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Cambridge Archaeology Field Group: *Three Earthwork Surveys*
(Vol. LXXXI, pp. 39-49)

Paul E. Firman was the author of the drawings for the report.
The Field Group wishes to thank him, and also the late Kenneth Kenham
for his contribution to the documentary research.

A Prehistoric Enclosure at Sawston, Cambridgeshire. A Survey by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

C.C. Taylor, P. Topping & A. Oswald

The enclosure, almost certainly of late prehistoric date, is situated on the eastern edge of the River Cam in the parish of Sawston (TL47184949; Fig.1). It is badly plough-damaged and was first recognised on air photographs by one of the authors in 1980. Subsequently R.C.H.M.E. were asked by the County Archaeologist to make a detailed analytical survey of the site for management assessment purposes.

The enclosure lies in the extreme west of the parish on the southern edge of a low promontory of Lower Chalk at 20 m. above O.D. The promontory projects west into the flood plain of the River Cam and is thus surrounded by gravel and alluvium on all sides but the east. It stands some two to three metres above the river and the enclosure is thus in a locally commanding position and dominates the surrounding countryside. Part of the perimeter of the enclosure is now built over by an industrial complex which originated in the early eighteenth century when an ancient water-mill, also situated on the south side of the promontory, was extended and converted into a paper-mill. The complex has continued to expand ever since.¹

The mill has for long been known as the Borough Mill and it was recognition of the significance of this name that led to the discovery of the enclosure. The earliest reference to the Borough Mill is in 1270,² though it is likely that one or both of the two mills

listed in Domesday Book as part of the holding of Roger Picot³ stood on the site.⁴ More important is that as early as 1270 the name Borough was applied not just to the mill but to the whole area of the promontory within the bend of the river.⁵ Indeed, it has been suggested that there was a hamlet known as The Borough or Bury situated in the area by at least the thirteenth century, though it is certain that by 1580 only the mill was there.⁶ The fact that the existing woodland on the northern side of the promontory and some 450 m. from the mill is still called Borough Grove certainly supports the idea that the name was not related just to the mill itself. There is the possibility of an even earlier reference to the area, as opposed to just the mill, in 1236, when one William de Burgo held a tenement in Sawston. The editors of *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*⁷ suggested that this William might have originated from Peterborough, whence he took his name, and in turn gave it to the area under discussion here.

A more likely reason why this remote corner of Sawston parish should have acquired the name Borough is that there might once have been in the area some actual or presumed fortified site of early medieval or earlier date. It was this possibility that led one of the writers (C.C.T.) to examine available air

1 *Victoria County History* (hereafter V.C.H.), *Cambridgeshire* Vol.6 (London 1978) p.256.

2 T.F. Teversham, *History of Sawston Part I* (Sawston 1942) pp.30,47.

3 A. Rumble, *Domesday Book Cambridgeshire* (Chichester 1981) 25.3.

4 Teversham, *op. cit.* p.30.

5 Teversham, *op. cit.* p.47.

6 Teversham, *op. cit.* pp.78-9; T.F. Teversham, *History of Sawston Part II* (Sawston 1947) pp.55,58-9.

7 P.H. Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire, English Place-Names Society* Vol.XIX (Cambridge 1943) p.97.

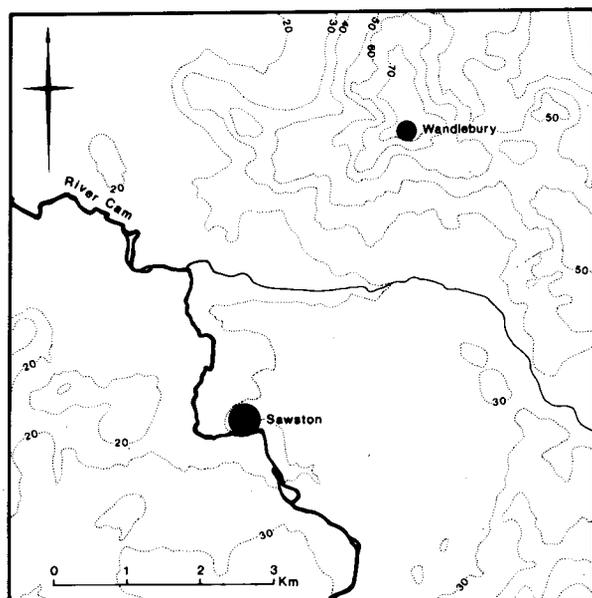


Figure 1. Late prehistoric enclosure, Sawston. Location. (RCHME, Crown Copyright)

photographs of the area. Nothing is visible on those taken by the R.A.F. in 1947, nor on those produced for O.S. map revision purposes in 1974. However, on photographs taken by the Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography in 1977 (RC8-CK127), parts of a large double-ditched and embanked enclosure can be seen encompassing the site of the original Borough Mill. Ground inspection confirmed the existence of the enclosure and indicated not only that it was defensive in character but that it might well have been a late prehistoric fort. In early 1993, staff of R.C.H.M.E. carried out a detailed survey of the site (Fig.2), which has revealed its form and its significance.

Form of the Site

The enclosure is ovoid in shape, its long axis roughly aligned east-northeast to west-southwest, and covers some eight hectares overall. Though heavily damaged by modern and, presumably, ancient agriculture, roughly three-quarters of the perimeter still survive as a slight earthwork. Only on its southern side, where several buildings and former buildings (shown on the Ordnance Survey first edition 25-inch plan of 1885, Sheets LIV.7 and LIV.11) have largely obliterated some 200 m. of its boundary, is the earthwork no longer visible.

On the northwest, a wide low bank still survives although the rest of the northern perimeter is now reduced to a single out-

ward-facing scarp up to 0.9 m. high. On the northeast, the earthwork boundary cuts through a coppice and here the scarp of the rampart is best preserved, surviving to a height of 1.1 m. and up to 6.4 m. wide. A slight parallel counterscarp 5.9 m. away and only 0.1 m. high might be the remains of the outer ditch.

On the east, the defences of the enclosure are spread to form a broad single bank 52 m. across and up to 1.4 m. high. No ditch is visible, though air photographs suggest that the defences here were at least bivallate if not multivallate in form and included two ditches and two ramparts. The photographs also record what might be a third, inner ditch, which, if not defensive, might have formed a quarry for rampart material. Both the field evidence and the air photographs suggest that there might have been an entrance in the centre of the eastern side. The air photographs show a clear break in the defences at this point, but the surviving earthworks have been so distorted by ploughing that they are now slightly askew of those to the north, giving the impression of a staggered entrance. Whatever its original form, if an entrance did once exist here it faced the easiest line of approach from the chalk promontory from the east.

In the southeast, the line of the defence is crossed by an access road to the industrial complex. To the south of the road, however, the rampart still just survives, 11.1 m. wide and up to 1.1 m. high on its outer face, preserved by a line of trees. These defences are poorly preserved owing to a variety of later activities, many of which have left surviving features. These include an elongated depression behind the line of the rampart scarp, apparently mapped on the first edition Ordnance Survey 25-inch map (1885) and perhaps a former water tank; some slight linear banks which were perhaps part of a former field system; two raised rectangular platforms which were possibly the sites of buildings; a series of quarry scoops; and a hollow-way. The last, as well as some of the quarries, are overlain by the remains of a railway siding leading to the site of the earlier mill.

The rest of the southern perimeter of the enclosure is now lost beneath a warehouse, an electricity transformer station, a reservoir and its adjacent buildings. It is also clear that alterations to the course of the river and to the mill race of the former paper-mill have obliterated part of the enclosure boundary. On the west only two scarps,

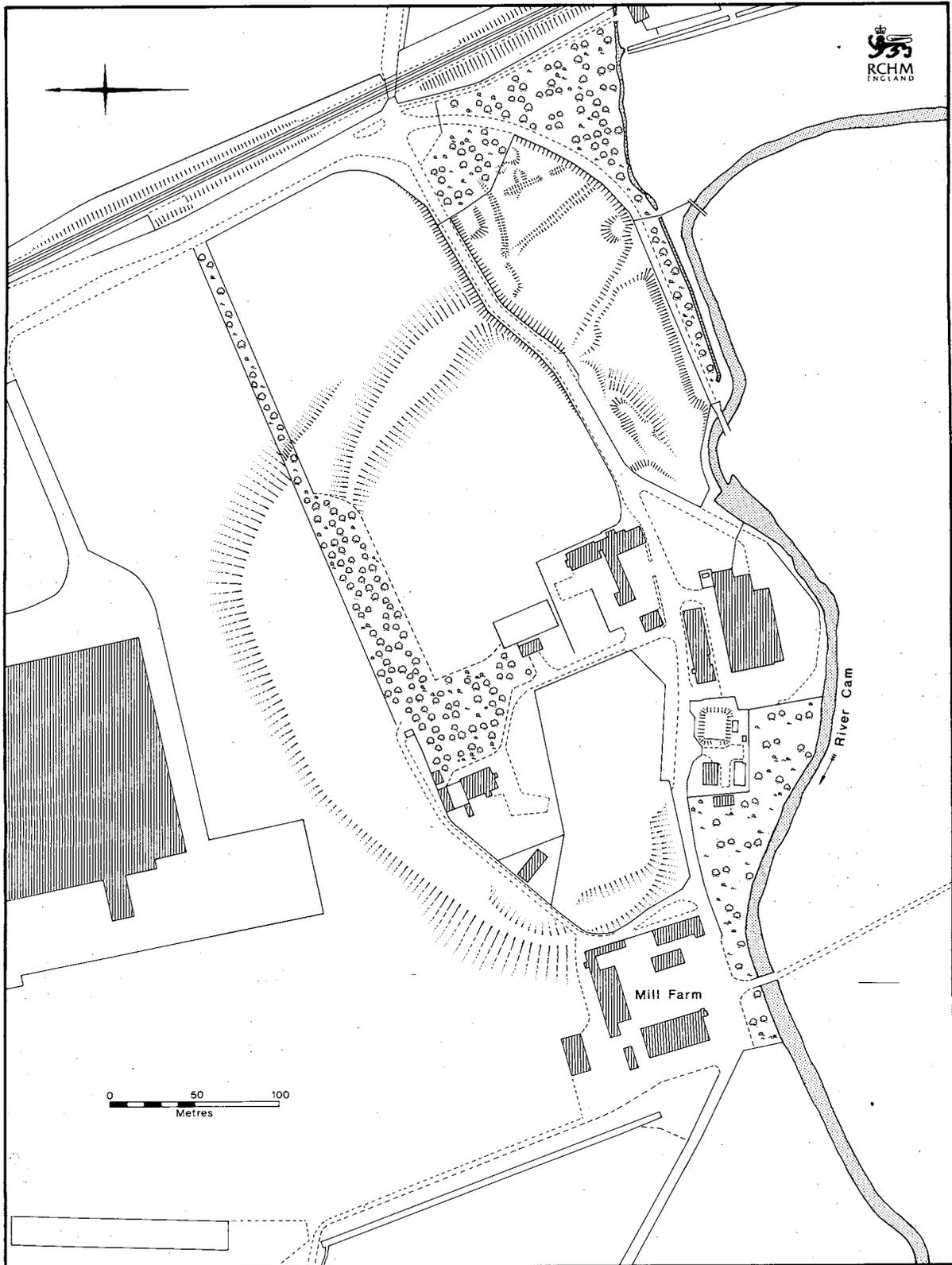


Figure 2. Late prehistoric enclosure, Sawston. Plan. (RCHME, Crown Copyright)

the outer one 7.3 m. wide and 0.5 m. high, the inner 8.4 m. across and 0.4 m. high, mark the perimeter. The interior of the enclosure contains no features that can be interpreted as original.

Four other pieces of archaeological evidence have been recorded from the site. A curious reference to the discovery of 'a number of gold coins and a diamond' made in 1785 when a garden was being laid out at the Mill House has limited relevance.⁸ More significant, an unlocated geological test pit dug into the rampart of the enclosure in 1990 revealed that it consisted of a layer of chalk 0.8 m. deep, capped by 0.3 m. of clay. The existence of a chalk core is confirmed both by the evidence of the air photographs and by ground observation, especially on the north and east sides (Cambs SMR no. 9742).

In 1992, at the request of the County Council, a geophysical survey of the site was carried out by Countryside Planning and Management.⁹ Two transects were laid across the northeast and northwest sides of the enclosure. That on the east recorded various features enclosed by two prominent ditch-like anomalies five metres or more wide and 30 m. apart, with another three-metre-wide anomaly between and parallel to them. These anomalies, which followed the line of the surface scarp, might represent the truncated remains of a double or triple-ditched defensive system. If the evidence relates to a bivallate ditch system, the existence of the central feature might point to the possibility of a construction trench for a timber box-rampart. Alternatively, if the anomalies are those of a multivallate system, then they would perhaps indicate a spacing of around ten metres between each ditch, providing ample space for intermediate ramparts. The northwestern transect also revealed a linear anomaly perhaps five metres wide, which could be a truncated base of an enclosing ditch. Beyond this lay another linear anomaly, three metres across, which might be the equivalent of the central anomaly on the northeast side. If this is so, then the geophysical evidence would suggest that an outer ditch, if it once existed here, no longer survives. An unusual linear anomaly was also recorded lying at right angles to the main line of the enclosure and aligned northwest to southeast. This might be interpreted as part of

an entrance on the west leading down onto the flood plain. If this interpretation is correct, then the feature would have some similarities to the elaborate eastern entrance recently excavated at Arbury Camp, north of Cambridge, where a platform-carrying tower has been suggested.¹⁰ However, here at Sawston the evidence is far from clear, and the recorded features might equally be the remains of later disturbance. Both geophysical plots showed an extensive distribution of minor anomalies within the enclosure, comprising a series of linear features, a possible ring ditch and a series of pits. Some of these might be contemporary with the occupation of the enclosure. A field-walking programme over the northern part of the site in December 1992 produced only a single sherd of medieval pottery and some post-medieval debris.¹¹

Significance of the Site

On the evidence of its form and ground plan, the enclosure at The Borough, Sawston, would appear to be a fort of broadly later prehistoric date. As such it is one of only seven forts known in the county at present.¹² Its riverine location has strong similarities to other East Anglian forts. In Norfolk, five of the six known sites are located close to rivers,¹³ and a similar pattern can be seen in Essex where the forts are situated along the line of the Lea/Stort/Cam rivers.¹⁴

The fort at The Borough covers an area of some eight hectares overall, making it the second largest in Cambridgeshire, larger than all but one fort in Norfolk and with only three of the 15 sites recorded in Essex being as large or larger.¹⁵ In an East Anglian context, it is also unusual in having more than one defensive perimeter, the

8 Teversham, *op. cit.* (1947) p.145.

9 Royston Clark, pers. comm.

10 C. Evans, 'Commanding gestures in lowlands: the investigation of two Iron Age ringworks', *Fenland Research* 7 (1992) pp.16-25.

11 S. Bray & S. Leith, 'An archaeological evaluation at Sawston, Cambridgeshire', *Cambridgeshire County Council Report No. A7* (1993).

12 Timothy Malim, 'Stonca Camp, Wimblington, an Iron Age fort in the Fens', *Cambridge Archaeological Section Report* 71 (1992).

13 J.A. Davies, T. Gregory, A.J. Lawson, R. Rickett & A. Rogerson, 'The Iron Age forts of Norfolk', *East Anglian Archaeology* 54 (1991) pp.69-71.

14 S. Morris & D.G. Buckley, 'Excavations at Danbury Camp, Essex, 1974 and 1977', *Essex Archaeology and History* 10 (1978) pp.1-28.

15 Malim, *op. cit.*, pp.20-1, Table 1.

regional norm being the univallate type.

The question of the depth of the defences of The Borough is of particular interest. The air photographs suggest that the defences in the north and east were at least bivallate if not larger in form. The photographs and the topography would suggest that the defences might have been more substantial in this arc than in the south and west, where the natural slopes of the chalk promontory would have enhanced the artificial perimeter. However, there might also have been a less obvious motive behind the increased scale in the northern and eastern perimeter, which faces not only the easiest line of approach but also the fort at Wandlebury, no more than 4.25 km. to the northeast, and with which it is intervisible. It is possible that this aspect of the defences was increased in scale as a symbolic display of wealth and status,¹⁶ visible in a direction from which there was a degree of competition, Wandlebury fort.

Only excavation can now reveal further information about the precise structural details and chronology of the fort at The Borough, Sawston.

Survey Method

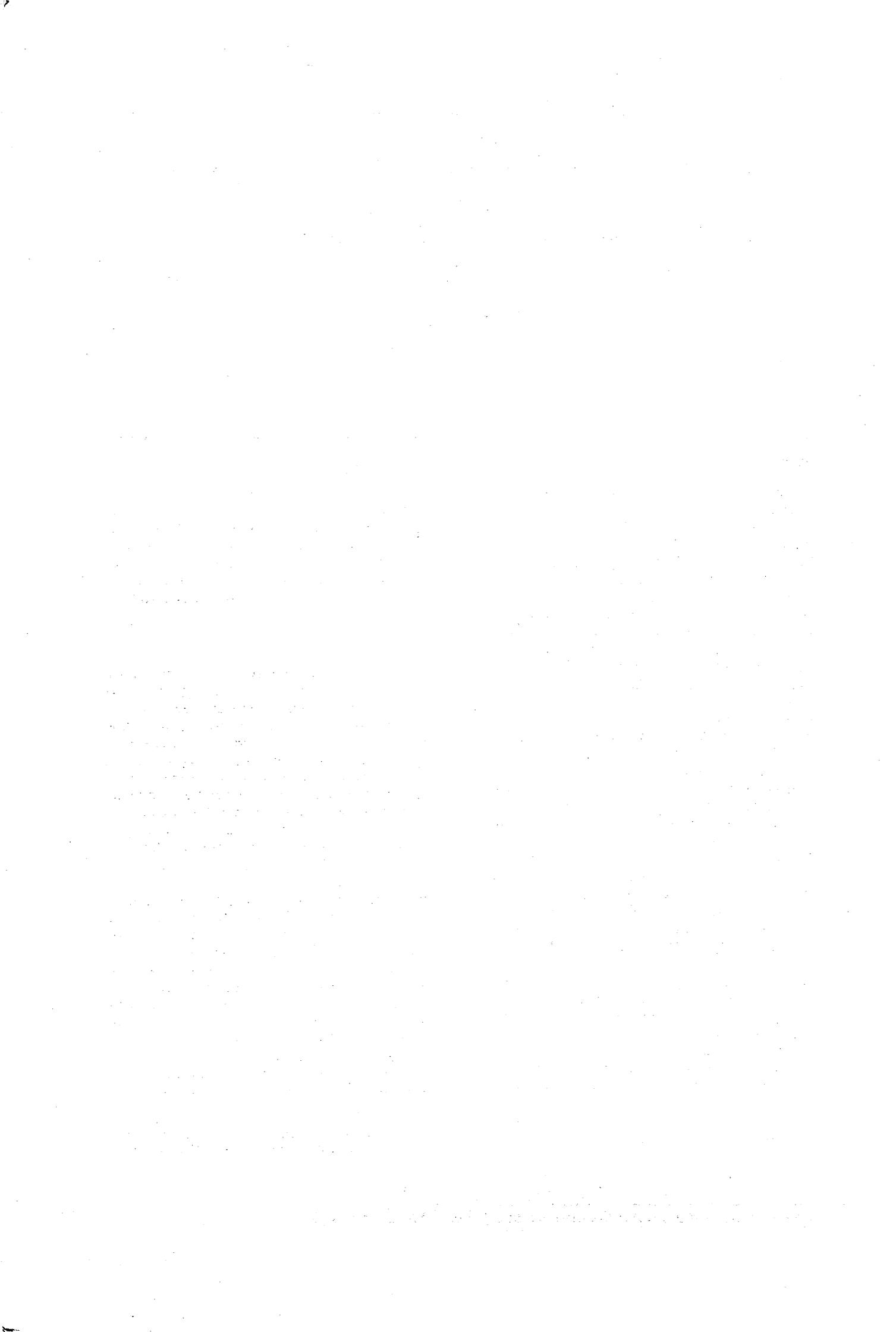
The survey was carried out by P. Topping and A. Oswald of R.C.H.M.E. using a Wild TC1610 Electronic Theodolite with integral E.D.M., the data captured electronically on a Wild GRM 10 Rec Module. These data were subsequently transferred to a microcomputer and a plot was obtained on a Calcomp 3024 plotter. The archaeological features were then superimposed on an Ordnance Survey digitally-derived map base at 1:1250 scale.

Acknowledgments

This paper is published by courtesy of the Commissioners. Thanks are due to Spicers Limited, Sawston, for permission to investigate the site. The text was typed by M.A. Hegerty and edited by S.E. Taylor and the illustrations were prepared by P. Topping.

The complete site archive is now lodged with the National Monuments Record held by R.C.H.M.E. and this paper is published with financial assistance from the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.

16 Mark Bowden & David McOmish, 'The required barrier', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 4 (1987) pp.76-84; Mark Bowden & David McOmish, 'Little boxes: more about hillforts', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 6 (1989) pp.12-16.



An Investigation of Multi-Period Cropmarks at Manor Farm, Harston

(Scheduled Ancient Monument: Cambs 215)

TL418498

Tim Malim

Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeology Section

Summary

Fieldwork at Manor Farm, Harston, has shown that a cropmark complex scheduled as an ancient monument in 1978 retains substantial features immediately below shallow ploughsoil. Four main periods of occupation can be assigned: Bronze Age, first century AD, fourth century, and Anglo-Saxon. Apart from late Mesolithic and Neolithic flintwork found during field-walking, the earliest features are two Bronze Age ring-ditches, one containing cremated bone. A group of field ditches might also be a product of Bronze Age activity. Iron Age and Romano-British occupation can be seen from an extensive field system that contained two discrete assemblages. The earlier one dates to the first and second centuries AD, when it appears that a reasonably wealthy community lived on the site with locally produced pottery in Late Iron Age tradition. There is little indication of activity in the immediate area during the third century, but it was occupied again in the fourth century. The character of settlement in this period was different from that of earlier times with all pottery being imported to the area, and it is possible that this occupation continued into early Anglo-Saxon times. The fourth main period of occupation was represented by the finding of a possible timberslot building and a *grubenhaus* which reused the central part of a ring-ditch. Medieval and post-medieval land-use was recognised from finds from field-walking and can be attributed to manuring, but does not seem to be related to specific features.

Introduction

Manor Farm, Harston has, until recently, been part of the Farms Estate of Cambridgeshire County Council. Field-work was undertaken at Manor Farm briefly in 1989 as part of an archaeological survey of the Estate, and more fully in 1991. Funding on both occasions was by English Heritage.

Aims of the project

Although cropmarks at the site had been evident for many years, existing preservation of archaeological features was an unknown quantity. The current work programme was put forward to assess the degree of destruction from present farming practices, and in the light of this to recommend lasting protection or de-scheduling of the monument.

Work in 1991 was the product of two research designs. Firstly, 'The Archaeology of the Cambridgeshire County Farms Estate'¹ was a review of archaeological sites on County farmland with recommendations of how best to manage the archaeological resource. It highlighted sites vulnerable to ploughing that required further evaluation before informed management schemes could be proposed, and Manor Farm was one of these sites that had known archaeological potential but showed recent damage from agricultural activity. Secondly, potential was recognised from cropmarks, but work in the region over the past few years had shown very variable quality in survival of cropmark sites, and even when very good and recent air photographic

1 T. Malim, *Archaeology on the Cambridgeshire County Farm Estate* (Cambridgeshire County Council 1990).

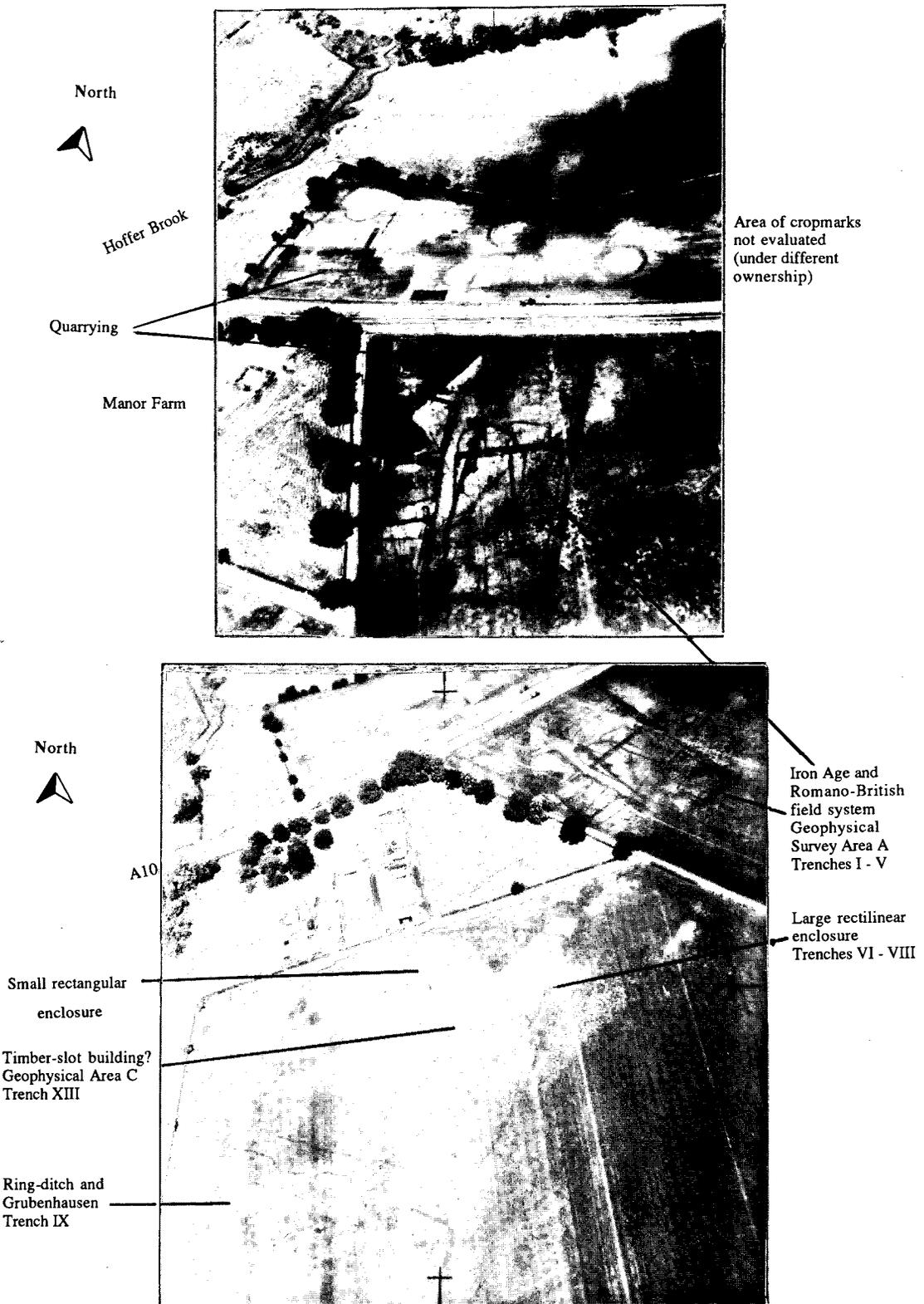


Figure 1. Aerial photographs showing cropmarks at Manor Farm. (Reproduced by kind permission of Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography.)

evidence existed, the location of these sites through field-walking and trial-trenching has proved elusive.² Thus, this project forms part of a programme for evaluating cropmark sites in general to assess their degree of preservation in relation to different geological settings, and to examine which methods of archaeological investigation are most suited to these sites.

As a spur to these dual aims the County Council decided to sell Manor Farm, but was prepared to put a covenant on the sale requiring no further ploughing of the fields containing the scheduled monument provided that evidence was given for the archaeological importance of the site, and for demonstrable continuous damage by the plough.

Geological and topographical setting

The site lies in the valley of the Cam immediately east of the meandering path of Hoffer Brook. Natural geology of sands and gravels is confused where colluvial activity has spread chalky-marl deposits over the gravels from a chalk ridge bounding the area to the south. A similar chalk ridge runs west-east on the north side of the Cam. A relict stream-bed from Hoffer Brook was found in Trench XI and a buried soil could be seen in the western part of the assessment area (see Appendix I: soil report by C. French). Over much of the monument, however, ploughsoil c. 0.2 m.–0.3 m. thick came immediately onto the weathered subsoil into which archaeological features had been cut.

Background archaeological knowledge

No excavations had been carried out prior to this project, but the discovery by a Mr Pape of a skeleton with bifacially flaked flint knife had been reported from Manor Farm in 1961.³ Unfortunately it has proved impossible to follow up this lead. The only Mr Pape who currently lives locally has no knowledge of it and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology knows nothing about the find.

To the south, lynchets can be seen on Rowley's Hill, and a clunch pit here is reputed to have been used for extracting materials for construction of the barns at Manor Farm.

Two kilometres east, following the contour of the chalk ridge, second- to fourth-century Roman pottery kilns were discovered by J. Pullinger during construction of the M11 in 1977,⁴ and excavations of various Iron Age and Roman sites were conducted at Haslingfield⁵ and Shelford.⁶ Villas at Hoffer Brook, Foxton, and Shepreth have been investigated by Rowland Parker.⁷

Methodology

Air photographs

Air photographs had been plotted by R. Palmer during a Sites and Monuments Record enhancing programme by Cambridgeshire County Council as part of a Community Programme. The photographs were digitised and rectified by means of a computer program developed by him, and a remarkable degree of accuracy to within one or two metres has been achieved.

Features seen from the air (Fig. 1) are dominated by a pattern of rectilinear enclosures and trackways. Pit alignments and a major (boundary?) ditch are also apparent to the northeast, whilst at least two ring-ditches can be seen immediately south of Manor Farm. In the field just north of the A10 a concentration of ring-ditches can be seen, as well as a continuation of the field system under investigation. An area of quarrying is clearly visible at the junction of the A10 and farm track.

Interpretation

Professor St Joseph⁸ interpreted the small enclosures and trackways east of Manor Farm as being ditches of a Roman field system, whilst features south of it comprised rectangular plans of foundation trenches for timber buildings, with smaller sub-square

2 C. French, personal communication; T. Taylor, 'Soil mark studies near Winchester, Hampshire', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 6 (1974) pp.93–100; T. Malim, 'Brampton 1990, A1–M1 link road', *Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Report* 16 (1990); G. Wait, *Archaeological Assessment at Galley Hill Fenstanton* (Oxford 1990).

3 Cambridgeshire Sites and Monuments Record.

4 J. Pullinger *et al.*, 'Harston obelisk kilns, and Lingey Fen, Haslingfield', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 71 (1981) pp.1–40.

5 *Ibid.*

6 J. Alexander *et al.*, 'Rectory Farm, Shelford', *Cambridgeshire Sites and Monuments Record* 1975.

7 Rowland Parker, unpublished archive.

8 J.K. St Joseph, personal communication.

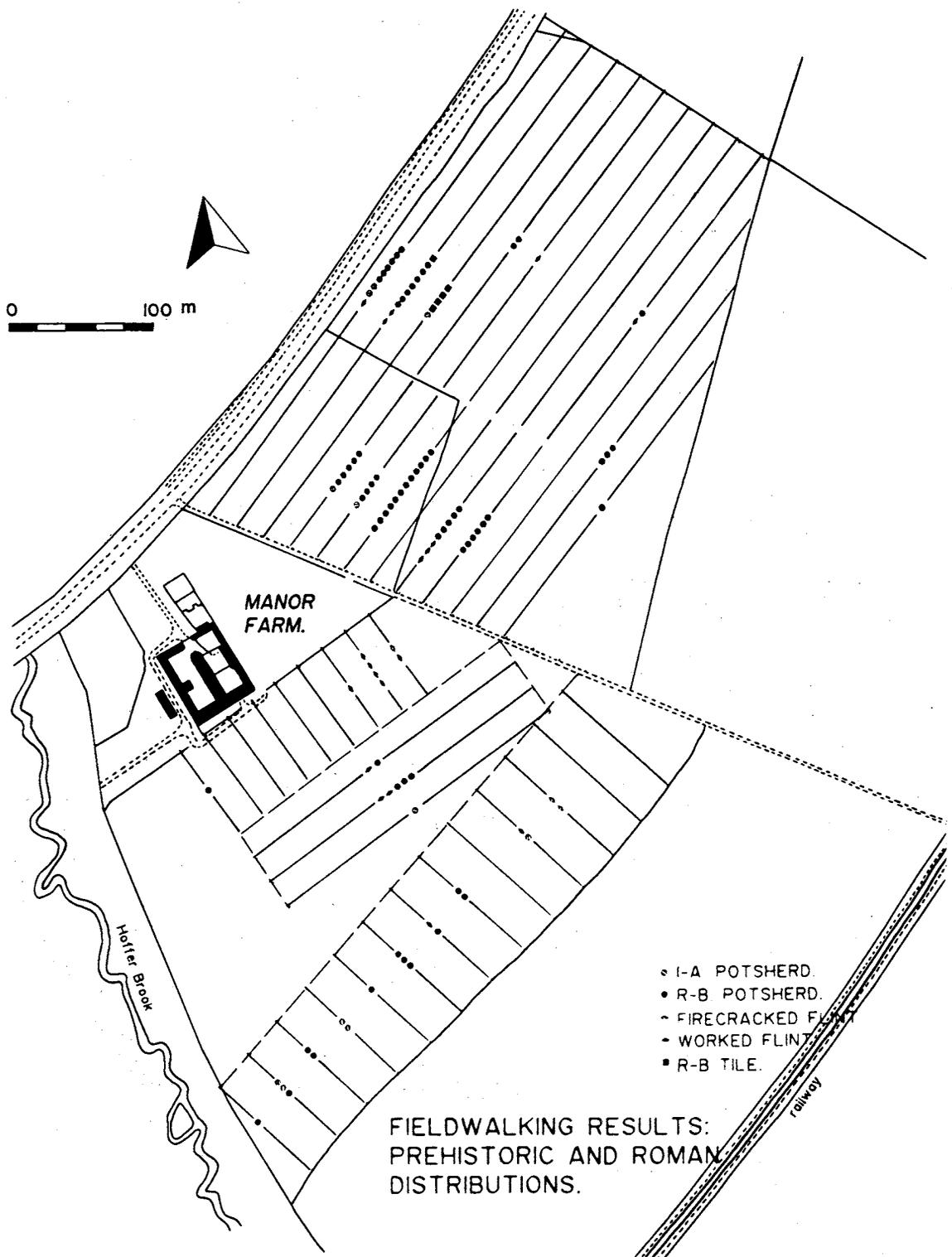


Figure 2. Field-walking results: prehistoric and Roman.

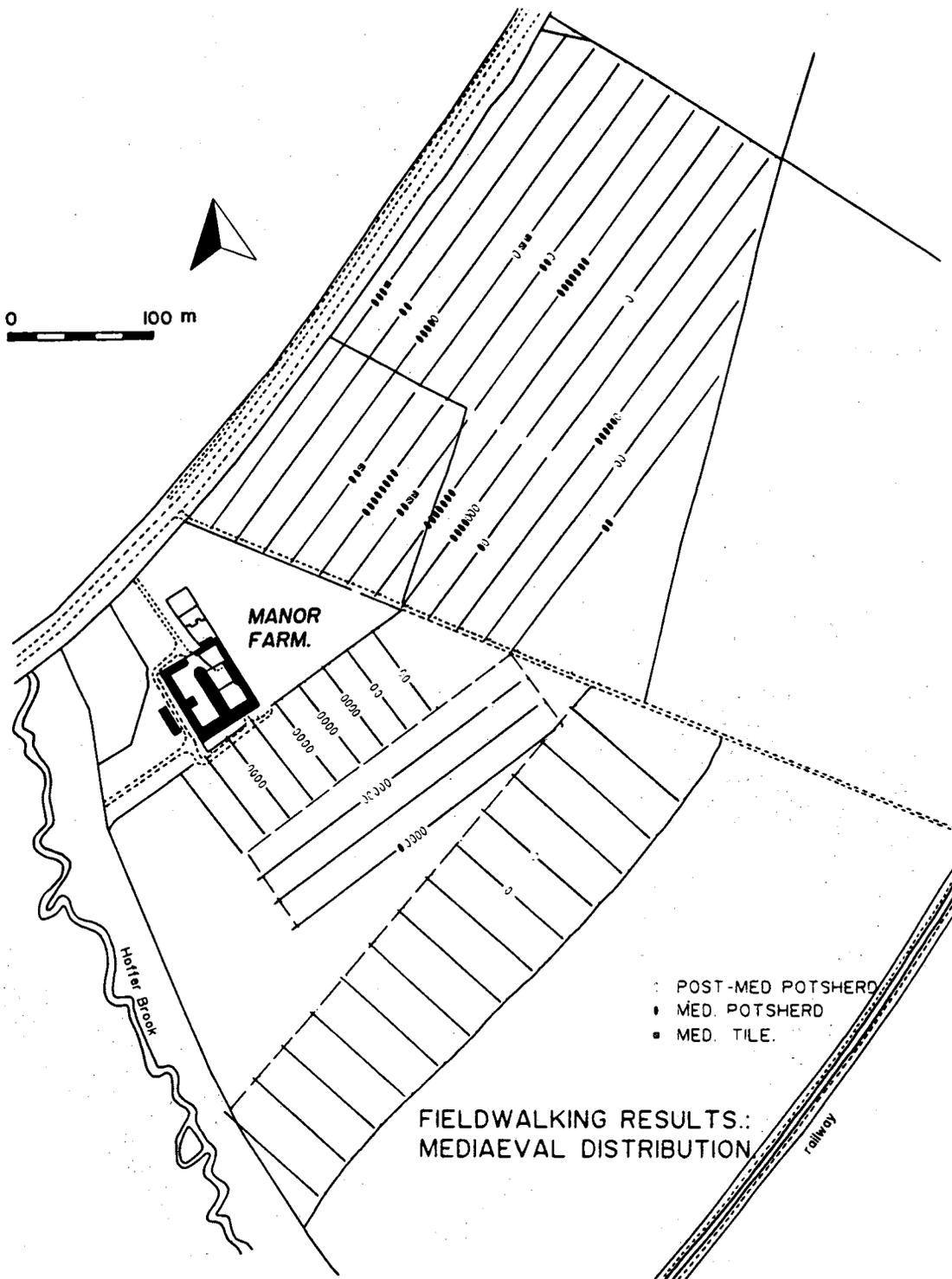


Figure 3. Field-walking results: medieval.

cropmarks resembling pits of *grubenhausen*. A cluster of small marks near Hoffer Brook might represent graves. This area thus not only contains ring-ditches but also substantial evidence of Anglo-Saxon settlement.

Field-walking

Initial field-walking was conducted as part of the County Farms Survey in 1989. The aims of this were merely to give approximate dating to the site, and to see whether fresh damage was occurring. Transects 20 m. apart were walked with collection units being the entire length of the transect. Visibility conditions were good and observations in the field were noted down at the time. Crop growth in the southern half of our study area made it impossible to complete the field-walking programme in 1989, but in 1991 this remaining part was walked following the procedure set out above, so that results would be comparable.

Results of this field-walking (Figs 2–3) included Iron Age pottery on both sides of the farm track, some sherds being large with fresh breaks, which indicated recent plough disturbance. Roman pottery spread eastwards and northwards but largely stayed within the area of known cropmarks. However, a tile concentration, including examples of Roman date, was noted north of these. Iron Age and Roman pottery were also found in the southern part of the south field.

Medieval and post-medieval pottery was found spread evenly over the field east of Manor Farm, with a concentration of later post-medieval sherds scattered immediately south of the farm buildings.

Two low banks were just visible in the east field, running perpendicular to the A10. These could be the remains of field boundaries.

Worked flints were sparse but appeared to show a concentration immediately east of Manor Farm.

Geophysical survey

Bradford Geophysical Surveys conducted a magnetometer survey of one hectare over concentrated cropmarks immediately northeast of Manor Farm, with two subsidiary areas of 1000 square metres each in the south field (areas A, B, and C respectively on Figs 4 and 5). This programme of work was designed to compare the evidence of air photographs with that from the magnetometer survey (for a fuller account, see Appendix IV). Areas A and C were later trenched to

compare excavated results with those from geophysical surveying.

