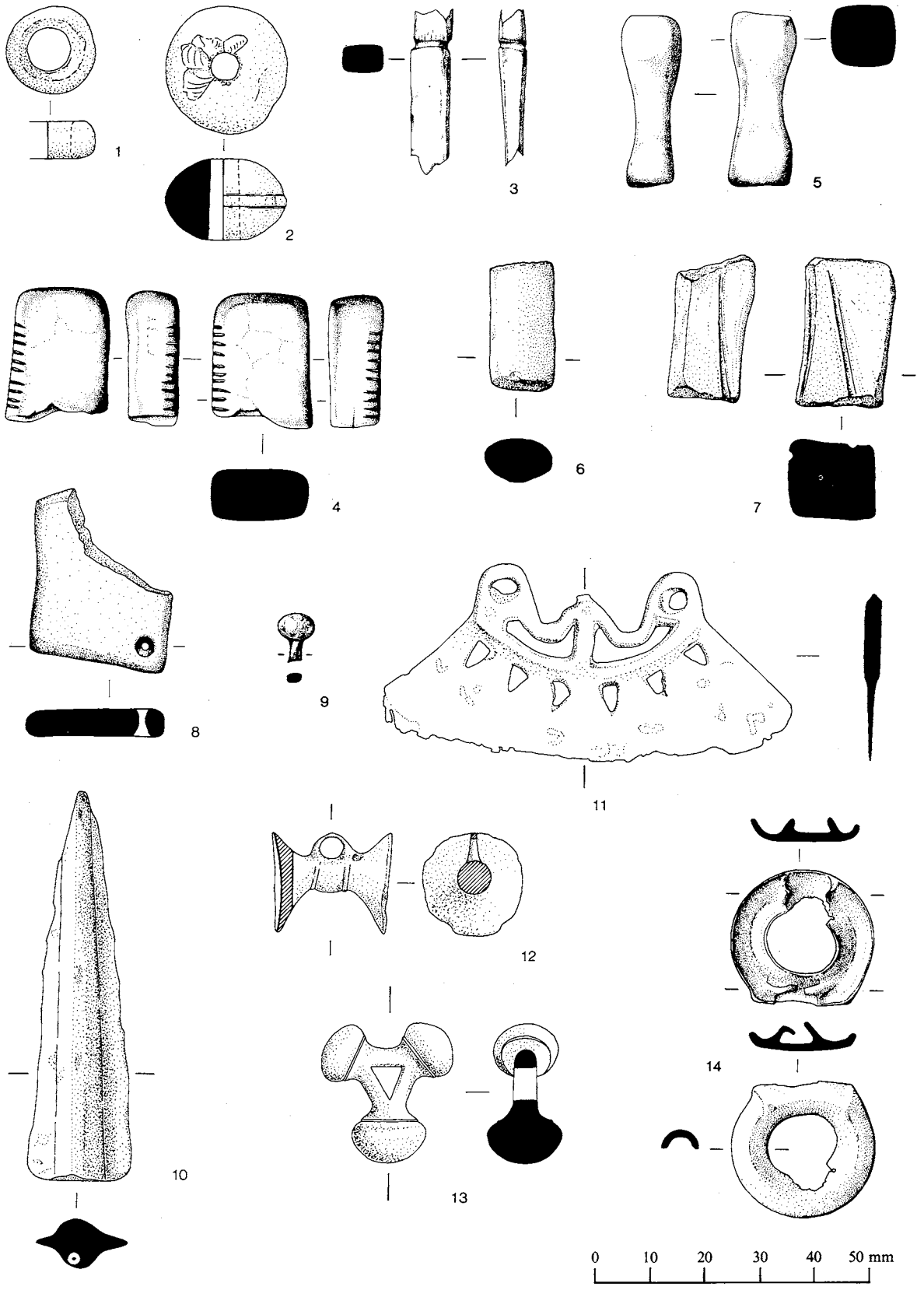

Figure 1. Worked stone, glass and prehistoric copper alloy objects. Nos. 1-8, worked stone; no. 9, glass; nos. 10-14 copper alloy. Scale 1:1, except nos. 3-8, 1:2

common in Scotland, Scandinavia and elsewhere. It occurs in Cambridgeshire in Boulder Clay and derived river gravels, but is not usually sound enough for use as a whetstone. In this case the source is more likely to be Scandinavia. It is well know that regular trade was carried out in hones of this type from Norway from the ninth century during the Danish occupation. (MacGregor 1978, 39; Fig. 22, 1–4). Length 67mm. (Soham DN 249).

Miscellaneous and undated Stone Objects. (Fig. 1).

Hones

4. Fragment of one end of a hone of dark greenish sandstone or quartizite, the dark coloration possibly due to use with grease or oil? The stone has a series of notches on the left hand corner of the flat face on each side. Possibly Carstone from East Norfolk (Denver, etc), *cf* 8 below. Length 49mm (Soham DN 247).

5. Short, waisted hone of carbonate-cemented green sandstone; probably Spilsby sandstone from east Lincolnshire, *cf* 6 below. Length 63mm. (Soham DN 248).

6. Fragment of an oval-sectioned hone without any particular signs of wear. The stone is given glauconite sandstone with carbonate cement, plus shelly fragment, perhaps from the Lower Greensand of Bedfordshire, but could be from any Lower Greensand outcrop and some Upper Greensand outcrops from Devon to Lincolnshire (eg Spilsby sandstone of east Lincs. is most likely). This occurs locally as pebbles and boulders in boulder clay and river gravels: *cf* 5 above. Length 47mm. (Soham DN 293).

7. Square-sectioned hone of white micaceous sandstone with iron-stained exterior. There are pin-grooves on two faces. Probably derived from the coal measure of millstone grit; ie Carboniferous of the Pennines, Yorks, etc. This type of stone does occur in the local Boulder Clay and in River Gravels derived from it. Length 53mm (Soham DN 294).

8. Flat rectangular hone, or polishing stone, with an hour-glass perforation in one corner, of brown ferruginous-cemented sandstone. Probably derived from the local Lower Greensand or more likely from the Carstone, of East Norfolk. Compare no. 4 which may be the same. Length 64mm. (Soham DN 295).

GLASS (Fig. 1) by Caroline Ireland.

Roman

9. Globular pin head with short length of the shank extant. The shank was evidently formed by twisting two molten strands of glass together. Similar pins have come from Colchester where they are dated to the fourth century (Crummy 1981, Fig. 25, 462). Length 17mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 91).

COPPER ALLOY, SILVER and GILT (Figs. 1 to 16)

Bronze Age (Fig. 1).

10. Tip of a spearhead with pronounced central midrib. Length 72mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 2).

Iron Age (Fig 1).

11. Bronze Razor identified by Mary Cra'ster, MA, FSA.

Bronze razor of late Bronze Age or early Iron Age type, with two perforated ring handles and symmetrical openwork ornament. Length 75mm. (Soham DN 11).

A similar razor was found in Hills Road, Cambridge, but is slightly later typologically, and was found with Iron Age 'A' pottery. (Collins 1948, pp 76–77; note in PCAS 42, 1949, 128).

12. Dumb-bell shaped toggle with cup-shaped ends and central loop. Length 23mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 63).

Similar toggles have been found at Meare Lake Village (Bulleid and Gray 1953, 215–216; pl. XLVI, E26 and E125).

13. Three-lobed ?harness fitting, probably of Iron Age date. Length 26mm. (Bottisham, Site 2, DN 47).

A parallel comes from Richborough (Cunliffe 1968, 97, pl. XXXIX, 144).

14. Cast ring, probably fractured along the casting seam, producing a hollowed back. Length 23mm. (Bottisham, Site 1, DN 174). This is probably a harness ring of late Bronze Age or early Iron Age date. Similar rings were found with a hoard of late Bronze Age metalwork on Green Road, Cambridge (Lethbridge and O'Reilly 1932, 59, pl. I), but these rings are generally thought to be Early Iron Age. Length 25mm. (Bottisham DN 174).

Roman (Figs 2 to 14)

Horse harness and allied fittings by Martin Henig, MA, DPhil, FSA, (Fig 2).

15. Martingale harness fitting with three circular loops and a central horse's head on an incised triangle. Probably early Roman, rather than Iron Age. Maximum length 49mm (Soham, Site 11, DN 19).

There are similar examples from Richborough (Cunliffe 1968, 104, 208, pl. XLVII) and Cirencester (G. Webster in Wacher and McWhirr, 1982, 108–109, fig. 35, 99) each with a horse's head; others from Richborough (Bushe–Fox 1928, 49, pl. XXI, 57) with a bird's head, and a human head (Bushe-Fox 1926, 47, pl. XV, 29); and from Brancaster (Hinchliffe 1985, fig. 89) with a human head, and one of Iron Age date without central ornament from Charleston Brow, near Firle Beacon, Sussex (Parsons and Curwen 1933, 168–169, 2, fig. 3).

16. Shell-shaped stud from an auxiliary horse-trapping. Second to third century AD. Length of extant object c 30mm. (Cottenham, Site 5, DN 86).

For comparable examples: see Oldenstein 1976, p187, Tafln. 57, 696–699. Examples also from the Roman fort of the Classis Britannica at Dover (Philp 1981, 152–153, fig. 39, 187).

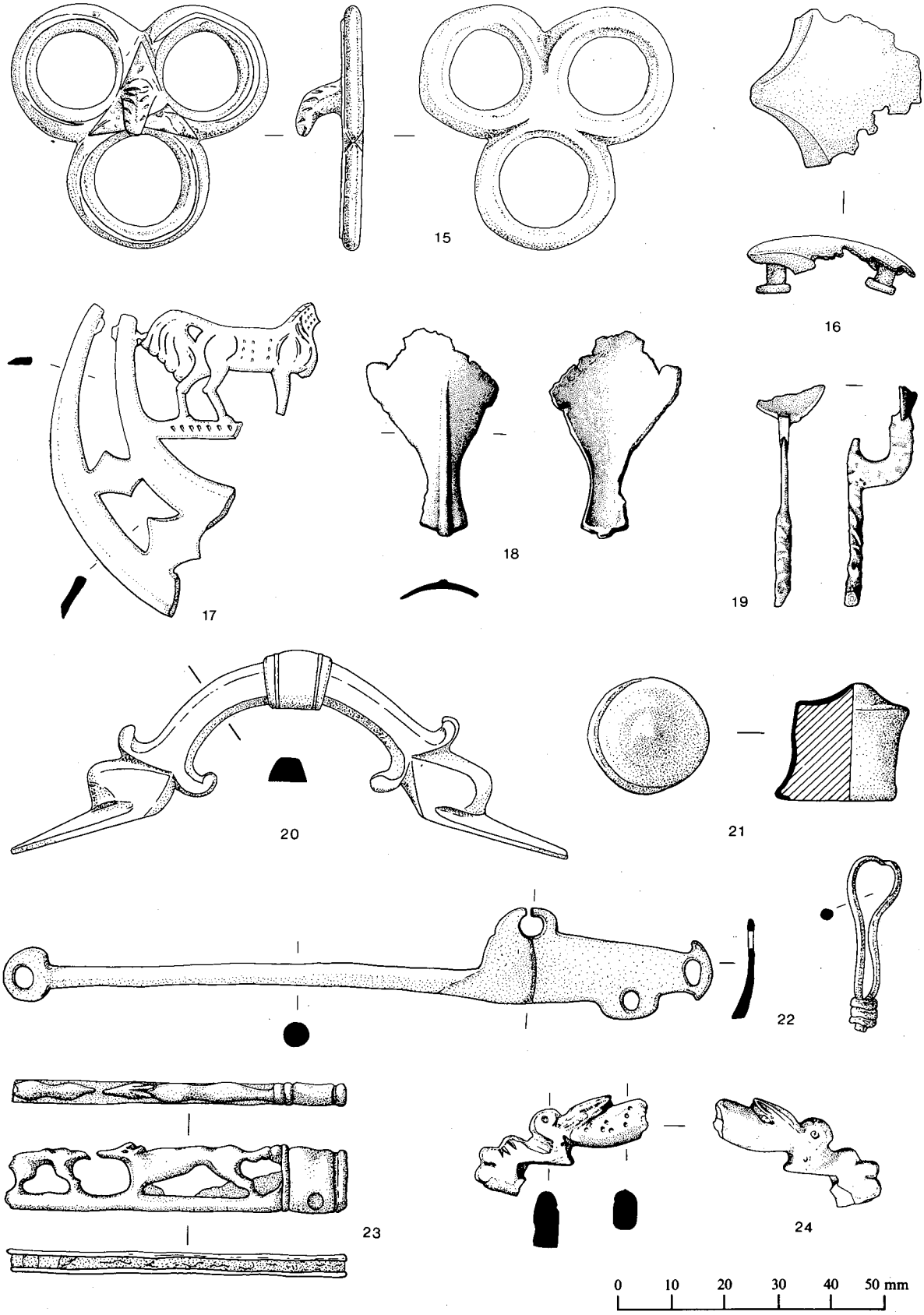

Figure 2. Roman copper alloy horse harness fittings and domestic objects. Scale 1:1

17. Openwork plaque, perhaps lunate in shape with a standing horse within it. The horse was presumably balanced by another, forming a mirror image. A rivet driven through the bronze suggests it was originally mounted into leather or some other material. Length of extant object *c.* 65mm (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 78).

Note an openwork disc from Liberchies (Hainaut) with a lion and a leopard attacking an ass, identified as a cart fitting (Faider-Feytmans, 1979, 157, pl. 116, 304). Note also *opus interrasile* roundels from soldiers' belts with inscriptions and an eagle (from Silchester, Boon, 1974, 66 – 68, fig. 8, 3; also in Oldenstein 1976, 223–225, Tafln. 83, 1092). It is just possible that it was mounted on a standard. That from Flobecq (Hainaut) and others like it have openwork elements (Faider-Feytmans 1980, pp 3–43), while a bronze standard or cart-mount from Vindolanda-Chesterholm figures a horse in the round (Birley 1973, 122, pl. XIX, 22).

Domestic Items (Fig. 2). by Caroline Ireland, (except 20)

18. Spoon bowl. Similar examples from Colchester (Crummy 1981, fig. 73, 2018–2019). Length *c.* 40mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 238).

19. Handle and part of the bowel of a spoon. The bowl was possibly round. The handle appears to have been decoratively twisted. Length 42mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 239).

20. Basin Handle, by Martin Henig.

Bronze handle of a basin, with central moulding and ends resembling swans' heads projecting from calices. Probably first century AD. Length 116mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 1).

In general terms we may compare examples from the continent (Eggers 1951, pl. 10, 99–100) and particularly Nijmegen (Boesterd 1956, 53–53, 172–173). The rather heavy workmanship of the mouldings on the present example suggests local or possibly Gaulish manufacture.

21. Weight of lead-filled bronze. There are similar weights from Verulamium (Frere 1972, 124; 160, 88–91). Diameter 20mm. (Cottenham, Site 6, DN 87).

22. Steelyard with wire loop fragments representing weight attachments. Length 123mm. (Soham DN 143).

23. Two fragments from a clasp-knife handle with openwork portrayal of a hound chasing a hare. The iron knife blade is still visible in places. Length of the largest fragment 62mm. (Largest fragment illustrated only). (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 88).

There are examples of similar knife handles from the Thames at Hammersmith (Wheeler 1930, 78–79, fig. 19, 4); Ospringe cemeteries, Kent (Bushe-Fox 1949, 129, pl. XXXVI, 118).

24. Fragment of a knife handle? similar to the above. Length 32mm (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 200).

Belt fittings. (Fig. 3).

25. Strap-end with ring and dot ornament, belonging to Simpson's class of amphora-shaped strap ends, type b (Simpson 1976, 198–200 and 203), dated to the late fourth century. Length 55mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 34).

26. Belt buckle with stylised dolphins surmounted by horses' heads. This is an example of Hawkes' type 1b (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 45–50, fig. 15, a-i), dated to the late fourth century. Length 26mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 41).

27. Long ?strap-end with octagonal sections divided by raised moulded collars. One end is splayed and split to receive the leather strap and has a rivet still in place. Length 81mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 189).

28. ?Strap-end with pear-shaped terminal. The split for the leather is very deep and begins about three quarters of the way down. Two rivets were used to secure the strap, traces of which remain. Length 82mm. (Bottisham, Site 1, DN 177).

29. Probably half of a belt slide mount. There could have been an identical half continuing from the smaller of the two end mouldings.

Parallels for this type of fitting come from Verulamium (Frere 1972, fig. 32, 37 and 42). Alternatively, this could be a small stud, or button. Length 21mm. (Bottisham, Site 1, DN 173).

Toilet Implements. (Fig. 3).

30. "Ear-scoop" with a looped-over end for attachment to a ring. Length 55m. (Soham, Site 12, DN 144).

31. Pair of tweezers with lightly incised lines running parallel to the edges of the implement. Length *c.* 36mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 278).

Items of Personal adornment.

Pins. (Fig. 3).

32. Pin with plain round head. Length 105mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 65).

33. Pin with plain head. The shank is broken. Length 70mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 66).

34. Pin with plain head. Length 30mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 67).

35. Pin with drum-shaped head beneath which is a collar formed between two incised grooves. The shank is bent. Length 90mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 280).

36. Pin with disc-shaped head. The perimeter has an incised groove and the top a recess for enamel. Length 89mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 287).

Rings, by Martin Henig. (Fig. 4).

37. Ring with circular bezel and sloping shoulders, ornamented with V-markings. A fragment only, so one shoulder scarcely survives. Diameter *c.* 20mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 83).

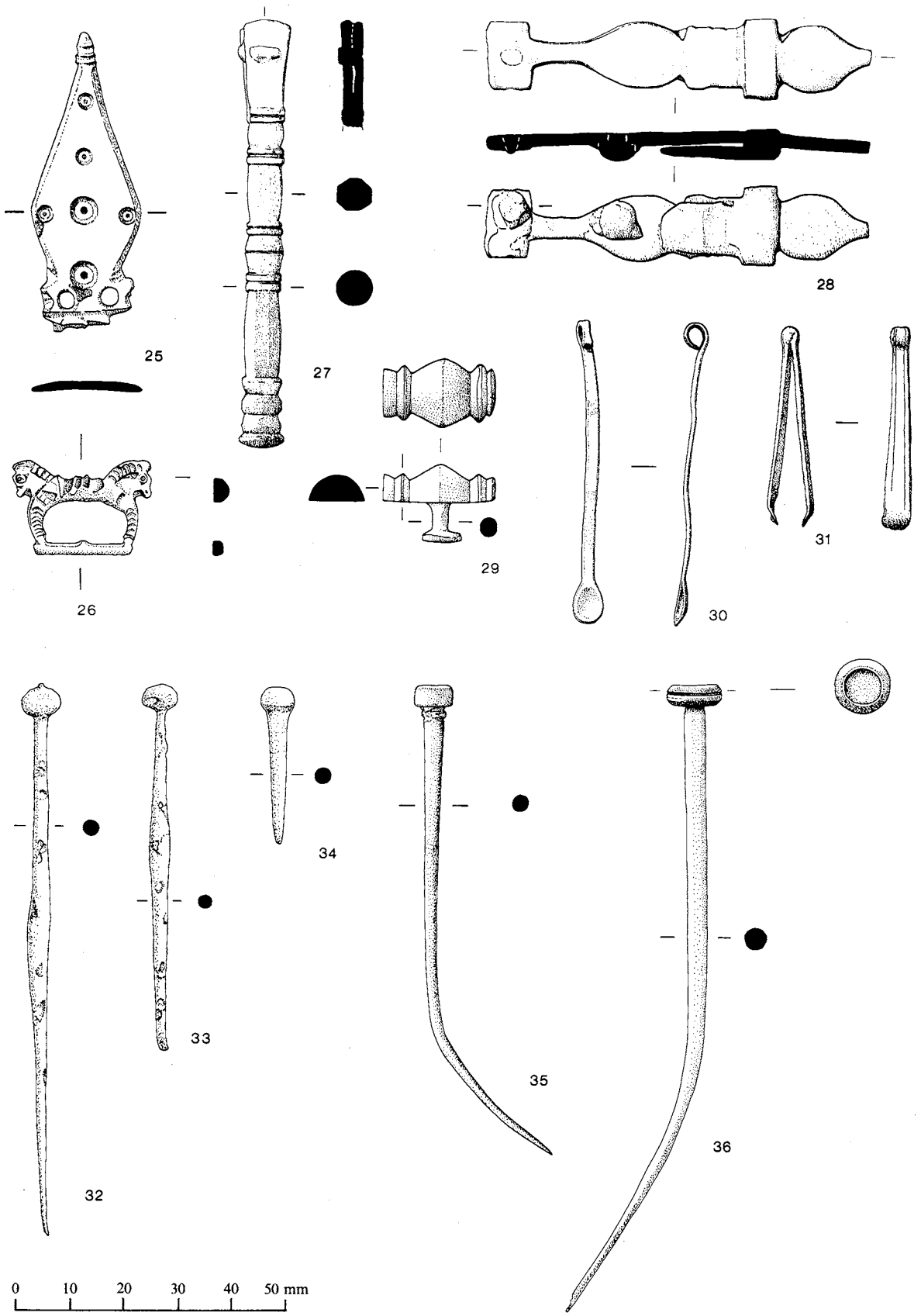

Figure 3. Roman copper alloy belt fittings, toilet implements and pins. Scale 1:1

Compare a ring from Dalheim (Henkel 1913, 123, 1341, pl. LI) and a somewhat similar ring from Richborough (Bushe-Fox 1949, 127–128, pl. XXXV, 100; 107).

38. Bronze ring with ribbon hoop, decorated with hatching at the shoulder on either side of the square/rectangular bezel. This is engraved with a figure of *ketos* (sea monster). The ring type with square bezel dates from the second half of the fourth century and later. Diameter 22 mm, dimensions of bezel 11.3 × 11mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 103).

There is a bronze ring from Cirencester, showing a bird (Henig 1979, 121–122, pl. IV *c.*). Also note the bezel of a ring from Richborough (Roach-Smith 1950, 89–90, fig. 6), said wrongly to be Saxon, depicting a fanciful creature. Even closer to this is the creature on a bezel from Wanborough, Wilts. (inf. John Wacher).

Ketoi are often shown in ancient art, including late Antique art; for instance one represents a Jonah's Whale in the Basilica of Theodore at Aquileia (Dorigo 1971, pl. 15).

39. Bronze ring, with hoop expanding towards the bezel which is wide and has a prominent flange. It is set with a blue glass intaglio, showing a male standing figure, holding a stave or baton. Diameter 22mm; dimensions of intaglio 13mm ~ 10mm. Third century AD. (Lode, Site 10, DN 104).

Compare intaglios in similar rings from Cirencester, Glos and Hamstead Marshall, Berks. This is of the class of Romano-British imitation (*ie* glass) gems (Type 2) widely distributed south of the Fosse Way (Henig 1978b, 132–133, fig. 2, *cf* cat. 550–551).

40. Bronze ring with wide ribbon hoop, attractively decorated with a row of depressions on either side of the bezel and slashes on the shoulders. The narrower part of the hoop is lost. Diameter 22mm. Set with an intaglio of nicolo-glass depicting a cupid seated on a dolphin (to the right on an impression). Early third century AD. (Lode, Site 10, DN 105).

For the ring type see Henkel 1913, 1239–1241, pl. XLVIII. For other similar glass intaglios showing a cupid on a dolphin, Henig, *op. cit.* 132 (Silchester) and app. 78 (Lanyatt Beacon, Som).

41–46. Plain finger rings, probably Roman, though not certainly. There are similar examples from Colchester (Crummy 1981, fig. 50, 1740; 1755). (Bottisham DN's 107–110).

47–48. Key-ring type rings. 112 has bands of incised lines along its length. (Bottisham DN's 111 & 112).

49. Fragment of a ring with a slightly raised diamond-shaped bezel, with an incised diamond shape in its centre. Estimated diameter *c.* 20mm. (Cottenham DN 188).

50. Distorted fragment of ring with a diamond-shaped bezel. Estimated diameter *c.* 25mm (Bottisham DN 102).

51. Small ring with 'H' shaped bezel, set to one side of the top of the ring, providing the function of a box-key. Diameter 15mm. (Bottisham DN 106).

52. Ring with cut away shoulders surmounted by a hexagonal-shaped cell for a circular gem. The gem is missing. Diameter c. 25mm. (Bottisham DN 100).

53. Fragment of the upper part of a ring with an oval cell for a gem or intaglio. Estimated diameter *c.* 25mm. (Bottisham DN 101).

Bracelets. (Fig. 5) by Caroline Ireland.

Bracelets of the types given below are characteristic of the late third and fourth centuries (see Crummy 1981, pp 37–45).

52. Bracelet formed of twisted flattened strands. Length 45mm. (Bottisham DN 113).

53–55. The terminal ends of three armlets cast as snakes' heads.

53. Length 30mm. (Bottisham DN 134).

54. Length 45mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 93a).

55. Length 52mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 93b).

A number of similar armlet fragments with representations of snakes' heads on both terminals have come from the collection of surface finds made at Stonea Grange, Cambs. (inf. R. P. Jackson).

56–58. Cast armlets with notches cut into the perimeter to produce decorative motifs.

56. Alternate lengths of light and heavy incision, producing a crenellated effect. Length 60mm. (Bottisham DN 114).

57. Diagonally incised lines producing a chevron design. Length 32mm. (Bottisham DN 115).

Not illustrated.

58. Fragment of a cast armlet with simple lightly incised diagonals. Length 47mm. (Cottenham. Site 4, DN 191).

59–60. Bracelets formed of flat strips of cast bronze with hook and eye terminals. These are decorated with metal punches to produce 'wavy' designs.

59. Length 58mm. (Bottisham DN 116).

60. Length 39mm. (Bottisham DN 117).

61–79. Bracelets of flattened strips with hook and eye terminals, decorated with composite designs arranged in panels: incised lines, notches out into the edges, punched circle and dot; punched dots and raised bosses are used in various combinations.

Twenty fragments of bracelets of this type were collected in Bottisham, of which a sample is illustrated here. The examples are illustrated actual size and the illustrations felt to be self explanatory.

61–76. (Bottisham DN's 116–117; 118–133; 136–137).

Not illustrated.

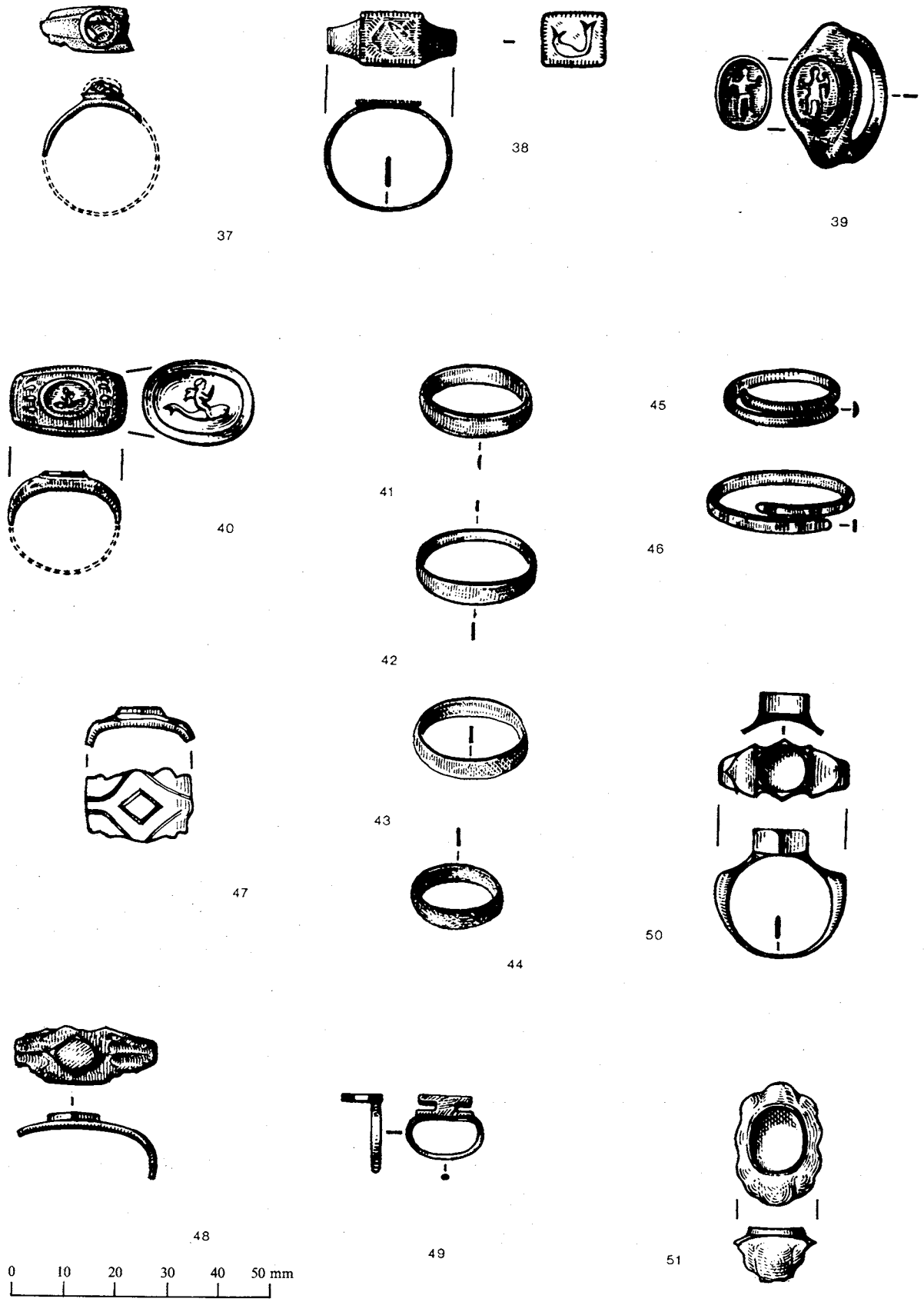

Figure 4. Roman copper alloy rings. Scale 1:1

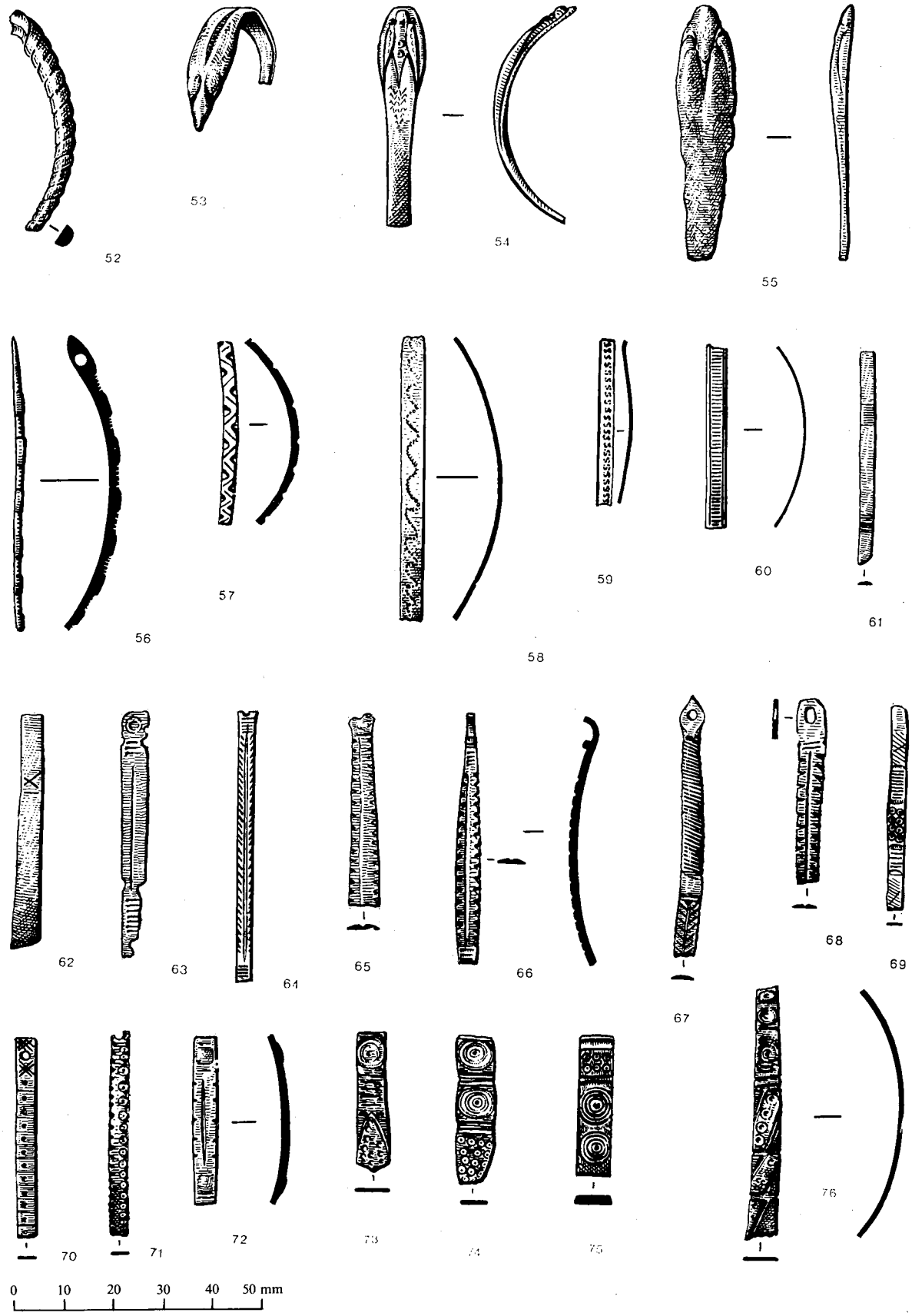

Figure 5. Roman copper alloy bracelets. Scale 1:1

77. Terminal of armlet with piercing. (Lode, Site 10, DN 71).

78. Fragment of armlet using composite decorative motifs. (Gt Wilbraham, Site 9, DN 70).

79. Corroded length of armlet. (Cottenham, Site 5, DN 192).

The Roman Brooches. by D. F. Mackreth.

This report was completed in December 1982 and has not been revised to take into account more recent publications.

Colchester (Fig. 6).

80. The surviving half spring has three coils. The hook, wings and bow are plain; the latter having a rounded front and flat back. The catch-plate and lower bow are missing. Length 49mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 207).

81. The spring once had six coils. The wings, the long hook and bow are plain. The catch-plate may have been pierced by rectangular holes. Length 50mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 223).

82. Half the spring is present and has three coils. The long hook, the wings and bow are plain, the last having a rounded section. Only the stub of the catch-plate survives with suggestions of two, possibly rectangular holes. Length 50mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 228).

83. Very corroded. The wings and bow appear to be plain. The spring has an axis bar through it, suggesting that it had been repaired in antiquity. Length 42mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 196).

84. Very corroded. The six-coil spring is complete. The hook is hammered down and tucked in the chord. The wings are fluted and the bow possibly had an octagonal section. The catch-plate had at least one, possibly rectangular, piercing. Length 45mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 271).

85. The wings are short, apparently plain, but may not be complete. The bow has an octagonal section. Length 49mm. (Fordham, Site 8, DN 27).

86. Each wing shows signs of having had a diagonal groove at the end. The bow has a hexagonal section. Down the front is a decorated band, which may have considered of a chevron formed by punching alternately on either side of a central ridge. Length 75mm. (Gt Wilbraham, Site 9, DN 43).

87. Distorted and broken. The complete wing is plain and attenuated. The bow is broad and thin with rounded side and a slight swell on the front which has a poorly executed version of the decoration of the last brooch. There is a line of rocker-arm decoration on both sides of the catch-plate near the bow. Length 85mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 272).

88. The hook is bent over and forms a long tongue across the back of the bow. The catch-plate is pierced by three rectangles, each with a step cut out of one side. Length 53mm (not examined by DM). Fordham, Site 8, DN 142).

Not illustrated.

89. The wings and bow are plain. The bow is rounded with an arris running down most of each side. Length 45mm. (Lode, Site 10).

90. The wings and bow are plain. The box has a hexagonal section. Length 67mm. (Lode, Site 10).

Only brooch 80, with a straight bow need be early in the sequence, but the absence of the catch-plate makes it difficult to arrive at a close date. Brooches 81, 83 and 89 are undistinguished and with their slack bows, are unlikely to be early, but they do not display any specifically late traits. (For example: Down 1978, 277; Partridge 1981, 137; Odell, Beds, Dix, to be published). 80 may belong to the first two decades of the first century AD; the others to the first four.

In brooches 84–86 and 90 the chief characteristic is the faceted bow. At present, there is little to suggest any chronological significance, or even a particular distribution pattern for such brooches. The usual decorative tricks are to be found: 84 has wings with plain flutes; 86 has the relics of what may have been a hand-formed wavy line. However, 86 has a diagonal groove on each wing, which is usually the mark of a late Colchester. Its size and ornament might suggest that it should not be counted as being late. At present there is insufficient evidence from dated contexts to be able to frame a proper sequence. The dating is therefore likely to be the same as for brooches 81, 82, 83 and 89 like those, these may have continued in use until *c.* AD 50–60.

There are four relatively close parallels for brooch 87, one possibly from Ely (Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, 22.853A); another from Sedgeford, Norfolk (King's Lynn Museum 98.962), and two from Woodcock Hall, Saham Toney, Norfolk.(1) All have the very wide bow with the relatively short wings found on the present example, and each has an expansion on the end of the hook. Each has the rocker-arm ornament, but they have decorated wings and two rows of wavy lines down the bow. That the five could be regarded as having come from a single local workshop is indicated by their reasonably tight distribution.

It is tempting to see a further parallel in a brooch from Swarling, Kent (Bushe-Fox 1925, 42, pl. XII, 5, Grave group 19), which though incomplete has the same wide bow, expanded end to the hook and primitive wings. The most recent discussion (Stead 1976, 410–411) does not resolve the date of the grave from which this brooch came, beyond tentatively suggesting that it is analogous (on the basis of the brooch) with the beginning of the Lexden phase of the Aylesford culture, ie the beginning of the first century AD.

