
Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

Volume LXXIX

for 1990



Recent publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

Proceedings LXXVI, 1987: Price £6 net for members, £7.50 for non-members
LAUREL PHILLIPSON: *Quakerism in Cambridge before the Act of Toleration
(1653–1689)*

CHRISTOPHER EVANS: *Nomads in 'Waterland'? Prehistoric Transhumance and
Fenland Archaeology*

C. J. WEBSTER: *Ernest Greenfield's Excavation at Exning Roman Villa*

JEM POSTER & DAVID SHERLOCK: *Denny Abbey: The Nuns' Refectory*

PAUL FIRMAN & JOYCE PULLINGER: *Excavation at Riverside, Thompsons Lane,
Cambridge*

IAN PAYNE: *Music at Jesus College, Cambridge, c. 1557–1679*

JOHN TWIGG: *Royal Mandates for Degrees in the Reign of Charles II (1660–85)*

JOHN MCCANN: *The First Cottage of Clay Bats?*

Proceedings LXXVII, 1988: Price £6 net for members, £7.50 for non-members
LAUREL PHILLIPSON: *Quakerism in Cambridge from the Act of Toleration to the
End of the Nineteenth Century (1689–1900)*

JOHN MOSS-ECCARDT: *Archaeological Investigations in the Letchworth Area,
1958–1974: Blackhorse Road, Letchworth; Norton Road, Baldock; Wilbury
Hill, Letchworth*

GLENYS GOETINCK: *The Wandlebury Legend and Welsh Romance*

T.E. MILLER: *Excavations in Great Chesterford Churchyard, Essex, 1986*

ANNE HOLTON-KRAYENBUHL: *Excavations on the Paddock, Ely*

HILARY WAYMENT: *Charlemagne and Two Demi-Virtues at Madingley*

SUZANNE M. EWARD: *Alma Mater Cantabrigia: A Device in Print and Plaster*

IAN PAYNE: *George Loosemore at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1660–1682*

JAMES ALSOP: *A Letter Relating to Thomas Baker's Cambridge University
Collections*

Proceedings LXXVIII, 1989: Price £6 net for members, £7.50 for non-
members

MARSHALL JOSEPH BECKER: *Skeletal Remains from a Roman Sarcophagus in
the Collections of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*

CATHERINE HALL & ROGER LOVATT: *The Site and Foundation of Peterhouse*

ANNE HOLTON-KRAYENBUHL, THOMAS COCKE & TIM MALIM: *Ely Cathedral
precincts: the North Range*

C.C. TAYLOR: *Spaldwick, Cambridgeshire*

DAVID TRUMP: *Anglesey Abbey – A Resistivity Survey Exercise*

Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

Volume LXXIX

for 1990

Published by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1992

ISSN 0309-3606

Officers & Council, 1989–90

President

D.R. WILSON, M.A., F.S.A.

Vice Presidents

MISS E.S. LEEDHAM-GREEN, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

J.C.S. SHAW, M.A.

M.W. THOMPSON, M.A., Ph.D.

Disney Professor of Archaeology

PROFESSOR A.C. RENFREW, M.A., Sc.D., F.S.A., F.B.A.

Curator of the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

D.W. PHILLIPSON, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

Ordinary Members of Council

A.P. BAGGS, M.A., F.S.A.

R.A. CUSHING, M.I.E.E.

MISS A.R. le P. DARVALL, M.A.

R.E. GLASSCOCK, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

D.N. HALL, M.A., F.S.A.

M.D. HOWE, B.A., A.M.A.

MRS. D.M. OWEN, M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A.

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

F.M.M. PRYOR, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., M.I.F.A.

C.J. SCARRE, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

F.H. STUBBINGS, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

Secretary

MISS A.S. BENDALL, M.A., A.L.A.

Treasurer

T.E. HOARE

Editor

MISS M.D. CRA'STER, M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A.

Editor of Conduitt

R.I. BURN-MURDOCH, M.A.

Registrar

MRS. R. DESMOND

Excursions Secretary

MRS. A. HOLTON-KREYENBUHL, B.A.

Hon. Librarian

J.D. PICKLES, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

County Archaeological Officer

MISS A.F. TAYLOR, B.A.

Hon. Auditor

R.E. SEATON, I.P.F.A.

Representative of Cambridgeshire Local History Society

MISS A.E. COOPER, B.A.

Contents

The Cambridge Antiquarian Society and its 150th Anniversary	v
CAS Appeal: donations to October 1990	vii
Members of the Society in the 150th Anniversary Year, 1990	viii
Cambridge and the antiquaries, 1500– 1840: the 150th Anniversary Lecture, delivered on 12 March 1990 C.N.L. Brooke	1
The Walker Collection: a quantitative analysis of lithic material from the March/Manea area of the Cambridgeshire Fens Robert Middleton with illustrations by R.A. Parkin	13
The Bassingbourn Diana: a comparison with other bronze figurines of Diana found in Britain Joan P. Alcock	39
Barrington Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 1989 Tim Malim	45
St Neots Priory 1989 Wendy Horton & Gerald Wait	63
The lost stained glass of Cambridge Graham Chainey	70
A different kind of Cambridge antiquarian: Marshall Fisher and his Ely Museum Nigel Holman	82
Excavations in Cambridgeshire, 1989 and 1990 Alison Taylor	93
Book review: the drainage of Wilbraham, Fulbourn and Teversham fens	97
<i>Index to the volume</i>	98



Presentation by D.R. Wilson, President, to H.R.H. The Duke of Gloucester, of M.W. Thompson's *The Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1840– 1990* at the 150th Anniversary Reception on 5 May 1990.

The Cambridge Antiquarian Society and its 150th Anniversary

1990, the year in which the Cambridge Antiquarian Society celebrated its 150th anniversary, was marked by a number of special events.

The Society's sesquicentenary was formally marked on Saturday 5 May by a reception in the University Combination Room. The Society was privileged to welcome H.R.H. The Duke of Gloucester as guest of honour, together with representatives of the City and University. His Royal Highness proposed a toast to the Society; he was thanked by the President and presented with a specially bound copy of M.W. Thompson's *The Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1840–1990* (see photograph opposite).

Throughout the year, a number of distinguished speakers addressed the Society:

- 2 October 1989 Professor A.C. Renfrew: *The Enigma of Early Cycladic Art*
6 November Miss J. Arnold: *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd*
27 November H.M. Colvin: *The Chantry Chapel in Western European Architecture*
8 January 1990 Sir D.M. Wilson: *The Viking Settlement in England: an Archaeological View*
5 February Professor M.W. Beresford: *Yorkshire Peat Working in the Middle Ages*
12 March Professor C.N.L. Brooke: *Cambridge and the antiquaries, 1500–1840*
2 April Professor A.C. Thomas: *The Context of Tintagel: Post-Roman Britain and the Byzantine World*
7 May Dr M.W. Thompson: *The Changing Pattern of the Society's Membership and Interests over 150*

Years (given on the 150th anniversary of the first public meeting of the Society on 7 May 1840)

4 June J.M.P. Farrar: *Documentary Sources for Archaeologists*

Professor Brooke's lecture, the Special Anniversary Lecture, is reprinted in this volume and was given in The Theatre, Peterhouse which, as the Museum of Classical Archaeology, was a former meeting place of the Society.

The annual one-day conference was held at the Maltings, Ely, on 17 March, when the theme was *Castles and Fortifications in Cambridgeshire and East Anglia*. Papers were given by John Peter Wild, Kenneth Penn, Jonathan Coad, Michael Thompson, Mike Osborne and Peter Kent.

The excursions programme started, appropriately for the year, with a tour of St John's College on 30 March. The visit ended with tea in the Combination Room, in which the initial meetings of the Society were held in 1840. On 9 June, a party visited archaeological excavations in the City of London, and on 20 July a party was shown round some religious houses of the Fen edge.

A competition for the best photograph of an historic building in Cambridgeshire was won by Bill Zajac with his photograph of the nave of Ely Cathedral. Nisha Patel's photograph of Thorpe Hall, Peterborough won the prize for the best black-and-white photograph, and a photograph of the Prior's doorway in Ely Cathedral by Anne Holton-Krayenbuhl won a prize for the best photograph taken as a record. The judges were Dona Haycraft (a local photographer), Tony Baggs (architectural editor of the *Victoria History of the Counties of*

England) and David Wilson (the President and Curator in Aerial Photography at Cambridge University). The prize-winning photographs were displayed in Heffers' bookshop, along with other material about the Society. An exhibition about the Society was also mounted in the Cambridge Building Society, in June.

Publications, too, marked the Society's 150th anniversary year. Dr M.W. Thompson wrote a history of the Society: *The Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1840–1990*, which was published in February. In addition, an Appeal was launched for a publications fund. The

specific aims were to enable publication of a consolidated index to the *Proceedings* for 1970–90 and to reprint earlier indexes, and to publish a full report, by Dr J. Alexander, of excavations of Iron-Age and Roman Cambridge. Donations and promises to the end of 1990 amounted to £8265, and the Society is very grateful to all who have supported it in this way. The donors are listed on the following page.

The Society would like to thank all who participated in its activities during the year and helped to make it one to remember.

CAS Appeal: donations to October 1990

Patrons

The Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius
College
C. Parish
Dr and Mrs F.H. Stubbings
The Master and Fellows of Trinity College

Donors

Mrs V. Alford
Antiquity Publications Ltd
A.P. Baggs
Dr A.S. Bendall
Judge L. Bromley
D.M. Browne
Cambridge Electronic Industries PLC
Charities Aid Foundation
The Master and Fellows of Clare College
Professor J.G.D. Clark
Dr T.H. Cocke
J.M. Collins
Professor R.M. Cook
The Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi
College
Miss M.D. Cra'ster
R.A. Cushing
The Master and Fellows of Downing College
Lady C. Duckmanton
University of Durham
The Master and Fellows of Emmanuel College
Miss C.I. Fell
Professor and Mrs L.W. Forster
Dr R.E. Glasscock
S.A. Glover
Mr and Mrs P.D. Griffiths
C.A. Hartridge
K.S.G. Hinde
N. Holman

Mrs A. Holton-Krayenbuhl
The President and Fellows of Hughes Hall
Miss V.C. Kemp
Dr E.S. Leedham-Green
A.E. Melville
Professor E. Miller
Mrs S.R. Munby
The Principal and Fellows of Newnham
College
The Master and Fellows of Pembroke College
The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse
Dr J.D. Pickles
Mrs L. Potter
Professor N.J.G. Pounds
Mrs J. Priestley
Miss J. Reynolds
Cyril Ridgeon and Son Ltd
G. Ridsdill-Smith
The Master and Fellows of Robinson College
Royston and District Local History Society
The Master and Fellows of St John's College
Sawston Parish Council
Dr C.J. Scarre
Mrs J. Shepherd
The Master and Fellows of Sidney Sussex
College
Society of Antiquaries of London
S.D.T. Spittle
J.R. Tanfield
Lord W. Tylour
Dr M.W. Thompson
The Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall
Dame A.M. Warburton
Sir D.M. Wilson
D.R. Wilson
A. Woodger
T.S. Wyatt

Members of the Society in the 150th Anniversary Year

Honorary member

Dr J.A. Alexander, M.A., F.S.A.

Personal members*

Mrs B.K. Adams
Mrs V.L. Alford
Mrs E. Allan
Dr and Mrs F.R. Allchin
J.M. Allen Esq.
Mr and Mrs S. Allen
Mrs C. Anderson
Professor and Mrs C.R. Anderson
J.K. Anderson Esq.
Mrs K.M. Aphorpe-Webb
Mrs J.M. Arden Jones, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
Miss J. Arnold, F.S.A.
Miss O. Ault
Miss V. Baddeley
A.P. Baggs Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
Miss J.A. Bailey, M.A.
Dr and Mrs D.R. Bard
G. Barlow Esq.
Mrs S.J. Batchelor
Miss M.R. Bateman
Mrs D.V. Beamish
Mrs S.P. Beamon, M.A.
Mr and Mrs L.F.H. Beard
M. Behrend Esq.
Dr A.S. Bendall, M.A., A.L.A.
D.J.L. Bennet, M.A.
R.C. Bennett Esq.
Miss V.P. Bennett
Mrs E.M. Benson
Mrs D. Berrios
Rev. D.D. Billings
Mrs E. Binney
Dr J.M. Birchenough
T.A.M. Bishop Esq., M.A.
G. Black Esq., Dip.Arch., Dip.Cons.

Mrs A.K.R. Blackman
B. Blackwood Esq., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A.Scot.
Miss P.B.M. Blakeman
Mrs M. Bligh
Mrs J.L. Bone
Mr and Mrs S.C. Boorman
Ms L. Boothman
Sir James and Lady Bottomley
C.J.A. Bourne Esq., R.I.B.A.
Miss J.D. Bourriau, M.A., F.S.A.
Dr R.D. Bowers
Miss M.F.P. Boys
Mrs L.J. Bradford, M.A.
Mrs M. Brian
A.G. Brigham Esq.
Lady Briscoe
J.L.A. Bromwich Esq., T.D., M.A.
Professor C.N.L. Brooke, M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A., F.B.A.
Mr and Mrs A.E. Brown
D.M. Browne Esq., B.A.
Sir Patrick Browne, M.A.
D. Buck Esq.
Mr and Mrs K.C. Buckle
Dr M.O. Budny
N. Burnett Esq.
R.I. Burn-Murdoch Esq., M.A.
Mrs S. Bury, M.A.
Miss A.J. Butcher
Professor R.A. Butlin
T. Cadbury Esq.
Mrs C. Carrington
E.A. Carson Esq., M.A.
Mrs M.P. Carter
Professor and Mrs J.W.S. Cassels
Mr and Mrs D.M.B. Castle
E. Cerrino Esq.
Mrs M.E. Chamberlain, M.A.
Mrs E. Checkel
C.R. Chippindale Esq.
Professor J.G.D. Clark, C.B.E., Sc.D., F.S.A., F.B.A.
P. Clark Esq.

* One personal member does not wish to be identified.

- T.R. Clark Esq.
 J.W. Clarke Esq.
 Dr J.R.A. Cleaver, M.A.
 Mrs M.E. Clifford, M.A.
 J. Coates Esq.
 Dr T.H. Cocke, MA, F.S.A.
 D.N. Cole Esq., M.A.
 D.M. Collins Esq.
 Mr and Mrs S.P. Collins
 Professor R.M. Cook, F.B.A.
 Professor and Mrs R.A. Coombs
 Mrs H.C. Coppock
 R.P. Cox Esq.
 D. Cozens Esq.
 Miss M.D. Cra'ster, M.A., F.S.A.
 C.W. Crawley Esq., M.A.
 A.F.B. Crawshaw Esq., M.A.
 Major P.J. Curran-Douglas, T.D.
 J.H. Curtis Esq.
 R.A. Cushing Esq., M.I.E.E.
 Miss A.R. le P. Darvall, M.A.
 Dr D.A.L. Davies
 Mrs E.M. Davis
 Miss S.A. Day, J.P.
 J. Deakin, Esq., M.A. and Mrs E. Storey
 Mrs P. Dearlove
 Mrs L. Delanoy
 O. de Montmollin Esq.
 Mrs R. Desmond
 Dr and Mrs A.P. Dick
 Mrs M.P. Dickinson
 Mrs H. Dixon
 Dr K.F. Dixon
 Professor R.B. Dobson
 T. Doig Esq.
 B.E. Dorman Esq.
 Miss G.M. Dowling
 Ms J. Downes
 Dr C.M. Dring
 Mr and Mrs D.V. Durell
 Mrs S. Echlin
 D.A. Edgar Esq.
 Mrs M. Eeles
 D.B. Ellison Esq.
 T.V.P. Elliston Esq.
 R.D. English Esq.
 Mr and Mrs D. Etchells Butler
 C.A.W. Evans Esq.
 C.J. Evans Esq., M.A.
 R.H. Fairclough Esq., M.A.
 J.M.P. Farrar Esq., M.A.
 Miss C.I. Fell, M.A., F.S.A.
 G.H. Field Esq., A.R.I.B.A., A.I.A.Tb
 P.E. Firman Esq.
 Dr and Mrs H.A. Fleming
 R.J. Flood Esq.
 Mrs E.M. Foister
 Professor L.W. Forster, M.A., Litt.D.
 Mr and Mrs J.P. Foster
 Mrs H. Fox
 Dr M.J. Franklin, M.A.
 Miss M. Fynes-Clinton
 Dr A.M. Gallop
 Mrs P.A.M. Gant
 P.W. Gathercole Esq., M.A.
 Mrs A.S.R. Gell
 Miss P.M. Giles, M.A.
 Mrs M.A. Gillespie
 Dr R.E. Glasscock, MA, F.S.A.
 S.A. Glover Esq.
 Professor and Mrs F. Goldby
 J. Goldsmith Esq., B.A., A.L.A.
 Mrs M.A. Goodrum
 Dr P. Gorman
 Mrs S. Gould
 Mrs P. Graham
 B.D. Graham Cameron Esq., F.S.A.
 Dr R.D. Gray, M.A.
 Mrs S.G. Gray
 H.J.M. Green Esq., F.S.A.
 Mr and Mrs H.C. Green
 Mrs J.B. Green
 A.K. Gregory Esq.
 J.L. Gregory Esq.
 Mr and Mrs P.D. Griffiths
 L.J. Gruber Esq.
 Mrs K. Gruenberg
 Mrs O.P.F. Hackett, F.S.A.
 D. Haigh Esq., M.A., F.S.A.Scot.
 Miss D. Hall
 D.J. Hall Esq., M.A.
 D.N. Hall Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
 Miss J.A.P. Hall
 W.E. Hall Esq.
 R. Halliday Esq.
 P.J. Halnan Esq., M.A.
 Mrs J.B. Hamdorff
 N. Hancock Esq., M.A.
 Ms W.A. Handscombe
 Mrs A.S. Hankinson
 Mrs J. Hanmer
 Miss M. Hannigan
 J. Hardiment Esq.
 A.E. Harradine Esq.
 Miss I.J. Harris
 Dr C.J.R. Hart, M.B., B.S., F.R.Hist.S.
 C.A. Hartridge Esq., M.A., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A.
 Miss J.A. Harwood
 Dr T.D. Hawkins, M.A.
 J.M. Hayward Esq.
 D.G. Heath Esq.
 Miss K. Heawood
 N. Hellowell Esq., Dip.Arch., Dip.T.P., R.I.B.A.
 Professor M.B. Hesse, M.A.
 Mrs P.L. Hickling, M.A., M.B., B.Chir.
 Dr C.M. Hicks
 Dr C.M. Hills, M.A., F.S.A.
 K.S.G. Hinde Esq., M.A.

Miss C.R. Hinton
 T.E. Hoare Esq.
 Miss M.L. Hoather
 T.J. Hochstrasser Esq., M.A.
 I. Hodgkisson Esq.
 Dr B.A. Holderness, M.A.
 Mrs R.D.E. Holland
 Professor and Mrs J.C. Holt
 Mrs A. Holton-Krayenbuhl, B.A.
 Dr B.K. Hope-Taylor, F.S.A.
 D.W. Hopper Esq.
 Dr R.E. Horrox, M.A.
 M.F. Howard Esq., M.B.E., M.A.
 R.B. Howarth Esq., M.A.
 D.G. Howie Esq.
 C.E. Howlett Esq.
 Mr and Mrs A.G. Hunt
 H.R. Hurst Esq., MA, F.S.A.
 J.B.G. Hurst Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
 T. Hussain Esq.
 Miss D.M. Hutchinson, M.A.
 Mrs B.C. Hyde-Smith, J.P.
 Mrs C. Ireland
 Miss V.R. Jarvis
 Miss M.E. John
 Mrs F.S.L. Johnson
 Mrs R.P. Johnston
 Dr S.B. Jones
 W.W. Jones Esq.
 Miss S. Jordan
 E.W. Joyce Esq.
 Miss V.C. Kemp, M.A.
 Professor D.G. Kendall, M.A., F.R.S.
 Mrs A. Kenney
 Mrs R. Kerr
 Miss J. King
 A. Kirby Esq., M.A.
 J.W. Knight Esq.
 Mr and Mrs C.N. Lane
 P.R. Layland Esq.
 Dr E.S. Leedham-Green, MA, F.S.A.
 Mrs M.P. Lees
 Mr and Mrs C.M. Lewis
 Dr C.P. Lewis, M.A.
 Mrs S. Lewis
 Mrs A.J. Limb
 Mrs M.E. Lockwood
 Dr M.A.N. Loewe, MA, F.S.A.
 Mrs M. Lucas
 Dr R.M. Luff
 Mrs A. McBurney
 F.H. McClintock Esq., M.A.
 Mrs F.E. McEwan
 D.F. Mackreth Esq., BA, F.S.A.
 Mrs M.I. Maddock
 Ms H. Madison
 Mr and Mrs H.H. Magnay
 Drs C. Malone and S. Stoddart
 C.S. Manning Esq.

Miss B. Marshall
 G.D. Marshall Esq.
 Mrs G.M. Marshall
 Mrs S.C. May
 Dr and Mrs K. Mellanby
 A.E. Melville Esq., M.A.
 R. Middleton Esq.
 Professor E. Miller, M.A., F.B.A.
 T.E. Miller Esq.
 E.F. Mills Esq., M.A.
 S.J.D. Mitchell Esq., M.A.
 Lieutenant J. Mitto
 C.C. Montague Esq.
 Dr C.A. Morris, M.A.
 Miss C.E. Morton
 Professor R. Morton-Smith
 Lady R.E. Mott, M.A.
 L.M. Munby Esq., M.A.
 Mrs S.R. Munby
 Miss R. Myers
 Professor A.H. Nelson
 J.S. Newell Esq.
 R.V. Nicholls Esq., MA, F.S.A.
 Mrs A.E. Nichols
 Dr D.S.H.W. Nicol, MA, M.D., B.Chir.
 W.A. Norton Esq. and Miss B.J. Taylor
 R.E. Oakeshott Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
 C.M.G. Ockelton Esq., M.A.
 I.G. O'Dell Esq.
 P.N. O'Donoghue
 Mr d'Arcy Orders
 Mr and Mrs A.E.B. Owen
 Professor R.I. Page, M.A., Litt.D.
 E.G. Papworth Esq.
 Mr and Mrs C. Parish
 Mrs P.O. Park
 A.K. Parker Esq., M.A.
 Mrs J. Parker
 Miss J.B. Parker
 Mrs P.H. Parker
 Lady R. Parkes, M.A., D.Sc.
 Mrs R. Parks
 Mrs J.E.R. Parsons
 K.A.C. Parsons Esq., M.A.
 D. Payne Esq.
 Mr and Mrs J.F.S. Pearce
 R.H. Pelly Esq.
 J. Pemberton Esq.
 M.J. Petty Esq., A.L.A.
 Dr D.W. Phillipson, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.
 Dr L. Phillipson
 Dr J.D. Pickles, M.A., F.S.A.
 Mrs M. Pickles
 Miss V.C. Pinion
 Miss P.I.M. Playfair
 Mrs M. Pole
 J.G. Pollard Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
 Mrs L. Potter
 Dr T.W. Potter, M.A., F.S.A.

- Professor W.T.W. Potts, M.A., Ph.D.
 Professor N.J.G. Pounds, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.
 Mrs E. Povey
 Mrs C. Powell
 Miss G.H. Powell
 J.M. Powell Esq.
 Miss P.M. Price, O.B.E., MA
 Miss K. Primmer
 Mrs V. Pritchard
 Mrs W.A. Pritchard
 Dr F.M.M. Pryor, MA, F.S.A., MI.FA
 Mrs E.J. Pullinger
 A.J. Pye Esq.
 Dr O. Rackham, M.A.
 A.E.J. Rank Esq.
 Dr J.R. Ravensdale, M.A.
 Mr and Mrs D. Ray
 Mrs W.M. Rayner
 Miss A.G. Rees
 Professor A.C. Renfrew, M.A., Sc.D., F.B.A., F.S.A.
 J.H. Reynolds Esq.
 Miss J.M. Reynolds, M.A., F.S.A.
 M. Rice Esq.
 Dr P.J. Rich, F.R.S.A., F.R.G.S.
 A.J.N. Richards Esq., M.A.
 D.A.H. Richmond Esq., M.A., Dip.Arch., F.S.A.
 Mrs H.L. Ridout, M.A.
 Mr and Mrs G. Ridsdill-Smith
 Miss J.S. Ringrose, M.A., F.S.A.
 Miss C. Rivett
 Dr N.R.C. Robertson, MA, MB., B.Chir.
 E.D. Robinson Esq.
 Dr W.J. Rodwell, MA, F.S.A.
 N.J. Rogers Esq., M.A., M.Litt.
 Dr A.J. Rook, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P.
 Mrs N.A. Rooke, BA.
 C. Rowe Esq.
 C.T. Rudd Esq.
 R.S. Runciman Esq.
 Professor J.K.S. St Joseph, O.B.E., M.A., Ph.D.,
 Litt.D., F.S.A.
 Mr and Mrs R.I. Salmon
 Dr J. Salt, M.A.
 Mr and Mrs K.F. Sander
 Mr and Mrs A. Sargent
 Mrs J.M. Scammell, M.A.
 Dr C.J. Scarre, M.A., F.S.A.
 Mrs R.B. Schofield, M.A.
 Mrs E. Scott, M.A.
 C. Scull Esq.
 M. Seal Esq.
 G.W. Seaman-Turner Esq.
 Dr P. Searby, M.A.
 M.F. Sekulla Esq.
 Mr K. Semmelmann and Mrs I. Woltschik
 R. Sewell Esq.
 J.C.S. Shaw Esq., M.A.
 Dr C.A. Shell, M.A.
 Mrs M.P. Singhji
 J. Skinner Esq.
 Dr and Mrs A.D. Skyrme
 D.J.Q. Smart Esq.
 Miss M.A. Smith
 Dr S. Smith, M.A.
 Miss H.J. Snape
 Miss E.M. South, M.A.
 A.F. Spencer Esq.
 S.D.T. Spittle Esq., O.B.E., MA, A.R.I.B.A., F.S.A.
 Dr H.M. Spufford, M.A.
 E. Standen Esq.
 Ms C. Starr
 Mrs M.G. Steen
 M. Stephenson Esq.
 Dr R.W. Stoddart, M.A.
 Miss M.J. Stokes
 M.G. Straker Esq.
 Dr F.H. Stubbings, MA, F.S.A.
 C.J. Sturman Esq., M.A.
 M.D. Sunda
 Mrs P.M. Sutton-Gould
 J.R. Tanfield Esq., M.A.
 Miss A.F. Taylor, BA.
 C.C. Taylor Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
 Mr and Mrs D.G. Taylor
 Dr H.M. Taylor, MA, F.S.A.
 Dr D.W.R. Thackray, M.A.
 Mrs D. Thomas
 Dr and Mrs M.W. Thompson
 B.D. Threlfall Esq., MA, C.ENG., M.I.C.E., F.F.B.
 J.B. Threlfall Esq.
 Mrs R.C. Thrush
 Mrs L.A. Tinkler
 L. Tonks Esq.
 Dr T.C. Tribe
 Dr D.H. Trump, MA, F.S.A.
 Mr and Mrs M.G. Underwood
 S.G. Upex Esq.
 A.B. Vickery Esq., M.A.
 Mr and Mrs G.A. Wait
 R.F. Walker Esq.
 D.B. Wallace Esq., M.A.
 R.C.T. Warboys Esq.
 C.E.H.P. Warner Esq., M.A.
 Dr J.S. Waterhouse
 Superintendent L.A. Waters, M.A.
 Mrs G. Watts
 Mrs N. Waylett
 Dr H.G. Wayment, O.B.E., MA, Litt.D., F.S.A.
 A. Webb Esq.
 M.J. Webb Esq.
 Mrs K. Wehrle
 C. Went Esq.
 Miss E.H. Whetham, M.A.
 Dr and Mrs D.J. White
 Mrs P.J. White
 Miss L.I. Wicker
 J.C. Wilkerson Esq.
 Mrs N. Wilkes

Mr and Mrs P.S. Wilkins
D.R. Wilson Esq., M.A., B.Litt., F.S.A.
J. Wilson Esq.
R. Wolfe Esq.
A. Woodger Esq.
Mrs C.A. Woodhouse
P. Woudhuysen Esq., M.A.
Mr and Mrs T.S. Wyatt
Mrs S. Yealland, M.B., B.S.
W.G. Zajac Esq.
Dr P.N.R. Zutshi, M.A., F.S.A.

Affiliated societies

Buckden Local History Society
Cambridge Archaeology Field Group
Cambridge National Trust Association
Cambridge Society for Industrial Archaeology
Cambridgeshire County Record Office
(Cambridge Branch)
Cambridgeshire County Record Office
(Huntingdon Branch)
Cambridgeshire Historic Churches Trust
Cambridgeshire Local History Society
Cambridgeshire Police Historical Society
Ely and District Archaeological Society
Haddenham Project Group
Haverhill and District Archaeological Group
The Historical Association
Huntingdonshire Local History Society
The King's School, Ely
Linton Village College
Longsands Museum Association
March and District Museum Society
The National Horseracing Museum
The Pampisford Society
Rampton Village Society
Royston and District History Society
St Neot's Local History Society
Sawtry and District Archaeological and
Conservation Society
Staine Hundred
Stamford Library
Swavesey and District History Society
West Wickham Local History Club
Wisbech Society and Preservation Trust
Workers' Educational Association
Cambridgeshire Federation

Copyright deposit

Eire

Trinity College Library, Dublin

U.K.

Bodleian Library, Oxford
British Library, London

Cambridge University Library, Cambridge
National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth

Exchange agreements

Argentina

Biblioteca, Facultad de Ciencias Naturales y
Museo, La Plata

Austria

Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien, Vienna

Belgium

Institut Archéologique Liégeois, Liège

Burma

Burma Research Society, Rangoon

Czechoslovakia

Archaeologica Pragensia, Prague
Archaeological Institute of the CSAV, Prague

Denmark

Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab,
Copenhagen
Statsbiblioteket, Aarhus

Eire

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin

Finland

Finnish Antiquarian Society, Helsinki

France

Centre de Recherches Archéologiques, Lyons
Centre de Recherches Protohistoriques,
Université de Paris I, Paris
Centre Regional Archéologique d'Alet, Saint
Malo
Ogam – Tradition Celtique, Rennes
Société Archéologique de Touraine, Tours
Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France,
Paris
Société Polymathique du Morbihan, Morbihan
Société Préhistorique de l'Ariège, Foix

Germany

Archaeologische Nachrichten aus Baden,
Freiburg
Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut,
Frankfurt am Main
Gäubodenmuseum Straubing, Straubing
Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film,
Göttingen
Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg,
Stuttgart

- Museum und Forschungstelle für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Schwerin, Schwerin
Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hannover
- Hungary
Janus Pannonius Múzeum, Pécs
Mora Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged
- India
Government Museum, Madras
- Italy
Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiano, Rome
Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche, Florence
- Japan
University of Tokyo, Tokyo
- Netherlands
Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, Amsterdam
Provincial Museum van Drenthe, Assen
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden
Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden
Rijksdienst voor Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, Amersfoort
- Norway
Arkeologisk Museum i Stavanger, Stavanger
Royal University Library, Oslo
Universitetsbiblioteket i Bergen, Bergen
- Poland
Muzeum Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne, Lodz
Polskie Towarzystwo Antropologiczne, Poznan
Slavia Antiqua, Poznan
University Library, Warsaw
- Portugal Museu Nacional do Arqueologia e Etnologia, Lisbon
Real Sociedade Arqueologica Lusitana, Santiago do Cacem
- Romania
Muzeul Judetean Satu Mare, Satu Mare
- South Africa
South African Archaeological Society, Cape Town
- Spain
Servicio de Investigaciones, Valencia
- Sweden
Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm
Malmo Museum, Malmo
University Library of Lund, Lund
- Switzerland
Universitätsbibliothek, Basel
Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zurich, Zurich
- U.K.
Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club, Bangor
Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, Durham
Berkshire Archaeological Society, Reading
Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society, Birmingham
Bournemouth Natural Science Society, Bournemouth
Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society, Bradford
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Gloucester
Cambrian Archaeological Association, Cardiff
Chester and North Wales Architectural, Archaeological and Historical Society, Chester
Council for British Archaeology, London
Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Carlisle
Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Derby
Devon Archaeological Society, Exeter
Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, Dorchester
East Hertfordshire Archaeological Society, Hertford
Essex Archaeological Society, Colchester
Flintshire Historical Society, Mold
Glasgow Archaeological Society, Glasgow
Hampshire Field Club, Southampton
Institute of Archaeology, University of London, London
Kent Archaeological Society, Rochester
La Société Jersiaise, Jersey
Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Manchester
Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, Leicester
Lincoln Local Historical Society, Lincoln
London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, London
Montgomeryshire Collections, Welshpool
Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, Norwich
North Staffordshire Field Club, Stoke on Trent
North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies, Keele
Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, Oxford
Queen's University, Belfast

- Shropshire Archaeological Society,
Shrewsbury
- Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne,
Newcastle upon Tyne
- Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh
- Society of Antiquaries, London
- Somerset Archaeological and Natural History
Society, Taunton
- Staffordshire Record Society, Stafford
- Surrey Archaeological Society, Guildford
- Sussex Archaeological Society, Lewes
- Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire,
Nottingham
- Wiltshire Archaeological Society, Devizes
- Wisbech Society and Preservation Trust,
Wisbech
- Woolhope Naturalist Field Club, Leominster
- Worcester Archaeological Society, Worcester
- Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds
- U.S.A.**
- Robert S. Peabody Foundation, Andover
- University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor
- University of California, Berkeley
- Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
- American Museum of Natural History, New York
- Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological
Research, New York
- University Museum, Philadelphia
- Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian
Institution, Washington
- U.S.S.R.**
- Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Socialist
Republics, Moscow
- Arkeologiceskil Muzel, Odessa
- Institute for Scientific Information on the
Social Sciences of the U.S.S.R. Academy of
Sciences, Moscow
- Venezuela**
- Instituto Caribe de Anthropologia y Sociologia,
Caracas
- Yugoslavia**
- Institut Archeologique de l'Academie Serbe des
Sciences, Belgrade
- Musej Slavonkije, Csijek
- Subscribing institutions**
- Australia**
- State Library of Victoria, Melbourne
- Reid Library, Nedlands
- Belgium**
- Librairie Justus Lipsius, Brussels
- Canada**
- Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
- France**
- Bibliotheque d'art et d'archéologie, Paris
- Italy**
- Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome
- Universita Cattolica del S. Cuore, Milan
- Netherlands**
- Boekhandel Synthese, The Hague
- Norway**
- Universitetets Samling av Nordiske Oldsaker,
Oslo
- Universitetetsbiblioteket i Oslo, Oslo
- U.K.**
- B.H. Blackwell Ltd, Oxford,(11 copies)
- Birmingham Central Library, Birmingham
- Birmingham University Library, Birmingham
- Borthwick Institute of Historical Research,
University of York, York
- British Library Lending Division, Boston Spa
- Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Leeds
- Cambridge City Library, Cambridge
- Cambridge University Board of Extra-Mural
Studies, Cambridge
- Cambridgeshire County Council, Cambridge
- Cambridgeshire County Libraries,
Peterborough Division, Peterborough
- Cambridgeshire Libraries, Eastern Division,
March
- Cambridgeshire Libraries, Huntingdon
Division, Huntingdon
- Castle Museum, Norwich
- Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
- Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities,
British Museum, London
- Department of Prehistoric and Romano British
Antiquities, British Museum, London
- Emmanuel College, Cambridge
- Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
- Girton College, Cambridge
- Glasgow University Library, Glasgow
- Guildhall Library, London
- Haddon Library, Faculty of Archaeology and
Anthropology, Cambridge
- Hubert Wilson Ltd, Margate
- Institute of Historical Research, University of
London, London
- John Rylands Library, University of
Manchester, Manchester
- Leicester University Library, Leicester
- Leicestershire Museums, Leicester
- Lincolnshire Museums, Lincoln
- Manchester Public Library, Manchester

Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge
National Monuments Record, Royal

Commission on Historical Monuments,
Southampton

Norfolk Archaeological Unit, Gressenhall
Norfolk County Libraries, Norwich

Norris Library and Museum, Huntingdon
Peterborough Museum Society, Peterborough
Public Record Office, London

Reading University Library, Reading

Royal Commission for Historical Monuments,
Trumpington, Cambridge

St David's University College, Lampeter

St John's College, Cambridge

Suffolk Archaeological Institute, Bury St
Edmunds

Sydney Jones Library, University of Liverpool,
Liverpool

The London Library, London

Trinity College, Cambridge

University of London Library, London

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Wisbech Museum and Literary Institution,
Wisbech

U.S.A.

Alexander Library, Rutgers State University,
New Brunswick

Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne

Boston Public Library, Boston

Chicago University Library, Chicago

Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public
Library, Cincinnati

Dallas Public Library, Dallas

Davis Library, University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

Detroit Public Library, Detroit

Duke University Library, Durham

Family History Library, Salt Lake City

Getty Center Library, Santa Monica

Green Library, Stanford University, Stanford

Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins
University, Baltimore,

Newberry Library, Chicago

Princeton University Library, Princeton

United Garrett Seabury Western Evangelical
Library, Evanston

Cambridge and the antiquaries, 1500–1840¹

C.N.L. Brooke

It is our pleasant Cambridge habit to lay a special claim to anyone who has ever lived or studied here, however briefly. In this highly selective review of some of the notable Cambridge antiquaries of the three and half centuries which led up to the foundation of our Society I have tried to avoid a long catalogue of names and, in particular to leave aside the birds of passage.² But that is not so easily done. Thus, one cannot set aside Sir Henry Spelman, who only resided here (so far as I know) during his undergraduate years in Trinity in the 1570s and 80s; but he kept in touch and showed at times a deep interest in Cambridge; and forms a crucial link between the era of the sixteenth-century antiquaries and the great days of the scientific revolution of the late seventeenth century.³

I start, in effect, in the 1530s. The first reformation, Henry VIII's break with Rome, was partly the work of politicians and courtiers, partly of divines; and the central corps of divines, of whom the eldest was an obscure fellow of Jesus called Thomas Cranmer, were the group whom we should call moderate

protestants who gathered round Queen Anne Boleyn and enjoyed her patronage in her brief period of ascendancy between 1533 and 1536.⁴ The most distinguished of these, apart from Cranmer, was Matthew Parker of Corpus, the most numerous were the fellows of Gonville Hall, who had inspired the conservative bishop of Norwich to grumble in 1530 in a famous phrase that 'no clerk . . . hath commen out lately of [Gonville Hall] but savoureth of the frying pan, though he speak never so holily'.⁵ The entrepreneur who introduced these young Cambridge men to Anne was a former student of Gonville Hall called William Butts, who had risen to be a leading royal physician and to sit for Holbein.⁶ It was Butts who sent the young John Caius to Padua to study medicine.⁷ In later life Caius was to return to England and build up a notable medical practice based on the city of London, to make a rapid fortune and spend it re-founding Gonville Hall as Gonville and Caius College, of which he became both founder and master. He was brilliant, devoted, and cantankerous; and his later years were far from happy, partly because he yearned for the good old days, and in ceremonies and the use of vestments he was a conservative in a college increasingly peopled with young protestant fellows. But there is no reason to suppose he was a Catholic in theology: all the indications are that like his more genial successor at Caius, Thomas Legge, he was tolerant of theological differences, and not indeed much

¹ A lecture given as part of the 150th anniversary celebrations of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society on 12 March 1990. I opened by expressing the delight and privilege of joining in the celebration and congratulating the President on navigating the Society into its fourth half century. Since Michael Thompson in his admirable book (Thompson 1990) and lecture covered the history of the Society, it seemed appropriate for me to talk of its prehistory.

² I should emphasize that it is highly selective. Thus several of the founders of the Society of Antiquaries, including William Stukeley himself and the Gales, were Cambridge men; and the links with Cambridge of the Gales were far from transitory (see the list in Evans 1956: 51–2); but Stukeley seems to have had little contact with Cambridge after taking his M.B. from Corpus in 1708 (on him see Piggott 1985; Evans 1956: 51–142 *passim*; *DNB*).

³ On Spelman see *DNB*; Powicke 1930; Cronne 1956.

⁴ See especially Dowling 1984; Ives 1986.

⁵ Quoted Brooke 1985: 51 (see page 52, note 1 for references).

⁶ Dowling 1984, especially 35, 38; Brooke 1985: 49–50, 56–7, and plate 13a.

⁷ For what follows Brooke 1985: chapter 4, and references.

interested in formal or controversial theology.⁸ As a young man he had very probably been happy to mingle with those who savoured of the frying pan, including Matthew Parker. It is certain that Caius and Parker were close friends in the 1560s and 70s when Parker was at Lambeth and Caius in Cambridge; it is probable that this friendship stemmed from the 1520s and 30s when they lived in neighbouring colleges and laid the first foundations of their antiquarian learning – it perhaps went even further back to their childhood in Norwich, where Parker was born in 1504, Caius in 1510.⁹

To Parker and Caius the Cambridge college was a remarkable stimulus to antiquarian zeal: Corpus and Gonville Hall were ancient corporations whose preservation was a sacred trust. Cambridge also rejoiced in such *parvenu* foundations as Jesus and John's, and naturally not everyone honoured the antique. In the 1530s the monasteries were destroyed, and even at that date Parker must have been aware of the potential loss of historical manuscripts which was threatening. In the 1540s the colleges nearly shared their fate; but in a dramatic *volte-face*, Henry VIII appointed as visitors men very different from Cromwell's lackeys who had prepared for the dissolution of the monasteries, men from the heart of the Oxford and Cambridge establishment, Richard Cox, first Dean of Christ Church, John Redman, Warden of the King's Hall (now Trinity) in Cambridge, William May, president of Queens', and Parker, Master of Corpus.¹⁰ It seems that Parker was responsible for the ingenious collection of college accounts which convinced Henry VIII and his greedy courtiers that they were so impoverished they were not worth dissolving;¹¹ and the outcome was the triumphant confirmation of the colleges, and something more. For if Parker combined moderate protestantism with a strong sense of tradition, Cox and Redman were made in a different mould. Cox is reputed to have had the whole manuscript collection of the university library at Oxford destroyed to purge it of ancient superstition.¹² Redman, the elder statesman of the Cambridge visitors and their

eminence grise, somehow inspired Henry to the idea of absorbing into Redman's own King's Hall her smaller neighbours, Michaelhouse and Physwick Hostel – a wholly owned subsidiary of Gonville Hall – and founding Trinity. But for the antiquarian zeal and generosity of John Caius it is very likely that Gonville Hall would have foundered as a result of this radical measure.

In Parker's mind the zeal for reform and the love of the past were inextricably mingled. Everyone, including Parker himself, seems to have been surprised when Elizabeth hurried him to Lambeth in 1559; yet she had simply chosen the most distinguished survivor of her mother's circle to be archbishop of Canterbury. In the event Elizabeth and Parker were not good friends; and the queen bullied him mercilessly.¹³ But Parker was no weakling; remarkably compounded of gentleness and strength, of charm and ruthlessness, of deep learning and credulity, of scholarly conscience and a breathtaking lack of scruple, he gathered a team of helpers and secretaries about him at Lambeth, led by John Josselin, and employed his leisure time in presiding over a seminar whose aim was to preserve and publish the historical records of early England – to preserve them from destruction, and publish them as evidence above all of the true and natural condition of the English church (as Parker imagined it) before it submitted to the wrongful tyranny of the bishop of Rome.¹⁴ It was very doubtful history but had some admirable consequences. In 1568 he inspired a Privy Council letter which disingenuously observed that the 'Queen's majesty' had 'like care and zeal as diverse of her progenitors have had before times for the conservation of . . . ancient records and monuments' formerly preserved in abbeys; and so the privy council announce her pleasure to all and sundry, 'which is, that the most reverend father in God, and our very good lord, the archbishop of Canterbury, should have special care and oversight in these matters aforesaid'.¹⁵ This greatly helped Parker in gathering his rich collection of manuscripts from many sources, including his own cathedral library at Canterbury – thus ensuring their preservation, to our undying gratitude, and greatly enriching the heritage of Corpus. The full story of his collections cannot now be unravelled; all that is certain is that Corpus received the largest single share, and that many other books have

⁸ On Caius and theology, Brooke 1985: 72–3; on Legge, Brooke 1985: 84–93; Brooke 1988, especially pp.113–14.

⁹ On Parker, see Strype 1711; Parker 1853; and especially Rupp 1977: chapter 6; on his books see especially Wright 1951.

¹⁰ Brooke, Highfield and Swaan 1988: 132–4, 152–3 and references.

¹¹ Parker 1853: 34–6, records his own account of the king's reaction to the accounts.

¹² Ker 1986: 466.

¹³ Rupp 1977: 79–81.

¹⁴ For Parker's historical work, see especially McKisack 1971: chapter 2.

¹⁵ Wright 1951: 212–13 (spelling modernized).

found their way into the Cotton and other collections.¹⁶ He showed touching devotion to his college, but more than a touch of realism towards a society which had lost all its own medieval library, by arranging for an annual inspection by the masters of Caius and Trinity Hall, who might hope to benefit if the fellows of Corpus were found wanting in execution of their charge.¹⁷

In a curiously confused manner Parker and his colleagues grasped quite firmly the principle that medieval chronicles were the stuff of history: firmly, in that it inspired them to the first systematic attempts to put into print the main chronicles of medieval England; confused, in that they saw no very clear distinction between primary and secondary material, and freely inserted into their editions of one chronicle extracts from another or reflections of their own; and Parker not only scribbled freely in his manuscripts with the famous red chalk with which all students of medieval English manuscripts are familiar – though it is far from clear how much is due to Parker, how much to his secretaries and his son – but added portions from other sources to complete the story.¹⁸ The edition of Asser was printed in a sort of Anglo-Saxon script most lovingly devised by Josselin; and it is a work of art. But when one contemplates the interpolations from the annals of St Neot's and Matthew Paris with which it is adorned or disfigured, one can hardly call it a work of scholarship.¹⁹ Yet the idea that history comprises the sources – that the way to grasp the materials for the past is to edit them in a form which enables the student to understand the shape of the history he is studying – has considerable merits, and was taken up by Henry Wharton and others in the heyday of the seventeenth century.

Parker's most significant effort was his *De antiquitate Britannicae ecclesiae*, on the antiquity of the British Church, printed three years before his death, in 1572. His we must call it, and he described in his dedication to William Cecil (Lord Burghley) how he had been 'so spending my wasteful time within mine own walls, till almighty God shall call me out of this tabernacle'; but it was not *his* time only which was spent on it, for most of it seems to have been written by Josselin (who later complained that the archbishop had given him too little credit for his works), and some of it by at least

one other of the circle.²⁰ In 1568 John Caius had printed his similarly titled *De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae*, on the antiquity of the University of Cambridge, attributing it with remarkable effrontery to a citizen of London – for it is in fact a tract designed to prove the claim that Cambridge is older than Oxford, a project in which he had help and encouragement from the archbishop.²¹ Caius' other antiquarian study, his history of the University of Cambridge, has much sound learning in it; and at its best it can be set beside his work on the text of Galen which a recent study by Dr Vivian Nutton has shown to reveal considerable scholarly acumen.²² There are occasional moments of fantasy, as in his list of the medieval chancellors of Cambridge. The draft statutes for his own college made by Edmund Gonville about 1350 had a space for the confirmation by the chancellor; and since chancellors were coming and going with alarming rapidity in the age of the Black Death he was given a cipher instead of a name: 'A de B'. This was misread by the scribe of the fifteenth-century cartulary of the college as 'A de G' who was triumphantly expanded by Dr Caius into Anthony of Grantchester²³ – Caius in honour (we may think) of his adopted city of Padua, Grantchester from a source nearer home. Anthony of Grantchester had a long innings; he is in the *VCH*. But he never existed. This is a mild flutter, however, compared with the *De antiquitate*, which is a miracle of perverted learning, based on a magnificent list of irrelevant authorities. The Carmelite historian of Cambridge of the early fifteenth century, Nicholas Canteloupe, had celebrated (or invented) the work of the Spanish prince Cantaber in founding Cambridge in the very remote past – early enough for Paris, Oxford and Cologne to be daughter-universities of Cambridge; and this doctrine had been repeated by the best authorities, probably including John Fisher, thus setting in perspective the Oxford claim to have been founded by King Alfred.²⁴ To this story Caius added a farrago of nonsense. His antiquarian learning, like his medicine, was a curious mixture of sense and nonsense, though

¹⁶ See especially Wright 1951.

¹⁷ James 1909–12: I, xii–xiv; cf. Brooke 1985: 34, note 63.

¹⁸ Wright 1951: 228–9.

¹⁹ McKisack 1971: 42–3.

²⁰ McKisack 1971: 44–8 (spelling modernized).

²¹ The edition of 1574 and the *Hist.* are reprinted in Caius 1912.

²² Nutton 1987.

²³ Brooke 1985: 10–11.

²⁴ On Canteloupe or Cantelow see Emden 1963: 120; his *Historiola* is in Hearne 1719: 253–80, which includes the remarkable series of forged papal bulls. For texts of the speech attributed to Fisher see Underwood 1989: 43, note 22; Lewis 1855, II, 263–72, especially p. 267.

his medical practice was based on better authorities than Canteloupe and stood the test — from which his kind of history was marvellously exempt — of experience.

The example set by Parker of preserving manuscripts and editing chronicles was carried on in the next generation by Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Henry Savile. But Cotton's learning was of the Inns of Court and the gatherings of Antiquaries in London; and Savile was Warden of Merton. So we must hasten past them. Savile was a notable character and a great benefactor to Merton and Oxford; generous, attractive, bombastic and preposterous all at once, he is in some respects the John Caius of Oxford.²⁵ His learning was universal, and he is best remembered for his interest in astronomy. But his notable collection of chronicles published in 1596 provided tolerable texts of some of the best twelfth century chroniclers and rescued the chronicle of Æthelweard, for the only known manuscript was to be consumed in the Cotton fire of 1731.²⁶ Savile perpetrated some grotesque errors, but at least his editions are better than Parker's. Cotton's contribution to antiquarian learning was very similar to Parker's, for he is remembered above all as a book-collector. He and the circle of antiquaries who gathered round him in intense discussion and debate provided materials and insights which raised scholarship to a higher plane altogether; but not all at once.²⁷ Cotton shared Parker's devotion to ecclesiastical history; but he was equally committed to parliament. He was especially interested in the fourteenth-century spoof — as we know it to be — the *Modus tenendi parliamentum*, the method of holding parliament; and he possessed no less than eight manuscripts of it.²⁸ This book describes in dead-pan fashion parliament — not as it was truly held in the fourteenth century, when the book was written, but as it was to work in the dreams of Pym and Hampden in the 1640s; it was heady stuff. Be this as it may, Cotton was a true antiquary with a passion for anything antique; and we owe him a debt equal to that we owe to Parker. But his interest in parliament proved his undoing, and James I came to frown on Cotton and his circle and even separated him from his library in his later years.

²⁵ Brooke, Highfield and Swaan 1988: 176–7 and references.

²⁶ Leaving only fragments behind: Campbell 1962: ix–xii.