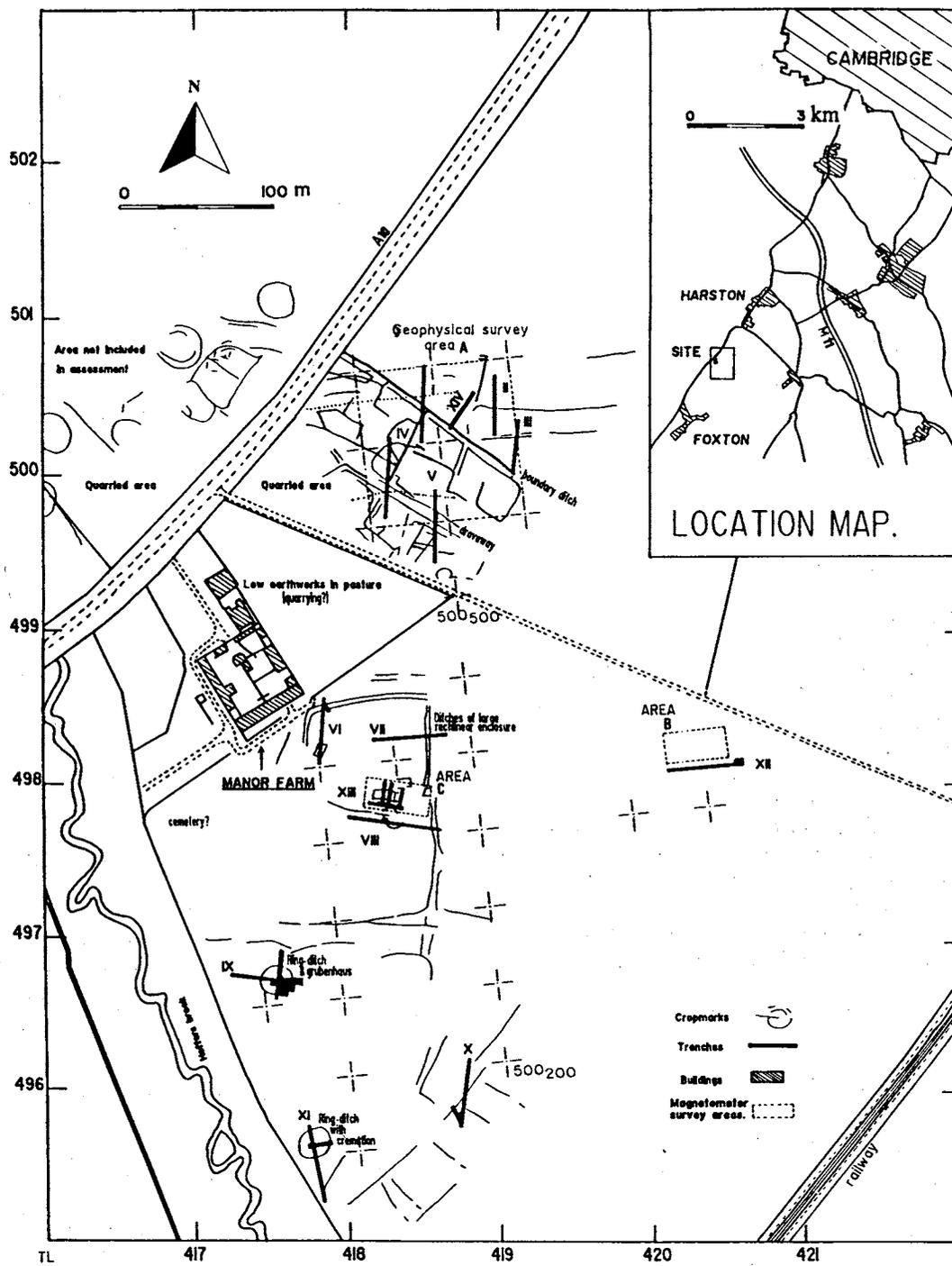
A magnetometer was chosen both for the sake of rapidity of data collection and also as the best technique for looking at ditched features revealed by cropmarks. Maximum search depth of a magnetometer is estimated to be one metre, and generally it is not possible to give relative depths of features, or to phase them. Surveying on sands and gravels produces results of very variable quality, but results obtained at Manor Farm were good and clear.

Area A was selected to test geophysical results against an area full of known archaeological features seen as cropmarks. A major ditch on air photographs seemed to form a boundary between complex activity to the west and a large relatively empty area to the east. Geophysical plots in the field and in the final report proved unambiguous and illuminating. They enhanced our understanding of the cropmark pattern by adding some previously unseen features, and by producing a plan at greater detail and accuracy than that possible from air photographs. Chris Gaffney remarked on the low magnetic strength of the anomalies, which he suggested could have been due to physical erosion of the features, or else to considerable similarity between the subsoil and the fill of features cutting it. Cropmarks further east of the boundary ditch did not show, and on excavation they were not definitely identified, although there were some curious natural features in this area. If these cropmarks were real archaeological features, then their failure to show on the magnetometer survey or during excavation suggests that they might have been totally ploughed out since the air photograph was taken.

Area B was selected to study part of the south field, which was devoid of cropmarks. Slight anomalies were detected, perhaps pits, but there was little of archaeological interest here, which seemed to confirm aerial photographic evidence. However, Trench XII, adjacent to the survey area, contained ditches and pits. These were filled with deposits very similar to the chalky subsoil into which they were cut, thus perhaps explaining their ephemeral response to surveying and to aerial photography.

Area C was selected to look at a small rectangular enclosure, interpreted from air photographs as a possible Anglo-Saxon building.⁹ Features were plotted from the survey,

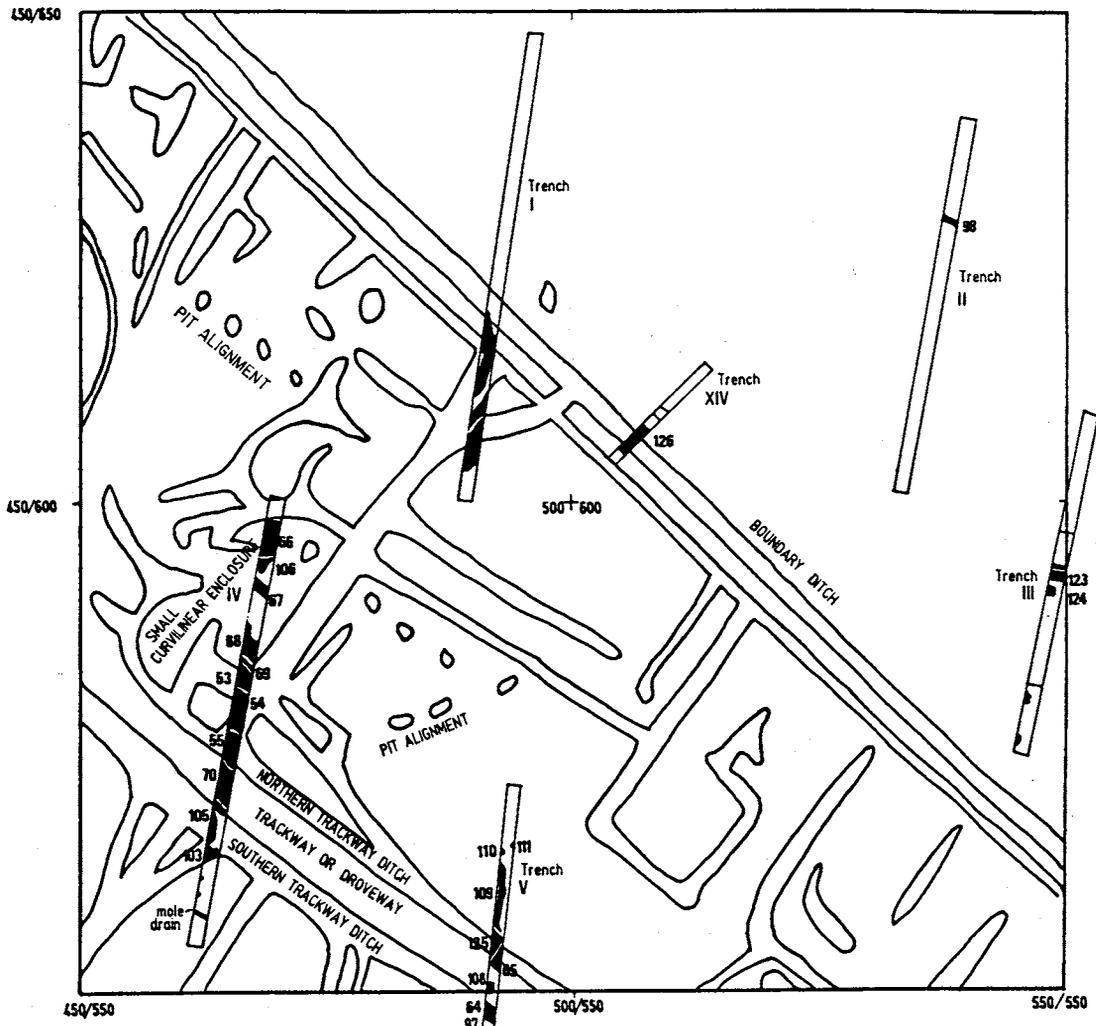
9 *Ibid.*



HARSTON MANOR FARM 1991.

PLAN SHOWING CROPMARKS AND ASSESSMENT TRENCHES.

Figure 4. Location map and site plan showing cropmarks, areas surveyed with magnetometer, and position of archaeological evaluation trenches.



Hoffer Bridge

Harston

Interpretation Diagram

Magnetometer Plot Overlain By Trenches.

Area A

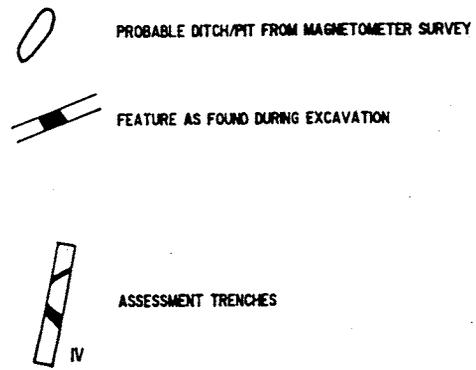
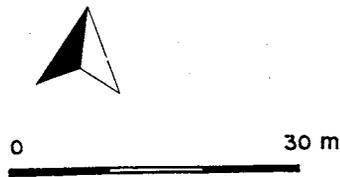


Figure 5. Interpretation of geophysical survey, with archaeological evaluation trenches and features superimposed on the plan.

TRENCHES WITH IRON AGE AND ROMAN FEATURES
I, II, III, IV, V, X, XII, XIV

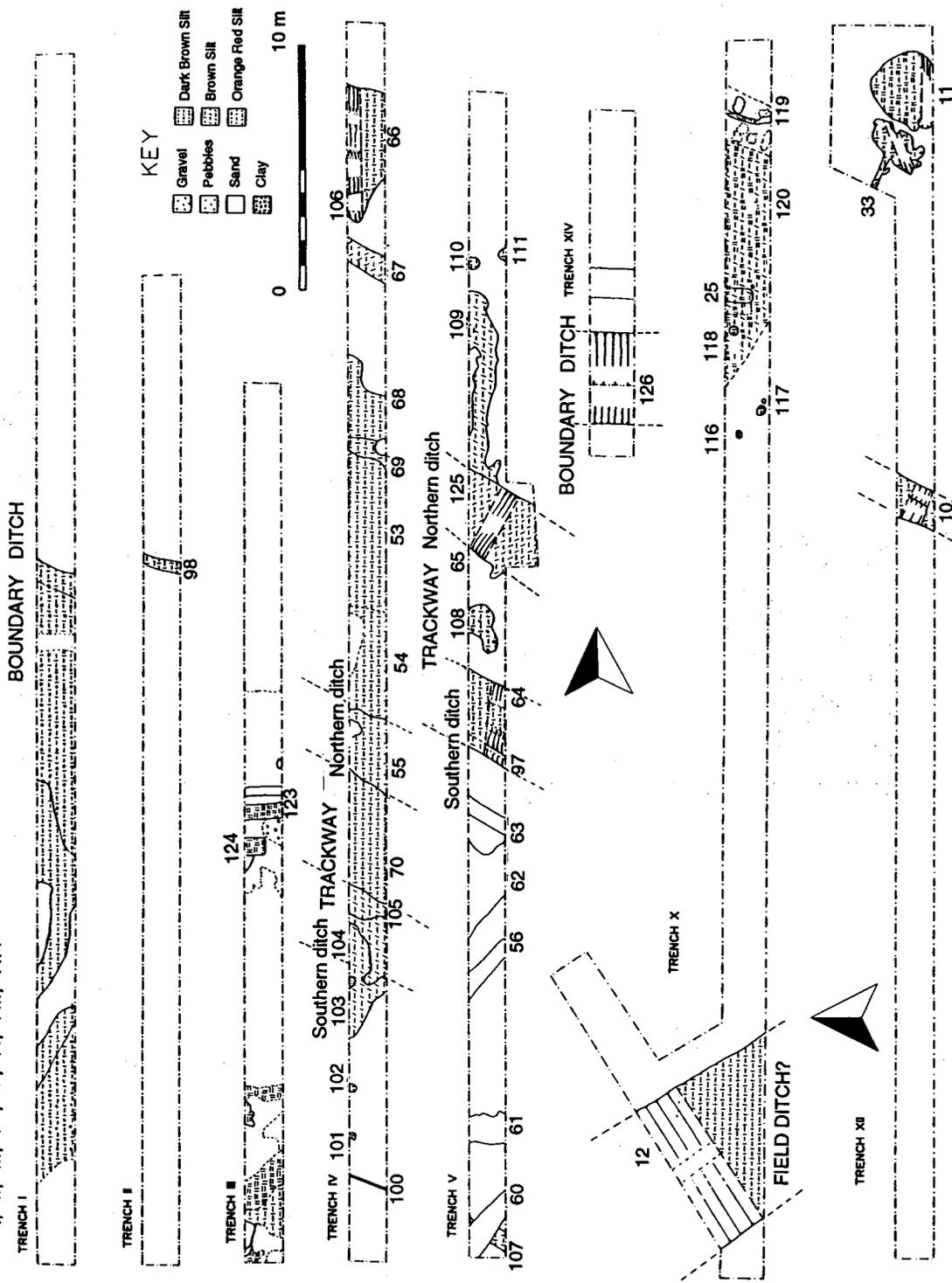


Figure 6. Trench plans: features mostly of Iron Age and Roman dates.

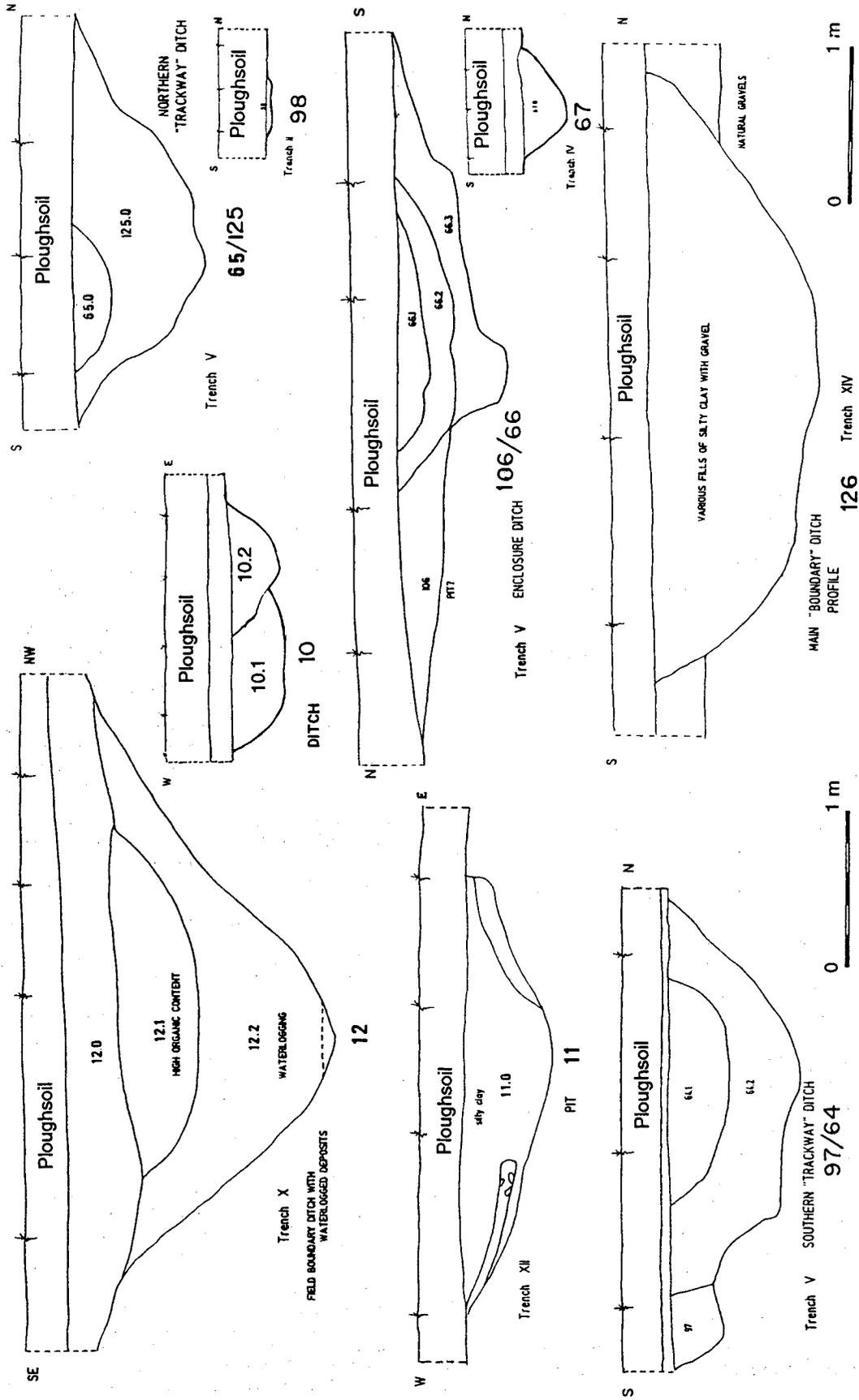


Figure 7. Sections of Iron Age and Roman features.

Figure 8. Sections of Iron Age and Roman features.

but did not add greatly to the air photograph evidence. In contrast, excavations revealed a complex pattern of pits, postholes and ditches in Trench XIII.

Evaluation trenches (Figs 4 and 21)

Twelve trenches (approximately 50 m. long) were orientated variously north-south or east-west, and positioned to sample effectively all major cropmark groups over the extent of the two fields under study. In addition, one of these trenches ran through an area devoid of cropmarks to see if such a blank area really denoted an absence of archaeological features. These original trenches were widened and supplemented at times to clarify specific problems that arose as a result of the geophysical survey or from the excavations.

Trenches I-V were set in the field northeast of Manor Farm. All ran north-south and were approximately 1.5 m. wide. They were positioned to examine the rectilinear field system composed of ditched enclosures, ditched trackways and a presumed major boundary ditch. **Trench XIV** was a short supplementary cut crossing the major ditch at right angles, which allowed data to be rapidly gathered about this 'boundary'. All trenches in the north field were dug after the magnetometer survey had been completed (see Fig.5).

Trenches VI-VIII enabled investigation of the large double-ditched rectilinear enclosure immediately southeast of Manor Farm. **Trench XIII** was put in to supplement Trench VIII and to investigate the information provided by cropmarks and confirmed by magnetometer, that a small enclosure might be that of a building. **Trenches IX and XI** were designed to cross ring-ditches, enabling confirmation of these features as ploughed down barrows and to locate any extant central burials. **Trench X** was located to investigate ditches forming a disturbed pattern of enclosures which showed on air photographs in the south of our study area. **Trench XII** ran east-west in an area apparently sterile of archaeological features, and was designed to check this assumption.

All trenches uncovered archaeological features, and the initial surveying to establish the location of these trenches came to within one metre of their intended location. This accurate surveying enabled us to bisect cropmarks exactly, confirming the precision of air photograph plotting using the computer rectification programme designed

by R. Palmer. Virtually all features seen as cropmarks were found and identified in the trenches, plus many more.

Trenches were planned at 1:100 with rapid preliminary recording of features. A selection of these features was excavated to give information on the date and nature of archaeological remains.

Results

Description of trenches (Figs 4-15)

Trench I (Figs 5 and 6) was 50 m. long by 1.5 m. It was orientated north-south, and was located to cross the northern perimeter of cropmark activity, examining a trackway with a large ditch on the northeastern side which seemed to form a boundary between archaeologically active areas and apparently sterile areas.

The north part of the trench had natural gravels lying immediately beneath 0.3 m. of topsoil. Half-way down the trench a feature cut natural subsoil and further south of this there was much disturbance by bands of gravelly silts diagonally criss-crossing the trench. None of these features was excavated, but it could be suggested that the northernmost feature was that of the 'boundary' ditch seen from air photographs. This feature was 3 m. wide and filled with dark brown silt and pebbles, gravel-silt, and a band of gravel on the south edge (see Trench XIV for further details). Further south there was an area of gravelly silt, which led onto a dark brown silt deposit with gravel bands, containing some fragments of bone and pottery. All this obvious disturbance could be the tops of ditches seen from air and magnetometer surveys.

Trench II (Figs 5 and 6) was 40 m. long by 1.5 m. It was orientated north-south and was positioned to examine an area largely devoid of cropmarks, apart from one tentative east-west ditch. No features were detected by magnetometer survey.

Topsoil was 0.26 m.-0.28 m. deep and then natural gravel was exposed. Only one feature cut this topsoil: a narrow gully 12 m. from the north end of the trench. It was 0.4 m. wide and had a dark brown silty clay fill. No artefacts were found and it is possible that this was a natural feature, but it seems unlikely that such a slight feature caused a cropmark.

Trench III (Figs 5 and 6) was 35 m. long by 1.5 m. It was orientated north-south close to Trench II and was designed to sample part of the possibly 'sterile' area northeast of the cropmarks. Two tentative ditches running east-west had been spotted on air photographs, but magnetometer surveying revealed no features in this area.

Topsoil 0.15 m. deep at the south end thickened to 0.36 m. at the north. Gravel bedrock was interrupted by irregular (linear) chalk-marl filled features over much of the south end, which must be of natural origin. Two gulleys filled with dark brown clay were found half-way down the trench. These might have been archaeological features, but they had no associated artefacts. They were approximately 0.5 m. wide, but it is hard to imagine that they were responsible for cropmarks.

Trench IV (Figs 5 and 6) was 50 m. long by 1.5 m. It was orientated north-south and was laid out to cut a mass of enclosure ditches and a trackway seen on air photographs. The magnetometer plot also revealed a wealth of features in its path, mirroring those seen from cropmarks.

The trench had 0.3 m.-0.35 m. of topsoil before archaeological features could be seen cutting the natural gravels. However, pottery and bone could be seen in the topsoil above many features, clearly indicating recent disturbance from

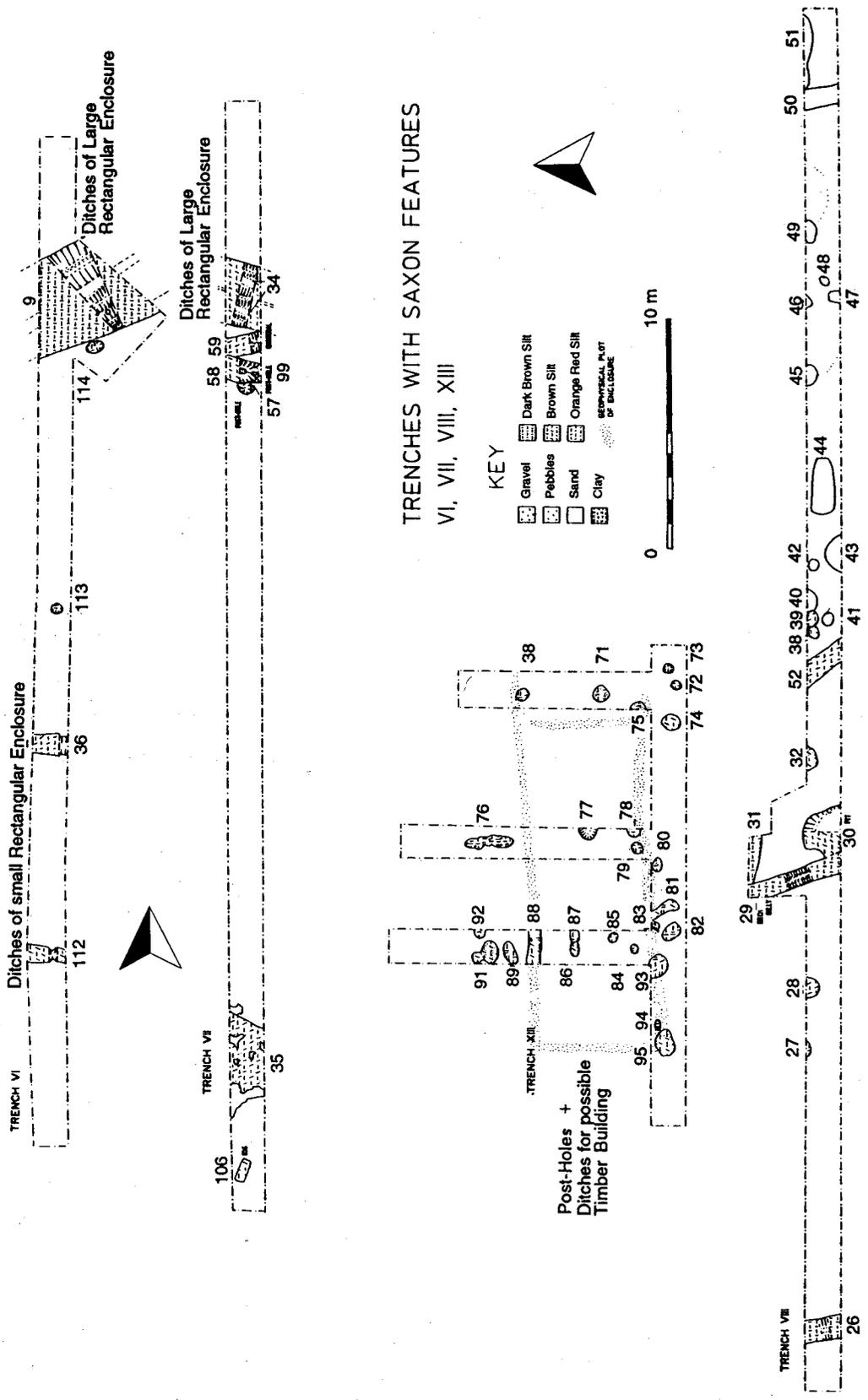


Figure 9. Trench plans: features mostly of Anglo-Saxon date.

ploughing. All ditches interpreted from the magnetometer survey could be correlated with features found during excavation.

At the north end of the trench, a large ditch crossed east-west, and cut a mid-brown silty filled pit (106). This contained two sherds of Late Iron Age pottery. The ditch (66) had been filled by three distinct layers of silty clay with flint inclusions (Fig.8). Pottery and animal bone were found in all layers, but only two sherds dating to the mid-second century AD were found in the basal layer, which filled a narrow straight-sided gully. Above this the ditch widened to 4 m. and the middle fill contained seven sherds of Romano-British pottery, including two pieces of Horningsea ware and one rim in Iron Age tradition. A piece of *tegula* was also found. The latest fill was found only in the centre of the ditch and had an odd group of sherds that appeared to be burnt. Dating of these was not precise, but they were definitely Romano-British and included a copy of a Samian foot-ring. A copper-alloy strip was also found. Thus ditch 66 could be given a late second-century date, and seemed to be part of a curvilinear enclosure seen from air and magnetometer surveys.

Close to this major ditch another, one metre wide (67), was excavated. It had an orange-brown silty fill and contained some animal bones and Romano-British pottery (Fig.8).

Further south a complex of ditches cutting one another (features 53, 55, 68, 70, 105) seemed to come at the right point for the trackway and its attendant ditches were recognised by cropmarks and geophysical surveying.

Trench V (Figs 5 and 6) was 46 m. long by 1.5 m. It was orientated north-south and was positioned to cross trackway and enclosure ditches seen as cropmarks. Only the northern half of the trench entered the area surveyed by magnetometer, but large ditches on either side of the trackway appeared on the plot and were clearly identified in their correct positions during excavation of the trench.

Two post-holes were found at the north end of the trench, with an uneven linear feature (109) stretching south from them. This was probably of natural origin, and it was cut by a major ditch (125), the northern side of a trackway. Two main phases could be seen, with ditch 125 filled by an orange-brown silty clay with flint inclusions, containing Late Iron Age pottery and animal bones (Fig.8). This ditch fill was recut by ditch 65 which could be seen as a darker brown fill with fewer stone inclusions. Pottery recovered from this ditch was well abraded and not very diagnostic, but generally fitted into first- to second-century tradition, and there was one piece of Nene Valley colour-coated ware (second-third century AD). The total width of ditch 125 was 3 m., and it had a U-shaped profile 0.9 m. deep. Recut 65 was 0.80 m. wide by 0.20 m. deep.

The trackway was 5 m. wide, bordered to the south by ditch 64, 2.5 m. wide, and 0.8 m. deep with an uneven U-shaped profile (Fig.7). Two distinct fills could be seen with the earlier one lighter and with a greater concentration of flints than the later one, a recut 1.4 m. wide and 0.4 m. deep. The lower fill contained a first- to second-century AD assemblage, and a fragment of a possible kiln floor. The later fill contained a well-abraded assemblage of many different vessel types, including Belgic and Horningsea wares, flagon fragments, a shell-tempered sherd, and a piece of Terra Nigra platter. Roof tile fragments were also found. A light brown silty clay deposit (97) had been cut through on the south side of ditch 64 and this might be the line of another smaller and earlier ditch. This contained daub fragments, and an assemblage of Late Iron Age pottery in a great variety of styles and wares.

Several more gullies and ditches crossed the trench south of this trackway area, but none was excavated. However, sherds gathered from the surface of these features showed a similar assemblage to that in the trackway ditches, and dated to the first and second centuries AD.

Gully 63 contained more kiln furniture fragments, and sherds of hand-made pots in Late Iron Age tradition. In addition there were fine wheel-made wares and Terra Rubra-style rims. This assemblage seemed to be solidly mid-first century AD.

Ditch 62 contained a Terra Nigra platter rim, flagon sherds, and some possible Belgic wares, dating the top fill of this feature to late first century.

Gully 56 contained kiln furniture and Late Iron Age tradition pottery. This seemed to be hand-made but included fine ware with combed decoration, and Samian (including Dr.18/31), giving a second-century date to the final fills of this feature.

Features 60, 61, and 107 had no finds to date them.

Trench VI (Fig.9) was 44 m. long by 1.5 m. It was widened at its north end to examine in more detail a complex (multiphase) ditch. It was positioned to cross a small rectangular enclosure (a possible timber-slot building), and a pair of parallel ditches that enclosed an area of 5000 square metres on three sides. No geophysical prospecting was undertaken, but all features were clearly visible as cropmarks. Topsoil varied in depth from 0.9 m. at the north end of the trench to 0.5 m. at the south, before natural sands and small gravels were encountered. However, below a plough horizon of 0.3 m., archaeological deposits could be seen, with features cutting through a darkish brown silty clay thought to be a buried soil (see Appendix I).

At the north end a considerable volume of apparently dumped soil lay over a ditch (9) which was recut several times. These distinct phases might account for its appearance as a pair of ditches on aerial photographs. Ditch 9 could be reconstructed with the following sequence of events (Fig.11):

- i) A ditch (9.7), 0.4 m. wide, was cut through buried soil and natural gravel.
- ii) This ditch was filled and capped by sands and gravels from a new ditch (9.3) cut immediately north of it. The new ditch was 1.2 m. wide and had a post-hole (9.6) cut into its southern side.
- iii) Ditch 9.3 showed gravel slippage as a primary fill on its north side, and thereafter was filled with a homogeneous reddish brown clayey silt with frequent gravel and some charcoal inclusions, very similar to the fill of the first ditch.
- iv) A third phase of ditch replaced the earlier ones when deposits filling ditch 9.3 were cut on the north side by a two-metre-wide ditch (9).
- v) The new ditch had primary fills (9.1) of light brown sandy silt. These were interrupted on the south side by a recut.
- vi) This recut was found to be filled with two deposits: an intermittent grey brown sandy silt (9.4) on its north side, but with the bulk of the fill being a browner colour (9.2). Animal bone, pottery, and charcoal were found in all of these deposits, in addition to occasional gravels.
- vii) A further phase recut the ditch through fills 9.1 and 9.2.
- viii) This final phase of ditch had a slippage of gravel down its north side, whilst the secondary, and bulk, of fill (9.0) was composed of dark brown clayey sand.

All ditch profiles were well-rounded U-shapes which, combined with evidence of gravel slippage in some phases, strongly suggested that the ditches were left open over a period long enough for substantial erosion to occur. Pottery recovered from the fills was unimpressive, but Romano-British wares were apparent in the latest fills, with some Iron Age pottery being identified from 9.4. The size and abraded condition probably indicated that these sherds were residual.

Further south in Trench VI ditches 36 and 112 were those that caused the cropmark of a small enclosure. They were 0.6 m. wide and filled with reddish brown sandy silts with gravels. A small copper-alloy band was found in ditch 36.

The bases of two post-holes (113 and 114) were found

SAXON FEATURES TRENCH VIII

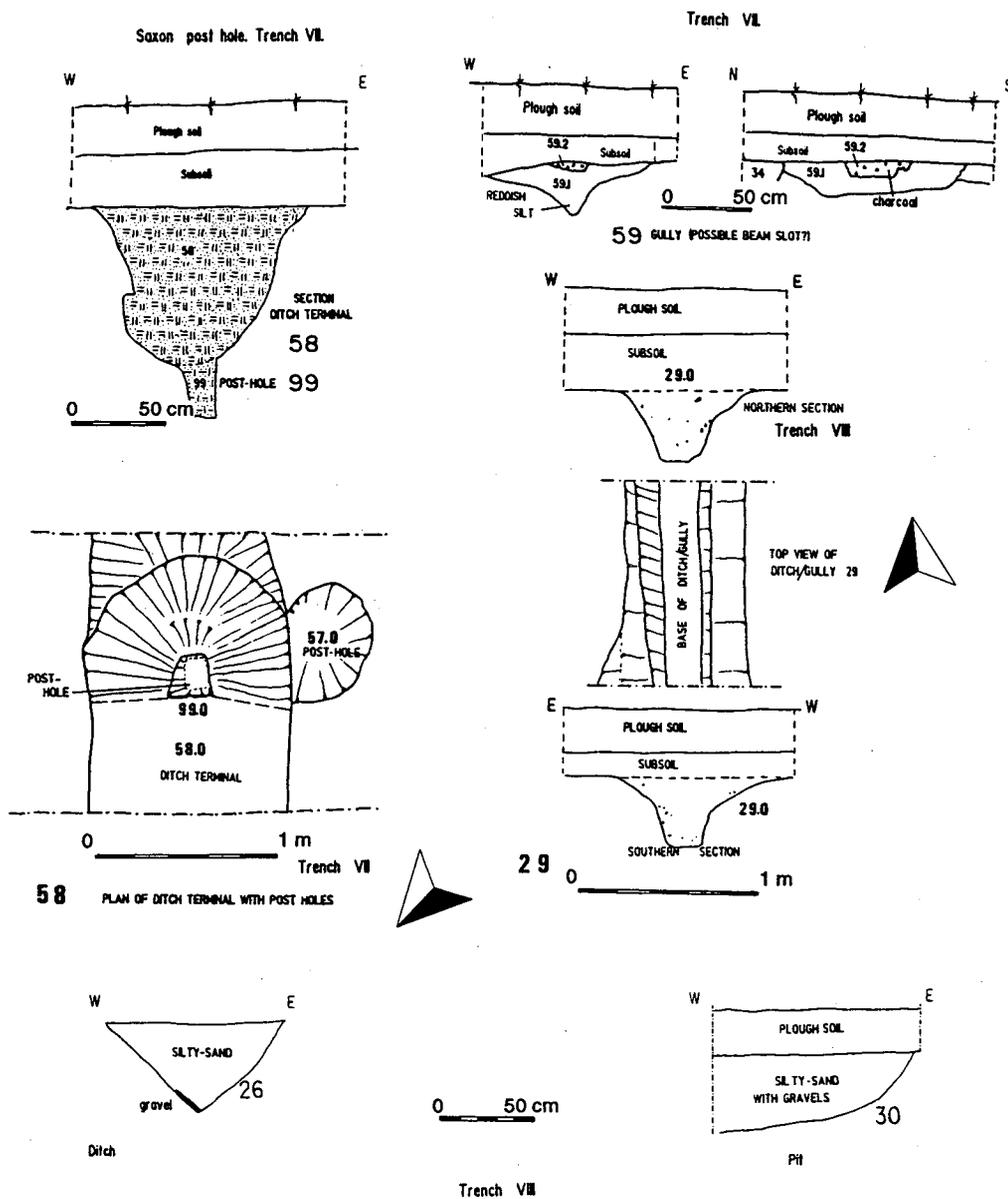


Figure 10. Sections and plans of Anglo-Saxon features.

cut into the natural. No packing was evident in their fills, but this would have been unnecessary to support a post set into sand and gravel. No pot, bone, or charcoal flecks were found in them.

Trench VII (Fig. 9) was 48 m. long by 1.5 m. wide. It was orientated east-west and located to section the eastern side of the double ditched 'enclosure' discussed in Trench VI. These ditches were found by excavation, and between 0.2 m.-0.3 m. of ploughsoil lay over archaeological features, with

a further 0.2 m. of subsoil down to natural sand and gravel.

At the eastern end of the trench two ditches were found (34 and 58) (Figs 10 and 11) which corresponded to the double ditches revealed by cropmarks. A major recut in one ditch (34) could be seen, and there were also post-holes and shallow ditches clustered around.

Ditch 34 was almost 3 m. wide by 0.65 m. deep. There were two distinct cuts which contained exactly the same fills of brown silty loam with flint, chalk, and charcoal inclusions.

SAXON FEATURES TRENCHES VI, VII, XIII

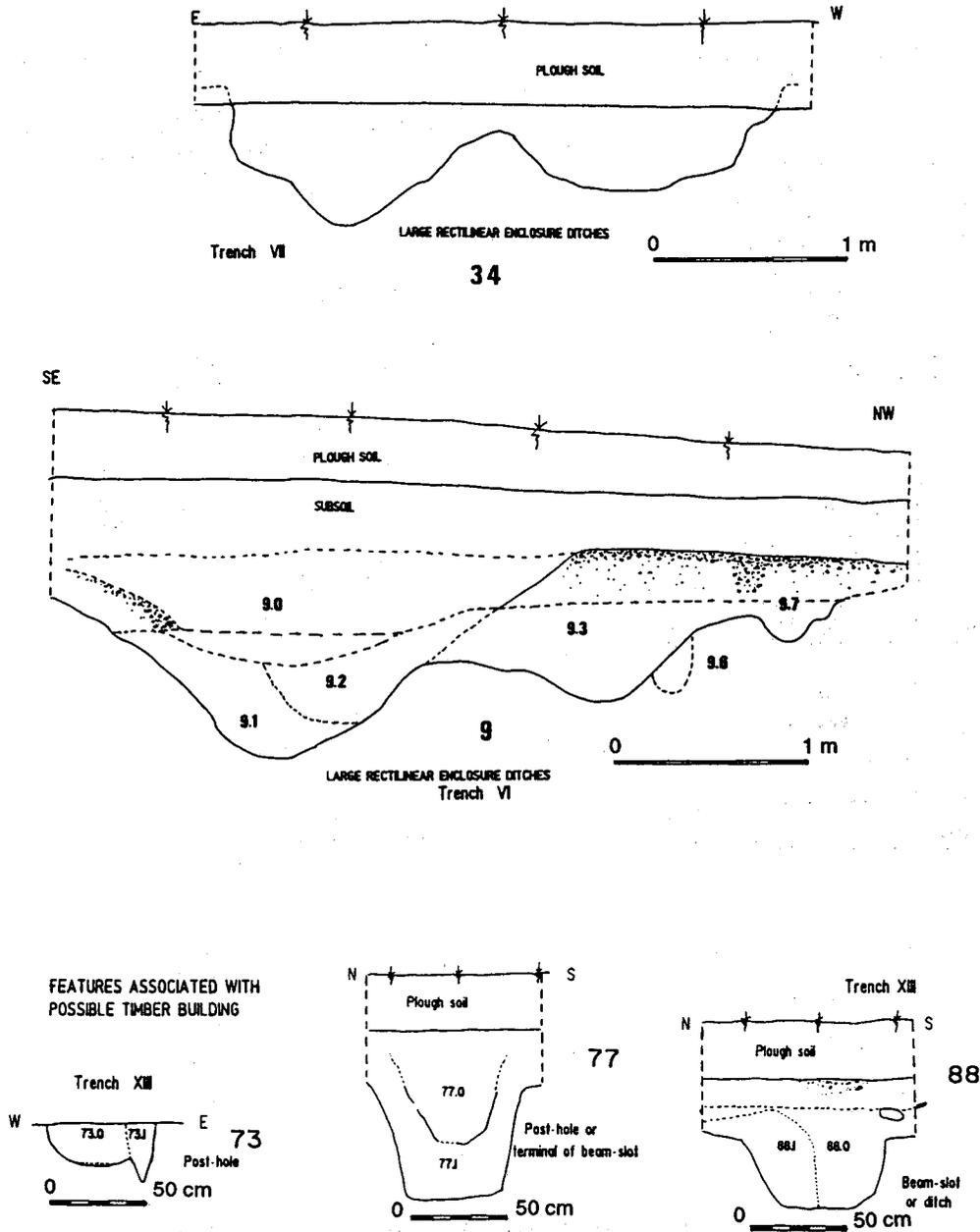


Figure 11. Sections of Anglo-Saxon features.

In the section and during excavation no evidence showed which ditch cut the other, and it is possible that they were contemporary, although interpretation as a recut feature would seem to be more logical. Two out of three sherds of pottery found in this ditch have been identified as early Saxon.

Ditch 58 was 1.1 m. wide by 0.85 m. deep. It had a steep-sided U-shaped profile and was filled with a homogeneous sandy silt with flints and occasional charcoal. A butt-end of the ditch was found during excavation and in this there was a post-hole (99), the base of which was 0.2 m. in

diameter and continued at least 0.3 m. below the bottom of the ditch. It was filled with the same material as that in the ditch. A bone comb fragment of Anglo-Saxon type (illustrated in Fig.20) was found at the butt-end. Only two sherds of pot were found, one of which was chaff-tempered Anglo-Saxon, and the other a Romano-British body sherd.

Ditch 58 appeared to have been cut by a small shallow pit (57), which might be associated with the post that would have filled 99, possibly as a pit containing a later supporting post. A shallow gully (59) (Fig.10) was perhaps cut by ditch 58, because this gully ran diagonally across to ditch 34 which definitely cut it, and so maybe was an earlier feature than the double ditches. No pottery was found in this gully, but a large area of burning was noted in it, suggesting wood burnt *in situ*.