If the Swarling brooch is correctly associated with the Soham brooch and its parallels cited above, it should be noted that these have wing ornament which does not conform with the normally regular Colchester-style flut-

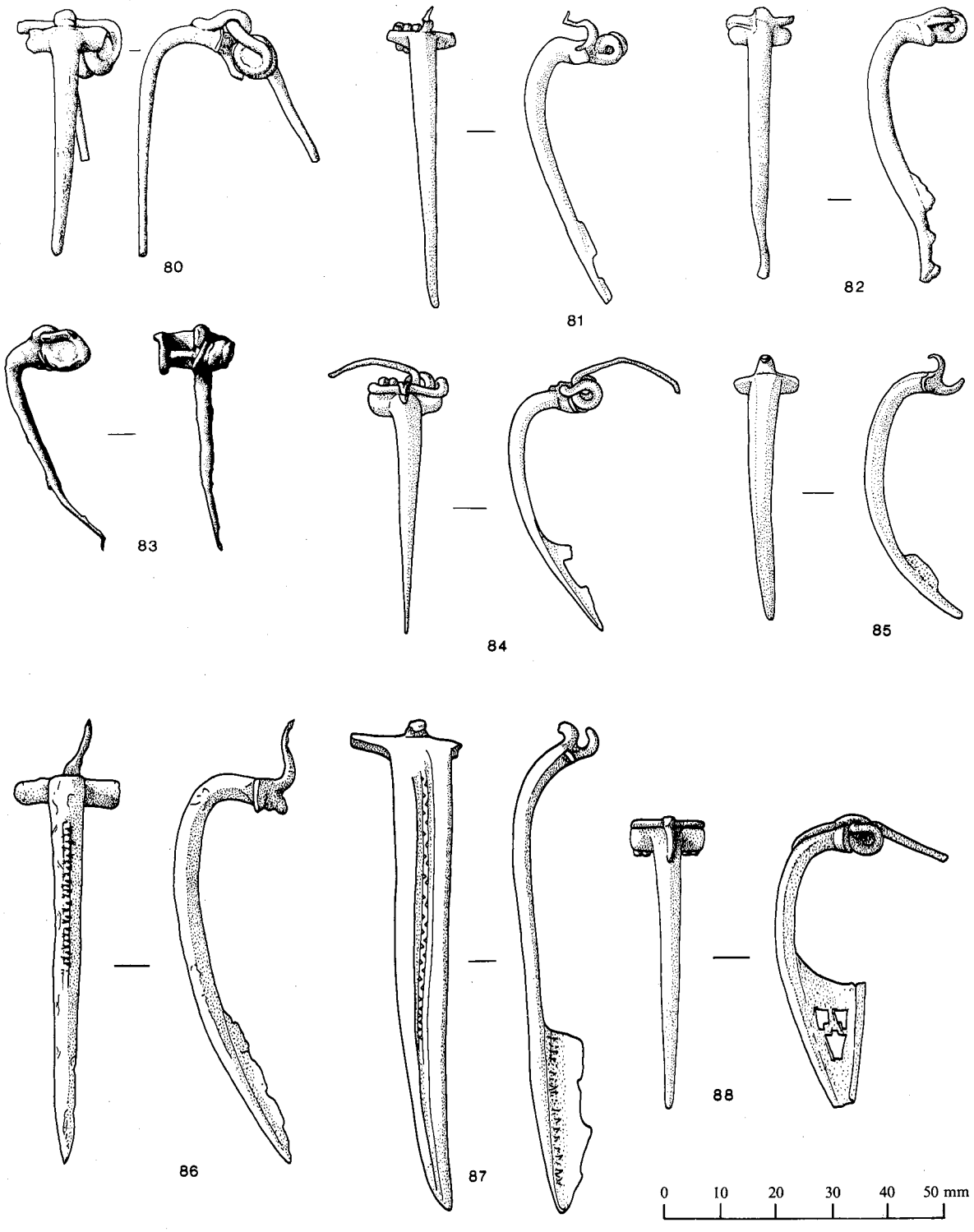

Figure 6. Roman copper alloy brooches. Scale 1:1

ings: the Sedgeford brooch has a simple vertical groove; the Ely brooch has an alternation of wide and narrow flutes on one wing. Both styles pre-figure decoration with the Swarling example (Bushe-Fox 1925, 42, pl. XII, 6; Stead 1976, pp 410–411) is a Colchester with a bordering groove down each side of the bow; such a feature being counted as late by the writer. Hence the date of the burial may lie in the middle or near the end of Stead's Lexden period. The suggested date for brooch 87 is *c.* 30–45 AD.

Colchester Derivatives. (Fig. 7 to 8).

Group A. The spring was held to the body of the brooch by means of a rearward-facing hook behind the head.

91. The wings are curved to seat the spring and each has two bold mouldings separated by a flute. The bow is D-shaped in section, has a step down each side and has down the centre two sunken wavy lines formed as in brooches 86 and 87. Length 47mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 52).

92. Corrosion accretions hide nearly all the surface. There may be two mouldings separated by a flute at the end of the left hand wing. Length 32mm. (Milton DN 185).

93. The surviving wing has three buried mouldings separated by single flutes. Down the centre of the bow runs a beaded ridge. On each side of the bow is a step which runs down to the back face, thus creating in profile, two arcs. Length 40mm. (Gt Wilbraham, Site 9, DN 230).

94. The complete wing has, between wide flutes, a buried bead row. The hook behind the head runs over the top as a ridge which dies into a buried bead row down the centre of the bow. The catch-plate has two piercings divided by a fretted cross-bar. Down each side of the junction of the bow with the catch-plate is a line of rocker-arm ornament. Length 43mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 7).

95. The complete wing has a pattern like that on brooch 93. The hook behind is carried over the head as a ridge, is given a profile like the hook on a Colchester, and dies out in the middle of one of three flutes down the front of the bow. The foot of the bow is finished as a knob consisting of three cross-mouldings and was made separately from the rest of the brooch. Length 43mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 270).

Brooches 91–95 would seem to be the earliest typological stage in the devolution of the Colchester, which may be defined as the point at which the spring was made separately to the bow. In this case, the hook is merely reversed. Brooches using only a rearward-facing hook to hold the spring to the bow are less common than those using other methods. A curious characteristic of the type is the small part played by the skeuomorph Colchester hook which was relatively commonly introduced into the other two main classes of spring-pin Colchester Derivatives: the Polden Hill, and the type represented below by brooches 96–103. When a trace of a Colchester hook is present it tends to be insignificant.

Brooch 95 is unusual in the positive nature of the apparent hook, but the foot marks this brooch out as being unusual in any case. There is a direct relationship with the bows on brooches 99 and 101 but the foot is the first one noted by the writer on this variety of Colchester Derivative and may indicate that it is later than the general run of brooches with rear hooks.

The decorative elements found on this type are also found on what seem to be late Colchesters: beading down the bow (Down and Rule 1971, 47, fig. 3, 10 and 16); beaded wings (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 310, pl. XC, 27); grooved bow with graver ornament (T. Tatton-Brown, forthcoming); alternating wide and narrow wing decoration (Down 1978, 277, fig. 10.26, 1 – use description not drawing); diagonal groove on the wings (Heighway, forthcoming).

It is difficult to tell when the type began to develop; the most developed Colchester known to the writer is related to a type with a different spring-fixing arrangement (see below).

No rearward-facing hook from a pre-conquest context is yet known. A date range for the manufacture for rearward-facing hook brooches of AD 40–50 would suit the numbers known and their typological position in relation to the Colchester. The type had come into existence by 50 AD as it appeared at Hod Hill before the fort went out of use (Brailsford 1962, 7, fig. 6, C13; Richmond 1968, pp 117–119), but may have passed out of use by *c.* 65 AD.

Group B. The spring was once held by means of a rearward projecting plate with two holes. Through the lower passed an axis bar running through the coils of the spring, the chord of which passed through the upper.

96. The wings are curved to seat the spring and each has a moulding at the end. The bow has a concave hollow on each side of a central face on which there are faint signs of rocker-arm ornament, running up to a skeuomorph hook of a Colchester. The catch-plate has a pin-groove. Length 33mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 54).

97. A repeat of the last. The wings are plain; the rocker-arm ornament runs all way down the central face. Length 41mm. (Fordham, Site 7, DN 15).

98. Each wing has two grooves at the end. The plate behind the head of the bow rises over the top to form a skeuomorph hook which dies away into a groove down the centre of the bow; the groove has rocker-arm ornament down it. There is a concave face down each side of the bow. Length 37mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 9).

99. A repeat of the last, but with only one groove on each wing. Length 35mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 269).

100. The wings are plain. The bow has a step down each side. Length 43mm. (Not seen by DM). (Bottisham, Site 1, DN 180).

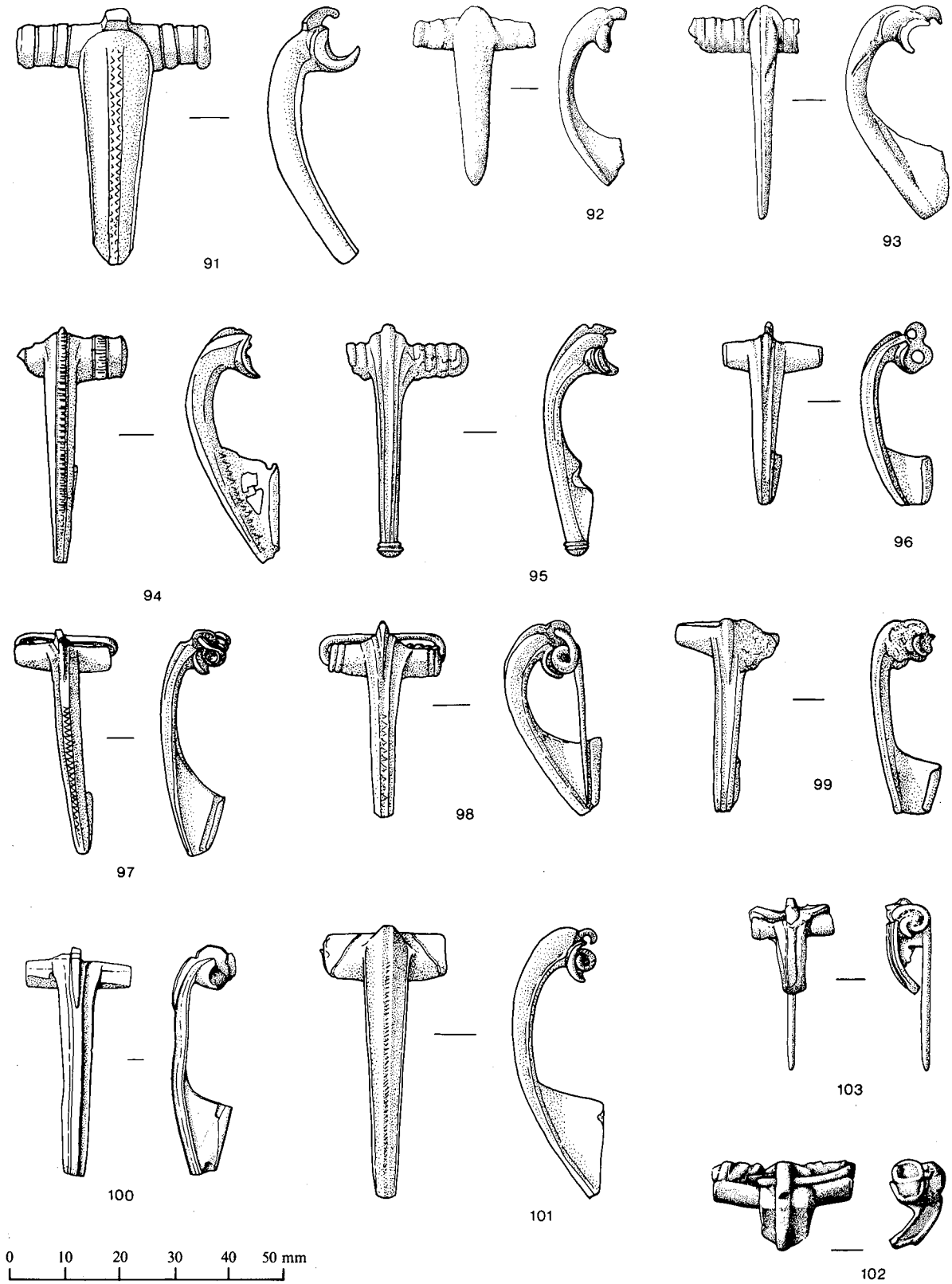

Figure 7. Roman copper alloy brooches. Scale 1:1

101. Each wing has a groove at the end with another lying diagonally between that and the bow, which has a flat back and boldly projecting front with a step down each side. Down the centre is a flat face with median groove which has a series of diagonal incisions in it. Length 50mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 6).

102. The same type as 96, except that the hook does not die away into the bow. Length 16mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 197).

103. The wings are plain. The bow has a step down each side. Length 31mm. (Not seen by DM). (Bottisham, Site 1, DN 179).

The spring-fixing arrangement used in this group is the system preferred in eastern England. The main alternative, the Polden Hill, which has plates at the ends of the wings to hold the axis bar is found all over western Britain and the two systems are to a large measure mutually exclusive. Both 96 and 97 belong to a specific type common in the homeland of the Colchester; 98 and 99 are the chief variants; 101 may be another, 102 may belong to these variants, but more probably to the first group.

It is not obvious whether the present examples of the variants should have the same date range as their more common relative. There is slight evidence that the main type had probably evolved before the conquest. The reasonably large collections of brooches from Skeleton Green, Puckeridge, Herts. (Partridge 1981) contained only one Colchester Derivative and that belonged to the main type (*ibid.* 137, fig. 69, 25). It may have been deposited before the conquest, but its stratigraphical positions was ambiguous. The rest of the collection can hardly be put later than AD 45 and it is unreasonable to assume that the only Colchester Derivative must have arrived in the first year or two of that type's creation. Some support for this view lies in the existence of a Colchester from Old Harlow, Herts, which is all but a version of the main type (Harlow Museum, C734). The date range for this group may be *c.* 35–40 to *c.* 60–70 AD.

Group C.

104. The spring is held as in Group B. The plate behind the head is carried over the top as a skeuomorph of the hook of a Colchester. There is a step down each side of the bow; another rises at the top of the wings and runs half way down the bow. Length 44mm. (Wicken DN 31).

105. The wings are plain. The bow has a step down each side. Length 41mm (Not seen by DM). (Bottisham, Site 1, DN 182).

106. The wings and bow are plain. The catch-plate has a triangular piercing; a moulding on each side of the top, only interrupted to allow access to the pin, and a pin-groove. Length 31mm. (Isleham DN 18).

Brooches 104 and 106 have few characteristics to date them, but the range is likely to be the second half of the first century, possibly running into the early second century AD.

Group D.

The upper bow has a longitudinal groove which runs up the front face of the hook across which is laid a line either of rocker-arm ornament or of cross-cuts. There is a skeuomorph hook.

107. The rest of the bow is plain apart from two cross-grooves at the foot. The catch-plate has such a large piercing it is, in effect, a frame. There is a pin-groove. Length 45mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 268).

108. A repeat of the last. Length 26mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 211).

109. As the last two. The catch-plate has a circular hold above a triangular piercing. Length 38mm. (Not seen by DM). (Bottisham, Site 1, DN 181).

110. The lower bow of a brooch similar to the last. Length 32mm. (Soham, Site 12, DN 217).

The distribution of this type is, like that of brooches in Group B, confined to the south-east of England. There is the occasional outlier, for instance at Quinton, Northants (Friendship-Taylor 1979, 137, fig. 63, 472). The design on the upper bow is invariable, except that the rocker-arm ornament may be replaced by cross-cuts, or be absent.

The dating is not well fixed; at Quinton (*op. cit.*) it is Claudio-Neronian. Examples from Canterbury (Tatton-Brown, forthcoming) belong to the earlier Roman period (precise dating must await publication).

Otherwise, the dating ranges from the latter part of the first century (Philp 1963, 70, fig. 3, 3), or the period AD 80–120 at Springhead (Penn 1959, 49, fig. 9, 5–7). At Scole, Norfolk, the dating is AD 100–160 (Rogerson 1977, 117 and 131, fig. 54, 3). This general dating is also suggested by another from Verulamium (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 207, fig. 44, 25). While there is always a difficulty in deciding the date of survival in use, after which the brooch should be regarded as being residual in its context, in this case, with an apparent preponderence of examples belonging to the end of the first century and the beginning of the second, this should perhaps be considered as its true *floruit*.

Group E.

The spring is held as in Group B.

111. The axis bar for the hinged-pin is housed in wings of circular section. The pin is made from wire wound once round the axis bar. Each wing has a sunken moulding at its end. The bow is broad at the top and tapers to a small foot knob with a cross-moulding above, and is set off from the wings by a step. On the upper part of the bow is a triangular boss surrounded by a step. Length 26mm. (Fordham, Site 7, DN 13).

112. The lower bow of a larger belonging to the same type as the last. Length 31mm. (Fordham, Site 7, DN 14).

These brooches belong to a group using a narrow range of decorative features, whose distribution appears

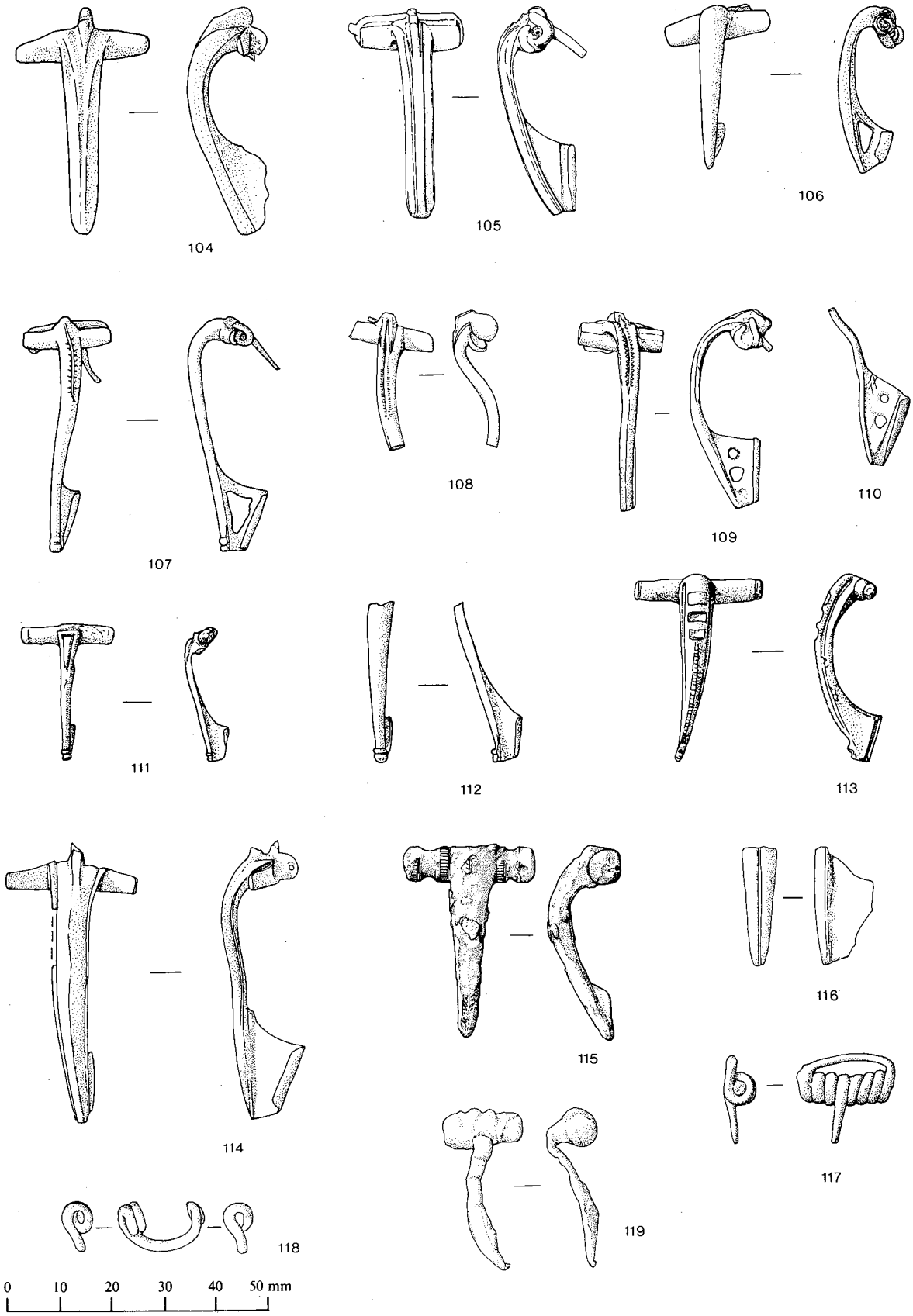

Figure 8. Roman copper alloy brooches. Scale 1:1

to have a core running from Hertfordshire into Leicestershire and from the Upper Avon valley into East Anglia. 111 combines two of the main elements. The triangular boss is found in combination with a weak fantail foot. (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 206, fig. 43, 19), while the fantail foot in turn is found with a broader upper bow on which is a pronounced serrated ridge (Kenyon 1948, 249, fig. 80, 10). The latter is found on a tapering bow, as here, with the same kind of foot-knob (Down and Rule 1971, 83, fig. 5.14, 4). These are the common forms, but there is one from Brixworth (Woods, to be published) on which the triangular boss and the foot-knob occur with a cross-moulding half way down the bow; there is a semi-circular lug on each side with a ring and dot ornament, which occurs also on the fantail feet already mentioned.

The dating is not well established; two from Verulamium date from before AD c 150. (Wheeler and Wheeler above), and one from Leicester is only earlier than AD *c.* 220 (Kenyon above). The use of a piece of wire wound round a bar to form a crude kind of hinged-pin may represent an early development from sprung-pin forms, but this is to use a typological argument which may not be appropriate. It might be suggested, pending further examples from secure contexts, that the date range is from the latter part of the first century into the second century AD.

Group F

113. The pin was hinged and the axis bar was inserted into a slot in the wings, which were then closed round the bar. Each wing has a groove at the end. The bow has a rounded top, a step down each side and a double moulded foot. On the bow at the top are three rectangular slots, the topmost of which contains red enamel. Beneath these, running to the foot, is a central ridge bearing cross-cuts. Length 36mm. (Soham, Site 12, DN 17).

The example belongs to a wide-spread group found basically in eastern England. The pin-fixing arrangement described is a typical characteristic. While some of the pins are of the normal kind with a projection which binds on the back of the bow when the pin is depressed, most are made from wire as here and in 111.

Dating is not well fixed. The writer has recorded only two specimens from datable contexts: Leicester, before *c.* AD 125–130 (Kenyon 1948, 249, 7); Winterton, Lincs, third century (Stead 1976a, 198, fig. 100, 18). Despite the second example the dating is likely to be before AD *c.* 150.

(Fig. 8).

114. The spring is held as in Group B. The plate projects above the head and has two lobes in profile. The wings are thin, flat and plain. The crest dies away into the bow, which has a central arris and a well marked step down each side. Length 51mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 229).

This brooch does not belong to any well recognised group and the odd section of the wings suggests it may be early in the general range, perhaps third quarter of the first century AD.

115. The pin is hinged. Each wing has two beaded mouldings separated by a relieved flute. The bow has a sunken ridge with cross-cuts down the centre and there is an extra set of diagonal cuts on the right margin. Length 37mm. (Milton DN 198).

Hinged Colchester Derivatives had evolved by AD 50. (Brailsford 1962, 10, fig. 10, C95–96; Richmond 1968, 117–119). In the present case, attention may be drawn to the similarity of the ornament with 94 and the dating may be the same.

116. There is a step down each side of a swelled front which has a groove down its middle. Length 23mm. (Fordham, Site 8, DN 231).

117. Spring only. This could not have come from a brooch with a rearward-facing hook, as the chord is set at too great a distance from the coils of the spring. Length 23mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 222).

118. Fragments of spring. (Not seen by DM). (Soham, Site 11, DN 212).

119. Small, very corroded brooch, possibly belonging to this category. Length 32mm. (Not seen by DM). (Soham, Site 11, DN 214).

Not illustrated:

120. Only the lower bow survives. It is plain apart from a pair of nicks on each side just below the break. The catch-plate has a large triangular piercing and a pin groove. (Cottenham, Site 4).

There is not enough present to provide a close date. 116–120 are likely to date between *c.* AD 50 and *c.* 150.

Headstud (Fig. 9).

121. The pin is hinged. On the head is a broken loop mounted on a pedestal with a cross-moulding. Each wing is stepped back from the bow which has a stud on the head with the remains of a sunken ring in the top. The front of the bow is flat and has eleven rectangular recesses for enamel. Enough survives to show that one colour alternated with another. The foot is made up of four cross-mouldings. Length 55mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 195).

122. The bow is divided into three decorative areas. The top is a rectangular panel divided into four by incised diagonal lines; the centre contains a circular 'stud'; the lower bow has a series of moulded lozenges set in a rectangular recess. There is a step down each side of the bow and the foot has a complex moulded knob. Length 67.5mm (Not seen by DM). (Bottisham, Site 1, DN 178).

The details of brooch 121 are in all respects those of a standard head stud with the exception of the cells for enamel down the front. The common pattern is a series of lozenges with infilling triangles down each side (as with brooch 122) (*eg* Gould 1964, 43, fig. 18, 2). Rectangular cells tend to be a survival of an earlier habit: Kinvaston, Neronian (Webster 1957, 102, fig. 2B); Richborough, AD 75–90 (Bushe-Fox 1949, 114, pl. XXVIII, 35). The second example is moving towards the later

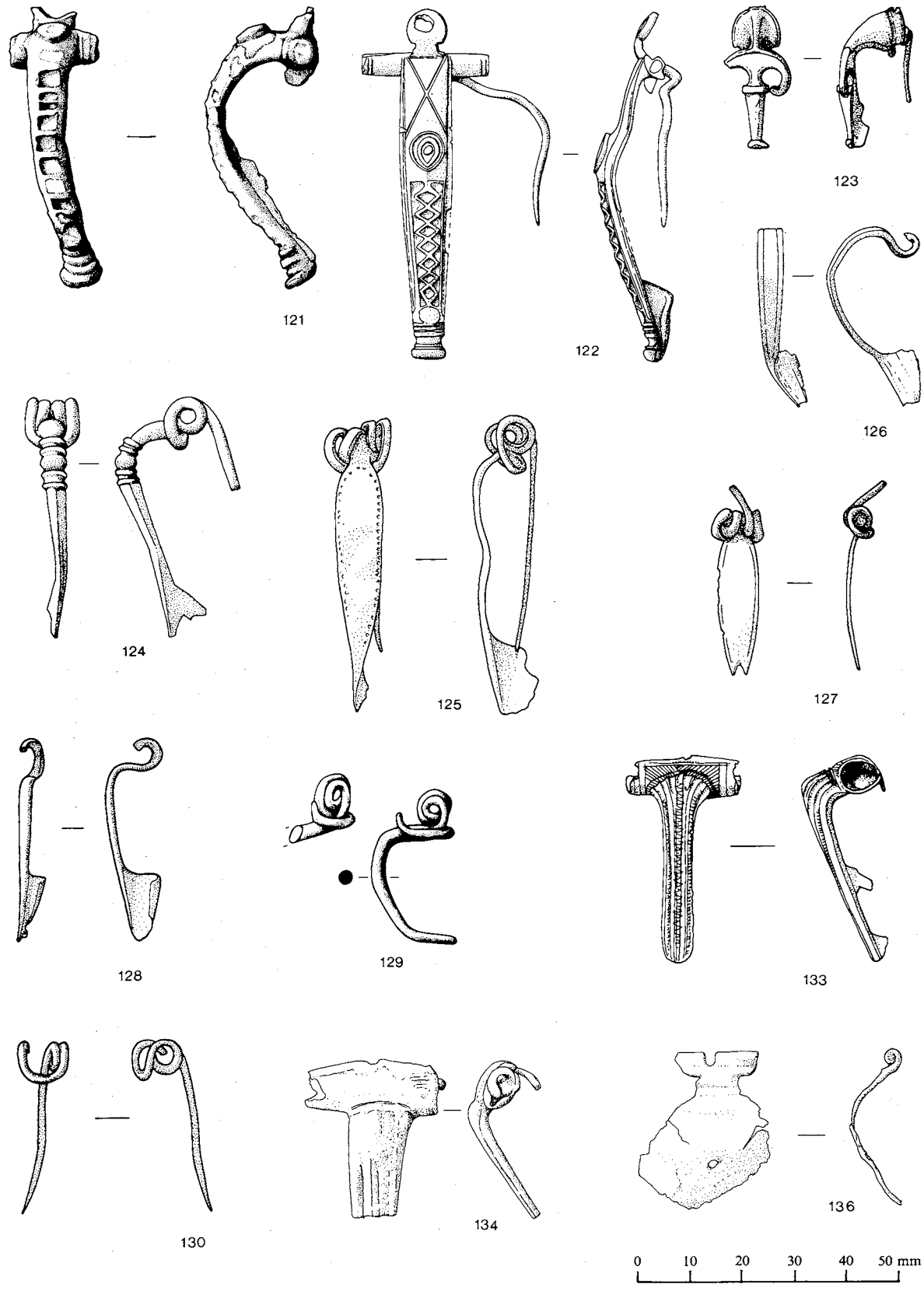

Figure 9. Roman copper alloy brooches. Scale 1:1

style, while the first with its forward facing foot, is hardly to be dated later than AD 75. The date of 121 is not likely to be later than AD 100.

Trumpet (Fig. 9).

123. The spring of five coils, with an internal chord, is housed in the hollow trumpet head. The axis bar is held by pierced plates on either side. On the head are the stubs of a cast-on loop. The top of the trumpet is set off from the spring-housing by a circumferential groove. On either side is a slight sign of there having been an applied circular 'eye'. The central face is flat. The 'knop' is made up of a pelta with a step around the upper curve, and the arms ending in round expansions. At the junction of the pelta with the lower bow is a cross-moulding. The lower bow tapers to what remains of another pelta and has a chamfered face on each side. Length 27mm. (Fordham, Site 8, DN 4).

While the trumpet brooch proper had fully developed by AD 75 and was almost completely out of use by *c.* AD 175, there is a general poverty of dating for specific varieties of the main type as well as variants such as the present specimen. The writer knows of only one which comes from a dated context: Leicester, up to *c.* AD 180 (Kenyon 1948, 251, fig. 81, 1), but is is not an exact parallel. Both the present example and a variety with a disc instead of a knop often have appliqué repoussée silver plate with or without enamel (*eg* Richardson 1960, 212, fig. 2, 31) and this tends to be a second century habit, but again is not very well dated.

Aylesford Type (Fig. 9).

124. The spring has four coils and an internal chord. The head of the bow above the 'knop' has a slight trumpet expansion. The 'knop' is made up of a pair of cross-mouldings on either side of a central bulbous swelling and these elements run right round the bow. The lower bow tapers towards the foot and has a central ridge joining the 'knop' and a groove down each side. The surviving top of the catch-plate shows the top of a large piercing. Length 42mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 221).

While close parallels are not to be expected, one may be noted from Fox Holes Farm, Little Anwell, Herts. (Partridge, to be published). Dr Stead uses this type of brooch to define his Welwyn phase of the Aylesford Culture (Stead 1976). His discussion of the date range suggests that it belongs to the second half of the first century BC. (*ibid.* p 412). He suggested that the differing kinds of piercing in the catch-plate may be indicators of relative chronology, but felt that he could not proceed on the basis of the 23 brooches he dealt with (*ibid.* p 140). A further 13 specimens can be added by the present writer, but these do not add much to the discussion.

It should be noted that the progression through time is thought to run from open-framed catch-plates, through open-work or fretting, to mere perforation. In this context it should also be noted that external chords to the springs are normally counted as being earlier than internal ones, leaving aside those types which use a hook to hold an external chord.

Stead also suggests that the shape of the head and the number of coils may be significant – four-coil springs with external chord progressing towards more coils with an internal chord and trumpet head (*ibid.* p 409–410). Analysis of some 15 specimens which survive in a sufficiently complete state for these criteria to be directly assessed, led, not surprisingly, to no very clear result. Of the seven with open-work catch-plates, those with very carefully formed openings have external chords and slightly swelled heads (*ibid.* 404, fig. 1 and 3: Smith 1906; 65, fig. 2). The rest all have internal chords, two with wire heads (Ward-Perkins 1938, 353, fig. 2, 5; Stead 1976, 404, fig. 2.3, fig. 1, 4; fig. 2, 1), and two have trumpet heads *(ibid.)*

That the sample is too small to yield a clear outcome is suggested by another example, from Lakenheath, in which the head is swelled, the chord external, but the piercing is not so well formed as in the other two (Hildyard Collection 116). (2). Those with fretted catch-plate openings can be divided into two types: a complete fret (Hawkes 1940, 492, and fig; Stead 1976, 408, fig. 3–4; BM guide 1953, 64, fig. 24, 4); and two openings separated by a carefully cut bar (Taunton Museum E 239; Boon and Savory 1975, 47, fig. 2, 6; Stead 1976, 406, fig. 3, 3).

The former have trumpet heads, the latter have swelled heads and only one in each group has an external chord. Of the remaining two, one with a perforated catch-plate (Stead 1976, 404, fig. 2, 4); the other with a solid catch-plate (Partridge, forthcoming) nothing can really be said, except that each is small, has an internal chord and does not have a trumpet head. Perhaps the clearest message is that there are several workshops involved and that until there are more examples available, definite trends cannot be established.

As for the present brooch, the large piercing in the catch-plate could have been open-framed, fretted or had a single shaped bar across it; the head is not so much trumpet-shaped as swelled and the chord is internal. It belongs firmly to Stead's Welwyn phase of the Aylesford Culture and it is probably not late in the sequence. However, it does not stand very close to the beginning of the typological series as the grooves up the sides of the bow do not spring from the top of the catch-plate piercing as it does in examples such as one from Deal (Stead 1976, 404, fig. 1,3) and another from Walmer (Smith 1906, 65, fig. 2) and which, in these, is surely a skeuomorph of the division between the returned foot and bow of La Tène II brooch, just as the bow ornament is derived from the collar of the same type.

Nauheim Derivatives (Fig. 9).

On these brooches the spring has the usual four coils and an internal chord.

125. The bow is wide and leaf-shaped; down each side there is a row of punched dots which meet at the top and bottom. The lightly traced marking out lines for the dots can only be seen at the top where they run to the start of the spring. Length 57mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 274).

126. The bow has a thin rectangular section and tapers

to a pointed foot. On the front there is a bordering incised line meeting at the top of the catch-plate. Length 34mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 235).

127. The bow had the shape of a narrow leaf. It lost its catch-plate in antiquity when a nick was cut in the end converting it into a nail cleaner. The bow has a bordering incised line. Length 37mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 273).

128. The bow has a rectangular section, but has been filed smooth and has left the chamfers on the front edge and traces of a median arris. The bow tapers to a pointed foot and the catch-plate shows clearly that it was hammered out from the bow. Length 40mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 275).

Not illustrated:
129. The bow is small and has a rectangular section. (Soham, Site 11).

130. The bow has a round section and is either distorted or is part of the kind of La Tène II current on the German Limes in the first century AD. (Soham, Site 11).

131. The bow has a round section. Length 30mm. (Not seen by DM). (Milton DN 190).

132. Part of spring and pin. Length 33mm. (Not seen by DM). (Soham, Site 11, DN 276).

None has any feature which definitely places it before the Roman conquest, although 126 with its upright profile may belong to the second quarter of the first century AD 125 while its leaf-shaped bow might date to the middle years of the same century (Jessup 1939, 270 fig. 3). Its punched dot ornament could be related to a particular type which has stamped ornament and is well represented at Lowbury Hill, Berks. (Atkinson 1916, 33, pl. VII, 4–16). An example from Silchester is not later than AD 60 (Boon 1969, 47, fig. 6, 3); another from Hod Hill should not date after AD 50 (Brailsford 1962, 7, fig. 7, C25); Richmond 1968, 117–119). Otherwise the dating is up to at least AD *c.* 75 (Cunliffe 1971, 100, figs. 36–37, 1–21), and may be later (Down and Rule 1971, 97, burial 60). One specimen reached Scotland not before *c.* 80 AD at the earliest, but it is possibly that this was only a brooch in use after the main manufacturing period had come to an end (Curle 1911, 318, pl. LXXXV, 1; Ogilvie and Richmond 1967, 57–59).

If brooch 130 is indeed one of the La Tène II types referred to, it is most likely to have come in at the conquest. Its dating at Augst shows conclusively that it cannot belong to any of the classes of La Tène brooches which should be dated at the latest to the beginning of the first century BC (Riha 1979, 57–59, Tafln. 1–2, 11–84). Their incidence in this country is decidedly on Roman military sites, or on those which only came into prominence after the conquest. Their end date in Britain is first century, but not necessarily the last quarter.

Langton Down Type (Fig. 9).
133. The separately made spring is held to the body by two flaps cast on to the head which were closed round the spring. The front of the resultant cylinder has a panel, defined by three lines on each side, from which the bow springs. The central line on top of the panel is wide and narrower ones lie on either side, each with a series of punched dots along it. The panel is filled with incised lines radiating from the head of the bow and these are repeated in the moulding separating the spring-case from the bow which is fully reeded. Punched dots down the main lines give a beaded effect. There are the usual extra mouldings on the splayed head. The catch-plate has a single triangular piercing. Length 40mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 8).

134. There are traces of reeding on the bow and no ornament on the case. Length 31mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 224).

135. A fragment of a similar reeded-bow brooch. The catch-plate has two piercings divided by a bar which may have been fretted. Length 28mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 213).

The floruit of the Langton Down lies essentially in the first part of the century AD. However, it is far from clear whether most examples in Britain should be regarded as having arrived after AD 43. An examination of the collection of the type from Augst (Riha 1979) lays out the dating evidence of the deposition of the brooches. While this confirms that the early specimens are, at least, late Augustan, it also shows that most were lost on that site before AD 55. But there are significant numbers being lost or discarded up to the end of the century. What can be seen by studying the figures (*ibid.* 92, 94, 97, 99) is the effect of the brooches passing out of use and arriving in stratigraphic contexts, thus disguising the manufacturing period. It follows that the presence of the type in Britain does not necessarily represent pre-conquest activity. However, at Dangstetten (Fingerlin 1972, 217, Abb. 9, 3) which had ceased to be occupied by *c.* 9 BC, the only type of Langton Down present was the reeded type similar to the present three specimens. At least three were assigned to period 1 at Colchester (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 318), but there is no description of them. While most dated examples in Britain cannot be shown to be pre-Roman, the manufacturing period would seem to have ended by the time of the conquest, and those found in later contexts were, perhaps, more likely to have been brought by the new comers, rather than be survivors of pre-conquest imports still in use.

Rosette (Fig. 9).
136. The axis bar of the hinged-pin was housed in the rolled-over head. All that survives is the badly damaged disc, with a central hole, separated from the head by a double constriction. (Soham, Site 11, DN 237).

While the first fully developed rosettes can be shown to belong to the early part of the reign of Augustus, and those with reeding and spring cases, like those to be found at Langton Downs, are essentially Augusto-Tiberian, those, like the present example, with hinged-pins and no real bow, appear to belong to the end of the sequence. They may be dated, at the latest, to the middle of the first century AD, but had probably passed out of use by AD 50–60.