²⁷ See especially Wright 1958; on Cotton, Sharpe 1979; for what follows, see also Brooke 1985: 144 and refs.; Evans 1956: chapter 1.

²⁸ Pronay and Taylor 1980: 118, 202–4.

Meanwhile in the same circle a young man not long down from Cambridge called Henry Spelman, of scholarly tastes and of a much more acute and critical mind than Cotton or Savile, was learning the lessons his elders could furnish and pursuing his own path to an understanding of medieval England.²⁹ Henry Spelman enjoyed the education normal to men of means: he was an undergraduate at Trinity, Cambridge, and he studied and ate dinners in the Inns of Court. He grew up to be a country gentleman who lived on his ample estates in Norfolk; he was also a very conscientious JP and for a time member of parliament, and he spent most of his later years in London. As a young man he fell in with the members of the first Society of Antiquaries, who helped to form his tastes. But his scholarly interests developed on lines of his own, and although he remained in touch with other scholars, especially in Cambridge and London, and was the revered master of many later scholars including his son Sir John Spelman, his virtue as a scholar largely lay in his capacity to follow his own thoughts and interests and enquiries wherever they might lead him. They sometimes led him into deep waters. His unhappy experience in lawsuits over the former sites and properties of two local monasteries led him to a deep investigation into the history of sacrilege and the fate of those who had acquired monastic lands; his *History of Sacrilege* combines a very simple traditional interpretation of divine judgement with considerable antiquarian learning.³⁰ Often his studies led him to good works and the patronage of other good scholars. On a visit to Cambridge he encountered a most remarkable character called Abraham Whelock, university librarian and lecturer in Arabic (recently brought to life by John Oates in volume 1 of the *History of the Cambridge University Library*); and he rapidly found that Whelock was just the man to help him in his Anglo-Saxon studies, and he employed him first as amanuensis then as lecturer in Anglo-Saxon. Whelock was a notable eccentric, lovable and exasperating, fussy and gentle, 'timorous' as he described himself, yet persistent.³¹ Of him Thomas Baker was to write:

So vast a knowledge had this thoughtfull soul for words and languages . . . being able to be the

²⁹ On Spelman, see *DNB*; Powicke 1930; Cronne 1956; Cronne 1961: 43–5; Pocock 1957: chapter 5.

³⁰ Spelman 1698; the new edition of 1846, partly rewritten 'by two priests of the Church of England', is a literary curiosity.

³¹ Oates 1986: 179; cf. the whole of chap. 7.

interpreter generally not only for the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, or of the Wise Men to Herod, but to Mankind, and to serve as the Universal Character; being by the way . . . the likeliest man to make one'³².

The pursuit of Anglo-Saxon grew out of one of Spelman's most characteristic interests, in the early history of the English Church. To this end he gathered materials for his *Concilia*, his collection of early English councils and church legislation – and one might say church history in general – which was to be completed (with the piety and energy of a good disciple, though with less than Spelman's critical skill) by William Dugdale.³³ Dugdale's *Monasticon* and *Baronage* are still a part of the equipment of every serious historical library. Spelman's *Concilia* has earned the compliment of being replaced – first by David Wilkins' *Concilia* in the eighteenth century, then by *Councils and Synods* in the twentieth. He was working in the generation before Dom Jean Mabillon, the great French Benedictine scholar who was the central figure of the scientific revolution as it impinged on historical scholarship, and who founded the science of diplomatic; and so Spelman had no knowledge of the ways of medieval forgers.³⁴ Ingulf's imaginary history of Crowland puzzled him: he saw that all was not right with it; but he quite failed to realize it was a spoof, and it led him into some strange errors. Similarly he based his study of early royal seals partly on the products of the Westminster forgers of the twelfth century – but so did everyone else until Dr Chaplais exposed their origin in the 1950s and 60s. With somewhat uncertain steps, Spelman laid the foundations for the study of Anglo-Saxon charters. Apart from the *Concilia* his most notable work lay in the studies of medieval legal vocabulary – the *Glossarium archatologicum*, also partly published by Spelman, partly by Dugdale; and his essay on the origin of feudal tenure 'Of feuds and tenures by knight service'.³⁵ In the words of F.W. Maitland,

were an examiner to ask who introduced the feudal system into England? one very good answer, if properly explained, would be Henry Spelman, and if there followed the question, what was the feudal system? a good answer to that would be, an early

essay in comparative jurisprudence. Spelman reading continental books saw that English law, for all its insularity, was a member of a great European family, a family between all the members of which there are strong family likenesses.³⁶

This was a remarkable historical breakthrough, and prepared the way for Spelman's two most fundamental contributions to English history.³⁷ The first was his perception that the Norman conquest marked a radical break in the history of tenure and of law – that the myth very popular with common lawyers in the seventeenth century that the roots of their discipline lay in the mists of time, that is, far back in pre-conquest England, was profoundly misleading; in its essence it was the product of the royal courts of the twelfth and later centuries. The second was developed in the *Glossarium* in his study of the origin of parliament. He saw that it derived from assemblies summoned by the king in the thirteenth century, and that the doctrine of the *Modus* that it existed fully fledged in the reign of Edward the Confessor was a myth. Both these perceptions were to be given much clearer and sharper focus by Robert Brady.

Henry Spelman died in 1641, fortunate to escape the worst of the Civil War. In 1644 Robert Brady entered Caius as sizar. Later in the same year he was joined by Charles Spelman and in 1645 by Roger Spelman, sons of Sir John and grandsons of Sir Henry. To Roger the Caius library owes its copy of Spelman's *Concilia*; it may well be that Brady owed his antiquarian interests and his deep respect for Henry Spelman in part to this family connection.³⁸ But first he passed through a normal scholastic course and prepared for a medical training; next the young Robert Brady, evidently a royalist from an early age, found himself caught up in politics. His brother Edmund was hanged as a royalist 'traitor' in 1650; Robert had a spell of exile, a brief return to Cambridge, then imprisonment at Yarmouth. In 1660 he had his reward. The aged Master of Caius who had been ejected in the Puritan revolution, briefly returned to office, and in December 1660 he and King Charles II jointly arranged the succession of Robert Brady – once the Master's sizar, now a young physician aged 33. He was Master of Caius till his death in 1700; but he was many other things besides. He was a country gentleman

³² Oates 1986: 175.

³³ Spelman 1639–64; see especially Powicke 1930. For what follows, see Wilkins 1737; Whitclock, Brett and Brooke 1981.

³⁴ Cronne 1956: 81–3. On Mabillon see Knowles 1963: chapter 10; Mabillon 1681. On the Westminster forgers (below) see Bishop and Chaplais 1957: xix–xxiv; Chaplais 1962.

³⁵ Spelman 1626, 1664, 1687; Spelman 1698: 1–46.

³⁶ Maitland 1908: 142.

³⁷ For what follows, see Cronne 1956: 85–7; Pocock 1950–2: 191–2, 194–5; Brooke 1985: 141, 144–5.

³⁸ Brooke 1985: 141–2; for what follows, see *ibid.* chap.8, especially pp.145–7.

cultivating his estate in Norfolk. He was Regius Professor of Physic – following Francis Glisson in 1671. He was a royal physician at times much occupied in the illnesses of Charles II and the vagaries of James II. He was one of the professional witnesses to the birth of the Old Pretender in 1688.³⁹ One or two of these activities might have filled a man's life; yet it is for none of them that we honour Robert Brady in this context, but as one of the most eminent of archivists and medieval historians of the age of the scientific revolution.

In the 1950s Brady was rediscovered by J.G.A. Pocock for his interest in the history of ideas, as a scholar who used his knowledge of early English history to destroy the fantasies of the Whig common lawyers and provide a historical foundation for the Tory view of kingship; as a writer of exceptional verve and a controversialist of redoubtable skill, and a notable scholar.⁴⁰ Hitherto he had been strangely neglected. It is not clear to me why the senior fellows of Calus, engaged in developing their Barnwell estate in the 1880s and 90s, honoured Harvey and Glisson with roads, but not Brady. But I imagine his fame had been tarnished by his association with James II and by Venn's belief, which was hardly fair, that he was largely an absentee master.⁴¹ Among historians, the younger Caian of the same age, Henry Wharton, is better known, for we still use his *Anglia Sacra*, while our Victorian forebears rather foolishly neglected the innumerable historical facts gathered in Brady's books. Foolishly, because Brady was not only a brilliant historical pamphleteer; he was the supreme master of historical fact and of the details of medieval political history among the great scholars of the seventeenth century. His *Complete History of England* from Julius Caesar to Richard II can still be used, anyway from the Norman Conquest to the end of the fourteenth century, as a basic reference book for English political history.⁴² He had learned, above all from the writings of Henry Spelman, of the major narrative and record sources; and the full riches of the public records had doubtless been in some measure revealed to him by the writings of William Prynne, whom Brady was to succeed as Keeper of the Public Records. There could hardly be a greater contrast. Prynne was the absurd, extravagant, heroic Puritan, who spent long years among the records, sorting

them, in his own description, 'into distinct confused heaps' – while, as Aubrey tells us, his man fetched a pot of ale from time to time 'to refocillate his wasted spirits' – and displaying in his books a mind as disorderly as the heaps, but shot through with a depth of learning unequalled by any keeper or deputy keeper of public records till Duffus Hardy.⁴³ Brady was second in learning only to Prynne; but he combined with his deep and first-hand knowledge of the public records – he used amanuenses but did much original work himself – an extremely well-ordered, urbane and subtle mind, so that his books combine to an exceptional degree the dry-as-dust of the scientific historian with the vigour of the born pamphleteer. It is fascinating to compare his account of the Norman Conquest and the royal succession in Brady's books and in Freeman's *Norman Conquest* two hundred years later.⁴⁴ In real understanding of how things worked in eleventh-century England, in grasp of the documentary records, Brady is the master. Freeman, for all his learning and insight, had the disadvantage of being a Victorian liberal, and his account of the democratic workings of the Anglo-Saxon witan is at times pure fantasy. Brady had the advantage of deep study of Spelman's writings. He knew before he began that the Conquest marked a deep crevasse in the legal, political and social history of England, and that Parliament was no offshoot of the witan, but a creation of the thirteenth-century kings. But it was not all based on Spelman.

In 1688–9 the Whigs triumphed and Brady ceased to be a royal physician; ceased also to be keeper, to have access even, to the public records. He trimmed his sails to the glorious revolution sufficiently to preserve his college and some of his colleagues who showed a tendency to be non-jurors, from the storms which blew. He was able to continue writing, though now more often from the safe distance of his Cambridge Lodge than from his London lodgings. But in the previous fifteen or twenty years he had been assiduous in his study of the documents in his care. Long after 1689 the special place in the Exchequer of Receipt where Brady read Domesday Book was still recalled – as Elizabeth Hallam pointed out in her *Domesday Book through nine centuries*, in which she does justice to him for the first time as a very notable pioneer of Domesday

39 Brooke 1985: 126 and note 76.

40 Pocock 1950–2; Pocock 1957: chapter 8.

41 See Venn 1901: 107; but see Brooke 1985: 145–6.

42 Brady 1685, 1700; cf. Brady 1684.

43 See Brooke 1968: 7, and p.28 for references, especially to Aubrey 1898, II, 174.

44 For Freeman's account of the role of the Witan in the royal succession see Brooke 1967: 22–4.

studies.⁴⁵ In Brady's books *Domesday*, the great twelfth-century chroniclers and the rich deposits of the thirteenth and fourteenth-century patent and close rolls first received systematic attention from a scholar of orderly mind. In the process the territory precariously won by Henry Spelman was consolidated and set on firm foundations.

In 1680 the young Henry Wharton entered Caius, and in the fifteen years of life which remained to him he was to compile the *Anglia Sacra* and numerous other works of learning and polemic. It is an astonishing achievement, even allowing that he was an ardent young scholar who worked at breakneck speed. It seems almost certain that he was already laying the foundations of his later work while studying at Caius, and very probable too that like the young Francis Blomefield, the Norfolk antiquary of the next generation, he had privileged access to the College library and made good use of it.⁴⁶ Wharton in fact attempted for the history of the English church what Brady was achieving for the history of the kings and kingdom. We can hardly doubt that the Master influenced and in some sense helped and encouraged the young scholar. Yet there is strikingly little evidence of any close or abiding relationship between them: Wharton, in the surviving parts of his autobiography, never mentions Brady, and in the introduction to *Anglia Sacra*, he seems to refer to him as anonymously as possible.⁴⁷ One cannot help suspecting that they were not good friends. Wharton left Caius without a fellowship and worked for a time for William Cave, the Johnian ecclesiastical historian. He then attached himself to another notable Cambridge scholar, William Sancroft, formerly Master of Emmanuel, now archbishop of Canterbury, and became Sancroft's close disciple and chaplain. Hence the most celebrated incident of his life, when the royal chaplains came to Lambeth early in 1689 to demand that the archbishop publicly recognize the new regime. Sancroft rather unkindly left Wharton to say the prayers in the palace chapel that day – and he prayed for William and Mary, to the archbishop's intense indignation, and subsequently took the oath of allegiance to them.⁴⁸ The young

chaplain was unstable and insecure, longing to have the favour of the new regime while retaining the friendship of the archbishop. Sancroft subsequently forgave him so far as to accept the dedication of *Anglia Sacra*; yet Wharton, deprived of the full confidence of his master and of all the benefits of his patronage, which were confiscated by the new regime, never recovered (it seems) from the anxieties of the revolution; he died aged thirty in 1695. In *Anglia Sacra* (1691) he had conceived an idea which grew naturally out of Matthew Parker's work, that is to say to reveal the early history of the English church by publishing the relevant chronicles and biographies; and it is because Wharton published the sources themselves – including a number which have never yet been re-edited – that he is still so well known to English medievalists. He had also inherited some of Parker's high-handedness and the sources are treated with considerable freedom – not interpolated or rewritten, but abbreviated and knocked into shape to fit his scheme. There are naturally many signs of the haste with which the work was done. He was hardly aware of the shadow which has dogged more recent scholars – whose life has been made a misery, as Sir Roger Mynors once observed to me with a twinkle 'by the unfortunate necessity of getting it more or less right'. But *Anglia Sacra* remains a monument of learning, for he had an extraordinary knowledge of the narrative sources for all the English sees, and a sense of form and method which has given the book a lasting value.

To the historian of today the next generation is best remembered for the work of Thomas Madox, who laid the foundation of English diplomatic, Humphrey Wanley, the great palaeographer and one of the founders of the Society of Antiquaries, or Thomas Hearne, the eccentric non-juror.⁴⁹ Many of us have had the experience of discovering a precious pearl of a medieval record only to find that Hearne had printed it in an irrelevant appendix to one of his many volumes of texts. But none of these were Cambridge men; nor can Cambridge in the age of Richard Bentley – the greatest classical scholar in Europe – claim any antiquary quite of the stature of Brady and Wharton. Yet it

⁴⁵ Hallam 1986: 124–7, 191, especially p. 126.

⁴⁶ Brooke 1985: 147–50; Douglas 1951: chapter 7; D'Oyly 1821, II, 105–54. For his works see especially Wharton 1691. On Blomefield see below, note 62; and for the fruit of his early work, Blomefield 1750.

⁴⁷ D'Oyly 1821, II, 105–24 prints what survives of the autobiography; for an oblique reference to Brady see Wharton 1691, I: ix; cf. Brooke 1985: 149 and note 32.

⁴⁸ Brooke 1985: 149 and note 30, citing D'Oyly, II, 135–7.

⁴⁹ On these see especially Douglas 1951. With great reluctance I have omitted William Stukeley, co-founder with Wanley and others of the Society of Antiquaries, and the most eccentric, learned, ambivalent figure of all – whose intellectual curiosity yet paved the way for a wide variety of antiquarian and archaeological studies. He was at Corpus from 1704 to 1708 (Piggott 1985: 29–31), but there is little evidence of him in Cambridge thereafter, though he lived at Stamford not far away. See above, note 2.

enjoyed in Thomas Baker of St John's a man who had many of Hearne's qualities and yet was altogether a more attractive character.

Brady and Wharton, in their different ways, had conformed in 1689 and taken the oaths to William and Mary. Brady's acceptance of the revolution seems to have carried the College. He was able to assure the authorities that all but two of the fellows had taken the oaths, and of the two one was out of his wits and the other out of Cambridge.⁵⁰ But in St John's things were different. At the Restoration the eminent Anglican divine Peter Gunning had been presented as Master by the king, and he fostered a tradition of high Anglicanism mingled with devotion to the monarchy which would have been labelled Laudian a generation before. He also attended with devoted care to the chapel music: to his regime above all St John's owes its endowed choir and continuous tradition of organ music, which survived the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries when most services in most college chapels were said.⁵¹ Under Gunning and his successors, Francis Turner and Humphrey Gower, who was the very type of the poacher turned gamekeeper (from Gunning's point of view) – in other words, a man of Puritan pedigree turned high Anglican – St John's was the nursery of devout high churchmen; and no less than three of the seven bishops who resisted James II's efforts at toleration were Johnians. In 1693 the Master was ordered 'to eject twenty of the fellows who had refused the oath of allegiance to William III and Mary'. The master had taken the oath and, like Brady, was determined to protect his colleagues. So he did nothing, and was haled into court. Gower argued that a fellowship was a freehold 'and Magna Carta and many other statutes forbade a man to be put out of his freehold save by due process of law.'⁵² The argument suggests that he had antiquarian advisers among his non-juring colleagues, as well as a doughty ally in the obscurity of the common law – for the case failed owing to a technical flaw and the fellows remained in possession of their freeholds until 1717, when a more stringent demand for an oath to the Hanoverian succession led to the resignation of the surviving non-jurors. Among these was Thomas Baker. A non-juror in 1689 and in 1717, Baker was at last compelled to resign his fellowship and ever after 'inscribed his books

socius ejectus; but,' as Edward Miller observes in his history of St John's, 'his severance from the college was far from complete. He continued to reside in third court until the afternoon in 1740 when he was found lying in his rooms, his tobacco pipe broken by his side.'⁵³ In a few days he was dead; but his books lived on, for he left them to the college. He also had a portrait of John Cosin, the fiery and energetic Laudian divine, who had been a fellow of Caius in the 1620s, master of Peterhouse in the 1630s, and after heroic exile, bishop of Durham at the Restoration – and we may well suppose that Cosin and Gunning were the gods of Baker's early life who inspired him to his lifelong devotion to the cause of church and king, that is, of the Stuart king. Baker left the portrait of Cosin to Mr Burrough, the Tory tutor, later Master of Caius – himself an antiquary and patron of Blomefield – and today it hangs in the Caius hall.⁵⁴ Materials for a biography of Baker were collected after his death by Zachary Gray and edited and published in 1784 by Masters. Baker set out on a normal clerical career: fellow of St John's in 1679, deacon 1685, priest, 1689, rector of Long Newton. But presently James II made a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience; and many and deep as were the virtues of the Anglican divines of the seventeenth century, toleration was rarely among them. He resigned his rectory and retired on to his fellowship, and spent all the remainder of his days in his college. Later in life he became 'almost a recluse, and seldom went farther than the college walks'.⁵⁵ He thus had ample leisure for his life work, which was to collect the materials for the history of St John's and of Cambridge. Baker is familiar to scholars from the many volumes of his manuscript notes and transcripts which were divided between the Harleian collection (and so are now in the British Library) and the Cambridge University Library; and here one may find ample traces of the unfinished project for collections on the antiquities of Cambridge – *Collectanea de antiquitatibus Cantabrigtenstibus*. Everyone since who has worked seriously on Cambridge has used them, and they formed the basis for innumerable entries in Cooper's *Annals*, which comprise in a measure Baker's project realized in print. Baker's History of St John's was eventually prepared for press by one of the notable Cambridge eccentrics and antiquaries of the later nineteenth century, J.E.B. Mayor, University Librarian and Professor of Latin,

⁵⁰ Brooke 1985: 151.

⁵¹ Miller 1961: 43. Gunning's will, describing how he and others endowed the 'quire' of St John's is in Public Record Office, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 89 Hare (dated 25 August 1679, proved 26 July 1684).

⁵² Miller 1961: 44–5.

⁵³ Miller 1961: 45; on Baker see Masters 1784; DNB.

⁵⁴ Masters 1784: 135; cf. Vern 1901: 293.

⁵⁵ Masters 1784: 108.

who attached to Baker's work, which is relatively orderly and concise, an infinite collection of discursive notes, at once maddening and enchanting, as I believe Mayor was himself.⁵⁶ Thus Baker is in a sense the most parochial of my specimens; yet not so parochial as the titles of his projects suggest, for among his collections are materials of much wider interest; and in the care and precision of his work, like Hearne, he showed an innate tendency towards accuracy which seems hardly fair to those of us who have to struggle endlessly in the attempt 'to get it more or less right'.

I might very naturally pass on from Thomas Baker to the great Tory antiquary of the next generation, William Cole of Clare and King's, who from his rectories at Bletchley and Milton continued Baker's history of St John's, and compiled a like collection of antiquarian notes and transcripts – and whose witty and mordant comments on all and sundry Cambridge worthies of his age have left them blackened for ever.⁵⁷ I could go on to Charles Cooper, whose *Annals* and *Memorials* take us to the age in which our Society was founded.⁵⁸ But it will not have escaped attention that the antiquaries we have so far contemplated were in essence historians; that prehistory and archaeology in the modern sense have rarely impinged on our view. That is largely because they played a secondary role in the work of the Cambridge antiquaries, though not so negligible as might appear; and to redress the balance I conclude with two characters whose interests spanned the horizons of human knowledge, in contrast to Baker, whose microscope was turned on his own city and college.

John Frere came to Caius while James Burrough was Master and rose to be a fellow in 1766 under his successor John Smith, a remarkable nonentity who none the less planted a telescope on the roof of Caius chapel (for he aspired to be professor of astronomy) and the foundation stone of the west front of the Senate House at an even greater height – and was a keen Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.⁵⁹ The college was not a flourishing academic community in his time, but it fostered a very small number of men of high intellectual stature, of whom Frere was one; and he has recently been rediscovered by David Phillipson in an article in the *Catán*, in which he reminded

us that 'the College gives but slight honour to a man who recognized and published scientific evidence for the antiquity of man more than half a century before Darwin, Prestwich, Evans and Lyell' and 'who, perhaps more than any other, laid the intellectual foundations for the scientific study of human prehistory'.⁶⁰ Like so many Calans he was a Norfolk man; and like Spelman and Brady he came of landed family and could afford the life of gentleman antiquary: he was high sheriff of Norfolk and for a time MP for Norwich as well as being FSA and FRS. In 1797 he discovered flint handaxes at Hoxne in Suffolk and in a letter read before the Society of Antiquaries he inferred the great antiquity of the axes (which he recognized to belong to a people who had no use of metals and were in a fact Lower Palaeolithic) from the depth of stratified soil in which they lay and the company they kept – including extinct animals. He laid the foundations of stratified archaeology and observed that 'the situation in which these weapons were found may tempt us to refer them to a very remote period indeed, even beyond that of the present world'; and Phillipson goes on to show the link between this almost forgotten letter of 1797 and the geological and biological enquiries which finally upset current views of the age of the world sixty or so years later.⁶¹ Frere takes us into a larger world, in two different ways: first, he opens the door which leads from antiquarian study to the roots of modern science, to the foundations of geology, palaeontology and Darwinian evolution. Second, he was a Cambridge man all right; but even more an East Anglian. His predecessors among the Norfolk antiquaries included Spelman and Brady, and more recently Peter Le Neve, one of the founders of the Society of Antiquaries, who had no connection with Cambridge – but also the Calans Francis Blomefield, whose history of Norfolk is still much in use, and Sir John Fenn, whose edition of the Paston Letters not only put that celebrated collection on the map, but in such good form and order that Gairdner's edition reproduced it very little altered – the late Norman Davis, who first seriously revised Fenn's texts in print, none the less regarded Fenn's work as 'very creditable'.⁶²

56 Baker 1869.

57 On him see *DNB* and e.g. Cole 1765–7.

58 *DNB*; Cooper 1842–1908; Cooper 1860–6.

59 On Frere see Phillipson 1989 and references; Brooke 1985: 178–9; on Smith, Brooke 1985: 174–9.

60 Phillipson 1989: 51. His significance has been better understood by recent archaeologists.

61 Phillipson 1989: 52.

62 Brooke 1985: 177–8 note – cf. pages 177–9. On Peter Le Neve, see *DNB*; Evans 1956: 37–9, 51, etc.; on Blomefield see Brooke 1985: 177 and note 75; Blomefield 1739–75, 1750.

When I set out to write the history of Caius, I expected to find a continuous tradition of medical teaching in the college from the days of Dr Caius to the present, and a few antiquaries scattered about here and there; but I found to my surprise that the antiquarian tradition in the college was more continuous than the medical, to the extent that it may be suspected that this lecture is on the Caius not the Cambridge antiquaries. To this I can only say that in the present state of knowledge the tradition is more continuous in Caius than in any other college – but further enquiry will surely correct this impression, for almost every college at one time or another has inspired the kind of antiquarian zeal so marvellously exemplified by Thomas Baker. I also freely confess that the tradition in Caius has at certain periods been very thin; and indeed that is true of the national story as well. Even Dugdale found a very scanty market for most of his books in the heyday of the scholar antiquary in the mid and late seventeenth century; his *Baronage* sold well to the country gentlemen who hoped to find their forebears in it, but the *Monasticon* hung fire.⁶³ By the same token the characters I have deployed are specimens, not of a great multitude, but of a small and seemly gathering whom we may reasonably honour as our predecessors today. In the nineteenth century, though it was to be long before the scholarly standards of Brady were emulated among British medievalists, there came rapidly to be a much wider appreciation of the richness of the historical heritage. The natural leader in antiquarian studies, the Society of Antiquaries, languished under the presidency of Lord Aberdeen; but its failings in the 1830s and 40s proved a stimulus to other societies which grew like asparagus in May, especially in the late 1830s and 1840s.⁶⁴ Among these our own was not the least distinguished. With great restraint I refrain from ending with an encomium on J.J. Smith, the first Treasurer, an antiquary deeply interested in both manuscripts and artefacts, and a worthy successor to Fenn and Frere in the Caius fellowship,⁶⁵ and present as epilogue

rather the state of things in the generation immediately before, symbolized by E.D. Clarke, professor of mineralogy. Clarke was the son of a peripatetic divine, and after collecting a fellowship at Jesus and holy orders, he himself set off on his travels in the 1790s as tutor to this great person and that – through Britain and most of Europe, to Russia in 1800 and Asia Minor, Palestine and Greece in 1800–1.⁶⁶ By this date he was a collector on his own account, voracious in appetite and catholic in taste. Greek statues, minerals, coins, manuscripts and marbles – all were grist to his mill, and the Bodleian and several institutions in Cambridge benefited from his adventures. There was a genuine side to his pursuit of universal knowledge: he greatly stimulated the intellectual life of Cambridge. He was also a clerical don in the tradition of the age, rector of Harlton and Yeldham, and a devoted member of Jesus in whose chapel he lies. But there was another side maliciously exaggerated by Henry Gunning in his *Reminiscences*, which may serve to remind us of the variable standard of scholarship which it was to be the vocation of the societies of the nineteenth century to harness and garner and advance:

It was the characteristic of Clarke, that whatever subject he took up he was enthusiastic in its support and advocated it with heart and soul; but this enthusiasm, unhappily, only lasted until his attention was directed to some new object, in favour of which he was equally ardent. . . .

When the parish of Whittlesford was enclosed, a dry well was discovered, bricked both at the sides and bottom, and containing several bushels of bones, chiefly (as was generally considered) of mice: it seemed to have been the grand mausoleum of all the mice in the county of Cambridge. Clarke went over to see this place, and carried away a prodigious quantity of the bones. Mrs Clarke, under his direction, united these bones, and formed some beautiful specimens of a nondescript animal. In a few days Clarke published a small pamphlet, describing this species of mouse, which he termed the 'Jerboa' mouse. The construction was very peculiar; the hind-legs were in every instance disproportionately large compared with the bodies, and the fore-legs were peculiarly small; so that the animal resembled a kangaroo in miniature. Conversing with Mr Okes on this subject, I asked him his opinion; he said the whole thing was very easily explained. The *hind-legs* were invariably those of a rat, united either to the body of a smaller rat than that of which they originally formed a part, or to the body of a mouse; but that the *fore-legs* in every instance were those of a mouse!⁶⁷

63 Cronne 1956: 79–80. On Dugdale see also Douglas 1951: chapter 2; Denholm-Young & Craster 1934.

64 Evans 1956: chapter 13, especially pp.226–8, 235, 239–42, 251 – 'a period when the Society [of Antiquaries] was not very distinguished in its work or very creditable in its state'; Levine 1986; Thompson 1990, especially chapters 1–2.

65 On J.J. Smith see Brooke 1985: 205 and n.62 (and references), 213–14; Thompson 1990: 15–16, 49, 51–2, 64, 71. He catalogued the MSS of Caius and the Society's collection of coins; and he was interested in field archaeology and the preservation of finds.

66 For the details of his career, see *DNB*.

67 Gunning 1854, II, 212–15.

We may think ourselves not far from the age of the scientific archaeologist, and I shall soon be straying beyond my brief. It was indeed the case that this society in its first generations was to be dominated by scientists a great deal more eminent than Clarke, and first of all by Robert Willis, mechanical engineer, Jacksonian professor – still well remembered in the engineering school and a cult figure among architectural historians.⁶⁸ He became president in 1845 and is just out of my reach; so let me close with a definition of the antiquaries' role from a man of more ordinary clay. We do not know who he was, but he was stirred to speak by the heated arguments raging in the Society of Antiquaries of London as to its place and function, and his utterance is dated 1829, just a decade before Halliwell and Smith and their colleagues set our society on the rails:

It is not the business of an Antiquary merely to decipher, transcribe, and to pile document upon document, extract upon extract. . . . The judicious Antiquary has higher views than these; it is his to weigh in equal scales the force of conflicting evidence, to reconcile discrepancies, and to draw strong conclusions out of minute facts which have escaped the general eye. A spear head, a coin, an imperfect inscription, a fragment of painting, the remnant of a building, a rude stone, are all legitimate objects of his speculation. The exuberance of fancy may sometimes in these points be difficult of restraint; but without the exertion of a conjectural spirit, guided by sober caution, the Antiquary would indeed be little better than a heaper up of old bills, inventories, ballads, a dealer in verdigris and iron rust, or a collector of . . . bricks, stones, tiles and pipkins. . . .⁶⁹

In such a spirit, I take it, this Society was founded.

References

- AUBREY, J. 1898. *Brief lives*, ed. A. Clark. 2 volumes. Oxford.
- BAKER, T. 1869. *History of the College of St John the Evangelist, Cambridge*, ed. J.E.B. Mayor. 2 parts. Cambridge.
- BISHOP, T.A.M. & P. CHAPLAIS. 1957. *Facsimiles of English royal writs to A.D. 1100 presented to Vivian Hunter Galbraith*. Oxford.
- BLOMEFIELD, F. [with C. Parkin *et al.*]. 1739–75. *An essay towards a topographical history of the County of Norfolk*. 5 volumes. Fersfield etc.
- BLOMEFIELD, F. 1750. *Collectanea Cantabrigiensta*. Norwich.
- BRADY, R. 1684. *An introduction to the old English history*. London.
- BRADY, R. 1685. *A complete history of England from . . . Julius Caesar unto the end of the reign of Henry III. . . .* London.
- BRADY, R. 1700. *A continuation of the complete history of England: containing the lives and reigns of Edward I, II and III and Richard the Second*. London.
- BROOKE, C.N.L. 1967. *The Saxon and Norman kings*. Fontana edition. Glasgow.
- BROOKE, C.N.L. 1968. *Time the archsattirist*. Inaugural Lecture at Westfield College. London.
- BROOKE, C.N.L. 1985. *A history of Gonville and Caius College*. Woodbridge.
- BROOKE, C.N.L. 1988. In commemoration of Blessed John Fingley, 26 November 1986, *The Caian* (1988): 110–14.
- BROOKE, C.N.L., J.R.L. HIGHFIELD & W. SWAAN. 1988. *Oxford and Cambridge*. Cambridge.
- CAIUS, J. 1912. *The works of John Caius, M.D.*, ed. E.S. Roberts. Cambridge.
- CAMPBELL, A. (ed.) 1962. *Chronicon Æthelweardi: The chronicle of Æthelweard*. Nelson's Medieval Texts.
- CHAPLAIS, P. 1962. The original charters of Herbert and Gervase, abbots of Westminster (1121–1157), in P.M. Barnes & C.F. Slade (ed.), *A medieval miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*: 89–110. Pipe Roll Society. London.
- COLE, W. 1765–7. *The Bletchley diaries of the Reverend William Cole, 1765–1767*, ed. F.G. Stokes, London, 1937.
- COOPER, C.H. 1842–1908. *Annals of Cambridge*. 5 volumes. (v, ed. J.W. Cooper) Cambridge.
- COOPER, C.H. 1860–66. *Memorials of Cambridge*. New edition by C.H.C. 3 volumes. Cambridge.
- CRONNE, H.A. 1956. The study and use of charters by English scholars in the seventeenth century: Sir Henry Spelman and Sir William Dugdale, in Fox 1956: 73–91.
- CRONNE, H.A. 1961. Charter scholarship in England, *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 8 (1961): 26–61.
- DENHOLM-YOUNG, N. & H.H.E. CRASIER. 1934. Roger Dodsworth (1585–1654) and his circle, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 32 (1934): 5–32.
- DNB: *Dictionary of National Biography* (reference by name).
- DOUGLAS, D.C. 1951. *English scholars 1660–1730*. 2nd edition. London.
- DOWLING, M. 1984. Anne Boleyn and reform, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 35 (1984): 30–46.
- D'OYLY, G. 1821. *The life of William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury*. 2 volumes. London.
- EMDEN, A.B. 1963. *A biographical register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*. Cambridge.
- EVANS, J. 1956. *A history of the Society of Antiquaries*. Oxford.
- FOX, L., ed. 1956. *English historical scholarship in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*. London.
- GUNNING, H. 1854. *Reminiscences of the university, town and county of Cambridge from the year 1780*. 2 volumes. London and Cambridge .

⁶⁸ Thompson 1990: 9–10, 24–6; on Willis, see Brooke 1985: 203–5 and references; Pevsner 1970; David Watkin in Willis and Clark 1988 I: VIII–XVII.

⁶⁹ Evans 1956: 249.

- HALLAM, E. 1986. *Domesday Book through nine centuries*. London.
- HEARNE, T. (ed.) 1719. *Thomas Sprott, Chronica*. Oxford.
- IVES, E.W. 1986. *Anne Boleyn*. Oxford.
- JAMES, M.R. 19[09–]12. *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*. 2 volumes. Cambridge.
- KER, N.R. 1986. The provision of books, in J. McConica (ed.), *The history of the University of Oxford III: 441–519*. Oxford.
- KNOWLES, D. 1963. *The historian and character and other essays*. Cambridge.
- LEVINE, P. 1986. *The amateur and the professional: antiquaries, historians and archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886*. Cambridge.
- LEWIS, J. 1855. *The life of Dr John Fisher*. 2 volumes. London.
- MABILLON, J. 1681. *De Re Diplomatica libri VI*. Paris.
- MC KISACK, M. 1971. *Medieval history in the Tudor Age*. Oxford.
- MAITLAND, F.W. 1908. *The constitutional history of England*. Cambridge.
- MASTERS, R. 1784. *Memoirs of the life and writings of the late Rev. Thomas Baker . . . from the papers of Dr Zachary Grey*. Cambridge.
- MILLER, E. 1961. *Portrait of a College: a history of the College of St John the Evangelist, Cambridge*. Cambridge.
- NUTTON, V. 1987. *John Caius and the manuscripts of Galen*. Cambridge (Philological Society Supplementary 13).
- OATES, J.C.T. 1986. *Cambridge University Library: a history I: from the beginnings to the Copyright Act of Queen Anne*. Cambridge.
- PARKER, M. 1853. *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, ed. J. Bruce & T.T. Perowne. Parker Society.
- PEVSNER, N. 1970. *Robert Willis*. (Smith College Studies in History 46). Northampton (MA).
- PHILLIPSON, D. 1989. Archaeology at Caius, *The Caius* (1989): 51–6.
- PIGGOTT, S. 1985. *William Stukeley, an eighteenth-century Antiquary*. London.
- POCOCK, J.G.A. 1950–2. Robert Brady, 1627–1700: a Cambridge historian of the Restoration, *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10: 186–204.
- POCOCK, J.G.A. 1957. *The ancient constitution and the feudal law*. Cambridge.
- POWICKE, F.M. 1930. Sir Henry Spelman and the Concilia, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 16: 3–37.
- PRONAY, N. & J. TAYLOR. 1980. *Parliamentary texts of the Later Middle Ages*. Oxford.
- RUPP, G. 1977. *Just men*. London.
- SAVILE, H. (ed.) 1596. *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam*. London.
- SHARPE, K. 1979. *Sir Robert Cotton*. Oxford.
- SPELMAN, H. 1626, 1664, 1687. *Glossarium Archaologicum*. London. 1st edition (incomplete), 1626. 2nd edition, 1664. 3rd edition, 1687.
- SPELMAN, H. (ed. [with W. Dugdale in volume II]). 1639–64. *Concilia, Decreta, Leges, Constitutiones in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici*. 2 volumes. London.
- SPELMAN, H. 1698, 1846, 1895. *A history of sacrilege*. London. 1698. Edition 'by Two Priests of the Church of England'. London. 1846. 4th edition, ed. C.F.S. Warren. 1895.
- STRYPE, J. 1711. *The life and acts of Matthew Parker*. London.
- THOMPSON, M.W. 1990. *The Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1840–1990*. Cambridge.
- UNDERWOOD, M. 1980. John Fisher and the promotion of learning, in B. Bradshaw & E. Duffy (ed.), *Humanism, reform, and the Reformation: the career of Bishop John Fisher: 25–46*. Cambridge.
- VENN, J. 1901. *Biographical history of Gonville and Caius College III*. Cambridge.
- WHARTON, H. (ed.). 1691. *Anglia Sacra*. 2 volumes. London.
- WHITELOCK, D., M. BRETT & C.N.L. BROOKE (ed.) 1981. *Councils and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church I*. 2 parts. Oxford.
- WILKINS, D. (ed.) 1737. *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae A.D. 446–1717*. 4 volumes. London.
- WILLIS, R. & J.W. CLARK. 1988. *The architectural history of the University of Cambridge and of the colleges of Cambridge and Eton*. 4 volumes. Cambridge, 1886, I–III reprinted with introduction by D. Watkin. Cambridge.
- WRIGHT, C.E. 1951. The dispersal of the monastic libraries and the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon studies: Matthew Parker and his circle: a preliminary study, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3: 208–37.
- WRIGHT, C.E. 1958. The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries and the formation of the Cottonian Library, in F. Wormald & C.E. Wright (ed.), *The English library before 1700: 176–212*. London.

The Walker Collection: a quantitative analysis of lithic material from the March/Manea area of the Cambridgeshire Fens

Robert Middleton
with illustrations by R.A. Parkin

This paper provides an analysis of the Walker Collection of lithic material from the March/Manea area of Cambridgeshire. A total of 16 sites were isolated; seven of these were quantified in order to date the assemblages, using both typological and metrical data. These assemblages proved to be mixed, producing late Mesolithic, late Neolithic and early Bronze Age elements. Profiles for the industries of each period are presented along with a brief review of site function.

Introduction

This report concerns a collection of lithic artefacts assembled by the late Mr F.M. Walker of Manea, Cambridgeshire, which was donated to Wisbech Museum in December 1961. Most of it came from the March/Manea area of the Cambridgeshire Fens, centred on TL460930, although other pieces, not considered here, derived from other parts of Britain and abroad. The museum material represents a part of a larger collection, an unknown quantity of which was discarded after the death of Mr Walker. Unfortunately little is known of the discarded material.

A short résumé of this work has appeared elsewhere (Middleton, forthcoming). The collection has seen little systematic work except for an examination by R.M. Jacobi published in Wymer (1977: 26, 28, 30). Material from the collection has been referred to by Baden-Powell (1934) and Fell (1964: 39).

The material was divided into four different types on the basis of the quantity of material recovered and the accuracy of their location:

- a Sites — concentrations of lithic material located either to the field, or to the farm from whose land the finds derived. Seven of these provided sufficient material for

detailed analysis. Each site was denoted by a letter.

- b Findspots represented smaller amounts of material denoted by a number.
c Non-specific finds could be provenanced only to the general area of origin.
d The remainder of the collection was unprovenanced.

The distribution of the material is given in Figure 1.

Sites A–G were selected for detailed analysis because they were both very closely provenanced and produced relatively large amounts of material (347–1123 pieces), (with one exception — Site C — with an assemblage of 68 objects). Of these, sites A–D were found in adjacent fields on the small gravel island of Bedlam Hill.

The aim of this paper is to use a detailed technological and typological analysis to define the various periods represented at each site. Important elements of both of these facets have been used including waste flake shape, knapping strategies, overall typology and scraper size. It will be shown that it is possible to use these strands in order to date the assemblages and provide a meaningful basis for the discussion of site function and location. The chronological importance of these variables have been summarized in Ford (1987).

Although museum collections are seldom suitable to this type of analysis, the Walker Collection is distinguished by the fact that almost all of the material is assignable to the (at least approximate) point of recovery. This is because the findspot was written on each flint and the sites have been relocated by David Hall of the Fenland Project (Hall 1987; Hall in press). This work has also revealed the sites to be virtually devoid of material (Hall, pers. comm.), suggesting that the collection represents a large sample of the ploughzone archaeology.

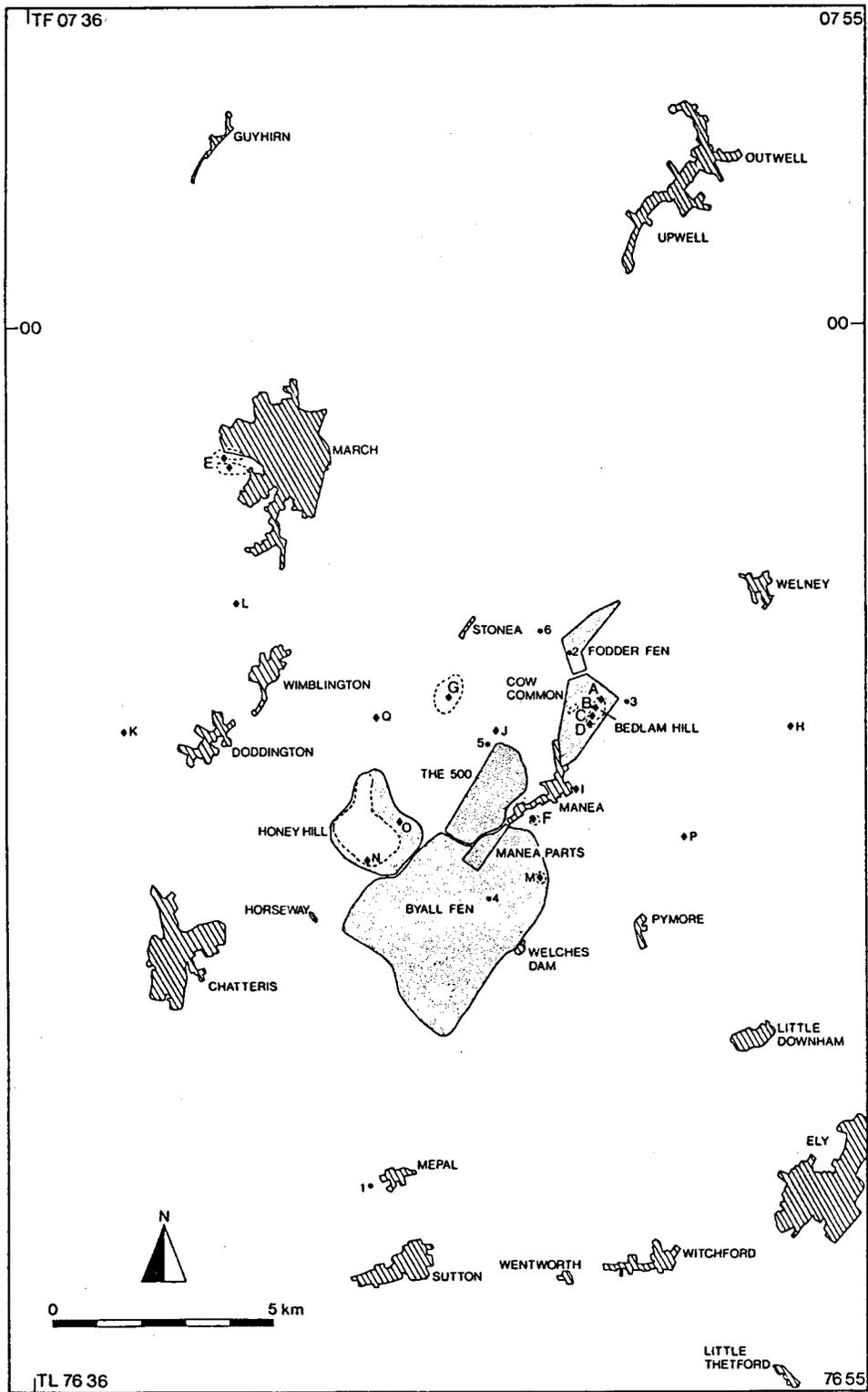


Figure 1.
The March/Manea area of the Cambridgeshire Fens, with find-spots.

Another advantage is that the source of the raw material appears to have been constant in the industries represented, suggesting that the technological changes noted are due to temporal factors, rather than alterations in procurement strategies.

The detailed examination of ploughsoil material presents a host of problems of periodization and quantification of the unknown transformation processes between deposition and analysis. This work depends upon the examination of these traits in the assemblage as a whole, rather than the dating of all individual pieces. Analysis of the ratios of period-specific pieces (such as arrowheads) combined with numerical data relating to waste flake and implement technology reveal data that can be used to provide approximate dates for the assemblages as a whole. It cannot provide specific ratios of the contribution of material from each period, particularly in this case where part of the collection is missing. This analysis has, however, allowed the definition of 'profiles' for each period represented. These will be of use in the interpretation and dating of subsequent finds in the same area.

The data gathered by this detailed analysis, which is essentially local in scope, provides an essential adjunct to the large-scale work of the Fenland Project.

In the following discussion the metrical attributes were measured according to the methods outlined by Saville (1980). The data was stored and manipulated using the MAXARC database system (Booth *et al.* 1984).

Condition

The material was divided into two parts.

- 1 The first had a thin, creamy-white patina which included material diagnostic of the late Mesolithic, including microliths and finely made blades.
- 2 The second group, which contained the majority of the pieces, had little or no patination and included distinctively Neolithic and early Bronze Age artefacts.

This may reflect a change in soil pH between the two periods of deposition, possibly caused by human interference in the landscape (Limbrely 1987).

Although this division was approximate and many individual waste pieces could not be categorized, the overall correlation of patinated/Mesolithic and unpatinated/Neolithic and Bronze Age did appear to hold true for the large majority of the assemblage. This, combined

with period-specific technological and typological features, permitted the bulk of the collection to be dated.

All of the flints exhibited varying degrees of plough and box damage and none was in a fresh condition. Damage generally took the form of fine removals and small notches at irregular intervals along the thinner edges. This made the definition of utilized flakes impossible with any degree of certainty so they were included with the waste flakes. Similarly, the number of retouched and notched flakes were probably over-represented.

Raw materials

With occasional exceptions, the cortex, where present, was thin and abraded and varied in colour from dark brown to light grey. The flint was of uniformly good quality containing few planes of weakness large enough to affect the quality of the knapping. This is indicated by the relative lack of pieces of irregular workshop waste (pieces displaying no flake characteristics). The flint varied in colour from light brown to black. These factors suggest that the raw material was from a derived source, two of which are present in the study area: first, the March gravels, on which the sites lay, contain large numbers of small nodules. Secondly, the chalky boulder clay, which makes up the majority of the bedrock in the March/Manea area, contains occasional large nodules of high quality flint. It is likely that both sources were used, with the former providing most of the material.

The only piece which could have come from a non-local source is the Seamer Axe from site B (Figure 15, No. 121). On the basis of the quality of the flint used and the size of the raw material required, this piece may have come from a primary source, such as the chalk on the southern fen edge or Yorkshire, an area in which these artefacts are concentrated (Manby 1974: Figure 40).

Re-use

Three pieces showed evidence of re-use: a patinated flake with unpatinated light, invasive flaking and two heavily patinated pieces with crude retouch. The form of the retouch on the former piece may suggest Bronze Age re-use.

Typology

In this typology all of the material, except the undiagnostic hammerstones and the burnt and damaged pieces, is divided into the period

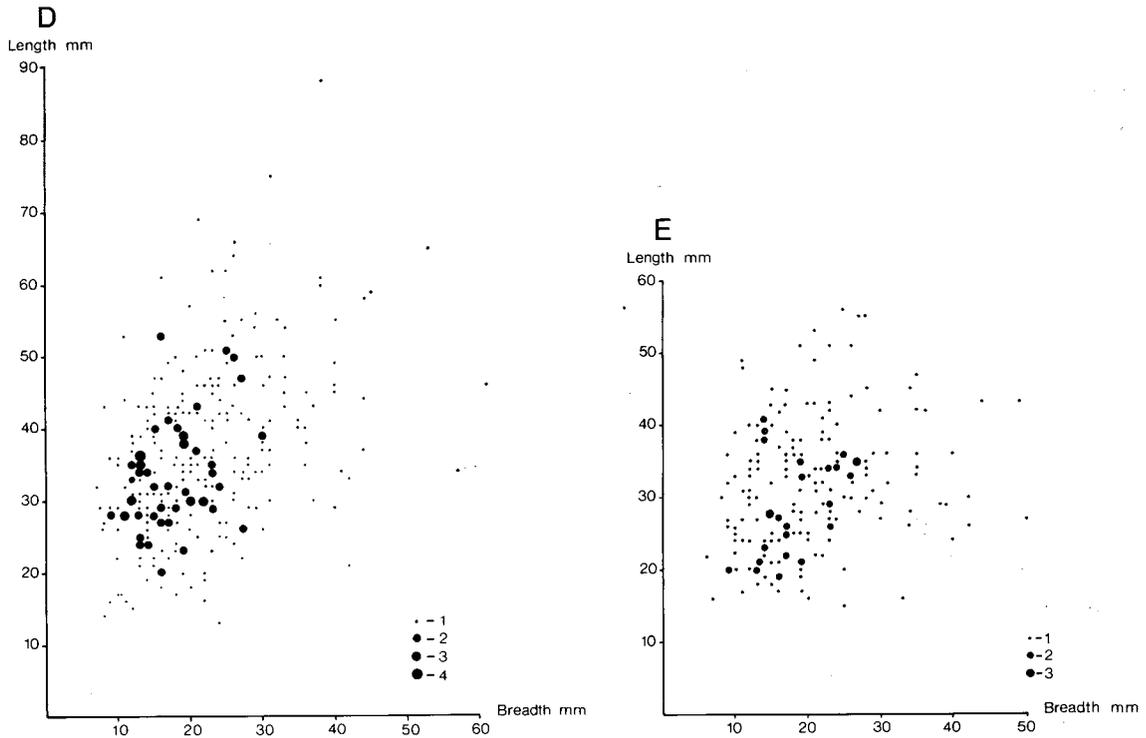


Figure 2.
Mesolithic waste flake dimensions (all complete pieces).
Letters D and E refer to sites on Figure 1.
1 length (mm); 2 breadth (mm); 3 thickness (mm); 4 breadth:length ratio ($n = 5$)

divisions outlined above. This section will focus on the technological and typological aspects of the collection which facilitate the dating of the material. A full typology is listed in the archive.