Trench VIII (Fig.9) was 60 m. long by 1.5 m., except in the central section where it was widened to 4 m. to examine the junction of two ditches. It was orientated west-north-west by east-southeast and was positioned to cross the double ditches referred to above in Trenches VI and VII. It was also designed to bisect a possible ring-ditch, plotted from cropmarks just to the west of the ditches. However it was not possible to match up any of the features revealed with those seen as cropmarks. Ploughsoil was 0.3 m. deep above archaeological layers.

Probable post-holes, five small ditches or gullies, and at least two pits were found, but time allowed excavation of only a few features, the most interesting of which was ditch/gully 29 (Fig.10). This was steep-sided and flat-bottomed, and thus seemed not to have been eroded. It was 0.62 m. wide and 0.4 m. deep, and as such seemed unlikely to have been a boundary ditch or designed for drainage, but might well have been a palisade trench. It cut pit 30, and one sherd found in the fill was identified as a Romano-British base. It was met by another ditch (31) whose relationship to it was uncertain as it was unexcavated, but this second ditch had animal bone and fourth-century pottery on the surface.

Pit 30 was a 0.4 m. deep sloping-sided feature, from which no dating material was found. It was filled with a light brown silty loam, with small stones and some animal bone (Fig.10).

Feature 28 had a 0.4 m. deep lop-sided U-shape, and was filled with a loose pebble-free reddish brown sandy silt, which came down onto a hard white tightly packed deposit with small stones. It was possibly either the butt-end of a small ditch, or a post-hole.

Ditch 26 (Fig.10) was V-shaped and 0.5 m. deep, and filled with a loose silty sand, small stones and charcoal flecks. The post-holes and ditches in Trench VIII were probably a continuation of those seen in more detail in Trench XIII (see below).

Trench IX (Fig.13) was 44 m. in length and was of variable width as large areas along its eastern end were opened up to examine the pattern of ditches and pits. It was orientated west-northwest by east-southeast and was designed to bisect a ring-ditch clearly seen as a cropmark, which was then verified by excavation. Only 0.1 m.-0.15 m. of ploughsoil overlay archaeological levels.

Ditch 21 (Fig.14) was a shallow sided V-shaped ring-ditch 1.6 m. wide and 0.65 m. deep, which was found on the east, west (as ditch 22), north, and south sides of the trench. The fill was of a homogeneous reddish brown silty sand with small gravel pebbles. Between this fill and natural gravel a thin band of redeposited gravel could be seen on the outer side of the ditch, possibly a primary fill of gravel slippage from the east. A gravel band was also found overlying half the ditch fill on its inner side, perhaps suggesting levelling of an inner bank or mound at a later date.

Overlying this filled ditch and the higher gravel band, and also sealing some of the features within the ring-ditch, was a reddish brown sandy silt with small stones and animal bones (see photograph in Fig.15), very similar to the

buried soil described in Appendix 1. This could be the remains of a levelled-out barrow mound, or of an inner bank to the ring-ditch. Although post-holes and several pits were sealed by this deposit, pit 15 appeared not to have been so covered; evidence was not conclusive, but it is likely that this pit was therefore cut through it.

The ring-ditch measured 19 m. in diameter externally with a post-hole (13.2) just off-set at the centre. To the south of this two large pits (15, 16) were found (Fig.12). As pit 15 cut pit 16 they were of different date, with two distinctly different deposits filling them, and only in pit 15 were two post-holes found. These were at the east and west sides, and were cut into the base of the ovoid pit. They were not of uniform depth or dimensions, with post-hole 115 being square in profile and extending to 0.3 m. depth, whilst post-hole 121 was much wider and shallower. Pit 15 measured 2 m. by 3 m. and was 0.15 m. deep. A fragment of Anglo-Saxon clay loom weight was found in the fill (Fig.20), plus animal bone, and a small collection of pottery of probable Saxon date.

Pit 16 was also ovoid and measured 2 m. by 2.5 m., but had been truncated along its longer axis by pit 15 (Fig.16). It was 0.25 m. in depth, and its fill had a much greater charcoal content than pit 15. In the top 0.15 m. of this fill eight large sherds of Saxon pottery were found plus a rim from a globular jar, but of particular interest was a Romano-Saxon sherd with cut stamp decoration of fourth- or fifth-century date (Fig.20; Appendix II). A curious clay spindle whorl appeared to be Roman in fabric but with probable Saxon decoration on it, and this (as well as a lead spindle whorl) came from lower levels of the pit fill. A base of a Nene Valley colour-coated beaker was found, which displayed evidence of having been ground down at the broken edges, for reuse after breakage. Pit 16 appeared to be sealed by the reddish brown sandy silt of the possible barrow mound, but it seemed likely that in this instance the layer was redeposited when pit 15 was constructed.

Pits 15 and 16 were quartered, and opposing segments have been left intact for future research in pit 16, with a single quarter remaining in pit 15 (Fig.16). Charcoal from the base of pit 16 was identified as hazel/alder, and was carbonated to cal AD 460-645 (1 sigma OxA-3637).

Three distinct post-holes in a line were found immediately north of the pits. One of these (13.2) was virtually central to the ring-ditch, and the others spread east spaced at a two- to three-metre interval. Each contained a clearly visible vertical post-pipe (Fig.14), slightly oval in shape (dimensions 0.2 m.-0.3 m.). All three post-holes contained substantial amounts of charcoal in the post-pipe from which oak was identified filling post-hole 13.1 and a roundwood stem was identified in post-hole 13.0. The unidentifiable charcoal from 13.2 was carbonated to 1880-1625 cal BC (1 sigma OxA-3638).

Two further post-holes or small pits were detected further north of this line, but still within the ring-ditch. However, these features were not excavated.

West of the ring-ditch two features were seen (23, 24) which were either the butt ends of ditches, or pits. They were not excavated.

Trench X (Fig.6) was 50 m. long by 1.5 m. wide, except at its southern end where it was necessary to widen it to examine a large ditch. It was orientated north-south and situated to cross an indistinct pattern of rectilinear ditched enclosures seen as cropmarks. One of these was identified by excavation as a deep and wide ditch (12).

The trench had 0.2 m. of ploughsoil at the south end before it came down onto ditch 12, but at the north end there was 0.3 m. of topsoil (0.15 m. of ploughsoil and 0.15 m. of subsoil through which the features had been cut) above chalky marl natural. Several small post-holes and ditches were found at the north end but were not excavated, and might have been truncated by ploughing. At the south end

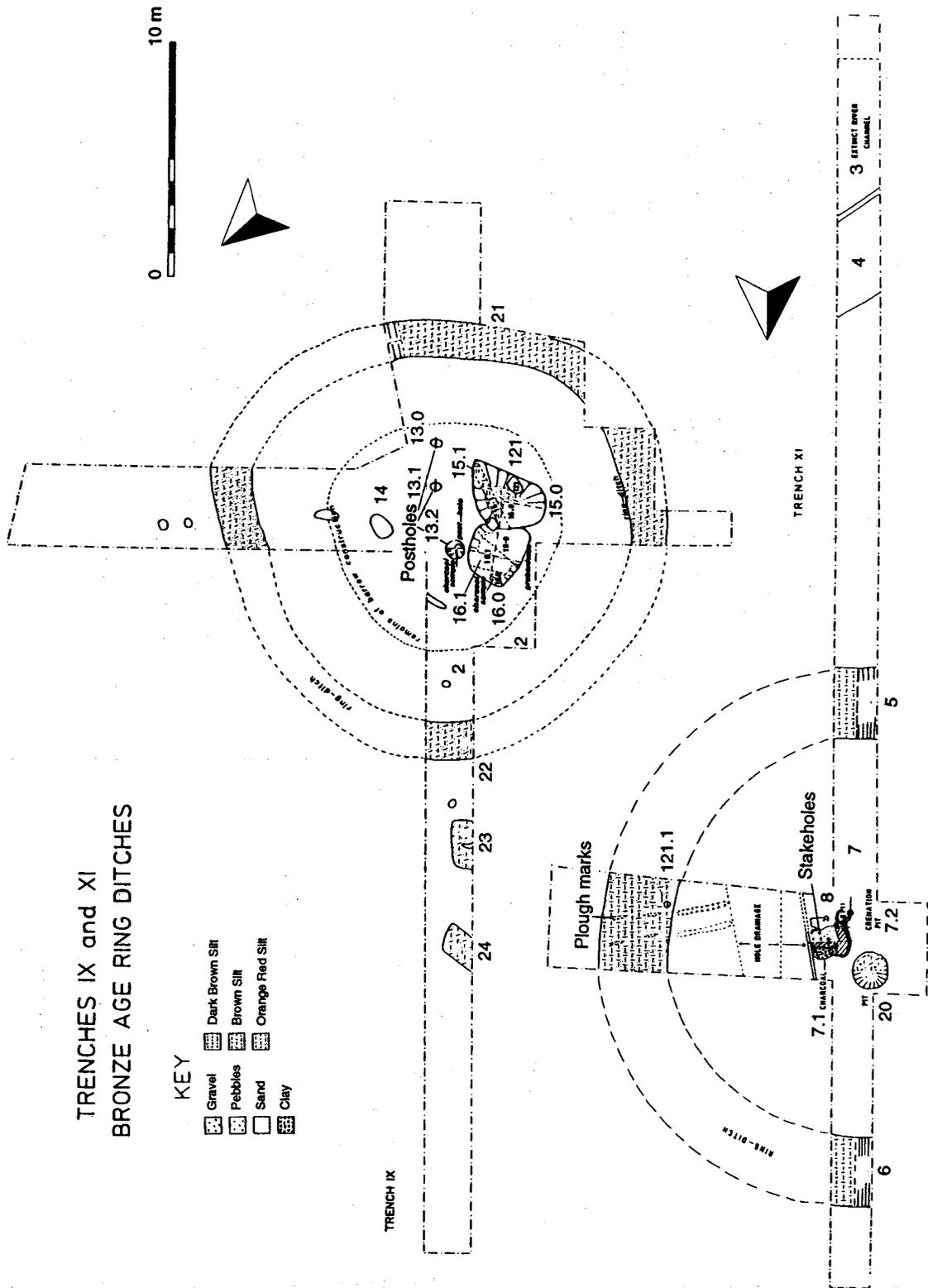


Figure 13. Trench plans; Bronze Age ring-ditches. Trench IX with postholes of original barrow construction, and later grubenhausen cutting into remnants of barrow mound. Trench XI contained a cremation in a pit, and the charcoal from a possible pyre.

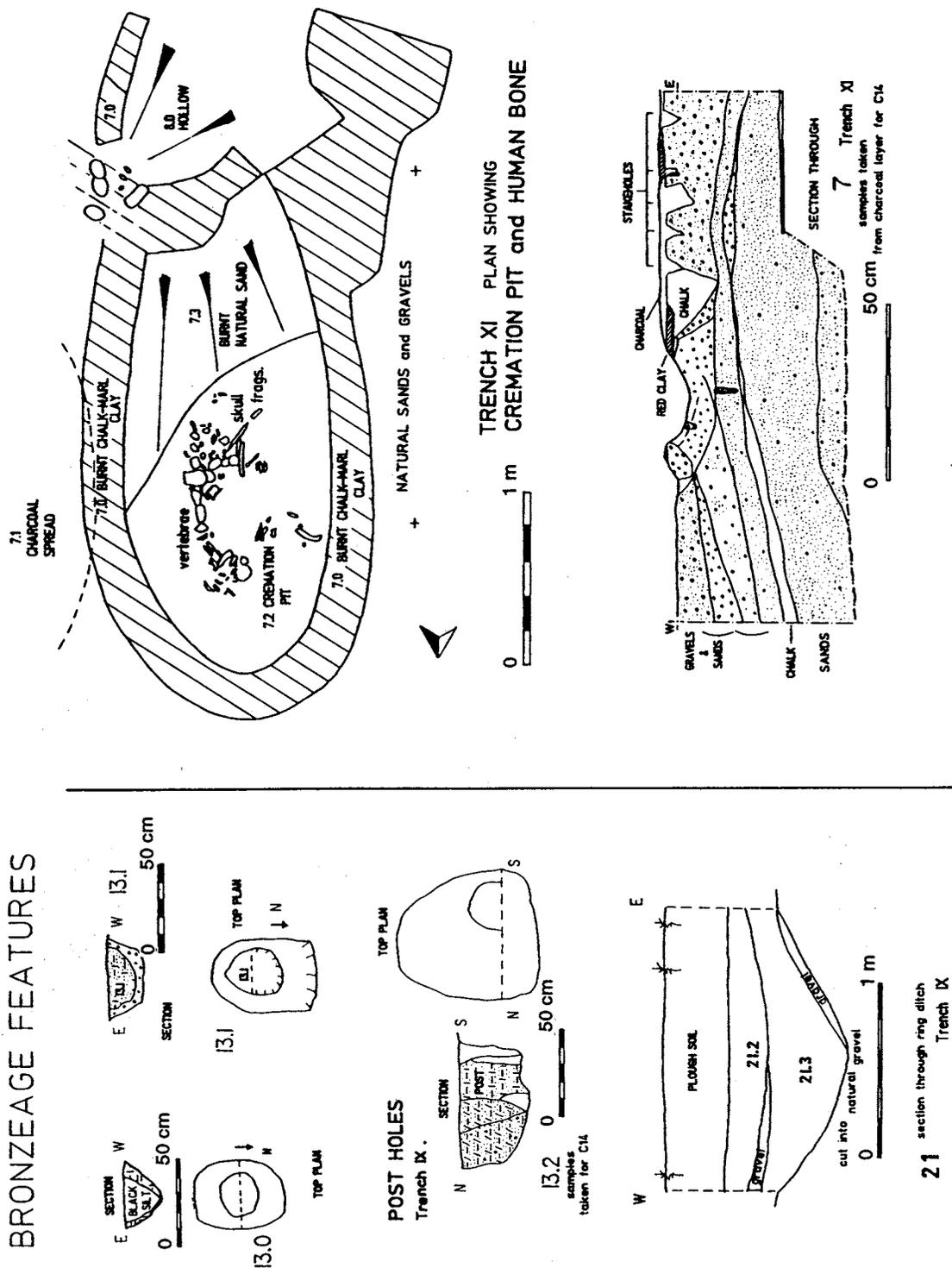
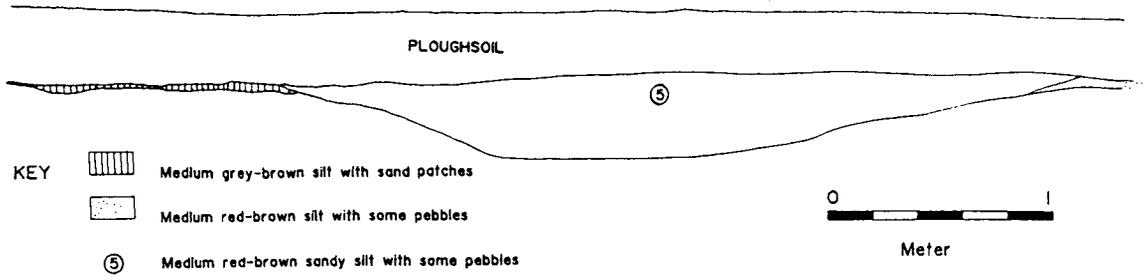


Figure 14. Bronze Age features. Plans and profiles of postholes from construction of barrow in Trench IX, and section through ring-ditch. Plan of cremation pit in Trench XI and section through charcoal spread and possible pyre.

Trench XI. east facing section of feature ⑤.



Trench XI. east facing section of feature ⑥.

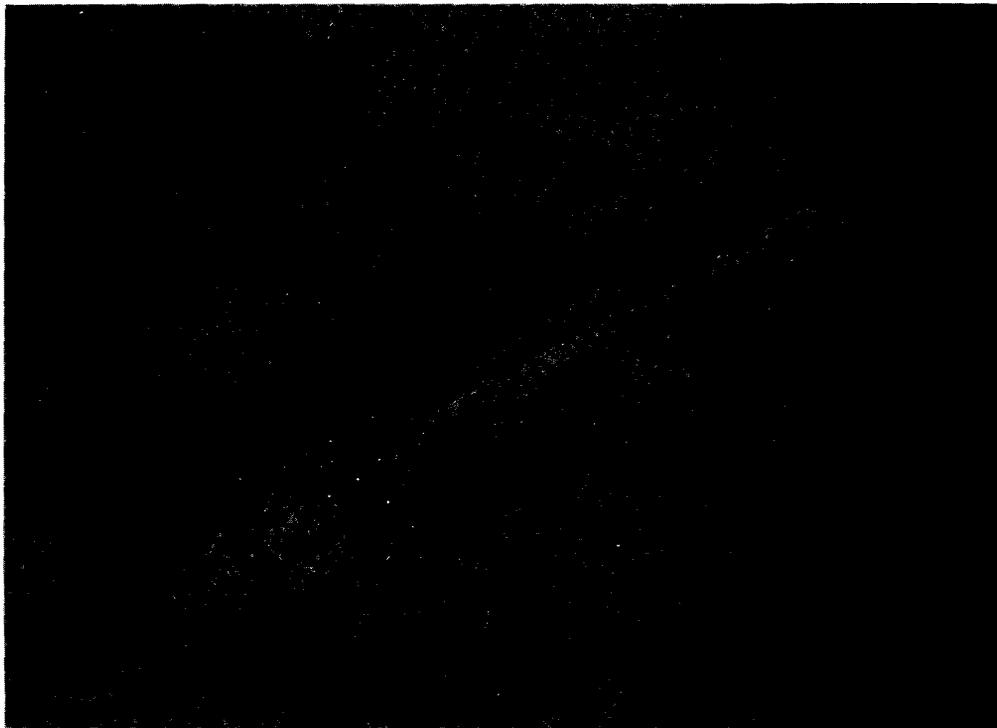
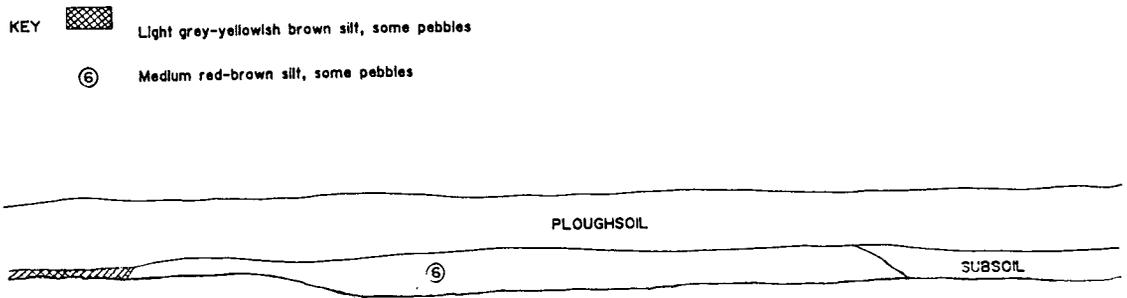


Figure 15. Top: Section through ring-ditch in Trench XI. Base: Aerial photograph of Trench IX showing ring-ditch and remains of barrow mound, with grubenhausen (16) cut into it (black patch).

1.5 m. wide, except around the centre of the ring-ditch where it was widened on both sides. It was orientated north-south and was located to investigate a ring-ditch seen from air photographs. This was found to have been severely damaged by ploughing and mole-draining.

Only 0.15 m. of topsoil remained above the archaeological features and natural chalk marl, and all of this zone was active ploughsoil. Consequently there was serious damage to features in the centre of the ring-ditch, and the ditches themselves were truncated.

At the northern end of the trench there was a circular area 17 m. in diameter, enclosed by a 3 m.-wide ditch (see section in Fig.15). This ring-ditch (total external diameter 23 m.) had a shallow U-shaped profile 0.8 m. deep. In the centre were two pits, associated with an area of concentrated charcoal (7.1) and fire-hardened chalk (7.0) (Figs 14 and 16). Beneath the charcoal (identified as oak by Pete Murphy and carbonated to 1890-1685 cal bc (1 sigma OxA-3639)) there were many stake-holes, which appeared to have burnt chalk-marl around them, thus preserving their form. Beneath this layer there was a series of sand and gravel lenses, which might be natural interleaving of the bed-rock.

The closest pit to this area (7) contained cremated human bone, representing remains of an adult (see Appendix III). Fragments of bone from all major parts of the skeleton were present, and the excavator recorded that the fragments appeared to have been deliberately arranged so that there was a pile of skull and finger bones at the south end, with vertebrae along the centre of the pit, whilst long-bone fragments predominated at the north end (Fig.14). Pieces of skull from a younger individual were also found, although no post-cranial bones associated with this skeleton have been identified, and no artefacts were found with either burial. The pit was 0.25 m. deep and the upper edge of it had a layer of burnt chalk-marl spreading over the top of the sands and gravels. This layer of burnt natural extended beneath the charcoal area described above. As the burning did not extend over the bones, and the matrix in which they were found had no great quantity of charcoal, it is suggested that the pit containing the bones was dug after the burning episode.

To the northwest of this pit another was found cut through the natural gravel (pit 20). This contained no artefacts, bone or charcoal.

At the south end of the trench a meander of the river could be seen, filled with a deep deposit of marl and organic remains (see Appendix I). It is possible that it was water-filled and was a channel when the ring-ditch was constructed.

Trench XII (Fig.6) was 50 m. long by 1.5 m. wide. It was orientated east-west and was positioned to sample an area that showed no archaeological activity from air photographs or from magnetometer survey, to test whether this area was genuinely empty, or simply less responsive to these techniques. Topsoil was 0.5 m. deep over natural chalk-marl, into which archaeological features were cut.

Towards the east end of Trench XII a ditch (10) ran north-south, and two pits (33, 11) were found (Fig.7). Ditch 10 had two distinct fills, with 10.2 being a later recut containing charcoal flecking. The primary fill (10.1) was a marl mixed with some organics, and it contained daub fragments, pot, and eight pieces of Niedermendig lava, presumably from a quern. The pits were oval in shape and between 0.5 m.-0.9 m. deep. They were both filled with a disturbed marly deposit, and pottery, bone, iron and glass fragments were found in them (Fig.20).

Trench XIII (Fig.9) was an E-shaped trench laid out with its backbone east-southeast by west-northwest and the three strokes stretching north. It was designed to complement Trench VIII because cropmark evidence and geophysical plots showed an enclosure immediately north of Trench VIII which had suggested the possibility of structural details such as slots for a timber building and a chalk floor.

The trench was 20 m. long, with 8 m.-long northward strokes, and remained 1.5 m. wide throughout.

A mass of post-holes, gulleys and small ditches was apparent, and although no coherent plan or occupation surface could be seen in the limited extent of the trench the archaeological features corroborated the geophysical plot. A gully and two post-holes were excavated (Fig.11). The only finds were two pieces of clay 'floor' consisting of chalk marl, which had been dried, smoothed and finished.

Trench XIV (Figs 6 and 8) was a short trench (14 m. long) to section the major 'boundary' ditch that could be seen as a cropmark. All other trenches in the northeastern field met this ditch at an angle, and so Trench XIV was designed to cut a true section perpendicular to it. As the section was cut by machine, pottery was not stratified, and a whole range of types came from this mixed bag. However the date range was small, and all sherds fitted comfortably into the first century AD, with examples of local Terra Nigra among the assemblage. The ditch was 3.5 m. wide by 1 m. deep, containing a fairly homogeneous brown silty clay fill with many gravel inclusions.

Discussion

Bronze Age (Fig.17)

Bronze Age activity is represented by the two ring-ditches in Trenches IX and XI, and possibly also by ditches filled with orange-brown sandy silts that were seen in several trenches both south and east of Manor Farm.

Barrows are known from hillsides around the area and Rowley's Hill itself might have been a place for burial, with cropmarks of ring-ditches visible on its northeastern crest. Although Reaney¹⁰ mentions no derivation for the name 'Rowley', Sylvia Beamon demonstrates the Scandinavian character of the name in her book on Royston Cave,¹¹ from which the following words and interpretations are extracted. There are Danish and Anglo-Saxon parallels which refer to the practice of cremation and mound building ('roiser', 'roise' respectively) and further words which refer to funeral, sorrow, and repose ('raws', 'reowes', 'rowes' respectively), and it would seem likely that barrows or burial were associated with this prominent hill, thus giving it the name by which it is now known.

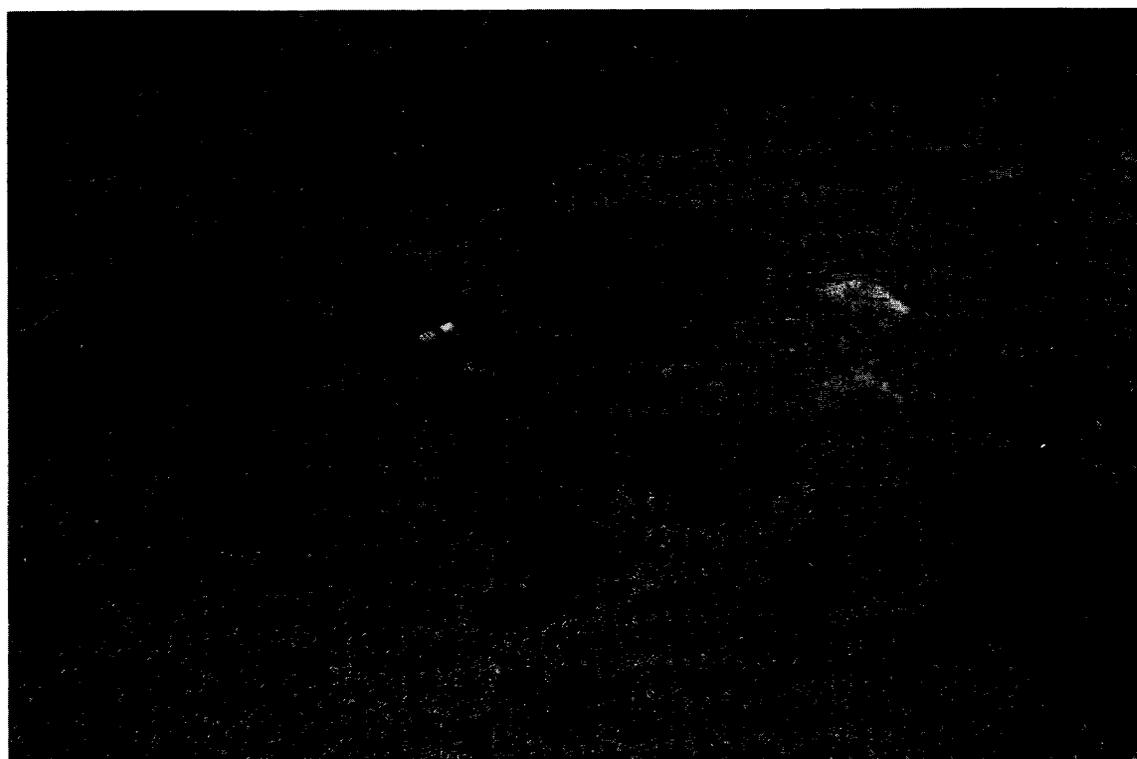
The barrow complex at Manor Farm, and in fields immediately north of it, fits the pattern of ring-ditches and round-barrows in the vicinity (Fig.17). Most are found on the surrounding chalk ridges and along river valleys, and it appears that those at Manor

10 P. Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely* (Cambridge 1943).

11 S. Beamon, *The Royston Cave: Used by Saints or Sinners?* (Baldock 1992).



Alison Taylor



by Simon Bray

Figure 16.

Top: Centre of ring-ditch in Trench IX (from west). Grubenhaus pit 16 quartered in foreground, with pit 15 and internal post-holes (115 & 121) clearly seen beyond 16. The external post-holes (13.0, 13.1, 13.2) can just be seen running east from the group of people, ring-ditch 23 beyond, and in the distance is Rowley's Hill with lynchets showing as white bands.

Base: Centre of ring-ditch in Trench XI (from SSW). Note cremated bones in pit (7) with scale; immediately east of this can be seen the charcoal spread (7.1) covering stake-holes and fire-hardened chalk-marl (7.0). Mole-drains cut across the picture beyond this, and pit 20 can be seen northwest of the cremation.

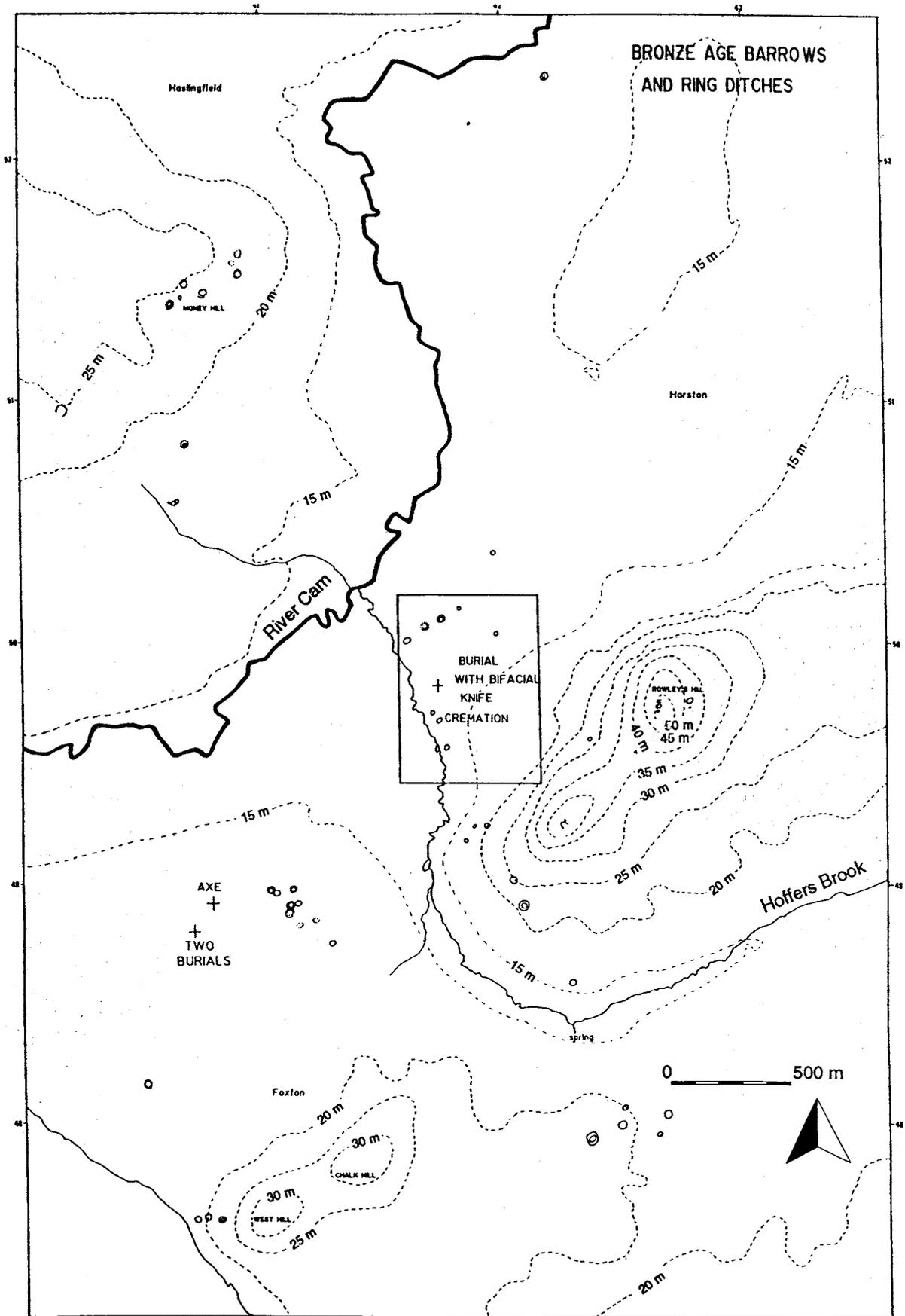


Figure 17. Bronze Age sites around Manor Farm, Harston (information from Sites and Monuments Record). The central square represents the area enlarged in Figure 4.

Farm (with one or two outliers) form a discrete group of their own. As such they are distinct from the mass of south Cambridgeshire barrows and ring-ditches that hug the line of chalk downlands along which the Icknield Way ran across the southern borders of the county from west-southwest to east-northeast. The date of these barrows is uncertain as few have been excavated, but generally they are assumed to be Bronze Age.¹²

Presumably the ring-ditches (which were 19 m. and 23 m. in diameter, with ditches 1.6 m. and 3 m. wide and up to 0.8 m. deep) are the remains of barrows. This suggestion is supported by the cremation in Trench XI. Considerable evidence of burning was apparent here, with a large area of charcoal (carbonated to 3460±80 BP OxA-3639) spreading over a fire-hardened clay-marl deposit into which stakes had been set (see section in Fig. 14, and also Fig. 16). Although cremation and burial occurred within the ring-ditch, no vestige of a mound was seen here, whilst in Trench IX the large pits found in the centre appear to be domestic in character and to date to the Saxon period. However, in this case the pits appear to have cut through an orange-brown deposit that could have been part of a barrow mound (Figs 13, 15, and 16), and any burials that might once have been at the centre of the barrow would have been disturbed and removed during construction of the pits. The post-holes nearby are not associated with the pits, as their date is much earlier ascertained through carbonating from charcoal within a post-pipe (3420±90 BP OxA-3638), and they were therefore structural features of the original barrow. The closeness of the carbon dates demonstrates the contemporary nature of these monuments and, in addition to the report of a discovery in 1961 of a burial with bifacially flaked knife and the name 'Rowley's Hill' in close proximity to the site, we can clearly identify the existence of a previously unrecognised barrowfield beside the Hoffer Brook which contains well preserved evidence of structural remains together with cremation pyres and other features directly associated with the burial rite.

Ring-ditches where no mound has been recorded are commonly found on river gravels.

Those that have been excavated sometimes show signs that they once surrounded low mounds (approximately one metre high) as at Roxton, Bedfordshire.¹³ Often they have been ploughed since Roman times, resulting in destruction of the earthwork. Occasionally they are still perceptible as low mounds as at Orton Longeville¹⁴ and Fen Drayton¹⁵ or as those emerging in the fens near Over and Haddenham where peat shrinkage is exposing a complex pattern of barrows beside the Ouse.¹⁶ Often the burials surrounded by ring-ditches were not placed in pits deep enough to survive 2000 years of ploughing and so have been lost, but where they are found they are as rich and varied in date as those from upstanding barrows. The finest example from Cambridgeshire comes from Barnack, where polished greenstone, gold and bronze objects, and a beaker accompanied an Early Bronze Age burial, which is now on display in the British Museum.

Conclusions reached at Roxton¹⁷ were that, because of the low-lying terrain and loose, easily eroded nature of gravel, there was no point in building the sort of steep, domed mound that dominated the skyline on chalk downland. Instead, more substantial ditches were dug in this easily excavated subsoil, thus limiting access to the 'sacred area' and leaving a distinctive 'earthwork' that was shown to be a recognised landscape feature for at least 1500 years. In Cambridgeshire, ring-ditches are recognised in vast numbers from aerial photography along the Ouse and Nene valleys¹⁸ and in smaller but still significant numbers along the Cam, Granta and tributaries such as Hoffer Brook. Use of land for burial at this time probably implies that it was not a habitation site but was treated as marginal land, perhaps for seasonal grazing in addition to mortuary practice.

Lynchets that can be seen on the hill have been attributed to medieval agriculture, but it is conceivable that they are much earlier in date, and might form part of a Bronze Age landscape, together with field ditches identified by our evaluation trenches. However the ditches containing orange-brown fills that we assume belong to an early date (see Appendix I) occasionally had Romano-British pot with them, and often the more obvious

12 A. Taylor, 'The barrows of Cambridgeshire', *East Anglian Archaeology* 12 (1981) p.111.
13 A. Taylor and P. Woodward, 'A Bronze Age barrow cemetery, and associated settlement at Roxton, Bedfordshire', *Archaeological Journal* 142 (1985) pp.73-149.

14 D.F. Mackreth, forthcoming.
15 C. Fox, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (Cambridge 1923) p.198.
16 D. Hall, forthcoming in *East Anglian Archaeology*.
17 Taylor and Woodward, *op. cit.*
18 Taylor, *op. cit.*

dark organic filled ditches of the first century AD followed the same line as these earlier ditches. Dating of these features must, therefore, remain tentative.

Iron Age and Roman period (Fig. 18)

The field system seen clearly from aerial and geophysical surveying appears to be predominantly first- and second-century in date and although settlement extended well into Roman times, its Iron Age character continued to be retained. There was still, for example, a preference for locally-made pots which were often hand-made in Iron Age designs. No coins or jewellery were found. There was one fragment of a green glass urn (Fig. 20) and a few flagon and Samian sherds, suggesting that the impact of romanisation was slight. This fits in well with other settlements revealed by cropmarks of this type, for example those excavated at Great Shelford,¹⁹ Haslingfield,²⁰ and Trumpington.²¹ However, it contrasts with sites in the same area that are easily recognised from both aerial photographs and surface finds as fully romanised villas, for example the one just across the road from Manor Farm in Foxton parish,²² and another at Shepreth,²³ for which the dates are considerably later than that of the present site.

Iron Age forts such as Wandlebury, Sawston, or Arbury Banks (near Ashwell, Hertfordshire) probably acted as focal centres, giving some measure of organisation and military protection in a zone where conflict between the *Trinovantes* and *Catuvellauni* could occur. Individual wealth held by chieftains who were already trading with Rome is demonstrated by artefacts such as the fire dogs from Barton and a rich warrior burial from Newnham Croft, Cambridge. Slave shackles of this date, also from Barton, remind us of one of the commodities that chieftains could sell for Roman wine and other luxuries.²⁴

In this landscape there was little room

or need for new settlements after the Roman conquest. Instead it seems that families continued to live and farm with no great upheaval. Towns such as Cambridge and Great Chesterford would have become ready markets for farm produce and would perhaps have contributed to the growth of prosperity in the rural population that was evident in imported goods such as fine pottery and glass products, and in the establishment of villas by the third century. At Manor Farm the pottery suggests a reasonably prosperous farming settlement, with a veneer of romanisation. Floor and roof tile fragments seem to be associated with this phase.

The field system is orientated northwest-southeast with a major ditch to the east beyond which there appears to be virtually no activity, and a trackway represented by parallel ditches with a holloway, along which small rectilinear ditched enclosures were off-set. Evaluation excavation alone gave insufficient evidence to assign definite dates to individual ditches, thus no fine phasing of the field system is possible, but it is clear that there were a number of episodes of ditch-digging and recutting. The line of the trackway and the major ditch forming the eastern edge of the system appear to have been respected throughout, and it is clear that this latter feature is a boundary ditch.

Pottery variety and fine-wares suggest that contemporary settlement must be very close by, although no direct evidence of house-sites was found in the assessment area. Large post-pits are visible as cropmarks and geophysical anomalies. These are probably fence lines marking a major land boundary. Animal bone assemblages from the ditches are unremarkable with further study felt to be unnecessary.²⁵

Manor Farm, therefore, fits into a picture of settlement in the Cam valley that began well before the Roman conquest. Most of the favourable river-side sites were intensively farmed with enclosed fields clustered around farmsteads. It would appear that first to second-century AD occupation was that of a well-ordered, prosperous farm with most of its pottery from local sources and occasional luxury imports, such as moulded glass and lava querns. It would fit well with the model of a mixed farming economy generally attributed to Late Iron Age communities in this zone, whose material evidence is well attested: 'In a belt of

19 Alexander, 'Rectory Farm', Shelford (Interim Report) (1975)

20 Pullinger, *op. cit.*

21 I. Davidson and G. Curtis, 'An Iron Age site on the land of the Plant Breeding Institute, Trumpington', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 64 (1973) pp.1-14.

22 *Victoria History of the Counties of England. Cambridgeshire.* (Hereafter V.C.H.) Vol.7, ed. J. Wilkes *et al.* (London 1978) p.846.