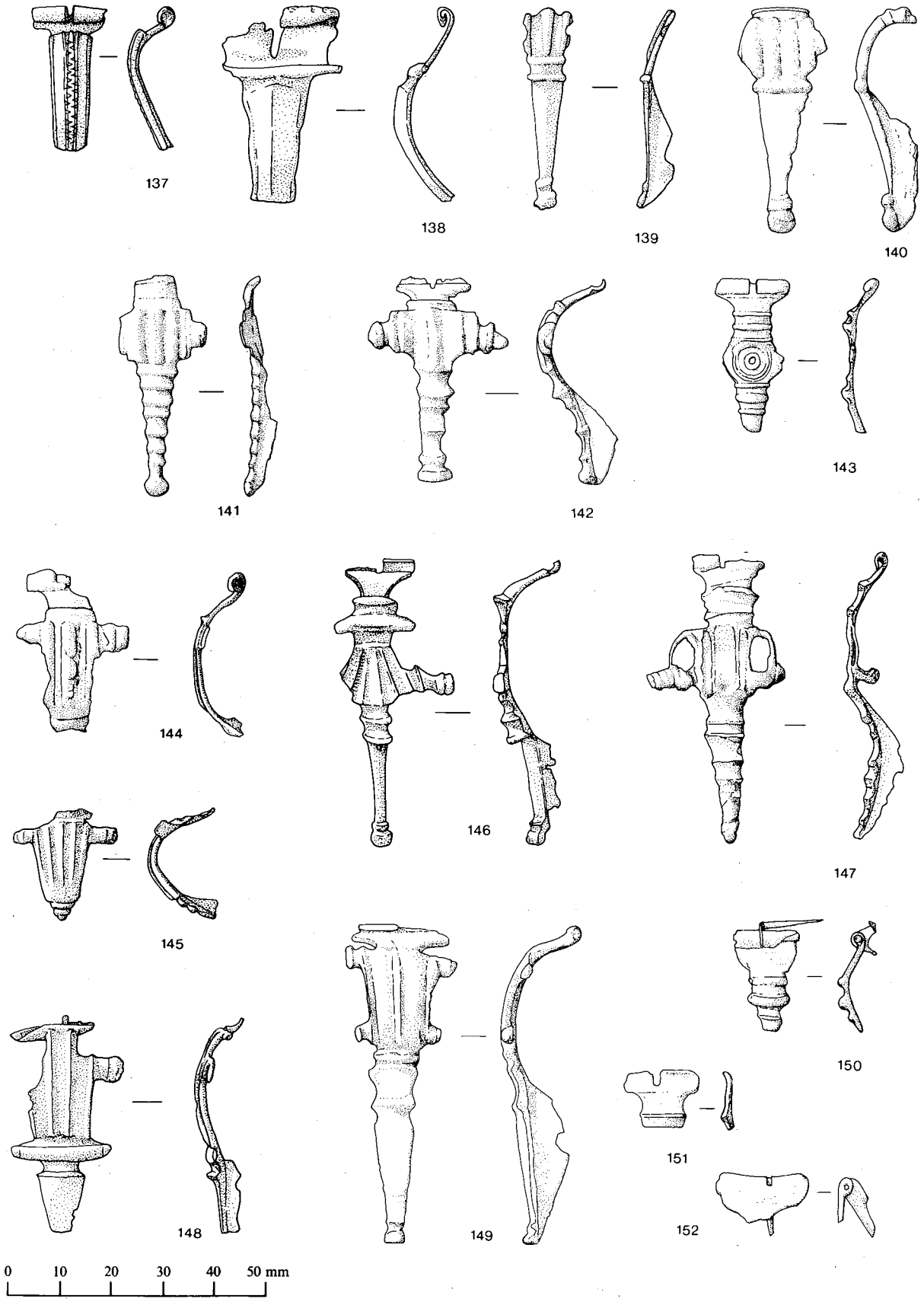

Figure 10. Roman copper alloy brooches. Scale 1:1

Hod Hill Type (Fig. 10).

137. The upper part has a wavy line formed as in brooches 85 and 86 bordered on each side by a ridge with cross-cuts. Between this central zone and a ridge down each side is a flute. Length 28mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 53).

138. The bow has a cross-moulding at the top and a moulding down each side, as well as down the centre; these may have been beaded, but the pitting caused by erosion has obscured the detail. Length 37.5mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 50).

139. The upper bow has a central moulding with a flute on either side and then an indented border. Below these is a pair of cross-mouldings. The lower bow is flat and tapers to a double-moulded foot-knob. Length 39mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 51).

140. Above the upper part of the bow is a double cross-moulding and below, a single one. Between these are four vertical ridges separated by flutes; there was probably a wing on each side. The lower bow is flat and tapers to a two-part foot-knob. The brooch was once tinned or silvered. Length 43mm. (Soham, Site II, DN 216). A very close parallel comes from Augst (Riha 1979, 130, Tafln. 33, 893).

141. The panel at the top has five ridges separated by flutes; it would have had a wing on each side, and a pair of cross-mouldings above. The lower bow has seven cross-mouldings on it as it tapers to a single foot-knob. Length 43mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 225).

142. The upper panel of the bow has five ridges, one in the centre and two groups at each side. The upper edge is straight and separated from the head by a cross-moulding; the concave surfaces at the bottom run into a swell at the top of the lower bow. Protruding from each side of the upper bow is a wing with strong central moulding, ending in a small boss. The lower bow has three cross-flutes and ends in a two-part foot-knob. Length 40mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 227).

143. The central motif consists of two concentric grooves with a hole in the middle, presumably for an applied enamel boss. At the top and bottom are triple cross-mouldings and a suggestion of a wing on each side. The surviving part of the lower bow has a curved front, its sides tapering towards the foot. Length 30mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 209).

Unlike other complex Hod Hills, there are several parallels for this design; Hod Hill, Dorset (Richmond 1968, 113, fig. 56, 3); Old Harlow, Herts. (Harlow Museum C133); Braughing, Herts (Hertford Museum, Henderson Collection); Chichester (Down 1978, 283, fig. 10, 28, 46); Stonea, Cambs (forthcoming).

144. The upper bow is long and narrow, has a central pronounced moulding and a narrow one down each side. Each top corner has a wing with two mouldings. Above and below the upper bow is a single cross-moulding. Length 32mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 210).

145. Below the head are two cross-mouldings. Below these, the panel on the upper bow has a buried bead ridge down the centre with a flute on either side. At each top corner is a wing consisting of two vertical mouldings. The top of the lower bow has two cross-mouldings. Length 22mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 220).

146. The upper bow is triangular and has two cross-mouldings across the top; the lower of these has traces of a groove. At the lower corners of the triangle, which has two bordering ridges, the inner with cross-cuts, there survives one wing with a moulding separated by flutes from the bow and from a two-part terminal knob. The lower bow has two cross-mouldings at the top and is thin with a rounded front. Length 56mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 48).

147. The upper bow has four vertical ridges separated by flutes, with a pair of cross-mouldings with a wide flute between to top and bottom. At the lower corner of the panel is a wing with four vertical mouldings to each side; each is linked to the adjacent upper corner by a curving bar. The lower bow has five cross-mouldings with a two-part foot-knob. Length 56mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 208).

148. As above, with one surviving wing with a boss at the end. Across the bottom of the panel is a cross-element which projects to either side and is finished off with a knob. The lower bow is separated from the rest by a cross-flute, is flat-fronted and tapers towards the missing foot-knob. Length 43mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 49).

149. The upper bow has three vertical, narrow ridges, separated from each other by cambered surfaces. Each corner of the panel has a small wing with a terminal moulding. The lower bow has a dished concave-sided motif at the top, divided from the lower bow by a cross-flute. The rest of the bow tapers to the usual two-part foot-knob. The catch-plate may have had a circular hole. Length 63mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 226).

150. The upper bow has three cross-mouldings. Length 23mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 232).

151. Only the damaged head and one cross-moulding are present. Length 11.5mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 236).

152. Fragment of head. Length 12mm. (Not seen by DM). (Soham, Site 11, DN 233).

Not illustrated:

153. At the top of the upper panel is a cross-moulding. The panel has a buried ridge down the centre and is separated from the ridged border by a flute. There may have been wings attached to the upper corners. Both head and lower bow are missing. (Cottenham, Site 4).

The Hod Hill is a typological development from the various members of the Aucissa series and not just from the inscribed type itself. None of the intermediate stages is represented here – these are chiefly distinguished by their reasonably close adherence to the original design

and they tend to retain the separately-made foot-knob. Once the Hod Hill was firmly established, there was a flowering of a large variety of designs and it is hard to find parallels for particular examples. There are some exceptions of which 143 is one. There appears to be next to no chronological significance in the differing designs and all the present specimens should have the same date range. No Hod Hill has been published from a pre-conquest context and none has come to the writer's notice and it seems at present that the type should be regarded, in its developed form, as one which was brought in at the invasion and its aftermath. Yet it is reasonably clear that the Hod Hill had fully developed by *c.* 40 AD and it may be that it had already ceased to be made, apart from a very limited range which went on into the second century and became decorated with enamel (see brooch 158). The demise of the type as an object in use can be seen fairly clearly in its distribution across Britain: it is common to the south-east of the Fosse Way, less common in the lands taken into the Province in the later 50s and 60s and rare in the lands occupied under Petilius Cerialis. Thus it is reasonable to assume that, by 70, very few were still in use and their numbers had probably fallen dramatically by 60 AD.

Knees (Fig. 11)

154. The spring is mounted on an axis bar held in holes in the end plates of the half cylindrical head, on the top of which is a damaged cast-on loop. The bow is shaped like a cabriole leg and only the top of the catch-plate is present. Length 21mm. (Fordham, Site 8, DN 29).

155. The spring is housed as above. The bow, has, in essence a thin rectangular section and a slight taper to the foot which is splayed. However, the main characteristic of the brooch shows only in profile, which is made up of two conjointed reversed 'C's' with steps at the head, in front and behind in the centre and a sweep back to the catch-plate as well as forward to the foot. The catch-plate is in the same place as the bottom face and is slightly stepped up from the foot. Length 25mm. (Soham DN 16).

156. The spring is housed as above. The bow has an 'S' – shaped profile and in front view is straight-sided in the upper half, waisted in the lower, then splays to form a broad foot. Length 33mm. (Milton DN 201).

Brooch 154 is a distinctive type of knee brooch which is not common on the continent when compared with those known from Britain and it is possible that it is specifically British, especially those decorated with inlaid or applied metals (Curle 1916, 97–98, fig. 22, 4) or enamel (Neal 1974, 127, fig. 56, 25) or appliqué repoussée silver plate (Corinium Museum, no accession number). Dating is not well established: Wroxeter, prc 130–150? (Bushe-Fox 1914, 13, fig. 4, 6); Gadebridge, in a context possibly as early as the late second or early third century (Neal above).

As for 155 and 156, these occur relatively frequently in Britain, but none has been recorded by the writer from a datable context. Similarly, on the continent the dating is weak and Böhme places them in the second half of the second century (Böhme 1972, 22; Tafln. 8–10, 426–474), and it may be that all three of the present brooches fall into the period *c.* 125–225, which may encompass both manufacture and survival in use.

Aesica (Fig. 11).

157. The brooch is composed of two parts. The upper curves out from the head to form two small wings; it is joined to the lower half by a rivet. The lower part drops away from the head as a diamond-shaped plate which splays out to form the foot. Length 37mm. (Not seen by DM). (Milton DN 202).

A similar example has been described by DM from Shakenoak Farm (Brodribb, Hands and Walker 1973, 114–115. Fig. 53, 176).

Unclassified Bow Brooches. (Fig. 11)

158. The axis bar for the hinged-pin was housed in the rolled-over head which projects to either side of the broad upper part of the bow as short wings. The main face of the bow has a recessed panel with red enamel and two opposed reserved wavy lines. The panel is finished off across the bottom by a moulding with a series of cross-cuts in the hollow above. The moulding projects slightly to either side and the lower bow, now lost, starts off by being narrower and with a swelled front. The brooch was once tinned or silvered. Length 19mm. (Fordham, Site 8, DN 26).

There is a close connection between the full form of this brooch and a small group in which the same or closely similar enamelled panels occur (c.f.: Dudley 1967, 46, fig. 18, 124; Exner 1939, 78, Tafln. 7, 6. I. 19) and there is one significant detail: the full design of the parallels bears a close resemblance to the general Hod Hill brooch which has mouldings running all the way to the foot. In the present case, although the lower bow is missing, the similarity is more striking – the axis bar of the hinged-pin is housed in the rolled-over head as in the Hod Hill. What may be called enamelled Hod Hills do not occur with any frequency and none should be expected within the first two decades after the conquest of Britain.

It is instructive to look at the collections of brooches recovered from sites such as Saalburg and Zugmantel, sites not founded until the reign of Domitian (Böhme 1972, 9–10). In these, the tinned or silvered Hod Hills do not really occur, but what are clearly enamelled versions do although they are gradually changing towards distinctive types whose relationship with the Hod Hill is, at first sight, remote (*ibid.* 79–81, Tafln. 5–6, 321–335, 337–347). The small number of Hod Hills proper at Saalburg and Zugmantel (*ibid.* 71–72, Tafln. 2, 28–38) compared with the great numbers in which they were made, indicates that these specimens are at the very end of their survival in use by *c.* AD 85. The enamelled series is never as common and is generally assigned to the second century, but their origin suggests that they should be taken back to at least *c.* AD 70 when they bear a close resemblance

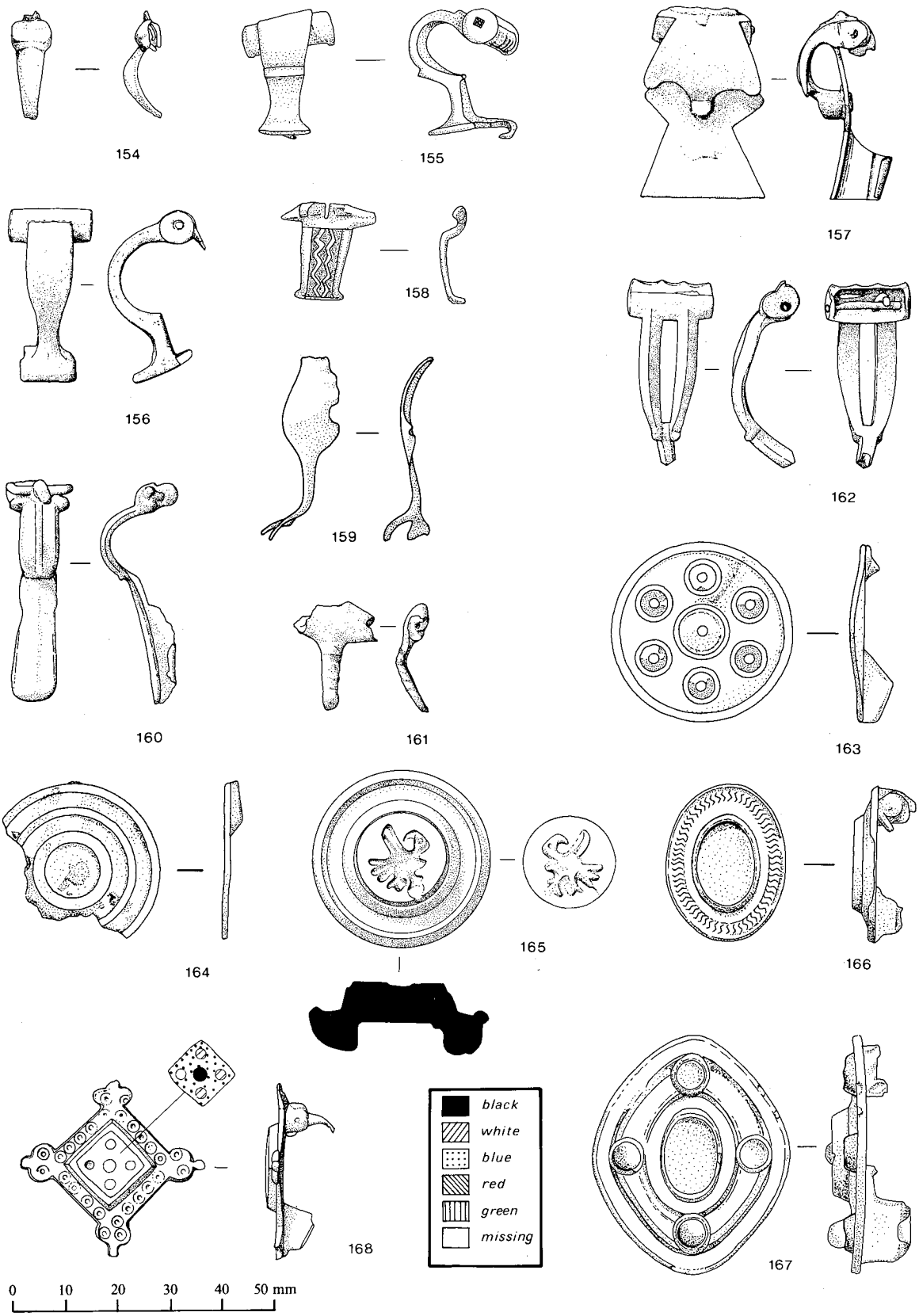

Figure 11. Roman copper alloy brooches. Scale 1:1

with the parent type; those with apparent zoomorphic terminals may, indeed, be later. Brooches belonging to what may be described an enamelled devolved Hod Hills from Augst offer some evidence that their dating is from later part of the first century and running on in use into the 2nd (Riha 1979, 156–158, Tafln. 46–47, 1361–1389).

159. Although the pin-fixing arrangement is missing, there is the stub of what should be a spring of the same basic kind as that found on Nauheim Derivatives (see 125–130 above). The bow is distorted and has a spoon-shape in the view from the front. There is a suggestion that the upper bow, or 'bowl' was slightly hollowed behind. The lower bow is broken and the bottom of the catch-plate is missing, but enough remains to show that there was a single large piercing. Length 37mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 277).

The closest parallel comes from Old Winteringham, Lincs, (Stead 1976a, 199, fig. 101, 23), but it did not come from a dated context.

However, there should be a close connection between these two and a group of four which are united by their distinctive decoration and the domed top to their bows. Two are clear parallels: Filkins, Oxon, (Akerman 1857, 141, fig. on p. 142); Little Oakley, Dorset (Dorset County Museum, 1952, 36, 10). (3) The first came from a Saxon cemetery and the second was a casual find. The other two are repeats of the previous ones, but each has a heart-shaped lower bow with an applied collar at the junction of the two parts of the bow: Poundbury, Dorset (excavations, Green, forthcoming); Moorlinch, Somerset (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 193, fig. 42, 4). (4) The first came from a cemetery and its date must await publication, the other was another casual find.

The connection between these two groups should not be denied and these can be counted as being examples of a group isolated by Dr M Feugère (5), in southern France, but which spread to the north and west and which appears to be dated to the middle or latter part of the first century BC. The chief point in which the British examples differ from Dr Feugère's type 11a is that the British specimens tend to have a sharper division between the upper and lower low. Two brooches from Stockton, Wilts (Nan Kivell 1927, 390, Pl. I, F and G), may be mentioned here. Neither has a dome, but each has an expanded upper bow essentially in the form of a disc and one has an ellision from upper to lower bow which recalls Dr Feugère's type 11a. It is possible that these two brooches may be contemporary with those which have passed under review, but they may be devolutions from the apparent main form. Neither comes from a dated context. Apart from these, there is such a close similarity between the continental type and the British examples mentioned above that it is proposed that the same dating should apply in Britain.

160. The spring arrangement is like that of a Colchester. The wings are short and plain. The upper bow has a swelled front with a sunken bead down the centre and a bordering ridge on each side. The lower bow is recurved and separated from the upper by a cross-moulding. Its face has a slightly peaked swell, a bordering groove along the three outer edges and at the bottom, two grooves forming an inverted 'V'. Length 43mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 218).

In essence, this brooch is an Augenfibel without the 'eyes' and the type belongs to the first half of the first century AD, but so far none in Britain has been found in a pre-conquest deposit. The distribution of those which have been found here is markedly to the south-east of the Fosse Way and if these examples came in with the first decade after the conquest. However, some caution is needed as one is said to have come from Northumberland (BM Guide 1958, 18, fig. 10, 26), an area not taken into the Province before *c.* 71–72 at the earliest. The present brooch is most probably to be dated to before *c.* 55 AD.

161. The spring is housed as in brooch 133. There is a moulding across the top of the bow which is very thin and tapers down to where it is broken. Length 20mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 215).

The full brooch would have had a fantail foot; the downward taper of the surviving part of the bow shows that the type was not a variety of the Langton Down (*cf* Brailsford 1962, 8, fig. 8, C43)). Brooches of the type to which the present example belongs are uncommon in Britain and are usually to be dated to the earlier part of the first century AD. None has been found in a pre-conquest context, although it is possible that the example from Hod Hill may have come from one *(ibid.)* Another comes from Longthorpe, Cambs. (Frere and St Joseph 1974, 44, fig. 23, 6), a site which came into being within a few years of the conquest and which closed down shortly after AD 60(*ibid.* p. 5). On the whole, it seems best to regard the type as being near the end of its life in use at this period and possibly essentially out of use by *c.* AD 50.

162. The spring was held as in brooch 154. Across the top of the head is a ridge with three concave dips equi-spaced along it. The upper bow consists of two triangular sectioned arms which incline towards each other and meet at the top of the lower bow and each has a small boss at its base with a deep groove dividing the two. The lower bow is broken and the surviving part has flat faces at the sides and down the centre with chamfers on the forward edges. Behind is a groove which marks the top of the catch-plate. Length 36mm. (Gt Wilbraham, Site 9, DN 219).

The brooch type is not common in Britain, but one of the best stratified examples known comes from here: Carpow, *c.* 210 AD (Birley 1963, 206, fig. 11, 3). Another comes from Birdoswald and was dated to Severan times (Richmond 1931, 132, fig. 4, 4b). Although more common on the continent, dating is not well secured. One from Augst was found with mid-second century pottery (Riha 1979, 110, Taf. 22, 596).

Plate Brooches (Figs. 11 to 12).

163. The spring, now missing, was housed in a casing on an axis bar held in pierced end-plates. The plate is circular and flat and has a recessed field from which rise

seven rings, each with a central reserved dot, one in the centre with the others ranged equally round. The enamel has largely gone and the remnants are now discoloured green. Diameter 35mm. (Gt Wilbraham, Site 9, DN 36).

The design occurs often enough to allow that it is quite distinct amongst a whole group of flat brooches which employ reserved figures lying in concentric rings of enamel. One from Britain should not date signficantly beyond the early third century at the latest (Curle 1911, 330, pl. LXXXIX, 14; Hartley 1972, 54) and there appears to be no adequate dating on the continent.

164. The brooch consists of a flat circular plate with three recesses for enamel, now missing, arranged as two *annuli* around a disc. Diameter 31mm. (Gt Wilbraham, Site 9, DN 73).

165. The spring was mounted on a single projecting lug. The plate is circular with a prominent border. In the centre is a raised circular boss in which is set a turquoise coloured paste gem with a cast 'intaglio' in the form of a passant regardant eagle with fanned tail and raised wings. There is no trace of gilding and the corrosion accretions hide any traces of enamel or stamps. Diameter 34mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 186).

166. The spring is held as in brooch 164. The plate is oval and repeats 164 except for the absence of the paste gem in the centre and the presence of S-shaped stamps in the outer part of the outer zone. The brooch was gilded on the front and tinned or silvered on the back. Length 30.5mm. (Gt Wilbraham, Site 9, DN 38).

167. The spring was mounted as in brooch 164. The plate is an oval which is slightly flattened between the main axes. In the centre is a setting for a paste gem and there are four smaller ones arranged around it. These settings are now filled with glass which appears to be modern and to have been ground down to fit their present positions. The four smaller settings are placed in the central one of three zones filling out the plate between the central setting and the edge. The outer zone has slight traces of the use of a stamp with an incuse cross. Length 46mm. (Gt Wilbraham, Site 9, DN 39).

Without the pin-fixing arrangement, it is hard to establish any good relationships for 163 and, in general terms, it may be likened to the earlier part of the sequence which binds brooches 165–167. Dating for such simple designs is hard to come by: Ravenglass, *c.* 120–200 AD plus 1979, 180, Taf. 57, 1509). Two circular enamelled brooches from Nieder-bieber show that the design was in use at the end of the second century and some items may have continued in use into the third (Gechter 1980, 606, Abb. 9, 4–6).

There is every indication that the enamelled single-lug brooches and the succeeding gilded ones are British in origin; the gilded brooches are common in Britain and rare on the continent. That there is a progression from the enamelled examples to the gilded ones is shown by the development of a central boss, often with an inlaid paste intaglio as in 165 here (also, Atkinson 1916, 35, pl. IX, 34) and with a conical boss (Boon 1974, fig. 19, 3). The fake intaglio continues into the gilded series although examples are rare (Winchester, excavations M Biddle, unpublished). There are few major variations in design and 167 is the most extreme which the writer has come across and has very few parallels (eg Dickinson 1979, fig. 12, a) and, occasionally, the paste gem is replaced by a design of radiating ribs (Pitt Rivers 1887, 41, pl. X, 5). So far, the writer has not noted the use of stamps on any of the sequence which also use enamel in the outer zones. The range of design for the stamps is wide; elongated 'S's', lozenges, arcs, double-leaf motifs, crosses in a least three forms, circle-and-dot, dot-in-triangle, and 'W's' (Atkinson 1916, 35, pl. IX, 35; Bushe-Fox 1949, 121, pl. XXXI, 63, Ashbee 1954, 16, fig. 5, 1; Dudley 1967, 60, fig. 24, 237; Nan Kivell 1927a, 328, pl. II, E; Boon 1974, fig. 19, 1; Durobrivae, private collection; Cricklade, Wilts, to be published).

Dating evidence is thin. One from Zugmantel and two from Saalburg should have been lost before *c.* 160 (Böhme 1972, 9–10, 43, 110, 1132–1134, Taf. 29). One from Augst was found with third century pottery (Riha 1979, 88, Taf. 13, 309), but when it comes to examples from Britain, despite the number known, the writer knows of only one from a stratified deposit: Fishbourne, late third – early fourth century robber trench (Cunliffe 1971, 106, fig. 40, 43). How far into the fourth century it may have lasted, if it did at all, may only be guessed at: gilded brooches become increasingly common, but these are all bow brooches. It seems likely that these round or oval gilded brooches should be regarded as being essentially third century in date and, as they are tied in development to specifically second century enamelled brooches, possibly belonging to the first half.

168. Circular slightly domed brooch; the back is hollowed into the dome, with 4 projecting lugs forming a cross shape. The dome contains blue and red enamel in alternating triangles around a central circular recess. Diameter 32mm. (Not seen by DM). (Bottisham, Site 1, DN 172).

169. Diamond-shaped brooch with trefoil terminals to the corners, which are decorated with incised ring and dot. This decoration also borders a central recessed square containing an enamelled motif. Black, blue and white enamel was used. (For key to enamel colouration used in illustrations, see Fig. 11). Length 35mm. (Not seen by DM). (Bottisham, Site 1, DN 176).

170. Fragment of a bossed brooch with projecting moulded wing. Length 18mm. (Not seen by DM). (Bottisham, Site 1, DN 183).

Zoömorphic Brooches (Fig. 12).

171. The hinged-pin is held as in brooch 164. The plate is shaped as a passant peacock with tail folded. There is a crest on the head and the eye is a circular recess with a raised central dot. The wing is recessed and has a trace of red enamel and is separated from the tail and the leg by a diagonal groove. The tail has a cell for enamel in which is a small spot of peacock-blue colour. The leg is bent and

has nicks indicating the claws. Length 38mm. (Gt Wilbraham DN 36b).

172. The spring is mounted as in brooch 177. The plate is crudely shaped to represent a rider on a horse. The rider has a triangular body and a concave profile to the head with a nick below the nose and a recessed circular eye. His hair is marked by a series of nicks on the rear part of the head. The horse has a pricked ear with a central flute. Its face is corroded and might have had a raised dot for an eye. The mane is shown in the same way as the hair of the rider. The two legs of the horse are corroded. There is no sign of a leg or foot for the rider. There are two irregularly shaped cells with red enamel on the body of the rider and two more on the horse. The forward one of these has blue enamel and the rearward one has red away from the tail and blue in the rest. The spot of red may be an attempt to show either the leg or drapery of the rider lying over the body of the horse. Length 22mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 37).

The horse-and-rider design is one of the commonest of Zoömorphic brooches to be found in Britian, and none is dated by a context. The form is sometimes thought to belong specifically to religious sites, but this has yet to be demonstrated and as a brooch could be worn anywhere, is unlikely to be. If the whole class of enamelled animal brooches is looked at, one from Ravenglass is dated *c.* 200–370 (Potter 1979, 68, fig. 26, 6); a duck from Verulamium came from a context of *c.* AD 150 – 155/160 (Frere 1972, 118, fig. 31, 21); a sitting hen from Wroxeter dated to before the middle of the second century (Bushe-Fox 1916, 25, pl. XVI, 13); a bird from Birdoswald was dated to the third quarter of the third century (Richmond 1931, 132, fig. 4, 5c); a stag from Wroxeter was dated to *c.* AD 160 (Atkinson 1942, 208, fig. 36, H26); a hare from Leicester belonged to the first half of the third century (Kenyon 1949, 251, fig. 82, 5). The best dated continental collection comes from Augst and here the range of dates for enamelled animals runs from mid-first century AD to mid-third plus. These are the extremes of all the dated contexts and it is clear that the general range is closer to c. AD 100–200 (Riha 1979, 201–203, Tafln. 67–68, 1728 1748). If this determination is taken in conjunction with the British evidence cited, the general range could be said to be second century running into the third and this range should cover both manufacture and survival in use, with the proviso that manufacture may well have begun before 100, but the beginning of a new line seldom occurs in its correct chronological horizon and it is the general dating which is of greater value to an archaeologist.

Penannular (Fig. 12)

173–175. All three brooches are of the same form and come from the same site. The section of the ring is circular and the terminals were made by hammering out the ring to form a flat strip which was then coiled back over the ring at right-angles to the plane of the ring. One pin survives; it is straight and bears no ornament. 173 Diameter 35mm; 174 Diameter 28mm; 175 Diameter 28mm (Lode, Site 10, DNs 57–59).

All three belong to Fowler's Type C which occurs in contexts running from the first century BC, as well as in Saxon graves (Fowler 1960, 152, 175). The emphasis in dated context lies in the first century AD and, as it is a relatively common native brooch, its *floruit* should lie on either side of the Conquest.

176. Brooch as above. (Not examined by DM). Diameter 31mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 187).

Unclassified Brooches (Fig. 12)

177. The hinged-pin was mounted on a short axis bar and trapped between two close-set pierced lugs. Although the catch-plate and one wing are missing, the brooch may be regarded as having been symmetrical. Across the crest of the bow is set a panel with cross-cuts marking the top and bottom. In the panel, three dot-and-circle elements have been stamped in a row. The sides of the panel are marked by the basal mouldings of the wings which are waisted and have, at the end, a knob rising from a cross-moulding. Above and below the panel the bow curves back and terminated in a more attenuated version of the of the wing design.

Precise, or even acceptably close, parallels are hard to find. Such brooches are generally dated to the second century. Length 30mm. (Great Wilbraham, Site 9, DN 75).

178. The pin-fixing arrangement is missing. The brooch has a central rectangular plate, projecting from which are two triangular arms, ending in trefoil knobs. (Not examined by DM). Length 33mm. (Great Wilbraham, Site 9, DN 74).

179. Cast pin, probably from a hinged plate-brooch. (Not examined by DM). Length 43mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 234).

Footnotes.

1. My thanks are due to Mr R. A. Brown for showing me the material from the site.

2. I am grateful to Lady Pauline Richmond-Brown for allowing me to study the collection.

3. My attention was drawn to this brooch by Mr C. J. S. Green, to whom I gave my thanks.

4. I am grateful to Miss V. Rigby for providing me with this parallel.

5. I am very grateful indeed to Dr M. Feugère for allowing me a sight of his thesis in advance of publication.

The Cult Objects, by Martin Henig. (Figs. 12 to 13).

180. A bronze enamelled votive stand, in the form of a hollow cube. The side panels are divided diagonally into four and filled with blue, green and red enamel. Each side is approximately 15mm × 15mm. Presumably this is the top section of a tiered stand. (Butcher 1977, 49–51). (Great Wilbraham DN 33).

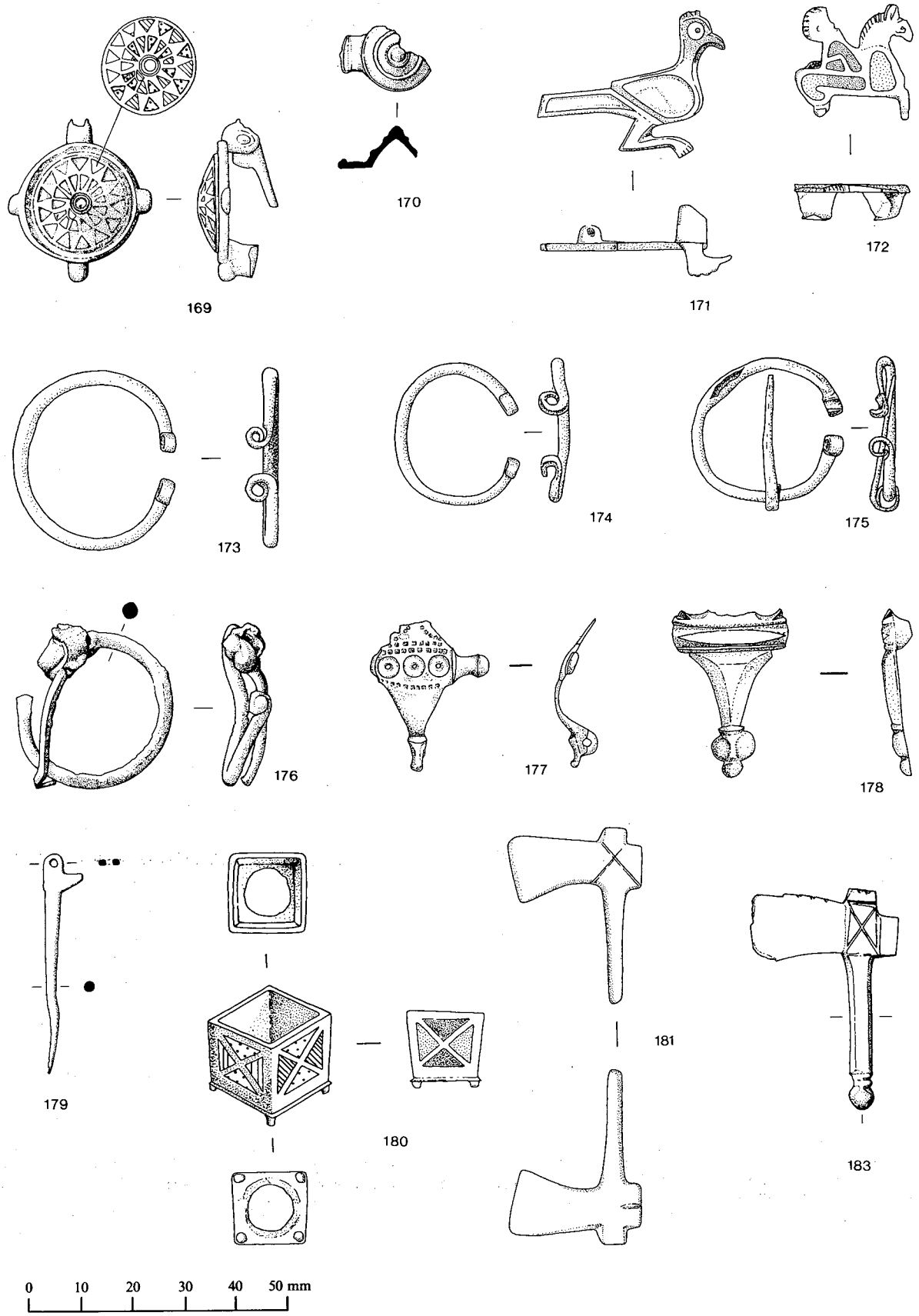

Figure 12. Roman copper alloy brooches and cult objects. Scale 1:1

For the type see Green 1975, 64–65, 42–47. A close parallel comes from the temple at Chanctonbury Ring, Sussex, but without feet. (Henig 1980, 216–217, fig. 16, 114).

181–183. Votive axes with incised lines in imitation of cord bindings. These objects are discussed in Green 1975, 62–64, 7–33; Green 1978, 31–32; Green 1976, pl. XXVIII, j–n.

181. Plain axe with simple incised 'X' on one side only. Length 44mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 32).

Not illustrated.

182. Similar to the above, but with a slight downward curve to the blade of the axe. Length 37mm. (Cottenham, Site 5, DN 82).

183. More detailed imitation of an axe with haft ending in a moulded knob. Length 38mm. (Bottisham, Site 1, DN 175).

184. A small mace-handle, probably religious regalia. Hollow cast oval base with an hour-glass shaped lower handle. Length 23mm. (Cottenham, Site 5, DN 85).

Compare examples from Willingham Fen, Cambs (Rostovsteff 1923, 94, 2; pl. III, 2; Alfoldi 1949, 19, pl. II).

185. Figurine of Mercury, leaning towards the left and in a relaxed stance. He has wings in his hair and the *chlamys* draped over the left arm and shoulder. Length 70mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 79).

This is good and competent provincial work, probably Gaulish or British. The type is common in Gaul and Britain (Boucher 1976, 106–108). Boucher argues that this may be the type based on the bronze statue by Zenodorus, which he made *c.* AD 50–55, for the sanctuary of the Arventi (Pliny NH XXXIV, 45).

For examples in Britain see Lindgrehen 1980, pl. 3–6 and 13. For examples in London, Colchester and Manea Fen, Cambs, see Pitts 1979, 22, 31–32, 42.

186. Bust of Luna with prominent circular eyes and stylised drapery. On her head is a crescent moon. Length 50mm. (Cottenham, Site 6, DN 80).

A more regular bust of Luna may be seen amongst the deities of the week on the castration clamp from the Thames at London. (Roach-Smith 1959, pl. XXI). There is a stylistic resemblance to the veiled bust with two projections from the side of the head and one on the forehead from Willingham Fen (*op. cit.* 94, pl. V), and the horned head on a bucket mount from West Hill, Uley, Glos. (Henig. 1978, 369, pl. LXXIIa), but despite superficial resemblances in iconography, these do not represent Luna.

187. Bust of Sol. His *paludamentum* is richly patterned and fastened at the right shoulder with a circular brooch. Length 52mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 81).

A bust of Sol occurs amongst the deities of the week on the castration clamp from the Thames at London (*op. cit.* pl. XXI). Also compare a much more stylised bust of Sol from West Hill, Uley, Glos. (*op. cit.*).

Roman Miscellaneous (Fig. 14) by Caroline Ireland.

188. A stud in the form of a cockle shell. Diameter 13mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 84).

189. Unidentified implement. One end is split; the other is flattened and pierced. Probably part of a larger object. Length 111mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 279).

190. Circular plate with concentric grooves. There is a projection from the back, suggesting that this may be a stud. Diameter 35mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 35).

191. Barrel-shaped object with moulded ends. Length 21mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 10).

192. Fitting with a lozenge-shaped plate surmounted by a moulded collar and a loop in the same plane as the plate. The plate is finished by a moulded terminal and has a cast-in projection or rivet at the back, which is splayed at the end. Length 41mm. (Milton DN 184).