Late Mesolithic

All of the sites produced varying amounts of late Mesolithic flintwork; only sites D and E had sufficient material for detailed analysis.

Cores (Figure 6 nos. 11–13)

The core typology has been modified after Clark *et al.* (1960) and is presented in Table 2.

The A2 type (one platform flaked part way round) predominated, comprising between 28.5% and 82% of the Mesolithic cores. The next most common form is the B1 type (two parallel platforms), which rises to no more than 28% of any assemblage. Other types

occur as no more than isolated examples. This typology reflects the fact that the A2 and B1 types are most suited to the production of blades, which were an important end-product (see below).

Most of the cores were worked down to exhaustion, which is indicated by the majority being under 25 g in weight. The heavier cores result from abandonment due to intractable flaws being encountered at a relatively early stage in production. In both of the larger assemblages, from sites D and E, the cores comprise less than 5% of the artefacts, a figure which contrasts with the 6–23% range recorded from the later assemblages. This may be due to the more efficient use of raw material inherent in the Mesolithic technology.

None of the cores was demonstrably retouched, although the large majority exhibited platform trimming to remove projections from the platform lip.

Core rejuvenation was by the creation of a new platform at 90° to the old, making core recovery flakes in the process.

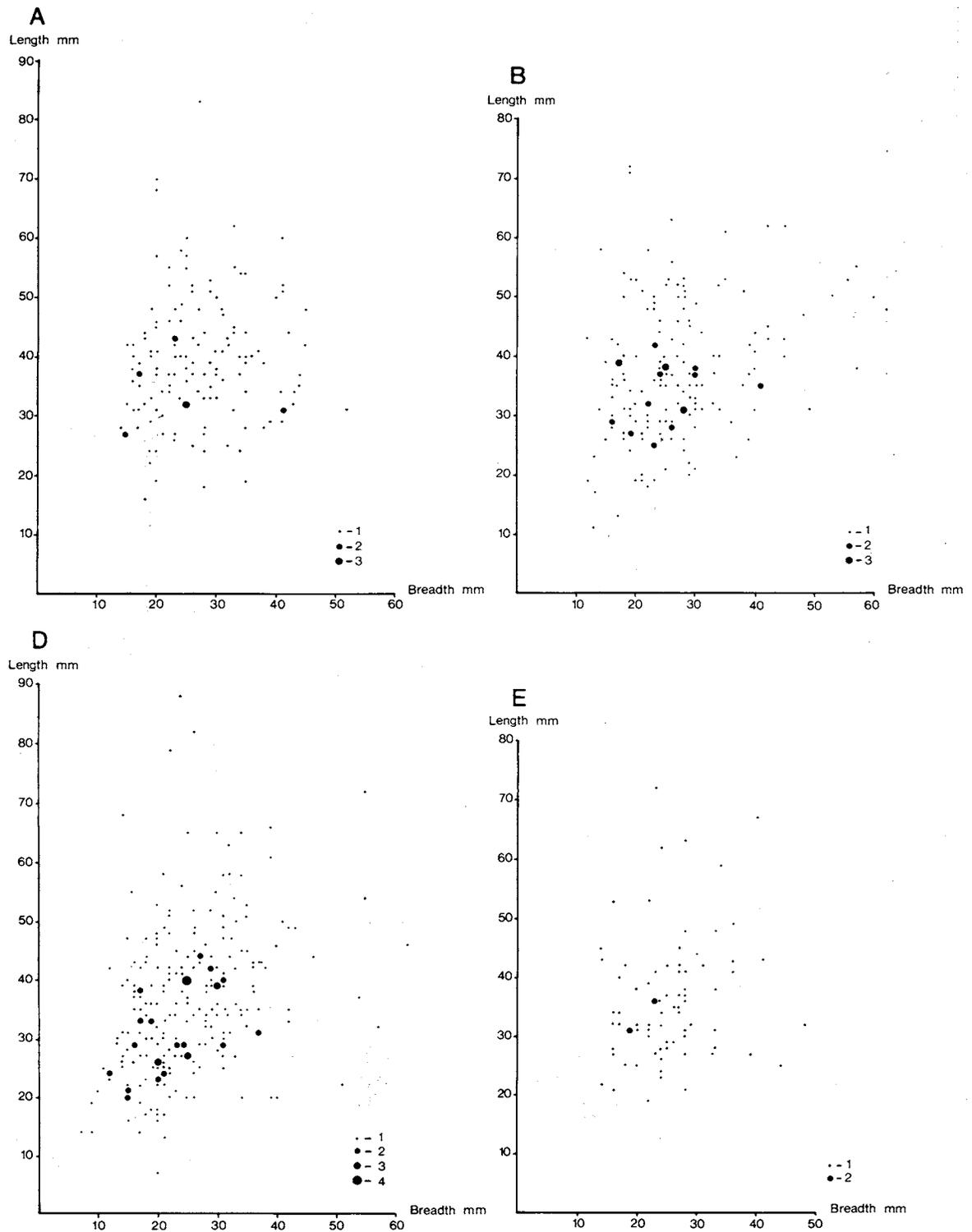


Figure 3.

Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age waste flake dimensions (all complete pieces).

Letters A, B, D and E refer to sites on Figure 1.

1 length (mm); 2 breadth (mm); 3 thickness (mm); 4 breadth:length ratio ($n = 5$)

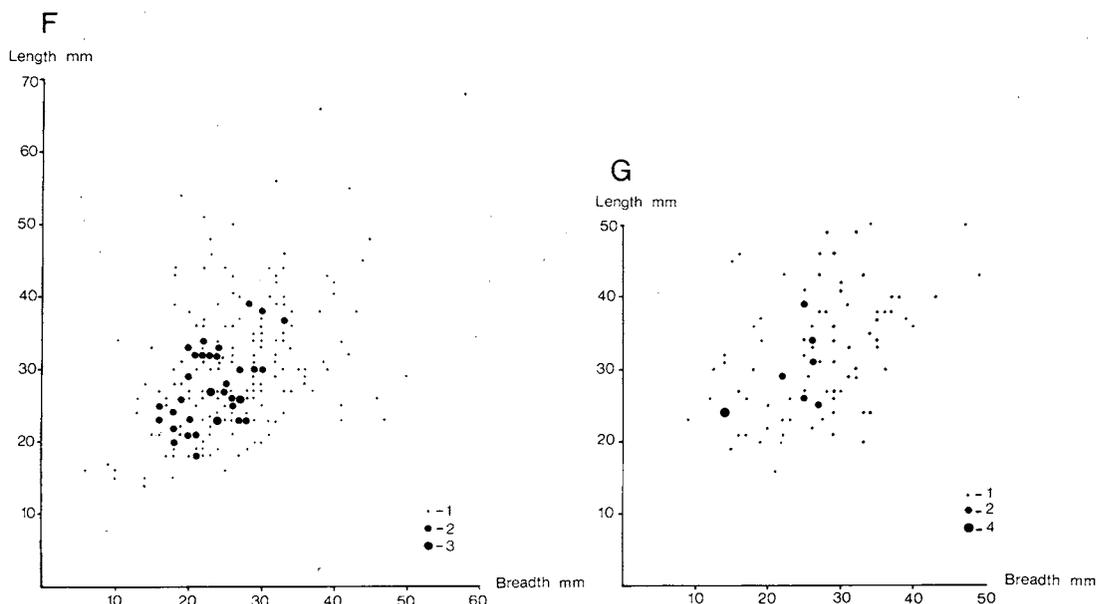


Figure 3 (continued).
Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age waste flake dimensions (all complete pieces).
Letters F and G refer to sites on Figure 1.
1 length (mm); 2 breadth (mm); 3 thickness (mm); 4 breadth:length ratio ($n = 5$)

Waste flakes

For the metrical analysis of the waste flakes only sites D and E produced sufficient complete examples to produce significant results.

The majority were between 20 and 45 mm in length, 10 and 25 mm in breadth and 3–6 mm thick (Figure 2). The absence of pieces under 15 mm long is probably due to post-depositional attrition, recovery bias and because they were most likely to be broken and so not included in this analysis.

The waste flakes were divided into three types based upon their shape: blades (breadth:length ratio of 2:5 or less); broad flakes (breadth:length ratio of 5:5 or more); and flakes. The proportion of the blades within the assemblages varied between 16.5 and 21%, with the number of broad flakes between 11 and 13%.

This metrical data accords with that for the late Mesolithic assemblage from Foulmire Fen (Middleton in prep. a), with 24.8% blades and 10% broad flakes, but differ from local earlier Neolithic assemblages, such as Etton Phase 2 (7.6% blades, 16.6% broad flakes) (Middleton in prep. b) and Tattershall Thorpe (15% blades, 10% broad flakes) (Healy 1983: Figure 2).

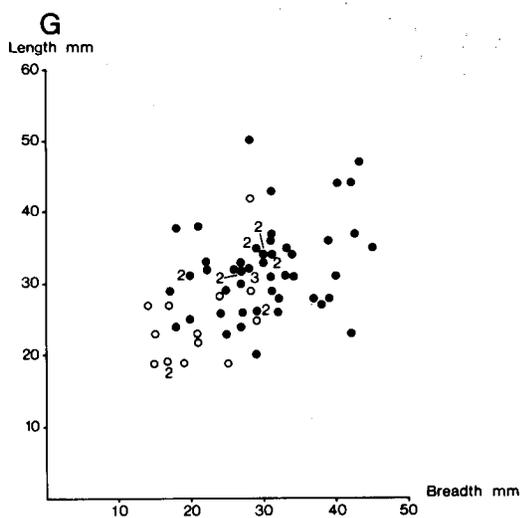
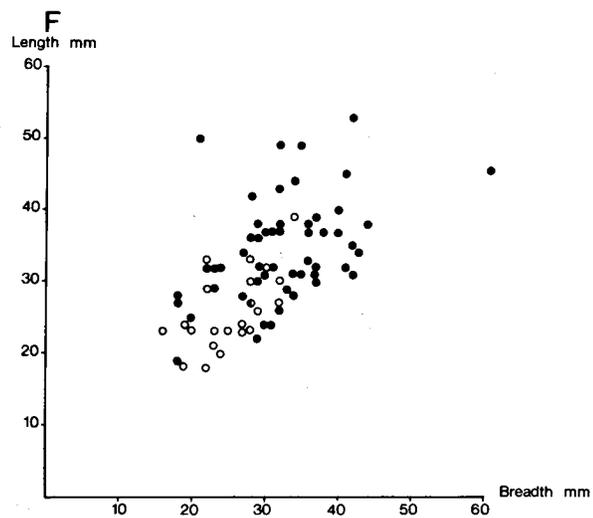
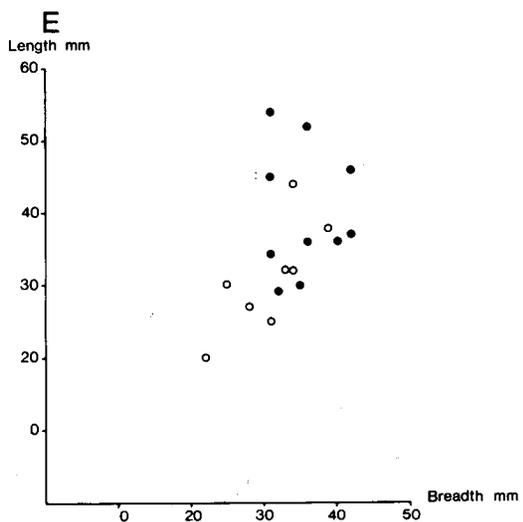
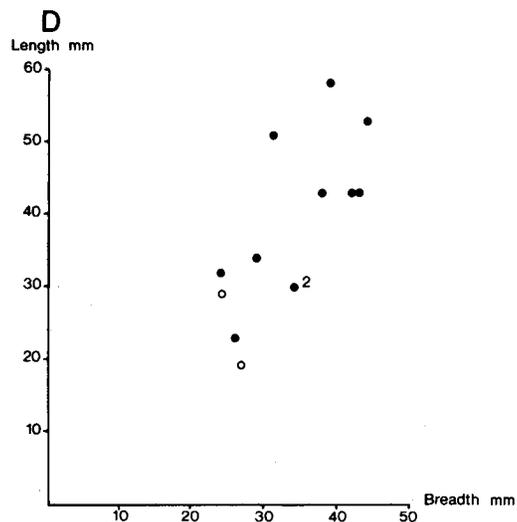
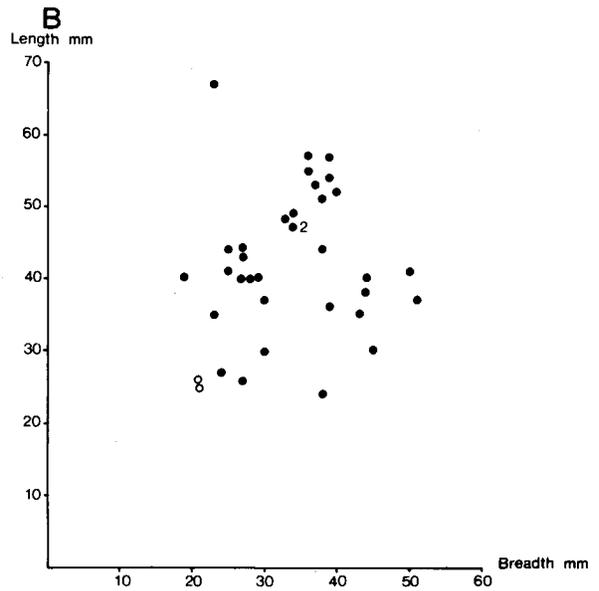
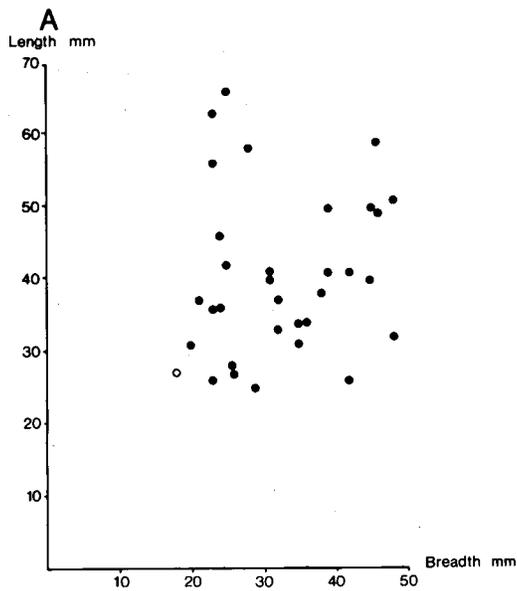
The flakes exhibited both hertzian and bending fractures (Cotterell & Kamminga 1987) at the proximal end, possibly indicating

the use of both soft and hard hammers in the detachment of flakes.

Retouched implements

The retouched implements comprised between 2.75 and 15.3% of the assemblages, with the figures from sites D and E, which produced relatively large assemblages, being 2.75 and 2.94% respectively. Retouched flakes were the dominant type (Figure 5 nos. 7, 8); other flake tools included 11 points (Figure 5 No. 6), 4 microliths (Figure 5 nos. 1–4), 2 burins (Figure 5 No. 9) and a single truncated flake (Figure 5 No. 10). All of these were made with simple trimming on blades, or blade-like flakes. A heavier component to this toolkit is indicated by a complete tranchet axe (Figure 15 No. 113), a re-used fragment (Figure 6 No. 13) and two sharpening flakes (not illustrated). Microlith manufacture is indicated by two butt-type (notched RHS) micro-burins from sites E and G (Figure 5 No. 5).

Figure 4 (opposite)
Scraper dimensions.
Open circles are scale-flaked scrapers.
Letters A, B, D, E, F and G refer to sites on Figure 1.



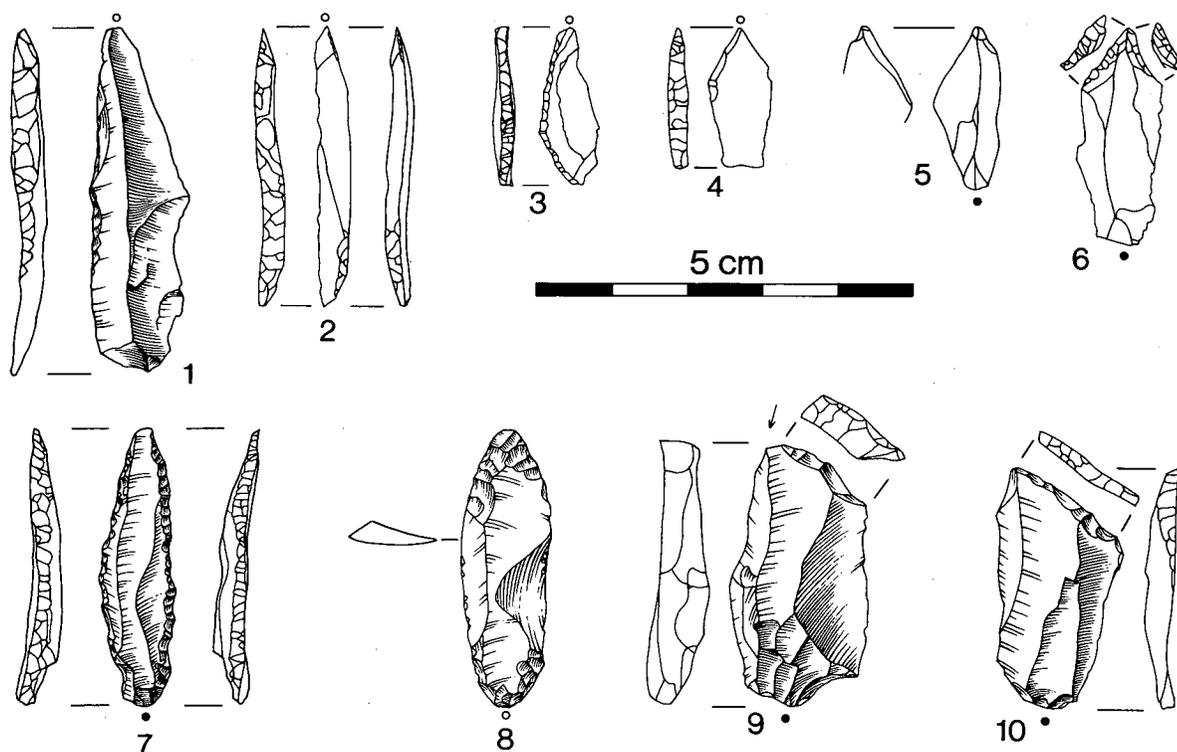


Figure 5.
Mesolithic implements.

Catalogue

This list includes both the information written on each flint (e.g. GRM) and, for the quantified sites, the catalogue number prefixed by the site letter (e.g. A234).

Mesolithic implements. Figure 5

- 1 Obliquely blunted point. Wt 1 g. JHBH. A120.
- 2 Edge blunted point with ancillary retouch. Wt 0.4 g. GRM 43. E668.
- 3 Edge blunted point (plain). Wt 0.5 g. SBH. B105.
- 4 Edge blunted point (plain). Wt 0.2 g. JGS. G344.
- 5 Micro-burin butt type (notched RHS). Wt 0.3 g. GRM. E752.
- 6 Point. Wt 0.7 g. Guy. D1077.
- 7 Retouched blade. Wt 2 g. SBH. B106.
- 8 Retouched flake. Bifacial working on proximal end. Wt 1 g. SBH FP. B76.
- 9 Oblique angle burin. Wt 5.1 g. GRM. E742.
- 10 Truncated blade. Wt 1.7 g. Guys Farm. D1081.

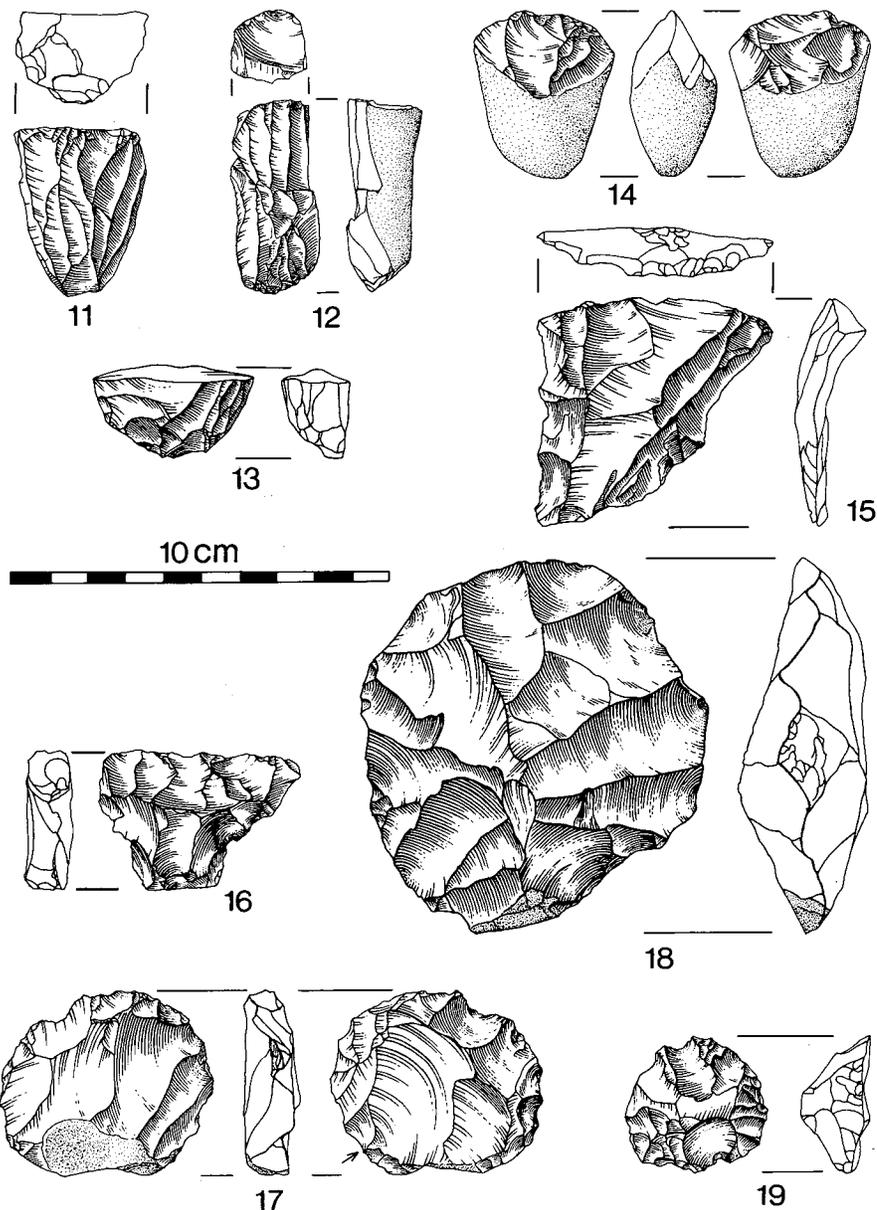


Figure 6.
Cores.

Cores. Figure 6

- 11 Late Mesolithic core Type A2. Wt 49.5 g. Note platform preparation. GRM. E312.
 12 Late Mesolithic core Type B2. Wt 21 g. Sears Bedlam. B104.
 13 Late Mesolithic butt end of 'tranchet' axe re-used as Type A2 bladelet core. 'Tranchet' removal on reverse side. Wt 23 g. SBH. B2.
 14 Neolithic/EBA Type D core. Wt 39 g. Gall Road. March. E42.
 15 Late Neolithic. Flake off prepared core for PTD manufacture. Wt 10 g. SBH FP 11/40. B293.
 16 Late Neolithic. Flake off prepared core for PTD manufacture. Wt 2 g. BHM. F316.
 17 Late Neolithic. Prepared core for PTD manufacture. Arrow indicate direction of striking. Wt 38 g. GR 6/10. E6.
 18 Late Neolithic. Prepared Levallois-type core. Note facetting on unused platform. Stray Find. Stonea.
 19 Late Neolithic/EBA core Type C. Wt 19 g. Biggins Hill. F257.

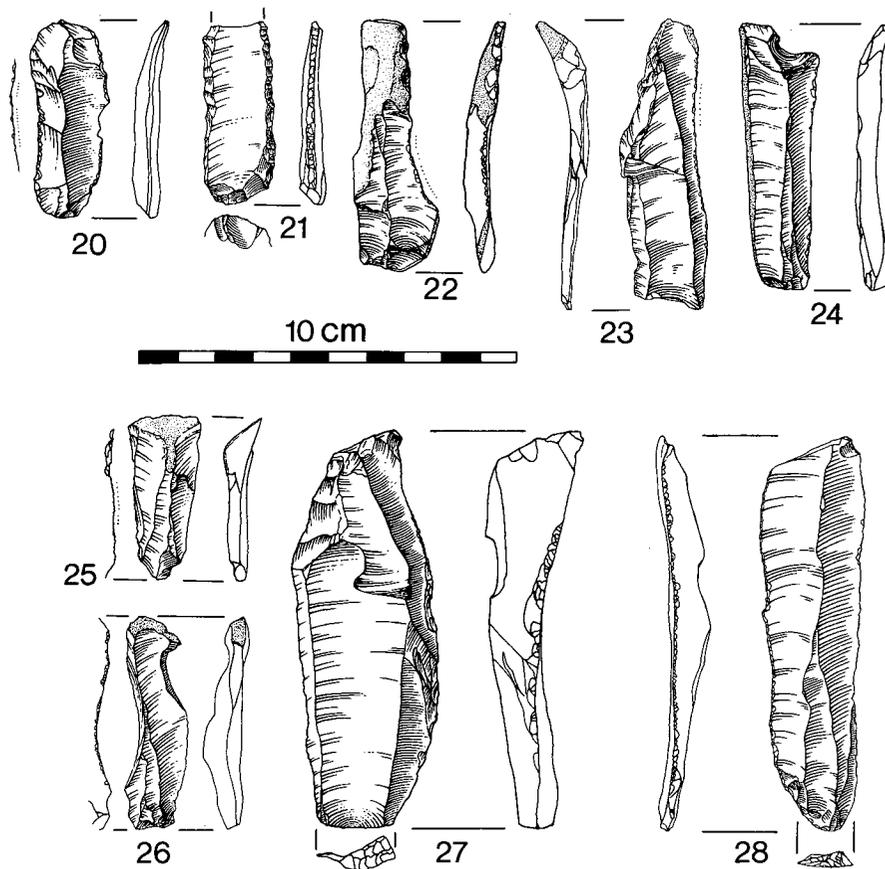


Figure 7.
Retouched flakes.

Retouched flakes. Figure 7

- 20 Earlier Neolithic? Serrated flake with lustre. Wt 6 g. Guy. D20.
 21 Neolithic/EBA Retouched flake. Wt 6.7 g. Guy. D1121.
 22 Earlier Neolithic? Serrated flake with lustre. Wt 10 g. JHBH. A191.
 23 Earlier Neolithic? Serrated flake with lustre. Wt 3 g. Sears Bedlam. B130.
 24 Irregularly retouched flake. Wt 10 g. JHBH. A178.
 25 Earlier Neolithic? Serrated flake with lustre. Wt 5 g. GRM. E12.
 26 Earlier Neolithic? Serrated flake. Wt 10 g. GRM. E43.
 27 Late Neolithic. Core recovery flake. Note prepared platform. Wt 58 g. SBH 27/4/49. B559.
 28 Late Neolithic. Retouched flake. Note faceted platform. Wt 26 g. TBH. C39.

Earlier Neolithic

Only 22 distinctive earlier Neolithic implements were present, of which 10 were serrated flakes (Figure 7 nos. 20, 22, 23, 25, 26) and 12 leaf arrowheads (Figure 12 nos. 78–83). Given this small number and the large quantity of later artefacts present, no débitage could certainly be assigned to this period.

Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age

In this report both these periods will be considered together in order to contrast them in terms of typology and technology.

Cores (Figure 6 nos. 14–19)

The core typology used was the same as that for the late Mesolithic sample and is given on Table 7. The majority of the pieces were either too fragmentary or were unclassifiable. The most common definable types were the A2 (12.9–40.9%) and type B1 (3–15%). Keeled cores (types D and E) made up between 10 and 25.8% of the total. This figure is lower than that recorded for contemporary industries from Eastern England (30 and 80%) (Healy 1984: figure 1).

The predominance of unclassifiable examples reflects the poor technology employed in these periods, where flakes were removed from any available flaking surface. As a result cores were discarded with no workable platforms, having been flaked from several different directions. This lack of core preparation is reflected in the core weights (Table 8) where the majority (48.4–80.8%) were over 25 g in weight of which between 5 and 33.3% were over 50 g.

The cores comprised between 6.02 and 23% of the assemblages, which is markedly higher than figures from the Late Neolithic and Bronze Age sites such as Fengate, Storeys Bar Road subsite (1.3%) (Pryor 1978: table 48) and Newark Road subsite (0.32%) (Pryor 1980) and Lawford, Essex (2.8%) (Healy 1985: table 6).

The majority of the cores exhibit light trimming to remove overhangs from the platform edges. Several had incipient cones of percussion where flakes failed to detach.

Core rejuvenation was by means of the detachment of core recovery flakes (Figure 7 No. 27).

Waste flakes

The sites fall into two groups, based upon waste flake shape: sites A to E have most flakes between 2:5 and 4:5 and contain between 5.29

and 6.56% blades, whereas sites F and G peak between 3:5 and 5:5 and contain only 1.74 and 3.09% blades. This difference is also marked in terms of broad flakes where the first sites contain between 11.25 and 21.7% compared to 27 and 31.6%.

This data reveals that sites A to D are relatively homogeneous in composition. Site E is slightly at variance since it contains the lowest proportion of blades (5%) and the lowest proportion of broad flakes (11.25%), indicating that a relatively restricted range of flake shapes was produced.

The differences between these groups is not reflected in flake thickness where the most common measurement was between 6 and 8 mm or 8 and 10 mm in the case of sites A and G. At all sites there was an even fall off from these peaks in both large and small flakes.

The majority of the waste flakes had plain platforms and displayed hertzian fractures, indicating that they were detached with hard hammers. These observations, along with the crude forms of the cores, points to a largely expedient technology by which suitable flakes were selected from knapping débitage, rather than made to predetermined forms.

In contrast to this was a series of large, well-made blades (over 70 mm long) which were in the same condition as the remainder of the Neolithic and early Bronze Age material. One of these had been made into an implement (Figure 7 No. 28). Blades of this size have been found in other late Neolithic contexts, such as Hengistbury Head (Gardiner 1987a: figures 20, 21) and Grimes Graves (Saville 1981a).

Retouched implements

This discussion will focus on the two most sensitive temporal indicators – scrapers and arrowheads. A more detailed typology is contained in the archive.

Scrapers (Figures 8–10)

The scrapers were classified after Clark *et al.* (1960) with modifications. The most common form, in line with other Neolithic and early Bronze Age assemblages, was A2 type (short-end) (62.6–90%), followed by type H (end-to-end) (7.95–33.3%). The other types were numerically insignificant.

On the basis of the metrical data (Figure 4), two groups were identified; the first comprised sites A, B, D and E where the scrapers were between 20 and 60 mm long and 20 and 50 mm in breadth, and whose thicknesses varied

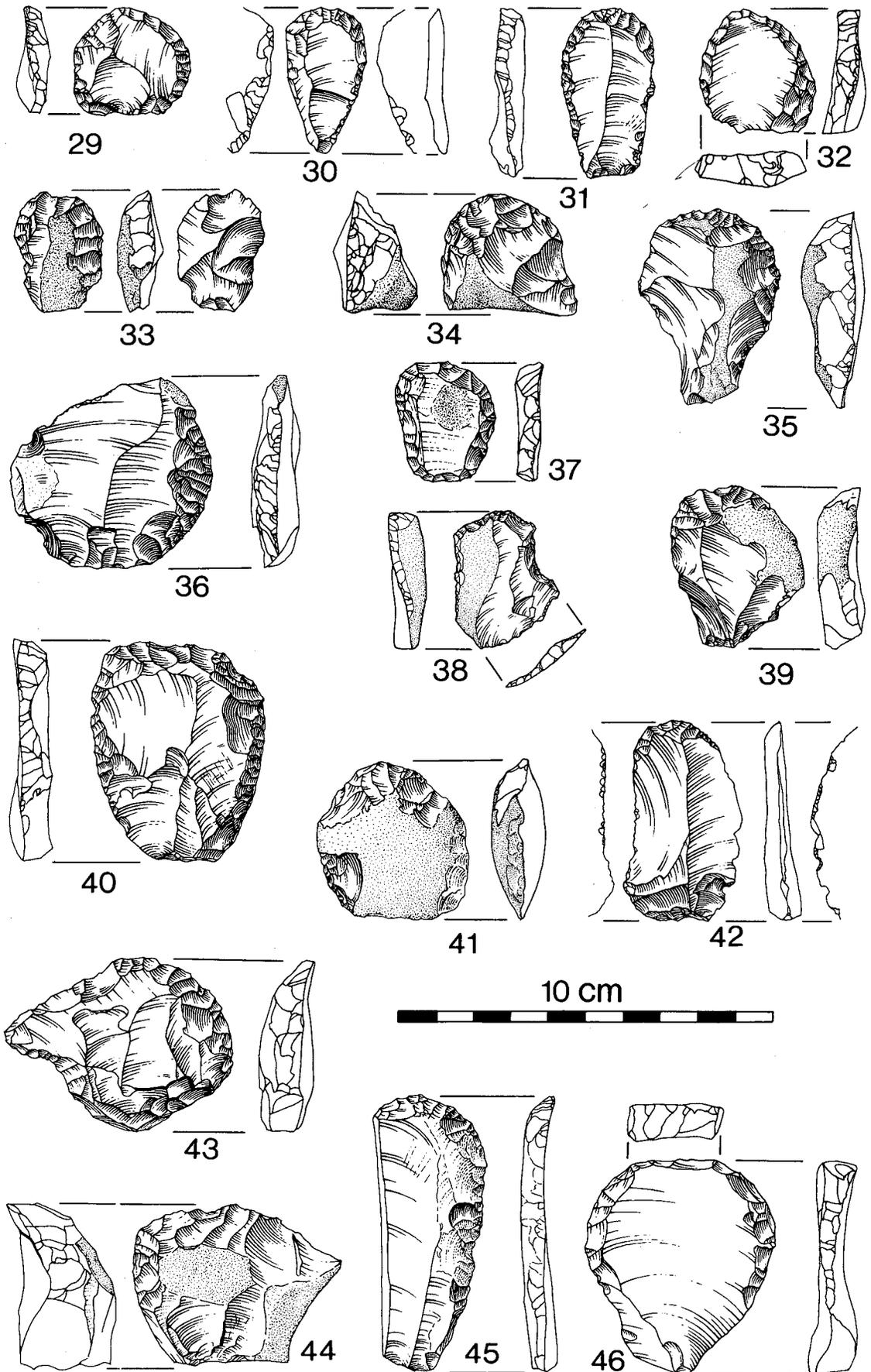


Figure 8 (opposite).
Scrapers.

Scrapers. Figure 8

- 29 Scraper type A2. Wt 9 g. JGS. G172.
30 Scraper type A2. Wt 3.5 g. JGSE. G146.
31 Scraper type A2. Wt 8 g. SBH. B41.
32 Scraper type I. Note faceted platform. Wt 10.5 g. JGS. G36.
33 Scraper type A2. Wt 7 g. BHM. F38.
34 Scraper type A2. Wt 24.5 g. Grainger Biggins. F64.
35 Scraper type A2. Wt 27 g. SBH. B80.
36 Scraper type A2. Wt 35 g. JHBH. A41.
37 Scraper type C. Wt 7.5 g. JGSE. G13.
38 Scraper type A2. Wt 7 g. GRM. 9/43. E278.
39 Scraper type A2. Wt 19 g. GRM. E326.
40 Scraper type I. Wt 34 g. JHBH. A58.
41 Scraper type A2. Wt 29 g. SBH 42. B335.
42 Scraper type A2. Note edge damage on both lateral edges. Wt 12 g. GRM. E245.
43 Scraper type A2. Wt 36 g. BH AP. F187.
44 Scraper type A2. Wt 27 g. JGS TF. G113.
45 Scraper type I. Wt 21 g. TBH BC. C44.
46 Scraper type A2. Wt 32 g. Guy. D355.

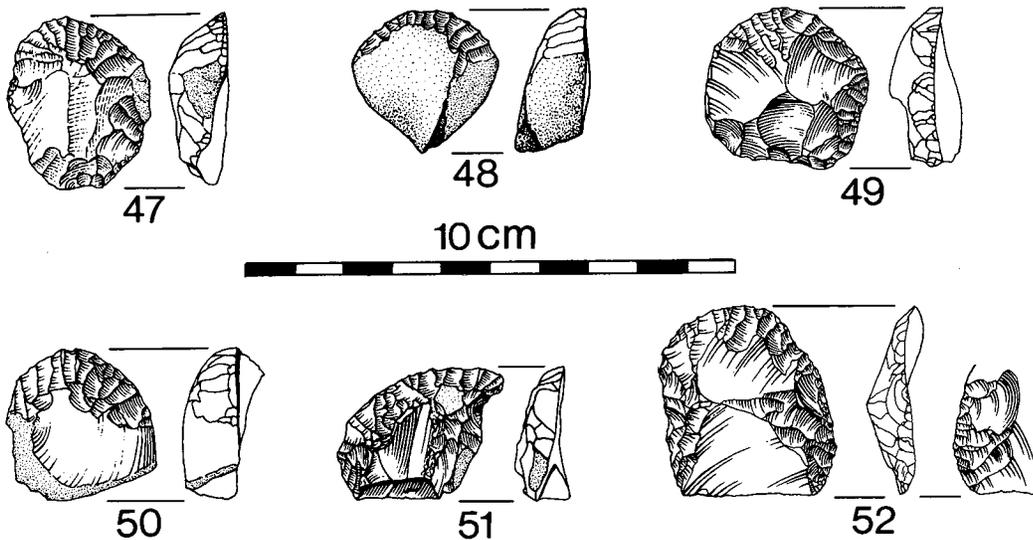


Figure 9.
Scrapers.

Scrapers. Figure 9

- 47 Scraper type A2. Wt 12.5 g. Guy. D340.
48 Scraper type A2. Wt 10.5 g. JGSE 33. G14.
49 Scraper type A2. Wt 12.5 g. Gaul Rd. March. E322.
50 Scraper type A2. Wt 13 g. Biggins Hill. F2.
51 Scraper type A2. Wt 8 g. BHM. F435.
52 Scraper type I. Wt 12 g. TBH BC. C40.

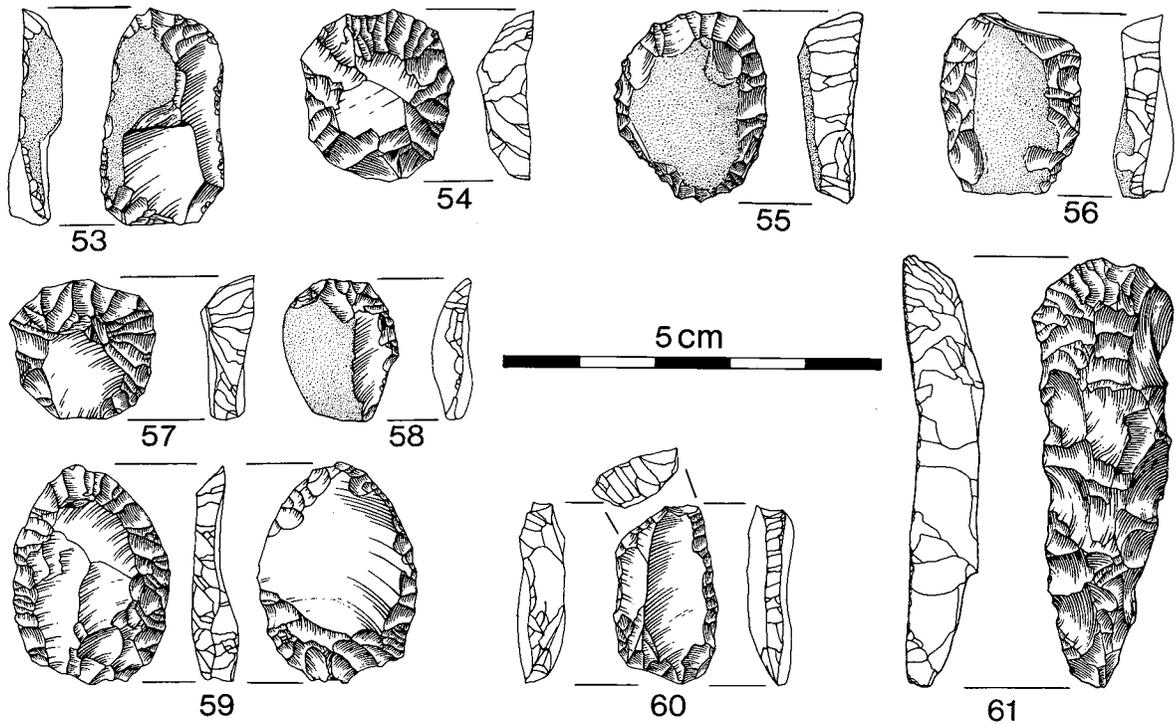


Figure 10.
Scrapers.

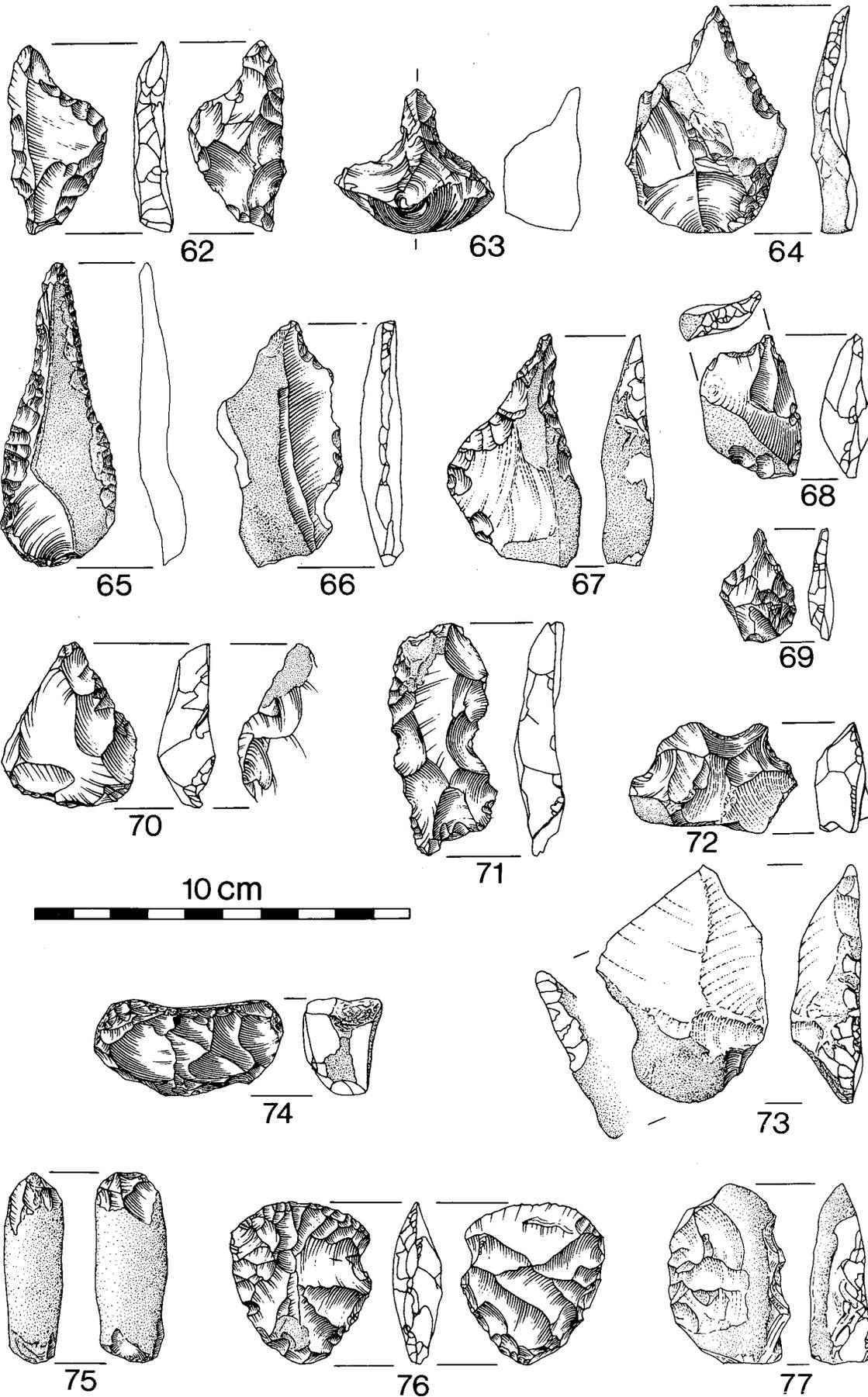
Scrapers. Figure 10

- 53 Scraper type A2. Wt 3 g. Biggins Hill. F70.
 54 Scraper type C. Wt 3 g. JGS 31. G270.
 55 Scraper type C. Wt 4 g. SBH. B99.
 56 Scraper type I. Wt 4 g. JGSE. G81.
 57 Scraper type I. Wt 2 g. BHM. F333.
 58 Scraper type A2. Wt 1.4 g. JGSE. G234.
 59 Scraper type D2. Wt 2 g. BHM 27.5.48. F11.
 60 Scraper type D2. Wt 2.1 g. JGS. G271.
 61 Scraper type A1. Wt 10 g. JHBH. A22.

Figure 11. (*opposite*)
Borers, points and miscellaneous implements.

Borers, points and miscellaneous implements. Figure 11

- 62 Borer. Wt 12 g. BHM HB. F470.
 63 Borer. Wt 23 g. GRM. E324.
 64 Point. Wt 27 g. GRM 30.10.37. E313.
 65 Point. Wt 17 g. SBH DSY 34. B46.
 66 Point. Wt 20.5 g. SBH. B455.
 67 Point. Wt 26.5 g. Guy 43. D333.
 68 Point. Wt 11.7 g. JGSE. G206.
 69 Point. Wt 3 g. GRM. E347.
 70 Point. Wt 18 g. JGSE. G99.
 71 Denticulate. Wt 21 g. BHM. F289.
 72 Denticulate. Wt 16 g. GRM. E87.
 73 Notched flake. Wt 48.5. JGS. G246.
 74 Fabricator. Abraded at both ends. Wt 37. GRM. E316.
 75 Fabricator. Abraded at both ends. Wt 22.2 g. BHM. F545.
 76 Tranchet implement. Wt 20.5. JGS. G285.
 77 Possible denticulate. Wt 31 g. Guy. D368.



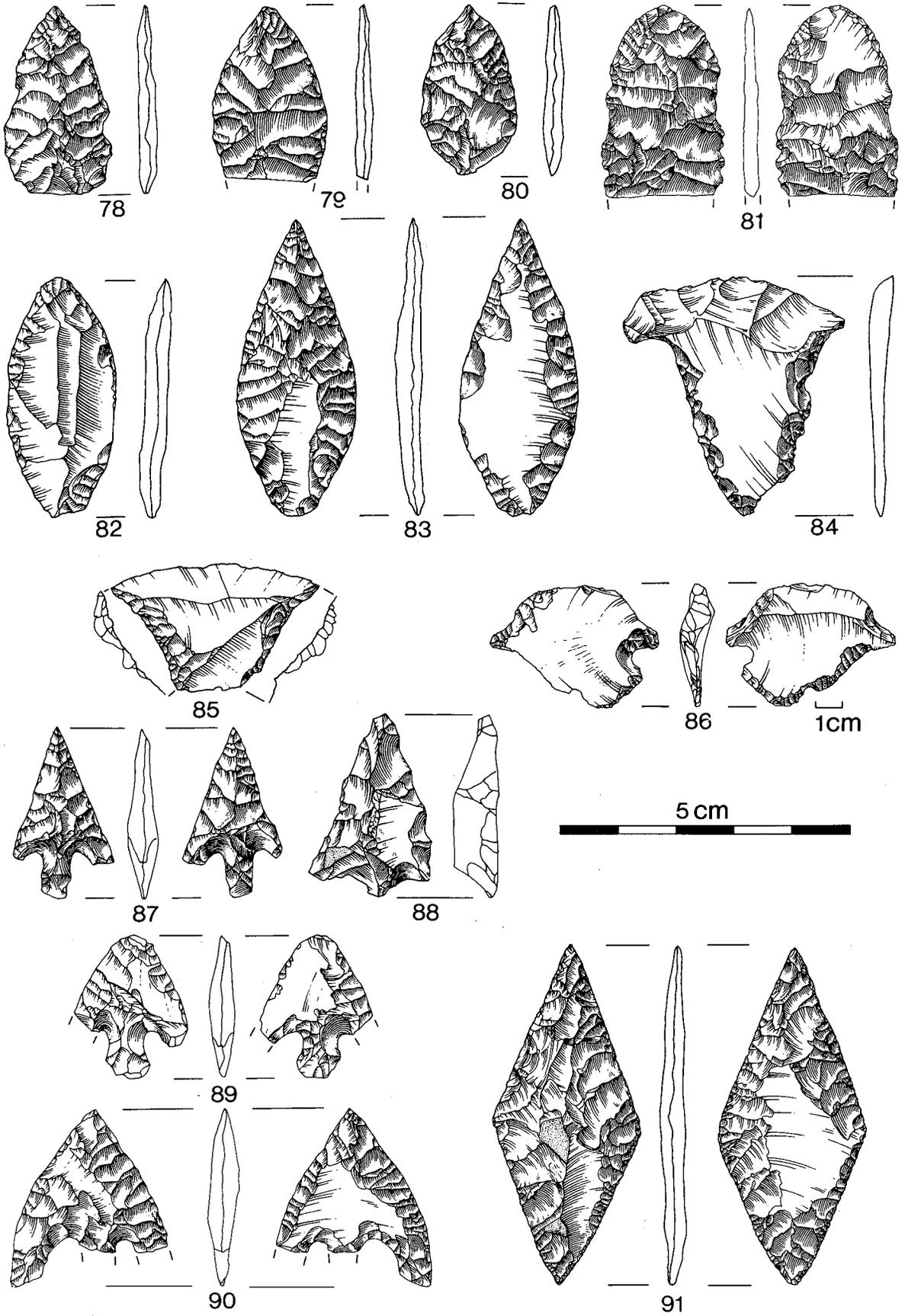


Figure 12. (opposite).
Arrowheads.