23 Rowland Parker, unpublished archive.

24 Details from Sites and Monuments Record.

25 R. Luff, personal communication.

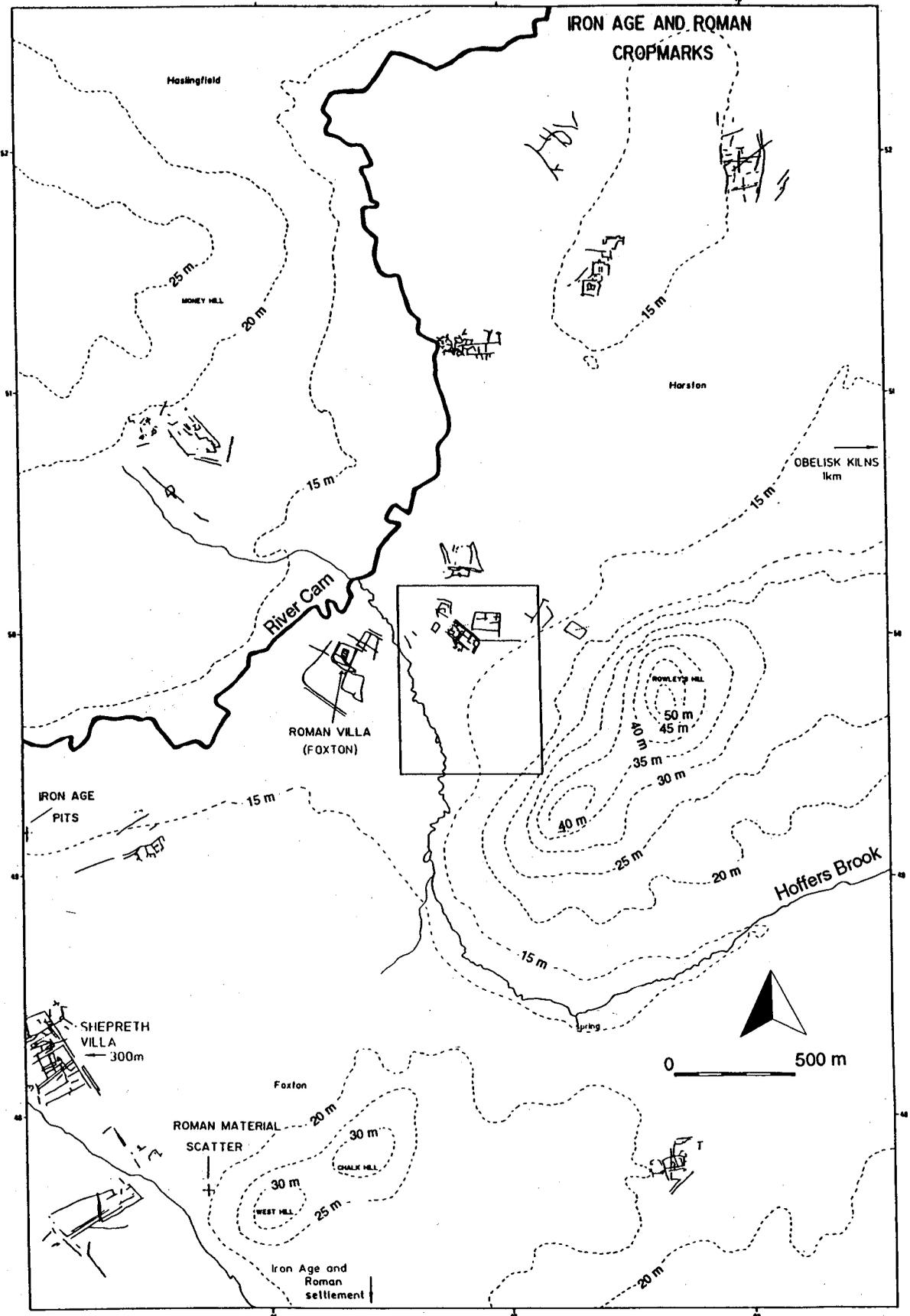


Figure 18. Iron Age and Roman sites around Manor Farm, Harston (information from Sites and Monuments Record). The central square represents the area enlarged in Figure 4.

intensive settlement, both prehistoric and Roman, on the Rhee gravels from Shepreth to Harston, there are complexes of linked rectangular and sub-rectangular enclosures of various sizes, with tracks and enclosures for individual dwellings . . . Enclosures in the valley of the Hoffer Brook, where a villa is known, are more disperse.²⁶

West of Manor Farm lies a villa which is part of a concentration of 'settlements along the valley of the upper Cam and its tributaries'.²⁷ Fox believed in the existence of a road from Royston to Trumpington that would have passed through Harston,²⁸ and remarked on the likelihood of Iron Age continuity with minimal romanisation during the first century AD. Cropmark sites, such as Harston, are to be found along the valleys, and they conform to the regular layout of field systems and trackways, sometimes referred to as St Ives type.²⁹ Maybe the cropmarks at Manor Farm follow this pattern and could be directly connected with the villa, but dating for Hoffer Brook (Foxton) villa is late second- and third-century, while that for Manor Farm is mainly first- or fourth-century. Thus it is possible they are unrelated and are simply part of the intensive settlement of the favourable light gravel soils found in river valleys such as the Ouse and Cam.

Although, in the vicinity, villas are known from Bartlow, Bourn, Comberton, Foxton, Gamlingay, Great Shelford, Guilden Morden, Haslingfield, Ickleton, Litlington, Shepreth, Whittlesford and Wimpole, Wilkes points out that no villa in Cambridgeshire has been completely excavated. Those whose details have been published contain records that are largely incomplete, a situation unfortunately also true for the Hoffer Brook Farm (Foxton) villa, making it extremely difficult to attempt valid interpretation of interrelationship with neighbouring field systems.

The later occupation (fourth century) is of different character, as all pottery appears to be well-made imported wares from areas such as Hertfordshire (see Appendix II). This reuse of the site might be associated with late use of the nearby villa, just northwest of Manor Farm (Fig. 18). There are no features that have purely fourth-century pottery in them, and so it is probable that our site during this phase was peripheral to the main area of activity, with perhaps a manuring

spread accounting for finds of this date.

An industrial aspect is shown by fired clay kiln furniture, and some possible crucible fragments. These might also date to the fourth century, associated with a villa, or perhaps as an outlier for the kiln-site at Harston Obelisk.³⁰

Anglo-Saxon period (Fig. 19)

Saxon domestic activity is clearly demonstrated by early pottery, spindle whorls and loom weights, found in the fill of two small *grubenhausen* (Trench IX, Figs 12 and 16; carbonated to 1485±75 BP OxA-3637). Post-holes survive cut into the bedrock beneath one of these, and it is evident that the earlier pit was replaced by a later one immediately south of it. Although post-holes were not found in the earlier pit these might exist, but perhaps are situated beneath the unexcavated quarters, thus giving evidence that more than one phase of building is apparent. Reused late Roman pottery was also found here, and butchered bone.

In addition, features such as post-holes and small ditched enclosures found in Trenches VI, VII, VIII and XIII (Figs 4, 9, 10 and 11), and the parallel ditches defining the north and east of this area (Features 9, 34, 58. See Figs 4, 9, 10 and 11), contained only a few sherds of (residual) Romano-British pot and it is suggested therefore that these features are of Saxon date. A small fragment of bone comb of Saxon design was found in the terminal of one ditch in Trench VII, and Saxon pottery was found in the parallel ditches that possibly form a large enclosure for the area in question. It seems very likely that the multitude and complexity of post-holes in Trench XIII are structural, and the lack of Iron Age and Roman finds in this area and in Trench VIII support a hypothetical Saxon date for all this activity.

Evidence of *grubenhausen*, sophisticated timber-frame buildings, and a possible cemetery identified from air photographs — in a location typical for an Anglo-Saxon burial ground (close to a stream, and near a parish boundary) — strongly suggests the presence of an important early Saxon settlement and estate centre. Parallels to this can be seen at Sprouston, Northumberland for example,³¹ while the sixth-century gilt and garnet disc

26 V.C.H. Vol.7, p.58.

27 *Ibid.*, p.45.

28 Fox, *op. cit.*, pp.172,231.

29 V.C.H. Vol.7, p.38.

30 R. Goodburn, 'Roman Britain in 1977', *Britannia* 9 (1978) pp.445-8.

31 M. Welch, *Anglo-Saxon England* (London 1992) pp.47-53.

brooch with animal motif found on Rowley's Hill³² adds further weight to this suggestion. The tenuous continuity between fourth-century Roman activity, the adjacent villa, and early important Anglo-Saxon settlement at Manor Farm needs to be explored further, and emphasises the research potential of the site for investigating this period of transition.

Saxon occupation in the area has been demonstrated in graphic detail by a wealth of cemeteries, and by the great dykes that controlled passage to East Anglia. Cemeteries at Haslingfield and Barrington show a healthy and affluent early Anglo-Saxon society, whilst artefacts demonstrate contacts with Saxon areas of the Thames valley, as well as Anglian regions, and even with Scandinavia and the continental homelands. This mixture of styles and imports from distinct regions emphasises the frontier zone in which these people lived, as does also proximity to one of the major dykes (Bran Ditch) which ends at Black Peak, Fowlmere, five kilometres away.

Southern Cambridgeshire is notable for both the quantity and quality of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, especially on light soils near rivers or brooks. Examples include two major sites at Barrington and at least one cemetery each in the parishes of Foxton, Grantchester, Haslingfield, Harston, Melbourn, Sawston, Little Shelford,³³ and Wimpole. Settlement evidence, however, despite thorough field-walking programmes at Barrington and Orwell by the Cambridge Archaeological Field Group and Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeology Section,³⁴ remains elusive. One *grubenhause* was excavated at Grantchester by J. Alexander in 1971.³⁵ It measured 3.1 m. by 1.75 m. and was 0.43 m. into gravel with a posthole on the two shorter sides. This compares with the dimensions of 3 m. by 2 m. and 0.25 m. deep at Harston. At Linton, Great Chesterford Archaeology Group discovered a *grubenhause* during construction of a gas pipeline in 1980,³⁶ which was

3 m. square by 0.42 m. deep, and had a post-hole placed centrally along the southeast side. T.C. Lethbridge also found three *grubenhause*, which measured approximately 2.4 m. by 3 m. while excavating Car Dyke at Waterbeach,³⁷ and most recently pipeline work at Guilden Morden during the summer of 1991 led to the discovery of two 4.5 m.-wide *grubenhause*.³⁸ The extreme rarity of settlement evidence highlights the significance of the Manor Farm discovery.

Medieval period

Medieval occupation was not clearly identified, but the name Manor Farm, and the proximity to a river crossing, strongly suggests settlement during this period. Intensive farming might be evident from lynchet creation on Rowley's Hill (Fig. 21), and from the fact that the site is not far from Harston Mill, an important enterprise from Domesday and throughout the Middle Ages.

Hoffer Bridge is probably the crossing place called Appesford that appears in various documentary forms from the fourteenth century onwards.³⁹ It also functioned as a ford, serving a major route into Cambridge.

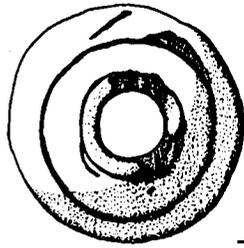
From aerial photographs (Fig. 1) it can be seen that quarrying at an indeterminate date has destroyed part of the Romano-British field system closest to the A10 and farm track, and that this quarrying extended into the paddock immediately northeast of Manor Farm, so forming the apparent earthworks there.

Comparison of Results from Non-Intrusive Techniques and Excavation

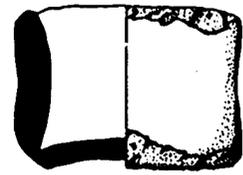
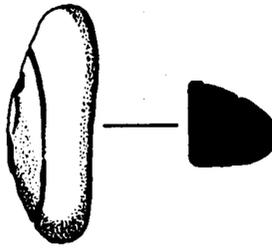
Air photographic evidence from cropmarks originally identified archaeological features in the 1950s and 1960s. Excavation by assessment trenching found these ditches to be extant and in a good state of preservation. However, modern agricultural activities were in the process of truncating most features, and in some cases of severely damaging archaeological deposits. This destruction was not only from subsoil activities such as mole-draining, but also from conventional ploughing.

32 Cambridgeshire Sites and Monuments Record.
 33 A. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (London 1964).
 34 S. Kemp *et al.*, 'Malton Farm, Orwell: an archaeological survey', *Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Report* 14 (1990); T. Malim, 'Barrington Anglo-Saxon cemetery: interim report', *Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Report* 19 (1990).
 35 J. Alexander, 'Grantchester 1971: a preliminary report', *Cambridgeshire Sites and Monuments Record* 1972.
 36 A.E. Collins, *Linton Gas Pipeline: Interim Report* (Great Chesterford Archaeology Group 1980).

37 V.C.H. Vol. 1, ed. L.F. Salzman (London 1938) pp.308-9.
 38 A. Richmond, *Guilden Morden: Interim Summary* (North Hertfordshire District Council Museums 1992).
 39 Reaney, *op. cit.*, p.85.



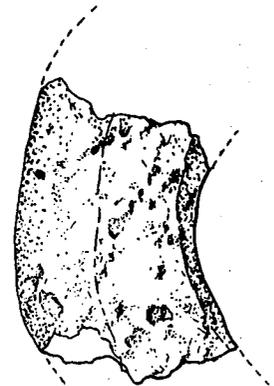
spindle-whorl (ceramic)
from grubenhaus 16 Trench IX



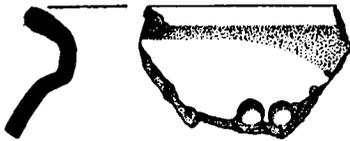
Nene valley beaker base
(reused) from grubenhaus 16
Trench IX



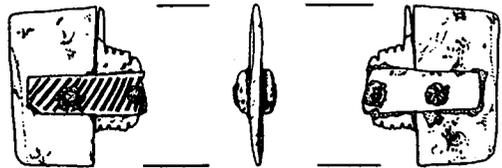
Lead weight/spindle-whorl
from grubenhaus 16 Trench IX



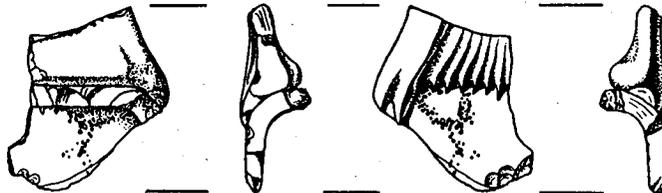
Fragment of Saxon
loomweight from
grubenhaus 15
Trench IX



Romano-Saxon sherd
from grubenhaus 16 Trench IX



Bone comb fragment (Saxon) from
ditch terminal 58 Trench VII



glass fragment (Roman) from Pit 11 Trench XII

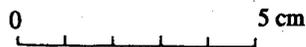
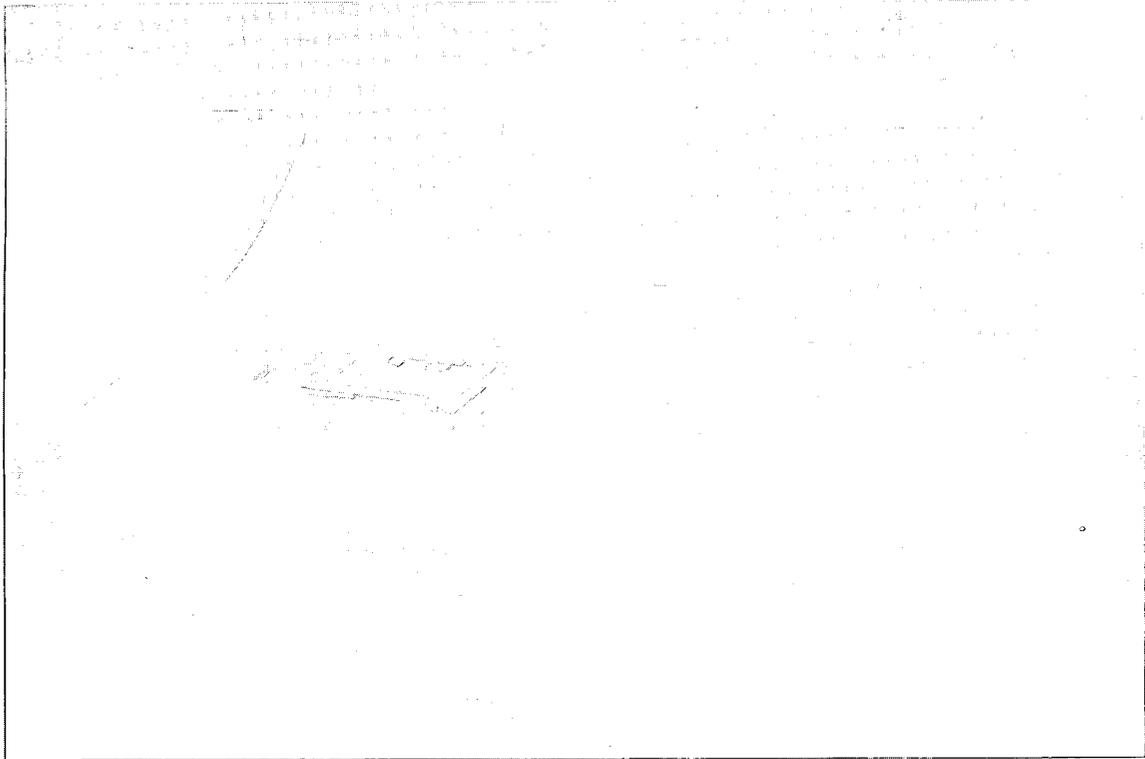


Figure 20. Artefacts from various contexts.



by Ben Robinson



by Tim Malim

Figure 21. *Top: Aerial photograph looking northeast showing location of trenches. Base: View of Rowley's Hill from the site, with lynchets showing as white bands.*

It was clear that many features had little more than 0.2 m. of topsoil over them, with mole drains causing considerable damage to an even greater depth. This was especially true along the western edge of the southern field where maximum depth of topsoil above archaeological deposits was a mere 0.15 m. A few more years of intense agricultural activity would have destroyed the remains of a Bronze Age barrow and its cremation altogether (see Trench XI and Fig. 16).

Trenching in the north field confirmed the presence of features seen from air photographs and geophysical prospecting, but showed that these features derived from several phases. Concordance between the various types of evidence was good for Trenches II, III, IV and V, whilst Trench I was inadequate in width and direction to show clearly the large boundary ditch and trackway expected. However, undefined features did occur in the expected area of the trench for the trackway and boundary ditch. A full cross-profile of this ditch, plus evidence for a long duration of use, was obtained from Trench XIV.

Evaluation work in the south field also demonstrated that archaeological remains extended well beyond those features seen only from cropmarks, in apparently archaeologically 'sterile' areas. In contrast, cropmarks in the north field appeared to be bordered on the east by a single wide ditch, and evaluation trenching proved that in this case the suggested edge to archaeological activity was a real one.

Magnetometer survey was successful, mirroring and supplementing information from air photographs, and producing a more detailed plot of features at a greater scale than that achieved from cropmarks. It is interesting to note that the magnetometer also failed to detect archaeological features in the areas that had no cropmarks, although excavation showed that ditches and pits did exist in the area adjacent to Trench XII. The reason for this is probably that the fills of these features were very similar in density and material to the surrounding chalk-marl natural.

Thus, on the sand and gravels detail was added to our knowledge of this cropmark site by surveying it with a magnetometer. It demonstrated that features were surviving in the subsoil, and suggested that physical erosion was occurring, presumably through plough damage (see Appendix IV). On chalky subsoil results were less satisfactory, and unfortunately, areas not susceptible to aerial

photography also gave poor results by magnetometer.

Field-walking produced a thin scatter of finds from all periods, but nowhere was there a concentration that would have suggested a site of such variability beneath the ploughsoil as was found, nor did the assemblage clearly demonstrate active destruction of features. Indeed what was collected would often have been dismissed as the product of mere manuring spreads, and archaeologically not of great significance.

Conclusions

The original interpretation and importance given to the site from cropmark evidence has been entirely vindicated and enhanced, with its potential for examining continuity between different periods clearly demonstrated. The project also allowed a comparison between different techniques to assess the archaeological potential of the site, and it seems clear that proper evaluation can only come from excavation. Cropmarks provided an invaluable initial overview of the site, providing the morphological framework on which to hang a fuller interpretation. Even after 30 years of intensive farming, the archaeological features seen from the air remained largely intact, although clearly under threat of extensive damage. Geophysical survey likewise demonstrated its use as a valuable tool in the field for giving accurate and reliable interpretation to subsurface features cut into gravel, but in contrast field-walking as a technique did not show that features were being severely damaged, and would not have demonstrated the presence of an archaeological site on such evidence alone.

The results from this two-week evaluation exercise clearly demonstrate the value of such a programme of works conducted at minimal cost. Although our limited evaluation does not give a complete picture of the function of the site, nor a detailed phasing of individual features within it, nevertheless broad outlines for these aspects have been achieved, enhancing our knowledge of the site for present research, and pointing the way for future work. Undoubtedly the main aims of the project have been successfully completed by clarifying the current condition of the monument, and by implementing a beneficial management scheme which assures long-term preservation. It is worth noting that Scheduled Ancient Monuments of similar character exist at Foxton (SAM216)

(recently excavated as part of the Cambridgeshire County Farms Evaluation Programme), Fulbourn (SAM95), Grantchester (SAM74), Great Shelford (SAM57 and 58) and Haslingfield (SAM75). They are all currently under plough and are probably suffering damage comparable to that demonstrated at Manor Farm, which is now fully protected by a covenant that has required change from an arable régime to establishment of grassland for the long-term benefit of the archaeological remains on the site.

Acknowledgments

English Heritage are gratefully acknowledged for funding the initial Farm Survey and subsequent evaluation programme, under the interested eye and support of Philip Walker. Thanks go to staff of the County Farms Estate and Property Portfolio, especially David Nuttycombe and Steve Conrad, who listened to the arguments presented by the County Archaeologist and implemented the recommendations for sale of the farm with a covenant not permitting further ploughing of the land in order to protect archaeological deposits. Enthusiastic excavation was carried out by Simon Bray, Bob Edwards, Andrea Hoffmann, Steve Kemp, Will Morrison, Ben Robinson and Alison Taylor, whilst Corinne Duhig, Charlie French, Gavin Lucas, and Morag Woudhuysen gave their specialist advice and information on human bones, soils, and pottery. Professor St Joseph kindly explained his interpretation of the aerial photographs, and the team of Bradford Geophysical Surveys swiftly completed their successful prospecting in spite of sore heads. Alison Taylor coordinated strategy and funding, as well as suggesting useful local parallels for different periods of activity on site, whilst Nesta Rooke aided research with her familiarity with the Sites and Monument Record. Sylvia Beamon very kindly made available part of her research on Royston Cave to help us in tracing the etymology of Rowley's Hill. Lastly, thanks go to Donald Bell, Richard Ozanne and Stephen Williams for finishing some of the illustrations (otherwise drawn by Gavin Lucas and Ben Robinson), and to Don Coughlin and Kit Watson for typing and editing some of the more mundane text.

Note

The excavation programme of the field evaluation was carried out in just over two weeks.

In retrospect it must be recognised that we tried to achieve too much whilst in the field. Had we been content with merely identifying features and plotting their depths below the plough soil, time would have been ample. However, in trying to excavate some of the more damaged features in order to record data that might otherwise have been lost, and in the need to gain a fuller chronology and feeling for the nature of the site, our recording was not as comprehensive as it could have been. This led to problems for post-excavation analysis and writing-up. Although considerable information has been added to our knowledge of the site, enhancing its importance and interest, our enthusiasm to extract as much useful data as possible in the time we had available ultimately led to insufficient cross referencing whilst in the field, and some lamentably poor recording resulting from this.

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Appendix I

Field Soils Assessment

C.A.I. French

On-site examination of the soil profiles visible in the archaeological assessment trenches revealed a generally consistent picture.

Present day ploughsoil (c. 0.2-0.3 m. thick) is a dark loam to silt loam with a high organic matter content. Over much of the assessment area the ploughsoil lies directly on the weathered subsoil. Nonetheless a buried soil is evident, particularly in the south-western field, which survives to a thickness of c. 0.2 m.-0.4 m. This soil is an orange-brown sandy/silt loam containing scattered gravel pebbles, essentially the modal type of soil developed on lowland sand/gravel subsoils. The buried soil might be subject to some alluvial/colluvial aggradation and incorporation of soil material, especially in the area adjacent to the now relict stream channel in the southwestern corner of the assessment area.

The area immediately to the south of the farm buildings appears to have been built up deliberately by the dumping of topsoil. This additional soil material is up to one metre in thickness, and is composed of homogeneous sandy/silt loam material. One can only assume that this might have resulted from former building work or from landscaping associated with the construction of the farm complex. This built up area extends no more than 50 metres to the south of the farm buildings.

The natural subsoil over the bulk of the assessment area is sand and gravel, although the southernmost part of the area exhibits a chalk subsoil. The latter area is at the foot of adjacent chalk downland, and therefore might have been subject to colluvial erosion. The junction between the two subsoils was not observed in any of the assessment trenches.

There were three main sets of archaeological features visibly cutting the subsoil. On the gravel areas there were two types of feature infill: a reddish brown sandy loam with gravel, and a dark brown loam with flint gravel pebbles. There is every likelihood that these two distinct fills represent two distinct time periods of archaeological use. The third type of infill occurs on the chalk subsoil and consists of a light greyish brown silt containing small fragments of chalk.

The relict stream in the southwestern corner of the assessment area is infilled with an homogeneous grey silty clay loam, and is presumably part of a former meandering stream system.

Appendix II

Pottery Report

Gavin Lucas

Summary

Three hundred and twenty-eight sherds were examined from which 25 different fabrics were identified using a hand lens (x8), the majority of which were latest Iron Age/early Romano-British; the rest were fourth-century and early Pagan Saxon. These are listed below with the number of sherds and contexts from which they came.

Fabric Types

Gallo-Belgic and early Romano-British fabrics

1. A very hard, close-textured blue-white fabric with a smooth pale blue-grey slip.

Type: **imported Terra Nigra.** This was represented by only one sherd: a large piece of base from a platter (probably CAM 2) with a corner of a makers stamp (illegible and not illustrated).

Context: **126** (a large ditch, and possible boundary).

Date: Probably pre-Conquest (early first century AD).

2. Soft grey fabric with buff margins and smooth grey surface, frequent moderate/fine mica and occasional fine/medium quartzite.

Type: **local Terra Nigra.** Imitation, probably from the same kilns as a TN cup from Kings Hedges.⁴⁰ This was represented by three adjoining sherds, from a shallow bowl (probably CAM 24) (see Fig.22.1).

Contexts: **62.1, 54** (field system ditches; unexcavated; pottery from top of (truncated?) fills).

Date: Late first century (probably Flavian).

3. Quite hard, close-textured dark grey fabric with orange surface. Moderate medium/fine quartzite, moderate mica and occasional coarser inclusions of ironstone and white and grey quartzite/flint.

Type: This was represented by one sherd, from a large bowl with inbent, burnished rim (CAM 252/3) (see Fig.22.2).

Context: **126** (a large ditch, and possible boundary).

Date: Pre-Flavian (early/mid-first century AD).

4. A local fine fabric in four varieties according to the type of temper and firing conditions, used for wheel-made or wheel-finished vessels. The close similarity to the late Roman products of the Harston Obelisk kilns, and that these kilns were perhaps in operation much earlier and producing a much wider range of wares than indicated by the excavated kilns,⁴¹ suggests a possible source for this fabric type.

4a. Quite soft, fine cream-pink fabric with no visible temper.

Type: This was represented by a sherd from a carinated bowl (see Fig.22.3), and one from a double fluted handle, probably from a flagon.

Contexts: **97.1** (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch cut by 64);

64.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch).

Date: Probably mid-first century AD.

4b. Quite soft, cream-pink fabric with occasional fine multi-coloured quartzite and frequent fine calcite.

Type: 12 sherds from 64.2 which include the base of a beaker (see Fig.22.4); one sherd each from 56 and 62.1.

Contexts: **56** (unexcavated ditch: collected from final fill);

62.1 (unexcavated ditch: collected from final fill);

64.2 (primary fill of 'droveway' ditch).

4c. Quite soft, cream pink fabric with two sub-types on the basis of temper:

i) occasional medium/coarse multi-coloured quartzite.

Type: 15 sherds in total from various contexts.

Contexts: **9.0** (last overall fill of double ditches);

60.1 (unexcavated rectilinear enclosure ditch);

62.1 (unexcavated ditch: collected from final fill);

63.1 (last fill of unexcavated ditch);

65,65.1 (last fills of 'droveway' ditch);

66.1 (last fill of curvilinear (stock?) enclosure);

126 (a large ditch, and possible boundary).

ii) abundant medium/coarse multi-coloured quartzite.

Type: Six sherds from 64.2 including part of a straight-sided bowl, reminiscent of saucepan pot (see Fig.22.5);

Nine sherds from 97.1 including rim of jar

40 J. Ette, 'Kings Hedges Farm, Milton: an archaeological assessment and Roman creation', *Cambridgeshire County Council Report* 37 (1991).

41 Pullinger, *op. cit.*

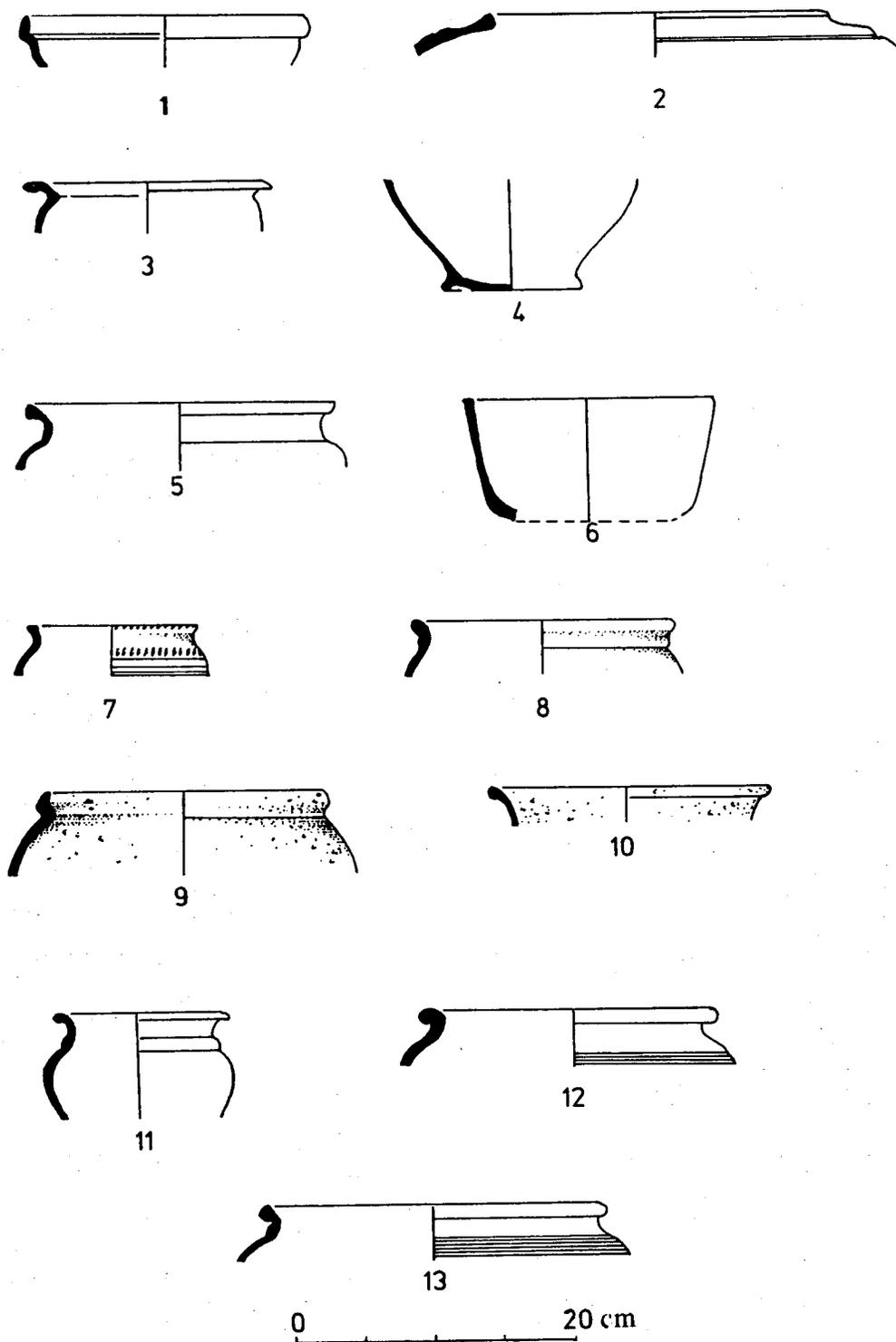


Figure 22. Pottery illustrations 22.1-22.13.

(see Fig.22.6);

Six sherds in various other contexts.

Contexts: 10.2 (recut of small field ditches);
62.1 (unexcavated ditch: collected from final fill);

64.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch);

64.2 (primary fill of a 'droveway' ditch);

97.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch cut by 64).

Date: Late Iron Age?

4d. Quite soft, pale grey (hint of green) fabric with occasional medium/coarse multi-coloured quartzite.

Type: One sherd from 29; 55; 60.1; 61.1; 126;
Two sherds from 7.2; 125;
Three sherds from 64.2 (primary fill of 'droveway' ditch).

Contexts: 7.2 (mole-drain);
29 (straight-sided gully; possible palisade ditch);
126 (boundary ditch).

5. Quite soft, orange-red fabric with brown, burnished surfaces; moderate dark grey and red coarse lumps of grog, sparse coarse mica, and occasional medium calcite, and/or quartzite.

Type: Local grog-tempered handmade ware. Total eight sherds.

Contexts: 64.1, 64.2 (final fills of 'droveway' ditch);
67 (ditch from field system);
126 (large ditch: possible boundary).

6. Quite hard, dark grey/black gritty fabric with black (brown/red) surfaces and occasionally rilled with sparse mica and quartzite, with two sub-types on the basis of temper:

i) moderate medium/coarse quartzite.

Type: Local handmade ware, but probably wheel-finished. Rim with vertical incisions and shoulder grooving (see Fig.22.7).

Contexts: 34 (ditch — of large rectilinear enclosure);
54 (field system ditches; unexcavated; pottery from top of (truncated?) fills);
56.1 (upper fill of unexcavated ditch);
61.1 (ditch or gully);
62.1 (unexcavated ditch: collected from final fill)
63.1 (last fill of unexcavated ditch);
64.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch);
64.2 (primary fill of 'droveway' ditch);
65.1 (last fill of 'droveway' ditch);
97.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch cut by 64);
125 (latest fill of first 'droveway' ditch (late Iron Age group) (cut by 65);
126 (a large ditch and possible boundary).

ii) abundant coarse quartzite.

Type: Local handmade ware, but probably wheel-finished. Combed storage jar.

Contexts: 12 (general mix of fills from large field boundary ditch);
53 (wide ditch of small square enclosure, unexcavated);
55 (unexcavated 'droveway' ditch);
106 (first ditch cut for curvilinear ('stock') enclosure);
126 (a large ditch and possible boundary).

7. Quite soft, soapy grey-brown-orange fabric with some burnished surfaces. Two sub-types on the basis of temper:
i) moderate medium/coarse calcite and occasional coarse quartzite.

Type: internally-ledged rim, illustrated, (see Fig.22.9).

Contexts: 9.4 (upcast from re-cut of a major (boundary?) ditch);
63.1 (last fill of unexcavated ditch);
64.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch);
66.1 (last fill of curvilinear enclosure);
97.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch cut by 64).

Date: early/mid-first century AD.

ii) moderate/coarse quartzite and moderate medium/fine calcite.

Type: Local late Iron Age/early Romano-British calcite-gritted handmade ware (see Figs 22.8, 22.10).

Contexts: 34 (ditch — of large rectilinear enclosure);
53 (wide ditch of small square enclosure — unexcavated);
56 (unexcavated ditch: collected from final fill);
58 (terminal of very large rectilinear enclosure);
64.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch);
65 (last fills of 'droveway' ditch);
65.1 (last fill of 'droveway' ditch);
125 (latest fill of first 'droveway' ditch);
126 (a large ditch and possible boundary).

Date: Late Iron Age/Romano-British.

8. Hard close-textured red-brown fabric with grey core and black surface. Occasional medium quartzite.

Type: Wheel-finished local Belgic ware. Small-necked jar with shoulder cordon (see Fig.22.11).

Context: 97.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch cut by 64).

Date: Belgic.

9. Hard gritty red-brown fabric with black surface, often burnished and rilled. Occasional moderate medium/coarse quartzite and occasional larger quartzite, moderate mica, and occasional coarse calcite.

Type: Wheel-finished local Belgic ware. Rilled jars (see Figs 22.12, 22.13).

Contexts: 12 (general mix of fills from large field boundary ditch);
56 (unexcavated ditch: collected from final fill);
56.1 (upper fill of unexcavated ditch);
60.1 (last fill of unexcavated rectilinear enclosure (?) ditch);
62.1 (unexcavated ditch: collected from final fill);
64.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch);
66.1 (last fill of curvilinear (stock?) enclosure ditch);
70 (unexcavated ditch (?));
97.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch cut by 64).

Date: Belgic.

10. Hard, close-textured gritty grey fabric with buff-brown burnished surfaces, moderate mica and occasional white and translucent quartzite grits.

Type: Local handmade ware.

Context: 63.1 (last fill of unexcavated ditch).

Date: ?

11. Very friable, soft dark brown/black soapy fabric with brown surfaces and laminar fracture — sparse very fine mica and grass temper.

Type: Local handmade grass-tempered ware.

Context: 34 (ditch — (Saxon?)).

Date: (Early Saxon?).

12. Grey fabric with abundant medium/coarse quartzite and grass temper, and brown burnished exterior surface.

Type: Local handmade grass-tempered ware.

Context: 58 (terminal of very large rectilinear enclosure — (Saxon?).

Date: (Early Saxon?).

13.

Type: South Gaulish Samian ware including drag 37.

Context: **56** (unexcavated ditch: collected from final fill);
56.1 (upper fill of unexcavated ditch);
65.1 (last fill of 'droveway' ditch);

Date: probably Flavian — late first century (post Boudicca).

14. Hard, close textured white/buff fabric with moderate very fine sand.

Type: ?

Context: **12** (general mix of fills from large field boundary ditch);
65 (last fills of 'droveway' ditch);
126 (a large ditch and possible boundary).

Date: ?

15. Hard, sandy fabric, sparse mica with two sub-types:
 i) grey, sometimes with thin buff margin or orange core, moderate medium/fine sand and occasional flint and calcite with a black slip.

ii) orange, sometimes with grey core, abundant medium/coarse quartzite, occasional flint and calcite with a white slip.

Type: Wheel-finished coarse wares from the Horningsea kilns, combed storage jars (see Figs 23.1, 23.2, 23.3, 23.4).

Context:

i) **53** (wide ditch of small square enclosure — unexcavated);
55 (unexcavated 'droveway' ditch);
56 (unexcavated ditch: collected from final fill);
56.1 (upper fill of unexcavated ditch);
62.1 (unexcavated ditch: collected from final fill);
63.1 (last fill of unexcavated ditch);
64.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch);
64.2 (primary fill of 'droveway' ditch);
66 (curvilinear (stock?) enclosure ditch);
66.2 (curvilinear (stock?) enclosure ditch);
97.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch cut by 64).

ii) **10.1** (final fill of field ditch);
55 (unexcavated 'droveway' ditch);
56.1 (upper fill unexcavated ditch);
61.1 (ditch or gully);
62.1 (unexcavated ditch: collected from final fill);
64.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch);
64.2 (primary fill of a 'droveway' ditch).

Date: From first century AD.

16. Fine, orange-buff fabric with a highly burnished/smooth surface-moderate fine/medium dark sand.

Type: Very fine non-local ware.

Context: **64.1** (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch);
64.2 (primary fill of 'droveway' ditch);
97.1 (final fill of a 'droveway' ditch cut by 64).

Date: Early first century AD.

17. Hard, close textured grey fabric with dark grey slip with occasional medium quartzite with white flecks.

Type: Wheel-made, Roman fine grey ware, perhaps from Nene Valley, though no distinctive sherds.

Context: **9.0** (last overall fill of double ditches);
56.1 (upper fill of unexcavated ditch);
64.2 (primary fill of 'droveway' ditch);
65 (last fills of 'droveway' ditch);
65.1 (last fill of 'droveway' ditch);
66.3 (curvilinear (stock?) enclosure ditch).

Date: ?

18. White fabric, grey slip.

Type: Nene Valley grey ware.

Context: **70** (fill of hollowed trackway — unexcavated).

Date: Production commenced in the early/mid-second century AD.

Later Roman fabrics

19.

Type: Nene Valley colour-coated ware⁴² (see Fig.23.12).

Context: **12.1** (large field boundary ditch);
16 (pit — possible *grubenhaus*);
31 (ditch — unexcavated).

Date: Fourth century AD.

20.

Type: Hadham Orange ware⁴³ (see Figs 23.5, 23.6, 23.7).

Context: **12.1** (last fill of large field boundary ditch);
12.2 (secondary fill of large field boundary ditch).

Date: Fourth century AD.

21. Very dark grey fabric with frequent very fine dark particles, moderate fine mica, and sometimes burnished (see Fig.23.8).

Type: Roman grey ware, probably from Hadham.
Context: **12** (general mix of fills from large field boundary ditch).

Date: ?

22.

Type: Harston red colour-coated ware.⁴⁴

Context: **65** (last fills of 'droveway' ditch).

Date: Fourth century AD.

23. Hard grey fabric with abundant medium/coarse multi-coloured quartzite and occasional medium calcite (see Fig.23.9).

Type: Harston grey ware, square rimmed dish, wide-mouthed jar.

Context: **11** (pit);

65 (last fills of 'droveway' ditch).

Date: ?

24.

Type: Late shell tempered ware.

Context: **11** (pit);

65 (last fills of 'droveway' ditch).

Date: Fourth century AD.

42 M.D. Howe, J.R. Perrin and D.F. Mackreth, 'Roman pottery from the Nene Valley: a guide', *Peterborough City Museum Occasional Paper 2* (1981).

43 C.J. Going, 'The Hadham Roman pottery industry: excavations at the pottery manufacturing site at Bromley Hall, Much Hadham 1951-69', (forthcoming).