Saxon (Figs. 14 to 15)

The Anglo-Saxon Brooches, by Martin Howe. (Fig. 14).

193. A small long brooch cast in copper alloy and broken in antiquity at the point where the base of the bow joins the foot. The original length is estimated to have been *c.* 58mm. Length 36mm. (Bottisham, Site 2, DN 44).

This example belongs to Leed's cross-potent type (Leeds 1945, 14) and originally had an expanded foot. The round angles between the arms place the brooch at the earlier end of the chronological sequence, but the occurrence of a panelled head-plate and possible linear decoration on the individual arms, suggests that this example belongs to the latter end of the early division. The brooch type is concentrated in the Cambridgeshire region and this example can be paralleled with brooches from Woodston and Girton, Cambs and Woburn Sands, Bucks. An early sixth century date would be appropriate.

194. This object originally formed one of the three fixed head knobs of a Cruciform brooch of an early Åberg type. The half round knob of undeveloped form is a characteristic of the Åberg type II brooch (Åberg 1926, 36–39), and thus this example probably dates to the first half of the sixth century. Length 15mm. (Bottisham, Site 2, DN 45).

195. Cast Cruciform brooch lacking both foot and side knobs. The head plate is panelled and the wings show a slight expansion as though the remaining knob is of undeveloped form, as it is only moulded on one side. The bow is broad and shows no sign of lappet development at its base. The now absent foot was certainly zoömorphic in form bearing a full face head which, in the light of the other features noted, would have staring eyes and slightly flared nostrils. Length 79mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 69).

The form of the brooch places it in Åberg's group II (*op. cit.* 36–39), but the half round form of the cast-on head knob and the expansion of the wings would make it transitional within the group. Parallels for this brooch

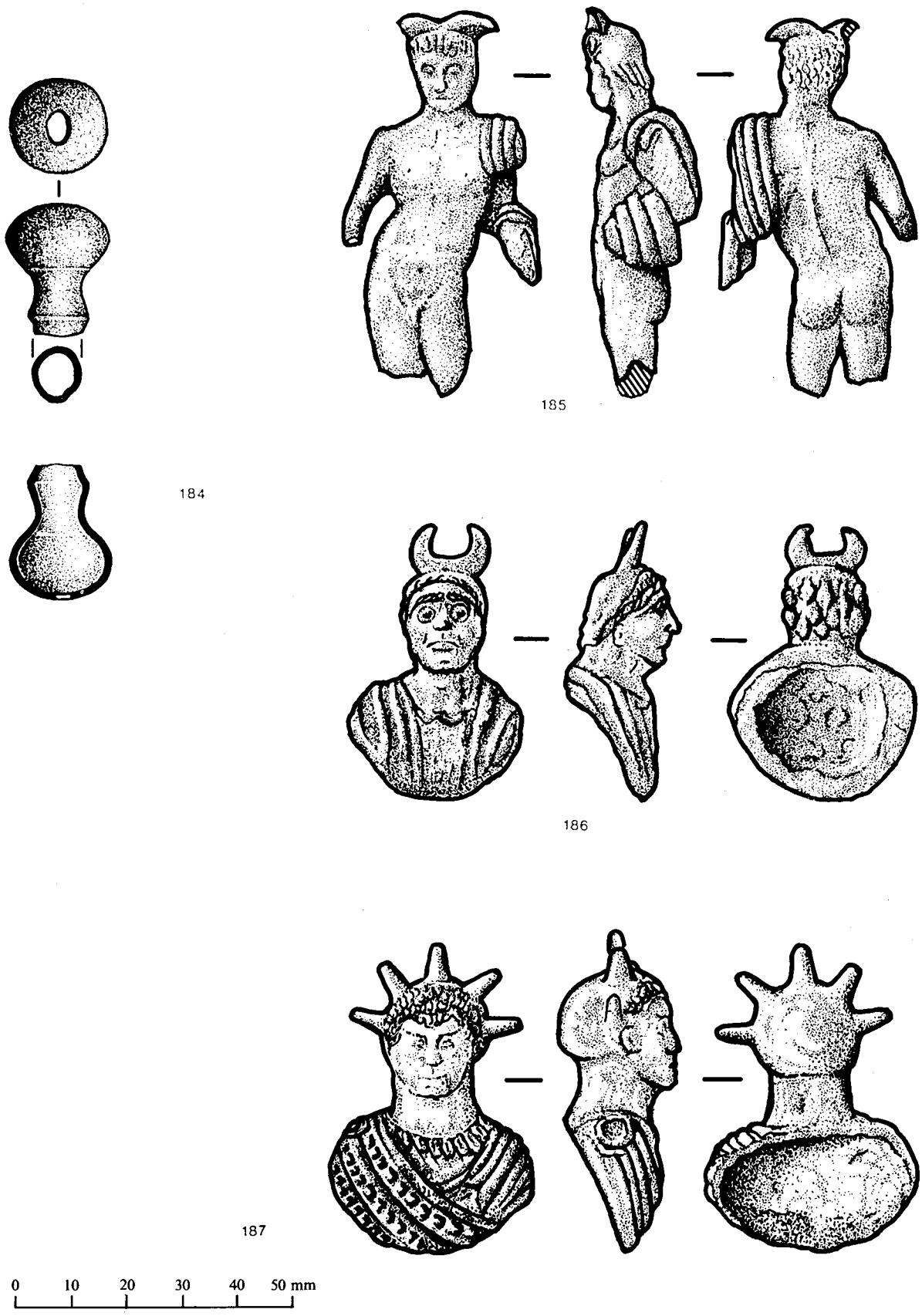

Figure 13. Roman copper alloy cult objects. Scale 1:1

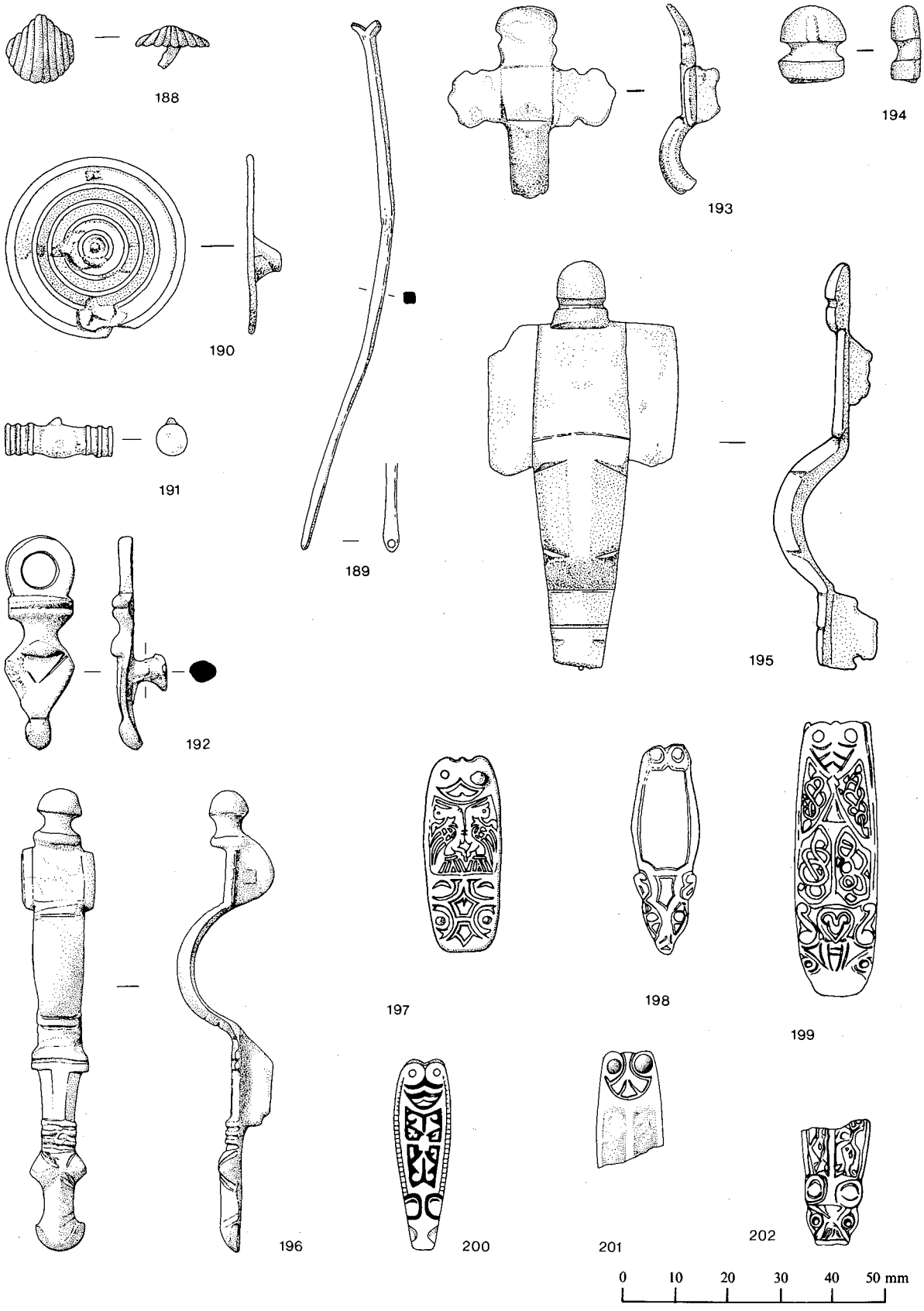

Figure 14. Roman copper alloy miscellaneous objects; early Saxon copper alloy brooches; late Saxon copper alloy and silver strap-ends. Scale 1:1

exist from Woodston, Cambs; West Stow Heath, Suffolk, and Ancaster, Lincs. The example under discussion dates to the first half of the sixth century.

196. The brooch is a one-piece casting and is of the cruciform type. A single fully rounded knob is cast into the head-plate which is divided. The bow measures 9mm in width at its mid-point and is facetted, as is that portion of the object which connects the bottom of the bow to the foot. At the base of the bow two rudimentary lappets decorated with an incised horizontal line are present. Further incised line ornament occurs on the top and base of the bow and on the foot. This last feature is in the form of a full face animal with pronounced staring eyes. The animal's muzzle has slightly flaring nostrils, which are, however, still recognisable as nostrils. There is extensive iron corrosion over the brooch, particularly on the reverse where remains of the pin and tensioning spring survive as corrosion products. Length 90mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 206).

The cruciform brooch is well attested in the Cambridge region (see Leeds 1945, pp 69–72), and E. T. Leeds demonstrated that Nils Åberg's groups I and II of this brooch type (Åberg 1926, 33–39) show a marked concentration in this area. (Leeds *op. cit.* fig. 37). Brooch 196 has a number of features which place it in the early stages of this chronology. Leeds held that a key to the chronological dating of the English cruciform brooches lies in the changes in the form of the head-plate knobs as they become later in date (*op. cit.* 69). In groups I–IV the simple rounded knob (such as on the present brooch) remains tentatively unchanged, although the later examples usually have this feature shorn in half on their reverses. The fact that this fully rounded knob is the sole survivor of the three knobs which originally adorned the head of the brooch is also indicative of an early date.

Early cruciform brooches have side knobs which are normally described as being 'detachable'. In reality these features generally form an integral part of the brooch closure mechanism and are not permanently connected with the head-plate. The side knobs of the present example would have the same form as the surviving knob, but would have been attached to the spiral iron spring on the reverse, the corrosion of which has resulted in the loss of the knobs.

The head-plate itself is also of an early form. It is small, measuring 14mm by 12mm and has very narrow 'wings'. The later forms of the cruciform have wings which progressively expand, reaching excessive extremes in the brooches of group IV and V. (Åberg, 1926, 42–56).

The foot of the brooch also points to an early date. The full-face animal head is still recognisable, although it is beginning to show features which occur on the later brooches. the eyes have begun to bulge out and the nostrils have begun to flare. On the later brooches the appearance of an animal head become less distinct, the nostrils flaring to such an extent that they frequently become triangular or crescentic plates. The rudimentary lappets also bear witness to the transitional nature of the ornamentation on this brooch. The lateral expansion of the bar below the bow represents the beginnings of the process of lappet development to be seen on group III to V brooches, where they can take the form of crouching animals and human heads.

This brooch should be considered as an example of Åberg's group I. However, the details of its decoration place it within the latest examples of this group, and it is suggested that it represents a transition between groups I and II. English parallels to the brooch are to be found from the St John's College cemetery, Cambridge (Reichstein 1975, pl. 91, 4) and Ixworth, Suffolk (*op. cit.* pl. 118, 2). The former belongs to Reichstein's 'Stratford' type which dates to the second half of the fith century. The Ixworth example would fit comfortably in this range and thus a date within the first quarter of the sixth century would appear to be appropriate for brooch 196.

Six Late Saxon Strap-Ends, by James Graham-Campbell, Ph D. (Fig. 14).

197. Copper alloy with silver and niello inlay. One flat-headed silver rivet of the original pair survives at the split end, below which is a fan-shaped field containing a motif consisting of a pair of leaves. The terminal is incised with an animal's head seen from above, with an ornamented forehead and snout, containing traces of niello inlay, between circular drilled eyes; the ears are oval with lunate incisions. The main body contains a single field of ornament, between plain borders, in which a confronted pair of winged bipeds is inlaid in silver against a background of niello. These beasts are seen in profile, with their heads thrown back; each has open jaws with a squared-off snout, a bump over its round eye, a leaf-like ear on a string, nicked contours, a tripartite wing, a single leg, and a five-element tail. The reverse is plain. This example is on display in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge: 1984, 4. Length 36mm. (Soham DN 99).

198. Copper alloy, terminating in an incised animal's head seen from above, with circular eyes in oval sockets and comma-shaped ears. The main body contains a single plain field, with a plain border. The split end has two-headed rivets in place, although the back element has broken away and is missing. The reverse is plain. Length 40mm. (Soham DN 242).

199. Silver, with traces of niello inlay, terminating in an incised animal's head seen from above with circular eyes and comma-shaped ears, between which is a heart-shaped motif. The butt-end is unusually deeply split with two rivet holes. The main body is divided by plain borders into six fields of which the largest four contain open interlacing motifs of foliate character. The reverse is plain. Length 52mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 298).

200. Copper alloy, terminating in a highly stylised animal's head seen from above, with oval ears that have lunate incisions. The split end has two rivet holes with a fan-shaped field between them, containing a sub-foliate motif.

The main body has beaded borders and is divided into two fields by a plain transverse band, with a rectangular expansion at its centre from which sprout two pairs of bifurcated leaves, one into each field which contain amorphous motifs filling the spaces to either side. The reverse is plain. Length 37mm. (Bottisham, Site 1, DN 40).

201. Copper alloy, with incised ornament inlaid with niello. The fragment has a strong upward curvature and is broken across the middle. The two rivets at the split end survive in place and between them is a fan-shaped field containing a tripartite foliate motif in the form of a pair of leaves with a central bud-like element. The main body is divided into two oblong fields by plain borders, but no details of their niello-inlaid ornament can now be deciphered. The reverse is plain. Length 22mm. (Bottisham, Site 3, DN 240).

202. Terminal fragment of a copper alloy strap-end, with incised ornament inlaid with niello; it is broken across the middle. The terminal takes the form of an animal's head seen from above, with squared-off snout and oval ears containing lozenge-shaped fields; there are opposed triangular fields on the forehead and snout between circular drilled eyes. The main body has beaded borders and is divided into two oblong fields by a plain central band, incised with niello-inlaid ornament of an indeterminate but probably sub-foliate nature. The reverse is plain. Length 25mm. (Bottisham, Site 3, DN 241).

Strap-ends represent the commonest form of surviving late Anglo-Saxon ornamental metalwork and these examples all belong to a stereotyped group of ninth century date, characterised by their elongated form, with incised ornament in the Trewhiddle style on the obverse and plain reverse; they have a narrow opening at the butt-end pierced for a pair of rivets, below which is usually a fan-shaped field containing a foliate motif (as 197 and 199–201), whilst the terminal is treated in the form of an animal's head seen from above, with either oval (as 197, 200 and 202) or comma-shaped ears (as 198 and 199). Such small strap-ends must have been largely ornamental in purpose (and their use must have been highly fashionable in the ninth century, from which period they are particularly abundant), although they would certainly have served to prevent the ends of woven belts or ribbons from fraying, whilst providing the weight to help them hang attractively.

203. A cast circular brooch of copper alloy. Around the edge is a crude beading; in the centre of the brooch is a backward-facing animal, possibly supposed to be a lion, with flowing mane and four legs divided at the ends to represent claws. Incised circle and dot has been used to denote the eye, the front shoulder joint and the haunch. The pin-fixing arrangement is missing, but the catch-plate is present. Diameter 26mm. (Bottisham DN 77).

Brooches of this type have an East Anglian distribution and are thought on stylistic grounds to belong to the late Saxon period. (Smedley and Owles 1965; Hinton 1974, 19).

The main variation in these strap-ends is provided by the ornament on the body, occupying one or more fields. 198 is curious in having been left plain, whereas the ornament on 201 and 202 cannot now be deciphered, although that of the latter might be foliate in character as is that on 199 and 200. The ornament on 199 has already been described and discussed in print (Graham-Campbell 1982, 145, 149, Fig. 3,3), where its interlace was described as 'unusual both in its overall openness and in the eccentric details of its intertwining'; that on 200 is a much simplified version of the 'potted plant' motif, as found on the Burghead horn-mount (Graham-Campbell 1973, Fig. 19, e). Altogether exceptional is 197 with its silver inlay of a pair of confronted beasts in the form of winged bipeds – with animals' heads – a motif which was particularly popular in eighth century Anglo-Saxon art. A few ninth century strap-ends are decorated with pairs of interlaced animals (*eg* Wilson 1964, 144), but the closest parallel for the Soham ornament is provided by the pair of birds on the gold finger-ring of King AEthelwulf, made before his death in 857 or 858 (Wilson 1964, 31), related to birds in the ninth century Book of Cerne (Cambridge, University Library, LI. 1. 10; Alexander 1978, Fig. 310). The birds on the ring have been interpreted as representing the Christian symbol of two confronted peacocks flanking the Tree of Life (*The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, British Museum 1984, 9) but its central plant-like motif is absent from the design on the Soham strap-end which probably represents no more than the continuity of the eighth century motif referred to above, still occasionally employed in the Trewhiddle style as can be seen on one pair of the disc brooches recently discovered at Pentney, Norfolk (Wilson 1984, Pl. 120, lower left). In any case the Soham beasts differ from the birds in having their heads thrown backwards (a common enough pose for Trewhiddle style animals) and in the fact that the heads are not bird-like, although of classic Trewhiddle style form, with their squared snouts, open mouths, prominent eyes and trailing ears – very similar to that of a winged biped on one of the Beeston Tor disc brooches, deposited *c.* 875 (Wilson 1964, 2, left-hand field). Finally, it should be noted that the Soham strap-end under discussion (197) is squatter in form than the others published here and in this respect is somewhat similar to that in the Cuerdale hoards, deposited *c.* 905 (Wilson 1964, 13), looking forward to the tongue-shaped form which became prevalent in the tenth century. All things considered, a mid-ninth century date seems to be indicated for this Soham strap-end which constitutes a unique addition to the corpus of Trewhiddle style metalwork and its fine ornament will undoubtedly receive fuller discussion when this important phase of late Anglo-Saxon art receives its much needed reappraisal.

204. Dress-pin of silver with gilded head and gold filigree work. The illustration reconstructs the pin's original appearance, since, when found, the shank below the head

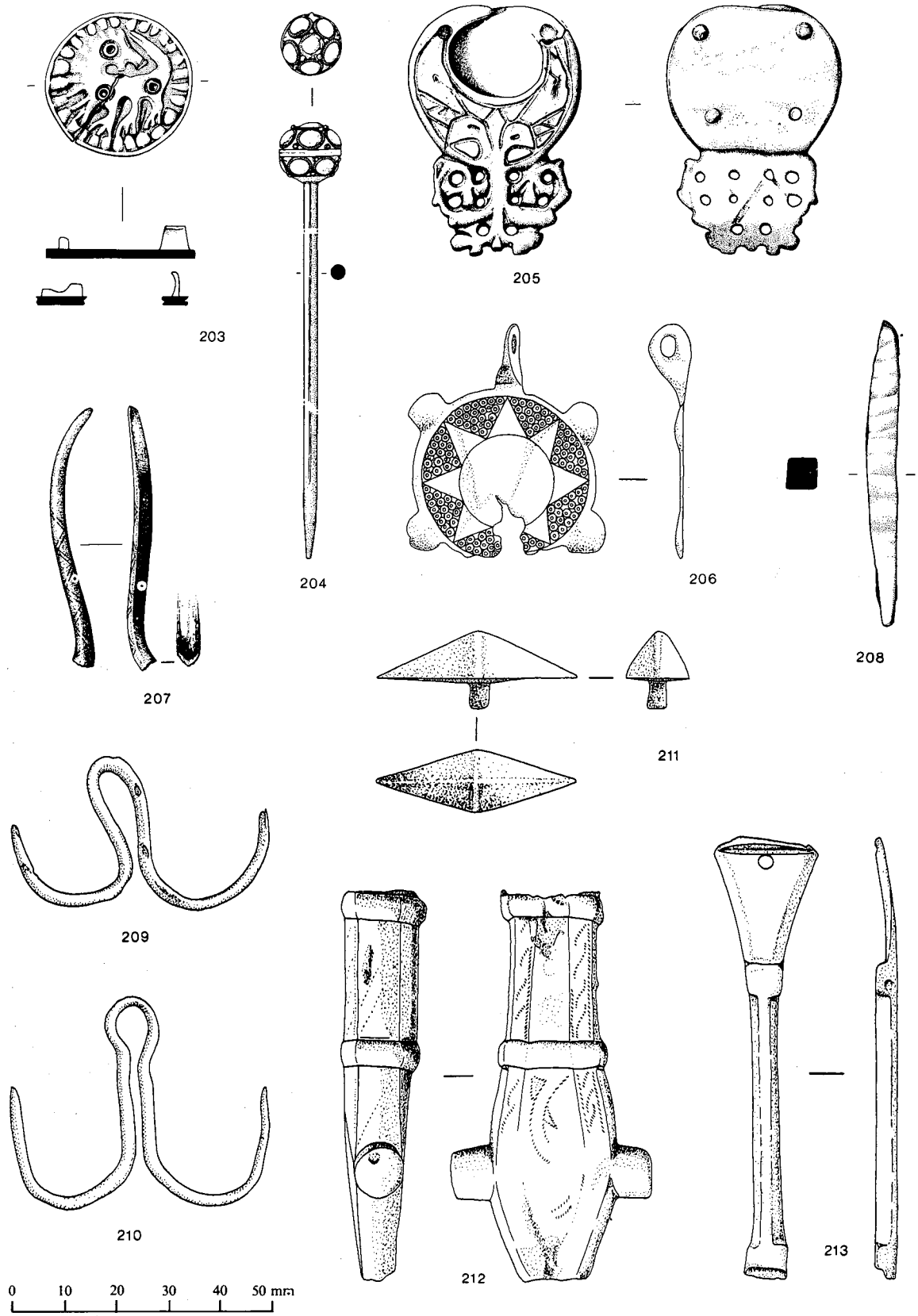

Figure 15. Late Saxon copper alloy brooch; late Saxon silver and gilt pin; medieval and miscellaneous undated copper alloy objects. Scale 1:1

was bent at right angles and the rest of the shank twisted and broken in places. Running through the centre of the shank was what appeared to be a wire of copper alloy. The head is globular and is divided decoratively into an upper and lower area of circles of gold filigree surrounding slightly domed discs, with granules of gold placed in the intervening spaces, by a plain band. Length 84mm. (Milton DN 76).

Pins of this type have recently been discussed by Robinson (1981, 56–61) who dates them to the ninth – tenth centuries. The present example can be paralleled with a pin from London in its decorative treatment. (*op. cit.* 57, fig. 2).

Medieval. (Fig. 15) by Caroline Ireland.

205. Belt chape constructed from two cast plates held by two rivets at a mid point. The front plate has a cast open work terminal surmounted by a crescentic panel decorated with crudely incised lines representing a fleur-de-lys motif. The back plate is plain. Two rivets presumably held the belt end. Length 48mm. (Haddenham, DN 193).

206. Horse harness pendant. The pendant is circular with, originally, six projections from the flat circular plate, presumably continuing the imitation of a star shape, which forms the motif in the centre of the pendant. The intervals between the points of the star have been filled with stamped circle and dot. Length 45mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 64).

207. Part of the pendant of the metal frame of a purse. The external face has incised diagonal lines forming chevrons which had once been inlaid with niello. The back of the frame is pierced with small drilled holes for the attachment of the purse fabric. Length 103mm. (Soham DN 145).

The niello inlay characterises this purse frame as late fifteenth century (LMMC, 159; Types A1 & A2). A complete frame of this type comes from Southampton (Platt & Coleman-Smith 1975, Fig. 244, 1811).

Undated and or Unidentified. (Figs. 15 to 16).

208. Square-sectioned object with ends tapering to points. The surfaces have been irregularly hammered. Perhaps an unfinished awl. Length 59mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 194).

209-210. Fish-hooks of bent wire. Each hook has a central loop and two symmetrical hooks on either side.

209. Length 30mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 55).

210. Length 43mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 56).

211. Pyramid-shaped stud or fitting. Length 40mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 62).

212. Evidently part of a larger object; both ends show signs of fracture. The thicker end is octagonal sectioned defined by moulded collars. At the opposite end the object is flattened but has two opposing projecting lugs, suggesting that the object was pivotted here. There are faint traces of linear decoration. Length 76mm. (Soham DN 12).

213. Cast object with indications that it may be part of a larger artefact. The flattened triangular area at one end is perforated. Length 87mm. (Lode, Site 10, DN 68).

214–219. Cast rings of various sizes, some of which may be Roman or earlier.

214. Diameter 22mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 23).

215. Diameter 30mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 24).

216. Diameter 28mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 25).

217. Diameter 29mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 26).

Not illustrated.

218. Diameter 22mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 22).

219. Large cast ring, fractured and twisted. Diameter 40mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 5).

220. Cast ring, or perhaps a pin shank bent round to form a ring. Diameter 38mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 4).

221. Cast strip, possibly a fragment of an armlet. Length 50mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 20).

222. Cast annular buckle with recess for the buckle tongue. On the opposite side of the loop is a short downward pointing projection, possibly with zoömorphic features. Diameter 46mm. (Bottisham DN 42).

223. Buckle and plate cast in one piece; the tongue is looped through a hole in the plate and curves in an 'S' over the buckle loop. Length 40mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 286).

A Roman date for this object may be likely, since a similar buckle, cast in one piece, was recovered from a Roman building at Edmundsoles, Haslingfield, Cambs (Miller and Miller 1981, fig. 10, 10), associated with third century pottery.

224. Cast belt mount with iron tangs, decorated with punched crescents and dots. Length 32mm. (Fordham, Site 8, DN 285).

225. Cast hollow rectangular box which tapers towards the top, where it is formed into a loop. The sides are pierced with irregular holes, roughly forming a lattice-work design. Iron corrosion products adhere to the underside of the loop, suggesting that it may have been attached to an iron chain? Length 66mm. (Milton DN 203).

226. Cast harness fitting. Length 54mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 3).

227. Cast plate fragment with cast-in decorative panels, of which only fragments are discernible; the decorated area is gilt. Length 23mm. (Soham, Site 11, DN 284).

228. Pin with drum-shaped head decorated with incised hatching, cast separately and attached to the shank,

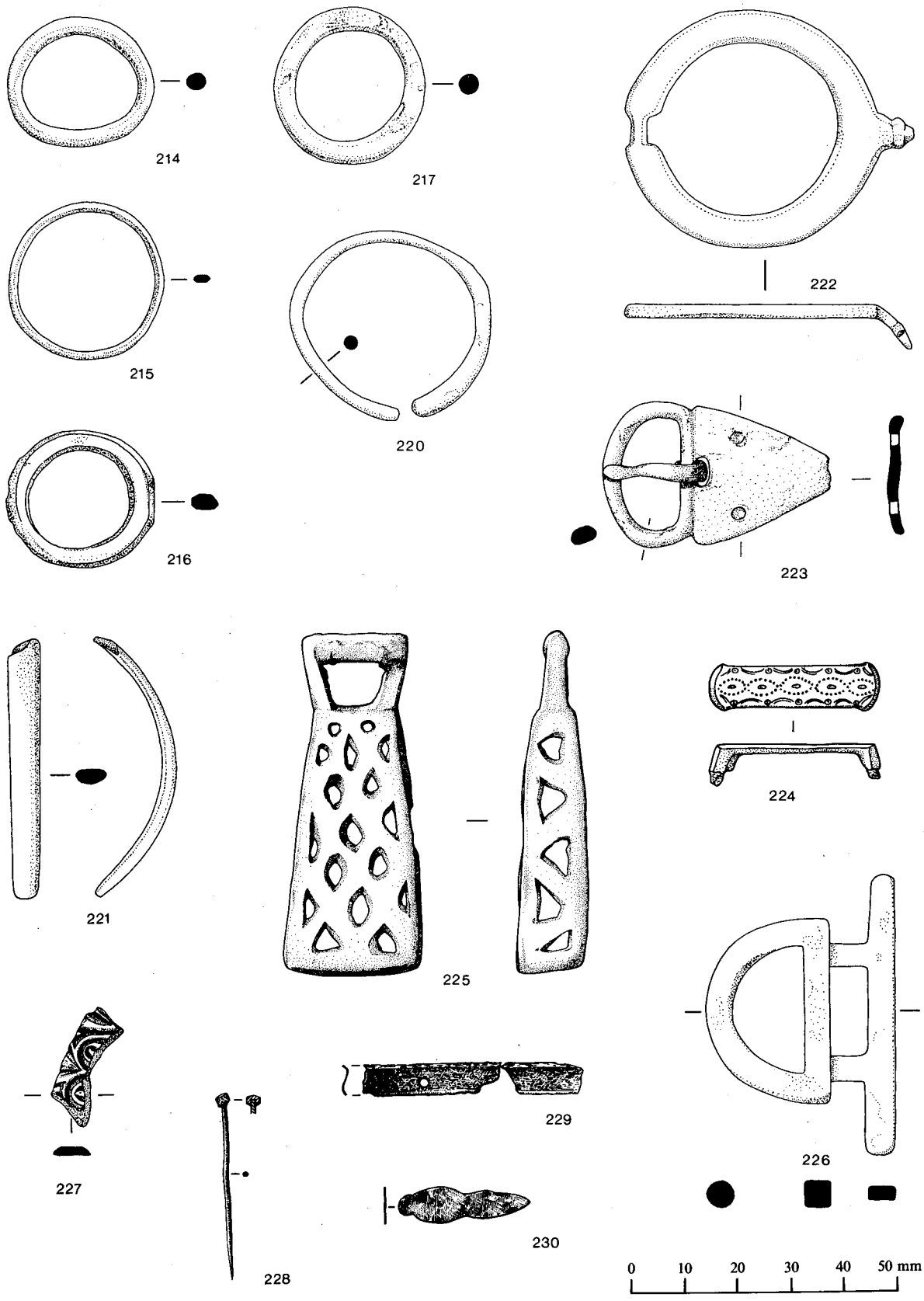

Figure 16. Undated or unidentified copper alloy objects. Scale 1:1

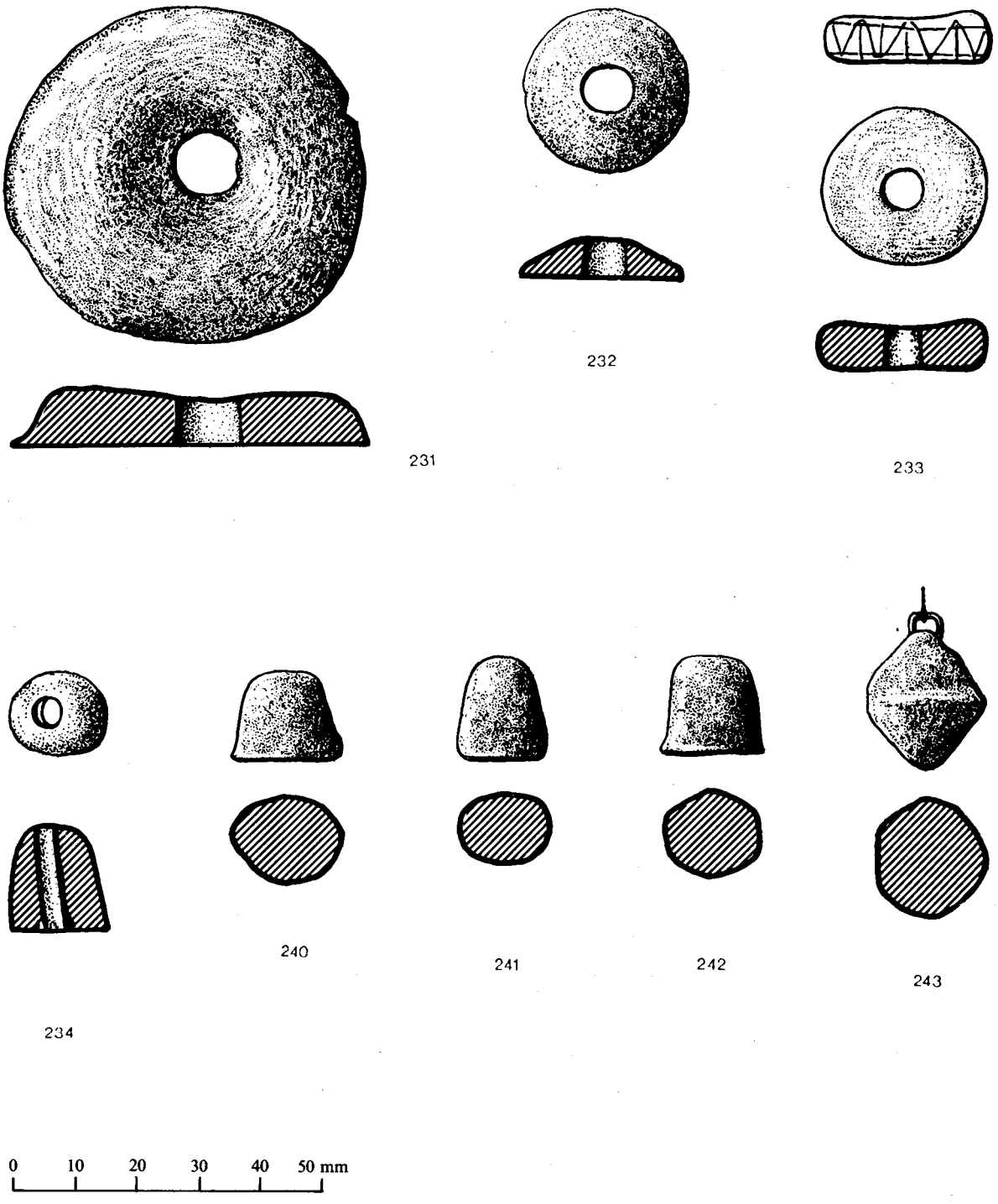

Figure 17. Lead objects. Scale 1:1

which has been made of a machine drawn wire, sharpened at the end. Length 72mm. (Soham, Site 12, DN 140).

229. Two fragments of beaten bronze bowls, both probably rim fragments. Lengths 45mm and 85mm. (Cottenham DN 98).

230. Leaf-shaped flat piece of copper alloy. Length 50mm. (Cottenham DN 95).

LEAD (Fig. 17) by Caroline Ireland.

Undated, but likely to be Roman.

231-239. Bun-shaped lead objects, possibly weights, whorls or net-sinkers. Four examples have been selected for illustration to show the range of shape and size. One example is decorated with incised lines.

240-250. Lead weights in a variety of forms, of which a selection has been made for illustration, including biconical weights with iron loops attached for suspension and thimble-shaped weights. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 92).

IRON (Figs. 18 to 19) by Caroline Ireland.

In the absence of dated contexts, it is impossible to date most iron work with any certainty, particularly with regard to basic tools whose forms have very long lives. however, some of the ironwork is regarded as being Roman, because the find spot coincides with known areas of Roman occupation, and their form is the same as proven Roman examples, although this dating is only tentative.

Roman.

251. Pair of farmer's pincers with one arm bent at an angle. Length 164mm. (Bottisham, Site 2, DN 146).

252. An adze or hoe; the blade is splayed at the cutting edge and sharply angled downwards. The blunt end has a long hammer-like projection. Length 204mm. (Bottisham, Site 2, DN 147).

This type of adze-hoe was current in Iron Age and Roman times (Rees 1979, 308–309), but tools of this type were still in use up to the present century in agriculture. (For medieval examples see Goodall 1981, fig. 51).

253. A pick-axe or mattock with a flat blade and pointed pick. Length 270mm. (Soham, Site 13, DN 245).

Similar pick-axes have been found elsewhere on Roman military and later sites. (Rees 1979, 312).

254. Carpenter's wedge used for splitting wood? The blunt end has been considerably hammered. Length 75mm. (Soham, Site 13, DN 246).

Wedges were also used for splitting stone and are known in the medieval period. (Goodall 1981, 53).

255. Complete spearhead with narrow leaf-shaped blade. The socket is split to receive the shaft and has a single nail hole at the back to fix the shaft in place. Length 190mm. (Soham, Site 13, DN 244).

For a discussion of the type, which seems to be common throughout the Roman period, see Manning 1976, 18.

Not illustrated.

256. An adze or hoe with signs of use on the blunt end. (Soham, Site 13, DN 282).

Anglo-Saxon.

Anglo-Saxon Spearhead, by Martin Howe. (Fig. 18).

257. Fragmentary spearhead, much corroded and only retaining the tip of the socket; the point of the blade is broken off and the right hand side of the blade is broken away for most of its length. However, enough details remain to ascertain its original length, which was *c.* 95mm with the blade *c.* 24mm wide. (Soham DN 283).

The form of the blade places this example in Swanton's F1 category (Swanton 1974, 15) a type which is widely distributed from the Humber to the Thames Valley. The F1 spearheads are held to have gone out of use by the mid sixth century and are generally found in poorly furnished graves.

Undated, by Caroline Ireland.

258. Functional end of a barrel padlock key. Length 100mm. (Bottisham, Site 2, DN 148).

259. Key end of padlock key of different form to 258. Length 60mm. (Bottisham, Site 2, DN 1151).

260–277. A relatively large number of internal spring mechanism fragments from barrel padlocks were found on sites in Bottisham. A range of the size with a variety of arrangements of the spring 'leaves' have been chosen for illustration.

260–263. (Bottisham, Site 2, DN's 149; 152–154).

Barrel padlocks were first used in the Iron Age, were current in the Roman period, but are perhaps more common on medieval sites. (LMMC 1940, fig. 45). The majority of the internal mecahnisms and the two keys were recovered from a single field, perhaps suggesting a manufacturing site?