Arrowheads. Figure 12

- 78 Leaf arrowhead. Wt 1 g. JHBH. A225.
- 79 Leaf arrowhead. Wt 1 g. J.Hawes Bedlam. A223.
- 80 Leaf arrowhead. Wt 1 g. SBH FP. B376.
- 81 Leaf arrowhead. Wt 2.5 g. SBH Bedlam. B374.
- 82 Leaf arrowhead. Wt 3 g. JHBH. A14.
- 83 Leaf arrowhead. Wt 3 g. JHBH. A34.
- 84 Transverse arrowhead type D. Wt 3 g. JHBH. A221.
- 85 Transverse arrowhead type F. Wt 2 g. JHBH. A224.
- 86 Transverse arrowhead type D. Wt 16 g. Grainger Field Rd. Biggins Hill. F1.
- 87 Barbed and tanged arrowhead Sutton C type. Wt 2 g. BHM. F517.
- 88 Unfinished barbed and tanged arrowhead. Wt 3.5 g. E332.
- 89 Barbed and tanged arrowhead Sutton B type. Wt 1 g. JGSE. G233.
- 90 Barbed and tanged arrowhead Green Low type. Wt 2.5 g. Guy. D350.
- 91 Lozenge arrowhead. Wt 4 g. J.Hawes Bedlam Farm. A222.

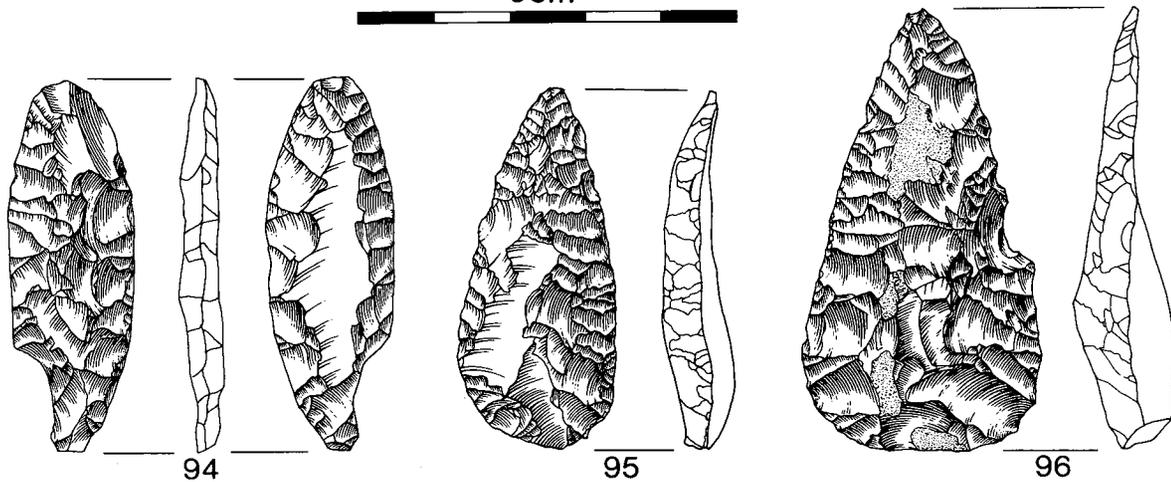
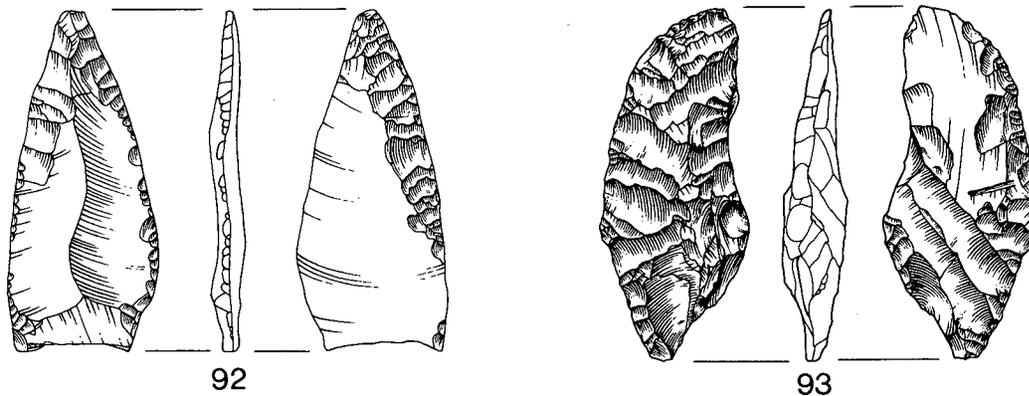


Figure 13.
Flake knives.

Flake knives. Figure 13

- 92 Flake knife. Wt 3 g. Guy. D190.
- 93 Plano-Convex knife. Wt 5 g. TBH AC.
- 94 Plano-Convex knife. Wt 4 g. Guy. D413.
- 95 Plano-Convex knife. Wt 6 g. SB. B61.
- 96 Plano-Convex knife. Wt 15 g. TBH.

between 6 and 22 mm; the second group comprised sites F and G. Here the scrapers were smaller with lengths between 15 and 45 mm, breadths from 18 to 50 mm and thicknesses from 9 to 10 mm, with an even fall-off in both directions. They were also more concentrated within their maximum and minimum dimensions, suggesting manufacture to a more defined pattern.

Small, scale-flaked 'thumbnail' scrapers (Figures 9, 10) predominantly of forms A2 and H, which usually have Beaker associations (e.g. Bamford 1982: 27, figure 30), were found on all sites, except C, in varying numbers. These were the smallest of the scrapers forming a discrete group in the breadth:length plots (Figure 4).

The most common retouch angles (the angle between the ventral surface and the retouched edge) were between 50 and 70 degrees with an even fall-off in both directions.

Arrowheads

Transverse (Figure 12 nos. 84–6)

The typology of the transverse arrowheads (after Clark 1934) indicates that no type was numerically dominant. There is evidence that some of these were made on-site using a prepared core technique, witnessed by débitage from sites B, E and F (Figure 6 nos. 15–17).

Flake knives. Figure 14.

- 97 Flake knife or scraper type D2. Wt 11 g. JGSE. G279.
- 98 Backed knife. Wt 12 g. JGSE. G95.
- 99 Backed knife or scraper type D2. Wt 12 g. JGSE. G121.
- 100 Backed knife. Wt 4 g. JGS. G269.
- 101 Flake knife or scraper type D2. Wt 16 g. BHM. F537.
- 102 Flake knife. Wt 16.3 g. Guy. D1120.
- 103 Flake knife. Wt 6 g. SBH 49.
- 104 Flake knife. Wt 11 g. GRM 15.5.48. E248.
- 105 Flake knife. Wt 12 g. TBH BC 39. C45.
- 106 Flake knife. Wt 14 g. SBH 42. B88.
- 107 Flake knife. Wt 17 g. GRM 43. E213.
- 108 Flake knife. Wt 23 g. GRM 48. E329.
- 109 ?Backed knife. Wt 16.5 g. MBH. F273.
- 110 Plano-Convex knife. Wt 13. BH. F5.
- 111 Plano-Convex knife. Wt 25 g. JHBH Bedlam Hill. A164.
- 112 Flake knife with lustre on utilized edge. Wt 18 g. GRM. E311.

Barbed and tanged (Figure 12 nos. 87–90)

One example each of Green Low, Sutton A and Sutton B were present (Green 1980, 1984). The presence of an unfinished example from Site E (Figure 12 No. 88) indicates *in situ* production.

Lozenge (Figure 12 No. 91)

This class is represented by a single example from Site A.

Other implements

The largest class of implements was the general group of retouched flakes. The precise number of this type relative to scrapers varied from site to site, and may have temporal significance (see below). Other types present in smaller numbers included points, borers, denticulates, notched flakes, fabricators and flake knives. A variety of axes and other stone implements were also present, largely as stray finds (Figures 15–17).

Notable amongst the stone implements was a cushion stone (Figure 17 No. 136) which can be paralleled with an example from Lunteren, Gelderland, Netherlands which was found with metal-working equipment and a Veluwe-type beaker (cited in Clarke *et al.* 1985: 83, 84).

Figure 14. (opposite)
Flake knives.

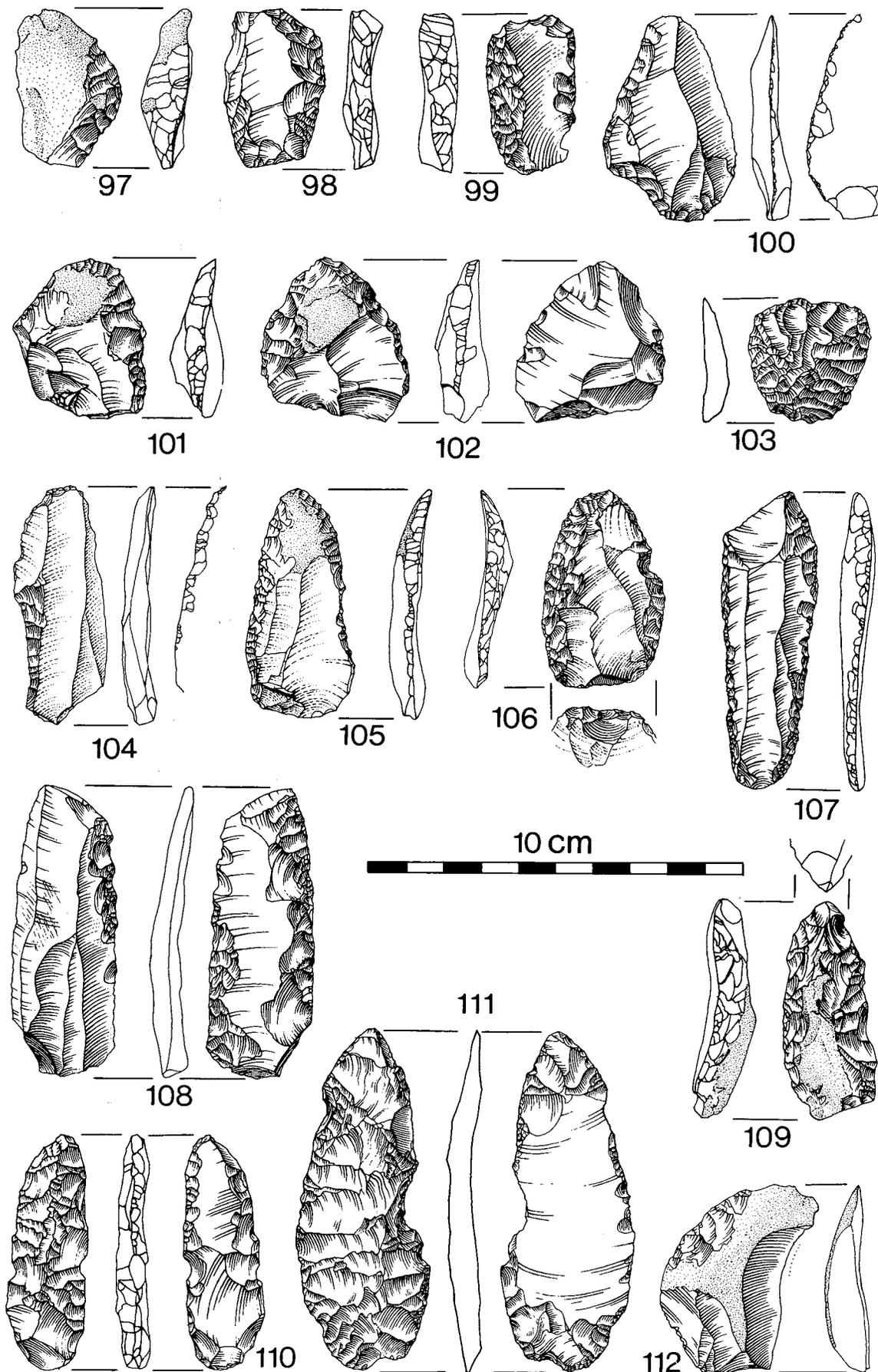


Figure 15. (opposite)
Flint axes.

Flint axes. Figure 15

- 113 Late Mesolithic 'tranchet' axe. Stray find. Levitts Farm (back) Manea Toll.
- 114 Flint adze. Stray find. Byall Fen.
- 115 Flint core tool. SBH. B587.
- 116 Flint adze. Reflaked polished implement. SBH FP 40. B66.
- 117 Polished flint axe. JHBH 33 Bedlam Hill Manea. A119.
- 118 Flake off polished flint axe. SBH. B95.
- 119 Flake off polished flint axe. Tuck Bedlam Hill (Tk) 14.9.36. C3.
- 120 Flake off polished flint axe. GRM Gaul Road March. E23.
- 121 Seamer type flint axe. SBH. B65.

Discussion

Late Mesolithic

Despite only sites D and E having sufficient material for detailed analysis, all of the late Mesolithic material in the collection proved to be internally consistent and to have the following features:

- 1 type A2 and B1 core predominated with only one or two platforms being worked on each artefact. Rejuvenation was by means of the creation of a new platform, rather than the rejuvenation of the existing one;
- 2 between 16.5% and 20.8% of the waste flakes were blades, with between 7 and 11.9% broad flakes, produced using both soft and hard hammers;
- 3 low implement to by-product ratio;
- 4 the artefacts were simply made, comprising blades lightly trimmed into retouched flakes and points. A few simple microliths were present, with micro-burins indicating on-site manufacture.

These features are replicated at other contemporary fenland sites, such as Foulmire Fen (Middleton, in prep. a).

The material consists of a thin scatter of flints across the landscape with concentrations at sites D and E. Many of the isolated finds in the collection, such as the small number of flakes from Glebe Field Road, Manea, were recovered from buried land surfaces after dyke-cutting. This pattern is consistent with a widespread use of the landscape with concentrations of material on slight rises of sand and gravel above a developing fen. These may represent small camps on areas of well drained ground at the edge of the 'islands', having exploitable flint resources where implements were manufactured but were later removed for use

off-site. This pattern is replicated elsewhere in the Fens at, for example, Shippea Hill (Clark *et al.* 1935, Whittle 1985), Crowtree Farm (French & Pryor, forthcoming) and Foulmire Fen (Hodder & Evans, in prep.).

Earlier Neolithic

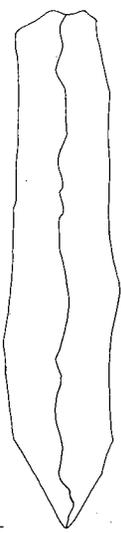
Documenting the extent of earlier Neolithic activity solely from lithic artefacts can be extremely misleading, since the number of diagnostic implements is small, artefacts can be masked by larger amounts of later material, and may be less archaeologically visible for behavioural reasons (Evans 1987; Healy 1987). It appears, however, that the lack of diagnostic artefacts in the whole collection would indicate little (archaeologically visible) activity in the area.

Late Neolithic

Artefacts of this period were widespread throughout the collection with five of the quantified sites (A to E) and four others (J, M, N and O) predominantly containing material of this date. Sites A to D were located in adjoining fields on Bedlam Hill 'island' and proved to be homogeneous having the following characteristics:

- 1 between 5 and 6.5% blades and 15–22% broad flakes;
- 2 the majority of the waste flakes were between 4 and 6 mm thick;
- 3 retouched flakes predominate over scrapers as the most common artefact type;
- 4 relatively small numbers of denticulates and notched flakes;
- 5 the scrapers vary in length between 25 and 60 mm and 20 mm and 50 mm in breadth;
- 6 small numbers of 'thumbnail' scrapers (2.1–23.5%);

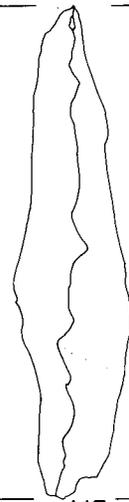
Site E, although similar in many respects differs in the following manner:



113



114



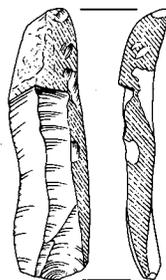
115



116



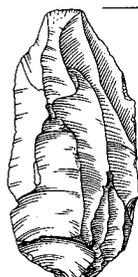
117



118



119



120



121

10 cm



Figure 16. (*opposite*)
Stone axes.

Stone axes. Figure 16

- 122 Polished stone axe. Group VI. SBH 27.4.49. B102.
 123 Polished stone axe. Group VI. Sears FF Manea. Fodder Fen. Stray find.
 124 Polished stone axe. Possible Group VI. S.M.Guys Farm. D. Hawkins Bedlam Hill Manea. D97.
 125 Polished stone axe. Glassy basalt possible beach pebble source. Mepal FP Farm. Stray find.
 126 Polished stone axe. Group VI. JG Stonea. F. Haylock 1923. G297.
 127 Polished stone axe. Group VI. Morris Fen Stonea. Stray find.
 128 Polished stone axe with crushed cutting edge. Basaltic stone. Unprovenanced.

- 1 a more restricted range of flake types present, with 5% blades and 11% broad flakes;
- 2 more denticulates and notched flakes present;
- 3 the scrapers are smaller (25–55 mm in length and 30–45 mm in breadth, and tend to be squatter.

Both groups of data on flake shape fit well with other contemporary sites from the region which share the use of similar raw materials, such as Ecton, Northamptonshire (Moore & Williams 1975) and those collated by Healy (1984: table 2), in terms of both most common breadth:length ratio and in the numbers of blades and broad flakes present. The separation of site E from the remainder is due to a greater mix of early Bronze Age material, indicated by the generally smaller size of the scrapers and the greater number of the 'thumbnail' type (40%). All of these sites fit within the general range of scraper sizes for late Neolithic sites from the Fens and East Anglia (Healy 1984: table 3), being larger than Beaker associated examples. These sites tend to be located on small patches of gravel within the wider chalky boulder clay landscape, for both good drainage and access to raw materials.

Early Bronze Age

The quantified material from sites F and G, along with many of the stray finds date to this period. They have the following characteristics:

- 1 they had between 1.7 and 3.1% blades and between 27.8 and 31.4% broad flakes;
- 2 the flakes were most commonly 6–8 mm thick;
- 3 scrapers were the most common implement type, followed by retouched flakes;
- 4 the number of 'thumbnail' scrapers increase to make up between 26.7 and 31.8% of scrapers;
- 5 the scrapers are smaller in size, more squat in shape and thicker than late Neolithic examples, being between 15 to 50 mm in

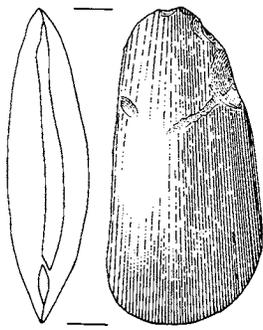
length, 15 to 45 mm in breadth and 9–10 mm in thickness. The range of variation in these variables was relatively restricted, suggesting a more standardized type;

- 6 notched flakes are present in greater numbers than on the late Neolithic sites, comprising between 7 and 15% of implements;

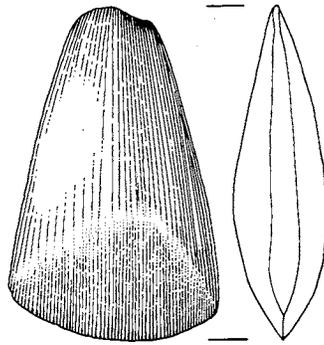
The characteristics for these assemblages fit with those defined for Beaker associated assemblages in terms of both waste material (Ford 1987; Healy 1984) and implements (Bamford 1982; Healy 1984).

Site function

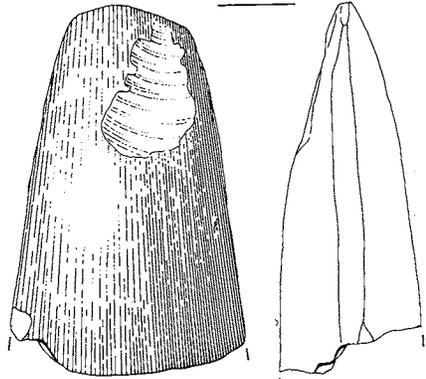
The high percentage of implements, associated with a high proportion of expedient tools and a lack of elaborate artefacts may suggest that these were settlement sites (Holgate 1987: 260). Their small size both in terms of numbers of artefacts and in area indicates that they were occupied for a relatively short period. Although economic evidence, particularly for cereal agriculture – which is often archaeologically undetectable (Pryor, forthcoming) – is poor, there are a number of factors suggesting that these sites of both late Neolithic and early Bronze Age dates were possibly associated with a seasonal livestock economy (*cf.* Evans 1987). First, the geology of the March/Manea area being of chalky boulder clay surrounded by alternating peat fen/fen carr and salt marsh (Hall 1987; M. Waller, pers. comm.), would have been unsuitable for arable agriculture. Second, it has been suggested that the dominance of scrapers on Beaker fen-edge sites is indicative of a specialized role within a seasonal livestock economy (after Bradley 1978; Healy 1984). Without microwear analysis caution must be exercised in attributing use roles to artefacts. Nevertheless, the dominance of scrapers, associated with other possibly hide working implements such as denticulates (Moss 1983: 72), points and borers is strongly suggestive of activities associated with the processing of animal products. The position of these sites in



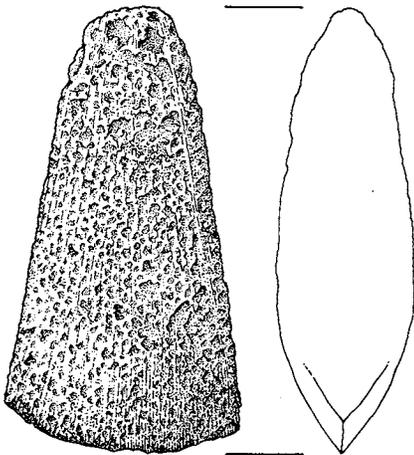
122



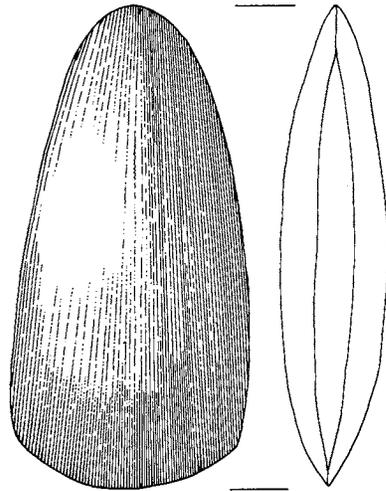
123



124

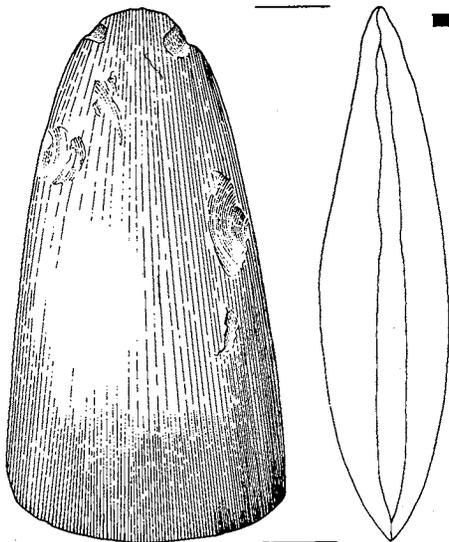


125

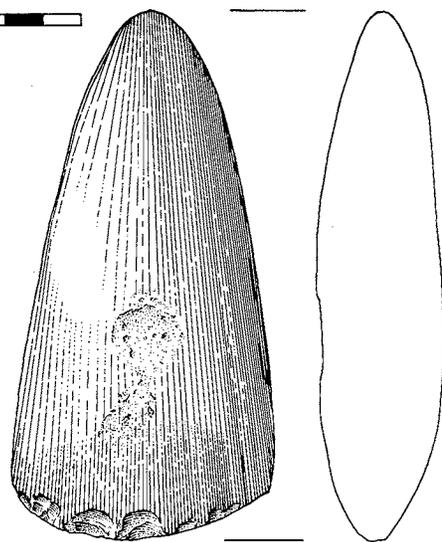


126

10 cm



127



128

Figure 17 opposite).
Stone implements.

Stone implements. Figure 17

- 129 Pebble hammer. Quartzite pebble. Rickwood Horseway. Stray find.
130 Pebble hammer. Quartzite pebble. Byall Fen. Stray find.
131 Unfinished pebble hammer. Quartzite pebble. Rutland Farm Site J.
132 Unfinished pebble hammer also used as hammerstone. JBH Bedlam Hill Manea. A137.
133 ?Pebble hammer. Arkose sandstone, Honey Bridge Farm. Stray find.
134 Battle Axe. Quartzite, possibly from a beach pebble. 500 Farm. Stray find.
135 ?Pebble hammer. Pebble of volcanic tuff from Snowdonia/Borrowdale/Group XX Charnwood Forest, Cow Common. Stray find.
136 Cushion stone. Basalt. Manea. Stray find.

the centre of the fen, away from other contemporary sites with evidence for a similar economy on the fen-edge, such as at Fengate (Pryor 1980; 1984) and those on the southern fen-edge (Healy 1984: 13), indicates that they are possibly associated with summer pasture, with the animals returning to the flood-free grazing on the fen-edge in the winter. Without the analyses of well-stratified sites producing economic evidence from the centre of the Fens, however, this must remain a speculation.

Conclusions

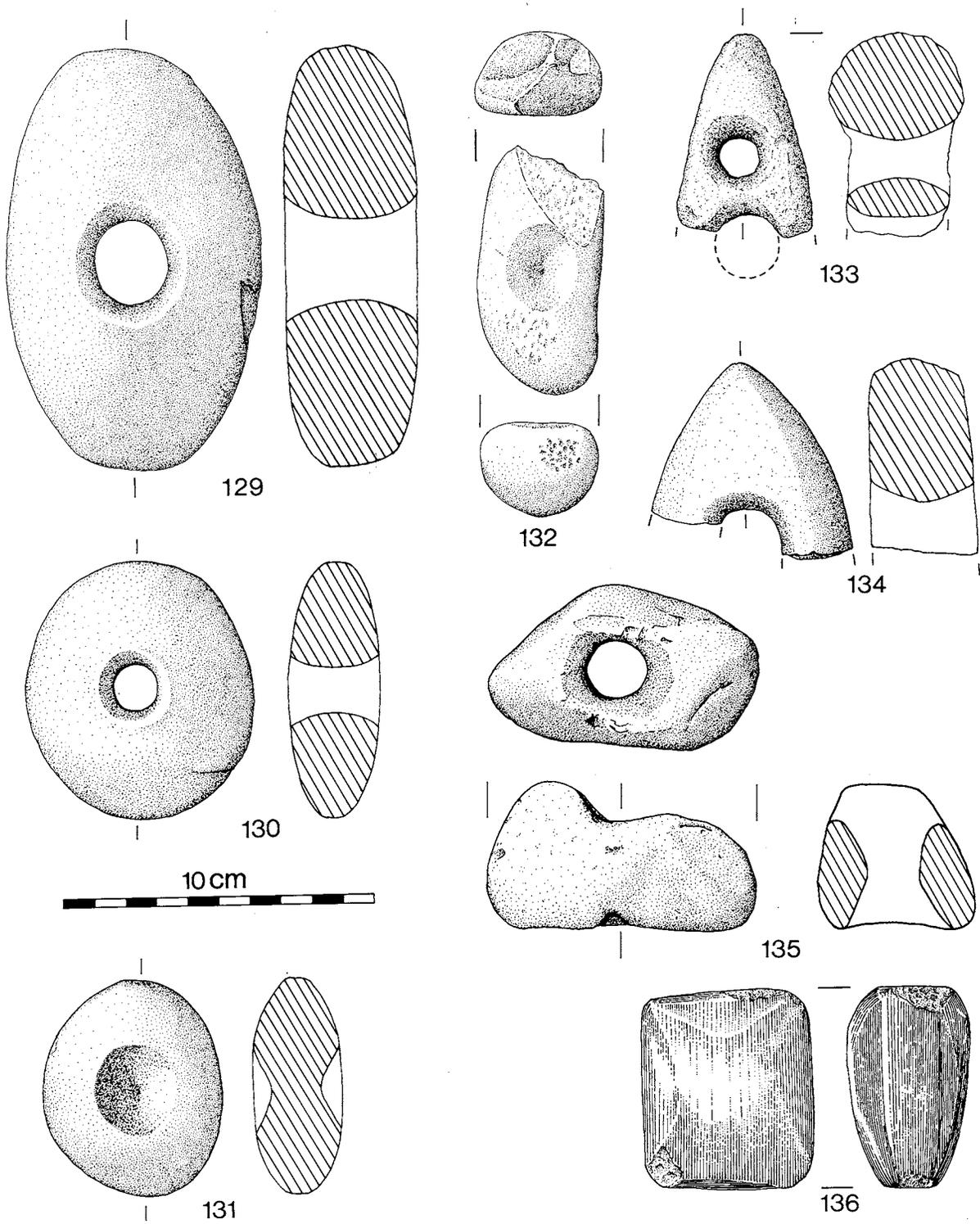
This study has attempted to analyse a museum collection, by both technological and typological means, to locate, date and begin the analysis of the function of sites now almost devoid of material. This task was greatly aided by the quality of the textual information recorded on each find, and by the work of the Fenland Survey (Hall 1987, Hall forthcoming). This study has also shown that small assemblages of lithic material, collected from the ploughsoil by largely unknown methods, are worthy of detailed study. They are not necessarily to be used in isolation, but to build up a detailed picture of local spatial and chronological trends in flintworking. A complete archive of the whole collection has been deposited with the finds in Wisbech Museum.

Acknowledgements

The author and illustrator would like to thank the staff of Wisbech Museum, especially the former curator Miss P. Banham, for allowing us unrestricted access to the Walker Collection. We would also like to express our gratitude to David Hall for his help and to Alan Dawn for the identification of the rock types. Many thanks are extended to Charly French for his help and advice and to Francis Pryor and Frances Healy for reading earlier drafts of this paper.

References

- BADEN-POWELL, D.F.W. 1934. On the marine gravels at March, Cambridgeshire, *Geological Magazine* 71(839), May 1934.
BAMFORD, H. 1982. *Beaker domestic sites in the Fen-Edge and East Anglia*. (East Anglian Archaeology 16).
BAMFORD, H. 1985. *Briar Hill Excavation 1974-8*. Northants Development Corporation Archaeological Monograph 3.
BELL, M. 1977. *Excavations at Bishopstone*. (Sussex Archaeological Collections 115).
BOOTH, B., R. BROUGH & F. PRYOR. 1984. The flexible storage of site data: a microcomputer application, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 11: 81-9.
BRADLEY, R. 1978. *The prehistoric settlement of Britain*. London.
BRADLEY, R. & R. HOLTGATE. 1984. The Neolithic sequence in the Upper Thames Valley, in R. Bradley & J. Gardiner (ed.), *Neolithic studies*: 87-106. (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 133).
BROWN, A.G. & M.R. EDMONDS (ed.). 1987. *Lithic analysis and later British prehistory*: 49-65. (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 162).
BURGESS, C. 1980. *The age of Stonehenge*. London.
CHOWNE, P. & F. HEALY. 1983. Artefacts from a prehistoric cemetery and settlement in Anwick Fen, Lincolnshire, *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 18: 37-46.
CLARK, J.G.D. 1933. Report on an Early Bronze Age site in the south eastern Fens, *Antiquaries Journal* 13: 266-96.
CLARK, J.G.D. 1934. Derivative forms of the petit tranche in Britain, *Archaeological Journal* 91: 34-58.
CLARK, J.G.D. 1936. Report on a Late Bronze Age site in Mildenhall Fen, West Suffolk, *Antiquaries Journal* 16: 29-50.
CLARK, J.G.D., H. GODWIN, M.E. GODWIN & M.H. CLIFFORD. 1935. Report on recent excavations at Peacocks Farm, Cambridgeshire, *Antiquaries Journal* 15: 284-319.
CLARK, J.G.D., E.S. HIGGS & I.H. LONGWORTH. 1960. Excavations at the Neolithic site at Hurst Fen, Mildenhall, Suffolk, 1954, 1957 and 1958,



- Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 26: 202–45.
- CLARKE, D.V., T.G. COWIE & A. FOXON. 1985. *Symbols of power at the time of Stonehenge*. Edinburgh.
- COTTERELL, B. & J. KAMMINGA. 1987. The formation of flakes, *American Antiquity* 52: 675–708.
- FORD, S. 1987. Chronological and functional aspects of flint assemblages, in Brown & Edmonds: 67–86.
- FORD, S., R. BRADLEY, J. HAWKES & P. FISHER. 1984. Flint working in the Metal Age, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 3: 157–73.
- GARDINER, J. 1987a. The Late Neolithic flint assemblage, in B. Cunliffe, *Hengistbury Head 1: The prehistoric and Roman settlement, 3500 BC–500 AD*. Oxford.
- GARDINER, J. 1987b. Tales of the unexpected: approaches to the assessment and interpretation of museum flint collections, in Brown & Edmonds: 49–65.
- GREEN, H.S. 1980. *The flint arrowheads of the British Isles*. (British Archaeological Reports. British Series 75).
- GREEN, H.S. 1984. Flint arrowheads: typology and interpretation, *Lithics* 5: 19–39.
- HALL, D. 1987. *Fenland landscapes and settlement between Peterborough and March*. (East Anglian Archaeology 35).
- HEALY, F. 1984. Lithic assemblage variation in the late third and early second millennia BC in eastern England, *Lithics* 5: 10–18.
- HEALY, F. 1985. The struck flint, in S.J. Shennan, F. Healy and I.F. Smith, *The excavation of a ring-ditch at Tye Field, Lawford, Essex*, *Archaeological Journal* 142: 177–207.
- HEALY, F. 1987. Prediction or prejudice?: the relationship between field survey and excavation, in Brown & Edmonds: 9–18.
- HODDER, J. & C. EVANS. In preparation. *Excavations in Foulmire Fen*.
- JUEL JENSEN, H. 1983. A microwear analysis of unretouched blades from Agerod V, in L. Larsson, *Agerod V: an Atlantic bog site in Central Scania: 144–52*. (Acta Archaeologica Lundensia 8).
- LETHBRIDGE, T.C. 1935. Investigation of the ancient causeway in the Fen between Fordy and Little Thetford, Cambridgeshire, *Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society* 35: 86–9.
- LIMBREY, S. 1987. Farmers and farmland: aspects of prehistoric land use in the Severn Basin, in K.J. Gregory, J. Lewin & J.B. Thornes (eds), *Palaeohydrology in Practice: 251–68* Chichester.
- MANBY, T.G. 1974. *Grooved Ware sites in the north of England*. (British Archaeological Reports. British Series 9).
- MERCER, R.J. 1981. *Graves, Norfolk Excavations, 1971–2* 1. London: HMSO. (DOE Archaeological Report 11).
- MIDDLETON, R. In preparation a. The lithic assemblage, in I. Hodder & C. Evans. In preparation.
- MIDDLETON, R. In preparation b. The lithic assemblage, in F. Pryor, C. French & M. Taylor, *Excavations at Etton, Cambs.* (BM/HBMC Monograph).
- MOORE, W.R.G. & J.H. WILLIAMS, with A. BODDINGTON. 1975. A later Neolithic site at Ecton, Northampton, *Northants Archaeology* 10: 3–30.
- MOSS, E.H. 1983. *The functional analysis of flint implements*. (British Archaeological Reports. International Series 177).
- PRYOR, F.M.M. 1974. *Excavations at Fengate, Peterborough, England: the first report*. (Archaeological Monographs, Royal Ontario Museum 3).
- PRYOR, F.M.M. 1978. *Excavations at Fengate, Peterborough, England: the second report*. (Archaeological Monographs, Royal Ontario Museum 5).
- PRYOR, F.M.M. 1980. *Excavations at Fengate, Peterborough, England: the third report*. (Northants Archaeological Society Monograph 1/Archaeological Monographs, Royal Ontario Museum 6).
- PRYOR, F.M.M. 1984. *Excavations at Fengate, Peterborough, England: the fourth report*. (Northants Archaeological Society Monograph 2/Archaeological Monographs, Royal Ontario Museum 7).
- PRYOR, F.M.M. & C.A.I. FRENCH. 1985. *Archaeology and environment in the Lower Welland Valley*. (East Anglian Archaeology 27).
- PRYOR, F.M.M., C.A.I. FRENCH & M. TAYLOR. 1986. Flag Fen, Peterborough 1: discovery, reconnaissance and initial excavation 1982–85, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 52: 1–24.
- ROE, F.E. 1979. Typology of stone implements with shaftholes, in T.H. McK. Clough & W.A. Cummins (ed.), *Stone Axe Studies: 23–48*. (CBA Research Report 23).
- SAVILLE, A. 1973. A reconstruction of the prehistoric flint assemblage from Bourne Pool, Aldridge, Staffs., *Transactions of the South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society* 14: 6–28.
- SAVILLE, A. 1980. On the measurement of struck flakes and flake tools, *Lithics* 1: 16–20.
- SAVILLE, A. 1981a. The flint assemblage, in *Crims Crowes; Norfolk, Excavations 1971–2: Vol. 2*. (R.J. Mercer), (DOE Archaeological Report 11, HMSO).
- SAVILLE, A. 1981b. Mesolithic industries in central England: an exploratory investigation using microlith typology, *Archaeological Journal* 138: 49–71.
- SAVILLE, A. 1981c. Honey Hill, Elkington, a Northamptonshire Mesolithic site, *Northants Archaeology* 16: 1–16.
- SOLLAS, W.J. 1924. *Ancient hunters*. 3rd edition. London.
- WHITTLE, A. 1985. Excavations at Peacocks Farm, Cambridgeshire, *Fenland Research* 2: 16–18.
- WOODMAN, P.C. 1985. *Excavations at Mount Sandel 1973–77*. (Northern Ireland Archaeological Monographs 2).
- WYMER, J.J. (ed.). 1977. *Gazetteer of Mesolithic sites in England and Wales*. (CBA Research Report 22).

The Bassingbourn Diana: a comparison with other bronze figurines of Diana found in Britain

Joan P. Alcock

Discussion

Diana was not one of the most popular deities worshipped in Roman Britain and the occasions when she does appear are those where she is depicted in the guise of Artemis where she combined the functions of a woodland deity and a deity of fertility. She also became assimilated with Luna, so much so that representations of a figure adorned with the lunar crescent can be suggested to be either Luna or Diana as on the pediment at Bath (Toynbee 1964: 139).

The main aspect of her worship and her invocations however, appear, to be almost entirely related to her capacity as a goddess of hunting. This is understandable in view of the wildness of the landscape and the enjoyment of both Celt and Roman for the chase. As there does not seem to have been a Celtic female deity entirely associated with hunting the classical concept of the deity would dominate. On the other hand her association with fertility would link her to any of the Celtic female fertility deities. This would account for her worship by the women of the family; a statuette found in the Woodchester Villa, where the head of a bull has an association with Luna, suggests Diana in her capacity as guardian of childbirth (Toynbee 1964: 84).

The four bronze statuettes of Diana found in Britain are all related to the concept of Diana as huntress and their depiction is derived from that of a purely classical design of the 4th century BC. Each of the four is, however, portraying a different interpretation and perhaps the most interesting is the figurine from Bassingbourn. Toynbee regards it as being 'almost certainly a British work, to judge by its clumsy pose and rough style of modelling' (Toynbee 1964: 85) but it is of greater interest than the statement implies. Two similar figures (Hercules and Venus) may have been made in

the same area, so that the possibility of a local British workshop can be suggested in the Cambridge–Ely area. The modeller has also derived his statuette from classical models but seemingly has confused two classical garments a mistake which perhaps might be expected from British or Gaulish craftsmen. The style, especially with regard to the hair and the facial features, is Celtic and somewhat crude in comparison with the Cirencester figurine. Nevertheless, the overall design has a vigour which would have induced a purchaser to believe in the power of this hunter-deity and for him to believe that it would be a suitable offering to present to a shrine or to place in a lararium.

In the 2nd century AD Hadrian promoted the cult of Diana and exploits of Hadrian as hunter, as for example those depicted on the groups of Hadrianic reliefs now decorating the Arch of Constantine, have been interpreted as part of the propaganda cult (Aymard 1951: 523). Coinage of both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius continued this aspect. It is possible therefore that the Bassingbourn figurine can be dated to the 2nd century AD, and that the modeller had taken his inspiration from designs on coins of the reign of Hadrian.

1 Bassingbourn

Location Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge.

Provenance Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire.

Number RC 23.239

Height 10.1 cm.

Patina Dark green, good condition.

References Heichelheim 1935–7: 59–60, no. IX, plate 3.c; Toynbee 1964: 85; Green 1976: 209; Pitts 1979: 72, plate 19.

Description

The goddess is standing with the weight of the body on the right foot; the left is placed slightly in front. Originally she was placed on a dome-shaped base and was supported by a rod which protrudes from underneath the chiton: the left arm is placed sideways with the forearm raised; it is missing from just below the elbow. The right arm is placed diagonally downwards and is bent at the elbow. A hole is drilled through the hand, which rests on the hip; it is possible that a bow was placed in the hole. The facial features are firmly modelled, the eyes are



Figure 1.
Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire.
Height 10.1 cm.

drilled, the lips thick, the nose well marked and splayed out at the bottom. There is a narrow depression across the face running down the forehead and along the left side of the nose, which may have been done in the casting. The hair is elaborately arranged by being drawn up into two top knots and pulled into a bun at the nape of the neck. This hairstyle is derived from statues such as the Artemis of Versailles where the top knot of hair is held on the top of the

head by a band drawn round the hair to bunch it upwards.

The figure is modelled on one of Praxiteles. Pausanias mentions Artemis Laphria, a work of Menarchomes and Soidas, which Augustus gave to the people of Patriae (Pausanias VII 18.9). This appears to have been a standing figure with the right hand placed on the hip and a bow in the left hand (Imhoof-Blumer & Gardner 1964: pls. vi–x).

The long chiton is held under the breast by a belt, and another belt round the waist allows the garment to be drawn up and pouched over.

The shape of the belt and the shape of the overfold are the same. The heavy folds of the drapery are well-marked at the front but smoothed out behind, though the upper belt and the overfold continue to be clearly marked. This suggests that the main viewing point of the figure was from the front. The arrangement of the garment provides an interesting example of a provincial artist either ignoring or being ignorant of classical practice. Hellenistic sculpture portrayed early representations of a standing Artemis as wearing a peplos, a heavy full garment drawn up at the waist to produce a large overfold.

Occasionally an artist would add a second belt just above the waist.

As this garment was intended to reach the ground it was unsuitable for active movement and Diana Venetrix would wear the less cumbersome chiton, a more simple garment made of two pieces of cloth sewn together with an opening in the centre of the upper edge for the head and two openings at the uppermost ends of the side edges for the arms. A Roman addition to this costume was to place a second chiton or tunic with short sleeves beneath the first. This can be seen on the figure of Artemis in the Vatican Museums (Lippoid 1936: 188–9, no. 584, taf. 51). The creator of the Bassingbourn figurine has confused the two garments giving the goddess a peplos with short sleeves held by a belt placed under the breasts.

Parallels

This, together with the powerful appearance of the figure, suggests Celtic workmanship. There is no parallel to this figure amongst published bronze figurines. Only one, from Cologne, displays the goddess wearing a peplos and this is cast in a more classical fashion (Menzel 1986, no 81, taf 45). Diana wearing a long garment ('draped') appears on coins of Hadrian's reign (e.g. Mattingley 1923–40: III, 282, no 334, plate 53.6; Robertson 1962–82: II, 94, no 127, plate 21). The position of the left

arm is paralleled by figurines in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston where the arm was raised to hold a torch (Comstock and Vermule 1971, nos 157–158). The facial features recall those of bronze figurines found in the same area e.g. a Venus found at Ely and a Hercules from Sutton near Ely (Heichelheim 1935–37, 52, 61) and suggest the presence of a local workshop.

2 Cirencester

Location Corinium Museum, Cirencester.

Provenance Cirencester, Leauses Garden, Gloucestershire. Found together with a statuette of Mercury

Number B 595.

Height 5.6 cm.

Patina Dark green. Some corrosion in the folds of the drapery.

References Buckman & Newmarch 1850: 109; 1860: 110, figures 41–2; Toynbee 1964: 85; Reinach 1924, v: 134, no. 4 – shown here with left foot missing.

Description

The goddess is stepping forward on to the right foot, the left is placed behind, so that the weight has just been transferred from the rear to the front foot. The left arm is extended obliquely forward; the missing left hand probably held a bow. The right arm is raised upward diagonally; the forearm bends down to allow the fingers to withdraw an arrow from a quiver on the back. The fingers are separately modelled.

The head is turned to the left with the face strongly modelled; the features are good. Eyes are indicated by depressions; the mouth is a slit, the nose is wedge-shaped.

The hair is drawn back from the forehead and lies in waves which conform to the shape of the head. The front hair is gathered into a kind of double-bow on the top of the head. She is wearing a chiton which ends at the knee; it is draped over both shoulders leaving the neck bare. The right knee is thrust forward pushing the drapery which falls to one side. The long quiver, with a rounded base, lies at an angle against the back of the body. It has been cast as one with the figure. On the feet are small hunting boots reaching to halfway up the calf.

Discussion

Artemis, depicted as a standing figure in the act of putting on a heavy mantle, was first created by Praxiteles for the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis (Bieber 1961: 21; Picard IV 1963: 248, figure 5). Pausanias noted (I, 23 7) that the sculptor created it on his

return from Asia about 356 BC. He also commented (I 40 2) that in the ancient sanctuary at Megara there was a statue of Artemis surnamed 'saviour' created by Strongylion. Coins from Megara show her running, wearing a shortened chiton and holding a torch (Richter 1950: figure 643).

A statue of Artemis at Antikyra, according to Pausanias, reveals the goddess holding a torch in her right hand, and with a quiver hanging from her shoulder; by her side sits a dog. This design also appears on coins (Imhoof-Blumer & Gardner 1964: plate γ xvii) and the stance may have been adapted from the earlier statues of Artemis or from Amazon poses of the 5th century BC. A further development from the



Figure 2.
Cirencester, Gloucestershire.
Height 5.6 cm.

Praxitelean original is seen in the Artemis from Gabii, now in the Louvre (Rizzio 1932–5: Tav. xciv) where the goddess wears a wide chiton over which she arranges a diplax (a somewhat similar garment to a peplos but with a broad overfold). These statues are static but the pose of the Artemis of Versailles, now in the Louvre, a work ascribed to the 4th century BC sculptor, Leochares, a younger contemporary of Lysippus, gives the suggestion of the goddess running forward whilst taking an arrow from the quiver on her back. This design, known as

Diana Venetrix, was popular in Rome under the Republic. Pliny (*Natural History*: XXXVI IV 24) remarks that a statue of Diana by the younger Kephisodotus stood in the temple of Juno within the Porticus Octaviae (Platner & Ashby 1929: 427) and Sestieri (1940–1) suggests that this statue was the prototype which was copied.

The Artemis of Versailles wears what is often described as a short chiton. The garment is, however, a long chiton which is held in place by two belts, one placed under the breast, the other round the waist. The latter allows the garment to be pulled up into an overfold so that it will not impede a running motion. The lower folds appear to stream out backwards, a gesture reminiscent of the garments worn by Victoria and by the Lares. The arrangement became popular in the Roman period.

On the Versailles statue the hair is arranged in a bun held on the nape of the neck. A statue of Artemis now in the Vatican Museum (Bieber 1977: figure 260) has the hair arranged in two 'bows' on the top of the head. This elaborate hairstyle displays the so-called rococo tendencies of Hellenistic art which continued into the Roman period.

Parallels

There are many parallels to this design mainly from Gaul (e.g. Boucher 1973: nos. 31, 33–4) and the Rhineland (e.g. Menzel 1966: no. 63) but also extending across the Empire (Popovic *et al.* 1969: no. 100). It would seem this particular concept of Diana as huntress was more popular in other parts of the Empire than in Britain.

3 Wroxeter

Location Rowley's House Museum, Shrewsbury.

Provenance Wroxeter, Shropshire.

Number A 300.

Height 8.1 cm.

Patina Dark green; well preserved.

References *Archaeological Journal* xix (1862):

81; *Gentleman's Magazine* (April 1862): 401;

Wright 1872: 320; Green 1976: 164; *Victoria*

County History: Shropshire 1 (1908): 254.

Description

The figure is stepping forward so that the weight of the body would be placed on the left leg; the foot is turned diagonally outwards. The right leg has been broken off but the angle of the remaining upper joint shows that it would

have been placed behind. The left arm extends diagonally outwards; the hand is formed into a slit and could have held a bow. The right arm is held out horizontal to the body with the forearm placed obliquely backwards behind the head. The hand is in the act of taking an arrow out of the quiver. The head is turned slightly to the left; the facial features are formalized, the nose is smooth and the pupils of the eyes have been drilled. The hair is brought into a roll round the head and is framed by a diadem; waves fall on either side of a central parting at the back. The hairstyle is carefully modelled. The diadem is a common attribute of the goddess (e.g. as in the



Figure 3.
Wroxeter, Shropshire.
Height 8.1 cm.

Versailles Artemis) and sometimes has a crescent moon placed on the front (e.g. the Artemis in the Capitoline Museum) (Jones 1912: 328, no. 24, 182). The figure wears a chiton which is tied by two bands, one under the breast and one round the waist. The garment is caught up by the latter to form an overfold; the lower part is pushed to one side by the left leg, so that the goddess is caught in the act of striding forward.

Parallels

There is no direct parallel to this figure amongst the bronze figurines already published but the style recalls the Gallo-Belgica tradition.

4 Exeter

Location Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter.

Provenance Unknown.

Number Montague collection 5/ 1946.736. The figurines came into the museum's possession in 1946 together with several other bronze figurines and there is no record of where they were found.

Height 6 cm.

Patina Dark brown, some corrosion in the folds of the garment at the back.

References Unpublished.



Figure 4.

No provenance (Exeter).

Height 6 cm.

Description

The goddess is stepping forward on to the right foot; the left foot is placed behind and sideways

so that the foot is slightly turned outwards. The left leg is bent at the knee. The left arm is held diagonally outwards but is missing below the elbow. The right arm is extended forwards and is bent at the elbow; the hand seems to hold what appears to be the remains of a bow. The head is turned slightly to the right. The facial features are not well-formed; the mouth is barely indicated, the eyes protrude and the nose is wedge-shaped.

The hairstyle is formed in an elaborate coiffure being drawn into a roll round the head with a central parting down the back. The roll is carried into the nape of the neck and drawn into a bun by means of five horizontal rolls.

The goddess wears a chiton caught up in one overfold at the waist so that the top part forms a pouched effect. It is draped over both shoulders leaving the neck bare. The folds of the garment are clearly marked. There is a quiver behind the right shoulder held by a strap which crosses over the right shoulder and under the left arm.

Parallels

The parallels are similar to those relating to the Cirencester figurine. Diana Venetrix seems to have been worshipped most commonly in the eastern area of Gaul and the Rhineland (Kruger 1917), where her depiction occurs more frequently in stone. This particular figure may have been brought into Britain either during the Roman period or as a collector's item.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to the University Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology, Cambridge, the Corinium Museum, Cirencester, the Shrewsbury Borough Museums' Service and the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter for permission to publish the figurines. The photographs are the property of the author.