44 Pullinger, *op. cit.*

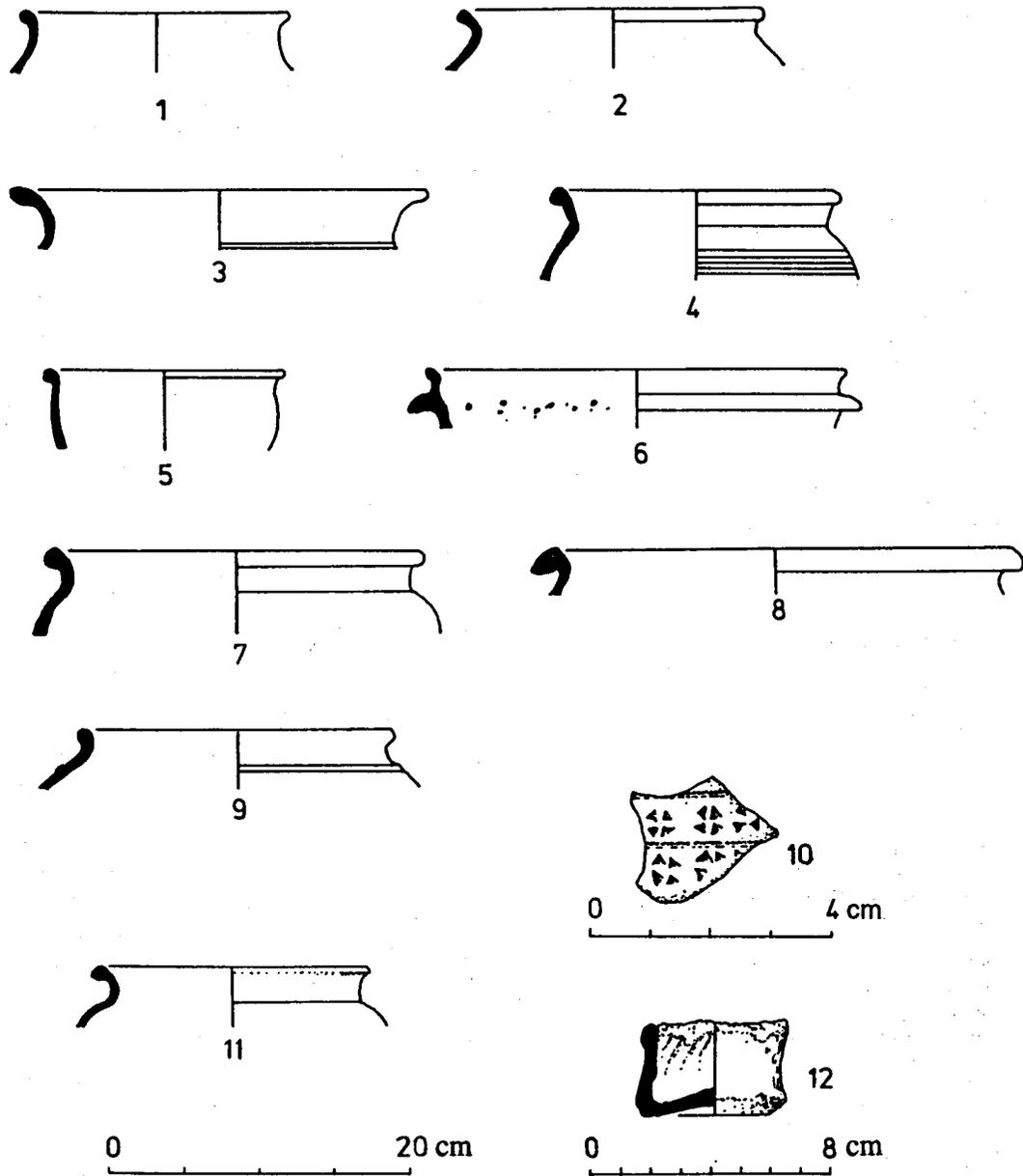


Figure 23. Pottery illustrations 23.1-23.12.

Saxon Fabrics

25. Hard buff-brown to black fabric with burnished surfaces, abundant medium/coarse quartzite and occasional angular flint and calcite.

Type: Handmade early Saxon ware, stamped and linear decoration (see Figs 23.10, 23.11).

Context: 15 (pit — *grubenhaus*);
 15/16 (pit — junction of *grubenhäuser*);
 16 (pit — *grubenhaus*);
 34 (ditch from large rectilinear enclosure).

Date: Fifth or sixth century AD.

Contexts by Date

All dates AD; where no sub-divisions of layers are given (e.g. 66.1, 66.2, 66.3, etc.) no appreciable difference in date is noted throughout the feature.

Early Romano-British

Possibly early first century 125, 126
 No later than first century 9, 10, 29, 34,
 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 62, 63,
 64, 65.1, 66, 67, 97, 106, 121
 Possibly early second century 70

Late Roman

Probably later fourth century 11, 12, 31,
65.0 (mixed, and may have been
disturbed)

Saxon

Probably fifth or sixth centuries 15, 16

Discussion

The earlier fabrics show a large mix between coarse, very locally-produced wares and finer wheel-made products such as Samian, Terra Nigra and other local types such as Horningsea and (possibly) Harston. In general, one could put the date range between the last decades of the first century BC and up to the beginning of the second century AD. There seems to have been no ceramic activity again until the fourth century with the typical later fine wares from the Nene Valley, Harston and Hadham. Continuity in the fifth and sixth century is notoriously difficult to affirm, but the occurrence of a reused Nene Valley Beaker with early Pagan Saxon pottery in the *grubenhause* (16) is very suggestive, although more substantial concurrence of Roman and Saxon pottery would strengthen this.⁴⁵

Although much of the first-century pottery was probably made within the settlement associated with the site, apart from the obviously imported fabrics (e.g. Samian, Terra Nigra, and Horningsea), it is likely that many others also came from further afield. The fourth-century Obelisk kilns at Harston are less than one kilometre away from the cropmark site and the excavator intimated in the report that the kilns might have been more extensive than had been thought,⁴⁶ which might also suggest that they were producing pottery much earlier. Another likely source is from the War Ditches in Cherry Hinton, which were operative in the first century AD.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, there

remains a great deal of research still to be done on Romano-British pottery in Cambridgeshire before an adequate account can be given.

Appendix III**Human Bone Report**

Corinne Duhig (Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeology Section)

Cremated material from central pit of Bronze Age ring-ditch, Trench XI

The fill of pit (7) had been divided by the excavator into levels 7.1 and 7.2, but as it was found that shaft fragments refitted between levels, all this bone, including that recovered by wet sieving, has been considered as one unit.

The material is mostly white, but some fragments are patched with blue-grey and are porcelain-like in texture, indicating the presence of residual organic matter. The number of fragments and percentages are shown below.

Skeletal material was found from all major areas of the body: axial skeleton, pectoral and pelvic girdles, limbs and extremities. The presence of an adult individual is indicated by the fusion of epiphyses in a proximal

<i>Skeletal remains</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Skull	48	
Teeth		5
Scapula	3	
Vertebrae	30	
Ribs	15	
Pelvis	10	
Humerus	6	
Ulna	1	
Radius		1
Hand	2	
Femur	2	
Tibia		3
Fibula	3	
Patella	1	
Foot	2	
Metacarpals/metatarsals	5	
Phalanges	6	
Total	147	9
Miscellaneous shaft	118	39
Total	264	88
Unidentified	36	12
Total	300	100

Total weight is 500 gm., with an additional 120 gm. of fine flakes and dust.

45 As at Heybridge, Essex: P.J. Drury and N.P. Wickenden, 'An early Saxon settlement within the Romano-British small town at Heybridge, Essex', *Medieval Archaeology* 26 (1982) pp.1-40. See also M. Fulford, 'Pottery production and trade at the end of Roman Britain: the case against continuity', in P.J. Casey (ed.), *The End of Roman Britain* (London 1979) pp.120-32.

46 Pullinger, *op. cit.*

47 B.R. Hartley, 'Notes on pottery from Romano-British kilns in the Cambridge area', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 53 (1960) pp.23-8.



Figure 24. Hoffer Bridge, Harston. Geophysical survey. Area A with cropmarks.

humerus, a radius and a metacarpal, the closure of sutures in some of the skull fragments, and the form of the tooth roots. Marks of Pacchonian granulations on vault fragments lead to a tentative suggestion of someone of an age past early adulthood. However, a small petrous bone and some thin vault fragments with open sutures demonstrate that another, younger, individual is also present. The absence of any immature post-cranial bones suggest either that this person was a child only represented by a skull, or that he or she was a young adult whose long-bone epiphyses had just fused. The absence of duplication of post-cranial bone fragments and the low total weight favour the former interpretation.

It was not possible to establish the sex of either individual, nor were there any pathological indications.

A small bag of wet-sieved material from level 3.1 contained two fragments which might come from a child's skull, and a few other tiny fragments which are probably human.

Trench X

Six fragments of unburnt bone came from layer (12.2) of a large Roman field ditch (12), one of which is probably a piece of immature skull vault.

Trench IX

Three small rib fragments came from this trench. Two were brownish-grey (from post-hole 115) in colour and apparently unburnt, the other (from the fill of the *grubenhaus* (16)) was charred almost black, and these fragments might also be human.

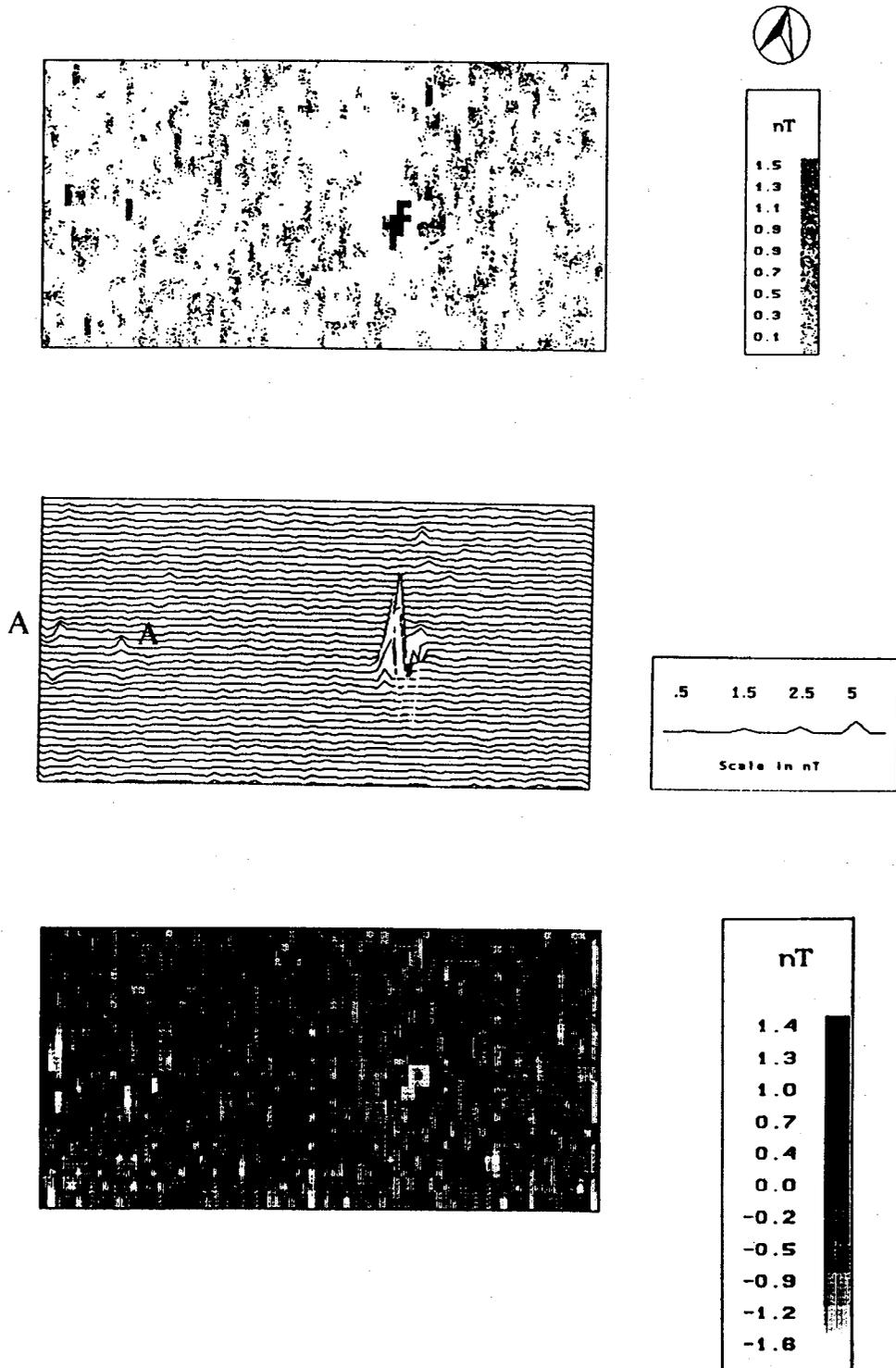
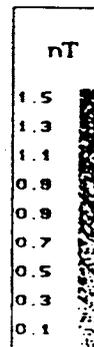
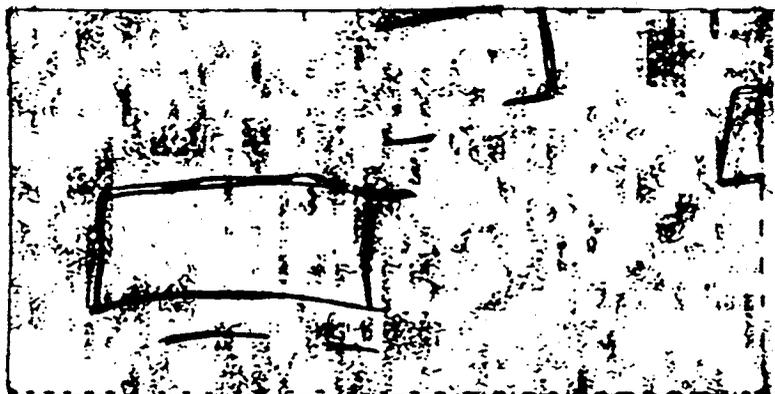
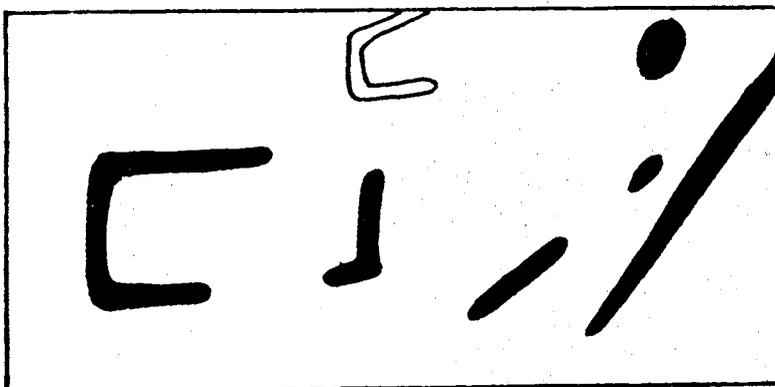


Figure 25. Hoffer Bridge, Harston. Geophysical survey. Area B.



With overlay of Cropmarks



Interpretation

-  Probable ditch / pit
-  Possible ditch / pit

Figure 26. Hoffer Bridge, Harston. Geophysical survey. Area C. 1:500.

Appendix IV

Geophysical Survey Report

Aim of Survey

To assist in a project aimed at understanding the state of preservation of the features giving rise to the cropmarks, in order to most effectively manage them in the future.

Instrumentation

Magnetometer

Geoscan FM36 with ST1 automatic trigger.

Survey method

Magnetic readings were logged at 0.5 m. intervals along one axis (in 1.0 m. traverses, 800 readings per 20 m. x 20 m. grid) over the survey area. The data were then transferred to a Compaq SLT/286 and stored on 3.5 inch floppy discs. Field plots are produced on a portable Hewlett Packard Thinkjet. Further processing was carried out back at base on a Dell 386 linked to appropriate printers.

Results

Area A (Fig.24)

This was the largest of the areas investigated, being one hectare in size and covering an area rich in cropmarks (Fig.4).

The results were clearly defined, but the magnetic strength of the anomalies was low. This may be the result of two factors: first, little magnetic contrast between the fill of the features and the surrounding subsoil; or second, physical erosion of the feature.

The results can be compared with the existing cropmark evidence in Figure 24. It will be seen that additional features were

detected by the survey, although no evidence was found for the cropmarks north of the major 'boundary' ditch. Again, there are two possible reasons for the lack of features: first, the contrast between the fills and the subsoil may be less marked due to a lack of 'habitation' in this area compared to the major cropmark area, or second, the ditches may no longer exist, because of the result of ploughing.

Area B (Fig.25)

This small area was found to contain few magnetic anomalies of archaeological interest, with the exception of one or two possible pits, marked 'A' on Figure 25. There was, however, no archaeological context for these, which makes their interpretation tenuous. The anomaly 'B' was probably due to a large piece of iron.

Area C (Fig.26)

This area contained cropmark evidence for several archaeological features (Fig.1). Elements of these were detected magnetically, but at an even smaller magnitude than in Area A. In addition to the cropmark features, a linear anomaly running northeast-southwest can be seen in the data which may be a ditch.

Conclusions

In general, the agreement between the aerial photographic and magnetic evidence is close. However, the geophysical survey at Hoffer Bridge has extended the number of features known from cropmarks and has given some possible evidence for their state of preservation. The geophysical interpretation will allow an assessment of the accuracy with which the aerial photographic evidence was plotted.

Archaeological Excavations at Little Paxton, Diddington, Cambridgeshire, 1992–3: First Interim Report; The Romano-British Period.

Alex Jones & Iain Ferris

with contributions from Lynne Bevan, Jane Evans,
Stephanie Pinter-Bellows & Rebecca Roseff

Introduction

This report presents an interim summary of the results of the first phase of an ongoing programme of archaeological investigations at Little Paxton Quarry, Diddington, Cambridgeshire (Fig. 1A–B; centred on TL202651), undertaken by Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit on behalf of English China Clays Quarries Ltd. Archaeological work at the quarry has identified a number of more-or-less discrete settlement foci, and finds of the Neolithic, Middle Bronze Age, Middle and Late Iron Age, and Romano-British period have been made. The work described here involved the evaluation of a mainly Romano-British cropmark complex, which was under threat, and was followed by an area excavation in advance of gravel quarrying in accordance with a brief agreed with Cambridgeshire County Council. Results of these two campaigns of work are here conflated to form a synthetic account.

The Site and its Setting

The Little Paxton site lies on river terrace deposits consisting of bands of sands and gravels that become finer in texture in the uppermost 0.75 m., below the topsoil. The classification into first, second and third river terrace given in the geological literature¹ is by no means certain and ongoing research seeks to clarify the chronology, development and sequence of these deposits.

It is possible that the uppermost finer bands were deposited in the Postglacial Period, and that they represent dramatic flooding events that would have had great significance for any settlement here at the time.

It will be important to consider in the future the flooding patterns of the river, as a change in the river regime might have led to a change in settlement patterns in the vicinity and might account for what appears to be a shifting of settlement foci at different periods across a relatively small area.

The excavations were located in an arable field to the west of the present quarry workings, and lying to the east of the village of Diddington (Fig. 1C). This area lies at 13 m. O.D., and is located 0.7 km. to the west of the River Great Ouse. A 'ladder' enclosure of the Romano-British period was the main cropmark feature here (Cambridgeshire SMR 2482b), located on a slight gravel ridge and following its alignment, with lower-lying pasture to either side. In addition to this enclosure traces of contemporary settlement and activity, including the remains of a temple, have been found nearby during quarrying.

The Excavation

The results of an integrated programme of site evaluation² indicated that the 'ladder' complex represented a largely complete settlement focus of the Romano-British period, and that, in addition, parts of other

1 E.A. Edmonds and C.H. Dinham, *Geology of the Country around Huntingdon and Biggleswade* (London 1965).

2 P.J. Leach, 'Little Paxton quarry, Diddington, Cambridgeshire: archaeological assessment phase 1', *BUFAU Report 219* (1992).



Figure 1. A) Little Paxton and the Great Ouse Valley; B) Little Paxton and the site; C) The site: areas of archaeological investigation.

settlement enclosures, first recognised as cropmarks, were also present. Excavation was subsequently targeted on an open area measuring 180 m. by 110 m., to include the majority of the 'ladder' complex, and the cropmark settlement complexes defined to the south of the ladder (Fig.1C).

Excavation was intended to define the settlement origins, to establish the chronology of activity, and to determine the site's function and economy. Given the relative lack of field-work on gravel terraces in the area and the extensive destruction of the archaeological resource by quarrying in the near vicinity between Buckden and St Neots, these and subsequent investigations were also intended to contribute towards a wider understanding of the patterns of human settlement in the Great Ouse valley and beyond in other river valley environments.

Within the excavated area, the ploughsoil was removed by Euclid box-scraper, under archaeological supervision, to expose the upper gravel horizon, and was later cleaned by JCB excavator, or by hand, to define the archaeological features cut into the gravels. Work was concentrated on the 'ladder' and the other enclosures, where intersections between ditched features were excavated by hand to determine the chronological sequence of activity, further ditch lengths were also dug to define the form of the features, and to sample and recover artefactual and ecofactual evidence. Particular emphasis was placed throughout upon the definition of internal structures within the 'ladder': its entire interior was cleaned manually in an attempt to define any structures present. Pits and post-holes were examined in half-section. Samples for ecofactual analysis were taken from all sealed datable contexts.

The Archaeological Sequence (Figs 2-5)

Elements of three distinct phases of Romano-British activity were provisionally identified during the excavation and subsequent post-excavation analysis which provided spot-dating of the pottery and coins. The sequence of activity is defined as follows:

- Phase 1: Early Romano-British field system
- Phase 2: Enclosures A, B, D and E
- Phase 3: Enclosure C

Phase 1: Early Romano-British Field System

The earliest group of features comprised cur-

vilinear or linear field boundaries. A small group of shallow curvilinear ditches was located in the northeastern corner of the excavation. These boundaries measured a maximum of 0.10 m. in width, and were very shallow. One was cut by a Phase 2 enclosure ditch (F305), but this group remains otherwise undated.

The linear field boundaries orientated east-southeast-west-northwest were more extensive, and measured between 0.1 m.-0.3 m. in width, and between 0.01 m.-0.70 m. in depth. Examination of the ground plan of intersecting boundaries recovered here suggests that more than one phase of activity could be represented. Subsequent plough truncation makes the identification of individual fields or plots difficult. Ditches following this alignment are recorded in the extreme southeast and centre of the site, and appear to define the bounds of small fields or market garden plots. Ditches were also cut in this phase on north-south alignments to drain the low-lying land on the west bank of a stream (Fig.1C).

The morphology of the curvilinear ditches suggests they could be Iron Age in date, although their relationship with the linear ditches was not established. These ditched field boundaries were cut by later enclosure ditches, and by post-holes cut within the interior of the Phase 2 Enclosure A. The fills of the Phase 1 ditches suggest their gradual infilling after abandonment, and contained fragmentary sherds of pottery which were not closely datable within the Romano-British period.

Phase 2: Enclosures A, B, D and E

Enclosure A

The cropmark 'ladder' Enclosure A, measuring between 26 m.-28 m. in width and over 180 m. in length, was composed of double and triple parallel ditches, respectively defining its northern and southern limits. The orientation of the ladder respected the predominant alignment of the Phase 1 linear field boundaries.

The northern side of Enclosure A was defined by two roughly parallel linear ditches, cut approximately 4.5 m. apart (measured centre to centre), aligned east-southeast-west-northwest. The northernmost ditch (F305) was V-shaped in profile and measured an average of 2.5 m. in width, and 1.2 m. in depth. Traces of partial recutting were recorded along part of its length. The

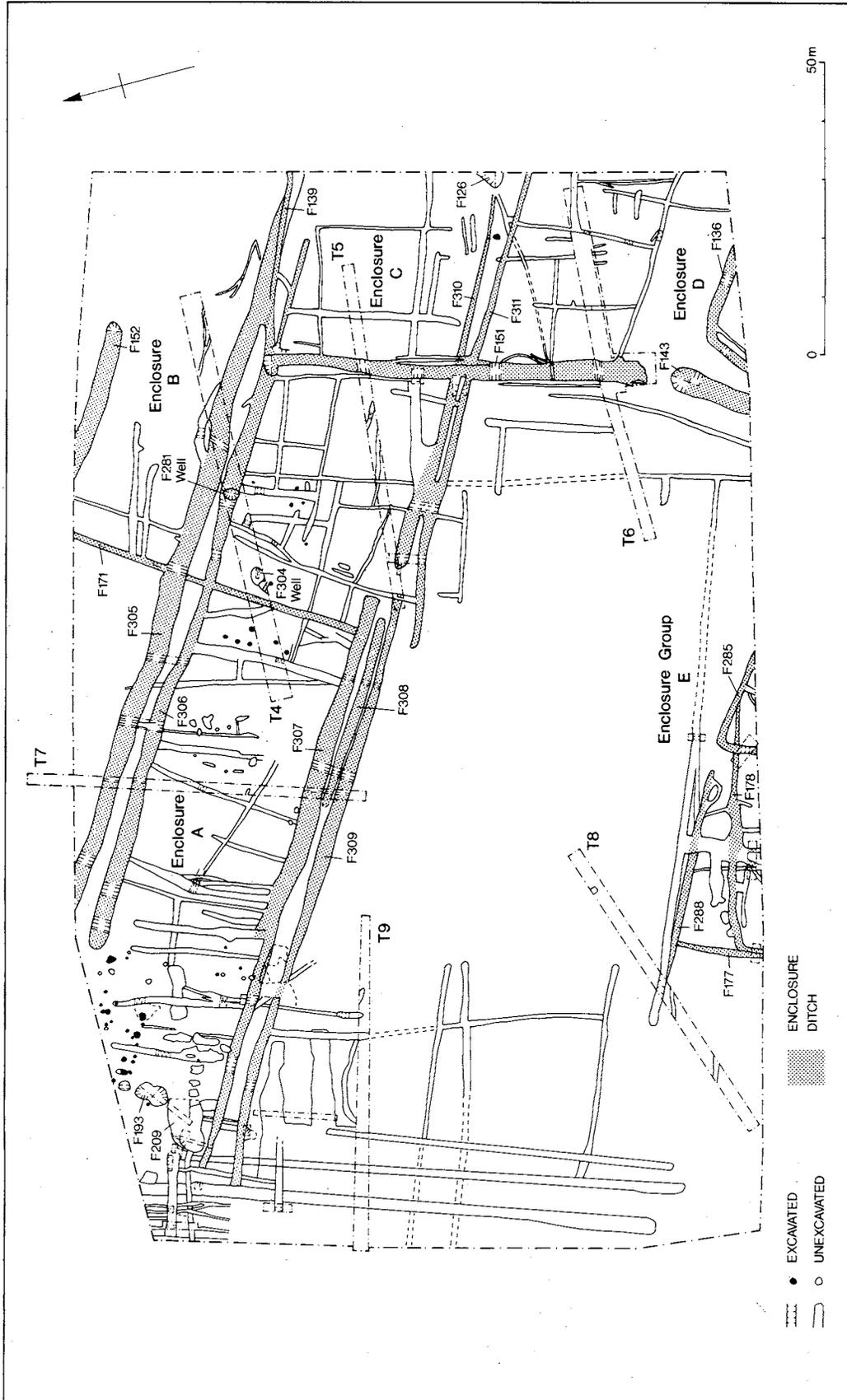


Figure 2. Simplified plan of the main features of all periods.

southernmost ditch (F306) was U-shaped in profile, and measured an average of 2.0 m. in width and 0.8 m. in depth. The latter terminated in a round end just inside the northwestern corner of the excavation. There was no trace of either an internal or external bank.

The southern limit of Enclosure A was defined by a parallel double or triple ditched arrangement, cut parallel to the northern pair of ditches, and interrupted by an entry gap, six metres wide. It is possible that the central ditch (F308) of this group, cut to the west of this entrance, might have been a Phase 1 field boundary. The outer ditches of this southern group were cut to a U-shaped profile along most of their length, and measured an average of 2 m. in width and 0.6 m. in depth: notably shallower than their northern equivalents. This difference probably reflects their original size and possibly their function, since plough truncation was probably uniform throughout Enclosure A, except where deeper soil to the east and west seems to have afforded some protection from the plough. Again, no trace of a bank was visible on the southern side of the enclosure.

The fill sequence of both northern ditches suggests gradual infilling with soft sands and gravels, rather than deliberate backfilling. The infilled northernmost ditch (F305) was cut by the western ditch of Enclosure B and was, in turn, later truncated by a late, shallow recut (F170) of ditch F305. The bulk of the 335 sherds of pottery from the northern pair of ditches dated to the late-third to fourth century, although small quantities of residual second- and third-century pottery were present.

The fill sequence of the southern ditch group also suggested gradual infilling. Pottery from here, totalling 96 sherds, notably fewer in quantity than the assemblage from the northern ditches, provides a *terminus* for their abandonment dating between the later third century and the early fourth century. Two coins, one a barbarous radiate dating approximately 270–90 AD, the second an issue of Crispus (320–6 AD), were recovered from ditch F310.

Within Enclosure A, the main focus of activity was located in the northwestern corner of the excavated area. Although no complete structure ground-plans could be recovered, a dense concentration of post-holes measuring an average of 0.5 m. in diameter probably defined one or more possibly rectangular timber-framed buildings, aligned parallel to the main axis of the enclosure, and located adjoining the northern entry-gap. Hearths

and a rubbish pit (F193), containing a large pottery assemblage, were also found in this area. Of particular interest was a flat-based, steep-sided cut, rectangular in plan (F209). This feature, interpreted as a tank for water-storage, might have been lined with clay. It was cut below the level of the contemporary water-table, and might have been positioned to receive water channelled along the line of ditch F307. Traces of repeated recutting were recorded in the upper fills of the tank. Samples of the organic fills of this feature contained charred plant material.

Some of the post-holes were cut into infilled Phase 1 boundary ditches. The rubbish-pit F193 contained 512 sherds of pottery, including a number of near-complete vessels. Although it is difficult to distinguish clearly between earlier and later fourth-century assemblages, a number of factors suggested a mid-fourth century or possibly later date for the group. Nene Valley wares characteristic of the later period were present: for example a bead rimmed bowl with white painted arcs,³ and a colour-coated plain rimmed dish.⁴ A number of body sherds also had the characteristic metallic sheen of the later series, resulting from overfiring. The proportion of shell-tempered ware, which at 14.4% was the highest among the groups studied, supported this later date, as does the presence of shell-tempered *tegulae*.⁵ This feature might well have continued in use later than other elements of the Phase 2 complex and might also have been contemporary with activity in Phase 3.

Two further foci of activity were noted in the centre of the enclosure. One comprised a scatter of post-holes, suggesting the location here of a possibly rectangular timber-framed building, with its long axis positioned perpendicular to the axis of Enclosure A. A second occupation area to the east included two wells (F281, F304). Part of a rectangular timber-framed building was also defined here, along with post-holes belonging to other structures. Well F304, cut within the interior of the enclosure, measured 3 m. in diameter, and 1.5 m. in depth. A second well (F281), dug into the infilled inner ditch F306, suggested that this area continued in occupation after the inner ditch ceased to be maintained. The well became

3 M.D. Howe, J.R. Perrin and D.F. Mackreth, *Roman Pottery from the Nene Valley: a Guide* (Peterborough 1981) Fig.7 (85).

4 *Ibid.* Fig.7 (87).

5 Don Mackreth, personal communication.

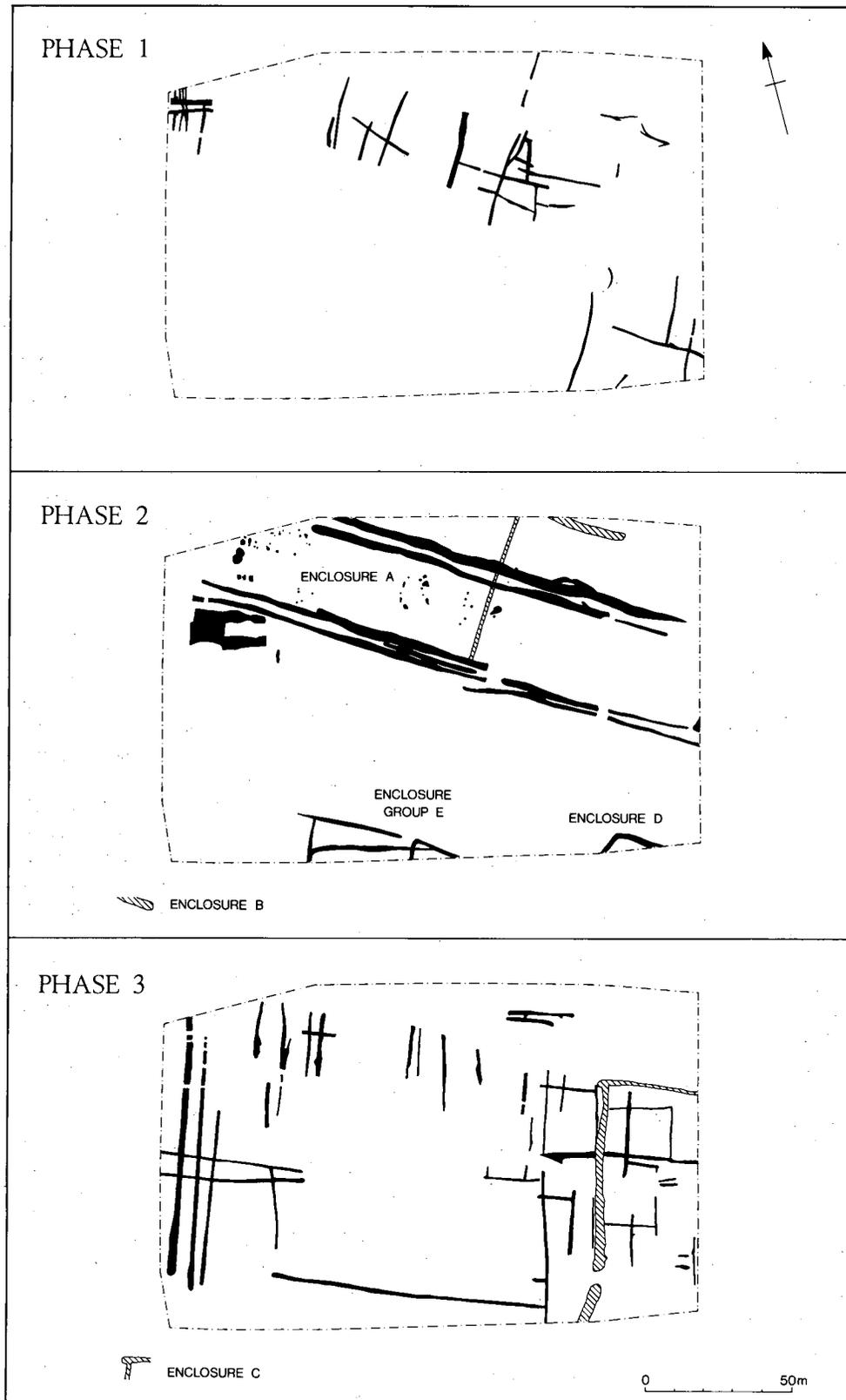


Figure 3. Simplified phase plans of the main features.

rapidly infilled with sands and gravels after abandonment. Its lower organic fills were sampled and charred plant material and beetles were recovered.

Pottery from the two wells dated from the late third and fourth centuries.

Enclosure B

Enclosure B was formed by two perpendicular ditches: its western side was defined by ditch F171, cut across the full width of Enclosure A, and extended to the northern edge of the excavated area. The northern side was formed by a ditch (F152), cut perpendicular to the former ditch. Although the point of the convergence of the ditches was beyond the excavated area, the cropmark evidence indicates a right-angled junction. There was no trace of the eastward continuation of the northern side beyond ditch F152, nor of the eastern ditched limit: both limits were perhaps defined by a fence, since obliterated by ploughing.

The pottery assemblage from the fills of ditches F152 and F171 was, at 30 sherds, much smaller than for Enclosure A. It was dated to the mid-third century or later, suggesting that Enclosures A and B could have been approximately contemporary.

Enclosures D and E

Parts of two further enclosures were also recorded. The extreme northwestern corner of Enclosure D was defined in the extreme southeastern corner of the excavation. This comprised two straight-sided ditches, both V-shaped in profile, joining at a right-angle. The fills indicated gradual infilling after abandonment. Only 15 sherds of pottery were recovered from the ditch fills, broadly dated to the third century. The right-angled northwestern corners of three intercutting enclosures were recorded just inside the southern limit of excavation (Enclosure Group E). Although not investigated in detail, sample sections of the ditches were excavated to establish their profile and fill sequences, and to recover dating evidence. Rather more pottery was recovered from these fills (67 sherds). A high proportion of residual first- to second-century grey and shell-tempered wares were noted, although once again a later third- to fourth-century *terminus post quem* was indicated. The pottery was notably very fragmentary.

Phase 3: Later Field System and Enclosure C

The latest phase of Romano-British activity was marked by the abandonment of the predominant orientation established in Phase 1 and subsequently respected by the Phase 2 enclosure. In Phase 3, a grid field system was laid out on a new, north-south alignment, and a ditched enclosure (Enclosure C) was constructed in the east of the site.

The pattern of field boundaries, aligned north-south and east-west, was most distinct in the east of the site, where the bounds of one complete rectangular small field or market garden plot, measuring 15 m. by 18 m., were defined and parts of other plots of similar size were recorded in plan. This group of ditched boundaries was cut by the northern and western ditches of Enclosure C.

The western limit of Enclosure C was marked by a shallow north-south ditch (F151), 0.5 m. in depth, and cut to a U-shaped profile north of a four-metres-wide entrance. South of this entrance, the west side continued on a west-southwesterly-north-northeasterly alignment. The north side was formed by a ditch (F139), cut east-west, joining ditch F151 at a right-angled corner. The eastern and southern sides of this enclosure lay beyond the excavated area.

The northern and western ditches of Enclosure C were cut into the infilled northern and southern ditches of Enclosure A, and into infilled Phase 1 and 2 field boundaries. The ditch fills suggested gradual abandonment after disuse. Finds from the ditch backfills included pottery, roof tiles, ironworking slags and animal bone. The pottery assemblage comprised 510 sherds. As with the rubbish pit F193, a mid-fourth century or later date seems most likely. Later Nene Valley forms included a pentice moulded beaker, and heavily fired body sherds with a metallic sheen were also present. This group also had a relatively high proportion of shell-tempered ware (10% as compared with 4% in Enclosure A) and once again shell-tempered tile was present. A coin of Valens (364-78 AD) was recovered from the northern ditch (F139) and supported this mid-fourth century date.

The Finds

A total of 3298 sherds of Romano-British pottery was recovered. Of these, 1678 sherds from key contexts were studied for the purposes of this initial report. The majority comprised



Figure 4. The site looking northwest. (Photo: E. Newton)

locally produced grey wares, followed by Nene Valley grey and colour-coated wares and late-Roman shell-tempered wares. Other wares represented included an imitation Black Burnished ware vessel, probably locally produced; abraded flakes of Samian; and occasional sherds of Horningsea ware. The latter is found as far afield as Hadrian's Wall and might well have been traded as a container for some other product.⁶ Surprisingly, no Oxford wares were present, though the site is within the distribution area of this ware.

All of the pottery was spot dated by Don Mackreth, except that from the rubbish pit F193. The most useful dating evidence was provided by Black Burnished ware copies and diagnostic Nene Valley ware forms. The presence of shell-tempered wares supported a later third- or fourth-century date. The quantities of this ware varied from enclosure to enclosure. In Enclosure A, for example, the low proportion (4.4%) supported an early-to-mid fourth-century cut-off date for activity, whereas in pit F193 (14.4%) and Enclosure C (10%), the proportions supported a mid-to-late fourth-century date.

Other characteristic later features of the

assemblage were sherds of overfired Nene Valley ware with an almost metallic sheen to the colour coat; and fragments of shell-tempered imbrex and *tegula*. Only one context (1259), which contained approximately half of a mid-to-late second-century Samian bowl and second-century imitation Black Burnished ware, was attributed an earlier date, although occasional sherds of residual pottery were present in most groups.

The range of forms included jars, bowls, dishes and mortaria. Relatively few beakers were included, however, and no 'Castor boxes'.

Almost 30 kg. of tile were also recovered, the majority of which was shell-tempered. Metalwork was not common and small quantities of iron smithing slag and iron nails probably do not represent metalworking activity of any importance on or near the site, though the concentration of the slag in one area might have some significance. Iron knives, a cleaver and a copper alloy bracelet and 15 coins were among the few smaller items recovered.

Environmental Evidence

One of the most important aspects of the project was the recovery of environmental

6 *Ibid.*



Figure 4. The site looking northwest. (Photo: E. Newton)

data which will allow a further dimension to be brought to the study of the Romano-British activity here. Every layer was sampled initially and information from sample processing was fed back rapidly to allow a targeted strategy to be worked out. Twenty-three individual features contained a small number of charred cereal grains, and 11 others contained moderate to large amounts of grain, the majority of these more prolific samples coming from the north-western part of the Phase 2 'ladder' enclosure where there was a greater density of activity.

Ground conditions were also suitable for some sampling for pollen, beetles and molluscs, and some waterlogged wood was also recovered. Initial analysis of the beetles showed that they were species typical of an open pastoral environment where grazing animals were present.

Animal bone was also recovered during excavation and sampling. For the purposes of this interim report, samples representing approximately 50% of the main stratified groups were briefly examined. The assemblage was dominated by the usual domesticates: cattle and sheep/goat (only sheep was identified at this time) were the most

common; horse and pig were scarcer. Bones representing all parts of the skeleton were found. Two partial skeletons and several single bones of dogs were identified. One red deer bone and two fragments of antler, one with saw marks, and one goose bone were noted. Also present was the distal half of a humerus from a human foetus/infant, found in the backfill of the north ditch of Enclosure C.

While this was a relatively small assemblage, its study will give some idea of the relative frequency of the different animals represented. Individual points of interest worth noting include a horse proximal phalanx found to have an unhealed layer of periostitis covering the diaphysis. A small amount of gnawing and secondary butchery marks were present, though no primary ones were examined in the sample.

While the finding of a single bone of a human foetus or infant might not have any great significance (finds of full infant burials are relatively common on Romano-British rural sites), it might represent more than simple redeposition of material from a disturbed burial. It has been argued by Eleanor Scott that there is an indisputable concordance between such burials and agricultural

features or buildings at villa sites,⁷ and that behind this might lie the control of parts of the agricultural domain by women through manipulation of symbols and actualities of reproduction and fertility, both agricultural and human. The deposition at Little Paxton in a boundary or enclosure ditch of a single infant bone, or a full burial of which only a single bone remained, might represent a symbolic marker.