278. Looped rod, probably all that remains of a round-looped key. Length 55mm. (Cottenham, Site 4, DN 199).

279. Swivel ring attachment. Length 195mm. (Bottisham DN 169).

280. Swivel ring attachment. Length 172mm. (Bottisham DN 170).

281. Part of a semi-circular attachment with the beginning of a bar or tube inserted at one end. Length 132mm. (Bottisham DN 205).

282. Iron loop with attached fragment of bar or tube. Length 167mm (Bottisham DN 204).

283. Horseshoe. Length 110mm. (Bottisham DN 171).

284. Iron rod with curved tapering end. Possibly a nail, or part of a latch lifter. (Bottisham, DN 168).

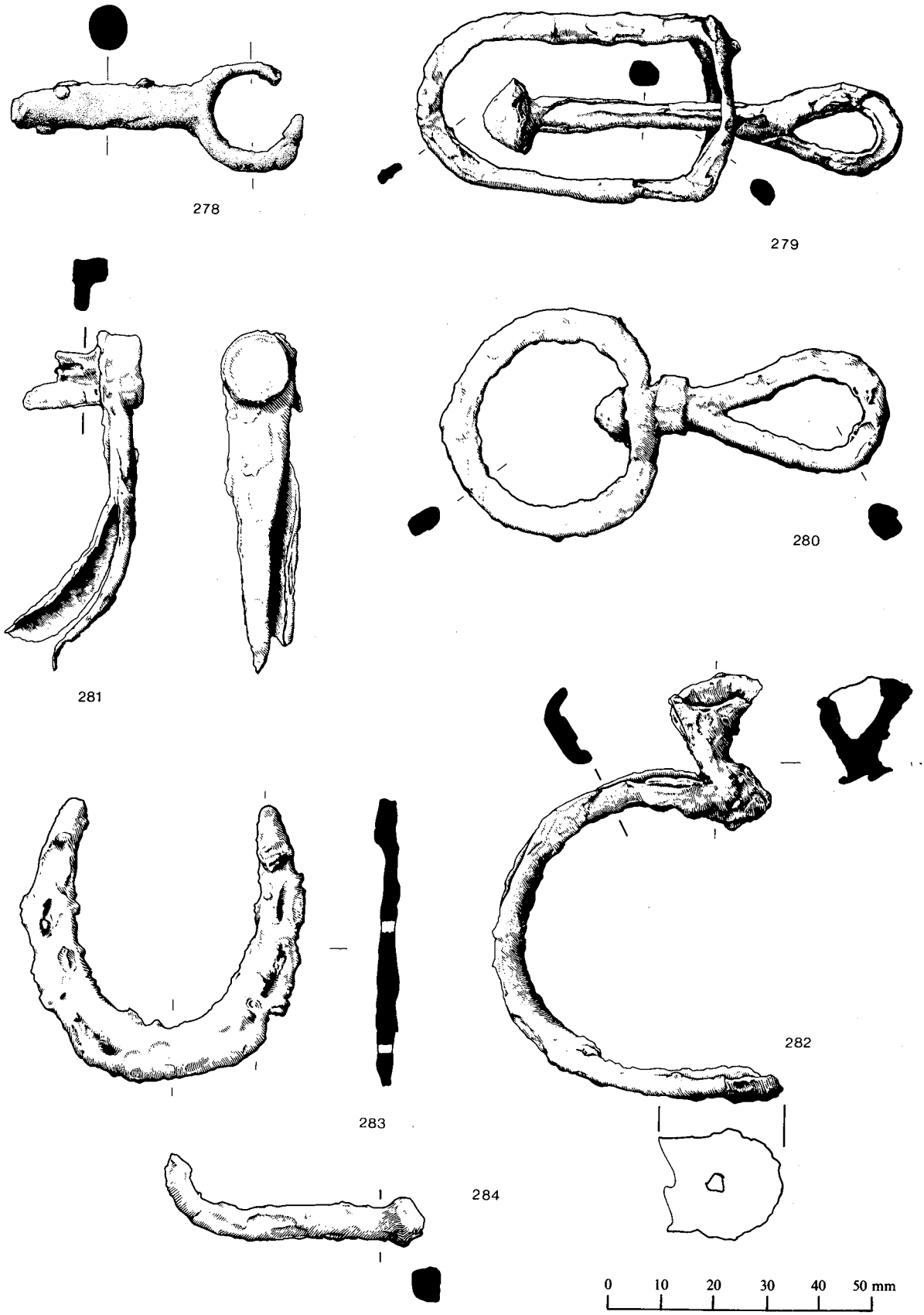

Figure 18. Undated iron objects. Scale 1:2, except 278, 1:1

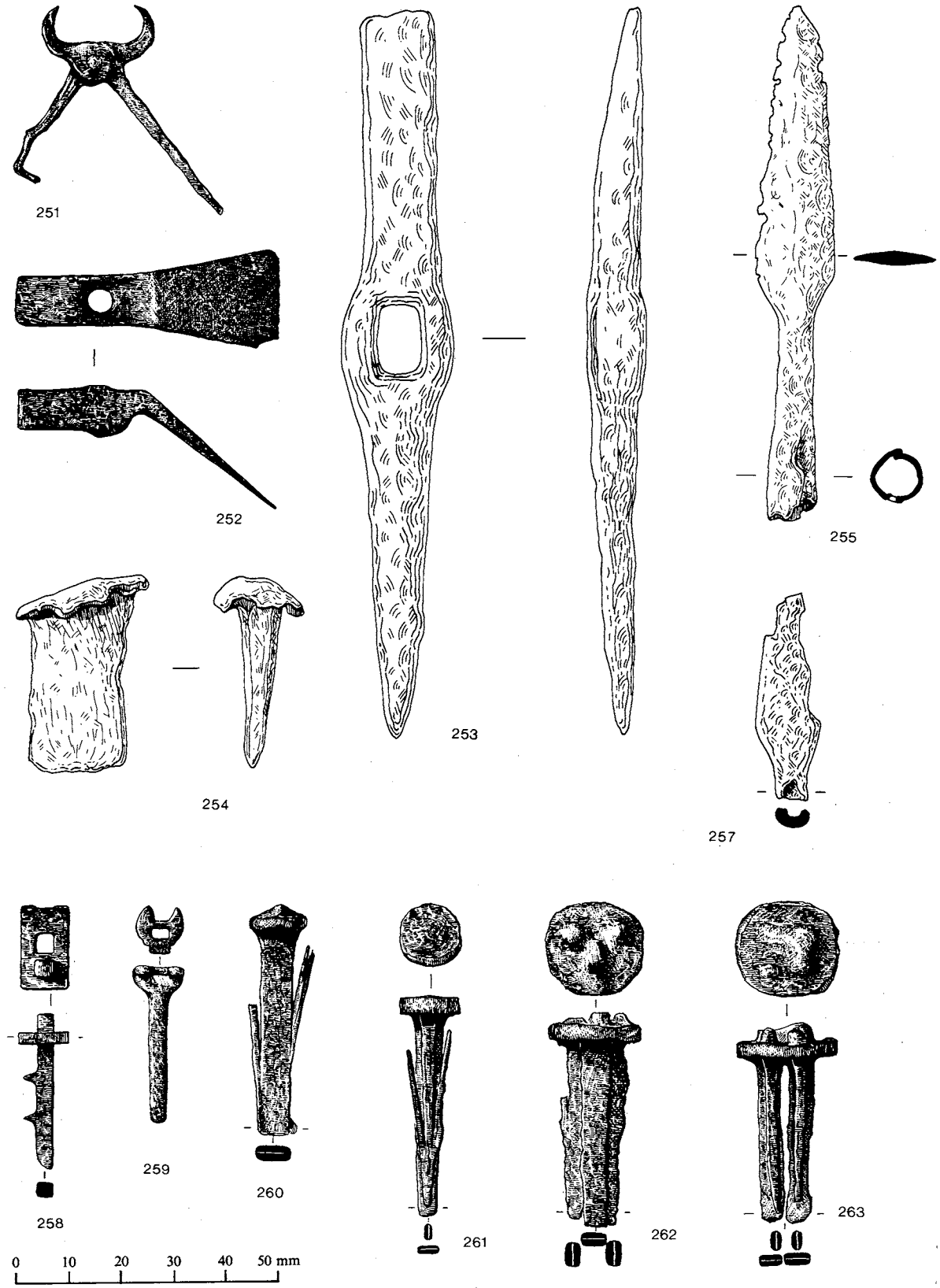

Figure 19. Roman iron objects. Scale 1:2, except 251–2, 1:4

Discussion of the Sites

All the artefacts were found in cultivated soil, within three or four inches of the surface. They had therefore all been disturbed by ploughing but many were in good condition, often with settings in jewellery, for example, still intact. This suggests that around the fen-edge fresh deposits are being brought nearer the surface, where few objects can survive cultivation and fertilizers for very long. "Plough damage" therefore, does not happen once but is constantly removing stratified levels in these circumstances.

A site is taken to be denoted by a scatter of archaeological material. Sites are numbered consecutively in alphabetical order of parish and these are the numbers that are used on the map (Fig. 20). Each site and single findspot is represented by a cross; findspots are not numbered. The map shows the location of modern village centres, mentioned in the text, the principal rivers, basic geology and relief and the fenland limits.

Bottisham.

Sites 1, 2 & 3

These cluster along a tongue of peat, through which a stream still runs, pushing into open chalk country. A Roman building and an iron working site have been found in this area, and also mesolithic and neolithic flint tools. Just over a kilometre away there was a rich Anglo-Saxon cemetery and a settlement at Great Wilbraham. The finds discussed here add to our impression of a favoured area hemmed in by inhospitable tracts of chalk and peat, a picture that survives in the flourishing modern village of Bottisham. Ranging from at least the early Iron Age to the eleventh century AD, the artefacts suggest reasonable but not excessive wealth, especially in Roman and late Saxon times. Bronze jewellery was plentiful, with rather gaudy enamel settings on two of the Roman brooches, (168, 169), and black niello inlay on two of the three late Saxon belt ends (201, 202).

The iron work on Site 2 is especially interesting and it is very unfortunate that we cannot be more certain of its date. All the objects can be paralleled on Roman sites but they also continued in use in medieval times. The supply of barrel padlocks in particular (258–284) seemed limitless and so only a small number have been illustrated. Such a concentration of identical artefacts suggests either a manufacturing site or some exceptional use. One problem with artefacts like these is that they look so very uninteresting and unidentifiable that unless they occur on archaeological excavations they are simply not picked up until an individual learns to recognise them. From the same field Roman pot sherds, one coin and a quern were collected.

Most items from these sites are thought to be casual losses or else discarded as worthless. The three eleventh century silver coins were virtually identical in date and found close together and it is more likely that they were buried as a small hoard in a purse. There were no indications of burials and the only clue to religious practice here was a Roman miniature votive axe (183) of the sort that is normally found on temple or burial sites.

Site 1.

14	Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age harness fitting.
28–29	Roman copper alloy belt fittings.
100, 103, 105, & 109	Roman Colchester Derivative brooches.
122	Roman Headstud brooch.
168–170	Roman plate brooches.
183	Roman miniature votive axe.
200	Late Saxon strap-end.

Site 2.

13	Late Iron Age harness fitting.
193–194	Anglo-Saxon brooches.
221	Undated copper alloy buckle loop.
251	Iron pincers.
252	Iron Adze or hoe.
258–284	Undated barrel padlock parts, and other iron fragments.

Site 3.

3 Coins of Cnut.

201–202 Late Saxon strap-ends.

Cottenham.

Site 4.

This is a known Roman farming settlement adjacent to the Car Dyke. Previous finds include a bronze bust of the Emperor Commodus. All the finds are definitely Roman apart from the bronze awl, lead weights and iron key fragment (208, 231–243, 278), which cannot be positively dated although they probably also belong in this period. The finds listed here include hints of a military presence at the site, in the openwork plaque of a horse (17) for which either a cart fitting, a roundel from a soldiers belt or a standard, is suggested, and the eagle "intaglio" in turquoise paste on a brooch (165).

Other finds of particular interest are the little cult figurines of Mercury and Sol, and the hare and

hound knife handles which are discussed below. The finds for which dates can be suggested fall into a first century (83, 102, 120, 121, 176) or a late third to fourth century group (9, 54, 55, 58, 165).

Site 4.

9	Roman glass pin-head.
17	Roman openwork plaque.
18–19	Roman spoon fragments.
23–24	Roman openwork knife handle fragments
27	Roman belt fitting.
37; 49	Roman finger rings.
54–55; 58	Roman bracelet fragments.
83	Roman Colchester brooch.
102; 120	Colchester Derivative brooches.
121	Headstud brooch.
165	Plate brooch.
176	Penannular brooch.
185; 187	Roman cult objects.
188	Roman cockle shell stud.
208	Undated copper alloy awl.
231–243	Lead weights.
278	Undated iron key fragment.

This is the most intriguing and frustrating of the sites and was destroyed by quarrying without any proper recording being possible. The two elements of the site are a temple and a settlement with industrial workings. These elements were just over 100 metres apart in the same field and lay close to both Akeman Street and Car Dyke. The temple, revealed by aerial photography (CUCAP B × Z, 17, illus. 21a), as a double, virtually square, rectangle approximately 100 metres in its maximum dimension, produced a small mace-handle, thought to be religious regalia and comparable to examples in the Willingham hoard (184); a votive miniature bronze axe (182) and 115 Roman coins, nearly all dating to the third or fourth centuries with a noticeable increase in the period AD 286 to 330. A localized 'high spot' of gravel had been used for this temple and so all the archaeology was very close to the surface and much plough damaged. The pottery scatter in this area was sparse and all sherds were small and worn. The outer temple ditch was briefly revealed during soil stripping and was only cut about 20 cms. into the subsoil, presumably because higher levels had been destroyed.

This site closely resembles two other double ditched rectangular enclosures in the adjoining parish of Willingham (illus. 21, b). Neither of these has been investigated but both are known to lie in areas of intensive Roman settlement with slight indications of an Iron Age presence, and one of them lies quite close to where the Willingham hoard (VCH 1978, p. 84–85), was found. Meanwhile, in the neighbouring parish of Haddenham a slightly different monument, a circle in a virtually square rectangle, has recently been excavated by Dr Ian Hodder and shown conclusively to be a Roman temple (Hodder, pers. comm.).

Therefore, there is a string of four sites so far recognized lying at the limits of Roman occupation of the Southern fen edge and these should presumably be interpreted in relation to the remarkable density of 'cult objects' that are in the same geographical area though not always precisely at the same find spots.

The settlement area of the Cottenham Top Moor site was archaeologically quite different to the temple, although only 100 metres away. Only brief inspection was possible and so our conclusions are impressionistic but the main points are clear. Although the field was level on the surface, the subsoil was at least a metre lower and the resulting overburden (flood deposits?) protected the earlier levels. Removal of this overburden before gravel extraction exposed pits and ditches and produced much Roman pottery and animal bones, a puddingstone quern and a leather shoe from a particularly deep waterlogged pit. There was also a great deal of slag, probably but not definitely left by bronze working. (Dr C. Shell, pers. comm.). The pottery was mostly in good condition, with large sherds and some almost complete pots. Few coins were found, as the metal detector only became effective after the overburden was removed. Recording was mostly carried out by the Cambridge Archaeology Field Group, working in very unfavourable conditions, and no excavation was possible. It is regretted these sites could not have been given more attention.

Site 5.

16	Roman copper alloy stud.
79	Roman bracelet fragment.
182; 184	Roman cult objects.

Site 6.

21	Roman copper alloy, lead-filled weight.
186	Roman cult object.

Fordham.

Site 7.

These three brooches dating to the first or early second century are from the site of a villa.

Site 7.

97; 111–112	Roman Colchester Derivative brooches.

Site 8.

Six brooches, mostly dating to the first century AD

or, at the latest, early second century were found with a few first and second century coins and pottery on the edge of Chippenham Fen.

Site 8.

85; 88	Roman Colchester type brooches.
116	Colchester Derivative brooch.
123	Trumpet brooch.
154	Knee brooch.
158	Unclassified bow brooch.
224	Undated belt mount.

Great Wilbraham.

Site 9.

Sited on a tongue of gravel in an area of chalk, supplied with springs and a stream, and close to an inland projection of Fen, this area includes a preceptory of the Knights Templar, a rich Anglo Saxon cemetery and a nearby settlement, and various indications of Roman settlement. Past finds include two features identified as wells by T. C. Lethbridge.

An incised fragment of a lead vat, of the sort thought possibly to have been used for baptism (Guy 1978) was dug up to a few inches above a metalled floor. The present collection of jewellery includes a bracelet fragment of late third to fourth century type, Colchester and Colchester Derivative brooches of the early first century AD and six undatable brooches. It is a pretty collection, including enamelling, gilding and settings for paste gems but it is too mixed to be given any sensible context at present. There were also about 130 Roman coins and several unidentifiable objects found here.

Site 9.

78	Roman bracelet fragment.
86	Colchester type brooch.
93	Colchester Derivative brooch.
162	Unclassified Roman bow brooch.
163, 166–167	Roman plate brooches.
177–178	Unclassified Roman brooches.

Lode.

Site 10.

The farmer reports that when this field was first ploughed in the 1950s, great quantities of Roman pottery, mostly of large undamaged sherds, came to the surface. Limestone rubble, roofing and box tiles, and window glass and several hundred Roman coins have also been found here.

When a barn was erected here in 1985, the writer observed the foundation holes and noted considerable quantities of Roman pottery and animal bone, and some roof tiles, although no structures. Rich Roman collections are therefore not surprising although the date range is rather odd, as it is on most of the sites. Nine brooches are assigned to the first century, while a bracelet, strap end, buckle and one of the rings are fourth century, and two rings are third century. The jet bead is paralleled by two from the Willingham Hoard. About 300 metres from this site was also found a miniature votive axe (181). This Roman settlement is very localized, with no other sites known in the area, and so perhaps there was some particular advantage in this field that is not at all apparent today and which may explain the range of finds of many periods. The finds can be explained as casual losses, but they are surprisingly fine for their dates, from an Iron Age copper alloy toggle, through the Roman jewellery discussed and an early Anglo-Saxon crystal bead, to a ninth century silver strap end. A silver seal matrix of St Rhadegund has also been found here. The items are all for personal adornment, apart from unidentified fish hooks and a medieval horse pendant, and although easily lost they would surely have been missed. They seem to suggest visitors who may just possibly have come for religious reasons, rather than settlers.

Site 10.

1	Roman jet bead.
2	Early Anglo-Saxon crystal bead.
12	Iron Age copper alloy toggle.
25–26	Roman belt fittings.
32–34	Roman copper alloy hair pins.
38–40; 48–50	Roman finger rings.
77	Roman copper alloy bracelet fragment.
89–90	Colchester type brooches.
91; 96	Colchester Derivative brooches.
137; 146	Hod Hill brooches.
172	Horse and rider brooch.
173–175	Penannular brooches.
177	Unclassified Roman brooch.
190	Roman stud or fitting.
195	Early Anglo-Saxon brooch.
199	Late Saxon Strap-end.
206	Medieval horse harness pendant.
209–210	Undated fish-hooks.
211	Undated copper alloy stud.
213	Undated unidentified copper alloy object.

Soham.

Site 11.

Most of the finds from this site have a coherent date range, with more than forty brooches dated between the late first century BC to the mid first

century AD, with a few other assorted finds that are either within the same date range or undatable.

The field contains three ring ditches and linear features and there were human bones among the objects picked up casually here. Much of the site was destroyed by the Soham by-pass in 1981 and emergency work was attempted in difficult conditions by students from Cambridge and by Ely and District Archaeological Society. Large quantities of pottery were collected but are yet to be examined. They seem to mostly date to this same late Iron Age to early Roman phase. Various features were sectioned but, although there were clearly hut sites here, no clear conclusions could be drawn. Obviously there was quite intensive occupation here at this early date, and the surprising thing is that it ceased so soon in such a prime area.

Site 11.
Icenian Iron Age silver coin.
Iron Age gold coin.

10	Bronze Age spearhead tip.
15	Early Roman martingale.
20	Early Roman copper alloy basin handle.
31	Roman tweezers.
35–36	Roman copper alloy hairpins.
80–82; 84; 87	Roman Colchester type brooches.
94–95; 98–99; 107–108; 114; 117–119	Colchester Derivative brooches.
124	Aylesford type brooch.
125–132	Nauheim derivative brooches.
133–135	Langton Down brooches.
136	Rosette type brooch.
141–145; 147; 149–152	Hod Hill brooches.
159–161	Unclassified Roman bow brooches.
179	Unclassified Roman plate brooch.
189; 191	Miscellaneous Roman objects.
196	Early Anglo-Saxon brooch.
214–219	Undated copper alloy rings.
220–221; 223	Undated copper alloy objects.
226	Undated copper alloy harness fitting.
227	Undated cast gilt copper alloy fragment.

Site 12.

30	Roman copper alloy 'ear scoop'.
110; 113	Roman Colchester Derivative brooches.
228	Undated copper alloy pin.

Site 13.
There were three iron tools on this site, of which only the spearhead is definitely Roman. The site itself is certainly Roman and possibly a villa, judging by the finds of tesserae, pottery and coins it has produced. The wedge and pick-axe are identical with those from good Roman contexts but of course continued in use in the same form for many centuries. As with the iron keys from Bottisham, the rarity of their reporting is presumably due to their apparent insignificance and the problems of identification, and it is sad that we have to be so uninformative about these vital tools when so much can be said about fragments of brooches. Like most of the site we have discussed, this one is located on the chalk and Fen interface.

Site 13.

253	?Roman iron pick axe.
254	?Roman iron wedge.
255	Roman iron spearhead.

Religious Aspects
Bogs and rivers were holy places in Iron Age times and it is not surprising that we should find that the fen-edges where rich farmland pushed right up to the treacherous wild Fenland, should inspire particular veneration. The sites we have been looking at are mainly Roman, but some go back earlier in date and most show long continuity in spirit, ie they are Romano-Celtic, not classical Roman. The crop marks described as 'temples' for example, follow a form common in south-eastern Roman Britain but with no trace of the stone walls that were normally built. Elsewhere in Cambridgeshire, similar double rectangular enclosures occur at Northborough, Helpston (two examples) and Outwell and no doubt there are many not yet recognized. When we can locate and confirm such sites simply and without destruction we may multiply our sample of religious sites many-fold, in much the way archaeologists have been expanding areas of known settlement.

Looking at the objects, there are a few that are clearly "cult objects" which we would assume were connected with temples or shrines either as votive deposits or part of the furnishings, and several others which have religious connotations and which, in the right context, can easily be seen as suitable offerings to various gods. Certainly 'sacrifices' whether of a small bronze coin, a drink of wine, an animal or a precious object, were an essential part of ritual especially if a demanding prayer needed answering.

The Mercury figurine from Cottenham, Site 4, is the most conventional religious item in our collection. He was a very popular god in Roman Britain and was easily conflated with Celtic peasant deities. Ceasar says that he was the most commonly worshipped god in Gaul and Miranda Green has counted over fifty examples of his figurines, the most of any god (Green, 1976). In Cambridgeshire,

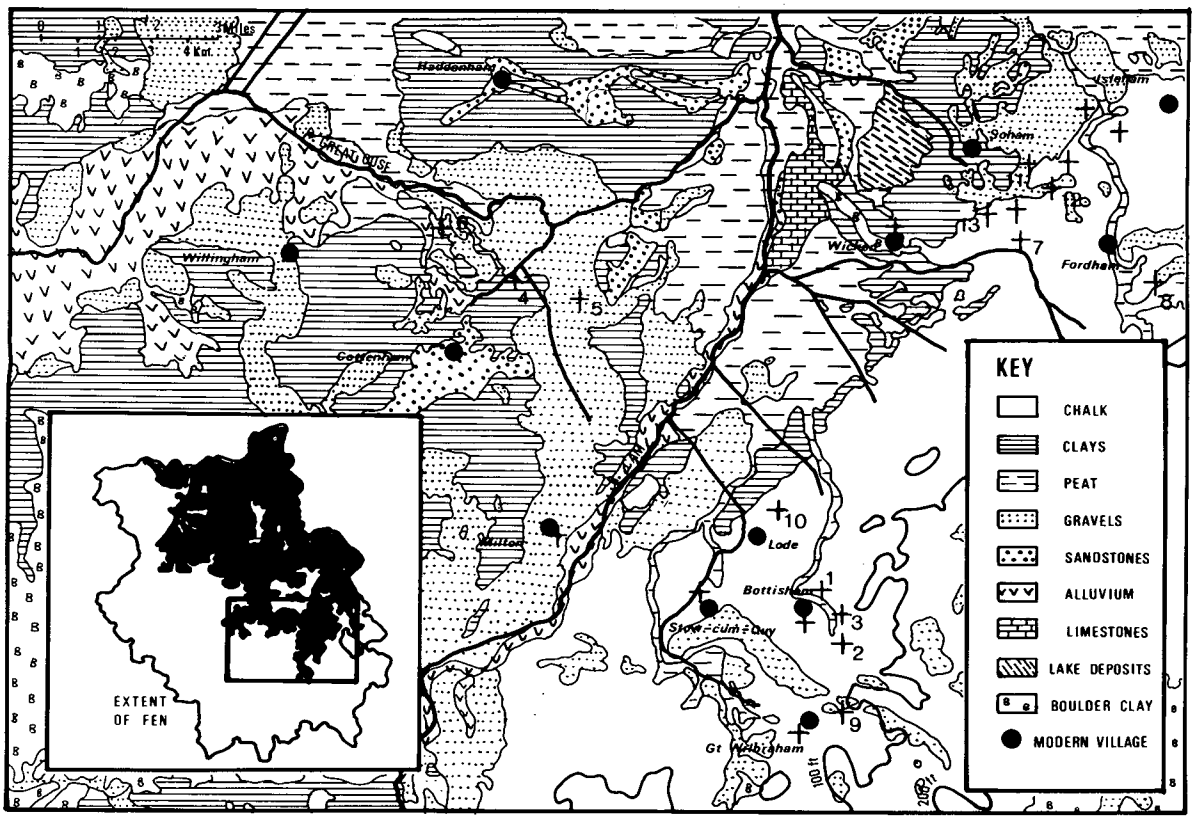

Figure 20. Map to show location of sites and find spots.

figurines have been found in Barton, Cambridge, Fenstanton and Manea and there are representations of him on a pottery sherd from Chesterton (Peterborough), and on intaglios from Godmanchester and Wittering.

Much rarer is the bronze figurine of Luna from Cottenham, Site 6, not far from the Willingham Hoard and the possible Willingham temple (Fig. 21b). Miranda Green records only six representations of her, including one at the Celtic healing site at Bath (*op. cit.*)

Sol, or Sol Invictus, very rarely appears as he does here. Miranda Green mentions only two representations of him, neither of them bronze busts, and it seems that the Uley example (see above) is the only one that is comparable, although he is commonly depicted on coins. He was an eastern deity introduced by Syrian legionaries and important in the third century, being mixed up with the mystic cults, such as Mithraism, which were becoming popular, especially with the educated classes. Martin Henig describes him as a forerunner of Christianity (Henig 1893), sharing a birthday and sabbath with Christ and being the principal god of the emperors from Aurelian to Constantine. His presence in Cottenham seems to give rather unexpected sophistication to the site.

The three miniature votive axes were common offerings going back to Iron Age traditions. Miranda Green (*op. cit.*) gives over fifty examples and there have been many recent discoveries. In Cambridgeshire, two more have been found in March, on a presumed temple, and another comes from a classical temple at Chesterton (Peterborough). These axes are thought to represent implements of sacrifice (Henig, *op. cit.*), and are classed with rarer miniature weapons which were also thought to be suitable sacrifical offerings. It is unusual that two of our examples were not found on recognized temple sites, although the one from Lode was close to Site 10.

The mace handle from Cottenham, Site 5, seems to be rather a local speciality. There were four examples, one of them strikingly similar, in the Willingham Hoard, and another was recently found at the Haddenham temple. None seem to have been recognized elsewhere, perhaps because they appear so nondescript when out of context. These examples suggest the sceptre was important in the temple ritual and it is possible that some of the other items described here were originally fixed to the top.

Apart from items which were clearly 'cult objects' there were several that have 'ritual signifi-

(a)

(b)

Figure 21. Aerial photographs of possible temples at a) Cottenham; b) Willingham;

cance'. Like a modern crucifix, they can be found in quite non-religious contexts, but in fact they do tend to cluster around temples and shrines as if they were considered suitable sorts of things to offer to gods. Three of the finger-rings from Lode, Site 10, had intaglios with religious overtones, including Cupid on a dolphin. The double dolphin heads on the buckle from this site are reminiscent of dolphins with Jupiter on a ring from a temple at Godmanchester, dolphins on the sceptre from the Willingham Hoard and dolphins as decoration with mythical beasts on a bronze skillet from Ely.

Two fragments of hare and hound knife handles from Cottenham, Site 4, may be just decorative little knives, but both hares and hounds were religious symbols, and the find is paralleled by two fragments recently found in the Haddenham temple, and a similar knife, but with a crude lion instead of hare and hounds, from the presumed temple at March mentioned above, as well as a stray find from Croxton. Similarly, the openwork horse plaque could have had an everyday use, but could also have been mounted on a standard or sceptre. The enamelled peacock brooch is a religious symbol and the horse and rider brooch is characteristic of temple sites (Henig 1983). Its Cambridgeshire parallels are, once again, Haddenham temple and the March presumed temple, so their presence are also an indication but not proof of worshippers in this area. Clearly, what we need to interpret most of the objects we have been discussing, is more parallels and better contexts and we very much hope that both will be forthcoming in the next few years.

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Abbreviations

Arch. Ael. Archaeologia Aeliana
Arch. Cant. Archaeologia Cantiana
Arch. J. The Archaeological Journal
Antiq. J. The Antiquaries Journal
B.A.R. British Archaeological Reports
C.B.A. Council for British Archaeology
J.R.S. Journal of Roman Studies
Med. Arch. Medieval Archaeology
P.C.A.S. Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society
Proc. Prehist. Soc. Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
Proc. Soc. Antiqs. Lond. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London
Proc. Soc. Antiqs. Scot. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch. Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology.
Soc. Antiqs. Lond. Res. Reps. Society of Antiquaries of London Research Reports
T.B.G.A.S. Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society
W.A.M. Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine.

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THE MUSICAL ESTABLISHMENT AT TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, 1546–1644

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When, in 1546, Henry VIII founded Trinity College by the amalgamation of King's Hall and Michaelhouse, there was much doubt as to the future of the whole college system at the English universities: an Act of Parliament[1] had been passed in the previous year empowering the King to dissolve any chantry, college or hospital and to appropriate its possessions.[2] Under the terms of the 1547 Chantries Act,[3] however, all 'colleges, hostels and halls of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge' were exempted from such a fate. Trinity was from the first a wealthy foundation, enriched by the revenues of ex-monastic endowments.

Henry's charter of 19 December 1546 provided for a Master and sixty 'socii et scolares',[4] while the MS 'Distribucio Collegii' (*c* 1548/9) lists eight Bible Clerks who 'serve the hall, the quere, the vestrie and... attend upon the Curattes in visitacion', and forty 'Childer & Gramarians' and one 'Scolemaster'. Two 'Chaplyns' were also appointed, one 'for the College', and the other 'for the Childer & Bed[e]men'.[5] Henry did not, however, give the college any statutes.

Sources

Apart from the 'Distribucio Collegii' and the statutes of 1552, 1554 and 1560, the main sources of information about the college's everyday life are the accounts of the Junior and Senior Bursars, and the Steward's books. (From 1607 the Master and Seniors kept an act book – generally known as the 'Old Conclusion Book' – which records *inter alia* some appointments of singingmen and choristers. This will be referred to again later.) There are unfortunately many large gaps in the accounts, although they are supplemented by miscellaneous MSS (of which the 'Old Conclusion Book' is the most important) which are also preserved in the college's muniments room: these include inventories, letters and injunctions, and are especially informative about Trinity's affairs during the Commonwealth. All these accounts are retrospective and normally run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. Finally, acknowledgment is made to the published register of admissions, 1546–1700,[6] which was compiled in the early 1910s; all the entries that are quoted in this paper have been checked (where possible) against the original MSS from which the volume was compiled.

Edwardine Trinity

Although no statutory provision for a professional choir was made before Mary's reign, an organ was introduced into King's Hall chapel as early as 1547/8, probably as an aid to communal worship in the new, enlarged college:

> *Imprimis: paid to the orgayne maker whan he sett up the orgaynes, 16s 8d*[7]

According to David Mateer, the 'Mr Preston' who was acting as organist in the same year is possibly identical with either the Thomas Preston who was later organist of St George's Chapel, Windsor or the 'Mr Preston' who was master of the choristers at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1543.[8] The Trinity Preston, whose christian name is never mentioned, was first employed at Trinity as a college servant from 1547/8 to about 1549.[9] In the account of 1549/50, however, his salary was paid under the more general heading of 'Stipendia Officiariorum', or wages of college officers;[10] and in the account of 1551/2 the new heading 'Pro Sacello' appears, by which time Preston's quarterly salary had been settled at 30*s*.[11] (The fact that he was listed at first among the college servants is, incidentally, no reason to doubt that he was acting as organist from the time of his initial appointment in 1547, since a number of Cambridge chapel musicians were also college or scholars' servants.[12]) While it is possible that there were two Prestons at Trinity – man (1547/8–1551/2) and youth (1555–59) – it is much more likely that the college employed only one man, and that he is identical with the Preston who

was master of the choristers at Magdalen College, Oxford in 1543 and at St George's Chapel, Windsor in the late-1550s:[13] the election *en masse* of Trinity's musical personnel to scholarships in 1555 (see below) was almost certainly a way of providing official financial support for a choir which, between 1554 and 1560, existed unofficially, and is therefore no obstacle to the theory that both Preston (who is significantly styled 'Mr' in this list) and White (who received only a chorister's pay in this year) were considerably older than the average Cambridge scholar, who was usually aged between fourteen and nineteen. Whatever Preston's true identity, however, the organ itself was clearly in use during Edward's reign, for in 1549/50 one Tomson was paid 2*s* 'for mendyng the organs at sundry tymes both this yeare & the laste'.[14] This organ, whose early installation in King's Hall chapel was overlooked by Cobb,[15] may be the instrument that is supposed to have been set up in the present college chapel (*novum templum*), then in the final stages of completion, in 1563.[16]

With the promulgation of the First Book of Common Prayer, enforced by the First Act of Uniformity, in 1549, collegiate chapels were prohibited from using 'any other rite, ceremony, order, form or manner of Mass... or Matins, Evensong, and ministration of the sacraments... than is mentioned and set forth in the said book', although it did allow all prayers (other than the communion) to be said or sung in Latin.[17] These provisions were to come into force on Whitsunday, 9 June; and the various purchases of '7 psalters', '2 prymers'[18] and 'a booke for the communyon'[19] during the financial year 1548-9 indicate that the Master and the college accepted the inevitable (although the Master, John Redman, was described in 1561 as an 'unlearned popish recusant'[20]) and adopted the vernacular services. In 1549/50 occurs further evidence of religious change in the chapel, when the 'aulter in the chapell' was replaced by a 'communyon table'.[21] This apparently represents a prompt response by the college to the trend set by Bishop Ridley who, in May 1550, ordered the substitution of tables for altars in his diocese of London; the Privy Council then ordered the bishops of other dioceses to do likewise.[22]

Cranmer's revised second Prayer Book replaced the first as from 1 November 1552, the Second Act of Uniformity[23] having been passed in the previous April. On 8 November the college received its first statutes which, like Henry's original charter, mention neither the organ nor musical staff in general. While they provide for the whole of the college's membership to attend (presumably in King's Hall chapel) for communal morning and evening prayer on Sundays and feast days, the emphasis is placed on the high spiritual and moral tone of college worship (especially as achieved through private prayer), not on elaborate ritual. This commitment to the authorised Anglican liturgy is strengthened by c. 46 of the Edwardian statutes, which requires the Bishop of Ely, as visitor, to supervise the maintenance of the true religion (*vera Religionis cultu*) and to ensure that all 'popish' superstition (*superstitione Papistica*) is stamped out.[24]

An entry in the Steward's Book, 1552/3, refers in more detail to the liturgical music of Edward's last year:

for prickeinge of tedeum & others	for paper, & for pryckyn furth of the Venite, Te Deum & other[s], for the quere, 6*d*[25]

Given that Trinity did not boast even a small professional choir, the likelihood is that such 'pricksong' would have resembled the simpler, note-against-note part-music found, for example, in the Wanley part-books.

Shortly before Mary's accession, during the financial year 1552/3, occurs an entry which suggests that Edwardine Trinity may not have been so strongly Protestant as is implied by the Statutes (of 1552) then in force:

Expense forinsice
Item: [paid] for th'order of the Service to be song in the Chappell for Alexander Alesius' translacion 16*d*[26]

Alexander Aless was 'a Scotch divine and physician of known reformed opinions'[27] who translated into Latin the Prayer Book of 1549. Aless's translation, which is not entirely accurate, was published at Leipsic in January 1551 with a view to making known the progress of the English Reformation among the foreigners with whom he had lived. It was subsequently reprinted in Martin Bucer's posthumous *Scripta Anglicana*.

The complexity of religious opinion in the college at this time can to some extent be gauged by the succession of its Masters.[28] The Henrician Catholic John Redman was replaced late in Edward's reign when, in 1551, William Bill moved into the Lodge. Although Bill refused to acquiesce in the Marian reaction, and was forced to resign, he was nevertheless sufficiently moderate to be restored by Elizabeth I in 1558, in place of the 'Romanist supplanter' John Christopherson. It is interesting to note, however, that while the college

obtained Aless's translation (which was, incidentally, a very rare acquisition among English institutions) there is no record of the college ever having purchased the *Liber Precum Publicarum* (1560) of Walter Haddon which was based on it. The latter was condemned by many Cambridge dons as 'the Pope's dregs'.[29]

The Marian Reaction

Mary Tudor acceded to the throne in July 1553, and her first Parliament met between October and December of that year. Mary's First Statute of Repeal[30] effectively cancelled all the Edwardian Protestant legislation and reintroduced the Use of Salisbury as the only legal liturgy. The impact of this on Trinity was as immediate as it is obvious, and no time was wasted in complying. Thus the same compilation of expenses in the Steward's Book for 1552/3 as that in which the previous reference is found also contains evidence of the subsequent purchase of 'popish' vestments, and service and music books:

> For a yerde & an halfe of lyning clooth, to make 2 hedd clothes upon, for the pryst at messe, & for makyn of the saym, $17\frac{1}{2}d$
>
> Item: for 2 towelles, for the pryst to drye hys handes upon at messe, $2s\ 4d$[31]
>
> Item: for the dressing and bynding of... one messe booke in parchementt, one large grayll, & one Antiphonar...
>
> Item: ... for 10 large skynnes of parchement, for the quere bookes, 5s[32]

These entries are all the more striking when one considers that the corresponding accounts for the previous three years contain not a single reference to expenses on materials connected with the cultivation of chapel music.