References

- AYMARD, J. 1951. *Essai sur les chasses romaines des origines à la fin du Siècle des Antoinnes (Cynegattica)*. Paris.
- BIEBER, M. 1915. *Die Antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des Königlichen Museum Fridericianum in Kassel*. Marburg.
- BIEBER, M. 1961. *The sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*. New York.
- BIEBER, M. 1977. *Ancient copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman art*. New York.
- BOUCHER, S. 1973. *Bronzes romains figurés du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon*. Travaux édités sous les auspices de la ville de Lyon IV. Lyon.

- BUCKMAN, Prof. & C. NEWMARCH. 1850. *Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester*. Cirencester; 2nd edition 1960.
- COMSTOCK, M & C. VERMEULE. 1971 *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*.
- GREEN, M.J. 1976. *The Religions of Civilian Roman Britain*. BAR 24. Oxford.
- HEICHELHEIM, F.M. 1935-7. Some unpublished Roman bronze statuettes in the museum of Archaeology and Ethnography, Cambridge, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 37-8: 52-68.
- IMHOOF-BLUMER, I.W. & P. GARDNER. 1964. *Ancient Coins illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art: A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*. Chicago.
- JONES, H. 1912. *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*. Oxford.
- KRUGER, E. 1917. Diana Arduinna, *Germania* 1: 4-12.
- LIPPOLD, G. 1936. *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums III i*. Berlin.
- MATTINGLEY, H. 1923-40. *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. 4 volumes. London.
- MENZEL, H. 1966. *Die Römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland II: Trier, Mainz*.
- MENZEL, H. 1986. *Die Römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland III: Bonn, Mainz*.
- PICARD, C. 1935-63. *Manuel d'archéologie grecque: La Sculpture*. 4 volumes. Paris.
- PITTS, L.F. 1979. *Roman Bronze Figurines of the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes*. BAR British series 60. Oxford.
- PLATNER, S.B. & T. ASHBY. 1929. *A Topographical Dictionary, of Ancient Rome*. Oxford.
- POPOVIC, L.B., D. MANO-ZISI, M. VELICKOVIC & B. JELICIC. 1969. *Anticka Bronza u Jugoslavji*. Belgrade.
- REINACH, S. 1897-1930. *Répertoire de la statuaire Greque et Romaine*. 6 volumes. Paris.
- RICHTER, G.M.A. 1950. *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*. 3rd edition. New Haven (CT).
- RIZZO, G.E. 1932. *Prassitele*. Milan.
- ROBERTSON, A.S. 1962-82. *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet*. 5 volumes. Oxford.
- SESTIERI, P.C. 1940-41. Diana Venatrix, *Rivista di Institute Nazionale Archeologia e storia dell'Arte* (1940-41): 107-28.
- TOYNBEE, J.M.C. 1964. *Art in Britain under the Romans*. Oxford.
- VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY. 1908. *A History of the County of Shropshire* 1. London.
- WRIGHT, T. 1872. *Uriconium: An Historical Account of the Ancient City*. London.

Barrington Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 1989

TL37464959

Tim Malim

Summary

A three-week programme of survey and excavation to determine the extent and condition of a 6th-century AD burial ground threatened by ploughing, was undertaken by Cambridgeshire County Council in September 1989. The burials covered an area of at least half an hectare sitting on top of a small rise. Traces of a bank appear to delimit the cemetery. 27 skeletons were excavated of which 10 were severely damaged, and only three were virtually undamaged. Weapons, jewellery, and other personal possessions including a large number of amber beads, were deposited with the burials.

Introduction

The site lies on a knoll of chalk-marl set in the river valley of the Cam. It forms a pronounced feature as it rises 4 metres out of the surrounding plain and has been known for centuries as Edix Hill Hole. It lies midway between the river and the sudden rise of the Barrington–Orwell hills. Although in Barrington parish it lies closer to Orwell village, 500 metres from the parish boundary (Figure 1).

Originally discovered by drainage work in the 1840s this cemetery has enjoyed haphazard antiquarian interest ever since (Babington 1860; Wilkinson 1868; Fox 1923: 250–59), but should not be confused with the better-known cemetery of Hooper's Field, known as Barrington B, excavated by Foster in 1880 (Foster 1883).

It appears that at least 11 skeletons were excavated between 1840 and 1860, and it was recorded that they lay below 18 inches (46 cm) of soil on a slightly rising slope. The artifacts found with them correspond to ones found

more recently at Edix Hill, and several references are made to the outstanding size of the skeletons (Babington 1860), whilst Wilkinson (1868) refers to them as being 'of persons in the prime of life'. A further 30 skeletons were excavated by Wilkinson who gave them to Cambridge University, but since then reorganization of the collections has resulted in all the bones being thrown out without having been properly studied.

The attention of the Archaeology section of Cambridgeshire County Council was drawn to the area in 1987/8 by a local metal-detector user who had discovered an iron shield boss and other 6th-century artifacts. On small-scale excavations three skeletons were uncovered: a male with spearhead and shield boss, and a male and female double burial with shield boss and jewellery. These skeletons lay in shallow graves cut into the chalk natural and had barely 24 cm (9 inches) of soil covering them, half the depth of soil reported from the last century. The skulls and some of the other bones had been removed by the plough.

These excavations were followed by a day's fieldwalking, and it was decided that a fuller programme of assessment was needed to try to establish the extent of the burial ground and to see whether the burials were in serious danger of being ploughed away.

Survey and excavation, 1989

In September 1989 a team of archaeologists and metal-detector users undertook a survey of the knoll and surrounding land to see if sufficient evidence was available from surface data to map the area of the cemetery. This was followed up by 600 metres of trial trenching and excavation over a two week period.

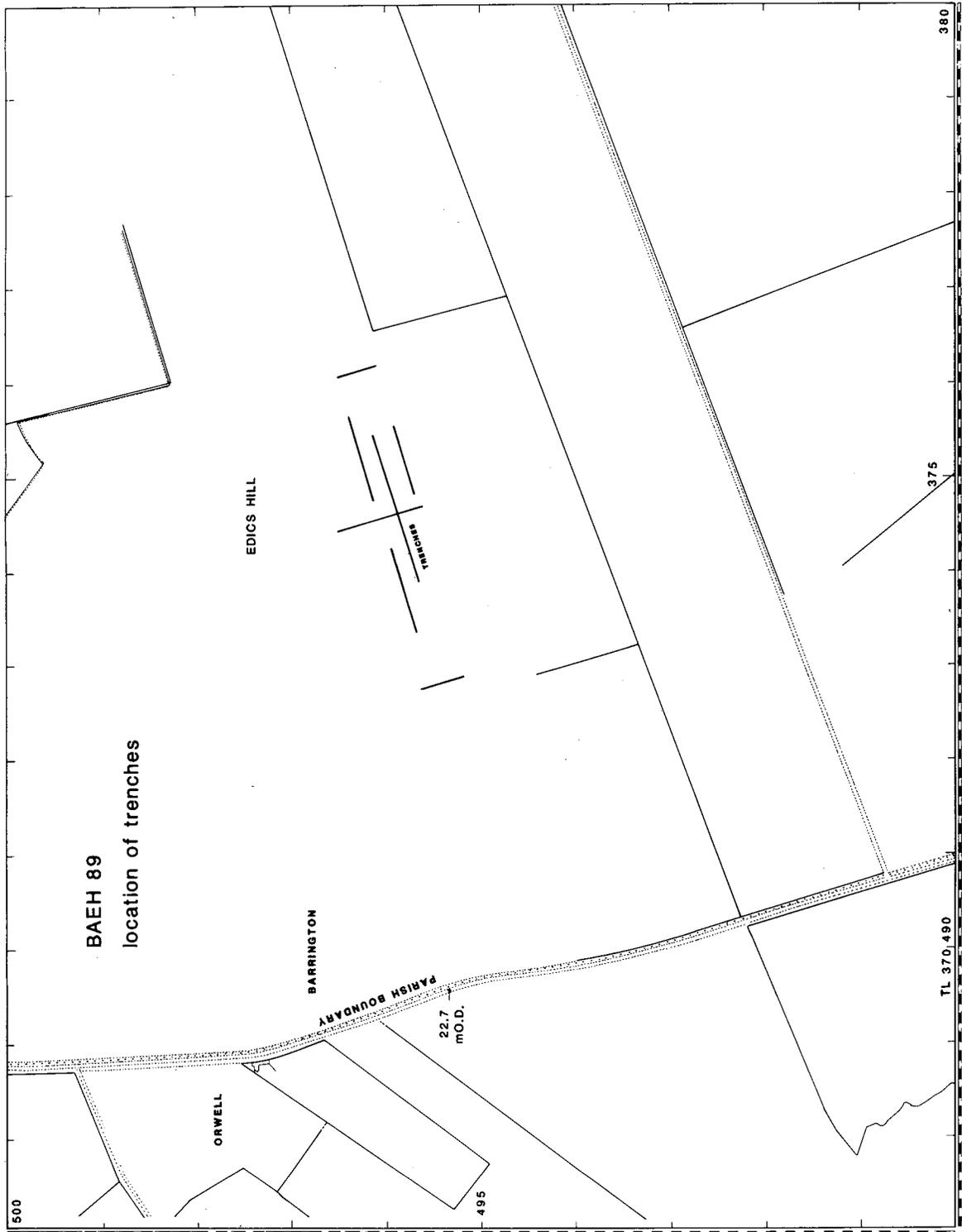


Figure 1. Location of trenches.

The survey

Conditions for survey work varied as half the area under study had been ploughed and harrowed, whilst a 50 metre wide band running right through the site had been left in stubble. Both types of ground were dry and the weather conditions remained dry and reasonably bright throughout the survey period.

As the burials in 1987/8 had been found with the use of a metal detector it was proposed to thoroughly prospect the area with these machines and experienced operators. We enlisted the support of the Soke Metal detecting Club and several local enthusiasts who covered an area 300 x 100 metres in two main ways: (A) A strip 50 x 90 metres was surveyed with metal detectors on 1 metre transects and all signals were marked and plotted onto a 1:500 scale plan (B) The remaining area was covered by blanket-surveying with metal detector users randomly walking the area, then crossing it at right angles in lines 5 metres apart. With this approach only very loud signals were marked, whilst other notable signals were dug by the finders to a few inches depth in the plough soil. If the signal went deeper the object was marked for later excavation.

Concurrent with this metal detecting a programme of field walking was undertaken on 10 metre transects, covering an area 150 x 400 metres.

Survey results

The 0.45 hectare of plotted metal detecting produced 680 signals which showed no obvious patterns to help us decide where there might be burials. Of the signals 11 were non-ferrous, all of which were modern items except the square head of an ornate 6th-century brooch. The iron signals were not excavated but a trial trench put through this area revealed no burials or other ancient features at all.

Different field conditions did not unduly affect the work, although the survey went faster and produced a slightly higher percentage of signals from the ploughed area than from that with stubble.

The area covered by blanket metal-detecting produced surprisingly few deep signals, and conditions on the ploughed and harrowed area were definitely preferable to the stubble band. Some of the machines that were used can detect to a depth of 30–35 cm, and yet the most interesting finds were a Tudor half coin and a

medieval jetton. Burials were not detected by this method.

It was noted that there were a great number of signals in the area examined but that the proportion of non-ferrous to ferrous signals was remarkably low. This led to the conclusion that the site had been well combed in the past and much of the non-ferrous material collected and removed by previous detector users.

Fieldwalking produced a concentration of pre-medieval finds on and around the top of the chalk knoll. This had been noticed also by the fieldwalking in 1988 which had covered the area presently under stubble. Medieval and post-medieval finds were not prolific but formed a fairly even background away from the knoll. If the fieldwalking had been part of a regional study the finds probably would not have been thought significant enough to warrant further work in the field, but for us they corroborated available evidence and pinpointed the ridge and slopes of the chalk knoll as being the main area of pre-medieval activity.

Excavation

Eight trial trenches 1.5 metres wide were dug with a mechanical digger. The ploughsoil was removed until the chalk subsoil was encountered. This was only 24–30 cm below the surface on the top of the knoll, and trenches on the ridge immediately exposed graves cut into the chalk. Bones were apparent also at the base of the ploughsoil and great care was needed in using the digger.

The trenches were laid out in 100 metre lengths across the top of the knoll with the central one (Trench 1) running approximately north–south and others down the slopes on either side perpendicular to it. On the plain further trenches (Trenches 2, 8) were positioned running parallel to Trench 1 on the knoll, and in the burial area this central trench was widened to 5 metres. Another two trenches were cut running out at right angles from the main area of interest so that the spread of burials down the slope could be seen (Trenches 4, 6). A final trench (Trench 7) was cut running down the slope to the east to investigate the best evidence for a slight bank (Figure 2).

Extensive trenching into the ploughed area of the field was not possible, but the long central trench did run 50 metres into this part of the field and revealed a number of

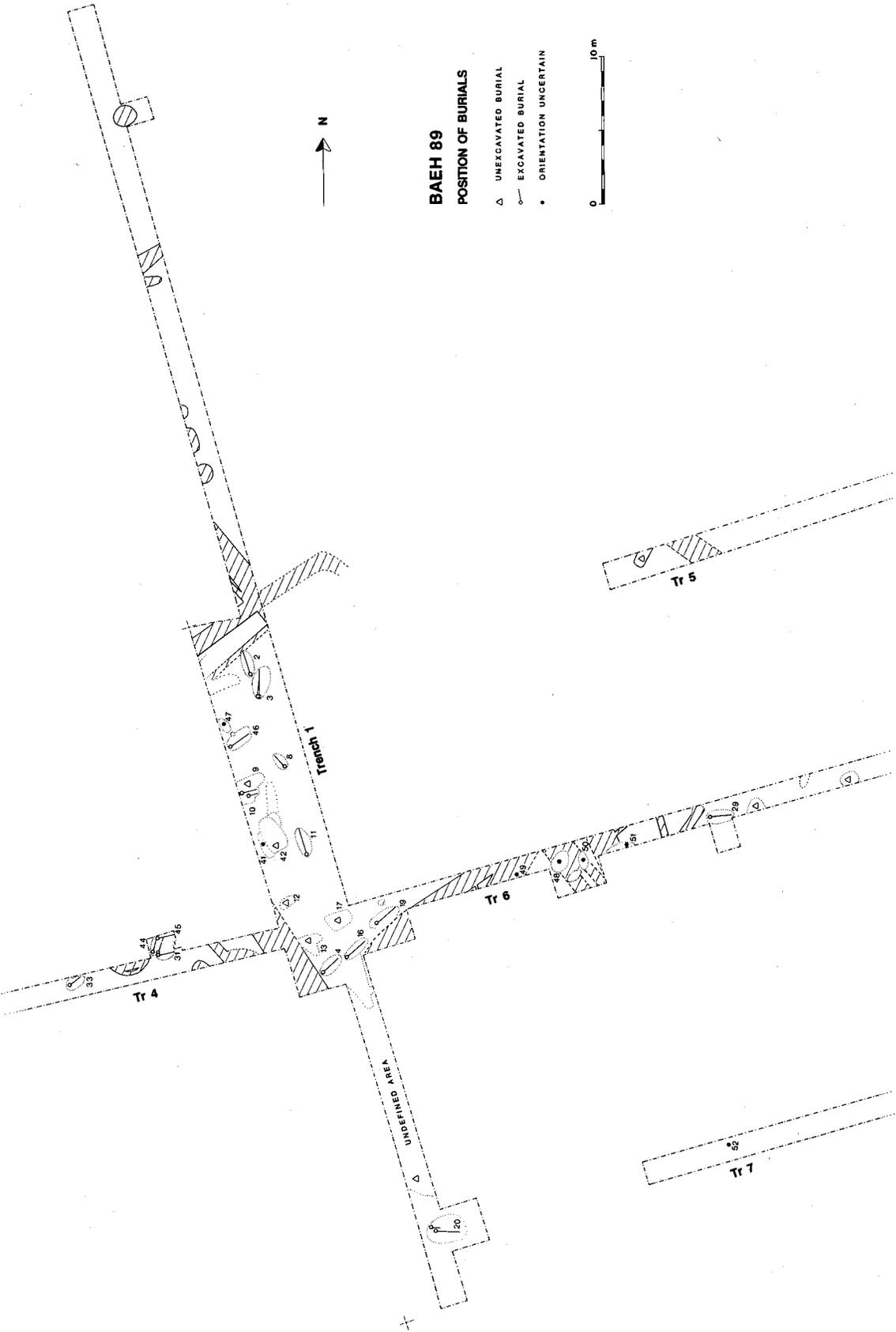


Figure 3.
Position of burials.

features other than graves. Ditches and pits dug into the chalk were found suggesting occupation activity. A background scatter of Iron Age and some Romano-British pottery was evident in these features and the ploughsoil. However as the burials did not seem to continue into this area, indeed they may be separated from it by a small ditch, there was time to excavate only one pit here. This contained an upside-down cattle skull lying in the middle and directly on the floor of the pit, presumably a deliberately placed deposit.

The pottery

Pottery found during fieldwalking and in the excavation has been provisionally examined by Morag Woudhuysen and some general points can be made about it. Saxon pottery predominates with a remarkable variety in quality and number of vessels present. It seems to represent a domestic assemblage of straight-sided, 'bag'-shaped pots. Datable sherds are few but belong to the 5th and 6th centuries AD. There are some 1st- and 2nd-century Romano-British wares, and an assemblage of abraded Late Iron Age pottery.

The burials

The burials seemed to group around the southern end of the brow of the knoll, and extended some 50 metres east and west down the slopes (Figure 3). Possibly they extend further south too, but this was in a field that belonged to another owner and was not part of the area excavated this year. However part of a cruciform brooch was found 150 metres away from the excavated burials when this field was walked. To the north the evidence of the one trench running into the ploughed area suggests this was used for activities other than burial.

Orientation of the skeletons varied considerably between due north and due east (Figures 3–9). Similarly there appeared to be no conformity to burial position, although there have been none found prone. The majority were supine and extended, apparently similar to the positions of those reported by Wilkinson (1868). Multiple burials were common amongst the sample so far excavated. No coffin nails have been found but many burials had shallow scoops cut into the chalk as graves. Those skeletons that did not have the benefit of this type of burial have been largely destroyed by ploughing, and even those given graves have been damaged to a greater or lesser degree. Many of the skeletons appear to have been

buried with the heads slightly raised on a 'pillow' of chalk, and this has resulted in a particularly high percentage of plough damage to skulls. The bones are in good condition and are easy to lift, and from a layman's view the skeletons appear to have come from healthy individuals, mostly fully mature adults, ranging in height between 175 and 180 cm for the males, and between 162 and 175 cm for the females. (Sexing of the skeletons has been done purely by their association with certain artifacts. All comments on the skeletal material are those of the excavators, and a specialist study of the bones needs to be carried out forthwith.)

There were definite disparities between the richness of artifacts found with one skeleton and another. The burials that had not been dug into the chalk had few if any objects associated with them, and this lack of finds may be consistent with the apparent lack of effort put into the burial procedure, thus indicating a poor status of the individual concerned. But the devastation caused by the plough gives a more prosaic reason to the lack of associated artifacts. Many of the skeletons had iron knives with them, and several of the males had spearheads and shield bosses. One of these burials (19) (see Figures 3, 5) was interesting because it had two spearheads positioned around the skull pointing down the body so that the hafts, if any had been there, would have been lying outside of the grave. A shield boss positioned by the left knee was only 10 cm wide, hardly big enough for a man's hand, and this was with a skeleton around 180 cm tall. The arrangement and size of these artifacts seem unconventional. Richard Darrah briefly examined the bosses and noted possible wood and leather replacement on some (pers. comm.).

The female burials often had rich adornments of brooches and beads, notably burials 4, 20.2, 29, 44.1, and 44.2 (see Figures 3, 6–8, 12). Only one bone comb was found, and only two burials had pots with them.

Burial 4 was of an adult female seemingly cramped into a relatively deep cut but narrow grave. She had two small-long brooches, and a strip of slip knot rings and amber beads running down from her neck (see Figures 6, 14). Sleeve clasps with pelleted decoration were found at the wrists, but also a pair was found between the legs. This is the first time clasps in this position have been noticed in England (Catherine Hills, pers. comm.) although it is known from Scandinavian burials. A pair of tweezers with an amber bead

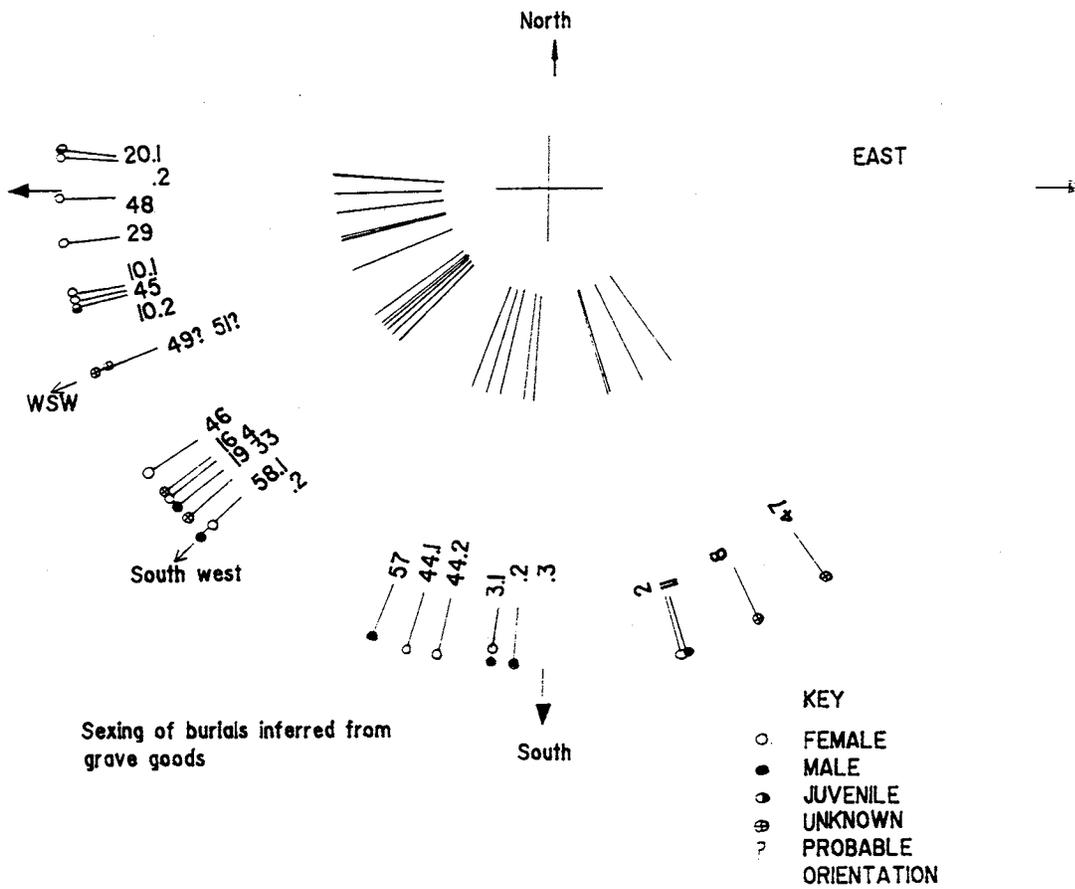


Figure 4.
Inhumation orientation, Barrington Edix Hill 1989

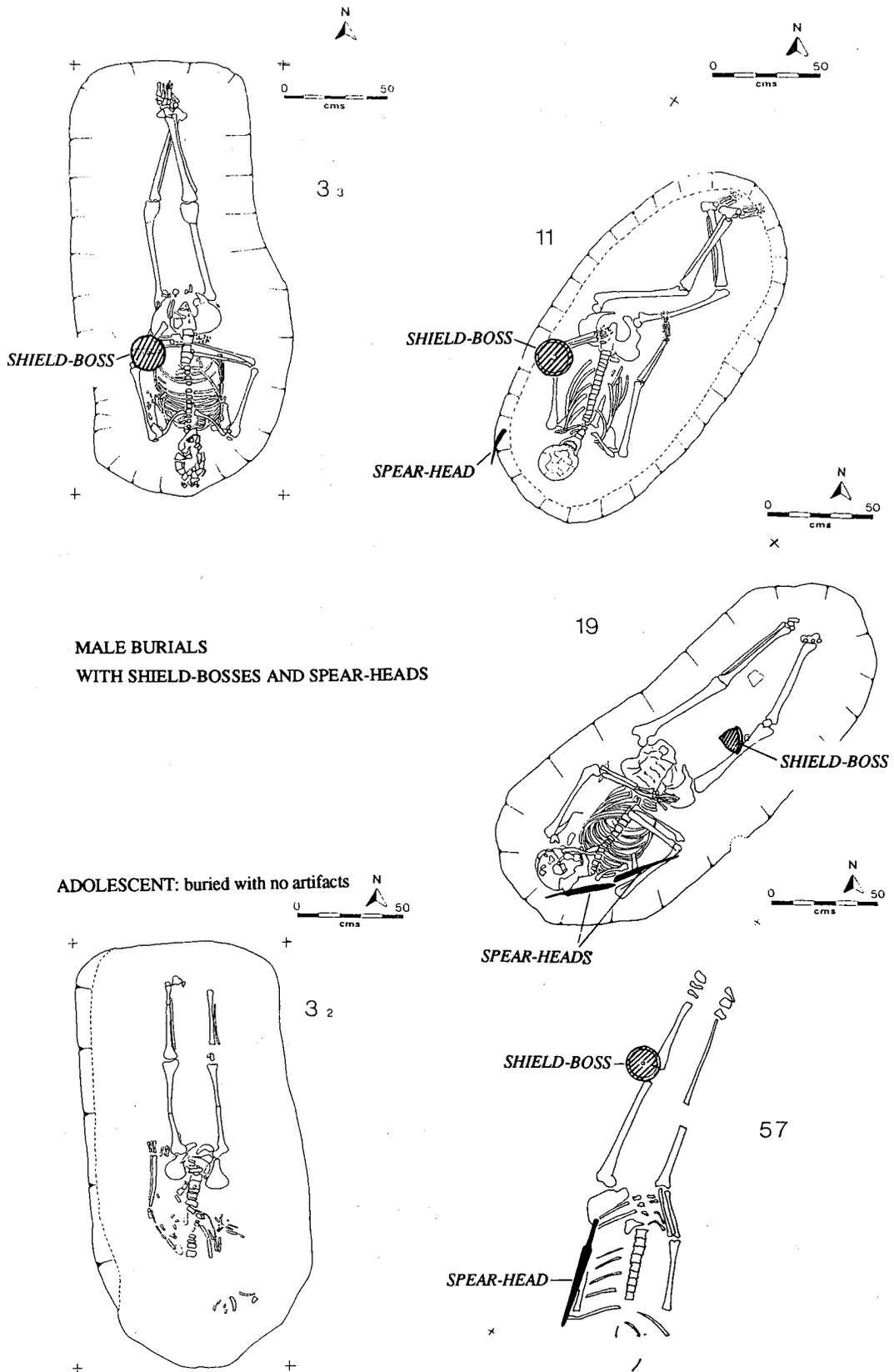


Figure 5.
Male burials with shield bosses and spearheads, 3.2, 3.3, 11, 19, 57.

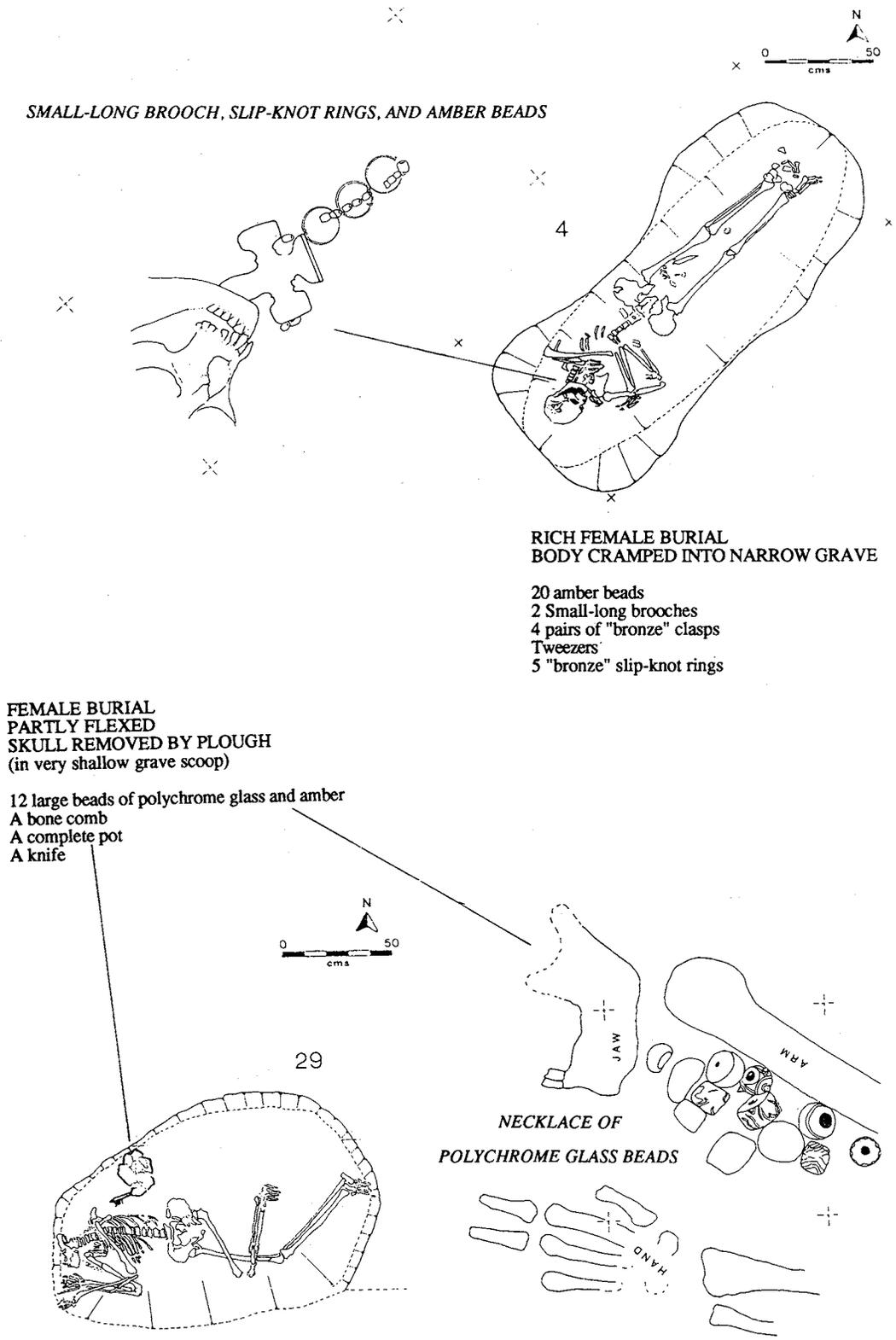


Figure 6.
Female burials, 4, 29.

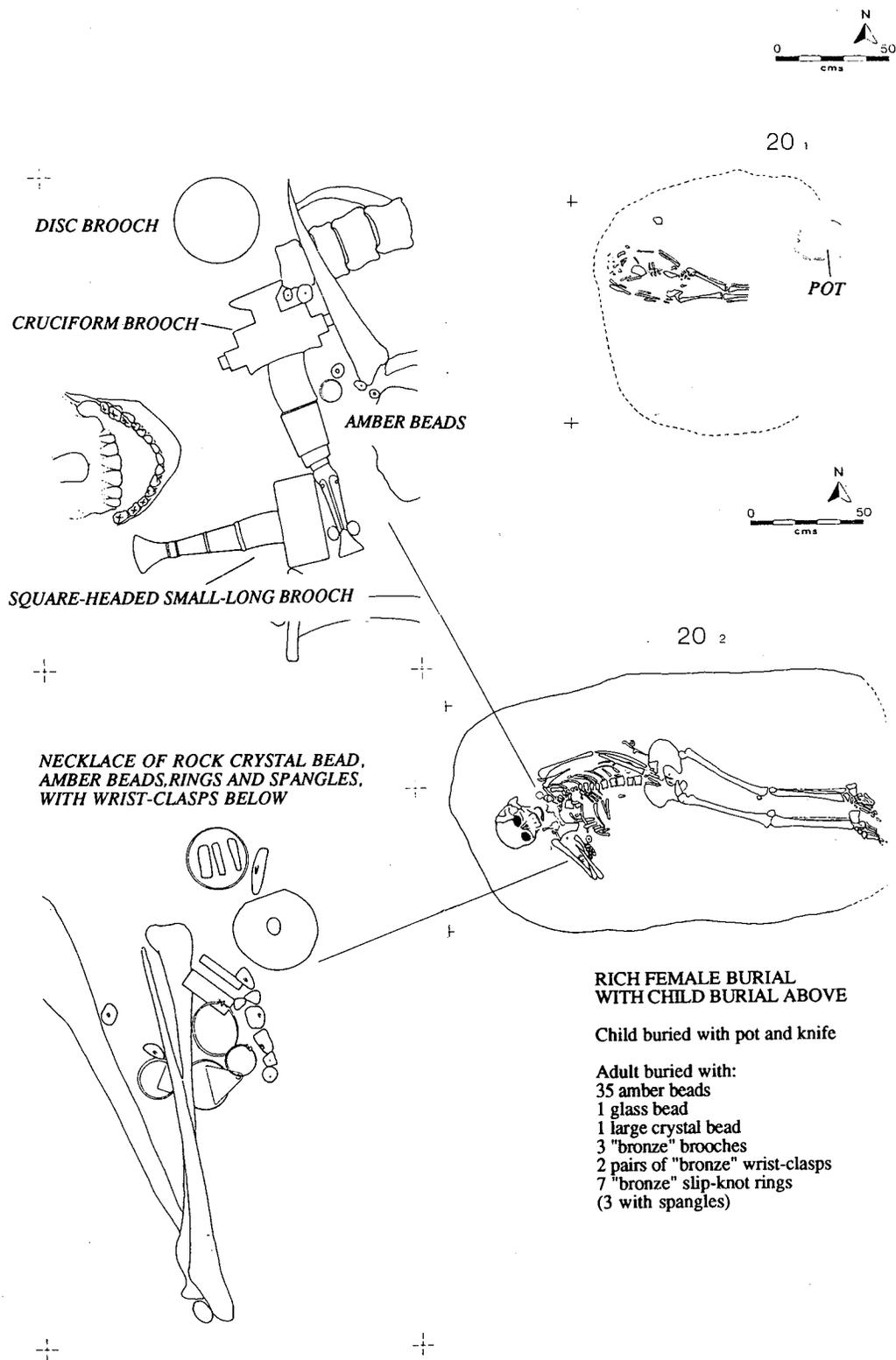


Figure 7.
 Female burial with child burial above, 20.

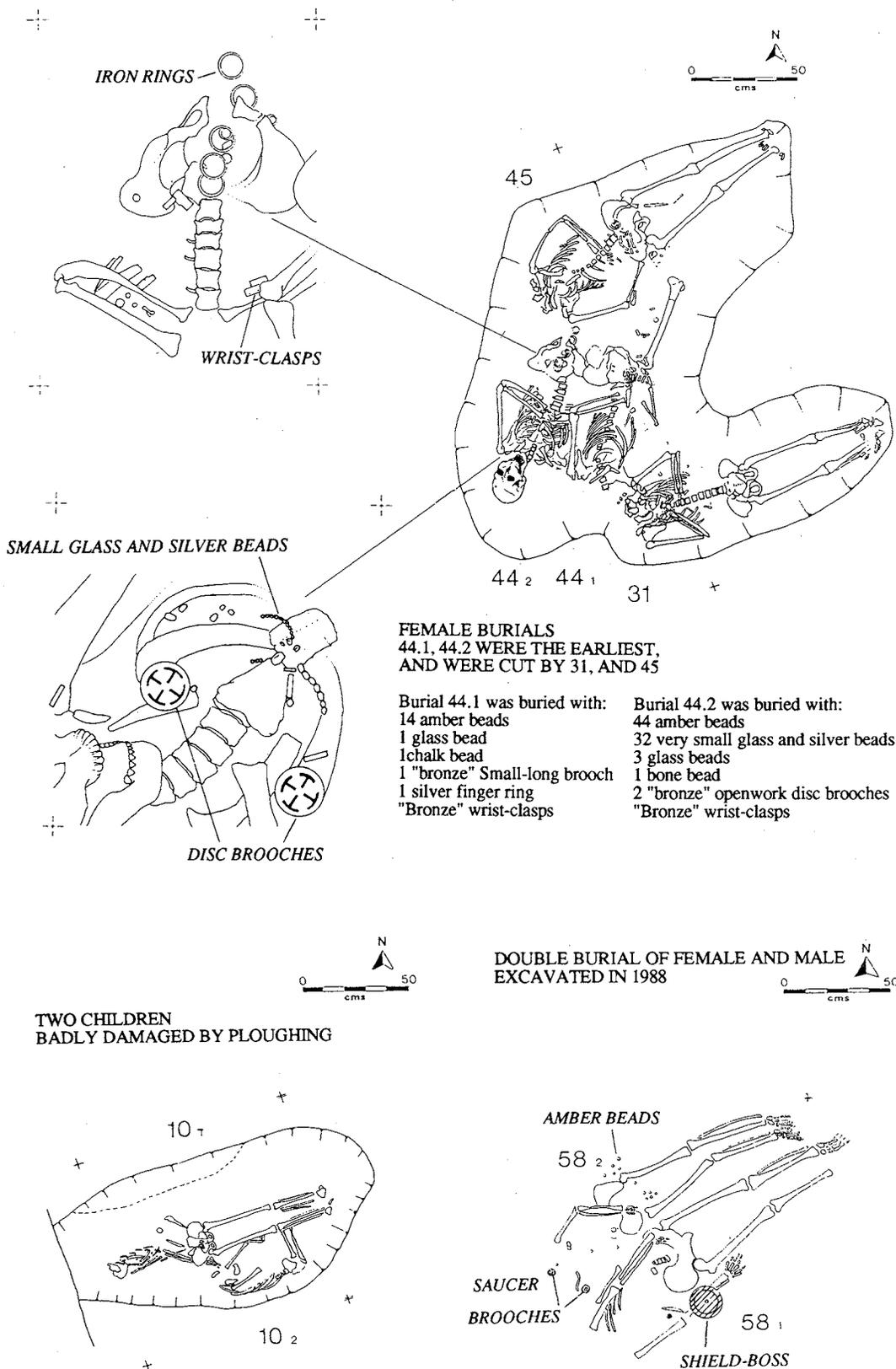


Figure 8.
 Various burials: two female burials, 44.1, 44.2, with 31, 45; two children, 10.1, 10.2;
 double burial of male and female, 58.1, 58.2.

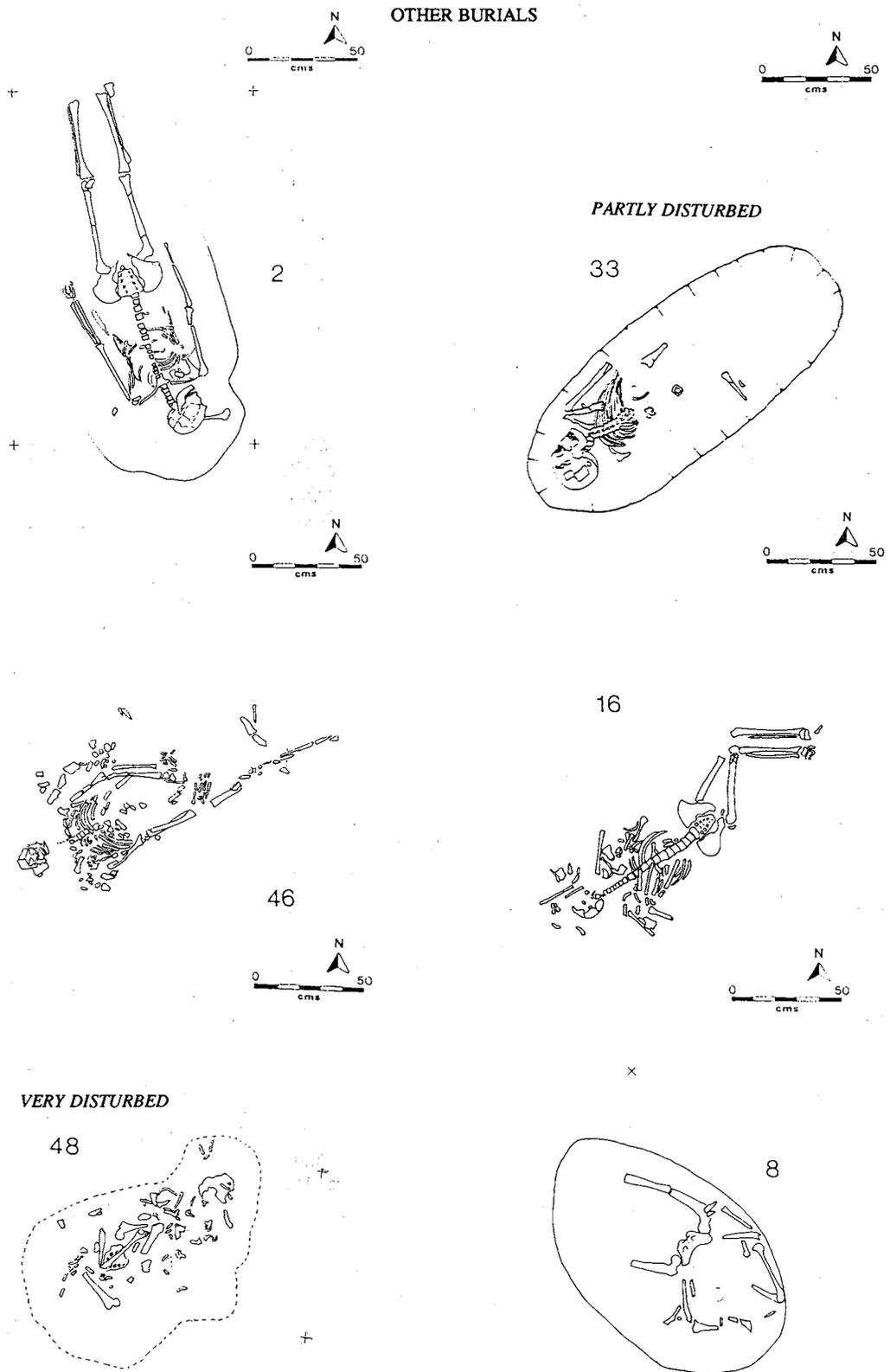


Figure 9.
Other burials: 2, 8, 16, 33, 46, 48.

pinched between them was found close to the pelvis area, where there was also a collection of unidentified ironwork.

Burial 20.2 was that of an adult female buried beneath a child (20.1) accompanied by an almost complete pot (see Figures 3, 7, 14). The two skeletons were separated by a layer of soil. The adult had 3 brooches around her neck, a square-headed small-long, simple disc, and cruciform. A necklace of amber beads, slip knot rings and spangles, and a large rock crystal bead appears to have slumped beneath her right arm (see Figure 7). Decorated sleeve clasps were present, as well as a hooked iron rod (catchlifter) and rings found beside her left hip.

Burial 29 was an adult female lying on her side and with one leg flexed. She had no copper alloy objects, but had a necklace of large polychrome glass and amber beads. In addition a pot and bone comb had been buried with her. The glass beads were presumably continental imports (see Figures 3, 6, 12).

Burials 44.1/.2 were the earliest inhumations of a group of four. Burial 31 cut through and removed the right arm of 44.1, and burial 45 removed the legs of both skeletons in burial 44 (see Figures 3, 8). The only skull that has remained intact is that of 44.2. The earlier burials of this group were also the richest, with two decorated disc brooches on the shoulders of 44.2, and a small-long brooch associated with 44.1 (see Figure 13). Over 60 amber beads were found, as well as small glass ones, and a group of 32 tiny segmented "silver in glass" beads. A chalk bead was also present, and some coils of copper alloy sheet may also be beads. Wrist clasps with pelleted decoration, and other objects of copper alloy occurred, and around the pelvis area of 44.2 there lay a number of iron and copper alloy rings (see Figure 8, 13).

The group of four females described above was the most complex multiple burial, but in addition to the woman with child above (20), there were two other multiple burials. Two children (10.1/.2) were put together without a grave cut into the chalk (see Figure 8). The lower skeleton was flexed beneath the extended upper skeleton, but apparently not cut by it, suggesting these burials were contemporary. For similar reasons a burial containing 3 skeletons lying one on top of the other (3.1/.2/.3) would all seem to be contemporary, or at least the lack of disturbance of the earliest burial would indicate an awareness of the burial being there. The bottom skeleton (3.3) was in very good condition and lay extended facing north with its feet crossed. It

was male and was laid in a grave. The second skeleton in this stack was an adolescent and separated from the first by stones. The shallow scoop of the grave partly protected it, but it had been damaged by ploughing, whilst the third skeleton (3.1) was almost entirely destroyed through plough action (see Figure 5).

Burial 33 was interesting because although it was in a scoop grave it was only partially present. Just the ribs, upper vertebrae, humerus, and skull remain, and yet no sign of plough damage into the sides of the grave are apparent (see Figure 9). No artifacts were present, so possibly this may be a burial found previously by metal detector users.

Burial 11 on the other hand was one of the most conventional excavated this season. It lay facing north with legs slightly bent, in a shallow grave. Over the left elbow rested a shield boss, and at the head end of the grave a spearhead was found orientated so that the haft would have run beneath the shield (see Figure 5). The spearhead had been bent by the plough, but otherwise this burial was in very good condition.

Burials excavated in 1987 and 1988 should also be included in this report, which brings the total number of skeletons excavated to 30. The exact locations of these are not known as the size of Edix Hill field, devoid as it is of mapped landmarks, makes plotting the position of a single burial impossible short of a full programme of survey. The first burial excavated in 1987 was that of a male lying extended and facing north (57) (see Figure 5). It was accompanied by a shield boss and spearhead. The burial excavated in 1988 was a double burial (58.1/.2) with a male and female lying extended and facing north-east (see Figure 8). A shield boss was found with the male, and 14 glass and amber beads with the female. In addition two gilt saucer brooches with anthropomorphic design were found on her shoulders, and a silver and iron buckle at her waist (see Figure 11). Extremely unusual intricately designed appliqué decorations were found by metal-detecting and may have been associated with this burial. These are interpreted as shield ornaments (see Figure 11).

Conclusion

The cemetery at Edix Hill, Barrington, seems to cover an area no greater than half a hectare, but was situated in a locally prominent position which was also used for earlier occupation. The skeletons buried in chalk-cut graves have survived in remarkably

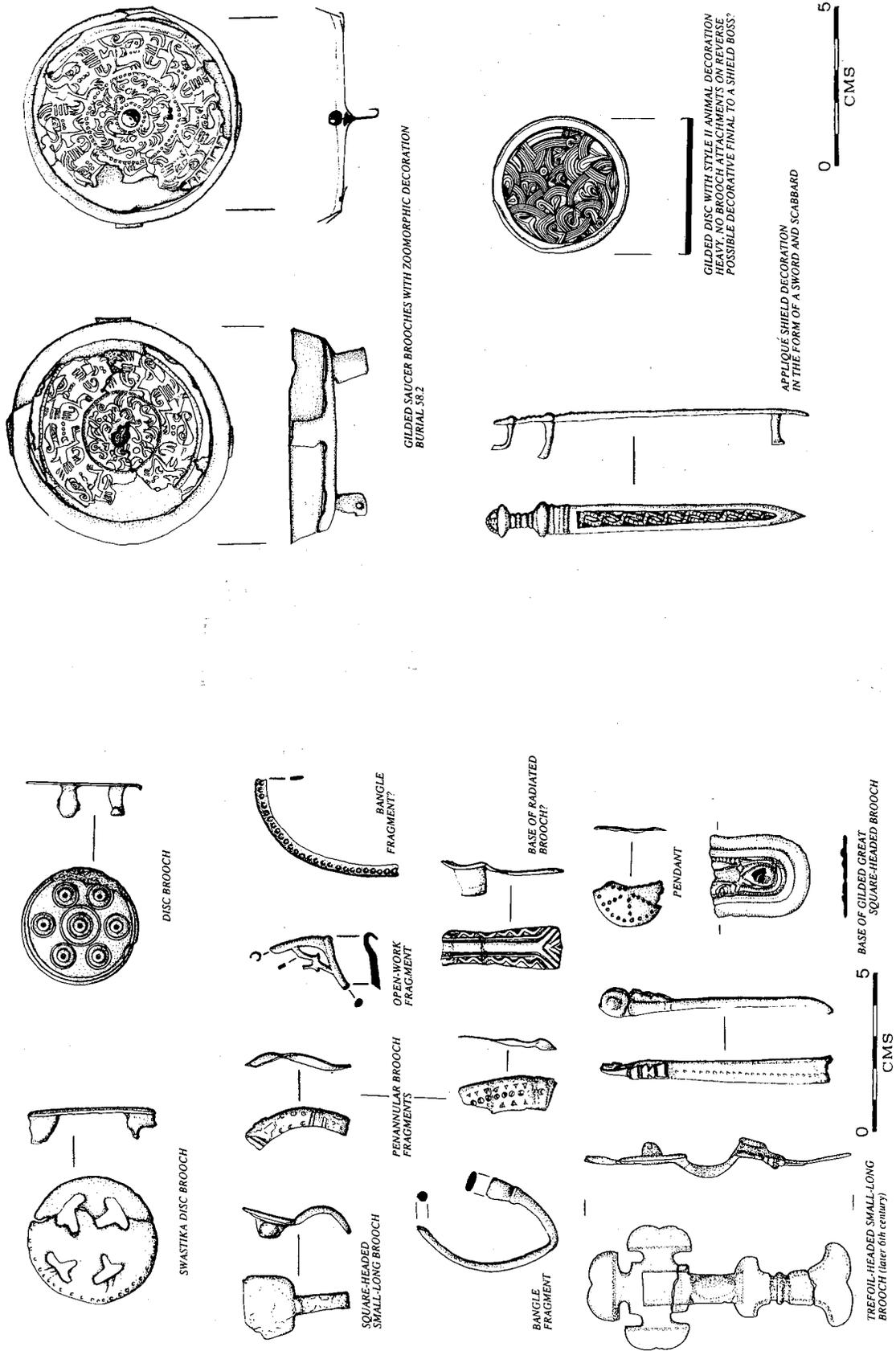


Figure 11. Saucer brooches from 1988 burial (58.1, 58.2) and unusual shield decorations possibly associated with it.

Figure 10. Metal-detecting finds.