Discussion

Area excavation has greatly enhanced our understanding of this complex Romano-British enclosure group. The majority of the cropmark features were identified in plan and three main phases of Roman activity were defined. In addition, many smaller features such as narrow field boundaries and individual post-holes not apparent from the air were also identified. Of particular importance were the definition and excavation, along the eastern and western margins of the site, of features sealed beneath a deeper overburden that masked them from detection by aerial photography, and the identification of a stream-course running along the western margin of the site and forming a boundary to Romano-British activity. The results of such an extensive programme of area excavation will allow a critical examination of the data which have been provided, and will help to devise an informed strategy for any further work in the area.

The survival of archaeological deposits was confined to 'negative' features cut into the natural sands and gravels. Features such as banks or floors were not identified; ploughing from the medieval period onwards had caused severe truncation of the cut features and might have obliterated slighter features such as post-holes or beam-slots. Despite this truncation, it is important to emphasise the richness and variety of the artefactual, faunal and ecofactual evidence obtained during excavation, especially from the waterlogged deposits.

During the earliest period of Romano-British activity at Little Paxton, small fields or plots were laid out following common alignments. Perhaps the earliest arrangement was represented by the curvilinear ditched field boundaries, which might be from their mor-

phology, of Iron Age origin. These features were limited in extent, possibly as a result of truncation. The rectilinear pattern of field boundaries was defined more widely. This might have defined small fields or plots, possibly laid out in *half-actus* units (18 m.). Such small plots, possibly used for market gardening, have been recognised elsewhere, as at, for instance, Brockworth, Gloucestershire.⁸

The alignment of the Phase 2 Enclosure A represented a degree of continuity with the alignments established by the Phase 1 field system, although the ditched enclosure probably reflected a marked change in site function. The northern and southern ditched limits of this enclosure were found, but its eastern and western sides lay beyond the excavated area. The two double ditches appeared to be broadly contemporary, but their differing morphologies could suggest different uses. In particular, the shallower depth of the southern ditch on its northern side could suggest a function as a palisade trench, although no evidence of the post-holes for timber uprights was found. It is possible that the slighter pair of ditches cut to the south contained a palisade, although no evidence of this structure was found during excavation. Some attempt had been made to keep the northern pair of ditches clean after their infilling. Enclosure B might have been laid out during the lifetime of Enclosure A, and could have formed a compound or stockade.

Three small foci of activity were defined within the interior of Enclosure A. It is possible that other internal features might have been ploughed out. Remains of a number of presumably timber-framed structures were recorded in the centre and west of the enclosure. No complete ground plan of any of these structures was recovered. The central occupation included a well, which might indicate settlement here, although the interior buildings could alternatively have been barns or stables. The tank might have been cut as a drinking trough for animals.

The third and last phase of Romano-British activity, after the abandonment of Enclosure A, was marked by the laying out of a field system, following a new east-west alignment, in turn superseded by Enclosure C to the east. Pottery from the ditches of this enclosure provided a *terminus* for its use in the fourth century, although no trace of structures was found within the interior. This evidence suggested that use of the site

7 Eleanor Scott, 'Animal and infant burials in Romano-British villas: a revitalization movement', in P. Garwood, D. Jennings *et al.* (eds), *Sacred and Profane* (Oxford 1991) pp.115-21.

8 B. Rawcs, 'The Romano-British site at Brockworth, Gloucestershire', *Britannia* 12 (1981) pp.45-77.

might have continued to the end of the Romano-British period, and further analysis could provide valuable information concerning sub-Roman activity. Finds from the ditch fills indicated the presence of a settlement nearby, including, it would seem, buildings roofed with *tegulae*.

The size of the area examined at Little Paxton and the sample of deposits excavated should allow some degree of spatial analysis to be carried out on the finds that have been recovered. While this analysis must await for full post-excavation study to be completed, some valid on-site observations of finds patterning can be made here.

Rubbish dumping in the Phase 2 and Phase 3 enclosure ditches was common but no classic rubbish pits as such were encountered. The shallow, elongated pit F193 might, however, have been used for this purpose. The finds were generally concentrated in the lower ditch fills, with the exception of Enclosure E where dumping was associated with the upper fills. There was a marked difference between the scale of dumping into the northern and southern boundary ditches of Enclosure A, with many more finds coming from the former, which might suggest that the main settlement focus lay outside the enclosure to the north. Again, the cluster of features in the northwestern part of this enclosure, especially, the ovoid 'pit' F193, contained significant numbers of potsherds and other finds. Perhaps some reflection of the presence of distinct 'activity areas' nearby can be seen in the distribution of animal bone and iron smithing slag, with more bone being found away from the western end of Enclosure A and slag being found largely along, and in the northern terminal of, north-south ditch F151 of Enclosure C.

In Enclosure C, notable concentrations of finds largely came from the ditch terminals, while in ditch F311 of Enclosure A the burial of a complete sheep's skull might again be of some significance. Given the sometimes 'ritual' disposal of rubbish so well attested for the Iron Age in Britain, the study of the data of the distribution of finds from the Romano-British site at Little Paxton needs to be undertaken with an open mind towards the continuation of such practices.

Conclusion

Rural sites of the Romano-British period are seriously under studied in Britain as a whole and pleas have recently been made for a realignment of national research priorities

and strategies to restore the study of such sites to the place it deserves in the discipline.⁹ These non-villa establishments would have played a vital role in the rural economic and social system and their designation as being low in the hierarchy of settlements in Roman Britain belies their sheer ubiquity and variety.

The scale of archaeological investigations on the Roman site at Little Paxton has allowed the collection of a good quality data set, including environmental evidence, whose study should allow a significant contribution to be made to local, regional and national research. The archaeology of the Ouse Valley is at present receiving a great deal of attention from archaeologists, and the wider Little Paxton area, with three large sites of different broad chronological periods located here within a relatively small area, should be able to answer many questions about the economic exploitation of the valley environment. These three large sites, the Romano-British site, a mainly Middle Iron Age site to the west, and a Late Iron Age site, possibly of the so-called Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (LPRIA) period, to the north, obviously represent a shifting of settlement focus, perhaps as a result of hydrological fluctuation and change. Continued archaeological work will, we hope over the next few years, allow a *longue durée* view to be taken of the environment of the valley, and will contribute in particular to the recent debate on levels of agricultural exploitation and intensification from the Iron Age onwards into the Roman period.¹⁰

One of the most interesting potential avenues of future research concerns the function and status of the LPRIA site at Little Paxton and its place in the network for receiving imported wares in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age: the presence of possibly Gallic mica-dusted ware and Samian, recovered during

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- 9 R. Hingley, *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain* (London 1989); R. Hingley, 'The Romano-British countryside: the significance of rural settlement', in R.F.J. Jones (ed.), *Roman Britain: Recent Trends* (Sheffield 1991) pp.75-80; R. Hingley, 'Past, present and future: the study of the Roman period in Britain', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 8 (1991) pp.90-101.
- 10 M. Jones, 'Agriculture in Roman Britain: the dynamics of change', in M. Todd (ed.), *Research on Roman Britain 1968-1989* (London 1989) pp.127-34; M. Fulford, 'The landscape of Roman Britain: a review', *Landscape History* 12 (1990) pp.25-31.

trial excavation here, intriguingly group this site with high status sites as discussed by Trow¹¹ and suggest that this site was not merely of simple farming establishment or community. The presence of two adjacent sites of seemingly the LPRIA and the Romano-British period raise many questions about their temporal as well as their spatial and functional relationships.

Acknowledgments

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The evaluation team was directed in the field by Peter Leach.

11 S. Trow, 'By the northern shores of ocean: some observations on acculturation process at the edge of the Roman world', in T. Blagg and M. Millett (eds), *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford 1990) pp. 103-19.

Gazetteer of Hundred and Wapentake Meeting-Places of the Cambridge Region

Audrey L. Meaney

Like many gazetteers, this one was created as a tool, rather than in its own right. I wished to write a paper in honour of John Dodgson, an old friend and renowned place-name scholar (whose untimely death took place at the beginning of 1990), and decided to examine the characteristics of Hundred meeting-places in the region around Cambridge, where I had made my home after returning to England from Australia. That the area discussed included parts of all the surrounding counties is due in the main merely to the attempt to include everything within the bounds of a rectangular map, whose size was a matter of joint decision with Cambridgeshire archaeologists working on different aspects of the same area. However, it has had the advantage that it extends all around the Fens and includes some northerly and southerly areas which differ from modern Cambridgeshire in their topography and distribution of population.

As the work progressed it entailed considerable detective work (in County Record Offices and the Cambridge University Library Map Room) on the sites whose names have been lost from the modern map, until the Gazetteer, at first devised as an Appendix, became too long to be included in its entirety with the discussion,¹ yet there was a great deal which appeared to be of local interest. I must emphasise, however, that local historians are likely to know much more about any individual site than I have been able to discover from Cambridge, and I would welcome any correspondence. In a few cases,

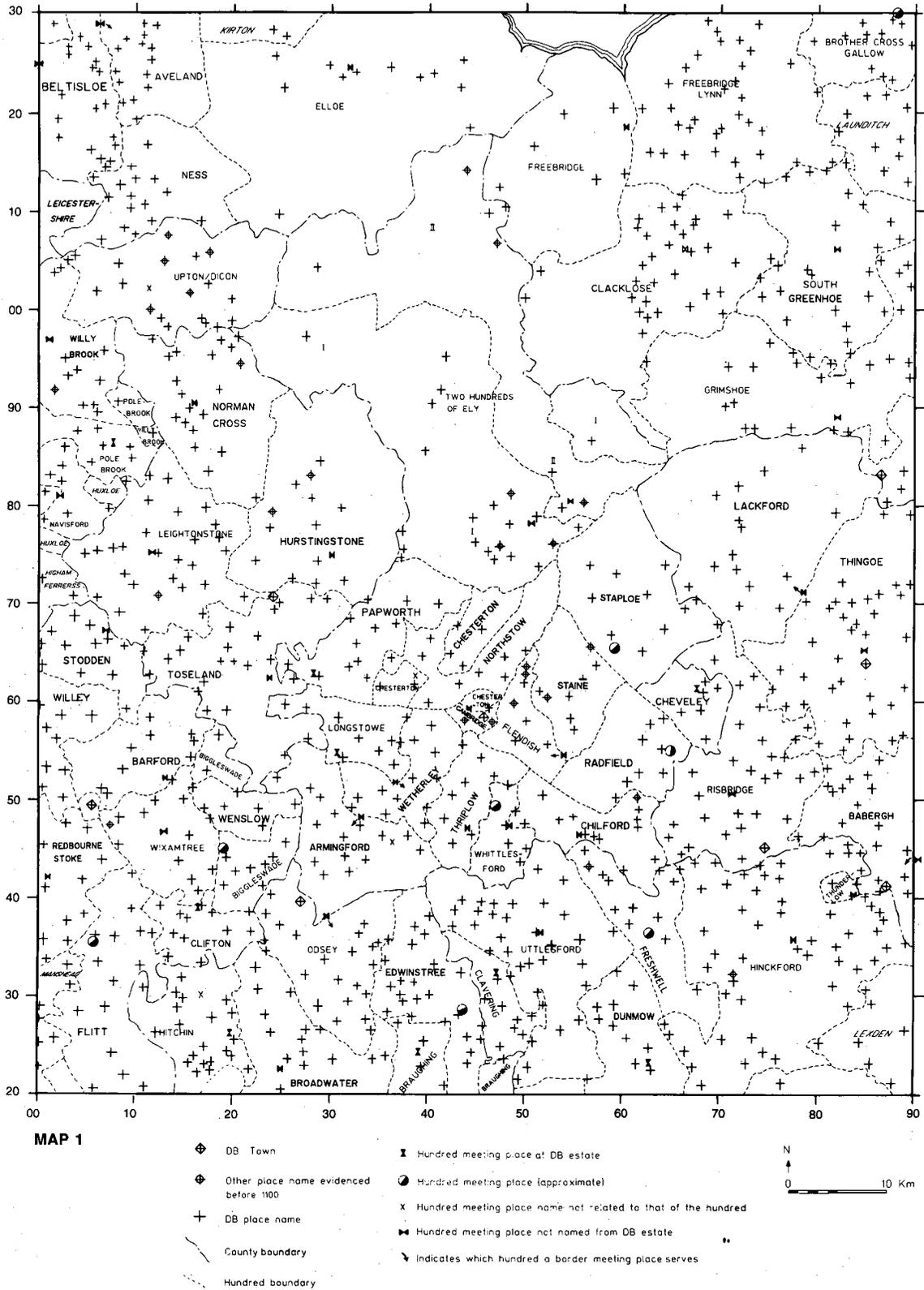
too, it may be that a re-examination of the medieval evidence for place-names will settle some of the problems I have had to leave unresolved.

Summary of General Conclusions about Types of Hundred Meeting-Places in the Cambridge Region

My research has not been directly concerned with the Hundred organisation; for example, it is regarded as immaterial to this enquiry whether the unit was a Hundred, a Half-Hundred, a Hundred and a half, or a double Hundred. Suffice it to say here that as a network the organisation gives an impression of very tight government control, and cannot be much older than the mid-tenth century, when it is first mentioned in the laws. Some of the Hundred names are from Danish, and must be later than the Viking settlements. Moreover, the network seems designed to suit a distribution of population not vastly different from that in Domesday Book, where its details are first revealed (Map 1). The meeting-places seem to have been chosen for ease of communication, and are usually sited along Roman roads (Map 2).

Some of the Hundreds are named from their chief manor at the time of Domesday (e.g. CHEVELEY), and presumably their meetings took place within the settlements. Some are named from their districts (e.g. NESS), and their assembly sites are frequently unknown. However, many Hundreds were named from places which never became settlements, and which surely must have been the original assembly sites. It is even possible that some of these might already have

1 To be published in a memorial volume for John McN. Dodgson, edited by A.R. Rumble and A.D. Mills (1994).



Map 1. Domesday Hundreds and Hundred meeting-places in the Cambridge region.

been used as meeting-places before they were incorporated into the Hundred network, for example where the Hundreds appear to be named from Anglo-Saxon tribes or social groups (e.g. BRAUGHING and HURSTINGSTONE), or from heathen sanctuary sites, e.g. THUNDERLOW and WENSLOW.

I have divided the countryside sites in the Cambridge region into three types. I regard as **primary** meeting-places those where people would have encountered each other in the course of their journeys, usually at some kind of bottleneck (such as where the Icknield Way crossed the Fleam Dyke; see FLENDISH), or at crossroads such as NORMANCROSS, which later became formalised as assembly sites. In the Cambridge region these are most often at fords, such as ARMINGFORD and UTTLESFORD, not so often at bridges such as FREEBRIDGE.

Secondary meeting-places I consider to be those named after natural landmarks. Sometimes the landmark was a valley, e.g. STODDEN, or a grove, e.g. WETHERLEY and TOSELAND. Sometimes it was a tree (e.g. WIXAMTREE), or a spring or a stretch of water (e.g. BROADWATER). More often it was a stone, such as the LEIGHTONSTONE; which was sometimes shaped into a cross, (e.g. the ELLOE stone, and NORMANCROSS), or a cross-base (e.g. the HURSTINGSTONE).

Tertiary meeting-places are those where the landmarks were man-made, specifically to mark the site or to play a part in the ceremony, such as the pillar which evidently marked the site for STAPLOE Hundred. At CLACKLOSE there seems to have been some sort of rough building, perhaps a shelter for the judges, and at ODSEY there might have been a hall. Eventually all outdoor meetings were to give way to indoor gatherings in settlements, though it sometimes took several hundred years.

The most popular and typical kind of meeting-place, the mound, might be either secondary or tertiary, depending on whether it was a re-used burial barrow, or purpose-built. A mound is an archetypal assembly point, because it gives good opportunities for announcements, for speech-making, and for impressing inferiors. He who has control of a mound needs no soapbox. Several Hundred names in the Cambridge region are compounded with **Old English hlāw**: e.g. THUNDERLOW and WENSLOW (already mentioned), BELTISLOE and THRIFLOW. It is difficult to tell if the last-named Hun-

dred met at a large **Bronze Age** barrow, or at the settlement named from it. Another Hundred, BABERGH, has the second element in OE **beorg**, and the site is identified with the ploughed-out ring-ditch of a BA barrow. The mounds, then, cannot always have taken their names from the persons buried in them; but perhaps were named from early Anglo-Saxon landowners for whom they were boundary-markers, or from officials who used them as judgement seats.

Other Hundreds have the **Old Norse haugr**: e.g. GRIMSHOE, SOUTH GREENHOE and THINGOE, and indeed, the popularity of mounds as meeting-place sites seems to have increased as time went on. In the early thirteenth century *Speleburwe*, 'speech-barrow' is found for Sperberry Hill in HITCHIN, and from later in the century there are references to several local Mutlows (from OE ***(ge)mōt-hlāw** 'assembly mound'). In ARMINGFORD there was a Roman burial in Mettle Hill (Meldreth), and near UTTLESFORD was a Mutlow containing seventh-century Anglo-Saxon warrior-burials. Some Mutlows seem to have served in the later Middle Ages as meeting-places for more than one Hundred: one for FLENDISH, RADFIELD and STAINE Hundreds, another for THRIFLOW and WHITTLESFORD; and my impression is that they were not usually the original meeting-place for the Hundred.

In this Gazetteer it has been considered most important to establish (as far as possible) the site of the meeting place, and to supply a National Grid reference (the sites are not normally productive of any kind of archaeological artefacts). The full range of early spellings has therefore not been cited, but page references are given to Anderson's *Hundred Names* and to the relevant English Place-Name Society (hereafter EPNS) volumes. If the early forms present no difficulties to the place-name experts (of which I am not one) often only one form (usually from *Domesday Book*) will be cited; if that is not clear, or there are serious discrepancies, then enough forms are cited to show the range.

I have attempted to visit the sites of the countryside meeting-places, if they are known, and have found that they tend to have similar characteristics: they are often on parish boundaries, and with wide views, and (unless they are at fords), on the sides of hills or on the top of low hills. The Anglo-Saxons certainly had a feel for the land.

References to the Individual Sites as Hundred Meeting-places

are (for the sake of clarity) listed after the heading; references to other discussions (concerning e.g. archaeology and place-names) are put in footnotes to the text.

Abbreviations

Names of counties

are abbreviated in such a way as to be transparent.

Publications

are abbreviated to author's name and date (see References).

Other abbreviations

are signalled by bold printing of initials (e.g. **Domesday Book**, afterwards **DB**) or other short form (e.g. **genitive**).

ARMINGFORD Cambs TL333/485

Helen Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls* (London 1930) p.172; Anderson I (1934) pp.103-4; Reaney (1943) pp.50-1, 69-70; *Victoria County History* (hereafter *VCH*) *Cambs VIII* (London 1982) p.1; Thorn (1990) p.26 n.2.

Erningaford AD 970; *Erningford* 1086 DB; OE *Earn(a)*, **personal name** (related to the OE word for an eagle?) + **-inga-** (**genitive case**), 'people of' + **ford**, 'ford'.

Apparently where Ermine Street crosses the Cam,² just south of the junction with the Roman road to Cambridge and a Roman roadside settlement (at TL333/488) where there were at least three burials of the pagan Anglo-Saxon period, including a sixth-century woman with grave-goods.³ The ford, where Arrington Bridge now stands, is at the junction of Arrington, Wimpole, Wendy and Waddon parishes (the first two in WETHERLEY Hundred, the last two in Armingford). The *Earningas* probably occupied a considerable area, since they also gave their name to Ermine Street (*Earninga stræt* 955, *ManuScript* c. 1200)⁴ and to Arrington (at *Earningtone* c. 950, 14th cent. MS; Arrington was occasionally referred to as (e.g.) *Arningaford* 963, 14th cent. MS. Their ford is now just outside the Hundred to which

it gave its name, and may well have originally marked the boundary of their territory. Gelling lists eight major names in **-ford** with **-inga-** compounds; the name type belongs to the early post-pagan period.⁵

The present Arrington Bridge was built in 1950. Just upstream of it is a small weir which will have altered the topography of the river; however, it looks small enough to have been forded at many points and therefore occasioned no deviation to the road. Yet in 1662 'in the time of great frost and high waters', when the bridge was broken, the stream crossing was reported to be dangerous for 'small cattle'.⁶

Thorn suggested that another ford, where Ermine Street crossed a tributary of the Cam near Kneesworth, would have been a more central meeting place for the Hundred. However, a meeting-place on the edge of a Hundred is not unusual, and there is no indication that the Kneesworth ford was ever called Armingford.

In Bassingbourn there was a (lost) *Mootelowfurlong*, and in Meldreth there is Mettle Hill (*Motloweyhil* 1319, 'assembly hill' [or 'hill on the way to the assembly mound?'] which Reaney considered to have been the Hundred meeting-place; if so, it might only gradually have taken over from the Armingford, since Cam stated that the Hundred met at the ford in the thirteenth century; I have not been able to find the precise source for her statement.

Mettle Hill is now marked on Ordnance Survey maps at TL365/457, on the approach to Meldreth from the west (that is, from Ermine Street). There is a noticeable rise in the road here, and a wide view to the west. R.C. Neville reported in 1856 on a discovery made about 40 years earlier in 'lowering a hillock . . . not an artificial tumulus but apparently a natural eminence' at 'Metal Hill'. There was a 'square leaden coffin' and in it were 'five Roman *unguentaria*, . . . a bronze armlet, a bone pin, and a small brass coin of Cunobelin'. It seems probable, therefore, that this was a Roman barrow, disturbed in digging the chalk pit marked on this spot.⁷

AVELAND Lincs TF067/296

W. Marrat, *History of Lincolnshire* 5 vols (I-IV, VI; Boston 1816) III p.122; Streatfeild (1884) p.249; *Lincs Notes and Queries* (hereafter

2 Anderson I (1934) pp.103-4, citing Lysons II (1808) p.46.

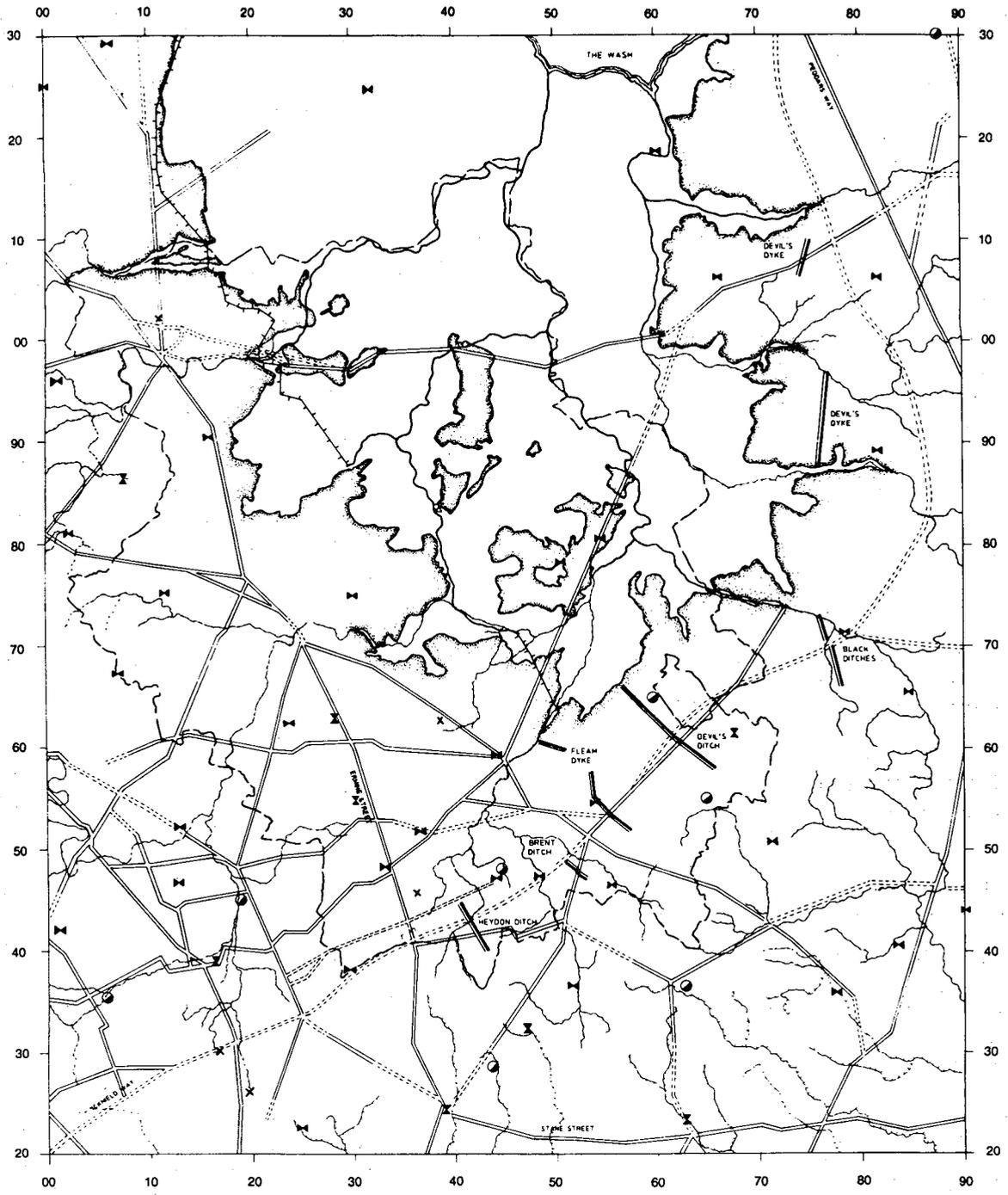
3 *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* (hereafter *PCambsAS*) 79 (1990) p.94; *Cambs SMR* nos 08384 and 08384A.

4 Mawer (1926) pp.2-4.

5 Gelling (1984) pp.69-70.

6 *VCH Cambs II* (1948) p.86.

7 *ArchaeJ* 26 (1856) p.291.



MAP 2

- | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---|----------------------|---|---|
| — | Road (known) | — | County boundary | ⌘ | Hundred meeting place at DB estate |
| ⋯ | Road (uncertain) | — | Old river course | ⊕ | Hundred meeting place not named from DB estate |
| — | Present day river course | — | Fen edge | ○ | Hundred meeting place (approximate) |
| — | Dyke or ditch | — | Roman drainage dykes | × | Hundred meeting place name not related to that of the hundred |
- N
0 10km

Map 2. Hundred meeting-places and Roman roads in the Cambridge region.

Lincs N&Q 19 (1928) p.62 (P.B.G. Binnall), pp.79–80 (A.Welby); 22 (1934) pp.66–9 (W.A. Cragg); Anderson I (1934) pp.60–1; *Lincs Sites and Monuments Records* no. 33734.

Avelunt 1086 *Lincs DB*, Old Danish Ave, persn (gen), + ON **lundr** 'small wood'. Ave also probably gave his name to the village of Avethorpe, now lost but evidently close by.

Marrat said:

About a mile west of Aslackby, in a field, is a moated parallelogram, 100 yards long by 50 broad, with bushes growing round it — it is called Aveland, and tradition says that it gave name to the Hundred. The Sessions for the Hundred were held here, and when the buildings were down, the court was opened under an old oak tree, which grew near the place. Vestiges of foundations are now to be seen, large enough for a Sessions house. This is in the middle of the field, upon a hill.

According to W.A. Cragg, Bishop Wake said in 1708 that the oak had been 'prodigious', and had been cut down within living memory.

A manuscript map of 1746 shows a pasture field, with a few moderately-sized trees dotted about, labelled as The Avelands, with the hedged enclosure running almost due north-south in the centre of it.⁸ Early nineteenth-century maps of Lincolnshire⁹ also show a rectangular site called Aveland, about one-and-a-half kilometres east of the Wapentake boundary, but centrally placed for most of the DB population.

The Rev. C.W. Foster told Anderson that until about 1780 'the Sessions opened there and were then adjourned to the market town of Folkingham'. W.A. Cragg reported in 1934 that the site was much the same as John Cragg had described in a manuscript in 1790: the moat and traces of buildings were still to be seen.

The reports of a building are puzzling, as open-air meetings were usually the norm on countryside sites, and it is difficult to imagine a movement from meeting in a 'Sessions House' to gathering under a tree. Unfortunately the whole site has now been ploughed out, without any archaeological investigation.

W.A. Cragg also remarked that from this

site there was 'a wonderful view of the 20 miles of Fen country right down to the sea, and well placed for seeing the beacon fires which raised the country'. From the north-eastern corner of the enclosure a line of trees across the open field marked a track to the 'now metalled road from Aslackby to Keisby', which gave access to the site. This road was evidently cut by a wartime airfield, and is no longer open.

Nothing is now visible on the ground. The field is currently under plough, and there are no oak trees nearby, though there is a solitary ash in the field hedge. However, local people are still able to point out the site, and the wide view is still visible.

BABERGH Sfk ? TL904/444

Anderson I (1934) pp.93–4; Lawson (1981) pp.5,18; Louise Kenyon, *Great Waldingfield: the Babergh Village* (Sudbury 1986) pp.2–3,6,8; Sfk SMR no. 05769, parish no. WGF 007.

Babenberga 1086 DB, OE *Babba*, persn (gen, -n) + **be(o)rg** 'mound'.

Babergh Heath Farm (TL898/444), Babergh Hall (TL903/445) and Babergh Place (TL907/442) are so named on OS maps, between Great Waldingfield and Acton, while Babergh Heath appears to have been just to the west of Great Waldingfield village. Several Bronze Age ring-ditches of ploughed-out mounds are known in Great Waldingfield parish; Lawson and Kenyon associated the name Babergh with the ring-ditch close to Babergh Hall at TL904/444 (clearly visible on the air photograph in SMR), probably only because this is the only ring-ditch known in the area of the still extant Babergh names. It would have been reasonably central to the Hundred.

BARFORD Beds TL134/516

Mawer (1926) pp.50–2; Anderson III (1941) pp.18–19; J. Godber, *History of Bedfordshire 1066–1888* (Bedfordshire 1969) p.12 and n.34.

Bereforde 1086 DB; OE **bere**, 'barley', probably in the sense 'cereal crop, corn' + OE **ford**. The same name is found in Nfk, Nthants, Oxon, Wilts and North Yorks (Barforth), and may mean 'ford over which a good load of corn may be carried'.¹⁰

Either the Hundred is named from the village of Great Barford, or, more probably, the ford where Barford Bridge now stands gave its name to both Hundred and village.

8 Map of Mr John Carter's Farm on p. 2 of a *Book of Maps of Part of the Lordship of Aslackby belonging to his Grace the Duke of Ancaster*, drawn by J. Grundy in 1746 (now in the possession of Lincs Archives, ref. 3 ANC 4/0). I owe this reference to Nigel Colley of the Lincolnshire Archives.

9 A. Bryant (1828) and C. and J. Greenwood (1830).

10 Gelling (1984) p.71.

The Great Ouse is a considerable river as it flows through Great Barford; the bridge is a long, narrow, basically medieval construction, with many piers. The ford it replaced must also have been a major river crossing, and it lies on a Roman road.

Godber suggested the meeting-place might have been in a field (site not given) where a stone cross was recorded in 1472, the base of which was perhaps later moved into the village. Though near the eastern edge of the Hundred, a meeting-place in or near the village would have been reasonably central for the DB population.

BELTISLOE Lincs TF000/250

Anderson I (1934) p.91.

Belteslau 1086 LiDB; possibly OE *Belt* persn (gen, -es) + OE *hlāw* 'mound'.

The site is unknown, but in the thirteenth century the Hundred court was held at Corby (TF000/250).

BIGGLESWADE Beds TL186/452

VCH Beds II (London 1908) p.201; Mawer (1926) pp.100-1; Anderson III (1941) pp.19-20.

Bicheleswade 1086 DB; OE **Biccel* persn (gen -es; not in independent use in OE, but a diminutive of OE *Bicca* and cognate with OG *Bikilo*) + OE *gewæd*, 'ford'. Gelling commented that in most of England (except perhaps the SW) *gewæd* went out of use early, 'being superseded by the ubiquitous ford.'¹¹ Altogether, Biggleswade appears to be a very early name.

However, it is not obvious from the map where *Biccel*'s ford on the River Ivel may have been; perhaps near the church (which stands at the southern end of the original settlement at Shortmead Street, formerly the A1) at TL187/444 or on the road to Old Warden at TL186/452. According to *VCH* the Hundred court met at Biggleswade, and therefore the name may refer to the settlement rather than to a rural meeting place. Though near the western edge of the Hundred, it would have been reasonably central if the Half-Hundred of Wenslow were included.

It was not possible to assess the state of the ford near the church; the road crossing is a busy one, linking to the A1. The river is still an effective barrier, but does not carry traffic.

BRAUGHING Herts TL7391/243

Anderson III (1941) pp.32-3; Gover (1938) p.189.

Brachinges 1086 DB; OE *Breah(h)a* persn + *ingas*, 'belonging to the people of Breahha'.

Named from the tribal district, or from the settlement, *Breahingas* 825-8 (17th). Gover *et al.* conjectured (without citing any evidence) that the meeting-place may originally have been at Ford Bridge on the River Rib (TL390/247), north of the Roman town, west of the prehistoric enclosure, and south of Braughing township; there is also still a ford crossing the *Quinn* (a tributary of the Rib) in the township, at TL394/250.

In the fourteenth century the sheriff's tourn was held at Puckeridge; no site is indicated. Both townships are in the north of the Hundred and not at all central to it.

BROADWATER Herts TL246/221 (crossroad)

Anderson III (1941) pp.27-8; Gover (1938) pp.117,130.

Bradewatre 1086 DB, OE *brād*, 'broad' + *wæter*, 'stream/ river, pond/lake'.¹²

Anderson describes the site thus:

The hundred-name is preserved in the name of the hamlet of BROADWATER . . . at the cross-road 2 m. south of Stevenage, where the road from Hertford joins the main London road. This is on the boundary between Knebworth and Shephall par[ishe]s, roughly in the centre of the hundred. A stream which runs past the place forms a pond just north of the Roebuck Inn, and the pond seems formerly to have extended along the Hertford road, forming a lakelet. . . . In 1390 the sherriff's tourn was held here, at *Bradwater Asshe*, clearly an ash-tree, which marked the spot where the hundred court was held.

Unfortunately, the post-war expansion of Stevenage has made the topography virtually unrecognisable, and even on the first edition of the OS 25-inch map (1898) the 'lakelet' north of the Roebuck Inn is not precisely identifiable. The site would have been reasonably central.

BROTHERCROSS AND GALLOW Nfk Area TL880/300 (Dunton)

The joint area of these two Hundreds remained constant, but distribution between the two changed after DB.

11 *Ibid.* p.83.

12 Smith II (1956) p.238.

Parkin in Blomefield (1805–9) VII p.2; Anderson I (1934) pp.66–7; Lawson (1981) pp.4,10,15.

Brodercros 1086 DB; ODan *Brother*, persn (gen), + ON **kross**, 'cross'.

Parkin suggested that the Hundred 'seemed to take its name from a cross placed at the ford or pass over the river at *Burnham*' (not far from the north Norfolk coast, and out of our area) but cited no evidence.

Galgou, *Galhou* 1086 DB; OE **gealga** or ON **galgi**, gen, 'gallows' + OE **hōh** 'spur of land' or ON **haugr** 'mound'. Site unknown, but Parkin cited the 'land called *Galehow* or *Galehoges*' (1312–3) in 'Dunton Field' (which would, however, have been in Brothercross Hundred in DB) which he thought might have given its name to the Hundred.

The Norfolk Record Office has listed a number of meeting-places for the view of frankpledge within Gallow Hundred, which, it seems, perambulated; there does not seem to be a record of the site of the Hundred Court.

CAMBRIDGE Cambs Area TL451/585

Reaney (1943) pp.36–8; Thorn (1990) p.26.

Grantanbrycge c. 925 AS Chronicle; *Gretebrige* 1086 DB; OE *Granta*, river name + OE **brycg**, 'bridge'.

There are no clues as to the exact meeting place in the town. In the later medieval period, Cambridge ceased to be regarded as a Hundred; the town continued as a borough.

CHESTERTON Cambs TL446/592 ?

Anderson I (1934) p.106; Reaney (1943) p.147. *Cestretone* 1086 DB; OE **ceaster**, 'Roman town' + OE **tūn**, 'enclosure, farmstead'.

Named from the village north of Cambridge, on the other side of the River Cam; Chesterton itself named from the Roman town on Castle Hill (in Chesterton parish though the centre of the village is some distance away to the east). There are no clues to the meeting place; the top of Castle Hill, beneath the Norman motte, where the Shire met, would be typical.

CHEVELEY Cambs TL684/608 (church)

Anderson I (1934) p.99; Reaney (1943) pp.123,125.

Chaelai 1086 DB; OE **ceaf**, 'chaff' perhaps in the sense 'rubbish, fallen twigs' + OE **lēah**, 'wood'.

The Hundred is named from the manor

'where its meeting place may have been', but which only became the royal vill in 1022, by exchange with Woodditton.¹³ There are no clues as to the site of the meeting-place.

CHILFORD Cambs TL558/470

W.M. Palmer, *The Antiquities of Linton* (Cambridge 1913) p.2; Anderson I (1934) pp.101–2; Reaney (1943) pp.99,110.

Cildeford 1086 DB; OE **cild** (gen pl **-(r)a**), + OE **ford**. The meaning of **cild** here is ambiguous. The name could mean 'children's ford' with the implication that it was shallow enough for even a child to use safely, or be a place where children habitually played. Smith argued that the frequent appearance of **cild** in the genitive plural in place-names implies some kind of communal possession, perhaps by younger sons of land taken out of an estate.¹⁴ This, coupled with Gelling's argument that **-ford** has a quasi-habitative sense,¹⁵ could give the meaning 'settlement near a ford held by younger sons'. However, this meaning does not seem to fit Hundred meeting-place names (see ARMINGFORD, *supra*), and Chilford does not seem to have been a habitation until modern times.

In the eleventh century, **cild** was used as a title of honour, and a third possible meaning, if the name were late, would be 'ford used by young noblemen' — perhaps on their way to the Hundred meeting. My preference would be for one of the options involving young children.

The northwestern open field of Linton was called Chilfords, but this (like the present use of the name for Chilford Hall and Little Chilfords) appears to be a later displacement: there are no watercourses in this area. Palmer cited an entry in the Hundred Roll for 1279, where it appears that the ford where Stanton's Lane crosses the river was known as Chilford, and 'taking into consideration the number of paths which converge on [Westrope] meadow, it has been suggested that this was the Moot Meadow, the meeting place of the Hundred of Chilford'. The meadow, on the boundary between Great and Little Linton, was common pasture; after the Enclosure Act of 1840 it was divided by a hedge and part awarded to the parish as a recreation ground. There is a footbridge across the stream at about the right position; the

13 VCH Cambs, forthcoming; C. Lewis, personal communication.

14 Smith (1956) I p.94.

15 Gelling (1984) p.72.

present sides of the stream are steep but not high; and there are several places where a bank of stones makes it fordable. However, the topography has probably been altered with small weirs. Though not far from the southern boundary of the Hundred (and the shire), Chilford would have been central to it.

CLACKLOSE Nfk TF672/063

Parkin in Blomefield (1805–8) VII pp.268–9; Anderson I (1934) pp.74–5; Lawson (1981) pp.5,13; Nfk SMR no. 4341, Ancient Monument no. 158.

Clacheslosa 1086 DB; OE *Clacc* persn (gen -es) or ODanish *Klakki* persn (gen -s) + OE *hlōse*, 'shed, shelter, pigsty'.

Parkin says that in the late thirteenth century the Hundred court and sheriff's tourn was held at 'Clackclose-hill on the common of Stradset'. The OS (1930 edition) marks 'The Mound' (scheduled as a barrow) east of Stradsett Park, and about 300 yards from the Fincham boundary, at TF6728/0630. According to the SMR, the Rev. J.F. Williams stated in 1922 (on what authority is not given) that this was the 'moot hill' of Clacklose Hundred. In 1935 it was recorded as about 20 yards (18.3 m.) diameter, and about 8 feet (2.4 m.) high, nearly flat on top but slightly concave, and covered by trees. There was a large pit to the north which might have provided the material. Its condition was unchanged in 1983 (SMR), but by 1986 (date of OS Landranger map 143) the piece of woodland had disappeared; and in 1992 the whole area was under cultivation, and there were only minimal signs of a mound. SMR commented that it was 'not at all convincing as a barrow', and this raises the possibility that it may have been a custom-built moot-mound. It would have been fairly central for the DB population, though not the area, of the Hundred.

CLIFTON Beds TL165/392 (church)

Mawer (1926) pp.165,169–70; Anderson III (1941) pp.24–5.

Clifton 1086 DB; OE *clif*, 'slope' + *tūn*, 'enclosure, homestead'.¹⁶

Presumably the meeting-place was in or near the village, but there do not seem to be any clues as to the exact site. Clifton lies between the River Ivel and its major tributary, the Flitt, and on a Roman road.

It would have been near the northern boundary of the Hundred, but fairly central to it.

DUNMOW Essex TL?626/218

Reaney (1935) pp.470,474–5; Anderson III (1941) pp.37–8.

Dommawa 1086 DB; OE *dūn*, 'hill' + OE *māwe*, 'meadow', singular or plural. The Hundred takes its name from the DB estate of Dunmow.