Another important, and more far-reaching, change took place early in the reign. By November 1554 new draft statutes had been prepared which, although they were never sealed or officially adopted, did in practice replace those of Edward VI,[33] and make generous provision for the maintenance of a fully professional choir. The '*Proportio Collegii*' statute provides as follows:

> 10 Sacellani
> 8 Clerici
> 12 Choristae
> 1 Magister Choristarum
>
> Sint triginta unus ad sanctum dei cultum pie et religiose quotidie in Collegio exequendum, quorum decem sint sacerdotes et appellentur Sacellani, octo seculares et vocentur clerici, duodecim pueri Symphoniaci, qui choristae nominentur, et unus, qui organa pulset choristasque doceat[34]

In fact the intention to create a choir antedated its statuory enactment, since already in 1553/4 a successful attempt was being made to secure singers in accordance with the above statute, although stipends do not seem to have been either standard or consistent until they were prescribed by the Elizabethan statutes in 1560. In December 1553 the following 'Extraordynarye Expenses' were paid by the Junior Bursar in respect of a choristers' dormitory:

> bedinge for [the] childerne of th[e] chapell
> Item: payd for 2 mattresses for the synging booys, $10s\ 8d$
> Item: for the carryedge of them hom[e], $3d$
> Item: for 18 Elles of fyne kanves for to make 3 payre a [*sic*] sheyttes upon, $18s$
> Item: for makyn the sayd 3 payre of sheyttes, wesshing [*sic*] & whyting of the saym $12d$
> Item: for a Coverlet unto the synging booys, $5s\ 6d$
> Item: For 2 bolsters $10s\ 8d$[35]

A little later in the same financial year (1553/4) the large sum of £6 $10s\ 4d$ was paid 'for cloyth for the boyes of the chappell';[36] while the following payment for livery, made during 1554/5, enables the number of choristers on the foundation to be calculated:

> Item For 2 yerdes & an halfe for a gowne to Edwarde Leyke the synging booye – at $6s$ & 4[*d*] the yerd, 15s 10d[37]

Clearly, if it cost $15s\ 10d$ to clothe one boy with two-and-a-half yards of material, then the twenty-and-a-half yards that could be purchased by the above sum of £6 $10s\ 4d$ would be sufficient for eight boys. If, as is likely, Leyke was a late arrival, since his livery was not included in the original sum, there may have been nine 'singing boys' in all. In the same financial year Richard Bower, 'Master of the Chy[l]der in the Qwene's Chappell' was paid $20s$ 'for a rewarde'[38] – very possibly to dissuade him

from commandeering some of the college musicians.

Comparatively little is known about the singingmen during Mary's reign. The first specific reference to singingmen is in the account of 1553/4, when 10*s* were 'gyven in reward unto 2 synging men',[39] and 6*s* 8*d* were paid to

> Thomas Hough[t]on a syngyn man [being here?] certayne days, towards his charges as our Mr [loyally?][40]

In 1555, however, the following were all members of the musical foundation, and the first nine individuals were elected to a scholarship:[41]

	Xmas	Annunc. BVM	John Bap.	Mich.	
Mr Preston	50*s*	50*s*	50*s*	50*s*	No record of matric.
Hoghton	40*s*	40*s*	40*s*	40*s*	〃 〃
Wathow	16*s* 8*d*	16*s* 8*d*	16*s* 8*d*	16*s* 8*d*	〃 〃
Cooke	3*s* 4*d*	3*s* 4*d*	3*s* 4*d*	3*s* 4*d*	〃 〃
[Robert] White	〃	〃	〃	〃	〃 〃
Molt [I]	〃	〃	〃	〃	〃 〃
Molt [II]	〃	〃	〃	〃	〃 〃
Boys	〃	〃	〃	〃	Matric. Pensioner, 1552
Roose	〃	〃	〃	〃	No record of matric.
Ford	–	〃	〃	〃	〃 〃
Tresurer	–	–	〃	〃	〃 〃

Of these singers, only White (and possibly Ford) actually graduated; and only Boys matriculated at Trinity, as a Pensioner responsible for paying his own fees, in 1552. Ford may well be indentical with Anthony Ford, who matriculated at Christ's in 1554, became a Scholar of Trinity in 1555, a Fellow in 1562 and an MA in 1563, although one Ford had also been a bailiff since the late 1540s. Some of the singers may well have been attached to the college prior to 1555: a 'Syr Boyes', already a BA, was a Junior Fellow in 1547/8;[42] and John 'Moulte' was an undergraduate in 1549/50.[43] The main problem, as will be seen from a later discussion (see below), is to distinguish between choristers and singingmen, a task which is at times almost impossible. It may be that Houghton and Wathow, who received substantial stipends in 1555 (see above table) were in fact young men with broken voices, while all those in receipt of 3*s* 4*d* were choristers. The additional problem created by the fact that some choristers, having broken voices, were 'dry' and did not sing any mean part will be dealt with later. The evidence of stipends must be interpreted with caution, however, for it is likely that Robert White, who produced a substantial quantity of Marian church music and who graduated Mus.B. in 1560 was too old in 1555 to have had a boy's voice, though he appears in receipt of a chorister's, rather than a lay clerk's, pay. Preston's £10 annual salary, on the other hand, virtually proves that he was acting as master of the choristers this year.

With regard to Marian music at Trinity, the organ in chapel seems to have been much used as early as 1554/5, since it was then in need of repair, 12*d* being allowed 'for fetchynge the Orgayne mender fro[m] Roysto[n]'.[44] The reference in the same year to the copying of 'squares' – a term thought to refer to a form of non-plainsong *cantus firmus* on which mainly music for the Mass was composed – is also of interest:

> Item: payd unto Syr Fyrbanke, For prickyn furth of the squares for the Kyries, Glaria in excelcs [*sic*], etc., 12d[45]

Two years later, in 1556/7, 4*s* more was spent on '6 pricsong boks'.[46] Hugh Benham's convincing attempt to identify Robert White's Marian compositions helps to confirm the impression that Trinity had considerable musical resources at its disposal, since most of Benham's selected pieces feature elaborate and extended polyphony on *cantus firmi*, in five and six parts.[44] White's simplest Marian piece, the respond *Libera me, Domine* (*Tudor Church Music*, v, pp. 131–36), is scored for four-part choir, the uppermost voice being intended for boys to sing. Its written range *d'* to *d''* marks it as a high mean part. In all four settings of the hymn *Christe qui lux/Precamur sancte Domine* (*TCM*, v, pp. 168–79, 191), however, all for five voices, the composer adds a higher boy's voice to the ensemble and gives it the plainsong melody (compass *c''* to *g''-a''*). Another five-part work, the votive antiphon *Regina celi* (*TCM*, v, pp. 180–84) is scored for two countertenors, two tenors and bass, its long melismatic Alleluias making considerable technical demands on the singers. White's other votive antiphon, *Tota pulchura es*, and his six-part Magnificat (*TCM*, v, pp. 184–90 and 3–13) are arguably his most elaborate and demanding Marian compositions. The first of these, for six voices, features

treble (*g'* to *g''*), mean (*b* to *d''*), two countertenors, tenor and bass; the Magnificat is on a large scale, also employing treble (*c' sharp* to *g''*) and mean (*a* to *d''*), with two countertenors and two basses. The means and trebles are both required to divide, and much of the writing is soloistic and technically demanding. Thus two conclusions may be drawn from the above discussion: first, that the college had at its disposal sufficient numbers of boys' voices to tackle the *divisi* parts of the Magnificat, as well as to sustain their parts in the other pieces; and second, that there were enough countertenors, tenors and basses to execute both *Regina celi* and the middle and lower parts of the other items.

The Elizabethan Statutes

Elizabeth came to the throne in November 1558, and the so-called 'Elizabethan Settlement' of religion was achieved in the following year, with the passing of the Acts of Supremacy[48] and Uniformity,[49] the purpose of the second being to enforce the new 1559 Prayer Book of the Church of England. The Act of Uniformity states that Edward VI's Second Act of Uniformity had been 'repealed and taken away' by Mary 'to the great decay of the due honour of God and discomfort to the professors of the truth of Christ's religion'. The new Prayer Book, and therefore the settlement itself, aimed to hold a middle course, since it retained the Protestant character of that of 1552 while introducing a rubric on ornaments allowing 'popish' ritual and vestments to be used.

The new regime soon made its presence felt at Trinity. On 29 March 1560 the Queen gave the college its first legally operative statutes since those of 1552. They were copied almost word for word from the draft of 1554, 'the changes being generally those occasioned by... the re-establishment of the reformed religion'.[50] Thus while all four categories of musician were retained, their numbers were reduced to four priests (*Sacellani* – it is apparent that their role was to read the priest's part in the reformed liturgy, and that they were neither expected nor necessarily qualified to contribute to the polyphonic ensemble), six lay clerks, ten choristers and one organist and master of the choristers.[51] These officers were paid as follows:[52]

De Stipendiis:	Annual Stipend	Annual Livery Allowance	Commons Allowance (weekly)
Sacellani	£3	£2	1*s* 8*d*
Clericorum			£8
Choristarum	13*s* 4*d*	13*s* 4*d*	1*s*
Magister [sic] Choristarum	£10		1*s* 8*d*

Such a reduction in the number of singers in general, and of priests in particular, occurred elsewhere at this time, and has largely been attributed to the difficulty experienced in obtaining clerks in holy orders, and in secular cathedrals to the devaluation of the endowments of the colleges of vicars choral;[53] but it must also be admitted that large numbers of priests were not required for the execution of the reformed liturgy.

According to the new 'Proportio Collegii',[54] the sixty 'Socii Scholares' were all to be graduates, the 'Socii maiores' holding at least the MA, and the 'Socii minores' the BA, degree. There were, in addition, to be sixty-two 'Discipuli Scholares' or undergraduates, all of whom had to be over fourteen years of age; and thirteen Sizars (*Sisatores*) or 'Scholares pauperes', who undertook certain menial tasks in part of payment for their education. Some of the undergraduates were sufficiently well off to meet all their own expenses, and were called Pensioners.

To judge from the 'Proportio', the ten choristers were intended to be extra to the number of undergraduates; however, it is clear that in practice this was not always the case. Some of those elected to choristerships were indeed probably under fourteen years of age, never matriculated and disappeared without trace when their voices broke. These were genuine choirboys. The remaining individuals who appear in receipt of the choristers' stipend were, however, not choirboys at all; they were in fact Sizars, Pensioners or Scholars who had been appointed as nominal choristers by the Master and eight Senior Fellows (who together comprised what was known as the 'Seniority') by way of awarding them a sinecure scholarship. G.F. Cobb, drawing on the many seventeenth-century references to these mature, or 'dry', choristers that

are contained in the 'Old Conclusion Book', has shown that the practice flourished after 1613.[55] The following samples, however, chosen at random from the lists of choristers in the Senior Bursar's accounts for 1588/9 and 1607/8, suggest that it was of longer standing:[56] (see following tables)

Slightly less irregular is that fact that some of the singingmen and choirmasters also seem to have been matriculated undergraduates. A survey of all identifiable names from the period 1572–1644 reveals that 60% were not matriculated, and of these little is known; some 23% were matriculated as either Sizars or Pensioners but did not graduate; and the remainder (17%) both matriculated and proceeded variously BA, MA and MusB.[57] The college's very cavalier interpretation and application of the use to which the provision made by statute for the execution of chapel music might be put is of the greatest interest, since it suggests that the Master and Seniors gave a very low priority to the musical establishment and the musical standard of the choir. Perhaps the first ten or so years of the reign furnish the best example of such cavalier treatment of this statute, particularly as far as the numbers of singers are concerned but it is impossible to be precise about the numbers of genuine and 'dry' choristers on the foundation at any given time.

Musical Life under the Elizabethan Settlement

The Puritan Robert Beaumont was Master of Trinity between 1561 and 1567, and these were very troublous years for the college. Under the powerful influence of Thomas Cartwright, the able head of the Presbyterian party which aimed at the abolition of Prayer Book services, the Puritans in college (doubtless encouraged by the recent riots at St John's) in 1565 broke the newly-erected stained glass chapel windows 'wherein did appear superstition'. Cartwright also led a campaign against the use of the surplice, as a result of which some of the Trinity undergraduates 'cast off their surplices as an abominable relic of superstition'.[58] Such an environment was hardly conducive to the cultivation of Anglican church music; and, although '5

1588/9

Name/ Chorister from/to	M.	Siz.	P.	Sch.	B.A.	Fellow	M.A.	whether 'dry' or not
John CROW 1587–89	√	1582	–	–	1585/6	–	1589	Yes
William WARDE 1584–89	√	–	1582	–	1586/7	1589	1590	Yes
Zachariah PASFIELD 1585–89	√	–	1582	–	1586/7	1589	1590	Yes
Joseph BIRDE 1585–91	√	–	1584	–	1587/8	–	1591	Yes
Thomas CALVERT 1588–93	√	1586	–	–	1589/90	1593	1595	Yes
Philip COOKE 1588–93	√	–	1587	–	1590/91	1593	1594	Yes
—— GIBBONSON 1588–95?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	No
—— CORBITT 1588–?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	No
—— STANDISHE 1588–?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	No
—— BLAXTON 1587–89	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	No
—— HOLTON 1589–91	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	No

1607/8

(Note: the accounts for 1602/3, 1604/5 and 1606/7 are missing)

Name/ Chorister from/to	M.	Siz.	P.	Sch.	B.A.	Fellow	M.A.	whether 'dry' or not
Michael CALVERT 1608	–	–	–	1601	1604/5	–	1608	Yes
Edward GOULDINGHAM 1601-8	–	–	–	1601	1605/6	1608	1609	Yes
John LUDD 1604-8	√	*c* 1601	–	–	1605/6	–	1609	Yes
—— HILL 1608–10		(See note 51)						?
Josiah SHUTE 1606–8	√	–	–	1602	1605/6	–	1609	Yes
John SPEGHT 1608–10	√	–	1604	–	1608/9	–	–	Yes
Richard TROTT 1604–10	–	–	–	–	1608/9	–	1612	Yes
—— GILL 1608–16?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	No
—— SMYTHE 1606–10?		(See note 51)						?
Nicholas STEARES 1606–10	–	–	–	–	1608/9	–	1612	Yes

song bokes' were purchased 'for the chappell' in 1562/3, at a cost of 5*s*,[59] it is hard to believe that its performance would have been actively encouraged during Beaumont's rule.[60] Beaumont may even have symphathized with the Puritan reformers' attempt, at national level, to abolish 'all curious singing and playing of the organs' in 1562;[61] and there are no entries relating to the chapel organ in the college archives between the mid-1550s and early 1590s.[62]

Although the total number of individuals termed 'choristae' remained above, and that of lay clerks much below, the statutory requirement during the first ten years of the reign, the organization of the musical staff was gradually increasing in strength. Certainly, the Seniority interpreted cavalierly the statute relating to the number of musical personnel (see above). In 1559/60, for example, there were only two singingmen – Thomas Houghton and Robert White the composer – but no fewer than twelve choristers.[63] (The latter number may have been due to the operation until March 1560 of the Marian draft statutes, which required twelve choristers.) But in the following year there were three singingmen and thirteen choristers, although some of the latter were probably 'dry'.[64] It is interesting to note, too, that on both occasions each of the choristers and Houghton were paid the statutory annual wage of 13*s* 4*d* and £8, respectively, but that White and, in 1560/1, a third singingmen – one 'Boyes' – each received only £6 and £2 per annum concurrently and in quarterly payments. This indicates both that White and Boyes were sharing the emolument and the duties of one singingman's post, and that White, despite his Mus.B. degree,[65] his ten years of study and his skill as a composer, was not held in especially high esteem by the Seniority. He never received the £10 salary allowed

to the master of the choristers. Boyes and White were paid 11*s* and 20*s* respectively for 'pricking' music in 1559/60 and 1560/1, respectively.[66]

The office of organist and choirmaster was not filled until 1563/4, when 'Mr Bramleye' (almost certainly the Richard Bramley who had just left the post of lay clerk and *informator choristarum* at King's) was the first musician to be paid the full organist's salary (£10 per annum) under the new statutes, although he is simply listed as one of the 'Cantores'.[67] When, in 1565/6, he disappeared from the accounts, no replacement was made at full salary. Instead, another singingman – 'cantator Fox' – received £8 in the following year, 1566/7.[68] This surely suggests that certain qualities or skills were required by the Seniority of any master of the choristers which not even the experienced Houghton seems to have possessed, and that the post was therefore left in abeyance after Bramley's departure.

In 1571/2, apparently for the first time, there were seven (rather than the statutory six) 'Cantatores', but only three 'Choristae'.[69] The fact that the latter are a sub-heading of 'Discipuli', however, suggests that they were already undergraduates when they were elected to choristerships and therefore did nothing in the chapel choir. This view, that there was no boys' choir this year, is supported by the following entry, which possibly refers to two sets of AATB part-books, one each for *decani* and *cantoris*:

for 9 queres of riall paper to make bookes for the singing men,	6*s*
for bindinge the same paper in 8 bookes,	4*s*[70]

From 1573/4 onwards the post of master of the choristers was filled continuously, except for the occasional vacancy of a month or so caused by death or resignation. This year a 'Mr Tussher' was paid £10 (in addition to the seven singingmen who received £8 each) and is clearly the organist and choirmaster, even though he is not so styled, and merely heads the list of 'Cantatores'.[71] He is identical with the Thomas Tusher who matriculated as a Sizar in 1573 but did not graduate. He was still employed in the post during 1575/6; but from 1576/7 to 1636/7 (after which date Robert Ramsey is regularly referred to by name) the title 'Mr Choristarum'[72] is used without a break to distinguish the holder of the post, who is hardly ever mentioned by name.

Music in the 1580s; Music under Nevile's Mastership, 1593–1615

In 1579/80 the choir was for the first time slightly over full strength, having twelve choristers (of whom only three may have been 'dry'), six singingmen and the organist.[73] Numbers remained high throughout the decade and, although there is still no evidence that the organ was in use,[74] a good deal of music was being procured and copied in the middle and later years of the decade:

1585/6	for 8 quire of unruled paper at 8*d* the quire,	5*s* 4*d*
	for bynding 8 bookes,	3*s*
	for pricking 8 bookes and 2 before,	20*s*
	for ten bookes readie pricked readie pricked bought of Mris Baker,	10*s*[75]
1586/7	For pricking songes,	20*s*[76]
1587/8	Songe bookes to Mris Baker,	20*s*[77]
1589/90	To Mr Hurlston for 4j song bookes for the Chappell, and pricking the same,	10*s* 2*d*[78]

To judge from the similar payments made elsewhere at this time, it is likely that each of the sets which cost 20*s* comprised two sets of part-books for MAATB, one each for *decani* and *cantoris*, and that there were by now a sufficient number of unbroken boys' voices to supply a convincing top line. Also of interest is the fact that along with this increased musical activity went a rather more lavish chapel service: there are, for example, annual payments for frankincense; and an increased expenditure on communion wine which continues, at much the same level, up to the Commonwealth.

Elizabeth appointed Dr Thomas Nevile to the Mastership of Trinity in 1593; he is remembered today chiefly for his great wealth, which he used to find ambitious building projects, and for the 'bachelor's bounty' which he left to the college.[79] But in his fortunate appointment, around Christmas 1593, of the elder John Hilton to the post of organist and master of the choristers, Nevile also proved to be an imaginative patron of music at Trinity.

Hilton, who had resigned the post of (probably assistant) organist and master of the choristers at Lincoln Cathedral by January 1594,[80] must have taken up his new job soon after his departure from Lincoln for, although he is first mentioned by name in the college accounts for 1594/5, he probably

supervised – between March and September 1594 – Hugh Rose's re-casing and probable restoration of the old organ:

Item: to Hugh Rose for the Organe,	£6 13*s* 4*d*
Item: to Andrew Chapman for the frame of the Orgayne,	£24
Item: [for] nayles etc. for the Organe,	4*s* 6*s*
Item: for yron worke belonginge to the Organe as appeareth by a byll of particulars,	47*s* 2*d*[81]

Although Hilton had inherited a choir which, since 1580, had boasted slightly more than the statutory number of singers, he was given by the Master and Fellows the precise statutory number throughout his term of office; however, since four or five of the choristers were probably 'dry', he may not have had more than five or six working choirboys. Hilton certainly wasted no time in bringing a fresh impetus to the post and, in 1594/5, apparently set about providing materials for instrumental music in the college:

Imprimis: for a sett of newe vialls,	£8
Item: to Mr Hilton for divers settes of singing bookes,	33*s*
Item: to him for viallstringes and mending the Colledge Instrumentes,	12*s*
Item: for a sackbutt and the Cariage	£4 11*s*[82]

It is true that the Cambridge waits had for many years received small annual payments from the college, usually for playing (probably in the hall) on feast days; but this is the first mention of viols in the accounts, and the fact that they continue to appear up to 1614/15 suggests that they were much used during this period. The organist clearly became responsible, between 1594/5 and 1611/12, for their yearly repair, replacement and restringing, the bills for which were regarded by the Senior Bursar as 'extraordinary' rather than 'chapel' expenses. This fact alone, however, is no guarantee that they were not regularly used in chapel (see below).

In the following year (1595/6) Hugh Rose was paid £5 'for fynishing the Orgaines', and a 'Cornett' was purchased 'for the Chappell'.[83] Were the cornett and sackbut being used (as later in some English cathedrals) to support, respectively, the upper and lower voices in the choir?[84] There is evidence, too, of a flourishing secular musical life: the 'extraordinary' payment made in 1595/6 to one of the Fellows 'for singing bookes of Mr Morley's delivered to Mr Hylton for the Colledge'[85] probably refers to the purchase of Thomas Morley's *First Booke of Balletts to Five Voyces*, published in 1595.

On 3 June 1597 Hilton supplicated for the Mus.B. degree from 'Collegium Trinitatis', having spent seven years in the study and practice of music, and it is possible that the seven-part anthem *Call to Remembrance* was his exercise, although the nature of the prescribed 'canticum' is not specified in the supplicat.[86] Of equal interest this year is the 'extraordinary' payment of 6*s* 8*d* to Hugh Rose 'for Tuning the Orgains';[87] this is in fact the first entry to confirm that certain charges incurred in respect of the chapel were entered as 'extraordinary charges', rather than 'chapel expenses', and dissolves objections to the theory that the consort of viols was used in the chapel.

The next surviving account is that for 1601/2, when 30*s* 4*d* were paid to Hilton 'for 10 singing books... for the Chappell'.[88] This also appears as an 'extraordinary' item; but two years later the traditional head 'chapel expenses' is used for the following payments in regard to the organs:

Item: to the Organ mender for tuninge, makinge the bellowes, and tuninge of the stopps,	3*s* 1*d*
Item: to the Joyner for a Perriment on the topp of the organs with the scrowles and 7 bowles for the same,	41*s* 8*d*
Item: [for] henges for the newe doore and a la[t]ch with a crowes foote for the topp of the Organes,	2*s* 10*d*[89]

Hilton died in March 1609; but although he had been ill, he may still have worked between Michaelmas 1608 and February or March 1609, for he received the usual sum of 13*s* 4*d* 'for vioall stringes'. A retrospective payment was made, probably to his widow, Alice, some time between March and September 1609:

Item: paid and given by appoyntment to Mr Hilton in the tyme of his sicknes and for his buriall,	£5[90]

Hilton's successor, one Wilkinson, is of the grea-

test interest, since he may well be identical with a composer of that name and period whose madrigals and sacred vocal works occur most plentifully in manuscript part-books of probable Cambridge and East Anglian provenance.[91] 'Mr Wilkinson', as he is styled in the Trinity accounts, is never listed there with his christian name; but it is likely that he may, in turn, also be identical with the Thomas Wilkinson who had been a lay clerk at King's between 1579/80 and Midsummer 1595. If, as is probable, 'Mr Wilkinson' of Trinity, 'T. Wilkinson' the composer and Thomas Wilkinson of King's are in fact identical, his large output of verse anthems with viol accompaniment may have been composed for use in Trinity chapel. There are two reasons for suggesting this: first, there is not a shred of evidence in the King's College Mundum Books that any stringed instruments were being used in the college chapel at this time; and second, the relatively rich instrumental resources by Trinity would have provided a suitable incentive for the composition of such works, whose musical style in any case places them nearer to 1610 than to the 1580s and early 1590s. Little else is known for certain of Thomas Wilkinson's personal history.[92]

Wilkinson probably took over from Hilton soon after the latter's death, for in the second half of the financial year 1608/9 he received 5*s* 'to buy stringes for vioalls';[93] as Hilton also received a similar payment (of 13*s* 4*d*), presumably earlier in the year, it is certain that Wilkinson began work between March and September 1609.[94] He took over many of Hilton's former duties:

1609/10	Item: paid to Mr Wilkinson for 6 newe grace bookes, and for mending the Chappell books,	10*s*[95]
	Imprimis: paid to Mr Wilkinson to buy stringes for the violls,	13*s* 4*s*
	Item: for mending twoe vioalls,	8*s*
	Item: for mending a shagbutt,	8*s*[96]

In 1609/10 the most important musical item was the organ: John York was paid £40 'for makinge the newe chaire orgaine', and a further £13 4*s* 6*d* 'for painting & guilding therof'.[97] In addition, the following changes were made to the so-called 'old' organ, which is almost certainly the instrument that was moved from King's Hall chapel in 1563:

Item: paid to Russell the painter for painting and guilding the ould organ-pipes & the Case therof,	£8 10*s*[98]
Item: paid to the sawyer for sawing the Clapboard and making a lather for the use of the organ,	8*s*[99]
Item: to the smythe for Ironworke for the organs,	30*s*

Wilkinson was presumably no longer organist in May 1612, when, on the 20th, the Seniority decreed 'that the place of Organist for the Chapple is confermed uppon [blank] Mason, servant lately to the L[ord] Compton', and that his wages should 'be disposed to the Coll[edge's] use for the payment of his [ie Mason's – or Wilkinson's?] detts'.[100] Mason was dead by June 1614,[101] when he was eventually replaced by one Billing, who was paid the following sums:

1613/14	Item: paid to Mr Billing the orgainest for a quarter of a yers comons,	50*s*[102]
1614/15	Item: [paid] to... Billing orgainest remaynder of wages and lyverie due at Michaelmas 1614...,	25*s*[103]

Although these payments show Billing to have been organist up to Michaelmas (29 September) 1614, the statement that 50s is a quarter's commons allowance would seem to be spurious: this is in fact one quarter of the organist's combined stipend and livery allowance of £10 per annum (see above); a quarter's commons allowance would be approximately 13 weeks at 1*s* 8*d*, or 21*s* 8*d*, and it is possible that the second (retrospective) payment is in fact his commons allowance.

Two features of the years 1612–15 are especially interesting. The first of these concerns the number of repairs that were carried out on the organs, and which may indicate that the new organ was having teething troubles: in 1613/14, for example, they were mended no fewer than than four times, at a total cost of 60*s*, of which half went to pay the organ mender 'him selfe and his man for twentie dayes, and for parchement, leather, glewe, &c'.[104] The second feature is the increasing ornamentation of the organs and the chapel, the latter in particular representing a 'high-church' awareness of the external trappings of daily worship. These range from 'Images' glued to the organs,[105] to pulpit cloths, damask cloths for the communion table, cushions filled with feathers and even 'a cushion of purple

velvet'[106]. It is tempting to agree with Dr le Huray, who sees such activities both 'as a reaction against the spirit of Geneva' and as the self-identification of the Anglican Church with 'all that was best in the European Catholic tradition'.[107] Whatever its origins, it certainly helped to pave the way for the Laudian Movement in Cambridge, which made such an impact during the 1630s.

Robert Ramsey and the Chapel Music, 1615-44

Ramsey's career as organist and master of the choristers at Trinity was brought to an end by the abolition of choral services, in 1643/4. He is said to have been organist since 1628; and it has even been claimed, in error, that the two posts were separate, and that Ramsey was subsequently appointed master of the choristers in 1637.[108, 109] The following entry in the account for 1615/16 reveals, however, that he was already on the staff of the college in some capacity during the royal visits to Trinity in the Easter term of 1615:

> To Mr Ramsey by appoyntment for extra commons at the tyme of the Kinges being here, omitted in that yeare, 20*s*[110]

Billing seems to have left the organist's post by this date (1615), and 'Mr Ramsey' is almost certainly to be identified with the composer. He was not an academic member of the college, since the registers of admissions mention no one with this surname before 1653, when a 'J. Ramsey' was sworn a Minor Fellow.[111] Rather, when in 1616 Ramsey supplicated for the Mus.B. degree, for which a grace was awarded on 10 June,[112] he did so from 'Coll. Trin.';[113] this does not of course prove that Ramsey was on the foundation when he graduated, but the view does gain some support from John Morehen's theory that both Richard Nicolson and Arthur Phillips graduated B.Mus. at Oxford, in 1596 and 1640 respectively, in consequence of their appointments as *informatores choristarum* at Magdalen College in 1595 and 1639.[114]

The Trinity authorities went to a good deal of trouble in preparing for the royal visists in March and May 1615: plays were rehearsed to entertain the royal party, and the organ loft and the chapel seats were washed; but there is no evidence of increased musical activity, the only feature of interest being the final reference to repairing the consort of viols:

> Item: for stringing the Colledge Vyalls, newe bowes, bridges and mending them and pynnes, 32*s* 10*d*[115]

Given that the viols were in regular use under Hilton and Wilkinson, does the fact that they are not mentioned in the annual accounts after this date indicate that they had fallen into disuse, at least as far as the chapel was concerned? Certainly, of Ramsey's surviving works only two anthems, *My song shall be alway* and the fragmentary *Hear my prayer, O Lord* (*Early English Church Music*, vii, pp. 112–20, 135), are verse anthems, and only the latter has viol accompaniment, all the remainder being scored for full choir.

Both the sackbut and the organs, however, were certainly in regular use; and the latter were in constant need of repair by 1617/18:

> To Brittan for mending the Organs, this yeares allowance, £4[116]

The organs continued to be used a great deal until services were abolished. The sackbut was also popular, and ever since 1609/10 Stephen Wilmott, one of the city waits and a college servant, was paid an annual stipend of 40*s* for playing in the chapel. The last of these payments to the sackbut-player – which were about five times greater than those normally made to bands of waits and trumpeters – occurred in 1643/4.

In the list of 'Extra commons for the Fellowes' in the account for 1618/19, 'Mr Ramsey' appears to have received 6*s* 8*d* in commons money during the Christmas term.[117] Although he is referred to in this way, and his name is often appended to other similar lists in the Steward's books, he would never have enjoyed the full status of a Fellow. But he was apparently well regarded; and several payments of £5, called 'rewardes', were made to him at various times by the Seniority, possibly in respect of music composed and copied by him for use in chapel: the regular copying of music books seems largely to have ceased after Wilkinson's departure, and Ramsey may have been required to maintain and replenish the choir's repertoire from time to time.

The lack of surviving Senior Bursar's accounts for the period 1622/3–1636/7 sadly deprives us of much information concerning the everyday running of the chapel choir. The 'Old Conclusion Book' makes it clear, however, that both singingmen and choristers continued to be appointed as usual. On 12 August 1625, for example, Henry Downing – one of the singingmen, who was also a scholars' servant and owned a tailor's shop in the city – was a source of concern to the

Seniority, when

> it was concluded that by reason of suspicion of daunger of the plague increasing & the neere dwelling of one of the singing men [Henry Downing] to the place suspected, the Quire for a time should breake up & intermitt their attendance in the Chappell, on Sundaies, holydayes & halfe holydaies[118]

By 25 September Downing was dead;[119] and on 17 December one

> Pumfrett was chosen into that singing mans place & part which Henry Downing before hadd[120]

Some of the conclusions made at this time shed some light on both the musical requirements for membership of the choir and the circumstances of a handful of singing men; the four men who, on 21 March 1628, were 'chosen probationers for the Chorus', for example, had been selected

> upon condition that he whose voyce & skill were fittest for the Quire when any place fall voyd, should be chosen into it[121]

John Seamer, 'chosen into a Singingemans roome within the Chappell' in December of the same year,[122] was a scholars' servant and a victualler, and also owned a cobbler's shop in Great St Mary's Parish. When he died, in March 1640, his estate was worth £53 11*s* 10*d*, of which about £15 was in 'ready money', while the stock and tools in his shop were valued at only £3 18*s*. He also owned 'a pare of virginalls'.[123]

Early in the 1630s, as a direct result of the 'high-church' Laudian Movement in Cambridge, there was an attempt to enforce the use of surplices, vestments and alleged 'popish' ritual in the colleges, John Cosin, Master of Peterhouse, 1632–44, and one of William Laud's staunch supporters, angered not only the Puritan William Prynne, but also many of the Fellows of his college, when the latter were all 'enjoined to bow' before the 'glorious altar' in their richly decorated, newly-consecrated chapel.[124] In 1633 Laud's power increased on his being appointed Archbishop of Canterbury; and, in 1636, a report on the state of worship in the University, probably prepared by Cosin, criticised *inter alia* the services in Trinity chapel for being half-hearted and lacking in discipline: 'the private prayers', wrote the author of the report, 'are longer and louder by far at night than they are at Chapel in the evening'. In the chapel services themselves, he complained,

> A Quire is there founded for Sundays & Holydays but the Quire men [are] so negligent & unskilfull that unless it be in an Anthem they often sing the Hymns no otherwise then in common Psalmerie tune. And to mend the matter they have diverse Dry Choristers (as they call them) such as never could nor ever meane to singe a note, & yet enjoy & are put in to take the benefitt of those places professedly... They leane or sitt or kneele at prayers, every Man in a severall posture as he pleases. At the name of Jesus few will bowe & when the Creed is repeated many of the Boyes by some Mens directions turn towards the West Doore. Their Surplices and song Books & other furniture for Divine Service is very mean... They repeat not the Creed after the Gospell, and instead of the Magnificat or Nunc dimittis they will at pleasure (sometimes when their Quiremen are present) sing the 23rd or some other riminge Psalme[125]

The college's compliance with 'high-church' practice was acknowledged on 15 June 1636, when the Seniority resolved to move the communion table from the body of the chapel to the east end:

> [It was] Agreed by the Mr and the Seniors to set our Communion table in our chappell as it is in Cathedrall churches and Chappells, at the upper end and the grownd to be raysed and that the chappell be adorned accordingly[126]

The accounts for 1636/7 and 1639/40 provide further information about the chapel furnishings:

1636/7	For guilding the freezes,	£18 5*s* 3*d*
	For the Hangings & painting them,	£26 12*s* 8*d*
	For the Altar Clothes & two suites of fine dammaske,	£26 12*s* 6*d*[127]
1639/40	For a Carpet of red lether damaskt,	24*s*[128]

But England was on the brink of a period of turbulence and upheaval in which the reformation of religion was once again to play a vital part. It is ironic that, in the words of Professor Temperley, 'the attempt of Archbishop Laud... to enforce

detailed conformity to the ritual prescribed by the prayer book was one of the arbitrary exercises of authority that united and strengthened the opponents of the royal government'.[129] On 28 August 1643 an ordinance was made by Parliament which directed both the levelling of all ground that had recently been raised for an altar or communion table, and either the defacing or removal of all images, crosses, crucifixes and pictures of saints that had been placed in churches and chapels. When the infamous William Dowsing visited Trinity chapel on 27 December 1643, in order to execute these changes, he claimed with some pride: 'we had 4 Cherubims & Steps levelled'.[130]

Meanwhile, the increasing influence of Presbyterianism over the Long Parliament had led to an attempt, in January 1634, to abolish episcopacy; and, on 9 May 1644, 'organs were ordered to be dismantled or destroyed by parliamentary ordinance'.[131] Finally, on 3 January 1645, the Westminster Assembly of Divines abolished the Prayer Book and made its subsequent use illegal.[132] Trinity's compliance with the ordinances concerning images and organs is outlined in the Senior Bursar's account for 1642/3:[133]

> To Mr Knuckles for whiting over the Figures, 50*s*
>
> To Georg Woodruffe for taking downe the organs & hanginges, 15*s*
>
> To Mr Jenings for taking downe the Organ pipes, 45*s*
>
> Given to free masons, bricklaiers, carpenters & upholst[ere]rs for removing the hanginges & railes in the chappell, 28*s*
>
> To Mr Halfhead when the Organs, hanginges & other thinges were pulled down, for his bill for Candles, 50*s* 10*d*
>
> To Chambers for not [*sic*] blowing the organs a whole year, 40*s*[134]

Chambers had been blowing the organs since about 1626, and ever since 1629 had been paid an annual 'reward' of 40*s*;[135] like the sackbut–player, however, he continued to receive his wages both this year and the next, even though his musical services were no longer required.

In 1645[136] Ramsey died, and was buried in Great St Mary's Parish on 12 February.[137] He had married in 1622,[138] and his widow received a retrospective payment of 6*s* 8*d* from the Steward towards his 'interringe'.[139] Although Ramsey was not replaced, the five remaining singingmen (now termed 'Clerici' rather than 'Cantores' in the accounts), namely Millecent, Pumfrett, Bull, Thomas Mace and Roger Nightingale, all continued to receive their full stipends (in quarterly payments) up to the Restoration.[140] It is possible that they acted as scholars' servants or performed similar menial duties in college during the interregnum.[141] Many of the choristerships, however, had long been 'dry' and the Seniority readily allocated the profits of eight of these places to eight 'students... and Commencing Bachelors this yeere [1645/6]',

> that they may have a present support and a capacity of preferment in the Colledg hereafter and ther good deserts, [and that they] shall actually from this present receive the proffits and enjoy the priviledges of eight of the Choristers places being now vacant, With this proviso: that... eight of the schollers places be kept voyde till the afforsaid be otherwise provided for and therby the said Choristers places become voyde[142]

It is interesting to note, in conclusion, that the character of the college statutes was a source of irritation to Parliament during the mid-1640s: on 10 March 1648, therefore, it issued an order to the Seniority compelling them to look at the statutes afresh and to correct 'diverse absurde things savoring of the Darknes of those Popish tymes wherein the... Colledge was founded'.[143] The college authorities reviewed them and, later that month, drafted a reply. It was decided to cancel anything that prescribed the use of the surplice; and the following changes relating to musical matters were also proposed:

> 1. That where their is anie mention of Organs for divine Service, as in the first and fifth chapters [of the Elizabethan statutes], those Clauses might be cancelled
>
> 2. Whereas in the first chapter [*ie* the 'Proportio Collegii'] their is mention of six Clarks or singing men & ten Choristers whereof divers yet enjoy the benefitt of those places. It is our humble petition that in regarde their are manie poore viccarages belonging to the Colledg, that as the places fall vacant the maintenance may be conferred upon the poore viccars, whose stipends are verie small, and our hope is that this will be the rather graunted to us, because wee have... conceived the maintenace allotted for those places will not be sufficient to augment the

> viccars Stipends, but that wee must allsoe make some provision out of our fines to that purpose[144]

It is not known to what extent the second proposal was put into practice for, although four 'choristae' were being paid the usual quarterly stipend (of 3*s* 4*d*) only up to 1649,[145] we have already noted that five lay clerks appear by name every quarter up to, and including, 1659. It is likely that each of the lay clerks would have had to resign before his stipend could be diverted to the purpose mentioned above, as there is no mention in the above extract of anyone actually being dismissed by the Seniority. As each of the lay clerks decided to remain on the foundation, therefore, the likelihood is that only the profits of vacant choristerships would have been diverted to the above-mentioned use.