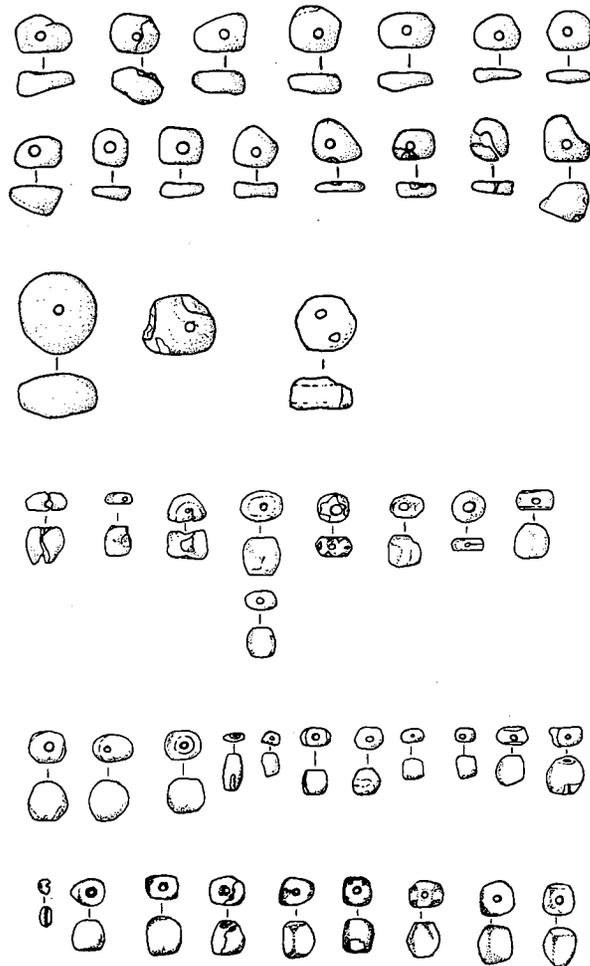
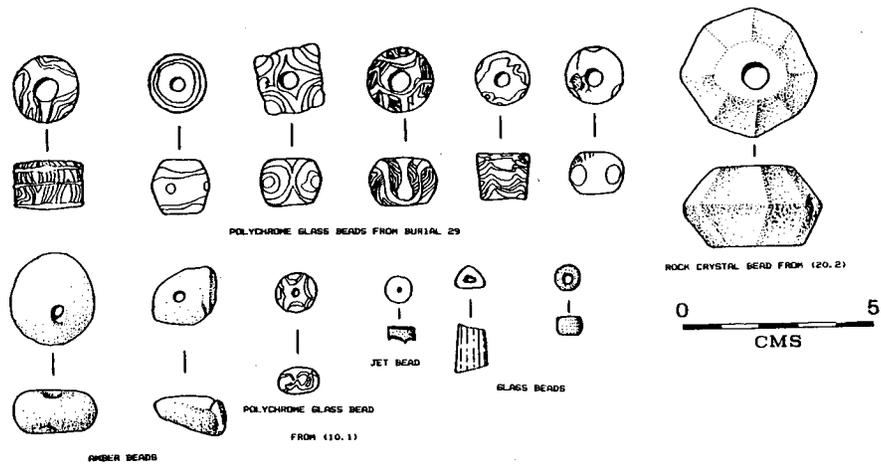


Figure 12.
Beads from various contexts.

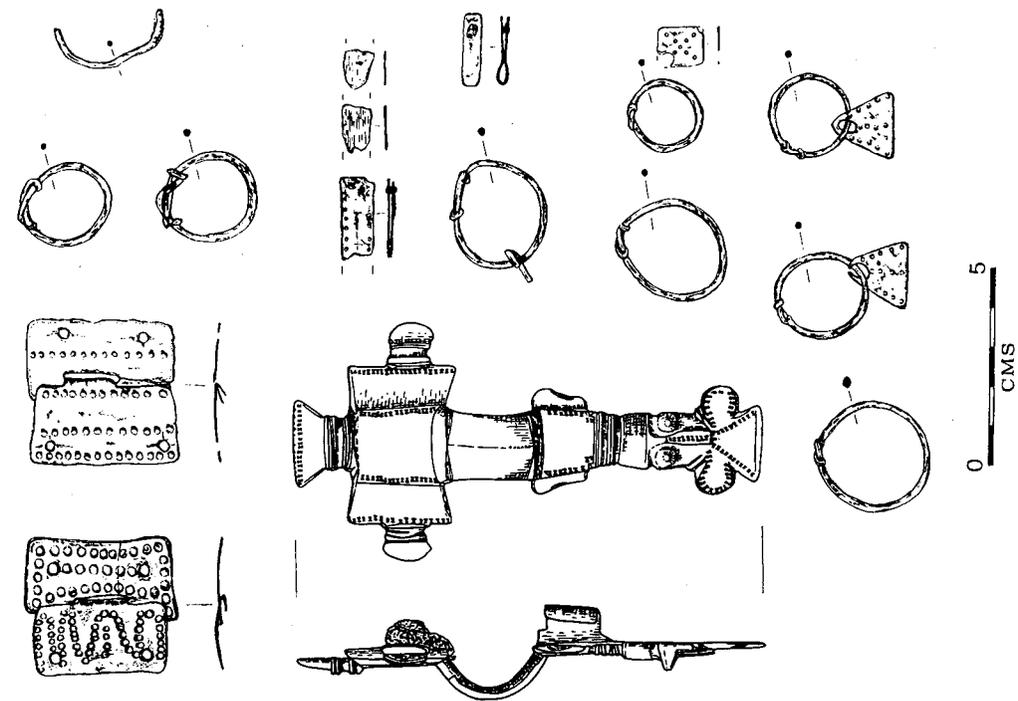


Figure 14.
Wrist clasps and slip-rings: burial 4.
Cruciform brooch, strap ends, and slip-rings
(some with spangles): burial 20.2.

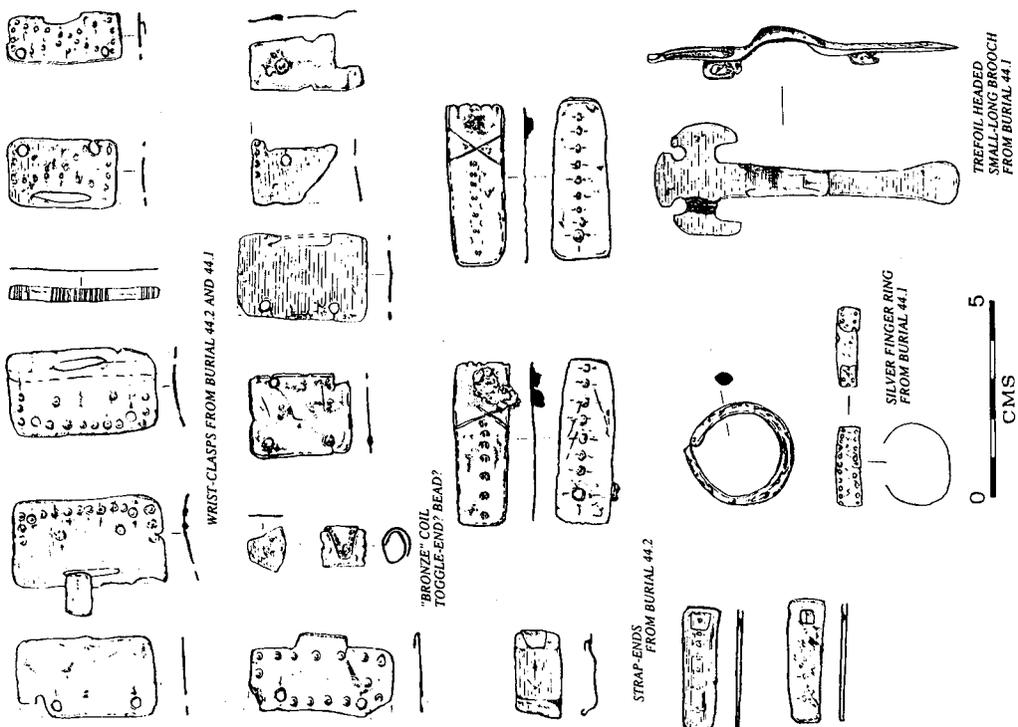


Figure 13.
Wrist clasps, and other jewellery: burials 44.1, 44.2.

burial	condition	position	orient- ation	posture	age	sex	comb	pot	amber	glass	brooch	wrist	ring	ring	tweezer	buckle	knife	shield	spear
									bead	bead		clasp	Cu	Fe				boss	head
2.0	+	supine	S-N	extended	A	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
3.1	-	supine	S-N	extended	A	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
3.2	+/-	supine	S-N	extended	A		1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.3	+	supine	S-N	extended	A	M	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
4.0	+	supine	SW-NE	extended	A	F	-	-	29	-	2	4	5	-	1	1	1	-	-
8.0	-	supine	SW-NE	extended	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10.1	-	supine	W-E	extended	J	?	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10.2	-	side L	W-E	crouched	J	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11.0	+	supine	SW-NE	semiflex	A	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
16.0	+/-	supine	SW-NE	semiflex	A	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19.0	+/-	supine	SW-NE	extended	A	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
20.1	-	supine	W-E	extended	J	?	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20.2	+	supine	W-E	extended	A	F	-	-	35	1	3	2	7	-	-	1	1	-	-
29.0	+/-	side R	W-E	flexed	A	F	1	1	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
31.0	+/-	supine	W-E	extended	A	F	-	-	8	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33.0	-	supine	SW-NE	extended	A	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
41.0	-	supine	S-N	flex?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
44.1	+/-	supine	SSW-NNE	extended	A	F	-	-	14	1	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
44.2	+/-	supine	SSB-NNE	extended	A	F	-	-	45	37	2	4	2	5	-	1	-	-	-
45.0	+/-	supine	SW-NE	extended	A	F	-	-	12	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
46.0	-	supine	W-E	extended	A	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
47.0	-	supine	SW-NE	extended	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
48.0	-	?	?	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
49.0	-	?	?	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
50.0	-	?	?	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
51.0	-	?	W-E	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
52.0	-	?	?	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
57.0	+/-	supine	S-N	extended	A	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
58.1	+/-	supine	SW-NE	extended	A	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
58.2	+/-	supine	SW-NE	extended	A	F	-	-	2	12	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1: Burial chart: skeleton information and associated artifacts
 Key: Condition: +=good, +/-fair, -=poor; Age: A=adult, J=juvenile

good condition, but those more shallowly buried merely in the soil have been very severely plough damaged. Although the preservation of bone is excellent all burials are vulnerable to agricultural activity if the present regime is continued. Ploughing, harrowing, and compaction from heavy machinery will soon destroy all that remains. The cemetery lies in a very exposed position on its chalky knoll in the middle of this large field, and 25 cm of soil protection has been lost since the last century. Most of this has probably occurred in the past 15–20 years. Even the metal artifacts retrieved from the plough soil are broken and severely damaged bearing witness to the pounding received from recent ploughing.

Artifacts recovered from the graves are rich and varied, and tied into the wealth of information on age, sex, nutritional condition, disease, and genetic variation available from the bones we should be in a position to make detailed insights into the society from which this cemetery derived. The area of Barrington seems to have been a frontier zone between the Angles to the east and the Merclan area of the Midlands, and as such it gives us the opportunity to examine the relationship that existed between the East Angles and Mercia. Although several major Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have been exhaustively investigated in East Anglia, the preservation of bone in most of them has been poor, and Barrington provides us with a superb opportunity to fill this gap.

A summary of excavations on the same site in 1990 appears on p.94 of this proceedings. Further work will take place in 1991.

Acknowledgements

We should like to thank Mr Breed for permission to excavate on his land, and for presenting the finds to the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

The work was funded by Cambridgeshire County Council, aided by English Heritage.

The project was lucky to have an excavation team whose efficiency and enthusiasm enabled such a successful outcome: Bob Butler, Gavin Lucas, Janet Miller, Ben Robinson, and Dr Gerry Wait.

In addition the post-excavation work received help from Simon Bray and Helen Paterson. Advice was given by Karen Brush, Richard Darrah, Catherine Hills and Morag Woudhuysen.

Our thanks also go to those who undertook the metal detecting: Chris Montague, Dick Stripe, and members of the Soke Metaldetecting Club.

It must be emphasized that this is an interim statement of on-going work. Aspects of this report may be subject to amendment for the final publication.

References

- BABINGTON, C.C. 1860. On Anglo-Saxon remains found near Barrington, in Cambridgeshire, *Communications of the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society* 2: 7–10.
- FOSTER, W.K. 1883. Account of the excavation of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Barrington, Cambridgeshire, *Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 5: 5–32.
- FOX, C. 1923. *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*. Cambridge.
- WILKINSON, J. 1868. *Collectanea Antiqua* 6: 154–65.

St Neots Priory 1989

Wendy Horton & Gerald Wait

Setting

History

The history of the St Neots priory is well documented and needs only brief discussion here (Haigh 1988; Tebbutt 1956; 1966). The Benedictine Priory of St Neots was founded c. 972–5 AD by Bishop Ethelwold, though it is curious that it is not mentioned in 1066. The Priory was re-founded as a daughter cell of the Abbey of Bec by Robert Fitz Wimarc after 1066. The Priory church was completed by 1113, and for the next two centuries the Priory grew in importance if not in wealth. In 1409 the Priory achieved full independence from Bec. However, by the late fifteenth century the Priory was in financial trouble with many of its buildings in poor repair, although this was remedied and the house regained something of its stature before the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1539.

Previous work

The Priory was partially excavated between 1954 and 1960 by C.F. Tebbutt (1956; 1966), and much incidental historical information is available. Unfortunately the excavations were limited in scope and not recorded in detail, and the archive has since disappeared (though some of the finds are in St Ives Museum). Much of the plan of the Priory (reproduced below, Figure 1) is conjectured and as Haigh noted (Haigh 1988, 76), there are anomalies that are not explained by the standard Benedictine layout. Because of these inconsistencies, interpretation is severely restricted.

During construction work in 1986–7 two burials in stone coffins were recovered from the corner of the car-park just east of the Priory

buildings and north of the 1989 sewer trench. These burials are reported below.

Watching brief

The replacement of a sewer line in Priory Lane in 1989 destroyed part of the Scheduled area of the Priory and human remains were encountered. As a result, the County Archaeologist was notified, Scheduled Monument Consent for the sewer arranged and a watching brief for the remainder of the work was arranged as a condition of Consent. The funding for the work and subsequent analysis of the human remains was provided by Huntingdonshire District Council.¹

Strategy of fieldwork

The course of the sewer line is shown in Figure 1. Human burials were to be expected as it crosses the area of the medieval cemetery recorded in Tebbutt (1956; 1966). Its western end was also expected to reveal remains of some of the buildings recorded by Tebbutt. This therefore presented the opportunity to confirm Tebbutt's results in general and it was hoped to shed some light on his more detailed interpretation of the church building and associated cloister.

The replacement sewer ran east–west and covered a distance of 100 m but archaeologists were only notified of the western 46 m, when the contractors encountered human bones. The

¹ The finds and archive are kept in the County Archaeology Office. The human remains were studied in the Duckworth lab, of the Dept. of Biological Anthropology, Cambridge, and a detailed note on the skeletal material is deposited with the archive.

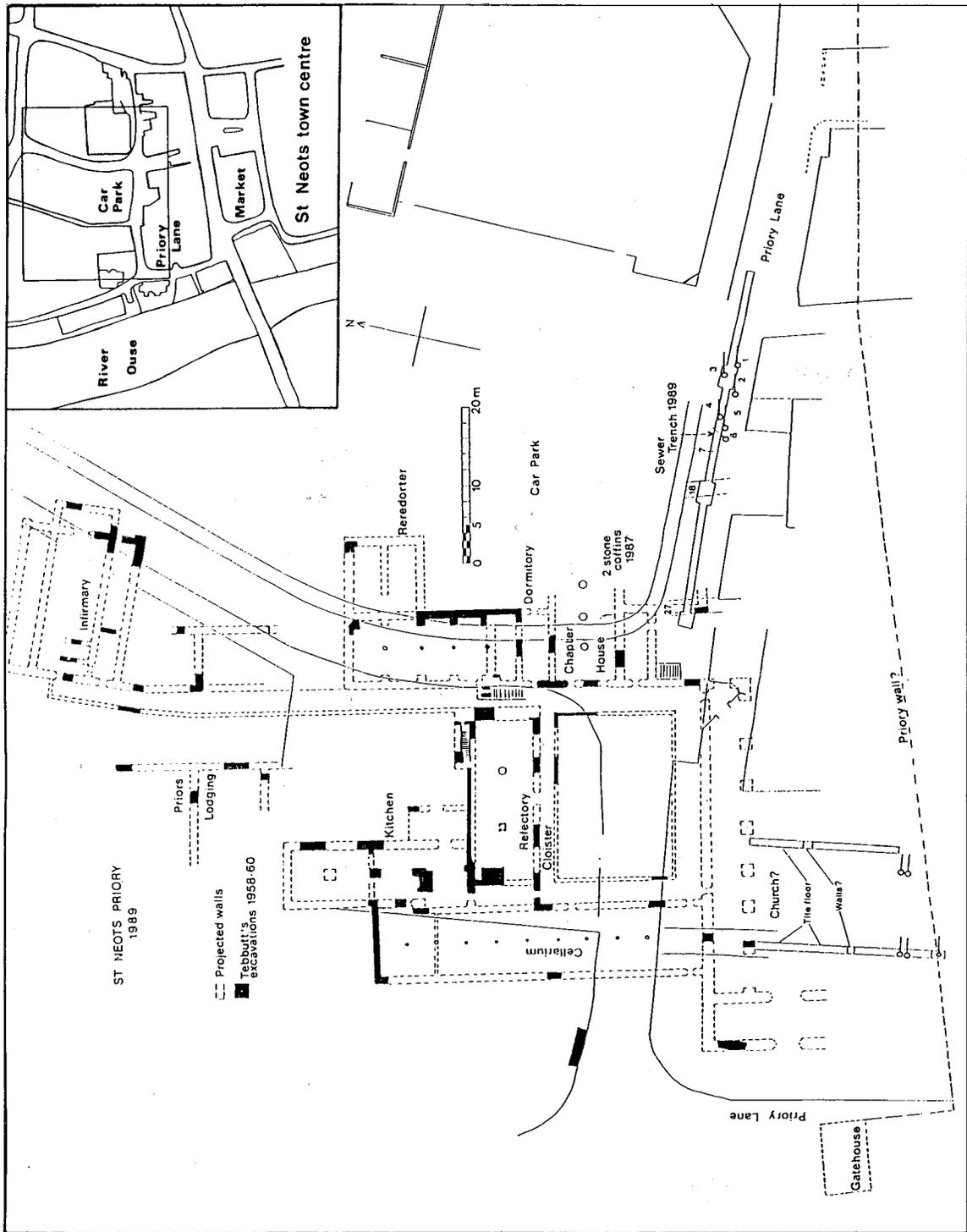


Figure 1.
Plan of St Neots Priory (after Tebbutt 1966: figure 1) and 1989 sewer line.

sewer trench was about 1.05 m wide and 1.7 m deep. It was not quite straight, changing direction slightly in order to avoid other modern facilities (gas pipes, electric cables, etc.) and included three pits for man-holes, each c. 1.8 m wide and 2 or 3 m long (see Figure 1).

Results

A deposit of post-medieval build-up [1] was found directly beneath the modern road throughout the trench. This varied in depth between 0.8 and 1.2 m and consisted of dark brown silt with lenses of red and black, containing tile, modern brick, glass and post-medieval pottery. This was sharply differentiated from the layer below [2], a red brown silt with occasional pebbles. This contained no post-medieval material and the top may be the surviving medieval surface. Also, all the features mentioned below (burial pits and foundation trenches) were cut from (or only survive from) this level. This deposit lies on top of natural [3] – a mixture of fine sand and gravel with a striking red colour.

The types of features found divide the trench into two parts; burials were found in the eastern half and foundation trenches and a floor were found in the western half, with no overlap between the two.

Near the east end of the trench, on the south side, a few loose human bones were found near the base of unit [2], both east and west of modern concrete block [4] 1.8 m from the east end. The first burial was found immediately east of the first man-hole pit (and from 9.6 to 12.1 m from the east end of the trench). This burial was suspected beforehand by the presence of seven large sandstone slabs each 30 by 50 by 14 cm deep, seen protruding from the south side of the trench, at the base of a pit [5] 2.6 m wide. The stones appeared to have been purposely laid with a soft, white, crumbly mortar both between and above them. The skeleton (number 1) was found neatly laid out orientated east-west directly below the stones. The body was supine in an extended position with the face upward and the right arm folded over the left arm. The stones above had caused some disturbance; both femurs had been snapped and the right leg slightly twisted. The hands and feet had been crushed by the weight of the stones and not all their bones were recovered.

Parts of two skeletons (numbers 2 and 3) were found along the edges of the 1st man-hole pit. Skeleton number 2 was found in the south section, 13.85 m from the east end of the trench.

The body was orientated ENE–WSW (at an angle of 30 or 40° to the side of the trench) with only the lower legs protruding from the section. The rest of the body lay beyond the limit of the trench and was not recoverable. The body lay in a burial pit [7] with almost vertical sides cut from the top of layer [2], with a flat bottom and sharp corners. It is similar to cut [5] for skeleton number 1, although only an oblique cross-section of the pit was visible.

Skeleton number 3 was discovered in the northeastern corner of the 1st man-hole pit. It was the first found on the north side of the trench. The body was orientated in a NE–SW direction, and excavation of the lower legs would have involved tunnelling into the section which was not possible. The skeleton otherwise was exceptionally well-preserved and all bones were recovered. The teeth were all present including wisdom teeth, and they were also very well-preserved. There was however, a considerable amount of wear on one side of the mouth. The body was not as neatly laid out as skeleton number 1 in cut [5]; the face pointed slightly southwards and the arms were not parallel, the right arm being quite straight and the left arm bent, with the lower arm and hand passing beneath the pelvis. The burial cut [9] was similar to [5] and [7], with nearly vertical sides, sharp corners and a flat bottom. Again, only an oblique cross-section of the burial cut was visible.

Moving west from the first man-hole cover, a further skeleton, number 4, was found orientated ENE–WSW with the right-hand side of the body protruding from the north side of the trench. The skull at the west end lay 3.8 m from the west end of the man-hole pit and had been cut by the earth moving machine, so it was not all retrieved. The body appeared to be slightly disturbed, though most of the right side was recovered. Surprisingly, no burial cut could be seen.

About 20 cm west of skeleton number 4, was a pit or ditch [11], about 1 m wide and 0.35 m deep with gently sloping sides, which broke gradually on to a curved base. Although cut from the top of layer [2], it has a very different shape compared to the burial cuts mentioned above. This pit would appear to be post-medieval. A few disarticulated human bones were found at the bottom of the pit, which had been broken in antiquity and may have been from a child or young person.

On the opposite side of the trench, 2.1 to 3.6 m from the west side of the 1st man-hole cover, was another burial of particular interest, number 5. This appeared to be an undisturbed grave but the burial pit [13] was shorter than

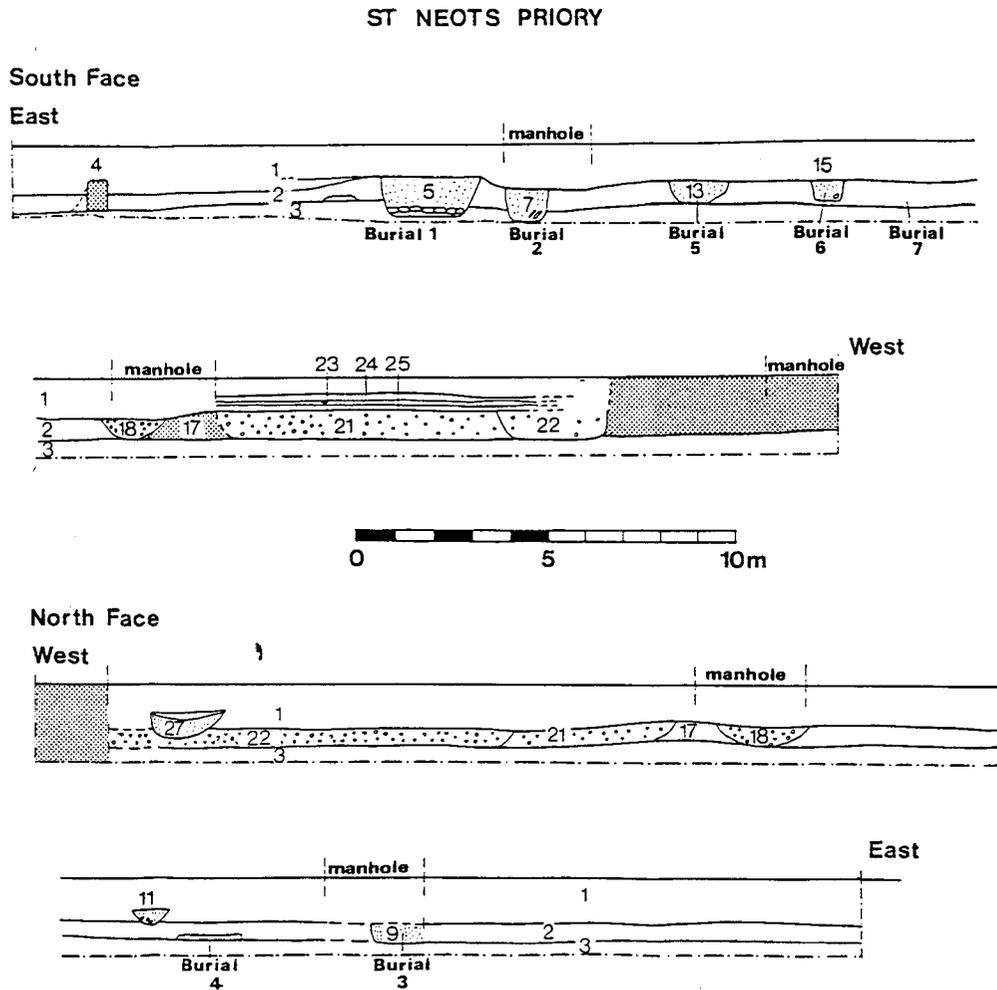


Figure 2.
Section drawings of 1989 watching brief.

usual and the body partially disarticulated as a result. The pit was 1.5 m long at the top and 1.2 m long at the bottom. The sides were not quite vertical, but sloped with a gradual break on to a flat bottom. There was a thin layer of gravel along the bottom, directly beneath the skeleton. It was orientated E-W and only the left-hand side protruded from the section, so the right side was not recovered. The pit was not long enough for an extended skeleton, and may have been intended for a partially disarticulated skeleton. The skeleton was placed with the lower leg above the upper leg, and the pelvis positioned almost vertically. The ribs appeared badly crushed although the vertebrae are all articulated. The fingers or hands were above the head and not all of the skull was recovered. There was a thin layer of charcoal above the body.

A totally disarticulated burial (number 6) was found further west, approximately 5.75 m west of the 1st man-hole cover. The pit [15] 80 cm wide and 50 cm deep, was found on both the north and south sides of the trench and was orientated NNE-SSW. The cranium was found on the south side, mixed up with other miscellaneous bones while other fragments were found on the north side. Some parts of the skeleton were probably removed from the middle of the trench by the construction machine. The pit itself has nearly vertical sides, which break sharply on to a flat bottom. Skeletal analysis indicates that the bones and fragments represent at least two individuals.

The last collection of human bones was found redeposited in a relatively modern trench made for installing a sewer, 7.8 m from the west end of the first man-hole cover, more or less in

the centre of the trench. The fill was a sticky dark grey to black silt, with many modern brick and tile fragments. The miscellaneous collection of bones were found 1.2 m from the top surface. They had been broken in antiquity and appeared to come from one individual who was exceptionally large.

From this point, the features in the trench changed in nature. There were no more burials, but instead, cuts and fills which probably comprise foundation trenches and a floor.

The first trench [18] was seen on both the north and south sides of the second man-hole cover pit (28 m from the east end of the trench). It was cut from the top of layer [2] with sloping sides, 30 or 40° from horizontal, and a rounded bottom with no sharp breaks. The feature is about 55 cm deep throughout and is not quite perpendicular to the trench, with an orientation NNW–SSE. The oblique cross-sections on each side of the trench are not the same width; the south cross-section is 1.6 m wide and the north cross-section 2.3 m wide, the reason for which is unclear. The fill was dark brown clayey silt with frequent flint cobbles up to 15 cm in diameter. It is likely that this feature is a foundation trench.

About 1 m west of feature [18] is the beginning of another cut [20] (see Figures 1, 2), which is very similar in shape to [18], and the fill [21] is about the same depth, 50–60 cm. This continues westwards for 4.5 m where another cut, or possibly a slip line is seen sloping down sharply from east to west. The material to the west [22] consists of flint nodules like those in trench [18], in a cream-coloured mortar-type material. This continues for another 2 or 3 m before disappearing due to modern disturbance. These fills would appear to be purposely deposited and the possible slip line suggests that material was poured in from the east. They may be make-up levels for a building or room, bound to the east by the wall which would have stood on foundation fill [19].

Immediately above fills [21] and [22] on the south side a band of layers could be seen. It became evident that one of these layers [23] was a floor, consisting of small red tiles, c. 10 cm by 10 cm and 1.5 cm thick, with traces of a brown monochrome glaze. These were laid out side by side, each separated by a thin line of grey silty mortar a few millimetres thick, which was also found immediately below the tiles. The floor disappears about 7.5 m west of the second man-hole pit.

Above the floor and below post-medieval layer [1] is a deposit [24] made up of a mixture of grey silt, mortar and red sand, with few inclusions. The top surface of it is uneven and

the thickness variable. It is likely to be a destruction level. Immediately below the floor there is a thin layer [24], 3 cm thick, of grey silt and red sand with a crumbly texture. This is either a make-up level for a floor or an earlier floor. Below this and above deposit [21] is grey-brown silt [25] containing small pebbles up to 4 cm across. This looks like a floor make-up level. The top of [21] on the north side starts 30 or 40 cm below that on the south, above which is post-medieval debris [1], so it is likely that the floor [23] was removed in post-medieval times on the north.

The westernmost 8.5 metres of trench showed very little stratigraphy because it approximately followed a Victorian sewer line. There was, however, one cut [27] seen on the north side, 1.5 m east of the 3rd and final man-hole cover pit. This may have been cut from a high level, c. 70 cm below ground surface (within post-medieval deposit [1]) and was about 2 m wide and 70 cm deep. The west side was steep but the east side sloped more gently, with a fairly sharp break on to a rounded bottom with the lowest point at the centre. The fill of this feature consisted of grey-brown silt with moderate pebbles and flecks of mortar with slip lines on both sides, from the top to the bottom. This may be either a post-medieval robber trench of a medieval wall or a post-medieval pit.

Finds, apart from human skeletal remains and the tiles on the floor (which may be of the later fifteenth century), were very rare, probably due to the method of excavation employed by the construction. One piece of St Neots shell-tempered ware was found in association with one of the burials [3] which points to an early medieval date. Burials 5 and 6 contained roof or floor tile of fabrics found by Tebbutt (1966: 49–50). A sample tile from floor [23] was taken, along with several other tiles with brown glaze. One piece of lead strip (possible window 'cram' and a handle of a jug or platter of late fifteenth-century fabric complete the finds recovered during the 1989 watching brief.

In conclusion, the trench is divisible into two halves with evidence for part of a grave-yard to the east and a building to the west. There were seven burials in total, with two complete skeletons recovered. They were buried in the graveyard immediately next to a building, which, according to C.F. Tebbutt's plan, could be part of the church. If his plan is correct, the trench was immediately east of the north transept, the west half of which would run through adjoining room such as a chapel or vestry. Tebbutt also notes from his excavations,

burial	sex	age	height	anomalies
1	male	18 yrs	5'4"/162 cm	dental anomalies
2	male	?	5'10"/178 cm	—
3	male	40+yrs	5'6"/167 cm	Possible cranial anomaly
4	male	20 yrs	5'9"/176 cm	—
5	female	?55+yrs	?	Degenerative pathologies. Childbirth trauma
6 (2 individuals)				
a)	female	?	?	—
b)	male	25 yrs	?	—
7	male	35–39 yrs	6'/182 cm	Osteoarthritis. Tibial fractures

Misc. fragments include a child of about 12 yrs.

The human remains.

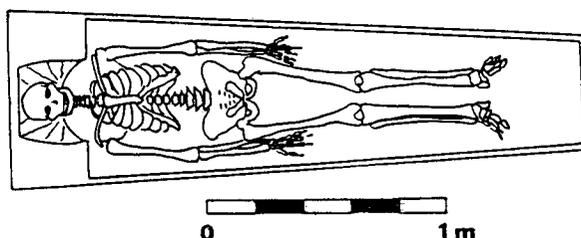


Figure 3.

One of the coffined burials excavated during construction work in 1986–7.

that floor tiles were only found in the church and refectory and that floors elsewhere were of poor quality and consisted of compacted clay or mortar which was frequently renewed. If his conclusions are accepted, the tiled floor is likely to be within the church. Cobbles were frequently used for foundations, and cobbles in silt or mortar were found both beneath the floors and in a foundation trench of the eastern wall of this building.

Discussion

The 1989 watching brief – structural remains

As mentioned above, the attributions of building remains to elements of the Benedictine Priory by C.F. Tebbutt (1966: figure 1) must be regarded as uncertain. It was anticipated that this watching brief would elucidate where some of the Priory buildings stood, and what the buildings were to the south of the Cloister (Tebbutt's 'Church'). This hope was not fulfilled. The floors [23] and [25] and wall trench [18] should all belong to the Priory but must represent a new building, while trench [27], though cut (or surviving) from a high level may also belong to the Priory as its location precisely matches that of the east wall of the north transept of the 'church'. Wall foundation trench [18] could represent the east wall of the choir of the church. Tebbutt may have suspected a building in this position as he

indicates walls extending in this direction (1966: figure 1), but no evidence for his reasoning survives. In spite of recording both wall foundations and floors, it does not appear possible to reinterpret definitively Tebbutt's plan of the priory, and consequently his building attributions are reproduced here (Figure 1).

However, comparison of Tebbutt's plan of St Neots with the plan of the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary, Sherborne, Dorset (Saul 1983: 179, figure 5), reveals that the two are extraordinarily similar, suggesting that Tebbutt's plan is not so anomalous as has been suggested. There is insufficient evidence either to prove or refute Tebbutt's interpretations.

It is worth noting here that the area of the 'Kitchen' appeared to have deep stratigraphy in Tebbutt's excavations and was deliberately left largely untouched by him. This area is likely still to survive and may yet again provide an opportunity to clarify the phasing and design of the Priory.

The recovery of at least seven burials further to the east of the Priory buildings is hardly surprising given the large numbers of burials seen in the vicinity by Tebbutt and others. Furthermore, the presence of women and children confirms that this area was probably used as a parish cemetery. Some burials, in particular the more prestigious ones to the north would have been placed inside buildings, and the individuals may be benefactors of the

Priory and so honoured with burial within the precincts.

The human remains

The human remains recovered in 1989² consist of three complete males, one female, and fragmentary remains of three other males, another female and a child. Burials 1, 2, 3, 4, 6a and 7 are males; burials 5 and 6b are female. The group as a whole contains an unusually high number of skeletal anomalies. Burial 1 had extremely rare dental anomalies, burial 3 has a cranial anomaly that may be of clinical significance, burial 5 shows both degenerative pathologies of age and childbirth, while the extremely robust male burial 7 demonstrates both osteoarthritis and dramatic (but well healed) fractures of both tibias.

Only one burial contained any direct dating evidence, a sherd of St Neots ware which should date the burial to the tenth/eleventh century or later. As the church went out of use at the Dissolution of 1539, all burials may be presumed to date to before this period.

Rescue work in 1986—7

During 1986 two burials were recovered during construction work associated with the new shopping precinct and car-park. No detailed records were kept, but several general points may be made. The burials were in stone coffins that may be dated by decoration on the lids to the thirteenth century. One burial was a female in her thirties with no signs of either trauma or of having been involved in heavy labour during life. The second was male. Both were interpreted as benefactors of the Priory as they were thought to have been buried in the Cloister. It now appears more likely that they were in a building to the east of the transept/chapter house (as located in Figure 1), but the interpretation nonetheless remains the same. One of the burials has been reconstructed in Figure 3.

References

- BROTHWELL, D.R. 1972 (2nd ed.). *Digging up bones*. London: British Museum (Natural History).
- HAIGH, D. 1988. *The religious houses of Cambridgeshire*. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council.
- LOVEJOY, *et al.* 1985. Chronological metamorphosis of the auricular surface of the ilium: a new method for the determination of adult skeletal age at death. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 68:15-28.
- MCKERN, T.W. & T.D. STEWART. 1957. *Skeletal age changes in young American males: analysed from the standpoint of age identification*. Natick (MA): Environmental Protection Research Division, Quartermaster Research & Development Center, U.S. Army (Technical Report EP-45).
- SAUL, N. 1983. *The Batsford companion to medieval England*. London: Batsford.
- SUCHEY, J.M., D.V. WISELEY & D. KATZ. 1986. Evaluation of the Todd & McKern methods for aging the male os pubis. In K.J. Reichs (ed.) *Forensic osteology*. Springfield (IL): Charles C. Thomas. 33-67.
- TEBBUTT, C.F. 1956. Excavations at St Neots, Huntingdonshire, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* XLIX:79-87.
- TEBBUTT, C.F. 1966. St Neots Priory, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* LIX: 33-74.
- TODD, T.W. 1920. Age changes in the pubic bone: I, the male white pubis. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 3: 285-334.
- TODD, T.W. 1921. Age changes in the pubic bone. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 4:1-70, 333-424.
- TROTTER, M. & G.C. GLEESER. 1952. Estimation of stature from long bones of American whites and negroes. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 10: 463-514.
- UBELAKER, D.H. 1989. *Human skeletal remains: excavation, analysis, interpretation*. Washington: Taraxcum for Smithsonian Institution (Manuals on Archaeology 2).

² The human remains will be reinterred after study.

The lost stained glass of Cambridge

Graham Chainey

With the one magnificent exception of King's College Chapel, almost all the original stained glass which once filled the windows of the churches, college chapels, and other buildings of Cambridge has perished. The case is far from unique: most of the medieval stained glass throughout the land has gone, those windows and fragments of windows that remain, impressive and numerous though they are, being no more than fortuitous survivors from a holocaust whose scale is hard now to imagine. In the middle ages stained glass windows must have been the best known and most widespread form of visual art: the subsequent loss of most of them must rank as one of the foremost cultural disasters in our history – albeit one whose scale and detail have never been adequately chronicled.

Stained glass windows are inevitably vulnerable to several factors – to tempest, war, reversals of architectural fashion or religious faith, to vandalism, accident and neglect. Without doubt, however, the greatest destruction of English glass occurred at the hands of reformers and iconoclasts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Reformation (begun in 1536) saw the wholesale destruction of many former monastic buildings and, elsewhere, the removal of a number of particularly provocative images, such as those depicting the pope or Thomas à Becket. In the 1560s, before royal command stopped the excesses, puritan zealots 'cracked apleces the glass windows wherein the effigies of our blessed Saviour hanging on the Cross, or any one of his saints was depicted; or otherwise turned up their heels into the place where their heads used to be fixed.'¹ All the fifteenth-

century glass in Eton College chapel, sister foundation to King's, for instance, had gone by 1625. But worse was to come during the Civil War, when most of the remaining glass in the English cathedrals was destroyed by Cromwell's troops (Peterborough Cathedral, to take one example, still possessed much fine original glass in the 1630s) or, as at Lichfield, by the discharge of ordnance against the building. (Even at York, where General Fairfax's authority preserved so much of the city's unique heritage of glass, cannon-balls crashed through the Minster's windows during the siege of 1644.) The glass in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, glazed according to a similar thematic system to that at King's and by one of the same glaziers, was removed in 1644–5. Then followed centuries of vandalism and neglect, when the small amount still in existence was yet further diminished by 'up-to-date' architects and designers who despised anything Gothic or ancient, or by the indifference of clergy and others in failing to maintain windows that were in their care.

Little can now be discovered about the very earliest glass in Cambridge. Barnwell Priory, for example, the great Augustinian foundation suppressed in 1539, possessed a church with nave, aisles, choir, transepts, Lady Chapel, 'Little Lady Chapel', chapter house, and cloisters, and may well have been richly endowed with stained glass. Of the four other principal monastic foundations in the town, it was noted in a 1548 inventory that at all of them 'iron, glass and stone do yet remain'.² Five windows in the library at Queens' College contain fifteenth-century glass, depicting the

¹ John Weever, *Ancient funeral monuments* (1631): 50.

² C.H. Evelyn White (ed.), *Cambridgeshire church goods: inventories for . . . 1538–1556* (n.d.): 119–20.

heads of friars, obtained when the college annexed the neighbouring Carmelite house in 1544; some scraps of glass from the Augustinian friary, dug up when the Cavendish Laboratory was built on the site in the 1920s, are preserved in a side-chapel at King's. Other vanished buildings that probably contained stained glass include the church of St John Zachary (demolished in the 1440s to make way for King's College), and the college chapels of Michaelhouse (demolished 1550–52) and King's Hall (demolished 1556). In 1565 George Wythers of Corpus Christi preached a sermon in Great St Mary's urging the abolition in the university of all superstitious painted windows, 'whereupon followed a great destruction of them, and the danger of a greater by some zealots there'.³ Worst affected apparently were Great St Mary's itself, the university Schools, and the newly completed chapel at Trinity College.

Even after the destruction of the monastic foundations and the purges of the 1560s, however, a great amount must have remained. Practically every Cambridge church and chapel must still have possessed stained glass of some sort – scriptural representations, the images of saints, the heraldic memorials of founders and benefactors, with sequences representing the four Latin doctors or the twelve apostles apparently being a popular feature of college chapels. Fresh glass continued to be installed: mainly heraldic in the later Elizabethan period, but including what must have been a notable scriptural sequence during the Laudian 1630s in the new chapel at Peterhouse. Nor was glass restricted to ecclesiastical buildings. At Oxford, John Aubrey recorded that when he was a student 'crucifixes were common in the glass in the studies' windows; and in the chamber windows were canonized saints (for example, in my chamber window, St Gregory the Great). . . . But after 1647 they were all broken. Down went Dagon. Now no religion is to be found';⁴ doubtless students' windows were similarly adorned at Cambridge.

Much interesting and distressing detail about the despoliation of Cambridge buildings during the Civil War is preserved in the notorious journal of William Dowsing (1596–1679), the Suffolk-born official appointed by the Earl of Manchester in December 1643 to visit churches in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk and enforce the recent parliamentary ordinance requiring the demolition of altars

and 'superstitious pictures'. This document⁵ reveals how Dowsing visited Cambridge between 21 December 1643 and 3 January 1644, destroying some images himself and ordering the destruction of others, noting down what had already been accomplished and what remained to be done. He subsequently moved on to churches in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, though he apparently returned to Cambridge in the spring. A contemporary diarist recorded on 20 December 1643: 'This week pictures began to be taken down in Cambridge, by an order from the Earl of Manchester';⁶ another noted in January that the choir screen at Great St Mary's, beautified in 1639 during the Vice-Chancellorship of Dr Cosin, had been 'defaced', and in February that the 'pyramids over the Doctors' seats' there had been 'quite pulled down'; on 29 January 'the clerk set the 74th Psalm to be sung before sermon in the afternoon ["Thine enemies roar in the midst of thy congregations . . . they break down the carved work . . . with axes and hammers", etc.]'.⁷ A contemporary royalist writer described Dowsing as one who

goes about the country like a Bedlam breaking glass windows, having battered and beaten down all our painted glass, not only in our chapels but (contrary to order) in our public schools, college halls, libraries and chambers, mistaking perhaps the liberal arts for saints.⁸

Both words 'superstitious' and 'pictures', as used at this date, need glossing. 'Pictures' could be applied to images of any kind whether painted or carved, and many references in Dowsing's journal could apply to stained-glass images or to statues. 'Superstitious', according to the ordinance Dowsing was enforcing, was applied to any image of any member of the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, or any angel or saint, or to any inscription requesting prayers for the deceased's soul or the like. Representations of founders or benefactors, or other secular figures, were exempted; but it is notable that a stained-glass image of the founder of Jesus College apparently perished during the general

³ C.H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* II (1850): 214–15, quoting Strype.

⁴ John Aubrey, *Brief lives and other selected writings*, ed. Anthony Powell (London, 1949): 8.

⁵ The original is lost but a transcript survives among the Baker MSS (vol. 38) in the University Library, Cambridge. Quotations below are based on the edition by A.C. Moule, *The Cambridge Journal of William Dowsing, 1643* (reprinted from the *History teachers' miscellany*, 1926).

⁶ Diary of John Worthington, in James Heywood and Thomas Wright, *Cambridge University Transactions during the Puritan controversies* (London, 1854) II: 566.

⁷ Diary of Dr Dillingham, B.L. Harleian MS 7048: 72.

⁸ John Barwick, *Querela Cantabrigiensis* (Oxford, 1646): 17.

destruction of glass there, and no doubt the practical interpretation of the ordinance depended to some extent on the mood of the moment.

At King's College, which Dowsing visited on 26 December, he noted:

Steps to be taken, & 1 thousand Superstitious Pictures ye layder of Christ & theves to goe upon many Crosses, & Jesus write on them.⁹

This may be interpreted:

Altar steps (dating from the 1630s and therefore proscribed by the ordinance, which exempted only steps more than twenty years old) to be removed; a very great number of blasphemous images (Dowsing used the term "one thousand" on only one other occasion, at Clare in Suffolk) also to go, especially the Crucifixion scene (in the east window; the word 'Jesus' nowhere appears in the glass at King's, though 'inri' appears above the crucified Christ's head).

Most of the Chapel's glass, full of images of Christ, the Virgin, God the Father, the Apostles, and innumerable prophets and angels, must have stood condemned within the terms of Dowsing's warrant, along with carved scenes on the roodloft, the frieze of stone angels beneath the choir windows, and even the figures of the four evangelists engraved on the lectern. Yet, mysteriously, apart from the defacing of three carved figures over a doorway and the scratching out of pious phrases on a couple of brasses (which may not necessarily have been perpetrated at this date), the Chapel bears no evidence of iconoclasm.¹⁰

It has been the trend not so much to try and explain this miraculous survival of one of the most celebrated stained-glass sequences in England or Europe, as to try and explain it away. Authorities on the glass at King's have tended to play down the threat from Dowsing, as if the times did not see acts of destruction every bit as horrendous as that which menaced King's. Eric Milner-White claimed that the early nineteenth century did stained glass 'more damage than all the Dowsings of Cromwellian times',¹¹ and Kenneth Harrison similarly wrote that 'Cromwell and his agents . . . are too often blamed for what they did not do; far more mischief was caused by the supine inattention

of a later age'.¹² More recently, H.G. Wayment has claimed that Dowsing 'had in fact no authority to destroy anything which was not a recent innovation, and the "superstitious pictures" were certainly not in the great windows'¹³ — despite the terms of the ordinance (which applied a twenty-year limit only to altar steps) and the clear evidence of Dowsing's journal entries. Dr Wayment's belief is that only non-Biblical scenes and figures would have been regarded as superstitious and that therefore the great windows were not threatened: the only glass at King's that could have been in danger, he implies, were some figures of saints in the Hacomben chantry (which were in fact at some date painted over — either to preserve them from Dowsing or, like certain windows at Great St Mary's in the 1560s, as an inexpensive method of 'reforming' them).¹⁴ Yet how can this be squared with the destruction of similar scriptural windows at Henry VII's Chapel or at Peterhouse, or with Dowsing's clear reference to the east window? Dr Wayment apparently derives his claim from F.J. Varley, a Cromwellian apologist, whose *Cambridge during the Civil War* attempted to rehabilitate Dowsing. Varley claimed that Dowsing had been much maligned by history — he was, after all, only obeying orders — while the 'thousand superstitious pictures' condemned at King's 'were not in the glass' but were simply cheap religious daubs and prints pinned or hung on the walls.¹⁵ Other suggestions to account for the glass's survival seem equally wide of the mark. Francis Woodman thought that as the college's private property, 'the Chapel was not as susceptible to the kind of destruction that was tragically so common to most other English churches during the Civil War'¹⁶ — though the ordinance included college chapels as well as parish churches. The suggestion, sometimes advanced, that the immense area of glass involved at King's, and the cost of replacing the windows with plain glass, may have inhibited the iconoclasts is also untenable: such considerations did not inhibit them elsewhere.

None of these evasions helps to explain the great mystery of the preservation of the glass at

⁹ Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 6.

¹⁰ There was also some damage to the heraldic carving in the choir — unicorns' horns snapped off and the like — repaired in 1660. In Michaelmas term 1644 rowdy soldiers in the Chapel were pacified by a payment of 10s.

¹¹ *Cambridge Review* (3 December 1924): 152.

¹² Kenneth Harrison, *An illustrated guide to the windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1953): 14.

¹³ H.G. Wayment, *The windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge* (London, 1972): 40.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*: 2, 122.

¹⁵ F.J. Varley, *Cambridge during the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1935): 36–42.

¹⁶ Francis Woodman, *The architectural history of King's College Chapel* (London, 1986): 2.

King's – the completest and finest stained-glass survival of any church in England. Perhaps the enigma of what really happened at King's in 1643–4 will never be solved, but the following notes, assembling what information is discoverable about the fate of windows in other Cambridge buildings, is an attempt at least to put the mystery into a context. The remarks of Milner-White and Harrison about the deprivations of later ages are not without some justification, as will be seen: it is true that what survived the attentions of zealots in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often succumbed to the inattentions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when medieval relics were generally neglected and abused,¹⁷ ancient casements torn out to make way for sash windows, pious blazoning replaced by crown glass. A number of eighteenth-century antiquaries – William Cole and Edward Betham of King's, Robert Masters of Corpus, Richard Farmer of Emmanuel – tried to preserve what they could, building up personal collections of stained-glass pieces that had been thrown out by colleges and churches (their own collections, however, are themselves now mostly lost); but much must have perished, as Cole's records make clear. (His invaluable descriptions of Cambridgeshire churches show that much stained glass has vanished even since his time.) Yet these later destructions were only the decimation of a remnant: the worst had already been perpetrated. They seem more barbarous only because the details survive whereas, in the earlier periods, one can often only guess at the scale of destruction involved. Though eighteenth-century indifference to medieval remains was indeed appalling, it is the puritan iconoclasts who still have most to answer for.