Stane Street (running east–west) and other Roman roads from the north and southwest met 'on the elevated spot on the S side of the modern town' where there may have been a small Roman urban centre.¹⁷ Wright described the town as 'on a gravelly hill of considerable height, in a healthy and pleasant part of the county.'¹⁸ The actual meeting-place is not identifiable, but a site on this 'elevated spot' would have been typical. Anywhere in Dunmow would have been fairly central to the Hundred.

EDWINSTREE Herts Area TL437/287

Gover (1938) p.168–9, 180; Anderson III (1941) p. 33; VCH Herts IV (London 1914) p.3.

Edwinestreu 1086 DB; OE *Ēadwine* persn (gen -s) + OE *trēo(w)*, 'tree'. Gelling discussed 'tree' names in some detail; it is a common element in Hundred names.¹⁹

There appear to be two possibilities as to where Edwinstree Hundred met. In 1278 there is mention of a meeting at Edwynestree — and of a *boscum de Edwynesbrugge* ('-bridge') probably nearby — in the parish of either Brent or Furneux Pelham (VCH). According to Gover, there was a field in Furneux Pelham 'still known as' Meeting Field near the River Ash, just north of a bridge over it. The field is not named on large-scale OS maps, or on any maps (e.g. enclosure and tithe) of Furneux Pelham in the Herts Record Office. In the time of Henry VI the Hundred was called *Eddiford*, which Gover suggests 'probably refers to the ford on the Ash in Violets Lane just to the north of Meeting Field'. OS maps mark a ford fitting this description at TL4375/2870, and therefore the meeting may have been in this area.

However, there is also Mutfords in Little Hormead to the west (TL400/283). The name Mutfords is not evidenced before the fourteenth century, but may be for OE *mōt*,

17 VCH III (London 1963) p.125.

18 T. Wright, *Essex* II (1835) p.211.

19 Gelling (1984) pp.211–22.

16 *Ibid.* p.133.

'meeting' + **ford**. Both sites would have been reasonably central to the Hundred.

ELLOE Lincs TF315/248 (modern site of the stone)

W. Stukeley, *Itinerary Curiosum* (London 1724) p.22; *Lincs N&Q* 1 (1889) p.141-4; Anderson I (1934) pp.62-3; David Stocker, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Archaeology Division (personal communication).

Elleho 1086 DB; OE *Ella* persn (gen -n) + **hōh**, 'spur of land'. The name is preserved by the Elloe stone (recorded by that name from 1491), which is a late tenth- to early eleventh-century cross of the south Kesteven Group, ornamented with interlace (a Scheduled Ancient Monument, County Number 52). The unusual degree of weathering, especially on the southern side, suggests that it has stood upright out of doors for a long time, in the current orientation. It has dowl holes in the top surface, and was therefore thought important enough for an ancient repair, but now consists only of the head portion, with a length of tapered shaft. Such crosses were mostly funerary, but the next most common usage was as boundary markers. 'The Elloe stone is the only clear-cut surviving *in situ* example' of a cross as the marker for a meeting-place — yet this is not strictly true.

Stukeley described its site in 1724 as between the parishes of Whaplode and Moulton:

[I]n a green lane northwards stands a little stone call'd *Elhostone*, whence the name of this hundred is deriv'd. It is about the middle thereof, and was formerly the main road across the country now call'd *Old Spalding Gate*. Old men tell us here was kept in antient times an annual court, I suppose a convention *sub dio* of the adjacent parts to treat of their general affairs; a wood hard by is call'd *Elhostone wood*.

In 1747, it was recorded in more detail in the Spalding Gentlemen's Society's Minutes²⁰ that the cross had stood in a quadrivium — an enclosure about 50 ft (c. 15.25 m.) square, now disappeared. The road 'to the left hand towards Whaplode from Moulton stocks was called Elloe-stone-Lane'. The cross remained *in situ* after 'the green lane in whose broad course [it] had stood fell victim to agricultural encroachment', in a 'garden' said to have lain 25 ft (7.5 m.) from the new road

edge. However, between 1850 and 1889, 'when the "garden" in turn was engrossed into the surrounding field' it was moved into the hedge 'on the south side of the minor road from Moulton village to Cackle Hill in Holbeach parish, at the boundary between Moulton and Whaplode parishes'. This road is labelled Spalding Gate on the earliest OS map to mark the Elloe stone, the 25-inch, surveyed in 1886.

In 1911 the fragmentary cross was mounted in a modern base with an identifying inscription, but (except when moved, for example for cleaning) it has remained on the late nineteenth-century site ever since. H.E. Hallam stated 'the inhabitants are loth to go too near to the stone on winter nights, for they say it is haunted by spirits'²¹ (compare HURSTINGSTONE). Both the original site and the modern one would have been reasonably central for the DB population of the Hundred.

ELY (two Hundreds) Cambs TL505/787 (Witchford crossroads)

Anderson I (1934) pp.107-8; Reaney (1943) p.213.

Ely 1086 DB, *Elge* c. 730 Bede; OE *ēl*, 'eel' + **gē*, 'district'.

The two Domesday Hundreds met *apud Wiceforde*, OE **wice**, 'wych elm(s)' + **ford**. Witchford village is on the main road into the Isle from the west, and the ford was probably just to the east of where the road from Stretham met it, at TL505/787. There is a drain-like stream running north from the road; it does not look now as if it could ever have been a formidable obstacle, but the fenland has changed so much that it is impossible to be sure.

At times in the tenth century, however, the Hundreds met at the north gate of the Abbey, perhaps roughly where the Sacristan's gate now stands in the built-up town (TL542/803).

In later medieval times the two Hundreds became separate, and eventually two others were formed.

FLENDISH Cambs TL547/544

Anderson I (1934) pp.100-1; Reaney (1943) pp.35,138,140-1; Lawson (1981) pp.115-16; Adkins and Petchey (1984) pp.248-9.

20 Spalding Gentlemen's Society's minutes (1747) Vol.4,123, not seen.

21 *The New Lands of Elloe*, Leicester University Department of English Local History Occasional Paper 6 (1954) p. 7.

Flamingdice 1086 DB; probably OE **flēaminga** (gen pl), 'of the fugitives' + **dic**, 'ditch, dyke', a massive post-Roman earth-work now usually known as Fleam Dyke, constructed between fen and forest against attackers from the west.

The sheriff's tourn for Flendish Hundred was at the Dyke, and the precise meeting place for this, and probably also for RADFIELD and STAINE Hundreds from the later Middle Ages onwards, was almost certainly Mutlow, a barrow on a knoll probably on the major prehistoric route, the Icknield Way, which may be evidenced by the remains of hollow-ways pointing to Mutlow, well marked in 1921 (now replaced by the A11, not on the same line).²² Mutlow is near the junction of the boundaries of the three Hundreds (now just inside STAINE) and not central to any of them. The name Mutlow is not evidenced before 1812, but, to judge from other occurrences of the name, was from OE **(ge)mōt**, 'assembly' + **hlāw**, 'mound'.

R.C. Neville excavated the mound in 1852, and found Bronze Age urns beneath it, and a Roman building nearby.²³ Recently Petchey has argued that the mound could have been 'the last feature of the site to be built rather than the first', that is, that it was post-Roman and non-sepulchral, purpose-built for the assembly. However, though no primary burial was found, Neville was at pains to point out that there were 'bands of darker earth running across the mound [which] satisfied us that this part had never been disturbed since its original formation'. Though Neville's excavation techniques are now rightly condemned, his workmen were experienced and might surely have noticed if the mound appeared different from other Bronze Age mounds they had 'turned over'.

Fox and Palmer, who excavated in 1921, noted that some of the Roman finds overlay a deposit of fine silt 4 ft (more than 1 m.) deep, devoid of finds, evidently rainwash from Mutlow — 'there is thus no evidence that the site was anything more than a place of sepulture in the Bronze Age'.²⁴ Moreover, Neville does not record any Roman finds on the old ground surface under the mound,

which would be extraordinary if the mound had been constructed after the Roman building: no mound-builders would start by clearing what is soon to be covered up. Fox and Palmer found Roman brooches, bracelets, pottery and coins dating from the first to the fourth century in a clearly defined belt about 12 ft (c. 3.75 m.) wide around the barrow, 9 ft to 15 ft from its edge. I incline to accept the suggestion in *VCH*²⁵ that the Roman building was a temple dedicated to a cult centred on the mound, and that the spread of artefacts 'had the appearance of votives around a shrine of great antiquity, perhaps venerated since Bronze Age times'.

Elsewhere prehistoric burial mounds were certainly re-used as meeting-mounds (see *infra*, e.g. THINGOE), and there seem to be sufficient reasons to accept that this is what happened at Mutlow, whether or not it had earlier been a sanctuary.

FLITT Beds Area TL059/358 (Flitton Church)

Mawer (1926) pp.144–5, 148–50; Anderson III (1941) p.23–4.

Flictham, 1086 DB, *Flitte* 1166; named from Flitton, of obscure origin: *Flittan* 980x990, Will of Æthelgifu, apparently dative sg of unknown OE ***flitta** masculine or ***flitte** feminine.²⁶

Presumably the meeting place must have been somewhere in the area of Flitton, perhaps just to the north of the church, where there is now a small bridge crossing the River Flitt and linking the village to the Roman road running east-northeast-west-northwest. Anywhere in Flitton is near the northwestern boundary of the Hundred and not at all central to it.

FREEBRIDGE (and FREEBRIDGE LYNN) Nfk Area TL608/187

Parkin in Blomefield (1805–10) VIII pp.328, 419; E.M. Beloe, 'The Great Fen Road', *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Communications* 7 (1893) pp.112–30, at 125–6; Anderson I (1934) pp.64–5; Nfk SMR no. 3477.

Fredebruge 1086 DB; ON *Frithi* or OE *friþu*, 'peace' + OE **brycg**, 'bridge'. If the name is of English origin, it may refer to the fact that the bridge was put under protection for the holding of the Hundred court.

22 C. Fox and W.M. Palmer, 'Excavations in the Cambridgeshire dykes III. The Fleam Dyke. Second report: excavations in 1922' *PCambsAS* 25 (1924) pp.21–36, at pp.27–31, 35–6.

23 *ArchaeJ* 9 (1852) pp.226–30.

24 'Excavations in the Cambridgeshire dykes II. The Fleam Dyke: first report', *PCambsAS* 25 (1923) pp.45–53.

25 *VCH Cambs* VII (1978) pp.85–6.

26 Gelling (1984) p.22.

Freebridge is named on A. Bryant's 1826 *Map of the County of Norfolk* just south of West Lynn, and must refer to the bridge linking the two parts of the Hundred, over the then course of the River Ouse, which in Anglo-Saxon times would not have been such a major outfall as it later became. Freebridge Farm is at TL608/187; the modern bridge named Freebridge on OS maps (alongside the A47 bridge on the north) is over the new course of the river at TL612/185.

Parkin, however, stated:

The ancient place of holding this hundred's court was at *Fritcham-Burgh*, where is a tumulus, &c, about a mile from the town, on the road to *Sharnburn* [Shernborne]. In the 3d of Elizabeth, it appears, from a rental of Sir *Richard Southwell's*, that his manor of *Walsoken* paid then to the Queen's bailiff of the hundred, 40s. *per ann.* suit of court, held under an oak, at *Gaywood* near *Lynn*, and was called *Gaywood Oak-Fee*.

After this, the court was held at an oak at *Wigenhale*, *St German's*, called *Fitton Oak*, in a farm of that name belonging to the town of *Lynn*, the Duke of *Norfolk* being lord, but it has been discontinued about 30 years.

Gaywood is on the northeast of King's Lynn (TL63/20), now absorbed into the town. Fitton Oake house is at TF594/135, just to the east of the Great Ouse. About the Fritcham site Parkin had more to say:

In this parish was the remarkable hill or tumulus, where, in the *Saxon* age, the hundred court was held, in the time of *William Rufus*, in order to decide a controversy about lands at *Holm*, who issued out a commission to *H.* his chamberlain, to call together 3 hundreds and an half at this place, called *Flicceham Burch*. It is upon an hill about a mile above the town of *Fritcham*, in the hundred of *Freebridge* *citra Lenne*, on the west side of the way, leading from that town, to *Sharnborne*, being a square piece of ground about an acre, ditched about with an old large ditch.

Beloe equated the site with Paston's Clump (TL718/282), which he described as 'a highly elevated spot above all the country round, now planted with trees', with the ditches 'but little altered'. It is on the 'Great Fen Road', at a crossroads (some now only field tracks), and just over two miles west of Peddar's Way. It is now covered with tall beech trees. In September 1993 I could see no signs of a barrow or of a ditch, though there may be traces of a rectangular bank (Nfk SMR 3477).

Perhaps these later meeting-places reflect

either the division into two Hundreds (Freebridge and Freebridge Lynn), or the provision of meeting-places serving more than one Hundred.²⁷

FRESHWELL Esx ? TL652/339

W. Harrison, *Description of Britaine* (1586), reprinted in Vol. I of R. Holinshed's *Chronicles*, ed. John Hooker (London 1807-8) pp.179-80; Philip Morant, *History and Antiquities of the County of Essex* (London 1763-8) II, 518; Christy (1925-8) pp.186-8; Reaney (1935) p.502; Anderson III (1941) pp.36-7; Gerald Curtis, *The Story of the Sampfords* (Great Sampford 1981) pp.5-6.

Fross(c)ewella 1086 DB; OE **frosc**, 'frog' + OE **wielle**, 'spring, stream'.

The name is no longer used for a spring or stream but, according to Harrison, one of the headwaters of the River Pant (which flows through the middle of the Hundred and forms its boundary for about a mile) was named Froshwell. Christy identified the source spring as 'that which feeds the little lake (serving also as a mill-pond) [at TL652/339] . . . just below and in the grounds of the Hall at Little Sampford.' This identification seemed to be supported by the fact that Freshwell Cottage is named at TL653/336 on the first edition of the 25-inch OS map (1886).

However, Harrison's full description makes this identification impossible; and the only chance of making a better one is to quote all he says about the Pant headwaters:

There is a pretie water that beginneth néere vnto . . . Winbeche church in Essex. . . . This said brooke runneth directlie from thence vnto Radwinter. . . . By the waie also it is increased with sundrie pretie springs, of which Pantwell is the chéefe (whereof some thinke the whole brooke to be named Pant). . . . There is likewise another in a pasture belonging to the Grange. . . . The third commeth out of the yard of . . . Radwinter hall. The fourth from Iohn Cockswets house, named the Rotherwell, which running under Rothers bridge, méeteth with the . . . Pant on the northwest end of Ferrants Meade, southeast of Radwinter church. . . . I might take occasion to speake of another rill which falleth into the Rother from Bendish Hall: but bicause it is for the most part drie in summer I passe it

27 R.R. Clarke noted on SMR card *re* no. 3540, that the mound at TF755/287 was the moothill, but this does not fit Parkin's description, and is to be regarded as an error.

ouer. . . . The next is named Froshwell. And of this spring dooth the whole hundred beare the name, & after this confluence the river it selfe whervnto it falleth (from by north) so farre as I remember. . . . The streame therefore running from hence (& now, as I said, called Froshwell. . . .) hasteth immediatlie vnto old Sandford, then through new Sandford parke, and afterward with full streame (receiuing by the waie, the Finch brooke that commeth through Finchingfield) to Shalford. . . . and so to Blackwater, where the name of Froshwell ceaseth, the water from hencefoorth (as I heare) commonlie called Blackwater, vntill it come to Maldon.

The sites of some of the springs and rills are easy to identify, but unfortunately not the Rotherwell or the Froshwell, which latter, however, clearly joined the main stream of the Pant *above* Great (Old) Sampford, and *from the north*. Morant also placed Freshwell above Great Sampford, but described it differently:

The half-hundred of Froshwell, or Freshwell, took its name from the river Froshwell, heretofore called Pant, which runs through part of it: or rather from a well, or spring, that riseth within it, called Froshwell, which falleth into the Pant betwixt Radwinter and Great Samford, and abounds with frogs.

Freshwell could hardly have given its name to a section of the main river, as Harrison said it did, unless it had itself been a substantial stream; therefore the best candidate appears to be the brook which joins the Pant after flowing past Anser Gallows Farm, which was called Anstye in 1825, evidently from OE *ānstiga*, 'narrow path'.²⁸ Yet the landscape is flat and apparently without obstacles; could the land have been liable to flooding and the narrow path a sort of causeway?

Nearby, the Radwinter to Sampford road (B1053) crosses the bridge by a ford. According to Curtis, this is the 'most convenient meeting place for persons coming from all villages of the Hundred', and 'tradition has it that the gallows stood a few yards west of the road junction, on the bank on the north side of the Radwinter Road'. It was still there in 1567, and 'the vegetable garden below the bank and beside the road is the reputed burial ground of the fruit of the gallows tree.' Other Hundred meeting-places in the region were associated with gallows (see ODSEY and THINGOE) and therefore,

provisionally, the ford near Anser Gallows is accepted as the meeting-place site.

GRIMSHOE Nfk TL819/898

Blomefield (1805–10) II p.148; W.G. Clarke (ed.), *Report on the Excavations at Grime's Graves, Weeting, Norfolk, March–May 1914* (London 1915) pp.11–13, 106–12; Anderson I (1934) p.75; Lawson (1981) pp.4–6, 9–10, 12, 23, 26, 38; Adkins and Petchey (1984) pp.248–9; Nfk SMR no. 5640 cl, Ancient Mon. no. 70.

Grimshou 1086 DB; ODanish (or OE) *Grimpn* (gen (*e*)s) + ON *haugr*. Blomefield said that the Hundred court used to be called to a large tumulus 'which perhaps might also have served as a watch-tower, or a place of signal' at the east end of the 'Danish incampment' (in reality prehistoric flintmines) called Grimes Graves. Grimshoe is still marked on OS maps, and is central for the Hundred.

Greenwell said that the mound had been 'cut through by the Norfolk Archæological Society, when nothing was discovered except a piece of a red deer's antler'.²⁹ It was also excavated in 1914 and W.G. Clarke described it as a mound raised over an interment cremated on the spot. He did not specifically mention human remains, though there were fragments of burnt pottery among the burnt material. The mound seemed to have been augmented in size at a later date. However, Petchey argued that the cremation was merely 'a small burnt layer sandwiched between the buried ground surface and the mound', and that it could have been constructed specifically as a meeting mound. There was no dating evidence in the mound or beneath it, and nothing to connect it with Romans or Anglo-Saxons. The SMR described it in 1976 as 2.5 m. high, 28 m. diameter.

Grimes Graves and Grimshoe are now under the guardianship of English Heritage. One of the mine holes immediately adjoins Grimshoe, which therefore has somewhat the appearance of a high, steep and rounded spoil heap. It still bears the scar of a ransacking excavation across the centre.

HINCKFORD Essex TL777/355

VCH Essex (London 1903) pp.406–7; Christy (1925–8) pp.185–6; P.H. Reaney, *Transactions*

28 Smith (1956) I p.12.

29 W. Greenwell, 'On the opening of Grime's Graves in Norfolk', *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London new ser.* II (1870) pp.419–39, at 422–3.

of the *Essex Archaeological Society* (hereafter TESxAS) 19 (1930) pp.62–3; Reaney (1935) pp.405,438–40; Anderson III (1941) pp.42–3; Lawson (1981) p.10.

Hidingaforda 1086 DB; probably OE *Hedin* or *Heddin*, persn. + **-inga** gen pl, 'people of' + OE **ford**; cf *Hidingham* 1086 DB for (Castle and Sible) Hedingham. Anderson's derivation from OE **hyð** + **-inga-**, 'people of the landing-place' is not convincing, in that the Colne here is not large enough to have carried major traffic. See ARMINGFORD *supra* for discussion of **-inga-** + **ford** names. Occasionally from the late twelfth century Hedingham is called by the name of the ford, and the Hundred by the name of the settlement.

Hinckford was apparently on the Colne near the main road from Haverhill to Braintree (now the A604) and on the road to Castle Hedingham; it was later called Crouchford (i.e. 'cross ford'), and Nunnery Bridge now stands there. Immediately west of the ford, in the angle of the two roads, there was, according to Christy, 'a small triangular piece of ground, about one third of an acre in area, and raised some five or six feet above the level of the roadway and also above the flood level. This mound looks as if it might once have been a moot-mound'. It was locally known as Crouch Green ('cross green') and a cattle fair was held there. It was also called *le Mot(e)stowe* 1262; OE **mōt-stōw**, 'meeting place'. It was central for the Hundred.

Houses have been built on the corner of the two roads, and no 'moot-mound' is now discernible.

HITCHIN Herts TL197/266 (Sperberry Hill)

Gover (1938) p.8; Anderson III (1941) p.28.

Hiz 1086 DB, *Hicche* 1175; OE *Hicce* is the name of an Anglo-Saxon tribe, listed in the *Tribal Hidage* as *Hicca* (gen pl);³⁰ later forms with final *-n*, used as the name of a settlement, go back to the dat pl, *Hiccum*.

The post-Conquest Hundred meeting-place seems to have been at Sperberry Hill in (St) Ippollitts, *Speleburwe* 1203, OE **spell**, 'speech' + OE **beorg**, 'mound, hill'; on OS large-scale maps the name appears on the road leading east-northeast from the London road at St Ibbs up a steep natural hill at about TL197/266. Not far to the south, at about TL199/265, a group of four ring-ditches shows up as crop-marks, probably from ploughed-out

Bronze Age barrows. In 1322, however, a view of frankpledge was held at *Altonishevuyd*, i.e. Oughton Head (TL168/303), a spring just northwest of Hitchin, close to the Icknield Way. None of the sites (Hitchin itself, Sperberry Hill or Oughton Head) is really central to the Hundred.

HURSTINGSTONE Hunts (now Cambs) TL301/751

Mawer (1926) pp.xli,203–4; *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England): Hunts* (London 1926) p.296a and pl.142; *VCH Hunts II* (1932) pp.149–50; Anderson I (1934) pp.109–10; Gelling (1984) p.198; Thorn (1989) p.29 and n.15.

Hyrstingestan 1086 DB; OE **hyrst**, 'wooded hill', + **-inga-**, gen pl 'people of', + OE **stān**, 'stone'. The area occupied by the *Hyrstingas* included Old (formerly Wold) Hurst and Wood Hurst, and must have formed an administrative unit, possibly to be equated with the *Herefinna* of the Tribal Hidage.³¹

W. Page (in *VCH*) said that until c. 1440 (when they were moved to Broughton) the Hundred courts were held at the Hursting stone in Wood Hurst, marked on eighteenth-century maps of Huntingdonshire such as that in Emmanuel Bowen's *Large English Atlas* (c. 1750) 'at the highest point of the road from St Ives to Old Hurst' (the boundary of which parish touched the stone). Gallows were also recorded on *quemdam montem qui vocatur Hirstingston*, and dogs were sent there to be expeditated.³² From the twelfth century onwards the Abbot of Ramsey (which held the Hundred) kept his court here. Page suggested that 'a stone existed at this prominent position at an early date', and that it 'was replaced by a cross, perhaps in the twelfth or thirteenth century, when such crosses were commonly erected as boundaries, and the still extant stone is the base of that cross'. One side of it has either been weathered or cut away, so that the original square socket for the shaft has now only three sides, and it was set up in such a way that it had the appearance of a wide, very shallow (and probably very uncomfortable) armchair, so that it came to be called the Abbot's Chair. Folklore evidently gathered around it, as legend had

30 Dumville (1989).

31 A.W. Davies and H. Vierck, 'The contexts of the Tribal Hidage: social aggregates and settlement patterns', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8 (1974) pp.223–93, at 232,234,273,284–6,291,293; Dumville (1989).

32 W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum II* (London 1819) p.568.

it that monks stopped to rest in it when travelling between Ramsey Abbey and St Ives Priory. Mawer reported a tradition that in the sixteenth century Mother Shipton used to utter her prophecies from it; and when I enquired from the local farmhouse about the Abbot's Chair, the response was 'Oh, you mean Cromwell's Seat'. According to the board now beside it in the garden of the Norris Museum at St Ives, 'It is also said that if ever the stone sinks below the ground, blood will flow in the streets of Bluntisham! Bloodstains are supposed to be visible on the stone, and a ghost is said to haunt it' (compare the ELLOE stone, above). In September 1993 I could observe no bloodstains, but might have done so if I had attempted too vigorously to push aside a prickly holly bush to see the back of the 'chair'. The stone is said to be from Barnack; the quarries there were worked from Roman times until exhausted in the late Middle Ages or later. There is nothing about the stone itself to date it, or to indicate if it could have been cut down from an earlier cubic shape like the LEIGHTONSTONE, and nothing, therefore, to prevent the stone from having been that named in DB.

The site of the meeting-place — which was not central either to the Hundred or to the DB population thereof — was marked on the OS one-inch map of 1954 (sheet 134); but about 1948 the road was cut by the extension of the long runway of the RAF's Wyton Airfield, and the stone removed then.

LACKFORD Sfk TL791/711

Anderson I (1934) pp.97–8.

Lacforda -e, Lacheforda, Leacforde 1086 DB, *Lecforde -a* 1086 IE; probably OE *lēac*, 'garlic' + *ford*.

The ford was where the Icknield Way crosses the River Lark, on the southwestern edge of the Hundred and not at all central to it. The church of the village with the same name, which is in THINGOE Hundred, stands at TL796/703.

The nearest road crossing, with a bridge, is at TL788/111, but this is not on the line of the Icknield Way. The Ordnance Survey marks a ford just to the east at TL791/711, and there are a few squared stones on the bed of the stream which may be the remnants of paving. In June 1992 it was a very shallow stream, but a flood gauge was a timely reminder that it might not always be so easily passable.

LEIGHTONSTONE Hunts (now Cambs) Area TL116/752

Mawer (1926) pp.231,245–6; Anderson I (1934) pp.111–2; VCH Hunts III (1936) p.1; Bigmore (1979) p.72 and caption to pl.4; Thorn (1989) p.29 and n.16.

Lectunestane 1086 DB; OE *lēac-tūn*, 'herb garden' + OE *stān*, 'stone'.

The stone is marked on Emmanuel Bowen's map of Huntingdonshire (c. 1750); Gover *et al.* described the position as: 'just to the south of Leighton Bromswold, on the right side of the road, where the one-inch OS map marks "The Castle". This site is central for the Hundred'. Though it is not altogether easy to reconcile Bowen's with a modern OS map, the Leightonstone was clearly to the east of the road to Spaldwick, now only a track, in the general area of TL116/752 (Thorn suggested at TL118/750). However, VCH recorded it as at (apparently having been moved to) the west end of the village. A large, roughly cubic stone (about the size of a tea-chest) now stands on a platform just outside the churchyard gate (TL115/753), and a notice describes it as the judgement stone, moved from 'the other side of the church'. In 1979 Bigmore said that it had been 'recently recovered' from fields 'some distance north[east] of the church'. Wherever the stone originally stood, it would have been central for the Hundred.

LONGSTOW Cambs ? TL313/551

Anderson I (1934) p.105; Reaney (1943) pp.154,163–4; VCH Cambs V (1973) p.2.

Stou 1086 DB; OE *stōw*, 'place of assembly'.

Though Reaney pointed out fourteenth-century forms of minor names in *stōw* in Harlton parish, at the other end of the Hundred, it was probably named from the village of Longstowe, where in 1271–2 the sheriff claimed that the villagers had to supply a building for the tourn. VCH suggested (without citing any evidence) that the original meeting-place might have been where 'the road from Bourn to Little Gransden crosses Ermine Street', which would have been convenient and typical. Though close to its southwestern corner, Longstowe is quite central to the Hundred.

NASSABOROUGH see UPTON

NAVISFORD Nthnts TL022/812

Bridges (1791) II p.367; Gover (1933) p.216; Anderson I (1934) pp.116-17; Helen Belgion, *Titchmarsh Past and Present* (Titchmarsh 1979) p.19 and map 2.

Nar(r)resford 1086 DB, *Naveresford* 1220; probably ON *Nafarr* persn (gen -s) + **ford**. Though the early forms of the name are variable, this derivation, and its relationship to the lost names, *Nauereslund* 1066-75 (MS c. 1200) and *Nafrysbroc* 1013 seems most probable.

According to Gover *et al.*, 'The hundred meeting place must have been by the Nene at the point where Aldwinkle, Thorpe Achurch and Titchmarsh meet, for the name survives in two fields in Titchmarsh just to the west of Thorpe station'. The railway is dismantled, and the station now a private house, but Belgion's map shows the 'furlong called Navisford': the most northerly in Titchmarsh parish. The ford must therefore have been where the Roman road to Castor crossed the Thorpe Brook (an insignificant feeder to the nearby River Nene) at TL022/812. Belgion suggested that the modern bridge here conceals medieval work.

There was a group of Bronze Age barrows on the opposite side of the Roman road from the Navisford field, now ploughed out but visible as cropmarks of ring-ditches on air photographs; a rise in the centre of the meeting-place field may be the last trace of an extension of the barrow cemetery there, and might have provided a focus for the assembly. Bridges said that the Court for the manors of Achurch and Thorpe Waterville was 'kept at the house of Mr Lee', in Thorpe Waterville.

NESS (Wapentake) Lincs

Streatfeild (1884) pp.193-4; Anderson I (1934) p.61.

Nesse 1086 LiDB; OE *næss* or ON *ness*, 'promontory of dry ground jutting into fen'.

The site of the meeting place appears to be unknown.

NORMANCROSS Hunts (Cambs) TL160/908

Mawer (1926) p.180; Anderson I (1934) pp.112-13; Bigmore (1979) p.72.

Normannescros 963-84 (MS c. 1200), 1086 DB; *Normannescros* 1121, *AS Chronicle* MS E, for the year 963; OE *Norðman*, 'Viking, Norwegian', perhaps used as a persn (gen -es), + ON **kross**, 'cross'.

Norman Cross stood on Ermine Street just north of Stilton at the junction with the main road (A15) running northeast to Peterborough, roughly in the centre of the Hundred. There has never been a village settlement there, and the name is now applied to a busy roundabout on the A1.³³ There are at present no clues to the exact meeting-place; it would have been central for the Hundred.

NORTHSTOW Cambs ? TL395/630

Anderson I (1934) pp.105-6; Reaney (1943) p.176; Lawson (1981) pp.116-17; Cambs SMR 00380.

Nordstouua 1086 DB; OE *norð*, 'north' (as distinct from Longstow) + OE *stōw*, 'place of assembly'.

Reaney suggested that it is named from *Nortstowe*, recorded in the thirteenth century in Dry Drayton (church is at TL389/619). This would have been in Chesterton Hundred in 1086, and therefore the meeting place of Northstow is unknown. However, it seems probable that Chesterton and Northstow Hundreds may originally have been only one.³⁴

According to the SMR, an Anglo-Saxon glass beaker was recovered during road works on the A604 (A14), the Roman road from Chesterton to Huntingdon, at the crossroads with the local road from Dry Drayton to Oakington. Subsequent investigation showed that there had been a medieval gallows at TL395/630, with the bodies of the condemned buried near the gibbet. The glass beaker was presumably deposited with a burial, which might have been covered by a barrow, subsequently used as a gallows mound because it stood on a main road by a parish boundary. This would have been a typical site for a Hundred meeting-place, but there is no proof that it was.

ODSEY Herts TL300/380

VCH Herts III (1912) p.193; Gover (1938) pp.150-1; Anderson III (1941) pp.25-7; Reaney (1943) pp.62-3.

Odesei 1086 DB, *Odeseth* 1135 (MS 1286), *Odesela* 1166, *Odesethehill* 1406; *Od(d)a* persn (gen -n) + ? OE *sēað*, 'pit'. The alternative forms with OE *sele*, 'hall' are found only for the Hundred name, and may indicate

33 For a recent description of the site, see Bigmore (1979).

34 Thorn (1990) pp.24,26.

some kind of structure.

Odsey is now just over the Cambridge-shire border but VCH noted that until at least c. 1600 it was in Hertfordshire. Anderson conjectured that the actual meeting-place was on Gallows Hill on the opposite side of the Icknield Way from Odsey Grange, 'where a barrow on the hill-top may mark the site'. A. Dury and J. Andrews' map of Herts (1766) shows the oval Odsey race-course encircling two barrow-like features (the more westerly of which is presumably Gallows Hill, the other not now identifiable on the ground). Gallows Hill was reputedly trenched in 1934, and an American searchlight placed on it during the second World War. Herts SMR records it as c. 38 m. diameter north-south, c. 35 m. east-west and c. 1 m. high, riddled with rabbit burrows and covered with rubble, fenced but close-ploughed on the north, west and south. It is now nettle-covered, and trees have been planted on the north and south. From it there is a wide view in all directions except east (along the ridge).

Though on its northern boundary, the meeting place is 'fairly central' for the Hundred, since Cambridgeshire here projects into Hertfordshire.

PAPWORTH Cambs ? TL282/637

Anderson I (1934) pp.106-7; Reaney (1943) p.164.

Papeword(e) 1086 DB; probably OE **Pap(p)a* persn, (gen-n) + *word*, 'enclosure'.

Named from the settlement now represented by Papworth St Agnes (also called Magna and Olde) and Papworth Everard (Parva etc). Since DB lists two settlements with this name but one was in Huntingdonshire, it is difficult to know where the meeting-place may have been. The cross roads at TL282/637, where the road from Eltisley to Hilton and St Ives crosses Ermine Street, at the northern end of Papworth Everard, where county and parish boundaries coincided, and where the main road slopes gently to the north, providing a wide view, seems possible and typical, but there is no evidence. Any site in Papworth would have been at the southwestern end of the Hundred and not central to it.

POLEBROOK Nthnts TLO68/869 (river crossing)

Gover (1933) pp.209,215; Anderson I (1934) p.116; Smith (1956) II p.68.

Pocabroc 1076; *Pochebroc* 1086 DB; OE *pocca*, *pohha*, 'a pouch, a bag, used in some undetermined sense in place-names, possibly as a by-name' (Gover *et al.*'s suggestion of OE *pūca* is ruled out because the expected -u- never appears) + *brōc*, 'brook'.

There is a village with this name on a small tributary of the Nene, at the eastern end of the Hundred. The map shows many tracks converging on the brook crossing at TLO68/870, just to the south of the church, and this may have been the meeting-place site. However, west of the village the Roman road to Castor (keeping to the east of the River Nene) crosses the brook at TL058/869, and this would also have been a possible ford meeting-place. The Polebrook stream (like Thorpe Brook — see NAVISFORD) is an insignificant feeder to the Nene.

RADFIELD Cambs Area TL645/555

Anderson I (1934) p.101; Reaney (1943) pp.113-14.

Radefelle 1086 DB, *Radefelde* 1086 (c. 1180), ICC; OE *ræd*, 'red', OE *feld*, 'open country'.

Reaney stated: 'The Hundred was named from *Radefelde* 1335-9 [which] was "in campo de Burgh". . . . Patches of gravel on the chalk . . . make the soil look rather reddish.' Radfield was the name of one of the open fields of Burrough Green, and is marked on (e.g.) the 1837 Tithe Map³⁵ on the east side of the parish, centred about TL645/555. It is near the eastern corner of the Hundred, but reasonably central for the DB population.

A track through the Burrough Green corn-fields is still known as Radfield Road. The meeting-place site may have been somewhere along its course, but no particular spot stands out. The land is level, but with woodlands on low hills in the background.

Since Mutlow Hill is on the boundary between Radfield, STAINE and FLENDISH Hundreds, Reaney suggested that Radfield Hundred also met there.

REDBOURNSTOKE Beds Area TLO10/426

Mawer (1926) pp.66-7; Emmison (1928) pp.95-6; Anderson III (1941) p.21; Smith (1956) II p.154.

Radborgestoc, *Radebernestoch* 1086 DB; OE *Rædburg*, fem persn (gen -e) + OE *stoc* (probably *stocce* dat sg), 'place, secondary

35 Cambs RO no. P17/27/1.

settlement'. The forms with **-n-** are probably due to the 'common confusion of the suffixes **-burh** and **-burna**'; there are also later forms showing confusion of **stoc** with **stōw**.

A terrier of Marston Moretaine (1715) refers to South Meadow 'abutting north upon Hundredway' and bounded on the west by Brook Field. Emmison argued, from the Enclosure Award of Marston (1798), that it appeared

South Meadow lay to the southeast of the brook which runs parallel with the Bedford road and not far from the road leading from Wootton Pilling northwest to the Bedford road. The former of these is the boundary between the parishes of Wootton and Marston. Can this road run along the track of the ancient Hundredway? We may at least guess that the meeting place of the Hundred Court of Redbournstoke was in the vicinity of this way.

The whole topography of the area has been drastically altered by brickworks and pits and a modern housing estate. The road Emmison conjectured to be the Hundredway now runs along the northeastern edge of Stewartby Lake Country Park; South Meadow has probably disappeared into the brick pit turned lake. There is now a sluice where in 1767 (on Jeffrey's map of Bedfordshire) there was a Stone Bridge, at TL010/426, and this is used as the reference point for the meeting place of Redbournstoke, but there is no guarantee that it is the right spot. The area is central for the Hundred.

RISBRIDGE Sfk TL712/506

Anderson I (1934) p.95.

Risebruge 1086 DB; OE ***hris-brycg**, 'brush-wood causeway'. This compound appellative is found in eight or more minor names from Sussex to Durham.³⁶

On C. Greenwood's 1826 map of Suffolk a small district, with a small stream along its southern boundary, just east of Barnardiston Hall, was named Monks Risbridge. Anderson commented that there was no water course near it in his time, but a pond near Barnardiston Hall still feeds a stream running westward, and was probably fed in turn by a drain running along the hedge line. However, if ***hris-brycg** is to be interpreted as a track made of logs covered with brushwood, such as has been recently

found from Saxon times at Droitwich, it would more probably have been used over a patch of boggy ground rather than to cross a stream. The site is quite central for the Hundred.

SOUTH GREENHOE Nfk TF828/056

Blomefield (1805-10) VI p.1; Anderson I (1934) p.74; Lawson (1981) pp.4,6-7,12,26,38,40; Nfk SMR nos. 2688-90.

Grenehou 1086 DB; ON **groenn** or OE **grēne**, 'green' + ON **haugr**, 'mound'. 'South' subsequently added to distinguish it from North Greenhoe Hundred.

According to Parkin the Hundred takes its name

from the *Green Hills* or *Tumult* lying by the *London* road to *Swaffham*, on the Heath between [Cockley] *Cley* and *North Pickenham* where 'very antiently, even to the last Century, on these Hills the HUNDRED-COURT was kept, as appears from its old Rolls.

Two barrows are marked in the right spot to the east of the road (now the A1065) on the first edition of the OS one-inch map LXV (1824).

SMR records three barrows (see Lawson) to the east of the A1065 within the quadrant TF82/05; all have been damaged or destroyed. One (SMR 2688) was excavated in 1963, and a Bronze Age flexed male burial was found, with a bronze bush-barrow dagger with additional rivets. In 1976, SMR 2688 was described as mutilated, 32 m. diameter and 0.4 m. high, covered by trees; SMR 2689 was destroyed and also tree-covered; SMR 2690 had been ploughed and was grass-covered, 28 m. diameter and 0.4 m. high. None is conspicuous in the landscape, which is partly wooded, mostly with beeches. The road is undulating, and the view is not wide, but the site is central for the Hundred.

STAINED Cambs

Anderson I (1934) pp.99-100; Reaney (1943) p.129.

Stanes 1086 DB, *Stane* 1086 ICC InqEl: OE **stān**, either sg. (nom. or dat **-e**), or pl (**-as**), 'stone' or 'stones'. The modern form with diphthong appears to be a late development, not due to Norse influence.

There are no suggestions as to the site of the stone(s). Stone Field was the name of the open field lying to the southeast of Bottisham (one of the Staine parishes); it

36 Gelling (1984) p.66.

is shown (e.g.) in an estate map of 1793.³⁷ However, there is no marker-stone, and in the fourteenth century the field was apparently called Stony.³⁸

It seems that later the meeting-place may have been at Mutlow on the Fleam dyke, together with FLENDISH and RADFIELD Hundreds. If OE *stān(as)* had the meaning 'Roman remains' which Copley wished it to bear,³⁹ the meeting-place on Fleam Dyke may have given Staine its name, since Neville found a Roman temple building nearby.

STAPLOE Cambs Area TL606/644

Lysons (1808) II p.97; Anderson I (1934) pp.98-9; Reaney (1943) p.187.

Staplehou 1086 DB; OE *stapol*, 'pillar, platform raised on pillars' + OE *hōh*, 'spur of land', or perhaps ON *haugr*, 'mound'.

Lysons said that 'A *balk* in Burwell field is called Staploe balk', and a grant of land in Exning was said to lie *ad viam de Stapelhoue*. A terrier of freehold lands in Burwell occupied by William Fuller about 1834⁴⁰ lists two blocks of land in Mill Field near Staploe Way, one of which was on the heath side of Staploe Way (i.e. to its southeast), near Sandpitt Way: the fourth boundary was 'on the ditch side' (i.e. on the southwest).

Sandpitt Way is visible on the 1806 estate map of Burwell,⁴¹ running southeast from Burwell village (at about TL591/658) towards the present site of Gravel Pit Farm (at TL601/646). Staploe Way must run roughly at right angles to it (i.e. southwest-northeast). The terrier appears to be arranged with the blocks nearest Burwell village listed first, so those described as near Staploe Way must have been in the southern part of the parish, where Mill Field ran along the Exning boundary, to the east of Ditch Field. J. Chapman's 1768 map of Newmarket Heath shows a road running west-southwest from Exning, evidently partly along the the line of the track at present going past Gravel Pit Farm; nothing on this

line, however, stands out.