Conclusion

The course of Trinity's musical history, 1546–1644, was shaped partly by the religious changes brought about during different reigns, and partly by the attitudes of the Master and Fellows towards the value of music as an embellishment of chapel worship and ritual. Another, less powerful, factor was of course the ability of the musicians themselves: Trinity was fortunate in that it had several very able organists and masters of the choristers, of whom perhaps John Hilton is the most significant.

Neither Henry VIII nor Edward VI made provision for a professional choir; but in 1554/5, under the terms of Mary's draft statutes (which never became official), the emergence of a significant body of a singingmen and boys marks the beginnings of a musical establishment.

The adoption of the Elizabethan statutes in 1560 tended to make formal what had been informally for several years, mainly by imparting a degree of legality and security to the organization of the choir. But under the Puritan Mastership of Robert Beaumont (1561-67), Anglican church music was hardly encouraged, and it was not in fact until 1579/80 that the choir first achieved the statutory number of singers – that is, ten choristers, six singingmen and the organist and master of the choristers. (Roughly half of these choristerships, however, were held by undergraduate 'dry' choristers whose voices had broken, and this practice seems to have persisted up to the Restoration.)

Between 1580 and 1593 the choir seems to have been well-established; there is an increased rate of music-copying, and evidence of some 'high-church' activity in the chapel. But, although the organs had been much used during the reigns of Edward and Mary, there is no evidence that they were in use during the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign.

The period of Nevile's Mastership (1593-1615) is the high-water mark of the college's musical establishment that was apparently anticipated by its sudden improvement in the 1580s. From 1594 to 1609, John Hilton increased its musical resources, probably supervising the recasing and possible restoration of the old organ in 1594, introducing viols and other instruments, and providing a large number of music-books. He also managed to persuade the Seniority to maintain the precise statutory number of singers. These trends were certainly encouraged by Wilkinson (1609–12) and apparently endured under Mason (1612–14) and Billing (1614–15). The last three years of Nevile's rule saw a greater degree of 'high-church' ornamentation of the chapel.

Shortly after Robert Ramsey's appointment in 1615, the viols cease to appear in the annual accounts, although the organs and sackbut continue to be used up to 1644. Between 1614/15 and 1620/1, and 1636/7 and 1644/5 (which are the only periods of his office for which some at least of the accounts survive), the college appears to have maintained on Ramsey's behalf the requisite number of singers, although fewer references to the copying of music occur after 1611/12. Ramsey received many 'rewardes' of £5, however, which may well be payments for the copying and composition of music for use in the chapel; this, together with the fact that he is always referred to by name after 1636/7, indicates that he was well regarded by the Seniority.

In the late 1630s the Laudian Movement caused notable changes to be made in the ornamentation of the chapel, and it is perhaps surprising that there is no evidence of increased musical activity at this time. In the early 1640s, however, the powerful influence of Presbyterianism promptly reversed these changes, abolishing the use of organs and the Prayer Book itself. The impact of this legislation was felt at Trinity in December 1643, when the altar steps were levelled, and in the first half of the following year, when the organs were dismantled and all 'superstitious' hangings and ornaments pulled down. Choral services had already ceased by 9 May 1644, when organs were abolished, although Prayer Book services remained legal until 3 January 1645.

Ramsey was buried in February 1645; but the accounts show that the five remaining lay clerks continued to receive regular payments of their stipends up to the Restoration. In February 1646,

however, eight of the ten choristerships were diverted to benefit eight students. At length, in March 1648 the Seniority, under pressure from Parliament, proposed the cancellation of all statutory references to the use of surplices and organs in chapel, and agreed in principle to allocate the profits of all the vacant choristers' and lay clerks' places to the poorer college vicarages. As none of the latter seems to have resigned, however, it is doubtful whether this part of the plan was ever put into operation; but the choristers certainly disappear from the accounts after 1649/50.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 37 Hen. VIII, c. 4; for the complete text, see *Statutes at Large*, 10 vols, ii (1509–1640), (London, 1811), pp. 237, 260–68
2 G. M. Trevelyan, *Trinity College* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 9
3 1 Edw. VI, c. 14; quoted in A. G. Dickens and D. Carr, eds., *The Reformation in England* (London, 1967), pp. 127–30
4 See H. McLeod Innes, *Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1941), p. 5
5 Trinity College Archives (TCA), Box 29, C.II.a, MS 199a
6 *Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge*, edited by W. W. Rouse Ball and J. A. Venn, ii, 1546–1700 (London, 1913)
7 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1547/8, fol. 13r
8 'Further Light on Preston and Whyte', *The Musical Times*, cxv (1974), pp. 1074-77. The author, in mistaking the Elizabethan statutes (1560) for a non-existent set given by Henry VIII, has created the impression that a professional choir had existed ever since the college's foundation (see p. 1074).
9 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1547/8, fol. 107v
10 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1549/50, fols 85v–86r
11 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1551/2, fols 182v–183r. It may be added that various lists of 'Stipendia Sacellanorum & Feodariorum' which occur in these accounts prior to 1551/2 contain no reference to Preston
12 As a rough guide, of the fifteen organists, lay clerks, waits and organ blowers whose names occur in the UL MSS Room index of probate records that were handled by the Vice-Chancellor's Court between 1558 and 1658, no fewer than eleven are described as scholars' servants, and one – Stephen Wilmott (*d*1628) – was also a launderer at Trinity. All these musicians were employed either by King's or by Trinity.
13 Mateer, 'Further Light on Preston and Whyte', pp. 1075–77
14 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1549/50, fol. 107v
15 G. F. Cobb, *A Brief History of the Organ in the Chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge*, edited by Alan Gray (Cambridge, [1913]), p. 7
16 *Ibid.*, p. 7; but see below, footnote 62
17 2 & 3 Edw. VI, c. 1; quoted in Dickens & Carr, *The Reformation in England*, pp. 132–35
18 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1548/9, fol. 57v
19 *Ibid.*, fol. 70v
20 A. Gray and F. Brittain, *A History of Jesus College, Cambridge* (London, 1979), p. 46
21 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1549/50, fols. 107v, 94r
22 Dickens & Carr, *The Reformation in England*, p. 11
23 5 & 6 Edw. VI, c. 1; quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 137–40
24 'Statutes of King Edward VI', cc. 20, 46 (TCA., MS 0. 6. 7A)
25 TCA Steward's Book, 1552/3, fol. 84v
26 TCA Sen. Burs. A/c., 1552/3, fol. 228v
27 The remainder of this paragraph is based on the account in F. Procter and W. H. Frere, *A New History of the Book on Common Prayer* (London, 1949), pp. 116–25
28 Trevelyan, *Trinitv College*, pp. 13. 17, 18
29 Hugh Benham, *Latin Church Music in England, 1460–1575* (London, 1977), p. 165
30 1 Mary, Stat. 2, c. 2; quoted in Dickens & Carr, *The Reformation in England*, pp. 143–44
31 Steward's Book, 1552/3, fol. 86v. A brief discussion of Marian changes in other colleges is in H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 109
32 TCA Steward's Book, 1552/3, fol. 87r
33 McLeod Innes, *Fellows of Trinity College*, pp. 8–10
34 'Statutes of Philip & Mary', c. 1 (TCA, MS 0. 6. 7B)
35 TCA Jun. Burs. A/cs., 1553/4, fol. 126v
36 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1553/4, fol. 269v
37 TCA Jun. Burs. A/cs., 1554/5, fol. 197v
38 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1554/5, fol. 307r
39 TCA Jun. Burs. A/cs., 1553/4, fol. 126v
40 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1553/4, fol. 271r. This entry is in places illegible, and two such words/phrases are here enclosed in square brackets and queried
41 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1554/5, fol. 293v–294r
42 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1547/8, fol. 48v
43 TCA Jun. Burs. A/cs., 1549/50, fol. 7v
44 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1554/5, fol. 306r
45 TCA Jun. Burs. A/cs., 1554/5, fol. 221r; see also Hugh Baillie, 'Squares', *Acta Musicologica*, 32 (1960), pp. 178–93
46 TCA Jun. Burs. A/cs., 1556/7, fol. 316r
47 *Latin Church Music, pp. 212–13*
48 *1 Eliz, I, c. 1; quoted in G. R. Elton, The Tudor Constitution*, second edition (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 372–77
49 1 Eliz. I, c. 2; quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 410–13
50 McLeod Innes, *Fellows of Trinity College*, p. 6
51 ['Statutes of Elizabeth I'], c. 1 ('Proportio Collegii') (TCA., Box 34 (Statutes), MS 5)
52 *Statuta Trin. Coll. Cant.* (Cambridge, 1844) (printed version of Elizabethan statutes), c. 43 ('De. . .Stipendiis')
53 For example, at Exeter Cathedral in September 1563 it was decided 'for the better maintenance and further augmentation of the livelihood' of the vicars choral, and in respect of 'the lack of priests and dearth of all things', that there would in future be only six priests and ten laymen. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, the college had been able to support twenty vicars, none of them laymen. (See Ian Payne, 'The Vicars Choral of Exeter Cathedral: A Disciplinary Study, *c*1540–*c*1640', *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science*, 115 (1983), pp. 102, 106)
54 The 'Proportio Collegii' is the first statute in both the Marian draft (1554) and the Elizabethan statutes (1560) and the two versions differ only in matters of detail: this statute, more than any other, demonstrates the close relationship that exists between the two sets of statutes
55 Cobb, *A Brief History of the Organ*, pp. 5–7
56 Abbreviations: M. = matriculated; Siz. = Sizar; P. = Pensioner; Sch. = Scholar. It should be noted that some

of the choristers of whom there is no record in *Admissions* may appear in the accounts as 'Discipuli' several years later, but it is more likely that the records are incomplete than that it was possible to be a genuine 'Discipulus', or undergraduate, without having undergone formal admission. All christian names are taken from *Admissions*. (There are so many references to the surnames 'Hill' and 'Smythe' in the index to *Admissions* that it is not possible to attempt an identification, particularly since the accounts do not provide christian names.) It will be obvious that the opinion offered here as to whether a particular chorister was 'dry' or not is based on such factors as approximate age, length of duty, dates of graduation (if any), etc., and that such claims cannot be proved and are therefore open to question.

57. These figures are approximate, and include not only singingmen and organists, but all individuals styled chorister as well.
58 Trevelyan, *Trinity College*, p. 18
59 TCA Jun. Burs. A/cs., 1562/3, fol. 452v. The wording of this entry implies that these five books were printed; one of the many reprints or revised editions of the Sternhold and Hopkins English metrical psalter is at first sight a likely candidate, but it is difficult to account for the apparently low price of 1*s* per copy
60 The extent of Puritanism in the college at this time is shown by the lack of any reference in the accounts to the purchase of Walter Haddon's Latin translation of the Prayer Book – the *Liber Precum Publicarum* (1560) – which many Cambridge dons had condemned as 'the Pope's dregs' (Benham, *Latin Church Music*, p. 165)
61 Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* second edition (Cambridge, 1978), p. 35
62 Although the old King's Hall chapel organ in said to have been moved into the present college chapel in 1563 (Cobb, *A Brief History of the Organ*, p. 7), a statement that is repeated in Nicholas Thistlewaite, *The Organs of Cambridge* (Oxford, 1983), p. 105, one searches in vain for notes of installation and repair in the accounts for the 1560s and 1570s, although entries relating to such repairs are relatively frequent in those for the 1540s and 1550s. I very much doubt whether the King's Hall chapel organ was actually installed in the new chapel in 1563, given both the general Puritan climate in Cambridge at this time and Robert Beaumont's Mastership. Certainly, in 1563/4, under the heading 'Extraordinaries for the Newe Chappell' there is proof that the organ was dismantled:

> Item: given to Thomas [Houghton?] singyng man & two other[es] that toke downe the organs, 8*s* 6*d*
> (TCA Jun. Burs. A/cs. 1563/4, fol. 37r)

But I can find no reference to its subsequent installation. Indeed, Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, ii (Cambridge, 1886) seem to endorse the result of my searches in saying that the organ 'is first mentioned in 1593–94' (p. 574). There can be no doubt, however, that the organ which was renovated in 1594 was not basically a new instrument but, as Willis and Clark point out, was the one that 'had probably been used in the Chapel of King's Hall' (p. 575). I conclude from this that the organ was dismantled and stored in 1563/4, and was reassembled by 1594.

63 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1559/60, fol. 341v
64 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1560/1, fol. 398v
65 *Grace Book Δ, 1542–1589*, edited by J. Venn (Cambridge, 1910), p. 148
66. These references are as follows:

> 'Item: to Boyes the quirister for pricking of song-bookes, 20*s*' (TCA Jun. Burs. A/cs., 1559/60, fol. 346r)
>
> 'To Mr White for prickinge of song[es]... 11*s*'
> (TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1560/1, fol. 419r)

The wording of the first of these passages makes it clear that there were in fact two members of the college called Boyes, the elder being a singingmen and the younger a chorister, in this financial year, and that this music was copied by the latter.

67 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1563/4, fol. 10r
68 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1566/7, fol. 85v–86r
69 TCA, Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1571/2, fols 189v–190r
70 *Ibid.*, fol. 195v
71 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1573/4, fol. 215v
72 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1576/7, fol 268r
73 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1579/80, fols 347v–348r
74 Although the organ is sometimes referred to as a 'wind instrument' in seventeenth-century MSS, there can be little doubt that the following entry refers to organ:

> 'To Hughe [Rose] [for] mending the instrument and virginals at the audit, 5*s*'
> (TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1585/6, fol. 46v)

75 *Ibid.*, fol. 46r
76 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1586/7, fol. 77r
77 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1587/8, fol. 110r
78 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1589/90, fol. 158r
79 Trevelyan, *Trinity College*, pp. 21–30
80 Peter le Huray, 'Hilton, John', *The New Grove*, 8, p. 569; more detailed biographical notes on Hilton will be found in Ian Payne, 'Instrumental Music at Trinity College, Cambridge, *c.* 1594–*c.*1615, I: the Archival and Biographical Evidence', to be published in *Music and Letters*
81 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1593/4, fol. 263r
82 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1594/5, fol. 285v
83 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1595/6, fol. 307r
84 See le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, p. 127
85 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1595/6, fol. 306v. The books cost 30*s*
86 Cambridge University Library, University Archives, 'Supplicats, 1596/7–1598/9' (unfoliated). Although the last four letters of the surname are lost through a tear in the MS, the subject of the supplicat is nevertheless unmistakable
87 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1596/7, fol. 327v
88 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1601/2, fol. 34v
89 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1603/4, fol. 68r
90 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1608/9, fol. 145r
91 The most important of these MSS is perhaps London, British Library Add. 29366–8 (see Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600–1650: The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, 1982), pp. 125–26)
92 A resumé of the (largely conjectural) evidence linking these various names will be found in Ian Payne, 'Instrumental Music at Trinity College'
93 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1608/9, fol. 145r
94 TCA See above, p. 64 and note 93 for the Hilton reference
95 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1609/10, fol. 172r
96 *Ibid.*, fol. 172v

97 *Ibid.*, fol. 173r
98 *Ibid.*, fol. 172v
99 *Ibid.*, fol. 173r
100 TCA Old Conclusion Book 1607–73', p. 28
101 Mason was ill in December 1613, and was buried later in the financial year (1613/14). I am grateful to Dr David Mateer for supplying transcripts of these references, which are taken from TCA Old Conclusion Book, 1607–73, p. 46 and Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1613/14, fol. 227r, respectively.
102 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1613/14, fol. 228v.
103 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1614/15, fol. 257r
104 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1613/14, fol. 226r
105 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1614/15, fol. 256r
106 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1611/12, fol. 198r
107 le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, pp. 46–47
108 Edward Thompson, 'Robert Ramsey', *The Musical Quarterly* xlix (1963), p. 210
109 The Elizabethan statute, like the Marian draft on which it is based (see above), makes it quite clear that one man was expected to combine the duties of organist and choirmaster. While it is not impossible that such posts were shared in some degree, there is not a scrap of evidence that Ramsey was sharing either the duties or the stipend with an assistant
110 Steward's Book, 1615/16, fol. 224v. The organist and singingmen, unlike the choristers, did not receive regular payments for commons and livery, for their stipends were supposed to include an element to cover such costs (see above).
111 McLeod Innes, *Fellows of Trinity College*, p. 34
112 Cambridge University Library, Univ. Archives, 'Liber Gratiarum E, 1589–1620' (unpublished), p. 243
113 Cambridge University Library, Univ. Archives, 'Supplicats, 1615–1617' (unfoliated)
114 *Richard Nicolson: Collected Madrigals*, edited by John Morehen ('The English Madrigalists', 37; London, 1976), Introduction, p. iv
115 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1614/15, fol. 257v
116 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1617/18, fol. 329r
117 TCA Steward's Book, 1618/19, fol. 241r
118 TCA Old Conclusion Book 1607–75, p. 88
119 On this date his neighbours compiled the probate inventory of his possessions (Cambridge University Library, Univ. Archives, 'University Inventories, Bundle 10, 1625–1629')
120 TCA Old Conclusion Book 1607–75, p. 90
121 *Ibid.*, p. 93
122 *Ibid.*, p. 97
123 See his probate inventory (Cambridge University Library, Univ. Archives, 'University Inventories, Bundle 13B, 1640–1649'). According to the Mormon CFI Seamer married Winifred Merryll in St Edward's Parish on 25 April 1625
124 Porter, *Reformation and Reaction*, p. 419
125 C. H. Cooper *Annals of Cambridge* 3 vols (Cambridge 1845) iii, pp 281–82.
126 TCA Old Conclusion Book 1607–73, p. 149
127 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1636/7, fol. 13r
128 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1639/40, fol. 29v
129 Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979), i, p. 77
130 C. H. Cooper, *The Annals of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1845), iii (1603–1688), p. 366
131 Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, i, p. 79
132 *Ibid.*, p. 77
133 It is possible that the Sen. Burs. A/cs. dated 1643 actually run from Midsummer 1643 to Midsummer 1644 (and not, as one would expect, from Michaelmas 1642 to Michaelmas 1643). This would certainly explain the college's compliance with the images and organs ordinances (dated August 1643 and May 1644, respectively), and receives some support from notes 134 and 139 below. However, it must also be admitted that such decrees and ordinances were not necessarily put into effect immediately after their promulgation, and a delay of several months would have been quite possible.
134 TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., dated 1643, fol. 59v
135 TCA Old Conclusion Book 1607–73, p. 102
136 Ramsey received his full stipend for the first three quarters listed in the Sen. Burs. A/cs. dated 1644, died in the third (Christmas) quarter, and received no payment in the fourth. It seems likely, therefore, that, like the A/cs. for 1643, this also runs from Midsummer 1644 to Midsummer 1645. Ramsey was certainly buried on 12 February 1645.
137 Great St Mary's Parish Register (Cambs. County Record Office, Shire Hall, P30/1/1), Burial No. 47
138 'Robert Ramsey and Elizabeth Ryding were maryed, August 5, 1622' (*Ibid.*, p. 167)
139 Steward's Book, 1644/5, fol. 82r. (This volume, dated 1644, seems to run from Midsummer 1644 to Midsummer 1645, like the Sen. Burs. A/cs., and for the same reason).
140 Their names appear in the accounts for every quarter up to, and including, 1659
141 Pumfrett, for example, was paid £1 'for Service in the Combin. Chamber' during the first quarter of 1653/4 (Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1653/4, fol. 260r)
142 TCA Old Conclusion Book 1607–73, p. 184 (conclusion dated 23 February 1646)
143 TCA Box 29, C. II. a, MS 460
144 'Orders of Parliament relating to Colledge Affairs & Colledge Answers' (TCA, Box 29, C. II. a, MS 351e)
145 The last entry is in TCA Sen. Burs. A/cs., 1649/50, fol. 161r

CAMBRIDGESHIRE EARTHWORK SURVEYS V

A. E. BROWN AND C. C. TAYLOR

This paper is a continuation of four earlier ones, in which earthworks mainly in the former county of Huntingdonshire are described. All the plans have been produced by students attending extra mural courses organised by the Department of Adult Education of Leicester University; they have been drawn up for publication by E. Dennison, Davina Longmuir, and Nichola Bannister.

Salome, Leighton Bromswold: settlement remains (TL 121776, Fig 1)

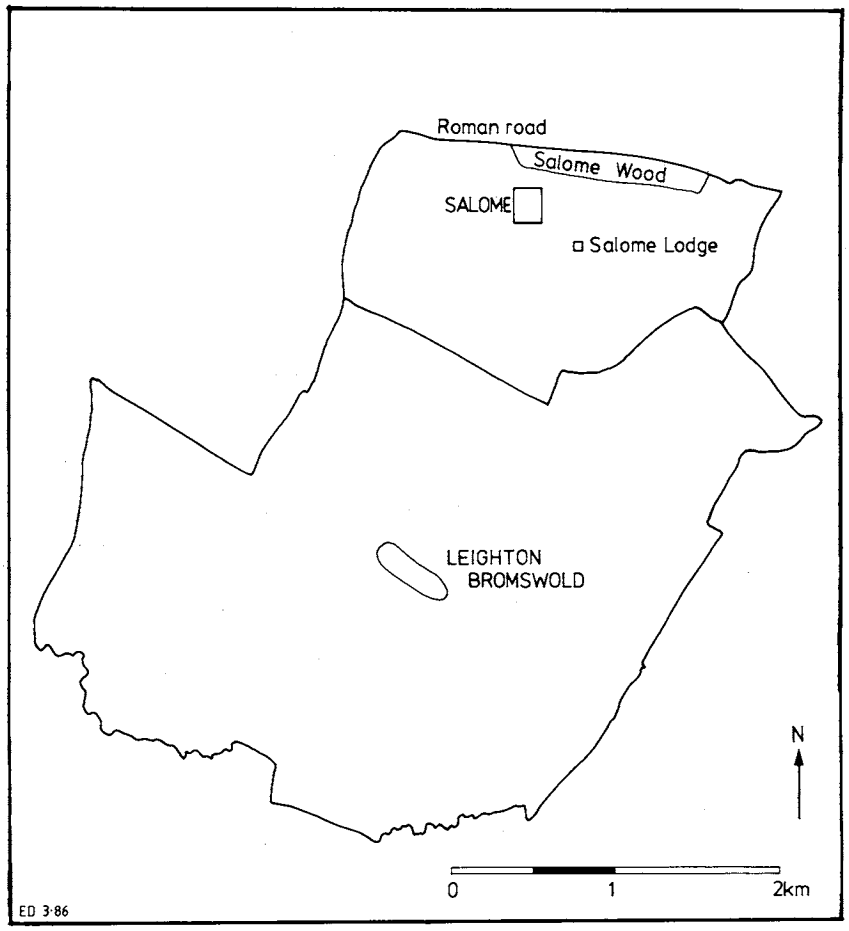
The late seventeenth century map of Leighton Bromswold and Buckworth preserved in the British Museum and printed in the *Victoria County History of Huntingdonshire* (1), shows in an area of old enclosures south-west of Sallam Wood, close to the northern edge of the parish, the site of a building named as Sallam Chapel lying within an enclosure some 50 m square. To the south-east of this, in a field marked as Allicon Payne Close, is a solitary building, the predecessor of the present Salome Farm.

The site of the chapel was discovered by excavation by J. R. Garrood 120 m from the north-west corner of the field shown as Elecampane on a map of Leighton dated 1743 in the Cambridgeshire Record Office at Huntingdon; its position has been marked on Fig 1 from information given in his account. He found the stone foundations of a building some 44 feet long and $18\frac{1}{2}$ ft wide, with buttresses; also three burials, scattered human bones, fragments of stained glass, painted plaster, tiles and other medieval material including thirteenth and fourteenth century pottery. There are documentary references to a chapel here from the third quarter of the twelfth century to the mid fifteenth century (2).

But the documentary sources make it clear that Salome consisted of more than a chapel and was in fact a small settlement; the name, variously rendered as Salne, Sale, Salue, and Salnee, means 'at the willows' (3). An agreement about the ownership of Shitlington church between the abbot of Ramsey and Autinus of Huntingdonshire and his son Baldwin was drawn up in 1114-1123 at the vill 'quae Sale vocatur'. There are many references in thirteenth century documents to a family known as 'de Sale' or 'de Salue'. It is not mentioned in Domesday Book and was taxed with Leighton Bromswold in the subsidy of 1327 (Leighton cum Salene) but the list does not show its occupants separately; no population figures are available. Salome Wood figures in documents of the twelfth-fourteenth centuries (4).

Salome had its own field system, distinct from that of Leighton. The holdings were assessed in virgates in the usual way – the holding of William de Salue was said to consist of one and a half virgates in 1230. But it is not possible to say what the total number of virgates in the fields of Salome actually was. This is because the Hundred Rolls of 1279, which can normally be relied upon to supply this information, tell us about the villein holdings in the 'hamelett de Salene' (three 'Monendayes-men' and ten villeins, each with a quarter virgate, two and a half in all) but do not differentiate between free tenants holding in Leighton and those holding in Salome – William de Salen is mentioned, with one virgate in demesne, and one virgate and eleven acres held by tenants; this is presumably a Salome holding, but there could have been others. But the *total* number of virgates in Leighton in 1279-77 is almost exactly the same as the total arrived at by looking at the ploughland total given for Leighton in Domesday – $19\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, *ie.* 78 virgates, divided between the demesne, villeins, three knights and their tenants. On this evidence Salome was almost certainly there at the time of Domesday in 1086, probably held by one or more of the knights (5).

The boundary between the fields of Salome and Leighton would have been the division between the open fields of Leighton and the enclosed ground to the north-west of them, as on the late seventeenth century map. These enclosures were originally the work of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, who in 1548 became the owner of the manor of Leighton, some time



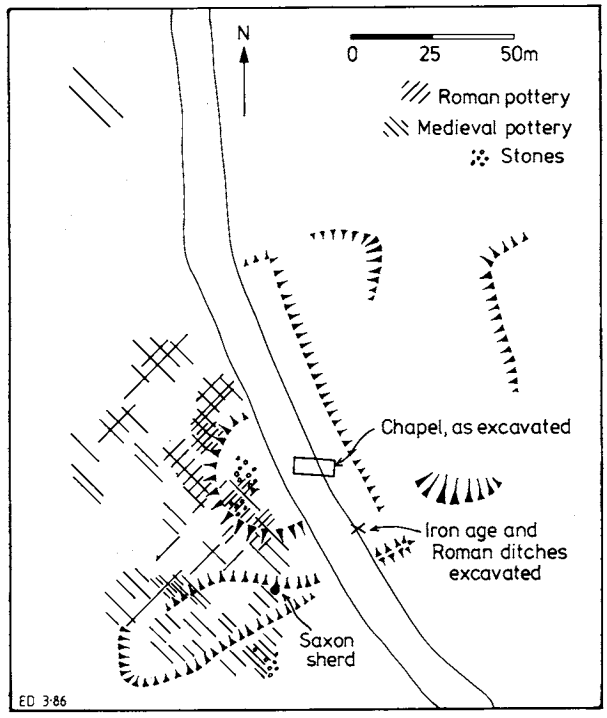


Figure 1. Site of Salome.

around the middle of the sixteenth century. There were objections and Salome field was converted back to tillage, but not permanently. Presumably the hamlet had long since disappeared (6).

The site of the hamlet lies in ploughed land on boulder clay at 200 ft OD. It is bisected by a now disused track, and is marked by a series of low scarps. A roughly semi-circular one to the west of the track may correspond to the enclosure around the chapel on the seventeenth century map, but the others, which are very slight and greatly denuded by ploughing, make no coherent pattern. A pottery scatter in the southernmost field, which was the only one which could be walked, produced mainly shelly, limestone tempered and green glazed wares of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. To the north of this was a scatter of Roman pottery, in general indeterminate grey ware fragments. This observaton corroborates the discovery by J. R. Garrood of Roman pottery during his excavation of the chapel, and also some subsequent work of his south of the chapel which uncovered a Roman ditch yielding Samian and Nene Valley colour-coated ware as well as other Roman pottery (7); some of the pieces are illustrated in his paper on late Saxon and early medieval pottery, where they can be seen to be fourth-century calcite gritted bowls. The main point of interest in the present work was the discovery of a single sherd of shelly Iron Age scored pottery and of several pieces – butt beakers and cordoned jars – which have Belgic affinities and clearly belong to the very beginning of the Roman period; this again is in agreement with J. R. Garrood's discovery of an Iron Age ditch close to the Roman one. This survey also produced a single fragment of hard black sandy pottery which could be early or middle Saxon in date. This is not much to go on, but it does at least raise the possibility that the site of Salome, on heavy clay, has in one way or another been occupied for almost two thousand years.

Old Weston: settlement remains (TL 095773; Fig 2)

The village of Old Weston is now situated on the north side of a small south-east flowing stream on boulder clay between 180 ft and 220 ft above OD. The present layout of the village has two distinct parts. Close to the stream is an L-shaped arrangement of two streets which meet to encircle a small area of land in which the Model Farm is situated. Both streets are lined by houses, cottages and farms lying close to the existing road; the properties along the road to Winwick had back lanes behind them, to judge from a map of 1843 in the Cambridgeshire Record Office and from the (admittedly somewhat inaccurate in detail) first edition of the Ordnance Survey one inch map (published in 1835). The second part of the village lies further north beyond the Black Swan public house. Here, apart from modern infill, the houses are set further apart and, in particular those on the east, are set well back from the road on the rising ground. They include two good seventeenth century buildings (8). The 1843 map shows that these houses had a common building line towards the road and were separated from the road by a strip of ground, then divided into small closes, which was broadening out in a funnel-shape towards the north. This may have been in function some form of green. The scarp shown on the plan to the east of the road to Winwick in this area represents modern dumping. This somewhat curious plan is made even more unusual by the fact that the parish church lies on the southern side of the stream on the adjacent hillside, quite isolated except for the former parsonage. Apart from one small field of earthworks, immediately south of the stream, and the paddocks between the church and the old parsonage, almost all the land around the church and the village is now permanent arable. It was thus hoped that careful fieldwalking of the area might produce evidence to help in the interpretation of the village development. The results of this fieldwalking, and survey, can be summarized as follows.

From the field immediately south of the church and solely confined to it, came a large number of early-mid Saxon sherds of pottery. There is also a quantity of medieval pottery, mostly of thirteenth century date, though not in an amount to suggest any former occupation. In the large field to the east of the church between it and the new road constructed in the 1940s is a general scatter of medieval pottery, as with the previous field, probably the results of manuring the area in medieval times. In addition a single early-mid Saxon sherd and one Roman sherd were also found.

Immediately north of the parsonage is an old lane running west from the present road. This is deeply hollowed and is presumably a medieval trackway leading into the fields. On its northern side the two small fields sloping down to a tributary stream produced very large quantities of medieval pottery, concentrated in two main areas, associated with large pebbles and stone rubble. The pottery was of twelfth-fourteenth century date and certainly indicated the former existence of occupation here. To the south-east, the parsonage, in the only surviving pasture field, is another hollow way only 0.5m-1m deep which runs along the southern edge

Figure 2. Old Weston, settlement remains.

of the field and then curves north-east down to the stream. It may have once run on across the stream and joined the present village street near the Manor House; it is shown as doing something like this on the first edition OS one inch map. On the northern side of this hollow way are some slight earthworks including what are perhaps four rectangular building platforms.

Further north-west another trackway extended north-west along the north-east side of the main stream. Its north-east edge is a scarp up to 2m high and, further north-west, it becomes markedly hollowed. It is undoubtedly another medieval trackway. The field on its north-east side was formerly divided into six small paddocks though the hedges bounding them (shown in Fig 2) have now been removed. Buildings are shown in the paddocks nearest to the village on both the maps referred to above. At the bottom ends of all these paddocks, close to the road, are large quantities of medieval pottery of thirteenth-fourteenth century date together with much stone rubble. Again this suggests that there was once a line of medieval houses along this track.

To the south-east of the village in what is now a single large field south-east of the new road and between it and the present isolated cottages more medieval pottery was found in large quantities. This was not close to the road, where the land is low-lying and liable to floods but on the lower slopes of the hill to the south. This pottery, of thirteenth-fourteenth century date, also indicates the sites of medieval houses.

These discoveries suggest that the history and development of Old Weston was very complex, and yet completely unrecorded in the documented history which indicates little more than that the land there was held by Ramsey Abbey from before the Conquest and until 1539.

It is nevertheless possible to combine the limited documentary evidence with that from fieldwork to produce a tentative explanation for the topographical development of the village.

In 1086 Domesday Book records that Ramsey Abbey held Old Weston, Brington and Bythorn as separate manors (9). By 1279, as the Hundred Rolls indicate, these three manors had been merged into one with the administrative centre at Old Weston (the ecclesiastical head was sited at Brington) (10). The Ordnance Survey place the Manor House of Old Weston north of the stream and immediately south of the oval area containing Model Farm. If this site is indeed that of the medieval manor then it could have been deliberately placed here for administrative convenience, at the junction of three roads. The Hundred Rolls certainly imply that at some stage in its, perhaps recent, history the manor had been the cause of some reorganisation of the village: the manor with gardens and other things, enclosed by a ditch, contained 10 acres, 'for which place the freemen of Weston were given in exchange ten acres taken out of the demesne because the manor site used to be common pasture'.

This, together with the evidence from the 1843 map, especially that indicating the existence of back lanes on either side of the section north-east of Model Farm, might suggest a replanning of the village at some time between 1086 and 1279, associated with the changes in manorial administration, perhaps in the early thirteenth century. The circular area occupied by Model Farm could have been a green in front of the manor and occupying the south-west quadrant of a rectangular planned village layout. Subsequent but short-lived expansion then may have occurred to the north-west and south-east, as indicated by the archaeological evidence.

The distinct area north of the Black Swan could represent a later planned expansion, or merely a shift in the location of settlement consequent upon changes in the relative importance of different roads, the north-west to south-east access becoming less important and the north-east to south-west one, the present main street, becoming more so, or at least maintaining its role.

On the other hand, the archaeological evidence for early-mid Saxon settlement near the church implies that the late Saxon village lay elsewhere. As yet there is no indication of where this was, unless it was in the area of Model Farm and was indeed replanned in the early thirteenth century.

Much of the foregoing may be regarded as unproved speculation, but whatever the true sequence of development at Old Weston there can be little doubt that it was extremely complicated. In view of recent studies on village morphology elsewhere this is not unexpected.

Coppingford: moated site (TL 173804; Fig 3)

This small sub-rectangular moated site is defined by a moat 7 m wide and 0.5 m deep and encloses an area of 700 sq.m. There are traces of an old archaeological excavation inside it. It lies on the north side of a stream close to the northern boundary of Coppingford in a wood marked as Hermitage Grove on the OS six inch map and as Hermitage Wood on a map of 1716, a copy of which is in the Cambridgeshire Record Office at Huntingdon.

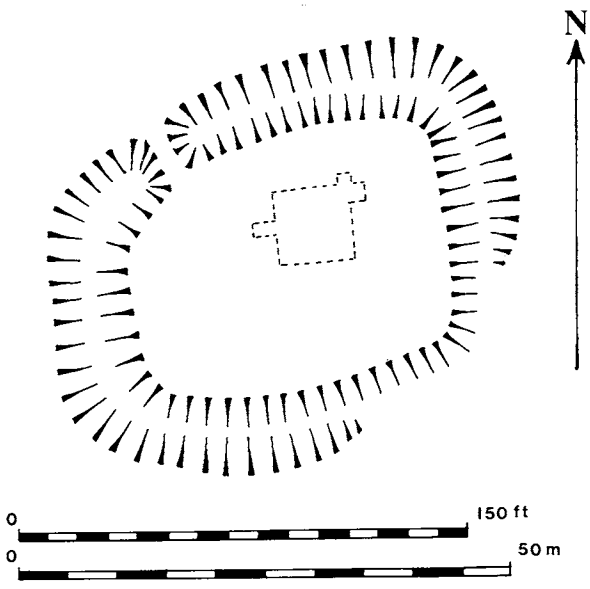


Figure 3. Coppingford, moated site.

The site is very overgrown and difficult of access.

The moat presumably marks the site of the hermitage at Coppingford which was granted *c* 1225-33 by the lord of Coppingford, Simon Costentin, to the Augustinian Priory of Bushmead in Bedfordshire, for the maintenance of a priest there to pray for the souls of himself, his wife and son. An occupant of the hermitage, Joseph *capellanus*, became the first prior (*c* 1215-33) of the newly constituted regular priory. The grant specifies the hermitage, its chapel, buildings, ditches (perhaps moat?), and hedges together with sixteen and a half selion (plough ridges) of the grantor's assart next to the hermitage with the right to take wood outside the gate of the building. This grant was confirmed by subsequent lords of Coppingford, but in 1314 the obligation laid on the priory to hold the services at the hermitage was relaxed in favour of a provision that they could be held at Bushmead itself; this could have marked the end of the hermitage as a functioning institution (12).

Kimbolton: Stonely Priory (TL 115675; Fig 4)

The fragmentary remains of the Priory of Stonely lie on the crest of a west facing hillside, 1.5 km east of Kimbolton and a little north-east of Stonely village at about 200 ft above OD.

The Priory, a house of Augustinian Canons, is said to have been founded in 1180 by William de Mandeville but this is uncertain and the earliest documented reference to its existence is not until 1279. It was always a small house, there never being more than seven canons and little is known of its history. It was dissolved in 1539 (13). Only one building remains, an existing farmhouse known as the Priory House. This has been much altered both in the past and more recently but is apparently the only part of the monastic buildings to survive. It is of two storeys, of stone rubble and eighteenth century and later brick, and probably dates from the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. It is impossible to suggest its original function (14); it is marked as a barn on a map of Stonely of 1764 in the Cambridgeshire Record Office, Huntingdon. Other buildings of the Priory apparently remained until the late seventeenth century for materials from them were used in the construction of Kimbolton Castle in 1707-8 (15). A dovecote is shown on the 1764 map as well as the barn.

The remains are in poor condition as a result of ploughing and apart from the moat ditches and the field to the east of the Priory House, all the land is now permanent arable. The main feature is a group of long ponds which are all that remain of what was presumably once a rectangular moat encircling the monastic precinct on the west, north and east. The ponds forming the western and northern arms still exist, although now separate, and enough evidence remains to indicate that they once formed a continuous ditch at least 1.5 m deep.

There is no trace now of an eastern side to the moat though the sharp bend at the eastern end of the ditch on the northern side suggests it once ran south from this point. Its presumed line is occupied by a series of low mounds and banks generally rectangular in form, all less than 0.5 m high. What these represent it is impossible to discover and even their shape may be fortuitous. They have all been ploughed over in very narrow ridge-and-furrow only 3 m across, probably of late eighteenth or early nineteenth century date; this land was shown as pasture on the 1764 map. The ridges run north west-south east and thus may have altered the underlying features to follow the direction of ploughing.