Christ's College

The former chapel of God's House had been rebuilt as that of Christ's by 1510. In 1509 £11 5s 8d was paid 'by the hands of Symond glasier'. In March 1510 Thomas Peghe (alias

Peych) was paid £8 15s 6d for 175½ feet 'of glass with imagery' at 12d per foot, 8s for 'setting up of all the old glass in the chapel by himself and his servant by 8 days at 6d the day', and £1 12s 1d for '77 foot of white glass with roses and portcullises at 5d the foot'. In 1531–2 there is a reference to a window featuring St Christopher.¹⁸ The chapel's windows probably contained late fifteenth-century glass reused from God's House and new glass by 'Symond' (perhaps identical with the Simon Symondes who later worked at King's)¹⁹ and Peghe. Dowsing (2 January 1644): 'We pulled down divers pictures and angels.'²⁰

A quantity of glass survived in a vestry. Francis Blomefield recorded in 1750:

In the north vestry windows are the effigies of Henry VII and his mother, the Countess of Derby and Richmond, the Foundress of this and St John's College, with Edmund de Hadham alias Teudor, Earl of Richmond, her first husband, and Thomas Stanley Earl of Derby, her second husband, in armour, with their helmets by them; also John Beaufort Duke of Somerset her father, and Margaret daughter of Thomas Holland Earl of Kent, her mother; but they are now much broken and misplaced, and the inscriptions spoiled. This may still be read: 'Komitissa Rychemondie et Derbei . . . tis pro quibus . . . suo verbo . . . tam Magni . . .'²¹

Blomefield's testimony may be compared with that of the Suffolk antiquary Sir John Cullum, on a visit to Cambridge in May 1768:

On the north side are two small chapels, in the windows of which is some painted glass well preserved. In 1st window is a person kneeling, in armour, crowned: his sword (with St George's cross at the end of the scabbard) and helmet lying behind him; beneath him, a rose entirely red. 2: A person kneeling, head uncovered, sword on, his helmet with a dragon upon it, behind him; beneath him a rose, with the outward leaves red, the inward white, seeded yellow. 3: A person kneeling, crowned, and in robes of state. 4: A person standing, crowned, sceptre in his right hand, and globe in left. 5: A person standing, crowned, with a circular glory round his head; a ring on his right hand, and staff in his left. The well-known story of the ring makes it probable that this figure was designed for St Edward. 6 and 7: have each of them a lady kneeling and praying, crowned: beneath each of them such a rose as in the second. There is a considerable quantity of painted glass laid up here, representing the Arts and Sciences

17

A typical example was the fate that befell Provost Argentine's Cup at the hands of a later Provost of King's. This magnificent bason and ewer, 'of most delicate sculpture, and very large, and used only on the three principal feasts of the college . . . possibly the work of Cellini, or a master equal to him', was the only piece King's retained when they donated their plate to Charles I during the Civil War, and possibly the finest remaining example of its kind in the university. Yet as soon as Provost Cooke assumed office in 1772, he had it melted down 'in order to exchange it for an urn of silver for his wife's tea table.' – William Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: f. 199.

18 R. Willis & J.W. Clark, *The architectural history of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1886) II: 195–7.

19 Wayment, *Windows of King's*: 25.

20 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7.

21 Francis Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantabrigiensta* (1750): 216.

personified, with their proper attributes and mottoes. These were some time since taken out of the Library, and are intended, I was told, to be put up in the east window of the chapel. They had better be restored to their former station. What business have Logica, Dialectica etc in a place of religious worship?²²

None of the former library glass mentioned by Cullum, and only part of the other glass which he and Blomefield list, can now be accounted for. In the chapel's north windows are preserved six panels of which two (Henry VI, Edward the Confessor) are believed to originate from God's House, three (another Henry VI, Henry VII, Elizabeth of York) to date from 1509–10 (perhaps by Symondes), while one (God the Father) is made up of fragments, its central figure probably from a remnant from a lost 'Assumption of the Virgin' or similar scene. This leaves out of account five of the figures listed by Blomefield and two by Cullum.

William Cole, writing in 1778 of his collection of glass at Milton, explains what had happened:

I have the arms of the foundress of Christ's and St John's Colleges, which probably came out of one of them, and most likely the former, as in a north vestry of that college chapel were several windows of most curious painted glass, containing the figures of the Countess of Richmond, her son King Henry VII etc., which were all suffered to be taken down by one Wetenhall, a glazier in St John's Lane (a man who had pillaged Ely Cathedral, when it was repaired about 1766, of all the old coats of arms and painted glass, and sold them at Cambridge), and sent to his house, where I saw them in or about 1773, in order to be put in detached pieces for the east window of the chapel. But he sold a great part of them to various people, particularly, under secrecy, to Mr. Masters, Rector of Landbeach, who ought to have been ashamed to have purchased what he knew the glazier had no right to dispose of, and who has several large figures, containing many feet of painted glass and all perfect, in a summer house at Landbeach; but does not tell anyone from whence they come. I knew them of old, saw them at the glazier's, and might, I suppose, have picked and chosen what I pleased for my money, had I been so disposed.²³

22 Sir John Cullum's diary, Bury St Edmunds record office, E2/44/3 (not paginated). The college library's original two-light windows (five on the street side, probably five on the court side) had been replaced by sash windows in 1738.

23 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: f. 199. The fate of Masters's glass collection is unrecorded. Cole's collection was auctioned with his other effects after his death. 'The first lot of glass, which was in the two bow-windows of the study, I bought for you, but could get no more; those in the parlour were sold for near £4, and the odd pieces, lot 3, which altogether were not worth 5s, sold for nearly £6 to a person who came more than thirty miles in the snow and rain to buy them.' — James Essex to Richard

The present surviving panels were installed in the east window by c. 1790,²⁴ but were again removed in 1847 and stored in a box for forty years before being placed in their present positions in 1886. The figure of God the Father, not mentioned by Blomefield or Cullum, may have been originally in the east window, or may not have belonged originally to the college at all, conceivably having been added by Wetenhall from stock to replace one of those he sold. Particularly lamentable is the loss, presumably through Wetenhall's deprivations, of the image of the foundress.²⁵

Clare College

Old chapel built 1535. Dowsing (December 1643) noted '3 cherubims, 12 apostles, and 6 of the Fathers in the windows and a cross.'²⁶ Cole (1742):

There are three windows on each side of the chapel, in which formerly were the figures of the 12 Apostles and 4 Doctors of the Church curiously painted; but these were broken in the general destruction of such pieces of decency throughout this county in 1643, and nothing but the lowermost half of them remain with their names at the feet of most of them.

He describes five remaining coats of arms, among them that of the college beneath St Ambrose in the middle north window.²⁷ All destroyed when the chapel was demolished in 1763.

Gonville and Caius Chapel

The chapel, completed by the 1390s, originally contained five windows commemorating donors to the building fund, perhaps with kneeling figures beneath canopies. The east and north-west windows commemorated William Rougham, the south-west Bishop Henry Despenser, the other two John of Ufford and Nicholas Bottisham. There were similar commemorative windows in the hall, library,

Gough, 18 March 1783, in John Nichols, *Illustrations of the literary history of the eighteenth century* VI (1831): 300.

24 *Catalogue of the Several Pictures in . . . Cambridge* (c. 1790): 28.

25 For the glass at Christ's see also Bernard Rackham. The ancient windows of Christ's College Chapel, Cambridge, *Archaeological Journal* CVIII (1952): 132–42; CX (1953): 214. Rackham overlooks the 'Symond', Cullum and Cole references.

26 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 6.

27 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5803: f.8.

and elsewhere.²⁸ A destruction of hoarded papistical trappings in 1572 may conceivably have affected glass: 'What they could not burn they broke and defaced with hammers.'²⁹ In 1583, Francis Dorington, Master, 'put up a new east window, with his own arms in the glass, together with those of Bateman, Gonville, and Caius'; these arms were repaired in 1637.³⁰ Cole (1778):

I have in my house the arms of the two founders of Gonville and Caius Colleges, with several coats of their benefactors, which were *routed* to make room for white glass when the chapel was new fitted up some fifty years ago . . . [as well as] six exceeding neat old heads of doctors of divinity in their academical ermine hoods and round caps, with a very elegant mosaic fret-work ground by their heads in painted glass, which came out of the upper mouldings of their old chapel windows.³¹

Other fragments, with benefactors' names, were used to patch holes at King's College Chapel.³²

Holy Sepulchre (Round Church)

There is no doubt that once the windows were filled with glass of the old workmanship such as can be seen in King's College Chapel, but it suffered the same fate as did nearly all ecclesiastical works of art in the time of Cromwell.³³ Dowsing (3 January 1644): 'We brake down 14 superstitious pictures, and divers idolatrous inscriptions, and one of God the Father, and of Christ and of the Apostles.'³⁴

Holy Trinity

The transepts, with big Perpendicular windows, are late fifteenth century and contained altars to St Erasmus (1504), St Ursula, St George (1506) and the Virgin: possibly there were representations of these in the glass. By 1639 the church's windows were said to be 'half stopped up'.³⁵ Dowsing (25 December 1643):

'We brake down 80 Popish pictures, and one of Christ and God the Father above.'³⁶ Church accounts (1643–4): 6d for 'pulling down the crosses in the church' 1s 6d for 'taking down glass', 8s 2d for 'mending the windows', 8s 2d for 'pulling down pictures', £1 4s for new glass. Three years later £8 16s 8d was spent on replacing all the windows with 'quarrells'.³⁷ Cole: 'Will. Dowsing was in this church on Christmas Day 1643 and broke all the windows in the church, which no doubt were very valuable and numerous, for the windows of the cross aisles are many and very large.'³⁸

Jesus College

Following the college's foundation in 1496, the former convent church was remodelled with Perpendicular windows, including a new five-light east window and a large five-light south window in the south transept. Sir John Rysley in 1512 left £160 for completing the work and glazing the windows. In 1561 the college demolished the chancel of St Clement's church 'and the glass was brought to the college and used in the chapel the hall and the buttery'. In 1567–8 repair of broken glass after a play had been performed in the chapel cost 2s 6d. In 1589 windows were repaired containing images of Christ, St Peter, and St Ignatius ('To Martin for new leading . . . 6 feet in the east end about the picture of Christ, other 6 feet in the picture of St Peter . . . To Martin for mending a great hole made by the workman's man on the south side of the chapel in the picture of Ignatius'). In 1593 'the whole pane where the Founder is pictured' was re-ledged, and in 1632 13½ feet of wirework was installed 'to preserve the Founder's picture'.³⁹ John Sherman (Fellow 1650–71) recalled that the chapel windows were formerly 'decorated with figures of the Saviour, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostles, the Fathers, and all the hierarchy of heaven, executed with wonderful beauty of workmanship'.⁴⁰ Dowsing (22 December 1643) 'brake down of superstitious saints and angels 120 at least'.⁴¹ The college spent £10 16s mending the windows.⁴²

28 Christopher Brooke, *A history of Gonville and Caius College* (Woodbridge, 1985): 23–8.
 29 John Caius, *The annals of Gonville and Caius College*, ed. J. Venn (Cambridge, 1904): 185.
 30 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history I*: 193.
 31 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: ff. 197, 349.
 32 M.R. James, *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Publications X* (1903): 425.
 33 W.T. Adams, *The Round Church of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1930): 13.
 34 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7. Church accounts begin only in 1778. A Crucifixion, installed in the east window by Thomas Willement in the 1840s, was destroyed during the Second World War.
 35 W.M. Palmer, *Episcopal visitation returns for Cambridgeshire, 1638–1665* (Cambridge, 1930): 38.

36 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7.
 37 Holy Trinity churchwardens' accounts, Cambridgeshire record office.
 38 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5805: f. 69.
 39 Iris & Gerda Morgan, *The Stones & Story of Jesus Chapel, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1914): 106, 108, 149, 151, 160.
 40 Willis & Clark, *Architectural History II*: 141.
 41 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 6.
 42 Morgan & Morgan, *Jesus Chapel*: 195.

Remnants of the stained glass survived, or were assembled, in the east window, for Sir John Cullum recorded (May 1768):

The east window of the present chapel has been handsomely ornamented with painted glass, which has been much injured; and yet perhaps a small half-length figure of Henry 7 is still preserved entire: it is towards the bottom of the middle of the window. He is presented praying, within a circle, diapered. Just above the circle is a large red rose, and somewhat above it a crown, between which red rose and crown, at some distance from each other, are two white roses. There are some escutcheons painted in this window, the most perfect of which are these. . . .

Cullum depicts six escutcheons, one of which he captions 'Swan and Twisden', another 'the bearing of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, who was beheaded 8 June 1405'.⁴³ None of the chapel's ancient glass survives.⁴⁴

King's College

The Chapel's great windows were installed between 1515 and 1547; two successive royal glaziers, Barnard Flower and Galyon Hone, and the Flemish artist Dierik Vellert, were among those involved. There are a number of payments for repairs to the glass during the Civil War (5s 6d in Christmas term 1642—3 'pro le taking down some glass in le chapel'; £2 11s the same term for re-leading 51 feet in the east window; 7s 6d in Annunciation term 1643 for 'taking down more glass in the east window'; 2s in Michaelmas term for 'sighting the chapel windows'; £12 3s in Christmas term 1643—4 for unspecified work on the windows) — but this is seen as nothing more 'than reasonable wear and tear'. A payment to Dowsing in Annunciation term 1644 of 6s 8d — once thought to be a bribe to leave the Chapel alone — was his standard 'survey fee' (also paid by Great St Mary's).⁴⁵ The glass must have been saved on the authority of either Manchester or Cromwell (who arrived in Cambridge in January 1644); a payment of 10s to the Earl of Manchester's secretary in Michaelmas term, 1643 (the term immediately following the parliamentary ordinance, when several colleges and churches began themselves to reform their buildings) may be connected with

the matter.⁴⁶ Cole recorded a tradition that the west window (plain glass until 1879) 'was broken by the soldiers in the Rebellion, upon which the rest were taken down and hid . . . but I am well informed that they never were removed, except to be mended, since their first putting up'.⁴⁷ It is now accepted that the west window had never been glazed with stained glass.

Much original side-chapel glass is to be presumed lost. Of a sequence of perhaps 36 figures of apostles, prophets, saints and Latin doctors that originally filled the windows of the north-eastern chapels, eight heavily restored survivors are now in the Brassie chapel. In the Hacomben chapel, only the top halves of figures of Henry VI and St John the Evangelist remain out of a possible original array of eight figures. A panel depicting Henry VI's yales, set up in 1485 by a glazier named Wynter, is lost. Quarries with the name and initials of Provost Goade (1610) in the screen glass of the chapel where he was buried, and roses in the screen tracery of the next (north-western) chapel, were destroyed in 1875 when heating appliances were installed. The original Provost's Lodge (demolished 1827) had 'Normandy and Burgundy glass' installed by the local glazier Roger Young in 1546, and six heraldic panels made by the royal glazier, Galyon Hone, in 1547.⁴⁸

Cole possessed 'the coat of King's College . . . given to me by Mr Harlock, the college glazier'.⁴⁹ He also records that the arms of Provost Argentine were formerly 'in a window, with those of the college, over the porch of the screens close by the hall in the Old Court, in two separate shields' but that by 1773 they had been 'either broken or taken away: I rather suppose the latter: and carried by Mr Betham to Greenford, where probably they may be put up in the windows: as I know he carried a large box of painted glass with him from college. I once spoke to him about them'.⁵⁰ Six armorials from the college, including the arms of Henry VIII impaling those of Catherine of Aragon (c. 1525),

⁴³ Cullum's diary, E2/44/3 (not paginated).

⁴⁴ The east window was rebuilt by James Essex in the 1780s. New glass by Willement, with 'portraits and armorial bearings', was installed in it c. 1815 but removed 1849. The chapel windows now contain glass by Pugin (1849) and Burne-Jones (1875—80). Some original glass, featuring Bishop Alcock's rebus, survives in the Old Library.

⁴⁵ Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* I: 511—12.

⁴⁶ King's College mundum books.

⁴⁷ Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5802: f.110.

⁴⁸ Hilary Wayment, *King's College Chapel Cambridge: the side-chapel glass* (Cambridge, 1988): 9—11 195, 17—18, 108, 95, 100, 17.

⁴⁹ Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: f. 395. Two sixteenth-century roundels of St Catherine and St Margaret, inserted in Milton church by Cole (but not listed in his catalogue of his collection) might conceivably have been removed from a side-chapel by Harlock or some other less-than-honest glazier of the time. (The choir entrance into the southern side-chapels is decorated with figures of St Catherine and St Margaret and the two south-eastern chapels may well have been dedicated to these saints.)

⁵⁰ Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5814: f. 68.

but not the Argentine one, survive in Greenford church, Middlesex. Edward Betham, bursar of King's and rector of Greenford, was evidently not above pillaging his own college.⁵¹

Magdalene College

The chapel, with east window and three windows on each side, probably dates from c. 1480. Dowsing (30 December 1643): 'We brake down about 40 superstitious pictures, Joseph and Mary stood to be espoused in the windows'.⁵² Blomefield (1750): 'In a window on the glass is "Praye to the Lorde and Praye with the Hearte and Minde". In a south window *Corbet impales Neville*'.⁵³ Chapel 'beautified' 1754–6: nothing survives.⁵⁴

Old Schools

The north wing of the university quadrangle, with the University Chapel above the Theology School, dated from 1400. The chapel probably had stained glass windows, as did other windows in the quadrangle. On 26 January 1565 a grace was passed for destroying all inscriptions in the windows relating to prayers for the dead. 'It may be remarked, however, that the arms of the Thorpes . . . still remained in the east window of the chapel (which was so much indebted to their liberality) in the days of Robert Masters [i.e. 1753]. These arms were afterwards transferred to the west window, and have lately [c. 1906] been removed to the library tower over the old gate of King's'.⁵⁵ The windows of the Philosophy School were emblazoned with the name and rebus of William Breton.⁵⁶

The upper storey of the east wing of the Schools comprised a library built by Archbishop Rotherham in 1470–75, with eighteen two-light windows. Cole recorded that in his time there remained

in the windows his device in almost every pane of glass, being a buck trippant, in almost every posture

and attitude you can conceive, being part of his arms; together with the white or York rose, which shows his affection to his great patron, King Edward IV. There has been some old writing also mixed among them two or three times in every window, in curious letters, whereof some are composed of serpents, and is *Da te Deo*. But in September 1748, during my absence on some occasion from the University . . . the front of these schools were thought to want repair, at which time all the old painted windows were taken down to make room for crown glass, and all those curious paintings, though perfect and complete, were taken away by the glaziers, to the no small reproach of the University in thus defrauding the pious benefactors and founders amongst us of their just and grateful memorials. There were also many other ancient coats in the open work at the tops of each window; all which were taken away: and though I used all means I could think of to recover them, yet they were broken, dispersed or mislaid in a month.⁵⁷

Cole managed, however, to recover one complete light, containing the buck 'in a hundred different attitudes'.⁵⁸ Other fragments went via Edward Betham to Greenford church, Middlesex, whence six of Rotherham's bucks were recovered by King's in 1924 and inserted in a side-chapel.

Pembroke Chapel

Laurence Booth, Master, 'generously decorated the common chapel with glass windows', paying in 1463 for figures of the four Doctors and some other saints.⁵⁹ The 'escutcheon of the arms of his family' duly appeared 'upon all the windows' and were still apparently there in Cole's day.⁶⁰ Robert Swinburne, Master, inserted a west window in 1534.⁶¹ Dowsing (26 December 1643): 'We broke and pulled down 80 superstitious pictures, and Mr Weeden told me he could fetch a statute book to show that pictures were not to be pulled down; and I bade him fetch and show it, and they should stand'. An unavailing altercation followed, Dowsing and the fellows quoting Scripture at one another, the fellows finally resorting to threats.⁶² New chapel built 1663: no old glass survives.

51 Cole was presumably referring to Betham when, relating the destruction of Provost Argentine's Cup, he wrote of the 'brutality of the college bursar'. B.L. Add. MS 5859: 31.

52 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7.

53 Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantabrigiensta*: 108.

54 Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century glass (probably that described by Cole as formerly being in the Master's Lodge) survives in the library. It is mostly heraldic, but includes figures of two saints, an angel and a king.

55 H.P. Stokes, *The chaplains and the chapel of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1906): 56.

56 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5814: f. 120.

57 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5820: f. 184.

58 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: f. 199. Cole also salvaged part of Rotherham's carved gateway to the Schools and 'a cartload of old book desks'.

59 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* 1: 138.

60 Richard Parker, *The history and antiquities of the University of Cambridge* (1622; 1721 edition): 52; Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5823: f. 148.

61 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* 1: 139.

62 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 5.

Peterhouse

Chapel built 1630 with east, west and eight side windows. Luke Skippon, former fellow, donated £68 towards painting the east window with sacred scenes; John Heath and John Eldred each gave £25 towards similarly painting the west window. In 1632 seven windows still remained to be painted.⁶³ Dowsing arrived 21 December 1643 'with officers and soldiers' and among many offensive decorations noted 'six angels in the windows'.⁶⁴

The east window, depicting the Crucifixion (with fourteen saints and six angels in the tracery glass) survives, being the only complete pre-Civil War window at Cambridge, apart from those at King's, to do so. It is attributed to the Flemish glazier Bernard Van Linge (who did much noted work at Oxford), and based on a design by Rubens. Blomefield alleges that it was 'hid in the late troublesome times, in the very boxes which now stand round the altar instead of rails',⁶⁵ but this may be doubted. Another writer suggests that the fact the window 'was put up at the expense of the Parliamentary Luke Skippon, of all people, the brother of Cromwell's general Philip Skippon . . . must have put the iconoclast Dowsing into a pretty quandary'.⁶⁶ Fragments remained until 1855 in the side windows 'consisting of heads and portions of figures with arabesques and other ornaments drawn in a style similar to that of the east window, and probably at the same period. . . . These windows were not so fortunate as to escape destruction in the same way as the east window did'.⁶⁷ A panel, 5½ feet by 2 feet, 'perhaps by Bernard Van Linge, and possibly representing part of the subject of Christ washing the Disciples' feet', is stored in a cellar.⁶⁸

Private houses

William Warren recorded (c. 1730) two escutcheons in the chamber window of a house in King's Parade.⁶⁹ Cole recorded, and often acquired, stained glass (mostly heraldic) surviving in old houses in the town. In 'a large house opposite Jesus College . . . belonging to

Mr Baron of Trumpington, in a chamber window', were coats of arms of Henry VIII, 'royally crowned', and of Bishop Goodrich of Ely, 'very perfect and with a gorgeous mitre over them'. In 'Mr Bentham the printer's house, opposite the great gate of Queens' College', formerly the residence of Matthew Stokys, esquire bedell, were several coats of arms, including those of Queen Elizabeth and of Stokys himself. In a 'small brick house in Silver Street, on the south side not far from St Botolph's', in Alderman Nutting's houses in Bridge Street and in near-by Blackamore's Yard, and in the house of Mr Bonner, bookseller, in the Regent Walk, were others. One of Cole's most cherished pieces, a figure of St Chad in bishop's robes, came from a window in the former Clement Hostel, Bridge Street.⁷⁰

Queens' College

Old chapel completed 1454. A window on the north side, containing images of St Margaret and St Bernard, was donated by Lady Margery Roos before 1477. Bruno Cornelius the glazier new leaded an image of St Paul in 1504–5.⁷¹ In 1637 1s 6d was paid 'to the glazier for taking down and setting up the glass for Good Friday'.⁷² Dowsing (26 December 1643): 'We beat down a 110 superstitious pictures besides cherubims and engravings . . . and brake down 10 or 12 Apostles and Saints within the Hall'.⁷³ In 1780 Cole acquired two coats of arms 'taken out of a room in the college whose windows were new glazed, the person to whom it belonged not suffering such old-fashioned ornaments to appear in a newly furnished apartment'; one he thought older than the college. A third crest was given him by Dr Plumtre from 'a window in his chambers in Erasmus's Court'.⁷⁴

St Botolph's

Aisle windows date from early fifteenth century but most stained glass probably gone by 1638 when £11 18s was paid 'for new glazing all the windows' with plain glass.⁷⁵ Dowsing (January 1644) 'brake down 12 Popish inscriptions and pictures'.⁷⁶

63 Peterhouse register quoted by Cole, B.L. Add. Ms 5861: f. 258.
 64 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 5.
 65 Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantabrigiensta*: 157.
 66 John Steegmann, *Cambridge* (London, 1940): 53–4.
 67 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* I: 49n.
 68 RCHME, *Cambridge* (1959): 160.
 69 A.W.W. Dale (ed.), *Warren's Book* (Cambridge, 1911): 137.

70 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: ff. 346–59.
 71 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* II: 38.
 72 W.G. Searle, *The history of the Queens' College of St Margaret and St Bernard* (Cambridge, 1867): 528.
 73 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 6.
 74 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: ff. 203–4, 349.
 75 A.W. Goodman, *St Botolph, Cambridge: guide to the church* (n.d.): 5.
 76 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7.

St Catharine's College

Dowsing (28 December 1643):

We pulled down St George and the Dragon, and Popish Catharine the saint to which the college was dedicated. Dr Brunbrick the bishop [i.e. Dr Brownrigg, the Master and a bishop] . . . said it was an error to break down John Baptist there, and these words, 'Orate pro anima, qui fecit hanc fenestram' – Pray for the soul of him that made this window.⁷⁷

St Clement's

Dowsing (24 December 1643 and 1 January 1644):

We brake down 30 superstitious pictures, divers of the Apostles, the Pope, Peter's keys.⁷⁸

St Edward's

In 1638 the windows were 'in no place stopped up but well glazed'.⁷⁹ Cole recorded in the east window the arms of Trinity Hall and the remains of one for Mrs Robson, who paid for repairs to the church in the early eighteenth century.⁸⁰

St John's College

The former chapel of St John's Hospital was altered when the college was founded in 1511. Early English windows giving place to Perpendicular ones. The contract survives, dated 17 December 1513, for glazing the chapel, hall and master's lodge. In it, Richard Wright of Bury St Edmunds, glazier, undertook to glaze the chapel windows 'with imagery work and tabernacles' as directed by the Master, Robert Shorton, to glaze the hall windows with roses and portcullises 'and the bay window within the same hall with the picture of St John the Evangelist and with the arms of the excellent Princess Margaret late Countess of Richmond and Derby', and to glaze the windows of the master's lodge with roses and portcullises. All the work was to be executed 'with as good and able Normandy glass of colours and pictures as be in the glass windows within the college called Christ's College in Cambridge, or better in every point'. The work was to be completed by midsummer 1514 and Wright was to be paid

4¹/₂d a foot for the windows in the master's lodge and hall, plus 8d for every rose and portcullis; 2s for the image of St John and the arms of Lady Margaret; and £45 for the chapel windows.⁸¹ Henry Hornby, Master of Peterhouse and one of Lady Margaret's executors, donated £10 towards the glazing. In about 1520 John Smith, fellow and probably bursar, wrote that 'the great wind this last week hath loosed and unbound all the glass windows in our chapel. I am about the repairing of them again as fast as I may.'⁸²

Many of the chapel's ornaments, probably including glass, were destroyed in 1559–60: 'Item to the glazier for setting 21 panes of new glass in the windows of the chapel . . . 2s 9d.'⁸³ The nine-light east window apparently suffered worst. In 1634 Robert Taylor was paid £22 1s 'to place some old painted glass in the great [east] window', probably fragments preserved from 1559–60, and the following year a further £8 was spent on 'the new window in the chapel'. In 1848 this window's alternate lights were described as 'filled with fragments of stained glass, once doubtless an ornament to the same window but at present little can be made of it: a few figures can be distinguished with parts of canopies'. The other windows apparently perished in 1643, when there is 'a note that the old glass in the chapel was taken away, which I imagine refers to the side windows'.⁸⁴ The bursar's book for 1643 records payments 'to the glazier for mending and altering the glass in the windows'.⁸⁵

New chapel completed 1869, old demolished. The fragments of stained glass removed from the east window have been placed partly in the central window on the west face of the new tower, partly in the tracery of the windows of the hall.⁸⁶

Cole in 1774 acquired from a glazier a coat of arms 'out of a gentleman's chamber in St John's College, who chose rather to have plain glass'.⁸⁷

77 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 6. Two panels depicting God the Father (1598) and St Paul (1600) survive in the oriel window of the hall.

78 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7.

79 Palmer, *Episcopal visitation returns*: 7.

80 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5805: f. 28.

81 Willis & Clark, *Architectural History* II: 347–8.

82 R.F. Scott (ed.), *Notes from the records of St John's College*, third series (1906–11): 365, 399.

83 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* II: 292.

84 F.C. Woodhouse, *Some account of St John's College Chapel, Cambridge* (1848): 9, 14.

85 J.B. Mullinger, *St John's College* (London, 1901): 129.

86 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* II: 308. The figure of St John now in the hall is not original to the college; it was acquired in 1842, having come from Regensburg Cathedral.

87 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: f. 201.

St Mary the Great (University Church)

Church mostly rebuilt in late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with over forty windows. Earlier glass may conceivably have been retained in the chancel. In 1503 Henry Veysey, apothecary, left money to make a window depicting the life of St Edward the Confessor, to be placed in the south aisle when built.⁸⁸ In 1505 John Hilgey, former mayor, left £2 'for the making of a glass window in the south part of the clerestory'.⁸⁹ In 1513 Richard Wright of Bury St Edmunds (also working at St John's College) was paid for repairs and probably glazed several windows; 2s was paid for 'boarding of the glazier and his servant'. In 1515 a window donated by Nicholas Speryng, stationer, was completed. In 1516 a man was hired 'to ride to London for a glazier that should have glazed the church windows'; this was apparently James Nicholson, who later worked at King's.⁹⁰ The university in 1517 donated £10 towards the glazing and paid Nicholson a further £7.⁹¹ Alan Wells, churchwarden, in 1518 donated £6 for Nicholson to glaze a window; this may have been the 'window in the south side' given bars soon after. Money raised from parishioners in 1519 went towards the roodloft and the glazing but the only other window mentioned is the west window, glazed by Roger Young in 1536 for £6 13s 10d. In 1541 Young mended 'the defaults and holes in the windows round about the church as well the windows beneath as in the clerestories above', and received 4d 'for taking down the Bishop of Rome's head'. The glass was overhauled in 1564 for Queen Elizabeth's visit.⁹²

In 1565 George Wythers preached his sermon urging the abolition of superstitious painted windows. Images were painted over in 1567–8; the glazier was paid 'for oil and colours' and William Prime, handyman, was twice paid for 'washing out images in the windows'. In 1569 the glazier received 7s 'for setting up the glass and repairing the same and putting out the images'.⁹³ Those painted scenes that survived the 1560s must have perished under Dowsing. In 1638 10s was spent on

'leading 20 foot of image glass'; but in 1643 £7 was paid 'to the glazier for defacing and repairing the windows', £2 was 'paid more to the glazier for the windows', and 11s 'to King the glazier for mending the windows.' 'The overseer of the windows' (Dowsing) received 6s 8d, his survey fee.⁹⁴

Heraldic glass fared only marginally better. Archbishop Parker, writing c. 1570, recorded that 'the windows themselves (if not all of them, at least the greater part) even today tell that they were glazed by the university and by those who at that time relied upon her privileges and were under her protection'⁹⁵ and as late as the eighteenth century many original coats of arms of benefactors remained in the clerestory windows. In each window on the south side, 'in the six small panels above the three large ones', were the arms of John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford, of Neville Earl of Salisbury, and of Monthermer, Marmion, Howard and Montagu, while in the tracery above was 'stained glass with the mullet on it sometimes on a blue and oftener on the red field – which shows how great a benefactor the aforesaid Earl of Oxford was'. In one window on the north side appeared the arms of the Grocers' Company and other unidentified arms.⁹⁶ No original glass survives.

St Mary the Less

East window, similar to that of the Lady Chapel at Ely, and eastern five windows on each side, completed 1352; west window, and western window on each side, added 1450. Nothing known of the stained glass that must originally have filled these large Decorated windows. In 1639 the chancel windows were said to be 'out of repair'.⁹⁷ Dowsing (29–30 December 1643): 'We brake down 60 superstitious pictures, some popes and crucifixes, and God the Father sitting in a chair and holding a globe in his hand.'⁹⁸ Thomas Baker recorded in the early eighteenth century that in a chancel window remained 'Orate pro anima bonae memoriae Wmi. de Wittlessey dudum Epi. Roffensis' (Whittlesey was Bishop of Rochester 1362–3); Cole (1743) recorded ten coats of arms remaining in the tracery, including those of Argentine, the See of Ely, France and England,

88 Samuel Sandars, *Historical and architectural notes on Great St Mary's Church* (Cambridge, 1869): 16.

89 W.M. Palmer (ed.), *Cambridge borough documents* (Cambridge, 1931): 153.

90 J.E. Foster (ed.), *Churchwardens' accounts of St Mary the Great, Cambridge, from 1504 to 1635* (Cambridge, 1905): 18, 20, 26, 30.

91 Mary Bateson (ed.), *Grace Book B: Part II* (Cambridge, 1905): 60, 62, 69.

92 Foster, *Churchwardens' accounts*: 36, 37, 41, 82, 96, 158.

93 *Ibid.*: 162, 165, 169.

94 Great St Mary's churchwardens' accounts, Cambridgeshire record office. Dowsing visited the church on 27 December 1643 and 7 January 1644.

95 Transcript by Matthew Stokys of MS by Archbishop Parker.

96 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5810: f.52.

97 Palmer, *Episcopal visitation returns*: 36.

98 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7.

and one containing the device 'Pater non est Filius etc.'⁹⁹

Trinity College

Chapel, with nine-light east and west windows (later blocked) and twenty-two large side windows, was glazed with Burgundy glass in 1563–5 by William Blithe of Thaxted and Miles Jugg. Each side window contained two coats of arms and two 'ranges', at 6s each, and twelve quarries at 1s each depicting a rose, a portcullis, a fleur-de-lys or the 'name of King Henry', the rest of the glass being plain. There are no details as to the design of the east window, which may have been more elaborate. Sir Edward Warner gave £1 and Mr Barwick £3 6s 8d 'toward the glazing of a window'. Almost at once came Wythers' sermon at Great St Mary's inciting destruction of glass. Senior Bursar's Account, 16 November 1565: 'For repairing of the places which were broken forth in all the windows wherein did appear superstition, 16d'.¹⁰⁰ It is possible, however, that much of the glass, being heraldic, was not destroyed until a later date (e.g. Dr Bentley's 'restoration' of the chapel c. 1706). None survives.¹⁰¹

Trinity Hall

Warren: 'In each of the four windows of the chapel is some small matter of painted glass, particularly the founder's arms, and these words, "Summae Trinitati 1566"'. Thrown out when chapel altered, 1729. In a bow window of the hall (rebuilt 1743) was glass removed from a chamber window when it was sashed in 1727, 'the picture of our Saviour's head (as I take it to be) . . . also the portrait of a bishop with his pastoral staff . . . probably designed for Bishop Bateman, our Founder'. Coats of arms were in other windows in the hall and elsewhere in the college.¹⁰²

Ely Cathedral

Although most of the stained glass probably perished at the Reformation, Cole provides testimony that some survived as late as the eighteenth century (perhaps being too high for the iconoclasts to reach). After describing how a stained-glass figure of the monastery's foundress, St Etheldreda, taken from the Prebendal House, ended up in the possession of James Bentham, who 'kept it so long in his kitchen that it was trampled about and utterly broken to pieces', Cole continues: 'He did the same, though a professed antiquary, to a great quantity of fine painted glass, some of them large whole figures, as the situation required, taken out of the old lanthorn of the Cathedral, when taken down to repair [by James Essex in the 1750s]; all this he foolishly put into a ground-floor room on the south-west side of the Galilee, where the glaziers either pilfered them, with quantities of the arms of the old bishops (some curious ones fell into the hands of Mr, now Dr, Farmer, and are in the windows of his lodge). I saw, with Mr Bentham, about 1768, most of these old figures trampled under foot, in the said room, and was greatly concerned at it. And to show his taste as an antiquary, while he suffered (for he had care of the workmen upon him) all the old coats to be pillaged by that rogue Whaterhall, the glazier of Cambridge, who sold them to any that would buy them, he made up several fictitious coats out of the stained pieces of glass which he had suffered to be trod upon in the Galilee at Ely.'¹⁰³ On 21 November 1771 Cole described (in a letter probably to Dr Powell of St John's) a meeting with James Essex: 'He was so full of the loss of the painted glass windows at Ely, which by his account seem to be irrecoverable, that we talked of nothing else.'¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ J.W. Clark, *Annals of the Church of St Mary the Less, Cambridge*, *Ecclesiologist* (October 1857): 272–87; Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5803: f.55. Cole does not mention the Whittlesey glass; Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantabrigiensta*: 218 mentions it as being 'formerly' there.

¹⁰⁰ Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* II: 568, 571–2.

¹⁰¹ Biblical scenes installed by Wailes in the five antechapel windows, 1846–58, were removed in 1949. Seventeenth-century heraldic glass and a small figure c. 1425 inscribed 'Ricardus Dux' survive in the hall.

¹⁰² A.W.W. Dale, *Warren's Book* 20–3, 70, 84. Cole (B.L. Add. MS 5859: f. 215) identified the 'bishop' as St Thomas à Becket. In 1769 Betham, the bursar of King's, gave Cole some arms on glass of Dr Hare from Trinity Hall. 'Mr Betham did not tell me

whence he had them.' Cole passed them on to Dr Farmer. (Add. MS 5859: f. 27).

¹⁰³ Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5852: ff. 200–201. James Bentham compiled *The history and antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely* (1771). Dr Farmer was Master of Emmanuel College. 'Whaterhall' is the Wetenhall who defrauded Christ's College of glass.

¹⁰⁴ John Nichols, *Illustrations of the literary history of the eighteenth century* IV (1822): 482.

A different kind of Cambridge antiquarian: Marshall Fisher and his Ely Museum

Nigel Holman

Introduction

The recent anniversary of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (CAS) has prompted an interest in the history of the society, marked most obviously by Michael Thompson's published history (1990). This book tells the story of a society which, during its earliest decades, was dominated by educated and influential men from Cambridge University and, only later, drew members from a wider constituency in the county. The names of these men feature repeatedly in the society's *Annual Reports* and *Proceedings* and, thus, their contributions to the sum of knowledge of local and other antiquarian matters is comparatively well known.

In this article I wish to offer a complementary view of nineteenth-century antiquarianism in Cambridgeshire, using sources other than the CAS archives and looking beyond the comparatively well-documented lives of its best-known members. This is the story of Marshall Fisher of Ely, a man forgotten by all but a few people in the county, but whose dedicated and under-appreciated work remains relevant for present-day archaeological research (Holman, in press). Marshall Fisher was an enthusiastic collector of a range of artifacts and natural history specimens and an amateur scientist who curated Ely Museum's collections from shortly before 1849, when it opened to the public, until his death at the age of 92 in 1899.

This paper also has a wider focus, which derives from the observation that published accounts of antiquarianism and museums of the last century have been invariably composed around the exploits of prominent personalities, such as John Evans and General Pitt-Rivers, and the stories of larger

institutions and national collections (Kenneth Hudson's 'Museums of influence': Hudson 1987). Less prominent individuals and smaller museums rarely figure in these histories. Admittedly, many of these individuals never made the national impact of Evans and Pitt-Rivers, and many of these smaller museums have been long closed and their collections dispersed. In such cases, research may be problematic due to a paucity of surviving documentary records. Nevertheless, they form an undercurrent to the activities of more prominent people and institutions, and their significance in the history of museums and archaeological research should not be underestimated out-of-hand.¹

The man

Little is known of Fisher's early life, though all the evidence points to his family background having been humble rather than privileged. After briefly working in the offices of Mr William Marshall, he moved to the offices of Evans and Sons where he served as a solicitor's clerk for 50–60 years, eventually retiring at the age of 87. In addition, he held various part-time local government posts such as Parish Overseer in Ely and Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages for several surrounding villages. He also served as a librarian and curator.

William Marshall undoubtedly influenced

¹ It is also hoped that this paper will encourage others to investigate the histories of local antiquarians and smaller museums in the county. It is clear that Cambridgeshire antiquarians from the last century are poorly documented, as are early (now defunct) museums, such as the short-lived Cambridge Museum (John Goldsmith, personal communication).

Fisher's interest in natural history and archaeology. Marshall was a 'country-cousin' of the family of an eminent London surgeon, Professor John Marshall (Schonfield 1987). He was a solicitor who also served as the Isle of Ely Coroner, Superintendent Registrar, and Clerk to the Ely Union and the Board of Guardians. He himself was an amateur botanist and antiquarian.² As such, he fits much better than Fisher into the nineteenth-century antiquarian mould. Unfortunately, it is not possible to ascertain the precise role played by William Marshall in the setting up of the museum, although newspaper advertisements showing that he was responsible for Fisher's appointment to local government posts, as well as other indications, suggest that he was Fisher's 'patron' over a long period of time.

Fisher's character is hinted at, somewhat anecdotally, in a couple of published references. According to 'H.G.W.', writing in the *Cambridgeshire Times* in 1930, Fisher was 'somewhat brusque in manner [and] definitely of the Old School . . . his preference for knee breeches linked him, *qua* dress, to a bygone generation'. He appears to have been an admirably efficient worker – the report of the fourth annual meeting of the Ely Mechanics' Institute, published in the *Cambridgeshire Chronicle* of 10 January 1846, states, 'Great credit is due to Mr M. Fisher for the attention, arrangement, and regularity in every particular, as Librarian to the society.' His eldest daughter, who contributed numerous literary pieces to the *Cambridgeshire Chronicle* under the pen name 'Fanny Fern', wrote whimsically of her father's love of antiquarian books:

Sometimes Mr Librarian brings in one of his awful profound books and lays it quietly on my parlour table; he looks for it shortly afterwards, and finds it not. 'I knew it would be banished when I put it there,' he says, 'because the binding was so homely.'

His legal experience and his love of antiquarian books was combined when he reissued in 1857 James Bentham's *Considerations and reflections on the present state of the fens near Ely with a proposal for enclosing and dividing the common called Gruntfen*, originally

published in 1778. This made generally available valuable and interesting information at a time when the enclosing of Grunty Fen was a matter of considerable public concern.

Although it is not possible to paint a fuller picture of the personality of Marshall Fisher than this sketch, it is evident that he stands out from the crowd of contemporary antiquarians who, in Levine's words, 'were largely derived from a class where education was an unquestioned privilege and leisure an ample commodity' (Levine 1986: 54).

The museum

A suitable starting point for an investigation of Fisher's museum is Gardener's description (1851: 480):

The *Ely Museum* is held . . . in an apartment (formerly the dungeon of the old gaol [on the corner of Lynn Road and Market Street]) 22 feet long, 19 wide, and 10 feet high. This infant institution was established in the beginning of the year 1849, chiefly through the instrumentality of Mr Fisher and Mr George Bard; the former gentleman contributing a valuable collection of fossils, and the latter several well-preserved birds, &c. Several other donations have since been added, and this interesting collection is now open for public inspection on Mondays, from 12 till 4. . . . Thomas S. Jones, Esq., is chairman of the committee of management, and Mr Marshall Fisher, curator.³

However, as the immediately preceding section in his account makes clear, the museum cannot be considered in isolation:

The Mechanics' Institute, established in January, 1842, is held at the residence of Mr Marshall Fisher, and consists of about 120 members, of which the lord bishop of Ely is perpetual president; the very Rev. the Dean, vice-president; Wm. Marshall, Esq., secretary and Treasurer; and Mr M. Fisher librarian. The members of this excellent institute pay 10s. per annum, and 2s. 6d. entrance fee. The *library*, which consists of nearly 2000 vols., well selected, is open on Monday evenings from 6 till 9; and the *lectures* of the society are delivered in the boy's National School. The object of the institution is the instruction of its members in every department of useful knowledge, party politics and controversy being rigidly excluded. The *Ely Museum* is held on the same premises. . . .

² William Marshall (1815–90) was elected to the CAS in 1878. He made several contributions to the journal *Phytologist* and also published articles in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (1874) and the *Proceedings of the CAS* (1877–8, 1878–9), as well as writing the section on botany in Miller & Skertchly's *Fenland: past and present* (1878). Unfortunately, it is not known whether his 1874 paper on the discovery of an unspecified number of 'skulls in the peat of the Isle of Ely' was based on the skulls which appear as part of the museum collection in Plate 2.

³ George Bard may have been a member of the family of linen drapers, Butcher, Bard and Co., of High Street, Ely. A 'George Bard' is noted there in the *Post Office directory for Cambridgeshire, 1858*, p. 42. According to Gardener (1851), Thomas S. Jones was a surgeon. Their involvement in the museum was most probably short-lived.

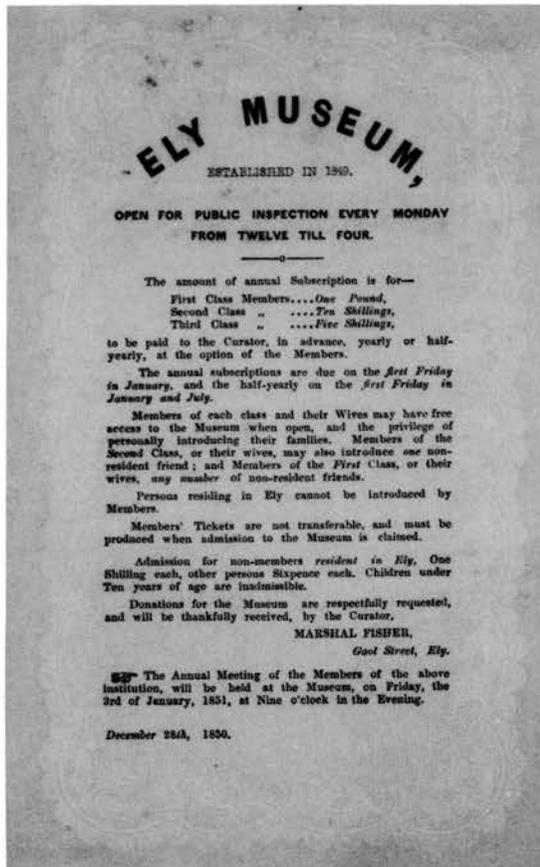


Plate 1.
Handbill and membership tickets from Marshall Fisher's Ely Museum.
(Courtesy of the Trustees of Ely Museum.)

The museum clearly formed part of a larger group of institutions for public adult education, sanctioned at the highest level, as indicated by the involvement of senior members of the Church in Ely.

Mechanics' Institutes were established throughout the country from the 1820s onwards (numbering 610 by mid-century), based on the model of a branch which opened in London in 1826 (Woodward 1979: 475–6). Although intended to offer working men opportunities for adult education, they lost their popularity, according to Woodward, due to poor lecturers and an approach to learning which ultimately failed to retain the interest of working men attending after a full day's work. In his words, 'institutes became centres of recreation for clerks [such as Fisher], mechanics, and shopkeepers, and their educational side was limited to a few popular lectures' (1979: 476). Lewis (1984: 29) notes that a number of institutes established museums, and credits them with the growth of public enthusiasm for museums which led to the

municipal museum movement of the second half of the nineteenth century, as well as the passing of the Museums Act in 1845. Although in the examples cited by Lewis there is a close, formal relationship between institute and museum, in Ely this relationship seems less clear. On the one hand, contemporary references often refer to them as having been connected, whereas newspaper reports indicate that their annual meetings were held at different times. In any case, in a small community such as Ely, it is quite likely that the instigators of the institute and museum were the same Middle Class gentlemen and that formal statements of relationship might never have been made.⁴

Several East Anglian museums might well have inspired Fisher and his colleagues. The Wisbech and Fenland Museum, which was established in 1835, has its origins in a literary

⁴ Unfortunately, the apparent lack of surviving documents relating to the museum and the Mechanics' Institute severely limit discussion, not least about their formal constitutions.

society, although its collections rapidly acquired scientific and ethnographic elements (Arthur & Powell 1985). A museum was established in Huntingdon by the town's Literary and Scientific Institution in 1840 (BAAS 1887: 104). Of course, the CAS was also established in 1840, and from its earliest years accumulated a collection of antiquities (Thompson 1990). Slightly more distant, but brought closer by the building of railway lines during the last century, we could also point to the museums of Norwich, Bury St Edmunds and King's Lynn, founded in 1824, 1840 and 1844 respectively.

It is not known whether Fisher's collection was accumulated with the express purpose of displaying it to the public. However, it demonstrably existed at least three years before the museum opened its doors to the public, because the collection merited a visit by two of the foremost geologists of the period. The *Cambridgeshire Chronicle* of 21 November 1846 records a visit by Professors Adam Sedgwick and Richard Owen. After breakfasting with the Dean of Ely:

they proceeded to the residence of Messers Bard, Fisher, and Squib [sic], to inspect their splendid collections of fossils which have been greatly added to since the formation of the railway commenced in this neighbourhood, and such was the immense variety in the different collections, that four hours were occupied in the inspection. . . .⁵

Although Sedgwick visited Ely on numerous occasions in the 1840s, frequently staying with the Dean of Ely, his published letters make no reference to Fisher and they seemingly did not correspond. However, they do record a visit he paid to the cutting made by the Great Eastern Railway at Ely – as Fisher must have done on numerous occasions (Clark & Hughes 1890).

Museum admission and membership

A handbill and membership tickets (Plate 1) speak eloquently of the admission policy operated by Fisher, at least in the early years of the museum. In all probability, this leaflet was the principal publicity leaflet for the museum (certainly others seem not to have survived). The emphasis on museum regulations and the

complete lack of any description of its collections is striking.

A number of points about the contents of this handbill deserve to be emphasized. Fisher operated a three-tiered membership system, with the most extensive privileges going to those paying an annual subscription of £1 (c. £35 at today's prices). Fisher was thus foreshadowing a system commonly used today in 'Friends' organizations in museums and other institutions – benefiting, as such a patronage system still does, from the generosity of supporters. 'The member and his wife are entitled. . .': true to the spirit of the era, Fisher's Ely Museum was expected to be of principal interest to men, although it is not known whether women were members in their own right. Children under ten years of age were 'inadmissible' – an unusual turn of phrase, perhaps, but also an appropriate one! Non-members were admitted outside the membership scheme, residents of Ely at a greater cost than non-residents. To prevent the membership regulations being circumvented, members were not permitted to take residents of Ely into the museum as their free guests!

Clearly, there are a variety of strategies for raising revenues from admission charges. One extreme would be to have a low charge and hope that this would encourage large number of visitors, the other would be to have a high charge which would produce a break-even figure with a small number of visitors. Although it is far from clear that Fisher ran his museum as an economic concern, he chose a strategy towards the latter extreme. The implications of this will be discussed in further detail later in this article. However, it should be immediately evident that not only was Fisher apparently unconcerned to open his museum to a wide audience from all social classes, but that his elaborate regulations, for example, differentiating local from non-local occasional visitors, appear today to be unduly antagonistic.

The lack of any reference to the Mechanics' Institute in the leaflet and tickets supports the view that no formal relationship existed between the institute and the museum in Ely. There is certainly no hint of special privileges – which otherwise form the principal focus of the leaflet – for members of the institute. One might be tempted to argue that while books were considered by the committees who ran the institute and museum to be appropriate learning matter for the lower classes, the experience of material culture displayed out of context in a museum was considered beyond the intellectual grasp of the same audience. It

⁵ The name Richard Squibb can be found in the Ely Post Office directories for the middle decades of the nineteenth century. He was a priest in the so-called 'Huntingdonian Church' (a sect which was then declining in popularity), in Chapel Street, Ely. Since the name is an unusual one, we can probably accept that this is the gentleman involved in the museum during its first few years.



Plate 2.
Marshall Fisher in his Ely Museum, c. 1895, by an unknown photographer.
(Courtesy of the Trustees of Ely Museum.)

is worth noting that the charges levied by Fisher are considerably higher than those levied by the majority of other museums surveyed for the British Association's 'Report upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom' (BAAS 1887, 1888). Incidentally, the charges for the Mechanics' Institute noted above also appear considerably higher than could most likely have been afforded by the working class men who were presumably its intended members, although the 1846 annual meeting of the Institute, reported in the *Cambridgeshire Chronicle*, suggests that its library was well used.

This brings us to the inevitable question of who, if not members of the institute, were the museum's members and visitors? In the absence of surviving records we can make only the general inference that its opening times, restricted to four hours on Monday afternoons, would hardly have encouraged visits by full-time workers. Indeed, Fisher himself was probably not always able to attend at this time. His eldest daughters are occasionally

described as his 'assistants' in the library of the Mechanics' Institute and they may well have served as custodians in the museum when Fisher was working. It was not unusual for smaller museums to have restricted opening hours, although most of those listed by the British Association, even those which were privately owned or supported by local societies, were open for more than one day each week (BAAS 1887).

The museum collection

Three remarkable photographs (Plates 2 and 3: two views are essentially the same), by an unknown photographer, show Fisher around the year 1895 – at the age of about 88 – amidst the collection.

Further evidence for parts of the collection which cannot be seen in these photographs is to be found in several contemporary publications. Foremost amongst these are Sir John Evans' *Ancient stone implements* (1872) and *Ancient bronze implements* (1881). While



Plate 3.

Fossils, stuffed birds, and other objects displayed in Marshall Fisher's Ely Museum.
(Courtesy of the Trustees of Ely Museum.)

the former states only that 'Mr Fisher, of Ely, has one [polished Neolithic axe], found near Manea, and several from Bottisham', the latter includes engravings of six bronzes artifacts from Fisher's collection and references to several more in the text. The provenances for these objects are given as being either Ely or its vicinity, the bulk of the collection evidently having been found locally. On the evidence of the composition of the collection when it entered the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (see below, page 90), the disparity between the number of citations for each type of object appears to reflect their relative frequency in his collection. The inconsistency of Evans' references, to Fisher's 'collection', to his 'museum' and sometimes simply to the fact that he 'has' objects, suggests that the status of the collection – as public museum or private collection – was not entirely clear, at least to John Evans. There is no surviving correspondence between Evans and Fisher (Sherratt, personal communication).

Miller & Skertchly's *Fenland: past and present* provides a more general, less detailed description of the archaeological part of the collection (1878: 463–5):

Mr Marshall Fisher, of Ely, who has been a collector of Fen Antiquities for years, possesses good specimens of Keltic pottery and implements. 1. He has a very perfect example of a *Cinerary Urn* . . . also a handled *Drinking Vessel*. 2. Implements of stone – celts and hammers. 3. Bronze celts – some with sockets and loops . . . and a bronze dagger . . . the handle having been attached by rivets. . . Mr Fisher has a fine specimen [of Nene Valley Roman pottery]. . . The Ely Museum contains specimens of *Roman Pottery*, found at Ely, Coveney, Stonea, Manea, Lakenheath, &c. *Romano-British arms*, *Bronze Spear-heads*, *Bronze Swords*. In the same Museum are *Iron Battle-axes* and *Spear-heads*, of various kinds, not assigned to any period; also a Saxon Iron Spear.

The hints in the above descriptions about the sources of much of the collection should be amplified. As noted above, railways reached the Fenland in the mid-nineteenth century, and the

large-scale civil engineering which this entailed would have revealed all kinds of archaeological and palaeontological remains. Many fossils in the museum would almost certainly have been collected from the local Roswell Pits, a principal source of the gault clay which was used in both railway construction and drainage works. As a parish overseer, Fisher would have been in regular contact with many farmers and farm labourers in the district. Consequently, he would have been ideally placed to collect objects, in particular the more recognizable stone and bronze axes, which had been recovered in the course of farm work. Other material – such as George Bard's stuffed birds – would have been donated by Fisher's acquaintances in Ely and the surrounding Fenland.

An intriguing exception to the local character of the collection is a small unfinished palstave of a very distinctive form. There is little doubt that it belonged to Fisher's collection (though it is only known definitively that it belonged to the collection of the purchaser of the museum, see below). Its highly distinctive form makes it possible to associate it with a hoard of approximately 70 practically identical small, unfinished palstaves (and 10 spearheads) which was found in Stibbard, Norfolk, in 1837 and exhibited by its finder, Mr Goddard Johnson, at the Norwich meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1847 (Anonymous 1851; Rowlands 1976: ref. no. 97). It seems probable that Fisher had contacts with Goddard Johnson and purchased or – more likely – was given, this palstave, since Johnson appears to have distributed a handful of them to other collectors and museums throughout East Anglia (Barbara Green, personal communication). There are no definite indications of other acquisitions from beyond the Isle of Ely.

Fisher's activities and publications

Other nineteenth-century publications provide additional insights into Fisher's activities, as well as describing the collection in further detail. The account of the meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute held on 4 July 1862, published in the *Archaeological Journal* (Anonymous 1862), refers to Fisher having exhibited a handled beaker covered by incised geometric designs found during the construction of the railway at March, near Ely (described as 'a small urn of very uncommon

fashion'⁶), and to Roman fibulae and coins found in Ely. Interestingly, it is stated that Fisher was not at this meeting to present this material in person. Even if Fisher was a member of the Royal Archaeological Institute – and their records indicate that he was not – he was, not surprisingly, unable to attend its meetings due probably both to the cost of travelling to London and the time required to do so. The above-mentioned articles had been presented to the museum by other people, although we also learn that 'Mr Fisher stated that the Romans undoubtedly had a camp or station about two miles south-west of Ely, and he had collected there numerous remains of pottery and other Roman relics'. With this single brief exception, it is evident from Gomme's comprehensive survey of archaeological papers (1907) that Fisher published none of his investigations.

Geologist, Sydney Skertchly (1877: 162–6; Miller & Skertchly 1878: 566 and figure facing 304) refers to expeditions which he made with Fisher and William Marshall to investigate the stratigraphy of the Fenland peat, discovering 'indisputable evidence of five successive forests'. It is clear from these accounts that Fisher and Marshall, who are both described as 'diligent observers of fenland phenomena', co-operated in fieldwork. The impression is given here that William Marshall was the more competent botanist of the two, and that he had a collection of antiquities of his own (about which I can find no information).

Fisher was only elected to the CAS on 28 November 1881 at the age of 75, forty-one years after the formation of the society. He was nominated by 'Mr Marshall', presumably William Marshall of Ely, and seconded by J.E. Foster, secretary of the society. The clear implication of the latter is that Fisher had no other friends or close acquaintances amongst the society's members. Not surprisingly, given his advanced years, he never presented a communication to the society, nor wrote in the *Proceedings*, although at the meeting at which he was elected he presented a 'photograph of a red Roman terra-cotta vase lately found in Downham Field, Ely'.

Fisher's death and the closure of his museum

The events surrounding the closure of the museum provide an interesting commentary on

⁶ This report may well have been the source for references to this handled beaker, now in the Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology (1922.572), in both Jewitt (1870) and Miller & Skertchly (1878).

how Fisher and his museum were perceived in various quarters. They also underline the extent of the uncertainty surrounding the future of the collection on Fisher's death.

Fisher was locally held in sufficient regard for the *Cambridgeshire Chronicle* on 27 January 1899 to report his illness: 'This well known gentleman is we fear sinking. His age is 92, and until a few days since he was braving the roughest storms.' That very same day Fisher died. His long and admiring obituary in the *Cambridgeshire Chronicle* provides further information about the origins of Fisher's museum. It also offers a sense of the perceived (albeit fifty years after the event) lack of enthusiasm in Ely for the institute and museum and an indication of the small number of individuals who were responsible for their establishment:

... it was in the sphere of natural science that he rose distinctly above the common order. In quite early life he was one of a small coterie of kindred spirits. A little society was formed, but then, even as it is now, they had little sympathy, their environments being antipathetic to science. Nevertheless they struggled on and a Mechanics' Institute was formed. Whether it died or still retains that appellation, we know not, but of this we are certain, there is a library with many rare volumes, and it has been growing for years by additions made at Mr Fisher's personal expense. The museum attached to the scheme has likewise grown from the same cause. The collection of fossils, ancient British, Roman and Anglo-Saxon antiquities, is especially valuable. How great a boon it would be to purchase these for the city! The unusual facilities afforded to a good collector for obtaining purely local specimens during an unbroken period of 70 years can scarcely occur again. ...

This anonymous obituary writer was not alone in hoping that Fisher's collection would remain in the city. As reported in the *Ely Gazette*, Chairman of the Ely Urban District Council, Charles Bidwell, took up the case for the collection remaining in the city: 'There is no good reason why the antiquities collected by Mr Fisher should go to London or for that matter to Cambridge, if a little self-sacrifice can keep them in the City, where they are of most interest.' However, there was a problem which he spelled out: 'The Council as a Council cannot purchase Mr Fisher's collection. That will have to be done by private means.' Yet, he was optimistic: 'The negotiations are in excellent hands, and will no doubt be carried to a successful issue.' The explanation for the inability of the Council to purchase the collection itself lies in its limited finances and the inability for a town the size of Ely to raise the necessary funds through the Rates. The

very fact that the collection was not offered as a gift to the town or to a society – even though, as a solicitor's clerk, Fisher would have known to have made such a provision explicit in his will had it been his wish – underlines the difference between Fisher and his better-known antiquarian contemporaries: the latter would have been sufficiently wealthy to make such a magnanimous gesture without their children suffering as a result.

A subsequent report brought *Ely Gazette* readers up to date:

[The Chairman] had to report that after the Board meeting a month ago, he immediately wrote to Mr Addison the solicitor for the executors, asking him to give the Council the first refusal.

Mr Addison wrote him a note in reply stating that he thought he (the Chairman) might take it, the antiquities would not be sold without their having an opportunity of buying them.

Mr Redfern who visited Ely with a view to purchasing them, also said he would not stand in the way of the City.⁷

However, as the report continued:

There the matter stopped. On the 20th Feb. he received the following note which was addressed to the Chairman of the Ely Board –

'I have purchased the museum of the late Mr Fisher and I shall be pleased to let you have it for £350. C. Ambrose'

He (the Chairman) wrote him the following reply –

'I have to acknowledge your letter of 20th. I observe you have purchased the books and the museum. Whether you are to be congratulated is an open question.'

(Laughter!). The suggested price puts the idea of purchase out of the question, but if anyone wished to take the matter up they were open to do so. Speaking as an individual he did not think they should take any further steps in the matter.

So, Bidwell and his friends were 'gazumped' and Mr Addison – presumably acting under instructions from Fisher's daughter, Harriet, the sole beneficiary of his will – appears to have disregarded his earlier assurances. It is not known the price which Cole Ambrose paid, and his motives for immediately offering to sell the collection are unclear since he was an enthusiastic (if not entirely discerning)

⁷ Some-time theatrical manager, William Redfern owned a significant private collection of antiquities and was an active member of the CAS, author of books, as well as of notes published in the *Proceedings* of the CAS. His willingness to pass-up the opportunity adding to his own collection in favour of allowing Ely the opportunity to retain Fisher's collection is worthy of comment and commendation.

collector of archaeological and ethnographic artifacts.

For two decades, until Cole Ambrose's death in 1923, the collection remained hidden from public view in Stuntney Hall. Together with Cole Ambrose's archaeological and ethnographic collections, it was subsequently purchased for the bargain price of £100 by the CAS who presented them to the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. I can find no trace of neither the fossils nor the books in Fisher's/Mechanics' Institute library (with certain few exceptions in the latter case).

Discussion

Marshall Fisher's Ely Museum was neither large, nor of national importance. Despite the attention of some of the most distinguished academics of the period, Fisher and his museum never achieved recognition beyond the traditionally-insular confines of Ely. Indeed, the museum slipped through the net cast by the British Association for its 'Reports upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom' (BAAS 1887, 1888). It is not among the 240 museums who are included in this survey, although a circular letter was sent to town clerks of all the municipal boroughs in the country, and despite the fact that A.C. Haddon, a member of the committee, had read *Natural Sciences at Cambridge* and had for a time been Curator of the University's Zoological Museum.⁸ The main themes of a discussion about this museum must firstly be the lack of wider recognition gained by its curator, the failure of the museum to build on the strengths of its collections, and secondly the reasons for the museum's closure on its curator's death.

What should be inferred from Fisher's very limited participation in the antiquarian establishment at both national and local levels, including his very belated election to the CAS? It is difficult to escape the conclusion that his lowly status as a full-time solicitor's clerk prevented him from becoming more involved with this Establishment of men whose personal circumstances were for the most part very different to his own. His long-standing interest in palaeontology and archaeology (as well as books and astronomy), and his curatorship of a collection which contained specimens which were sufficiently interesting to attract the likes of John Evans and Adam Sedgwick, might have opened a variety of

opportunities. Yet he failed to publish the results of his investigations at a time when such opportunities had never been greater – at least for those who had the necessary contacts with all-powerful editors and society committees. In contrast, William Marshall, Fisher's 'patron', published several articles.⁹ It seems that Marshall's standing in the local community was translated through these publications, and through his ability to attend meetings such as those of the CAS and the Royal Anthropological Institute, into a standing (albeit minor) in the regional and national antiquarian and scientific communities Fisher remained a local figure and his work and collections never received the wider recognition they probably deserved.

Turning to the failure of the museum to outlive its Curator, we are hampered by not knowing the relationship between the various elements which occur in descriptions of the museum: the Mechanics' Institute, William Marshall, Messers Bard and Squibb, and, indeed, other unnamed individuals who undoubtedly were involved at various times. Despite the assertion (Gardener 1851) that the museum was established 'through the instrumentality of Fisher and Bard, it is tempting to see William Marshall (and perhaps other men from amongst Marshall's social equals) as the real driving force behind the museum. Of course, Marshall would have wanted the day-to-day running of the museum to be the responsibility of someone else. Who was more ideal than Fisher, an enthusiast with wide-ranging interests? Marshall could presumably trust him, having employed him as a clerk and there might also be the suggestion that he could rely on Fisher's compliance because Fisher's career as a local civil servant partly depended on Marshall's goodwill. Despite this uncertainty, it is evident that the museum outlasted the Mechanics' Institute and came to be associated exclusively with Marshall Fisher so that, on his death, the collections were treated as his own property.

The seeds of the eventual demise of the museum on Fisher's death were sown by a number of local and more general factors. Ely, a small market town with a population in the nineteenth century of around 8000, lacked a large and active Middle Class from which a museum and science-oriented group large enough to support a public museum would have been drawn. Neither did it have large and successful industries from which a wealthy philanthropist could have emerged. The

⁸ Inevitably, the question arises: how many other museums were not included in this survey which, on the face of things, appears such a useful document for historians of British museums?

⁹ See footnote 2, above.

provincial museums listed by the British Association in the 1880s were, with few exceptions, in towns and cities larger than Ely. As a young member of the 'small coterie of kindred spirits' who were involved with the formation of the museum in the 1840s, he must have become an increasingly lonely figure (perhaps as suggested by Plate 2) as the decades passed and his antiquarian and science-minded friends and acquaintances died. However, Fisher and his committee did not help matters: the museum's high entrance charges and restricted opening hours must have been a considerable disincentive for many would-be visitors. Yet, given Fisher's income from his job as a clerk and other positions, it is difficult to see how they were financially justified. Were they simply a clumsy pricing policy or a deliberate policy to prevent all except the most wealthy from visiting the museum?

Nevertheless, entrance charges alone cannot explain the failure of the museum to attract new and enthusiastic supporters. As Marshall Fisher grew older, the age of the antiquarian drew to a close. When he died, there was no younger, like-minded individual to take his place and keep the museum open, and the local council was not able to purchase the collection which was consequently lost to the community. If we disregard a small private collection, consisting mainly of miscellaneous by-gones, displayed in a tea shop during the earlier part of this century, a museum was only re-established in Ely in the 1970s (and then only through an equivalent 'small coterie of kindred spirits'). The lack of a museum in Ely over almost a century has had many deleterious consequences for the preservation and documentation of the City's history. Only with further research in other towns can we assess whether museum histories such as this one can be identified elsewhere, and thus arrive at a better understanding of the history of museums during the last 150 years, in Cambridgeshire and elsewhere.

Postscript

I cannot close without a couple of further remarks about what light the story of Marshall Fisher and his museum seems to shed on the workings of the CAS in the second half of the nineteenth century. The successes of the society during this period are substantial and well documented. A balanced picture, however, can only be achieved by a consideration of how, in hindsight, it might be seen to have failed in certain respects. By reason of its emphasis on

University and City matters during much of the last century, and its failure to embrace individuals such as Marshall Fisher, the society missed a golden opportunity which was only taken during this century with the development of the CAS into a truly county-wide organization. Had this transformation occurred earlier, we might have expected the following two local consequences possibly with equivalent scenarios elsewhere. Firstly, Marshall Fisher might well have published, and otherwise documented, considerably more information about his fieldwork and collections. Secondly, instead of the museum closing and being sold to a private collector on Fisher's death, the involvement of the CAS might have brought about a more satisfactory conclusion. The museum might have remained intact in Ely or, possibly, have been transferred in its entirety with accompanying documentation (which was missing when sold by Cole Ambrose 23 years later) to Cambridge. One consolation, however, is evident – the same will not happen again, not least due to the present role of this society in the county.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Mrs Muriel Wallace, Marshall Fisher's great grand-daughter, for her considerable help and the interest she has shown in this research. My attention was first drawn to Marshall Fisher by a small display in the present Ely Museum set up by Nick Merriman, my predecessor as Curator there. John Pickles went out of his way to help with additional information and comments. Gavin Roberts and John Goldsmith also made useful comments. Naturally, the author alone is responsible for the mistakes which remain.

References

- ANONYMOUS. 1851. Catalogue of antiquities, in *Transactions of the Norwich Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1847*: xxiii–lvi. London.
- ANONYMOUS. 1862. Proceedings at meetings, *Archaeological Journal* 19: 364–5.
- ARTHUR, J.L. & R. POWELL. 1985. *AI amongst country museums: an historical account of the Wisbech and Fenland Museum*. Wisbech: Friends of The Wisbech and Fenland Museum.
- BAAS. 1887. Report of the Committee . . . appointed for the purpose of preparing a Report upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom, *Report of the fifty-seventh meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Manchester 1887*: 97–130. London.
- BAAS. 1888. Report of the Committee . . . appointed for the purpose of preparing a further Report

- upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom, *Report of the fifty-eighth meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Bath 1888*: 124–32. London.
- BENTHAM, J. 1778. *Considerations and Reflections on the present state of the fens near Ely with a proposal for enclosing and dividing the common called Gruntfen*. Reissued, with a new preface by Marshall Fisher, 1857.
- CLARK, J.W. & T.M.C. HUGHES. 1890. *The life and letters of the Reverend Adam Sedgwick*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- EVANS, J. 1872. *Ancient stone implements of Great Britain*. London: Longmans.
- EVANS, J. 1881. *Ancient bronze implements of Great Britain and Ireland*. London: Longmans.
- GOMME, G.L. 1907. *Index of archaeological papers 1665–1890*. London: Constable.
- GARDENER, R. 1851. *History, gazetteer and directory of Cambridgeshire*. Peterborough: Printed and published by the author.
- HOLMAN, N. in press *Catalogue of Bronze Age metalwork from the British Isles in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- HUDSON, K. 1987. *Museums of influence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- JEWITT, L. 1870. *Grave-Mounds and their contents: a manual of archaeology*. London: Groombridge.
- LEVINE, P. 1986. *The amateur and the professional: antiquarians, historians and archaeologists in Victorian England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LEWIS, G.D. 1984. Collections, collectors and museums in Britain to 1920, in J.M.A. Thompson (ed.), *Manual of curatorship: a guide to museum practice*: 23–37. London: Butterworth.
- MARSHALL, W. 1874. The discovery of skulls in the peat of the Isle of Ely, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 3: 497–8.
- MARSHALL, W. 1877–8. On some ancient court rolls of the manor of Littleport in the Isle of Ely in the County of Cambridge, *Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 4(2): 97–108.
- MARSHALL, W. 1878–9. On an ancient canoe found inbedded in the fen-peat near Magdalen bend, on the river Ouse, in the county of Norfolk, *Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 4(3): 195–206.
- MILLER, S.H. & S.B.J. SKERTCHLY. 1878. *Fenland: past and present*. London: Longmans.
- ROWLANDS, M.J. 1976. *The organization of Middle Bronze Age metalworking*. Oxford: (British Archaeological Reports. British Series 31).
- SHONFIELD, Z. 1987. *The precariously privileged: a professional family in Victorian London*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- SKERTCHLY, S.B.J. 1877. *Geology of the Fenland*. London: HMSO.
- THOMPSON, M. 1990. *The Cambridge Antiquarian Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
- WOODWARD, SIR L. 1979. *The Age of Reform, 1815–1870*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Excavations in Cambridgeshire, 1989 and 1990

Alison Taylor

Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeology Section

The following excavations have been carried out by Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeology Section.

Where indicated with a footnote, a report on the site has been published and is available from the Archaeology Section, Shire Hall, Cambridge:

Brampton prehistoric cropmarks

TL205715

Tim Malim, for English Heritage

Excavations in advance of the A1-M1 link road to assess the archaeological potential of this scheduled monument succeeded in locating the cropmarks seen on air photographs. They were 70 cm below the top of the ploughsoil and showed as yellow alluvium-filled features which had been cut into gravel. Pan-buster scourmarks could be seen even at this level. Parallel ditches 10 metres apart were traced to their in-curving butt ends. One contained a large posthole with some charcoal. Other features may be present in the 'entrance' area, to await excavation at a later date. No finds were found in the ditches but there is a background of Neolithic flintwork in the ploughsoil. Beaker barrows and an Iron Age settlement were excavated in the 1960s just south of this field, and it is possible that the double ditches briefly examined this year are those of a *cursus*. 800 metres of the area were trenched and the only other features found were some Roman ditches further east. It is hoped English Heritage will fund further work to elucidate the site more fully before the road destroys this part of the scheduled monument.

Great Wilbraham Roman villa¹

John Ette, for National Rivers Authority

A trench stripped for construction of a water pipe-line cut through a site where Roman finds had been reported. Only 5 m wide, the trench contained two rectangular rooms. One had a rammed chalk floor and massive flint mortar foundations and the other had evidence for timber posts and wall slots. Near this building, a circular pit cut into a square shaped chalk platform containing an intact Roman altar, architectural fragments including the base of a column, and a mass of iron-work (so far unidentified). Tile, pottery, bone, a spoon and pewter plate were also recovered from the site.

Linton Roman villa²

John Ette, for National Rivers Authority

Excavation in advance of a water pipe-line uncovered an extensive range of Roman buildings, associated ditches and yard surfaces, about 50 metres from a wealthy Roman villa excavated by R.C. Neville in 1846-50. The walls had coursed flint rubble foundations. One building was subdivided into at least five small rooms. Pottery dated from 2nd to 4th century AD. Elsewhere in the trench were a collapsed length of Roman walling, Iron Age pits and gulleys and field ditches of Belgic date. In places the buildings were buried by 1.5 metres of colluvial hillwash and will be

1 National Grid Reference held by the County Sites and Monuments Record.

2 National Grid Reference held by the County Sites and Monuments Record.

preserved intact, except where cut by a narrow trench to insert the water pipe.

Wimpole Roman roadside settlement
TL33314885

Wendy Horton & Gerry Watt, for
Cambridgeshire County Council

The proposal to replace two dangerous road junctions with a roundabout adjacent to the National Trust estate at Wimpole, Cambridgeshire, led to the excavation of a Roman settlement site. The settlement is a 'ribbon' roadside site located along the important north-south Ermine Street Roman road, and the excavated area lies just north of the intersection of Ermine Street with the A603, thought also to follow a Roman road. The excavated remains appear to form a series of ditched paddocks and fields orientated along Ermine Street. Two of the ditch enclosures contained cobbled surfaces interpreted as yards, but no direct traces of buildings were recovered, although the difficult conditions of the summer of 1989 rendered this site – located on clay – virtually impossible to excavate as thoroughly as desired. However, the recovery of bricks, roof tiles and animal bones, as well as large quantities of pottery, suggest that the Roman houses were probably on the extreme west side of the excavation, where they will have been largely destroyed by a post-medieval field ditch. The animal bones suggest that cattle were kept for traction, whilst sheep/goat were reared for wool, before the older animals were slaughtered for meat. Horses formed an unexpectedly large part of the animal assemblage. Large quantities of both oysters and mussels were imported to the site. The pottery recovered is not surprisingly dominated by the relatively local pottery centres in the Nene Valley around Castor and at Jesus Lane, (Cambridge) and Horningsea, for both fine wares and coarse storage jar types. Other fine wares include Samian in limited amounts, much Colchester ware, and lesser quantities from Oxford kilns.

Burial of a middle-aged Anglo-Saxon woman with penannular brooch, bronze wrist clasps and beads of glass and amber typical of the 6th century and two unaccompanied burials mark the final phase of the site.

Cambridge, Kings Hedges Roman site
TL457618

John Ette, for Cambridgeshire County Council

Nine hectares needed for Cambridge Regional College were trenched to determine whether

Iron Age or Roman sites at Arbury and Arbury Camp extended to this area. Little was found, apart from a Roman cremation and six Roman vessels, all in one small area of ditch adjacent to the Roman Road. No traces of Kings Hedges camp were located.

Barrington Anglo-Saxon Cemetery 1988
TL37464959

Alison Taylor, for Cambridgeshire County Council

Barrington Anglo-Saxon Cemetery 1989
TL37464959

Tim Malim, for English Heritage and
Cambridgeshire County Council³

Barrington Anglo-Saxon Cemetery 1990
TL37464959

Tim Malim, for English Heritage,
Cambridgeshire County Council & South
Cambridgeshire District Council Conservation
Committee

A further season's excavation took place in June–July 1990. 44 skeletons were examined, several of them already damaged by ploughing although a few were in deep-cut graves. Of great interest was the discovery of two 7th-century 'bed burials' of women and their grave goods. The first was in a grave that was sufficiently deep to preserve iron fittings (cleats, eyelets and head-rails) of the bed. Grave-goods included an iron-bound bucket, the contents of a probable bag consisting of a bronze buckle, bone comb, glass bead and fossilized sea-urchin, an iron 'latch-lifter' and a short sword or weaving baton. There may be other items in the 'bag' which will be excavated in the laboratory.

The second bed-burial was less deeply buried and so had been more disturbed by ploughing but the iron-work that survived showed that the original bed had been very similar. The woman wore two delicate bronze buckles on her thighs, a ring of twisted silver on her right shoulder and a bronze pin on her left shoulder. 6th-century burials were accompanied by a total of 11 spears, five shields, assorted iron shield fittings, 12 buckles, two pairs of wrist-clasps, 33 knives and one other latch-lifter. Five women wore necklaces of glass or amber beads, one of whom also had a pair of small-long and

³ Report above, pages 45–62. Archaeology Section report also available: Tim Malim, *Barrington Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, 1989*.

another a pair of penannular brooches. One unusual burial, probably of a young man, wore a tinned or silver-plated Kentish belt-suite and a disc brooch. Another, unusually for East Anglia, was a middle-aged woman with an early-7th-century gilt disc-brooch set with four cabochon and four key-stone garnets and four rectangles of blue glass. (This object is currently being conserved, and so its description may be altered subsequently.)

The excavation also uncovered a late Iron Age double-ditched enclosure, with a wide outer ditch 1.5 m deep. Clear evidence for progressive plough damage necessitates further work on this site.

Haddenham Anglo-Saxon burials
TL46487547

*Simon Bray & Ben Robinson, for Cambridgeshire County Council*⁴

Emergency excavations took place when two burials were uncovered during site clearance in the village centre. One (male) was accompanied by a spear, knife, shield boss and buckle (iron) and tweezers (bronze), and the other (female) by 27 amber, one glass and three 'silver in glass' beads, a square-headed small-long brooch and a bone spindle whorl. A larger area was cleared and fragments of nine skeletons were noted.

Kings Ditch, Cambridge
TL45085825

*Tim Malim, for Cambridgeshire County Council*⁵

A possible site of Kings Ditch, on the proposed site of Holiday Inn, Downing Street, Cambridge, was trenched with negative results.

Cambridge Castle Ditch
TL44605925

Tim Malim, for Cambridgeshire County Council

The loan of a machine enabled us to trench the expected site of a ditch around Cambridge Castle, in advance of the new hostel buildings for Clare College. This gave a section at right angles to the ditch in two places, and showed that it was originally water-filled. The Norman ditch had been reused by Cromwell and all artifacts noted were post-medieval.

Stretham Rectory, medieval stone building
TL51127455

*Wendy Horton & Gavin Lucas, for Ely Diocesan Board of Finance*⁶

An early-12th-century building, 9 m x 11 with stone-faced walls 1 m thick and surviving up to 1 m high was excavated in the garden of Stretham rectory, adjacent to the churchyard. It was almost certainly an ecclesiastical enterprise, possibly a tower house, built to give suitable protection to the incumbent, who had been sent from Ely, at a time of insecurity in the Fens. By the 14th century this building was replaced by a rectangular ashlar-faced parsonage, portions of which survive in the present (now redundant) rectory. Most of the pottery was Saxo-Norman. Almost all pottery was pre-13th century, with three Pagan Saxon sherds.

St Neots Priory
TL18156030

*Wendy Horton & Gerry Wait, for Anglian Water Authority*⁷

Medieval burials and features were recorded within a sewer pipe.

St Benets, Cambridge
TL44865827

Tim Malim, for St Benets Parochial Church Council

A small area was excavated where a new kitchen was to be built. Unfortunately, there were no signs of Saxon work, although a 12th–13th-century grave slab was found. The medieval wall between the churchyard and Free School Lane was located, and it was shown that the Victorians had removed about 150 cm of the churchyard during restoration work in the 1850s, accounting for the present drop from street level.

⁴ Archaeology Section report available: Simon Bray & Ben Robinson, *Haddenham Anglo-Saxon burials*.

⁵ Archaeology Section report available: Tim Malim, *Kings Ditch 1989, Cambridge*.

⁶ Archaeology Section report available: Gavin Lucas, *Stretham Rectory*.

⁷ Report above, pages 63–69. Archaeology Section report also available: Wendy Horton & Gerry Wait, *St Neots Priory*.

Melbourn churchyard
TL38224484

Wendy Horton, for Melbourn Parochial Church Council⁸

Trial trenches were excavated in advance of construction of a church extension. Modern burials but no medieval remains were noted.

St. Mary the Less, Cambridge
TL44865799

Gavin Lucas, for St Mary the Less Parish Church Council⁹

Small trenches were hand dug in the churchyard in advance of a vestry extension. Saxo-Norman pottery was retrieved but Victorian 'make-up' extended 2 m depth and so was not pursued.

Archaeology Section report available: Wendy Horton, *Buckden Palace* 1989.

Developer-funded excavations

Developer-funded excavations were carried out by consultant archaeologists at the following sites. Copies of most of their reports can be consulted at the Archaeology Office.

Cambridge Archaeology Unit, c/o Department of Archaeology, Downing Street, Cambridge

Swavesey Castle TL359689: medieval castle and Iron Age pottery kiln.

Cambridge Trinity Library TL447586: medieval town.

Arbury Camp TL446616: Iron Age fort.

Tempus Reparatum, 29 Beaumont Street, Oxford

St Neots (Huntingdon Road) TL19056148: prehistoric cropmarks.

Waterbeach (Denny) TL5069: prehistoric and Roman cropmarks.

Swaffham Bulbeck/Bottisham (Hare Park) TL5859: prehistoric landscape assessment.

Godmanchester (Trucker's Rest) TL2570: Roman farmstead.

Fenstanton TL309625: prehistoric cropmarks.

Fenland Archaeological Trust, c/o Flag Fen Excavations, Fourth Drove, Peterborough

Fengate TL219990: prehistoric causeway and ritual site.

Haddon TL139942: Roman buildings and field system.

Elton TL085927: Neolithic and Bronze Age structures, field systems and burials and Iron Age and Roman field systems.

Guyhirn TF40140410: Roman field systems. Upton TL107991: Neolithic enclosure.

Central Excavation Unit, Fortress House, 23 Savile Row, London W1.

Godmanchester (Rectory Farm) TL257709: Roman villa and cremation cemetery, Neolithic monument.

Continuing English Heritage funded work

English Heritage have funded continuing work at Flag Fen, Peterborough.

⁸ Archaeology Section report available: Wendy Horton, *Melbourn churchyard*.

⁹ Archaeology Section report available: Gavin Lucas, *St Mary the Less, Cambridge*.

Book review: the drainage of Wilbraham, Fulbourn and Teversham fens

T.D. Hawkins. *The drainage of Wilbraham, Fulbourn and Teversham fens.*

It has become a truism that landscape is history, that every part of our island's surface has been shaped over centuries by man, and that that history can, with care and effort, be read back. This study is a perfect example. It is an excellent piece of landscape history and reads like a detective story. Dr Hawkins uses a combination of meticulous field-observation and study of the archival sources to reconstruct his account of how man has changed his surroundings to suit his needs, in that small southern corner of the Fens drained by Guy Water.

The author has worked out how the natural watercourses were altered over the centuries, according to the conflicting requirements of a head of water to turn the mills, drainage of the low-lying land for cultivation, and increasing

demand of the city of Cambridge for a water supply.

Not that any of these was a complete success. Changing circumstances, of which diversion of their water was only one, closed the mills. Wastage of the peat frustrated all attempts to keep part of the area drained, and it has now reverted to wild fen. And the ultimate irony is that, for the sake of nature conservation, a scheme to return water to some of the channels is now being instituted. The story of man's activities in these fens is by no means concluded.

The book is obtainable from the author, Dr T.D. Hawkins, Greyfriars, Little Wilbraham, Cambridge, CB1 5LE.

D.T. & M.D.C.

Index

- Addison, -- (fl. 1899), solicitor, 89
Æthelweard's Chronicle, 4
ALCOCK, JOAN P. : *The Bassingbourn Diana: A Comparison with other Bronze Figurines of Diana found in Britain*, 39–44
Ambrose, Cole (d. 1923), 89–90, 91
animal remains, 94
Anthony of Grantchester, apocryphal;
 Chancellor of Cambridge University, 3
arrowheads, 15, 28–9, 30
artefacts, small, 48, 54–62
Artemis, 39–44
Aubrey, John (d. 1697), 71
- Baker, Thomas (d. 1740), historian, 4, 8–10, 80
Bard, George, of Ely (fl. 1846), 83, 88, 90
Baron, --, of Trumpington, 78
Barrington Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, 1989, 45–62, 94–5
Barwick, --, 81
Bassingbourn Diana: A Comparison with other Bronze Figurines of Diana found in Britain, 39–44
Bath, 39
beads
 amber, 45, 48, 54, 57, 94–5
 glass, 54, 94
Bentham, James (d. 1794), historian of Ely, 78, 81, 83
Bentley, Richard (d. 1742), Master of Trinity, 7, 81
Betham, Edward, 73, 76–7
Bidwell, Charles, of Ely (fl. 1900), 89
Blithe, William (fl. 1565), glazier, 81
Blomefield, Francis (d. 1752), 7–9, 73–4, 77–8
 passim
Bonner, --, 18thC. bookseller, 78
Booth, Laurence (d. 1480), 77
Bottisham, 87
Brady, Edmund (d. 1650), 5
Brady, Robert (d. 1700), Master of Caius,
 brother of Edmund, 5–10
Brampton, 93
- Bray, Simon, 95
Bronze Age, 13, 15
bronze figurine of Diana, 39–44
brooches, 48, 54, 58, 60, 94–5
BROOKE, C.N.L.: *Cambridge and the Antiquaries, 1500–1840: The 150th Anniversary Lecture delivered on 12 March 1990*, 1–12
Brownrigg, Ralph (d. 1659), Master of St Catharine's, 79
Burghley, William Cecil, Lord (d. 1598),
 Chancellor of Cambridge University, 3
Burrough, James (d. 1795), Master of Caius, 8–9
Bury St Edmund's, museum, 85
Butts, William (d. 1545), 1
- Caius, John (d. 1573), 1–3, 10
Cambridge, 70–81
 Arbury camp, 94, 96
 Barnwell Priory, 70
 Castle Ditch, 95
 Great St Mary's, 71–2, 76, 79–80
 , 81
 Holy Sepulchre (Round Church), 75
 Holy Trinity, 75
 King's Ditch, 95
 King's Hedges, 94
 St Benet's, 95
 St Botolph's, 78
 St Clement's, 75, 79
 St Edward's, 79
 St Mary the Less, 80, 96
Cambridge and the Antiquaries, 1500–1840: The 150th Anniversary Lecture delivered on 12 March 1990, 1–12
Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 82
 anniversary, v–vi; appeal, vii; members, viii–xv
Cambridge University, 1–3, 82
 Caius, 1, 3, 5–7, 9–10, 74–5
 Christ's, 73–4, 79
 Clare, 74, 95
 Corpus Christi, 1–3
 Emmanuel, 7

- Cambridge University— *continued*
 Gonville Hall, 1–2
 Jesus, 1–2, 10, 78; lost stained glass, 71, 75–6
 King's: chapel, 71–3, 76–7, 80; stained glass, 70, 75
 King's Hall, 71
 Magdalene, 77
 Michaelhouse, 2, 71
 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 87, 90
 Old Schools, 77
 Pembroke, 77
 Peterhouse, 71–2, 77
 Physwick Hostel, 2
 Queen's, 2, 6, 9, 78
 St Catherine's, 79
 St John's, 2, 8, 79
 Trinity, 1–2, 4, 71, 81; library, 96
 Trinity Hall, 3, 79, 81
 Zoological Museum, 90
- Canteloupe, Nicholas (d. 1441), 3–4
 Cave, William (d. 1713), 7
 Cecil, William, *see* Burghley, William Cecil, Lord
 cemeteries, Anglo-Saxon, 45–62
 CHAINEY, GRAHAM: *The Lost Stained Glass of Cambridge*, 70–81
 Cirencester, Glos., 39, 41, 43
 Clare, Suffolk, 72
 Clarke, Edward Daniel (d. 1822), 10–11
 coins, Roman, 88
 Cole, William, of Milton (d. 1782), 9, 73–9, 81
 Cornelius, Bruno (fl. 1505), glazier, 78
 Cosin, John (d. 1672), bishop, 8
 Cotton, Sir Robert, 4
 his library, 3
 Cox, Richard, Dean of Christ Church (d. 1581),
 iconoclast, 2
 Cranmer, Thomas (d. 1556), archbishop, 2
 Cullum, Sir John (d. 1785), 73–6
- Diana, Luna bronze figurine, 39–44
Different Kind of Cambridge Antiquarian:
Marshall Fisher and his Ely Museum, A,
 82–92
 Dowsing, William (d. 1679), iconoclast, 71–80
passim
Drainage of Wilbraham, Fulbourn and
Teversham Fens, reviewed, 97
 Dugdale, Sir William (d. 1686), 5, 10
- Eldred, John, 78
 Elton, 96
 Ely
 Cathedral, 81
 Fisher's museum, 82–92
 Essex, James (d. 1784), builder, 81
 Ethelwold (d. 984), Bishop of Winchester, 63
 Eton College, stained glass, 70
- Ette, John, 93–4
 Evans, Sir John (d. 1908), 82, 86–7, 90
Excavations in Cambridgeshire, 1989 and 1990,
 93–6
 Exeter, 43
- Farmer, Richard (d. 1797), Master of Emmanuel,
 73, 81
 Fengate Site, 23, 96
 Fenland Project, 13, 15
 Fenn, Sir John (d. 1794), editor of *Paston*
Letters, 9–10
 fens, 97
 drainage, 88, 97
 lithic materials, 13–38
 Fenstanton, 96
 'Fern, Fanny', i.e. Miss Fisher, 83
 figurines, 39–44
 Fisher, John (d. 1535), bishop and Chancellor
 of Cambridge University, 3
 Fisher, Marshall (d. 1899), his Ely Museum, 82–
 92
 Fitz Wimarc, Robert, 63
 Flag Fen, 96
 flints, *9 passim*, 13–38
 Early Bronze Age, 23–30, 34
 Late Mesolithic, 16–22, 32
 Late Neolithic, 23–30, 32
 Neolithic, 93
 Flower, Barnard, 16thC. glazier, 76
 Foster, John Ebenezer (d. 1912), Secretary of
 the C.A.S., 88
 Foulmire Fen, 32
 Freeman, Edward Augustus (d. 1892), his
Norman Conquest, 6
 Frere, John (d. 1807), 9–10
 Fulbourn fen, 97
- Glisson, Francis (d. 1677), professor of physic, 6
 Godmanchester, 96
 Gonville, Edmund (d. c. 1351), 3
 Gower, Humphrey (d. 1711), Master of St John's,
 8
 grave goods, 94
 Great Wilbraham, 93
 Grimes Graves, 23
 Gunning, Henry, his *Reminiscences* quoted, 10
 Gunning, Peter (d. 1684), Bishop of Ely, 8
 Guyhirn, 96
- Haddenham, Anglo-Saxon burials, 95
 Haddon, Alfred Cort, 90
 Haddon, 96
 Halliwell, James Orchard (d. 1889), 11
 Hardy, Sir Thomas Duffus, 6
 Harlock, —, 18thC. glazier, 76
 Hawkins, T.D. his *Drainage of Wilbraham,*
Fulbourn and Teversham Fens reviewed,
 97

- Hearne, Thomas (d. 1735), Oxford antiquary, 7–9
- Heath, John, 78
- Henry VIII, 1–2, 78
- Hilgey, John (d.c. 1505), mayor of Cambridge, 80
- HOLMAN, NIGEL: *A Different Kind of Cambridge Antiquarian: Marshall Fisher and his Ely Museum*, 82–92
- Hone, Galyon (fl. 1547), glazier, 76
- Hornby, Henry (d. 1518), Master of Peterhouse, 79
- HORTON, WENDY and GERALD WAIT: *St Neot's Priory, 1989*, 63–9
- human remains, 63–9 *passim*, 94–5
- Anglo-Saxon, 45, 48–62
- Huntingdon, 85
- Ingluf of Crowland, 5
- Iron Age
- fort, 96
 - kiln, 96
 - pits, 93
 - pottery, 48
 - settlement, 93
- James I, 14
- James II, 6, 8
- Johnson, Goddard (fl. 1837), 88
- Jones, Thomas S. (fl. 1851), surgeon, 83
- Joscelyn, John, *see* Josselin
- Josselin/Joscelyn, John (d. 1603), 2–3
- Jugge, Miles (fl. 1565), glazier, 81
- King's Lynn, 85
- Legge, Thomas, 1
- Linton, Roman villa, 93
- lithic materials, 13–38
- Lost Stained Glass of Cambridge*, 70–81
- Lucas, Gavin, 95–6
- Madox, Thomas (d. 1727), 7
- MALIM, TIM: *Barrington Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, 1989*, 45–62
- Manchester, Edward Montagu, Earl of (d. 1671), 71, 76
- Marshall, John (d. 1891), professor of anatomy, 83
- Marshall, William of Ely (d. 1890), elder brother of John, 82–3, 88, 90
- Martin, — (fl. 1589), glazier, 75
- Masters, Robert (d. 1798), antiquary, 8, 73, 77
- May, William (d. 1560), president of Queens', 2
- Mayor, John E.B. (d. 1910), 9
- Mechanic's Institutes, 83–6, 89–90
- Melbourn, 96
- Mesolithic, 13, 15 *passim*
- MIDDLETON, ROBERT with R.A. PARKIN: *The Walker Collection: A Quantitative Analysis of Lithic Material from the March/Manea Area of the Cambridgeshire Fens*, 13–38
- Modus tenendi parlamentum*, 4
- Montagu, Edward, *see* Manchester, Edward
- Montagu, Earl of
- Neolithic, 13, 15, 86
- Nicholson, James (fl. 1516), glazier, 80
- Norwich, 2, 85, 88
- Nutting, —, alderman, 78
- Owen, Richard (d. 1892), anatomist, 85
- Oxford, 2, 71
- Oxford University, Merton, 4
- Parker, Matthew (d. 1575), archbishop, 2–4, 7, 80
- Parkin, R.A. *see* MIDDLETON
- Peghe/Peych, Thomas (fl. 1510), glazier, 73
- Peterborough
- Cathedral, 70
 - Fengate, 23
 - Flag Fen, 96
- Peych, Thomas, *see* Peghe
- Pitt-Rivers, General A.H.L.F. (d. 1900), 82
- Plumtre, Robert (d. 1788), President of Queens', 78
- pottery
- Iron Age, 48
 - Roman, 94
 - Romano-British, 46, 48
 - St Neot's ware, 67, 69
 - Saxo-Norman, 96
 - Saxon, 46, 48, 95
- Powell, — (fl. 1771), 81
- Prime, William (fl. 1568), handyman, 80
- Prynne, William (d. 1669), 6
- Redfern, William Beales, 89
- Redman, John (d. 1551), Warden of the King's Hall, 2
- Robinson, Ben, 95
- Robson, Mrs —, 79
- Roman villa, 93
- Romano-British pottery, 46, 48
- Roos, Lady Margaret (fl. 1470), 78, 79
- Rotherham, Thomas (d. 1500), Chancellor of Cambridge University, 77
- Rysley, Sir John (d. c. 1512), 75
- St Ives Museum, 63
- St Mary's, Sherbourne, Dorset, 68
- St Neot's, 63–9, 96
- Priory, 95

- St Neot's Priory*, 1989, 63–9
 St Neot's ware, 67, 69
 Sancroft, William, archbishop, 7
 Savile, Sir Henry (d. 1622), Warden of Merton College, 4
 Saxon
 cemetery, 45–62, 94–5
 pottery, 46, 48
 Sedgwick, Adam (d. 1873), geologist, 85, 90
 Sherman, John (d. 1671), Fellow of Jesus, 75
 Shippea Hill, 32
 Shorton, Robert (d. 1535), Master of St John's, 79
 Skertchly, S.B.J., geologist, 88
 Skippon, Luke of Peterhouse (d. 1676), 77
 Skippon, Philip (d. 1660), general, brother of Luke, 78
 Smith, John, of St John's (fl. 1520), 79
 Smith, John (d. 1795), Master of Caius, 9
 Smith, John James (d. 1883), founder of C.A.S., 10–11
 Spelman, Charles (d. 1706), 5
 Spelman, Sir Henry (d. 1641), 2, 4–7, 9
 Spelman, John (d. 1643), 4
 Spelman, Roger (d. 1678), 5
 Speryng, Nicholas (fl. 1515), 80
 Squib(b), Richard, of Ely (fl. 1846), 85, 90
Stained Glass of Cambridge, Lost, 70–81
 Stibbard, Norfolk, 88
 Stretham, rectory, 95
 Swaffham Bulbeck, 96
 Swavesey castle, 96
 Swinburne, Robert, Master of Pembroke, 77
 Symond, — — [?Simon Symondes] (fl. 1509), glazier, 73–4
 TAYLOR, ALISON: *Excavations in Cambridgeshire, 1989 and 1990*, 93–6
 Taylor, Robert (fl. 1634), glazier, 79
 Tebbutt, Charles Frederick (d. 1985), 63, 67–8
 Teversham fen, 97
 tiles, 65, 67–8
 Turner, Francis (d. 1700), Master of St John's, 8
 Upton, 96
 Van Linge, Bernard, 16thC. Flemish glazier, 78
 Veysey, Henry (d. 1503), 79
 WAIT, GERALD, *see* HORTON
 Walker, F.M., of Manea, collector, 13
Walker Collection: A Quantitative Analysis of Lithic Material from the March/Menea Area of the Cambridgeshire Fens, 13–38
 Wanley, Humfrey (d. 1726), 7
 Warner, Sir Edward, 81
 Warren, William (d. 1745), 78, 81
 Waterbeach (Denny), 96
 Weeden, — —, 77
 Wells, Alan (fl. 1518), churchwarden, 80
 Westminster Abbey, 70
 Whaterhall *alias* Whaterhall (fl. 1770), glazier, 81
 Wharton, Henry (d. 1695), author of *Anglia Sacra*, 3, 6–8
 Whaterhall, *see* Wetenhall
 Whelock, Abraham (d. 1653), 4
 Wilbraham fen, 97
 Willis, Robert (fl. 1845), 11
 Wimpole, Roman settlement, 94
 Wisbech Museum, 13, 84
 Withers, *see* Wythers
 Wright, Richard (fl. 1513), glazier, 79–80
 Wroxeter, Salop, 42
 Wynter, — — (fl. 1485), glazier, 76
 Wythers, George (d. 1605), iconoclast, 71, 80–1
 York Minster, 70
 Young, Roger (fl. 1546), glazier, 76, 80

The Proceedings

Editorial notices

1 The Editor welcomes the submission of articles on the history and archaeology of the County for publication in the *Proceedings*, but in order to avoid disappointment potential contributors are advised to write to the Editor, to enquire whether the subject is likely to be of interest to the Society, before submitting a final text. The Editor, if necessary with the advice of the editorial committee, reserves the right to refuse to publish any papers even when an earlier approval of the subject has been given.

2 Authors are reminded that the cost of printing is high and that, all other things being equal, a short and succinct paper is more likely to be published than a long one. It would also assist the Editor if contributors who know of possible sources of subventions towards the cost of printing their paper would inform the Editor of this when submitting their manuscript.

3 Illustrations must be of high quality. They should not be more than twice the size intended for publication and they should be accompanied by a list of captions.

4 The copyright of both text and illustrations will normally remain with the author, and where relevant the photographer and draughtsman, but to simplify future administration contributors are invited to assign their copyright on a form that will be supplied by the Editor.

Back numbers

Members might like to know that a considerable stock of back numbers of the *Proceedings* can be obtained from the Honorary Librarian, who also has copies of many publications in the Quarto and Octavo series for sale.

Membership

Subscriptions (£6 annually) and inquiries about membership should be sent to the registrar, Mrs R. Desmond, 3 Orchard Estate, Cherry Hinton, Cambridge CB1 3JW.

The Proceedings are produced for the Society by Christopher & Anne Chippindale
Printed and bound in Great Britain by Warwick Printing Co. Ltd.,
Theatre Street, Warwick CV34 4DR

Proceedings Volume LXXIX, 1990

Price £6 net for members, £7.50 for non-members

Contents

The Cambridge Antiquarian Society and its 150th Anniversary

CAS Appeal: donations to October 1990

Members of the Society in the 150th Anniversary Year, 1990

Cambridge and the antiquaries, 1500–1840: the 150th Anniversary Lecture,
delivered on 12 March 1990

C.N.L. Brooke

The Walker Collection: a quantitative analysis of lithic material from the
March/Manea area of the Cambridgeshire Fens

Robert Middleton with illustrations by R.A. Parkin

The Bassingbourn Diana: a comparison with other bronze figurines of Diana
found in Britain

Joan P. Alcock

Barrington Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 1989

Tim Malim

St Neots Priory 1989

Wendy Horton & Gerald Wait

The lost stained glass of Cambridge

Graham Chainey

A different kind of Cambridge antiquarian: Marshall Fisher and his Ely Museum
Nigel Holman

Excavations in Cambridgeshire, 1989 and 1990

Alison Taylor

Book review: the drainage of Wilbraham, Fulbourn and Teversham fens