To the east of the moated site is an L-shaped pond almost 2 m deep with a well-marked outer bank and a rather spread inner one. It is not clear what this is. It could be the north-eastern corner of the original moat or, and perhaps more likely, it is part of an outer moated enclosure. All these ponds are shown on the 1764 map with the exception of the westernmost section of the northern line, although this must have been clearly visible at that time. The ponds are probably best regarded as fishponds rather than as moats in the true sense.

There is no indication that the moat continued

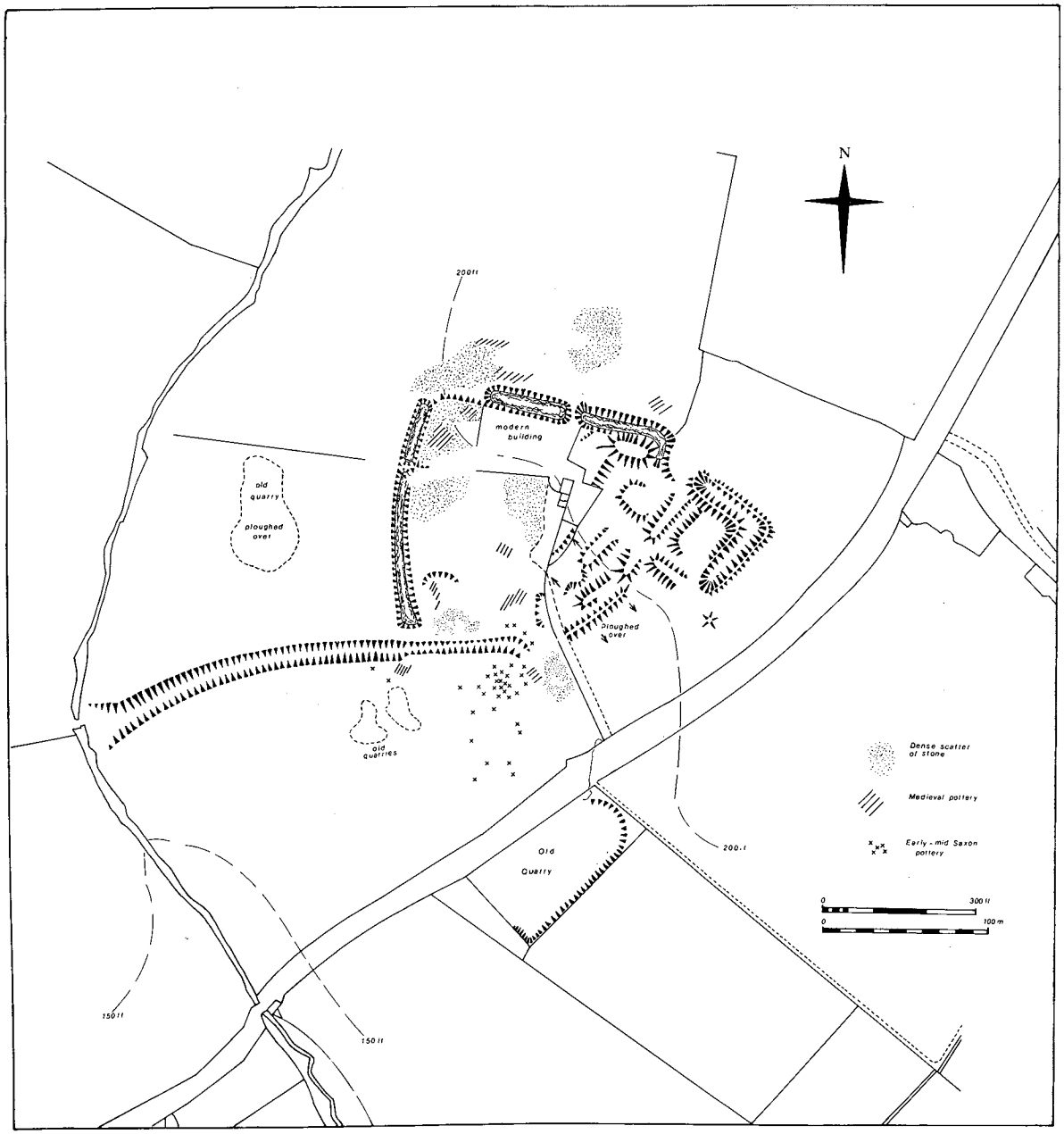


Figure 4. Stonely Priory, Kimbolton.

around the south of the Priory. Instead there is a long shallow depression here, almost ploughed out and only 0.25 m deep. This continues to the west down the hillside as a hollow way which represents a track from Kimbolton to the Priory; beyond the confines of the Priory grounds its course is traceable between the open field furlongs shown on the 1764 map and on another of 1769, also in the Record Office.

Within the western part of the moated site are large areas of limestone rubble and these extend beyond the site on the north. They may represent the position of former buildings for there are also large quantities of clay and medieval pottery, mainly of twelfth-fourteenth century date, as well as a few sherds of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

Extending across the depression south of the moated site at the point where the natural slope steepens, a quantity of early-mid Saxon pottery was found. This clearly has no connection with the Priory and is probably from a small Saxon settlement which once existed here. The pottery is of interest in that it supports the growing evidence for a dispersed pattern of early-mid Saxon settlement

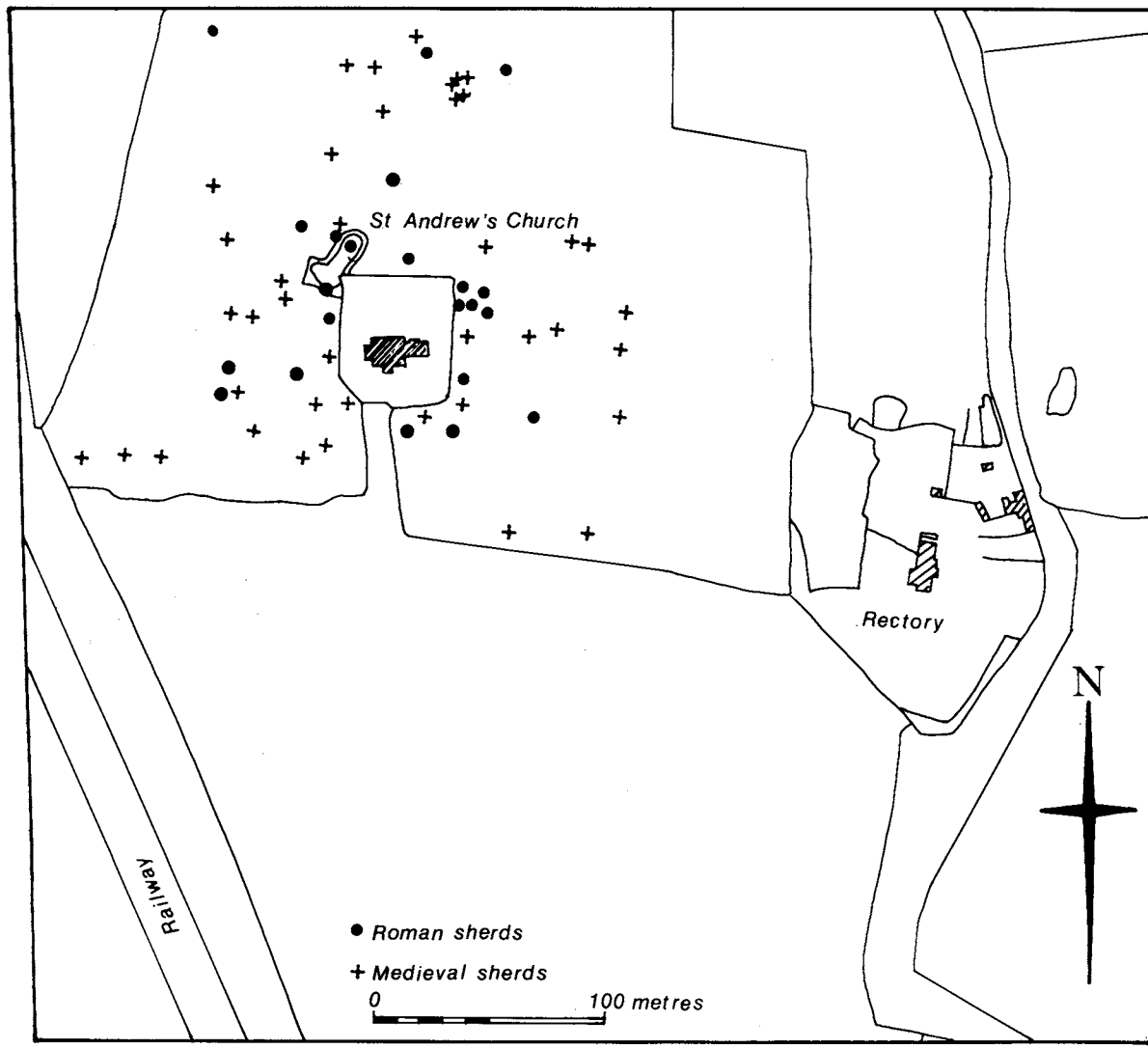


Figure 5. Wood Walton, site of church

over Cambridgeshire and more particularly Northamptonshire. Other finds included a few waste flint flakes and a single sherd of abraded Roman pottery.

Wood Walton: church (TL 209822; Fig 5)

The parish church of Wood Walton is situated in an isolated position, on a summit of a low hill, to the north of the village and 500 m south of the site of Wood Walton castle and its associated hamlet of Church End. This not uncommon feature of the English landscape has been interpreted in a number of ways. In some cases it has been proved that the church was once at the centre of a village which has since been abandoned or moved away (see Old Weston). In other cases it has been suggested that the churches were established at such places because there was an older, pre-christian religious site there.

The present church has little architectural merit. The earliest part is the south aisle, which was built around 1250, presumably enlarging an earlier building. About 1330 a new chancel was erected and the north aisle rebuilt, and a clearstorey was added in the early sixteenth century. The building was ruthlessly restored in 1856-9 (17). More important is the fact that the church certainly existed in the late eleventh century for it is specifically mentioned in Domesday Book (18).

At Wood Walton the land surrounding the church is now permanent arable and thus the opportunity was taken to fieldwalk the area with a view to discovering evidence which would explain the site of the building at this point.

The whole of the field surrounding the church

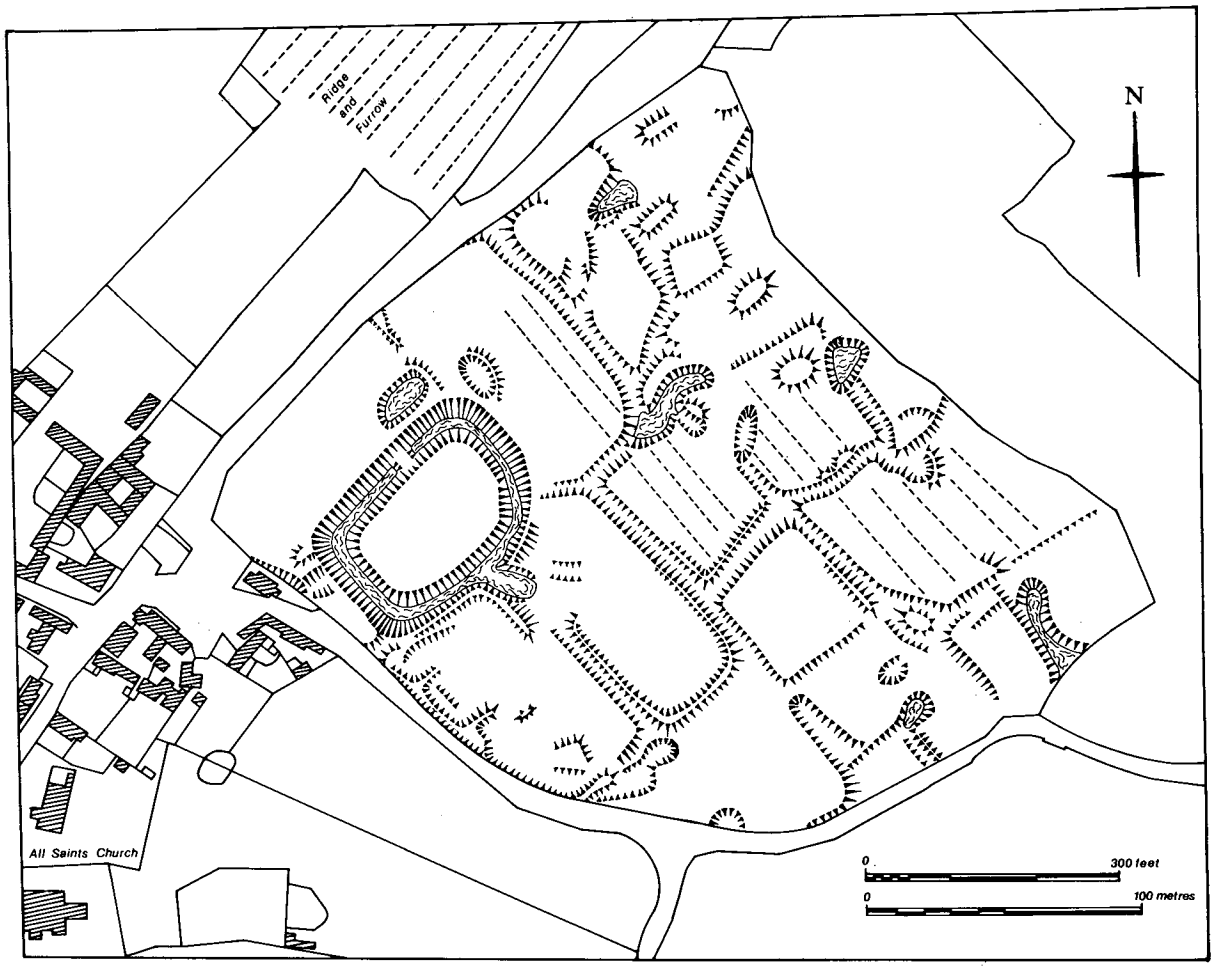


Figure 6. Winwick, moated site.

was carefully examined in two successive years, though in the end little was discovered. There was a general thin scatter of medieval pottery over the whole area mostly of thirteenth and fourteenth century date, and all the sherds were abraded. This indicates that there was certainly no medieval village around the church and the pottery of this period is the result of manuring the arable land there. The pottery would have been incorporated in the manure when it was collected from the cow sheds and stock yards in the village. No early-mid or late Saxon pottery was discovered. Although the difficulties of finding this kind of pottery are well known this probably also indicates that there was no earlier settlement around the church and that it has therefore always stood isolated in the field.

A small quantity of Roman pottery was found, with a marked concentration in the area around the church. This was not in sufficient quantities to suggest the existence of a major Roman settlement though it could mean that there was some Roman occupation of the present churchyard and church site. What this occupation was and how it related, if at all, to the later establishment of the church is unknown. It is just possible that, on this low, but well-marked hill, overlooking both the fens and surrounding clayland there was a Roman temple. However, only excavation could prove this; the site could simply have been a farm settlement of the kind commonly found in fen-edge situations.

Winwick: manorial site (TL 106809; Fig 6)

The presumed site of one of the medieval manor houses of Winwick lies on the north-eastern edge of the village, on clay, at 200 ft above OD. The earthworks, which are in good condition, lie in a pasture field which slopes gently to the south east. The main feature is a small moated site in the western corner. It consists of a roughly D-shaped

area bounded by a broad ditch up to 2 m deep. The interior of the island is flat and featureless. The moat appears to lie within and along the south-eastern side of a rectangular enclosure bounded on the north-west and south-west by the existing roads and the north-east and part of the south-east by a shallow ditch. A small pond and a small depression to the north of the moat appear to be secondary features.

To the south-east and east are a series of small generally rectangular paddocks, all bounded by shallow ditches or low banks and scarps no more than 0.5 m high or deep. At least eleven such paddocks can be identified and with one exception all are either devoid of any features or have minor depressions or mounds within them which appear to be relatively recent. They overlie earlier ridge and furrow. The largest paddock, in the northern corner, is different. It has a number of shallow ditches or low scarps within it and at least four sub-rectangular raised platforms which may be the sites of former buildings.

Nothing definite can be said about the date and history of the site, but it presumably represents the home of one of the under-tenants of one of the main manors of Winwick; the fields around it are marked as Hall Closes on the Enclosure Map of Winwick preserved in the Cambridgeshire Record Office at Huntingdon. The manorial arrangements of Winwick are confused and difficult to unravel and the difficulties are not eased by the fact that some land in the parish was deemed to belong to Northamptonshire (19). There were two main overlords; Peterborough Abbey and (in 1086) Eustace the Sheriff, whose land passed to the Lovetots and ultimately the Earls of Gloucester. The Cardun family held land under the Lovetots here until replaced in the late fourteenth century by the Knyvets. In the earlier thirteenth century the Carduns held their manor in demesne; the site of their manor house might be the Manor Farm on the western side of the road to Great Gidding. But perhaps in the late twelfth century part of this estate had been detached and is found in the tenancy of the Caxton family. This family (who also called themselves by the name of de Winwick apparently, implying that they actually lived there) also held land under Peterborough Abbey. The Caxton holding in Winwick can be traced until the mid fourteenth century. Various documents produced in connexion with its descent refer to a capital messuage and land varying in acreage from 42 to 140. It is possible that this site represents this messuage.

Archaeologically the site has a certain interest as another example of a moated site which can be shown to post-date earlier ridge and furrow; other examples occur at Little Gidding, Graffham and Sawtry (20).

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AT SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE 1984

KENNETH RAINSBURY DARK

It has long been known that a medieval Franciscan Friary occupied the site of Sidney Sussex College, prior to the foundation of the College in 1596. Despite the historical evidence for this monastic establishment the layout of the Friary has remained unknown. Chance finds of structural remains in South Court and of burials in Cloister Court (during the construction of the modern buildings) are of little use in reconstructing the Friary plan.

The only archaeological approach to the problem was made by Peter Salway who, excavating for the College in Cloister Court during 1959, dug a single trench across the centre of the Court along the line of the present (1984) north-south pathway.

Salway interpreted the results of this excavation as a transect across the Friary Church, revealing the walls of the church and a side-chapel to the South. He observed that a change in the alignment of the Sidney Street perimeter wall of the College could have been influenced by the west end of the medieval building, and that the modern layout of Hall Court could have been based upon the plan of the monastic cloister. Salway's excavation left many important questions unanswered, for example, the length and outline of the monastic church. In order to attempt to answer some of these questions an archaeological survey of the College was carried out during the Summer of 1984. The survey used a Martin-Clark resistivity meter to pass small electrical charges through the ground at one metre intervals, on a grid pattern, recording the resistance of the ground to these charges at each metre interval. Using this method buried walls may be detected and their outline established without disturbing the soil.

Whilst this was being carried out a visual examination of the College gardens was undertaken to establish whether any surface features, slight mounds or depressions, were visible which might relate to the monastic occupation of the site. Obviously considerable problems were posed by post-medieval activity on the site and it might well have been feared that little would be found; happily this was not the case.

Four resistivity anomalies and two surface features may tentatively be attributed to the monastic period. In Cloister Court the plan of the building trenched by Salway was delineated. It was found to be much smaller than Salway envisaged, occupying only the south-east corner of Cloister Court. This rectilinear anomaly had a north-eastern annexe. Evidence from Salway's trench seems to show that the main anomaly was a major masonry building associated with fine window-glass and burials, and it is probably to be interpreted as the Friary Church. If so, the annexe may be a chapel or transept.

On the south-west side of the probable Friary Church a smaller anomaly may represent the north-west end of the Friary Cloister perhaps abutting the south-west end of the Church. If this is so, the hypothesis that the plan of Hall Court reflects the layout of the medieval Friary Cloister may be correct. Survey revealed no major resistivity anomalies in Hall Court, suggesting that if this were the case the medieval buildings may exactly underlie their modern counter-parts.

The east end of the Friary Church must underlie the modern Cloister Court north-south range, as it was not found in total resistivity survey of the area between the Cloister Court buildings and the medieval King's Ditch (visible as a shallow depression in the Master's Garden, running north-south on about the line of the Garden Court library).

To the north-east of the probable church site a broad north-south bank was located to the west of the King's Ditch running parallel with it. This survives as a very slight surface bank in the south-west of the Fellows' Garden, on the line of the first modern gravel path, running north-south. This bank may continue as a resistivity anomaly beneath the modern north-south path and there is a sharp drop in the modern ground level from the path to the medieval line of the King's Ditch. As it

underlies all modern garden features, and is not visible on any plan of the College back to 1688, this bank may well be medieval and, indeed, compares well with known monastic boundary banks in scale. The bank may then have been the boundary, either of the cemetery around the Friary Church, or of the monastic precinct itself.

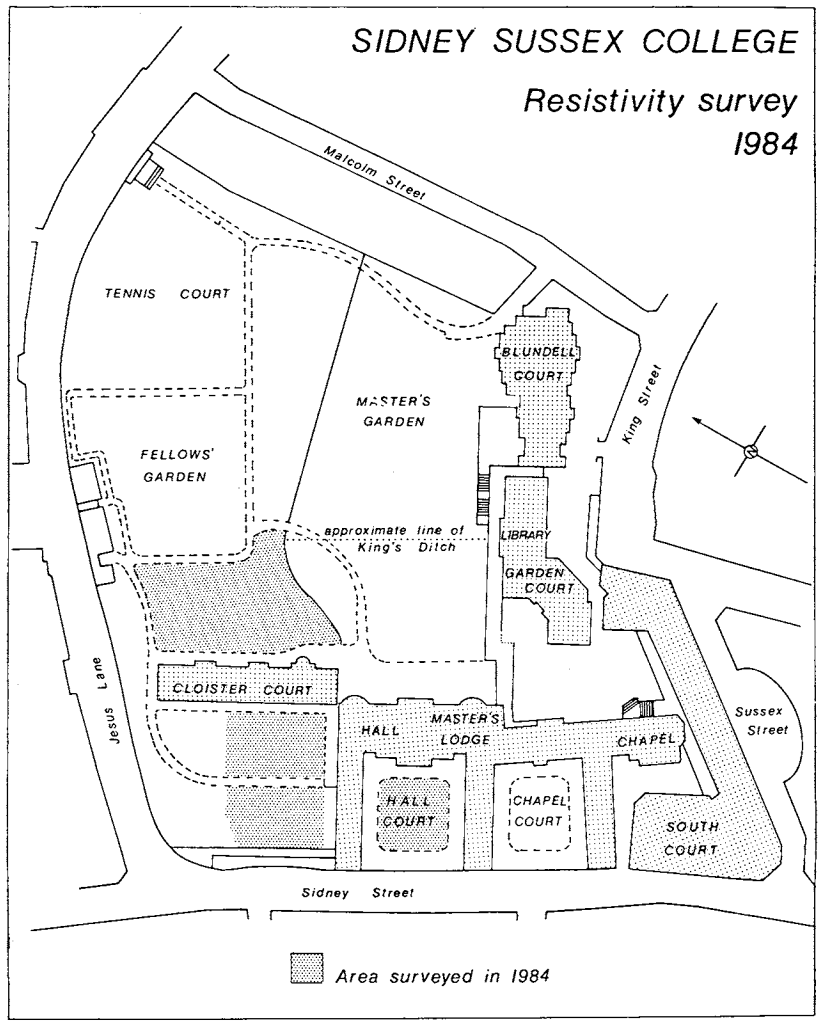
To the south-west of the bank another large rectilinear anomaly may also represent a stone building. Its function cannot be ascertained, but if it is contemporary with the bank it must have stood partly on or against it. This may, however, have been the area of the medieval Friary cemetery, and the possibility exists that the building is earlier in date, preceding the bank. If so it may be medieval, Anglo-Saxon, or Romano-British. Its apparent north-south alignment suggests that it is *not* an earlier church.

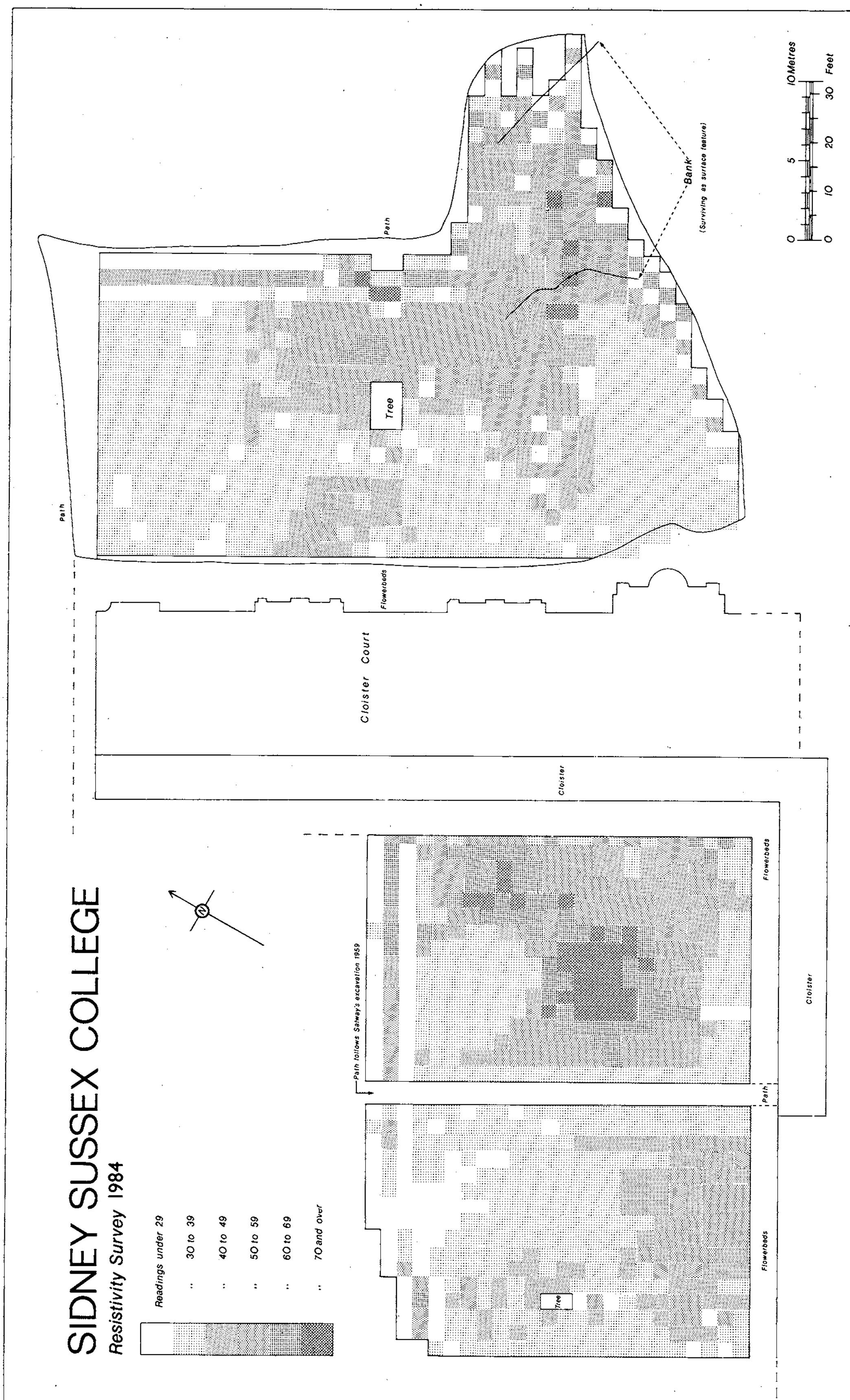
Finally, a low sub-rectangular mound running east-west across the line of the King's Ditch in the north-west of the Master's Garden may be a bridge, possibly that visible on the 1688 print of the College. As it does not align with any of the College buildings, it too may date from the monastic period.

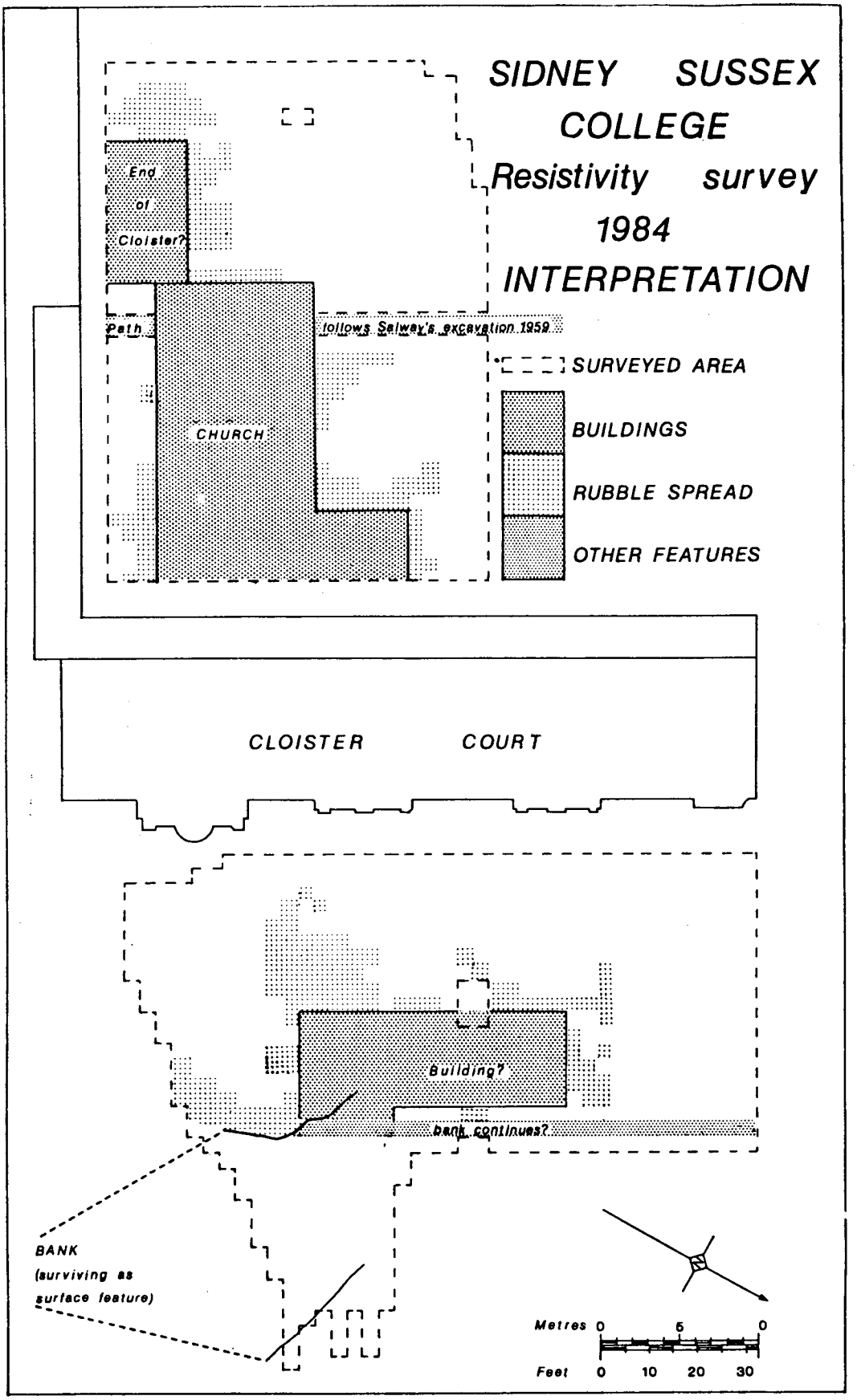
Whilst the layout of the monastic precinct remains imperfectly known, the 1984 survey has considerably added to our understanding of this important medieval complex. However, only excavation can further elucidate the nature of the features identified in this survey.

Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to the College and especially to the Master and Bursar for permission and encouragement to undertake the survey. Also to Misses Anna Armstrong, Julia Crick, Petra Day and Mr Andrew Gilbert for assisting in the work. Thanks are also due to Doctor Smail for his advice on the medieval history of the Friary, and for making available the records of Professor Salway's 1959 excavation, and details of other archaeological data on the College site.




SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE
Resistivity Survey 1984
Readings under 29
" 30 to 39
" 40 to 49
" 50 to 59
" 60 to 69
" 70 and over
Tree
Path
Flowerbeds
Cloister Court
Cloister
Bank
(Surviving as surface feature)
Path follows Salway's excavation 1959
0 5 10 Metres
0 10 20 30 Feet


SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE
Resistivity survey
1984
INTERPRETATION
End of Cloister?
Path
follows Salway's excavation 1959
CHURCH
SURVEYED AREA
BUILDINGS
RUBBLE SPREAD
OTHER FEATURES
CLOISTER COURT
Building?
bank continues?
BANK
(surviving as surface feature)
Metres 0 5 0
Feet 0 10 20 30

A GOLD 'HAIR-RING' FROM WIMBLINGTON PARISH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

COLIN F. PENDLETON

In March, 1985 a finely decorated gold ornament with unique characteristics was found by the use of a metal-detector, in ploughsoil, in the parish of Wimblington in North Cambridgeshire. The object apparently represents a single stray find with no evidence of other contemporary metal work associations from its findspot although other finds, probably from the remains of a scattered hoard of late Bronze Age metalwork, have been reported from nearby, the closest piece occuring about 30 metres away.

The gold 'hair-ring' (fig 1) belongs to a distinct class of gold and copper alloy ornaments, occasionally found in pairs, dating from between 850-500BC (Taylor 1980, 69) and variously described as ear-rings, lock-rings and hair-rings, but whose usage, although clearly partly ornamental, is unknown (cf Taylor 1980, 68). They have been relatively well discussed by Eogan (1969), and this account relates to this important addition to Eogan's list of known finds.

The gold ring falls into the general definition of 'hair-rings' in being penannular and having a hollow triangular cross-section. The piece was, on discovery, rather distorted (fig 2), but has since been restored to something closer to its original form. Its condition is unworn. It shares some common features with Eogan's 'Southern English group' in lacking side plates and being made from a central tube and two separate decorated face-plates of sheet gold. However it is unique among both the British and French examples in having ornamentation on its inner tube that is clearly decorative in function, as opposed to the suggested usage as a gripping device proposed for five examples (all Irish) with repoussé bosses (Raftery 1967, 65). Another feature not found on the other eight examples from Eogan's Southern English group is the presence of a 'C' sectioned binding strip holding the two face plates together. Previously this feature was confined to the Irish and North British groups (Eogan 1969, 96 and 106).

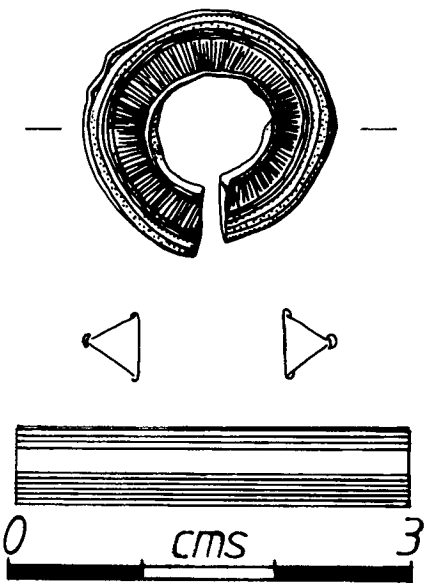


Figure 1.

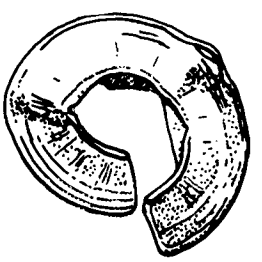


Figure 2.

The hair-ring is one of the smallest known (listed dimensions vary from 18mm to nearly 100mm) being only 19mm in diameter. Despite this it is highly decorated, like several others from Southern England. On the inner tube face this decoration consists of four parallel bands of incised grooves on the upper side (as illustrated) and six on the

lower side. The face plates have a single incised groove concentric and abutting the tube overlap and three incised grooves on the outer edges concentric with the binding strip. The regular execution of these incisions contrasts with the punched radiating lines which link the inner and outer grooves and which occasionally overlap and cut the inner of the three external incisions and the raised pinnacle separating the third and second incisions. However with a frequency of 33 punched lines per centimetre this crudeness is relative and perhaps not unexpected, and to the naked eye also appears finely executed.

The pattern of decoration would appear to be unparalleled although the closest in appearance are the matching pair from near Haverhill in Suffolk (Edwardson 1968, plate VI) where single hatched opposed triangles fill the concentric grooved bands. The Highdown Hill, Sussex (Curwen 1954) hair-ring is the only other example having grouped bands of incisions concentric to the central opening, although this lacks any form of infilled decoration.

This find adds to the known distribution of late bronze age ornaments from East Anglia. Its find-spot conforms with the main concentration of Bronze Age metalwork recorded elsewhere (*eg*, Pendleton in preparation a) in being from a fen edge situation, in this instance a fen 'island'.

Despite the lack of a positive association for this find the discovery of hoard material close-by may be relevant, as hair-rings are represented on at least three occasions as a component of founders or metalworkers hoards (*eg*, Balmashanner, Angus, Scotland; Burwell Fen, Cambridgeshire and Portfield, Lancashire), although most instances of association have been in hoards of a personal nature. However without direct observation of all of the Wimblington 'hoard' material, dating, on the basis of the identification of palstaves in the hoard, would favour a relatively early, possibly Wilburton date, which on the chronology of hair-rings suggested by Taylor, would appear too early.

However, a second possibility is that the Wimblington hair-ring comes not from a hoard but from a late Bronze Age occupation site. Finds of hair-rings from occupation sites are relatively common, with at least four instances being recorded (*ie*, Heathery Burn Cave, Co. Durham; Traprain Law, East Lothian; Highdown Hill and Harting Beacon, Sussex). It may not be merely fortuitous, especially considering the rich nature of these objects, that the last three of these locations, together with the Portfield hoard, were situated on the sites of hill-forts. Significantly the 'hillfort' of Stonea Camp (and incidentally an extremely wealthy concentration of late Iron Age coinage) is located in the close vicinity of the find-spot of the hair-ring, and evidence of substantial late Bronze Age settlement of *c* seventh-fifth centuries BC has been revealed by excavations at Stonea Grange (Potter and Jackson 1985, 9). However until further fieldwork is carried out the nature of the Wimblington hair-ring's deposition must remain unresolved.

This find, although rich, typifies the 'new trend' in finds of Bronze Age metalwork, that is the now relatively frequent occurence of small items, including objects that were formerly extremely rare in East Anglia, *eg*, the possibly functionally related gold and copper alloy penannular 'ring-money' of the late Bronze Age (Pendleton, in preparation b).

Due to the finding of these small items it may now become possible to correct a bias that has occured in favour of large and complete objects (*eg*, swords and large spearheads from river dredgings).

NOTES

1. About 5 fragments of broken up palstaves and possibly a sword fragment (as seen and reported by the finder of the hair-ring) have been found by various individuals and fragments of other broken hoard material have been reported. Other known material including parts of three socketed axes, cake and part of a possible single edged knife are at present being drawn and listed by the author.

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