The 1806 map shows no continuous southwest-northeast road in the right area, but the draft for the first edition of the OS map (1810) shows a road angling southwest from Exning and crossing Devil's Ditch. It seems to have run well to the south of Gravel Pit Farm, perhaps in part along the track (which may itself have been one of the parallel paths of the Icknield Way complex) east and west of Springhead Farm and on to Warbraham Mains and the Ditch. Just west of the parish (and now county) boundary it runs across a patch of higher ground — above the 30 m. or 100 ft contours — which, in this low-lying country, may have been sufficiently prominent to have been called a *hōh*. The highest point appears to be at about TL606/644, and it would have been a typical site for a Hundred meeting-place, but it is hoped that a local historian may eventually find more precise evidence. No mound is recorded in the vicinity.

Any site in Burwell would be near the southwestern edge of the Hundred though reasonably central for the DB population.

STODDEN Beds Area TL080/653

Mawer (1926) p.12; Emmison (1928) pp.93-5; Anderson III (1941) p.18.

Stod(d)en(e) 1086 DB; OE *stōd*, 'a stud, a herd of horses' + OE *denu*, 'valley'. Gelling remarked that *denu* is only rarely compounded with a term for a domestic animal.⁴²

A Stodden field was named in 1607 in Pertenhall, near the Hundred and County boundary, but would have been reasonably central to the Hundred before Tilbrook was taken out of it. Emmison concluded, by a process of elimination, that Stodden field lay in the northwestern part of the parish of Pertenhall. The map shows a broad shallow valley running northwest from Pertenhall into the high ground, and perhaps part of this could have been used as a 'stud valley', which would have needed to be securely enclosed (c.f. the use of ruined Roman forts as studs, e.g. Stotfall, Lympne Kent). The map shows many tracks leading to the field in the northwestern corner of the parish (centring on TL072/669); modern farming has altered these, and the countryside looks very open, with some remnants of woodland, and a view widening out downhill.

37 London Borough of Hackney Health District Archives 19/6B/1; photograph in Cambs Record Office at R 71/38.

38 M. Postgate, 'The open fields of Cambridgeshire' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University 1964) Appendix I p. II.

39 *Archaeology and Place-Names in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 147 (Oxford 1986) pp.55-6,99; *Early Place-Names of the Anglian Regions of England*, BAR Brit ser.185 (Oxford 1988) pp.10,62,89,99,112-3,134.

40 Cambs RO ref.no. L 21.16.

41 Public Record Office no. MR 509.

42 Gelling (1984) p.98.

THINGOE Sfk TL850/654

J. Gage, *History and Antiquities of Suffolk: Thingoe Hundred* (London 1838) pp.ix-xi; T. Arnold, *Hermann Archidiaconi Liber de Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi in Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, 3 vols (London 1890-6) I p.31; *VCH I* (1911) p.626; Anderson I (1934) pp.95-6; M.D. Lobel, *Bury St Edmunds* (London 1935) p.7; Lawson (1981) pp.4,6,8,10-14,26,68,70-1; Sfk SMR parish nos.BRG 001, BSE 004, BSE MISC.

Dinghowe 1042-6, *Thingehou* 1086 DB; ON **Pinghaugr**, 'mound of assembly'.

Hermann (late eleventh century) records justice as being dispensed at *Thinghogo* on the first of May. From early sources, Gage conjectured it to be 'an artificial mound on rising ground just outside the north gate of Bury'. Anderson suggested that Thingoe might be where Gage marked a windmill, on the map opposite his frontispiece. It was central for the Hundred, and sometimes all the eight-and-a-half Hundreds of Bury Abbey met there.

The area is now built up, and affected by the construction of the A45. By comparing the site marked *Thinghove* on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey 25-inch map (1886) with the modern 1:10,000, it appears that the mound was not on the road now called Thingoe Hill at about TL852/653, but beside the present Northgate Avenue (formerly Norfolk Road), at TL850/654 (SMR no. BSE 004). *VCH* said that it was 'formerly partially isolated by the Teyfen Mere and the marshes of the River Lark'. Thingoe was excavated by H. Prigg in 1880, and he described it as a 'large British barrow'.⁴³ Unfortunately, his paper on his discoveries was never published, but the OS six-inch map records that 'Human remains, horns and urns' were found, and *VCH* stated that it was 'a tumulus of three interments. The centre, however, was not reached nor the primary burial recovered. The East Anglian School now occupies the reduced summit'.

Gage also remarked that the Peddar's Way passed a mound on Shirehouse Heath called Gallows Hill, which the SMR (no. BSE MISC) places at approximately TL845/657 (near Tollgate Lane), and which earlier was called Henhowe. According to *VCH*, there was a grant to the Abbot of Bury in 1305 that pleas brought into the eight-and-a-half Hundreds formerly held at *Cateshull* (Cateshill, 'cat's

mound' in Great Barton, SMR BRG 001) should be held at Henhowe ('bird's mound'). Perhaps the early medieval functions of the two neighbouring mounds were originally complementary, one judicial, one punitive.

Catshill was used for judicial assemblies in the thirteenth century, after Thingoe had been acquired by St Edmund's Abbey.⁴⁴ It was excavated in 1957 and found to contain first-century sherds, pumice quern fragments and cattle bones, and is therefore judged to have been a midden.⁴⁵

THRILOW Cambs TL443/468

Anderson I (1934) p.103; Reaney (1943) pp.82,90; Lawson (1981) pp.109-10,114-6; Cambs SMR 04286.

Trepe(s)lau 1086 DB; OE **Tryppa* persn, gen (-n) + **hlāw**, 'mound'.

Named from the village of Thriplow (*Tripelau* c. 1050), or village and Hundred were both named from the same mound, probably that just east of Thriplow church (TL4436/4682, now ploughed out), which may originally have served as the meeting place. It was of the Bronze Age, about 80 ft wide, perhaps 15-20 ft high, originally capped with white chalk. There appears to have been Iron Age and Romano-British settlement nearby.⁴⁶ It is in the southern part of the Hundred.

However, there are references to a *Mothlowe*, *Motlawe*, (OE *(**ge**)**mōt-hlāw**, 'assembly mound') from the thirteenth century onwards in documents belonging to Newton, Harston and Thriplow, which Reaney conjectured to be the same place. There are also references to a *Motlowewe* etc., 'road to the assembly mound' up to the fifteenth century in Newton, Shelford and Thriplow documents. In an advertisement for a sale at Newton in 1834⁴⁷ (before the enclosure) Muttler Roadway is named as bordering several lots in Little Brookfield on the east; and a few lots in Great Brookfield on the west. A short length of Muttler Way is named on an accompanying map, southwest of Camps Park. A comparison with the enclosure map of Newton

43 See *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 36 (1880) p.233, and 38 (1882) p.208-10.

44 A. Gransden, *The Letter-Book of William of Hoo, Sacrist of Bury St Edmunds 1280-1294*, Suffolk Records Society V (Ipswich 1963) p.61n.

45 N. Smedley and F.A. Aberg, 'Archaeology in Suffolk 1957', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 27 (1957), p.178 (*Barton, Great*).

46 D.H. Trump, 'The Bronze Age barrow and Iron Age settlement at Thriplow', *PCambsAS* 49 (1956) pp.1-12; Lawson (1981) pp.109-10,114-6; *VCH Cambs VIII* (1982) pp.152,238.

47 Cambs RO R 51/17/20b.

(1861)⁴⁸ makes it clear that Muttler Way ran in a double curve between the two Brookfields from the edge of Newton village at TL4395/4925 to a kink in the boundary with Thriplow parish at TL4430/4853. Its further course is conjectural, but in view of the names Muttelers (at roughly TL445/483) and Mutlers Pit (at roughly 447/482) which Maynard places on his 1837 map of Whittlesford⁴⁹ just north-west of Mutlow (at TL448/481), it is probably safe to assume that Mutlow Way ran along the Thriplow boundary and so into WHITTLESFORD to Mutlow, which may therefore have served as a joint meeting-place for the two Hundreds.

THUNDERLOW Esx TL?830/387 (Gallow Green)

VCH Esx I (1903) pp.405–6, 534, 537; Christy (1925–8) pp.139, 173, 195–7; C.F.D. Sperling, *TEsxAS* 18 (1925) pp.139–40; P.H. R[eaney], *TEsxAS* 19 (1930) p.63; Reaney (1935) pp.418–19; Anderson III (1941) pp.41–2; Lawson (1981) pp.5, 9–10, 17; B. Slaughter (ed.), *Bulmer Then and Now* (Bulmer 1979, 2nd ed. 1990) pp.32, 42, 45, 53–4; Esx SMR no. 1806.

Thunreslau DB; OE *Thunor* persn (the god of thunder; gen -es) + OE *hlāw*, 'mound'.

In Domesday this 'Half-Hundred' consisted of only three manors, Belchamp (Walter), Ballingdon, and the lost Binsley in Bulmer. There have been many suggestions as to the site; none is so convincing as to eliminate all others. Christy suggested that the meeting place had been on the top of Ballingdon Hill, 290 ft high, 'c. 100 yards to the west of a clump of trees occupying a lower point (180 ft)'. It is a prominent landmark, within sight of the Thunderslow manors, just within Bulmer parish, but Ballingdon 'touches the fence of the field'. However, Reaney judged Ballingdon Hill to be too far from where thirteenth-century references put Thunderlow.

These references were in the Hospitallers' Cartulary, and according to Sperling, put *Thundreslawe*, 'apparently in the neighbourhood of Middleton [church is at TL871/396] and Goldingham [Hall is at 833/402]', and described *Thunderloue* as a wood — presumably that which Domesday records as sufficient for 20 swine — in Binsley. Sperling suggested that Binsley probably lay 'near the brook which runs below Goldingham Hall';

however, there is no room for a third manor between Goldingham and the DB manor of Belchamp Walter, which lies on the other side of the brook.⁵⁰ Woods are marked along the Belchamp Brook on modern maps, but are recent plantations;⁵¹ Heaven Wood, further to the east, and the now destroyed Park Wood appear to have been ancient woodland — judging from what Slaughter said about them — but were in the manor of Smeetham.

Also according to Slaughter, Dickinson (who wrote the guide to Bulmer church) suggested that the church site at TL843/401 — which commands wide views and stands upon a little knoll⁵² — looked appropriate for a pagan sanctuary; if it had been Thunderlow, however, one wonders why that was not the name of the parish.

Slaughter himself did not discuss Thunderlow, but suggested that the lost Binsley was to be equated with Kitchen(s) Farm (at TL855/408) as this lies in the right area, and was 'often referred to as an old manor'. In 1380 it was purchased for the College of St Gregory at Sudbury, and may therefore have gained the name Kitchen (not evidenced until 1545 as e.g. *Kechyn*) because it was used to grow food for the priests. The argument is good, and if correct, Thunderlow may be Kitchen Hill, a spur extending northeast from the site of the farm. However, there does not seem to have been any identifiable ancient woodland nearby.

Reaney suggested that Thunderlow Wood was Goldingham Hall Wood, or 'perhaps the small strip of unnamed wood on higher ground to the southwest'. It has not been possible to identify the unnamed wood, unless it was a strip marked on a mid-eighteenth-century estate map⁵³ south of Goldingham Wood and there named Wick Grove Croft. Goldingham Hall Wood is named on the first edition of the OS 25-inch map,⁵⁴ surveyed in 1876, but had already been reduced in size from 33 acres to 13 before 1808, and was cleared altogether in 1947. It was the most substantial wood in Bulmer in the eighteenth century, and seems to have been ancient woodland, with hornbeam trees and an

48 Cambs RO Q/RDc 73.

49 Cambs RO R 58/5/9, p.165.

50 I am grateful to Mr Ashley Cooper for this observation (personal communication).

51 Cooper (1989) pp.200–4.

52 *Ibid.* p.106.

53 *A Map of the Manor of Goldingham Hall, the estate of Samuel Berkley Esq situate in Bulmer and Gestingthorpe in the County of Essex* (1755, from a survey taken in 1707); EsxRO no. D/DQ 14/35.

54 Essex sheets XII.1 and XII.5.

abundance of species.⁵⁵ It was south of the road from Bulmer to Gestingthorpe, the west side of the last 13 acres (roughly the centre line of the original 33 acres) running from about TL825/395 southeast to TL828/391, near New Barn. On J. Chapman and P. Andre's 1777 map Gallow Green is shown just to the south of New Barn at about TL830/387, and may give a further clue as to the Hundred meeting-place site, since the two are frequently associated. The presumed line of the Roman road (Margary's Peddar's Way) from Braintree to Long Melford must run quite close by. Moreover, just over the parish boundary in Gestingthorpe, was a Roman building, part of a small site which may have had a religious character. Frere wrote:

In topographical terms the focal point of the site is undoubtedly the crest of the promontory projecting southwest from the plateau, some 80 m. southeast of Building I, and it may be significant that here was recovered a model votive axe in bronze as well as two iron axeheads, all as surface finds. A self-consciously primitive shrine in timber, or a sacred grove might well have occupied this position. . .

The site was in use from Belgic times to the fourth century; though there was a decline in the second half of the century, some of the finds would not look out of place on an early Saxon site.⁵⁶ There was a small early Saxon settlement within view.

Though no barrow has been found nearby — not even a ploughed-out ring-ditch⁵⁷ — a site somewhere in this neighbourhood would therefore seem entirely appropriate both for a pagan sanctuary and a Hundred meeting-place. The name of the field where the Roman finds were made, Court field, may reflect the Hundred's judicial function. There is even the typical wide view, here on the south side, towards the stream.

However, it must be admitted that there are difficulties in the way of this identification. The area lies to the south of the estates known to have been in Thunderlow, and is partly outside Bulmer parish. The distribution of woodland may well have altered so much from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries that the whereabouts of Thunderlow Wood are irrecoverable. If we

are to imagine the manor of Binsey as somewhere along Bulmer's border with Gestingthorpe, it might seem that Goldingham (which would then lie between Binsey and Belchamp) must also have belonged to Thunderlow, but in DB Goldingham is put in Hinckford Hundred. These difficulties can be explained away: other Hundreds are named from sites which later were outside their area, and since Thunderlow is anomalous in having only three manors attributed to it in DB, it may originally have been of somewhat wider extent. Hinckford eventually absorbed Thunderlow, and the DB listings may have been inconsistent — or a Thunderlow heading before Goldingham merely accidentally omitted, as other headings were. The exact site of Thunderlow must therefore remain uncertain. Though I must confess my preference for the Court Field/Gallows Green site, there are (unfortunately) several suitable sites for Thunderlow, whether as pagan sanctuary or as Hundred meeting-place, in and around the area of the Half-Hundred.

TOSELAND Hunts (now Cambs) TL240/626

Mawer (1926) pp.251–2,272–3; Anderson I (1934) pp.110–11. *Toleslund* 1086 DB; ON *Toli*, persn (gen -s), + ON *lundr*, 'grove'. An 'earl of this district' called *Toli* died at the Battle of Tempsford in 921.⁵⁸

DB mentions only the Hundred of this name, not the village (though the church cannot date from very much later than 1086). A 'large, rough, irregularly-shaped sarsenstone (2 ft 8 in. × 1 ft 7 in. × 9 in. deep) in the churchyard against the south wall of the church is locally known as the "Mootstone" and is said to have been the ancient Hundred stone'. Mawer *et al.* claimed that part of the fragmentary, possibly Roman, possibly Saxon, road from Sandy to Godmanchester was known in the neighbourhood of Toseland as 'Moats' or 'Moots Way'. Though near the eastern edge of the Hundred, the site is reasonably central for the DB population.

UPTON/DICON/NASSABOROUGH Nthnts (now Cambs) TF113/026

Bridges (1791) II p.489; Gover (1933) pp.223–4,244; Anderson I (1934) pp.114–15; John Steane, *Northamptonshire Landscape* (London

55 Cooper (1989) pp.12,202; personal communication.

56 Jo Draper, *Excavations by Mr H.P. Cooper on the Roman Site at Hill Farm, Gestingthorpe, Essex, East Anglian Archaeology Report No.25 (1985)*, pp.2–4,60.

57 A. Cooper, personal communication.

58 *Liber Eliensis* pp.xi,xiv,99.

1974) p.86 and pl.26; Cambs SMR 00786.

Uptune 1076; *Optone*, *Opton(e)gren* 1086 DB; OE **uppe**, 'upper' + OE **tūn**, 'enclosure, farm' (+ OE **grēne**, '(village) green'); *æt Dicon* 972-92, OE **dīc** (dat pl -um), '(at the) ditches, dykes'; *Nassum Burgi* 1215, OE **næss**, 'promontory of dry land in fen' + OE **burh**, 'fortified place' — referring to Peterborough.

Though the name of this double Hundred is variable, the meeting-place has remained fairly constant. Bridges said that before the Dissolution Langdyke court had been 'kept by the Abbat and Convent at *Castre*', but 'within the memory of man the Hundred court had been summoned to *Langdyke-bush*', and then adjourned to the Lord Exeter's house at Helpston. He described Langdyke Bush as standing

about two furlongs to the left of the warren-house, or of the great road between *Stamford* and *Peterburgh*, upon a high ground, that overlooks the country to the northwest, near the corner of a hedge in the open field called *Helpston-heath*, with a white thorn tree on the other side.

A sketch of the site in 1721 is Steane's plate 26.

The mound known as Langdyke Bush, now in Ailsworth parish but at the junction with Upton, Ufford and Helpston parishes, stands in a field just to the east of where the road from Upton joins the north-south Roman road (a branch of Ermine Street), which is known as King Street or Langdyke. The road from Peterborough to Stamford crosses the Roman road not far to the north. According to the SMR, the mound stood about 70 cm. high and appeared to be flat-topped, but a covering of brambles obscured the profile. From this mound came both a piece of carved Barnack stone and a gibbet stone now in Helpston village.

The brambles are now cleared away, and the irregular surface of the mound is grass-covered. The view is still there, and the site is reasonably central for the DB population.

UTTLESFORD Esx TL518/364

VCH Esx I (London 1903) p.406 and n.3; R.C. Fowler, 'Uttlesford Hundred, East and West', *TESxAS* 16 (1921-3) p.183; Reaney (1935) pp.516,543; Anderson III (1941) pp.35-6; Lawson (1981) pp.4,10,17,26,98-9; Esx SMR no. TL53.71.

Udelesforda, *Wdelesforda* etc 1086 DB; probably OE **Udel* persn, diminutive of recorded *Uda* (gen -es), + **ford**. Anderson's

suggestion that the first element is OE **wudulæs**, 'forest pasture' appears to have no parallels.

The name is preserved in Uttlesford Bridge on what used to be the main London to Cambridge road in Wendens Ambo. According to Anderson, the ford 'is on low ground, but just north of it the road goes up Mutlow Hill' (OE *(**ge**)**mōt-hlāw**, 'assembly mound'), referring to a barrow where the sheriff's tourn for the Hundred was often held. R.C. Neville dug into Mutlow (which he called Myrtle Hill) in 1847,⁵⁹ and found pottery, three iron spear-heads and a conical shield boss probably belonging to the seventh century.

The topography of the area has no doubt been disturbed by the (now dismantled) railway. The stream is quite small, so that it would have posed no problem to ford almost anywhere, except in time of flood. The site is central for the Hundred.

Also in Uttlesford was *Spelbeorghe*, presumably for OE **spell**, 'speech' + OE **beorg**, 'mound, hill' (see HITCHIN *supra*), named in some Anglo-Saxon bounds of Littlebury dated after 1008. Dr Mary Hesse has identified *Spelbeorghe* with Coploe Hill,⁶⁰ most of which is in Ickleton, WHITTLESFORD Hundred Cambs. A road runs north-south along the ridge, on the west side of which are formidable strip lynchets. The present county boundary crosses the road at TL4935/4210, leaving the top of the hill, marked on the OS 1:10,000 map at TL4943/4212, just within Uttlesford Hundred. Therefore, if *Spelbeorghe* were the site of some kind of meeting-place, it was probably common to the two neighbouring Hundreds, or even to the two counties. It would, however, have been central for a territory around the Roman walled town at Great Chesterford. The Roman road from Chesterford to Strethall runs north-north-west/south-southeast, near *Spelbeorghe*, crossing the county boundary at TL 500/421.

59 *Sepulchra Exposita* (Saffron Walden 1848), pp.9-11,49-50.

60 I am grateful to Mary Hesse for this reference. See Reaney (1935) p.530 n.1; *Liber Eliensis* II.58 pp.129,130 and n. f. 417; P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (London 1968) no.907, p.277; Steven Bassett, 'In search of the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms', in *idem*, ed., *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester 1989) pp.3-27, at p.25 and fig.1.12. The boundaries appear to be at least four years later than the text of the charter.

There is also a furlong called *Spelverden* (presumably for **spell**+**beorg**+**denu**, 'valley') between the strip lynchets and the stream called Sawston ditch at c. TL491/425/CRO Ickleton terrier R63/D.D.B.1115).

**WANSFORD Beds/Nthnts (now Cambs)
TL074/991**

Liber Eliensis II ch. 11, pp.ix,xv, 85; Mawer (1926) p.198; Gover (1933) pp.245-6.

Wylmesforda 972 (MS c. 1200); *Wælmesford* 1184 (15th cent. MS); OE **wielm** (WSxn), **wælm** (Angln), (gen-es) 'of the spring' + **ford**.

Though it did not give its name to one Hundred, the eight Hundreds of Oundle met at Wansford, presumably where the handsome medieval bridge stands (mercifully bypassed by the A1). Taylor has described the importance of Wansford in the Middle Ages, when a number of roads joined to cross the Nene. It was probably the first fording-place upstream from the broken Roman bridge at Water Newton, and so took most of the traffic on the London-York route.⁶¹

WENSLOW Beds

Mawer (1926) p.100; Anderson III (1941) p.19.

Weneslai 1086 DB, *Wodneslawe* 1169; OE *Wōden* persn (deity), (gen *Wōdnes*) + OE **hlāw**, 'mound, hill'.

There are no clues as to the site. The Half-Hundred included five settlements, and is not mentioned after 1287.

WETHERLEY Cambs ? TL367/515

Anderson I (1934) pp.104-5; Reaney (1943) p.69; *RCHM Cambs I, West Cambs* (1968), pp.129,135; *VCH Cambs V* (1973) p.138 n.5; *Cambs SMR* 03288.

Wedrelai 1086 DB; OE **wed̥er** (gen pl **wed̥ra**), 'a castrated ram, a wether', + **lēah**, 'woodland clearing'.

The name is now lost, and does not appear to have been used for a settlement. Clues to its siting are *Wetherle Grene* 1322, in *Barrington*;⁶² *Wetherle(e)feld* fourteenth century,

in Little Eversden, *Wedryleweye* 1402 etc. in *Harlton*. *VCH* noted that the name was also recorded c. 1275. Reaney said

The place must have been near the high ground (once woodland) jutting eastwards into the hundred near the junction of the parishes of Orwell, Little Eversden, Harlton and Barrington.

The best suggestion appears to be a mound (150 ft diameter and only 6-9 in. high) at Maypole Farm, which is just in Harlton parish but near the junction of four parishes and two Roman roads. The site of the Maypole is shown on this mound on the 1825 map of the estates of Queens' College, Cambridge,⁶³ on the 1836 map, and on the first edition of the OS 25-inch map (1886). According to *RCHM*, pottery dating from the eleventh century to the fourteenth has been found on the surface of the mound.

Though on the northwestern boundary with *LONGSTOW* (which forms a compact subrectangular block with *Wetherley*), the Maypole site is quite central for the Hundred. It is 'on a prominent hill, 200 ft above sea level', with a wide view towards the north. A visit to the site in September 1992 failed to identify the mound among the long grass.

WHITTLESFORD Cambs TL484/472

Anderson I (1934) pp.102-3; Reaney (1943) pp.92,98.

Witelesford 1086 DB; OE *Wit(t)el* persn, (gen *Witles*) + **ford**.

Named from the village of Whittlesford (*Witelesforde* 1086 DB; the second smallest settlement in the Hundred), or from the ford which gave its name to both.

Unfortunately, it is not clear which ford this was. C.C. Taylor has argued that Whittlesford village originally ran east-west along a main street, and that the ford was that at TL476/485⁶⁴ where there is now a footbridge leading to a path to Sawston — though a mill and drainage have altered the river topography and there are several separate

southwest towards Barrington.

It must therefore be a coincidence that on the Orwell 1836 plan of Carriage Roads etc. (Cambridge University Library MS Plans R.a.8) the name Hole Way is written along the major Roman road, just within Orwell parish, and in the 1686 Orwell estate map (CUL Maps.Deposited R.a.1) a field by the road at the same spot is named *Hollway Furlong*.

63 Now held in Cambridge University Library, Queens' College no. 355/A and B, map on p. 17.

64 C.C. Taylor, *Roads and Tracks* (1979) pp.106-7.

61 C.C. Taylor, *Roads and Tracks of Britain* (London 1979) pp.121-2,194.

62 Reaney characterised this reference as 'near the Whole Way', but Professor J.H. Baker (Archivist of St Catharine's College) has kindly checked the reference for me, and it appears that there are two descriptions of separate pieces of land, one to a piece of land near *Wetherle Grene*, the other, immediately afterwards, to another piece of land near the Whole Way. The deed (in St Catharine's Barrington Collection VIII/1/16, dated the Sunday before SS. Simon and Jude 16 Edw.II, i.e. 24 October 1322) does not state, therefore, that *Wetherley Green* was near the Whole Way (which in Barrington runs nowhere near the Maypole site). On the modern six-inch map, it is a track running southwest from Harlton, with an angle at 377/519, then south-

streams. However, about a mile to the south one of the branches of the Icknield Way also crossed the Cam at a ford, where there was later a bridge called *Wytltisfordebrige* 1279. There is now a bypass and the present bridge is a little to the south. Four parishes joined at this spot, and it would have made a good and typical meeting place, especially, perhaps, for the moot of the county notables at Whittlesford in the late tenth century.⁶⁵ In the later Middle Ages a priory with a 'hospital' (a hostel for wayfarers?) was founded nearby.⁶⁶ The area of the Hundred is very small, and any of the suggested sites would have been close for the DB population.

However, a Mutlow is later evidenced, probably with *Mitlowdene* in c. 1280 in Duxford and certainly in 1598 in Whittlesford, with *Moutlow Moor*. N. Maynard, a local antiquary, marks Mutlow Hill on his 1837 manuscript map of Whittlesford⁶⁷ with a large pink spot, the same symbol as he used for the Chronicle Hills, which are known to have been Roman barrows (now ploughed away). Though Mutlow Hill is not identifiable on the ground, it was therefore probably a mound, whether sepulchral or not. At roughly TL448/481, it is in Whittlesford parish and Hundred, but very close to the border with Thriplow parish and Hundred. Along this boundary, just northwest of Mutlow, Maynard marks Muttler's Pit and Muttelers, these names probably being corruptions of Mutlow, and connecting Muttlerway — which ran through the open fields of Newton, in THRIPLow Hundred — with Mutlow. Mutlow may therefore have been a joint meeting place for the two Hundreds at least from the thirteenth century onwards. On the borders of UTTLESFORD Hundred (Esx) and Whittlesford was the lost *Spelbeorghe*, which may have been a joint meeting-place for these two Hundreds.

WILLYBROOK Nthnts TL007/970 (King's Cliffe church)

Anderson I (1934) pp.115–16; Gover (1933) pp.4,198–9.

Wilebroc 1086 DB; OE Anglian **wilig*, 'willow', + OE *brōc*, 'brook'.

Named from the Willow Brook, 'a small stream that rises west of Corby and runs

past King's Cliffe to the Nene'. In the fourteenth century the Hundred Court was held at King's Cliffe by the Willow Brook. The church stands on high ground close to the substantial stream, and here a meeting-place in the churchyard, well above the flood plain, would seem an obvious choice, but there is no evidence. The site would have been reasonably central for the Hundred.

WIXAMTREE Beds TL129/466

Mawer (1926) pp.87–8; Anderson III (1941) pp.20–1; Bigmore (1979) p.73.

Wichestanestou 1086 DB; OE *Whstara* persn (gen -es) + OE *stōw*, 'place of assembly'; *Wicstanestre* 1163, + OE *trēo(w)*, 'tree'. The substitution of 'tree' for the more general 'place' is also found in Grimbald's Ash Hundred, Gloucs.

The site of the meeting-place is 'traditionally associated' with Deadman's Oak, at the southern tip of Sheerhatch Wood, Willington; Bigmore remarked that 'a number of tracks and footpaths radiate from it'. It was recorded as *Shirhacche* from 1369 (now Sheerhatch Wood), presumably for OE *scīr*, 'shire' + *āc* (dat sg, *āc*), '(at the) oak'. Deadman's Oak is marked on the OS 1:10,000 map at TL129/466, at the junction of the borders of Willington, Moggerhanger and Northill parishes. Its name may indicate the former presence of a gallows nearby.

Sheerhatch Wood occupies the top of a ridge, with a wide view. There is still an oak tree with a thick trunk on the NE corner of the crossroads, and other tall ones just within the wood.

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65 *Liber Eliensis* p.109.

66 C.E. Sayle, 'The Chapel of the Hospital of St John, Duxford (Whittlesford Bridge)', *PCambsAS* 10 (1898–1903) pp.375–9; *VCH Cambs II* (1948) p.91 n.74.

67 Included in the papers of his son, G.N. Maynard; *Cambs RO R 58/5/9* p.165.

maps I needed constantly to consult.

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Saxon Commons in South Cambridgeshire

Susan Oosthuizen

Introduction

The greens and commons in Cambridgeshire exhibit a bewildering variety and range between the extremes of planned sites similar to those in the north of England and irregular greens like those on the Suffolk clays. Some are apparently ancient, for example the Offal at Comberton and the Offal at Haslingfield, as well as the curious, very large, oval 'village' greens at Haslingfield, Barrington and Harlton. Some appear to be part of a planned village landscape, as at Eltisley, Reach and Kingston. Settlement around others might be the result of post-Conquest shifting village patterns as at Borough Green, Weston Colville and Longmeadow in Bottisham; while in yet other examples, manorial expansion onto earlier waste (the result of the frequent subinfeudation of manors after

1100) led to green-side settlement at Croydon, Litlington and West Wrattling.¹

There are many other examples of greens and commons across Cambridgeshire. This paper restricts itself to three — Whaddon on the southern chalks, Wilburton on Isle of Ely clay and Knapwell on the western clay uplands — and asks whether it is possible, however tentatively, to assess the origins and age of their green and common land (Fig. 1).

Greens and commons have been the subject of dissent and debate among geographers and historians for many years. As recently as 1987, Roberts stated that 'the whole question of defining a "green" remains a troubled one'.² Yet although a categorisation and distribution of different types of green and commons has yet to be achieved, there are clearly many ways in which greens, commons and settlements can interact as the Cambridgeshire examples mentioned above show.³

The argument between ancient and medieval origins for greens and commons across East Anglia rages fiercely at the moment. Peter Warner has argued for a possible Roman origin for many commons on the Suffolk claylands, suggesting that green-side settlement might be secondary (from primary communities on valley gravels) and

1 Comberton: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (hereafter R.C.H.M.), *West Cambridgeshire* (London 1968) pp.48-9; Tom Richens, *Ten West Cambridgeshire Parishes* (private printing n.d., copy in Cambridgeshire Collection).

Haslingfield: R.C.H.M., *West Cambs*, pp.136-7; Richens, *op. cit.*; C.C. Taylor, *The Cambridgeshire Landscape* (London 1973) p.50; Cambridgeshire County Record Office (hereafter C.R.O.) Q/RDc 36.

Barrington: R.C.H.M., *West Cambs*, pp.4-5 and Plate 41; Taylor, *Cambs Landscape*, p.54.

Harlton: R.C.H.M., *West Cambs*, p.129; C.R.O. P84/26.

Eltisley: R.C.H.M., *West Cambs*, pp.89-90; C.R.O. Q/RDc 81.

Reach: R.C.H.M., *North-East Cambridgeshire* (London 1972) pp.85-6; Taylor, *Cambs Landscape* pp.236-8.

Kingston: R.C.H.M., *West Cambs*, p.152; C.C. Taylor, *Village and Farmstead* (London 1983) pp.214-15.

Borough Green: Victoria History of the Counties of England *Cambridgeshire* (hereafter V.C.H.) Vol.6 (London 1978) pp.141-2; C.R.O. 296/SP1214.

Weston Colville: Cambridge University Library (hereafter C.U.L.) Ms Plans 550R; C.R.O. 296/SP1078.

Longmeadow: Taylor, *Cambs Landscape*, pp.56-7.

Croydon: R.C.H.M., *West Cambs*, pp.72-3 and 75-9.

Litlington: V.C.H. Vol.8 (London 1982) p.56; C.R.O. Q/RDc 46.

West Wrattling: V.C.H. Vol.6 pp.191 and 194; C.R.O. P184/26/2.

2 B.K. Roberts, *The Making of the English Village* (London 1987) p.186.

3 Roberts, pp.184-7.

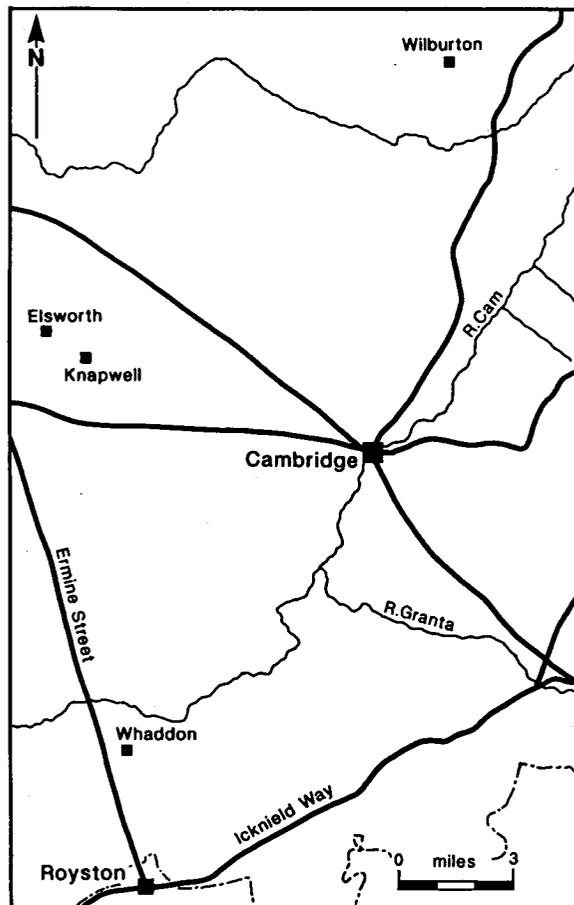


Figure 1. Central Cambridgeshire showing location of sites mentioned.

date from the middle or late Saxon period.⁴ Peter Wade-Martins found shifting post-Conquest settlement around many greens in Launditch hundred, Norfolk, but he did not speculate on the origin of the greens themselves.⁵ In recent work on the Norfolk silt fens, Bob Sylvester has suggested that although irregular greens and commons were characteristic of early villis, settlement did not begin along them until the twelfth century; and he has gone on to speculate that the irregular boundaries of the fenland greens and commons are the result of medieval field creation rather than the remains of a relict landscape.⁶

Perhaps there is less distance between the parties than they suspect. As silts were laid down in the post-Roman period there

is little likelihood of ancient greens surviving in Marshland; and while Sylvester, Wade-Martins and Warner are at variance over the date of green-side settlement, battle over origins of greens themselves does not appear to be joined.

The examples used in this paper have been chosen because each lies in close relationship with a planned settlement, and it is this feature that underlies the argument presented here: that of a chronology in which, working backwards, the building of the church postdates the laying out of a planned settlement and landscape which in turn is later than the common. Thus a latest date by which the common was laid out might be suggested.

Evidence from other parts of England suggests that the large-scale planning of integral nucleated villages and open fields began in the ninth century.⁷ However, Cambridgeshire is unlikely to have participated in this process until after the reconquest by Edward the Elder in 917, partly because of the uncertainty generated by the activities of Viking armies in the area from the mid-ninth century and partly because of the county's isolation in the outer Danelaw after 870.⁸ What little landscape evidence there is suggests that those Danes who settled in Cambridgeshire made few changes to the landscape, and simply settled alongside the existing population.⁹ If this is so, then 917 is a *terminus ante quem* for planned settlement, and 870 a *terminus post quem* for the commons discussed here.

It might be argued that, as at Dry Drayton,¹⁰ planned settlement (and hence the common) might have been later than the tenth century. But at Whaddon and Knapwell an eleventh-century date for churches which, on landscape evidence, postdate the planned settlement, means that these settlements cannot be later than the tenth century and here, at least, a pre-Danelaw date for the commons is likely.

4 Peter Warner, *Greens, Commons and Clayland Colonization* (Leicester 1987).

5 Peter Wade-Martins, 'Launditch village sites', *East Anglian Archaeology* 45 (1980) p.88.

6 R. Sylvester, 'Fenland project No. 3', *East Anglian Archaeology* 45 (1989) pp.162-3.

7 For example, Christopher Taylor, *Village and Farmstead* pp.125-50, or Della Hooke in M. Aston, D. Austin and C. Dyer, (eds.), *The Rural Settlements of Mediaeval England* (Oxford 1989) pp.20-1.

8 C. Hart, *The Danelaw* (Hambledon 1992) pp.10-16 and pp.283-5. See also J. Haslam, 'The development and topography of Saxon Cambridge', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 72 (1982-3) pp.13-19 which describes the early tenth-century planned town on the southern bank of the Cam.

9 Taylor, *Cambs Landscape*, pp.67-9; Taylor, *Village and Farmstead*, pp.123-4 and 126-8.

10 H.S.A. Fox, 'Approaches to the adoption of the midland system' in T. Rowley (ed.), *The Origins of Open-Field Agriculture* (London 1981) pp.64-111.

Whaddon

Topography

The parish lies on chalk, apart from a patch of clay in the northwestern corner and a narrow strip of alluvium along the Ashwell Cam.¹¹ The land rises from the river in the north to about 23 m. above O.D. in the south and east, with the modern village facing north and west from the crest of the hill.¹² Settlement at Whaddon is, and probably has always been, polyfocal along the western and southern sides of the late Saxon manorial estate (now Scalers Manor), along the Great Green and at Dyer's Green (Fig.2).¹³ The extent of pasture is emphasised by the large flocks of sheep grazed here in the medieval period: 247 in 1086 and more than 1000 in 1347, and it is worth noting that both the Great Green and Dyer's Green were intercommonable with Meldreth until 1841.¹⁴

The common

A large funnel-shaped entrance south of the main (Scalers) manor leads east to the Great Green, now enclosed but intercommonable with Meldreth until enclosure in 1841 (Fig.2).¹⁵ The northern side of the entrance is defined by a stream (which continues west as the northern boundary of the Great Green) and the southern side by another small stream. Both streams have been canalised in places to feed medieval moats, while the northern stream once supported a mill mentioned in 1086.¹⁶

One of two pre-Conquest manors, Scalers Manor lies on the northern side of the funnel. Between 1100 and 1350 moated manors proliferated around the common entrance: the Scalers family subdivided the manor, giving the church and the rectory land to Lewes Priory, and by the mid-fourteenth century Rectory Farm had been built within its own moat, east of Scalers Manor along

the northern entrance to the common.¹⁷ Turpin's Manor, derived from the other small pre-Conquest estate, may be identified with Stephen Turpin, who held it in the early thirteenth century.¹⁸ After 1235 half of an estate accumulated by Warin of Soham became Ladybury Manor; this was probably the moat at the western entrance to the green, which was called Lady Bury in the nineteenth century.¹⁹ There is a further moat west of Ladybury whose origin is not known: it might either be Warin's Manor of the other half of his estate (Elsworth Manor).²⁰

By the mid-fourteenth century, green-side settlement had also developed along the northern edge of the Great Green, where the late fourteenth-century Green Farmhouse has been identified with that of Alexander atte Green (mentioned in 1347).²¹ The ditches that enclose the green and define the irregular settlement along the green edge are similar to those identified by Warner as ancient commons in Suffolk.²² Dyer's Green, also entered by a funnel and defined by ditches, lies to the south of the main settlement; major encroachment was underway there by the fourteenth century, when a trading hall was built on it.²³

Evidence for dating the common

A date for the common is suggested by looking at dateable features which lie in close relationship with it, in particular the manorial centre and the church.

Before the early fourteenth century the major (Scalers) manorial demesne at Whaddon lay along the entire northern boundary of the common entrance.²⁴ How ancient was that demesne? Only the core of that estate was demesne land before the Conquest (one hide was held by Turbert the priest 'under the Abbot of Ely T.R.E. . . . so that he could neither give it nor separate it from the church outside the demesne farm of the monks').²⁵ Most of the rest was held by sokemen in a

11 V.C.H. Vol.8 p.142; C.U.L. Maps 35.01.29 and Atlas 3.017.
 12 Ordnance Survey 1:25 000 TL 34 (1960 revision).
 13 V.C.H. Vol.8 p.143.
 14 *Ibid.* pp.146-7.
 15 *Ibid.* p.147.
 16 Inclosure Map 1841 C.R.O. Q/RDc 60; O.S. TL34; A. Rumble (ed.), *Domesday Book: Cambridgeshire* (hereafter DB) (Chichester 1981) 14:29.
 17 V.C.H. Vol.8 p.146; Department of the Environment (hereafter DoE), *List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest No. 155* (London 1986) p.97 Ref. 9/247.

18 V.C.H. Vol.8, p.145.
 19 *Ibid.* pp.145-6.
 20 *Ibid.*
 21 P.H. Reaney, *Placenames of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely* (Cambridge 1943) p.68; DoE List 155 p.95 Ref. 9/244.
 22 Peter Warner, lecture 13th July 1993 Cambridgeshire Federation WEA Summer School.
 23 DoE List 155 p.89 Ref. 11/232.
 24 V.C.H. Vol.8 p.146.
 25 V.C.H. Vol.1 (London 1938) p.418 (*Inquisitio Comitatus*); V.C.H. Vol.8 p.144.

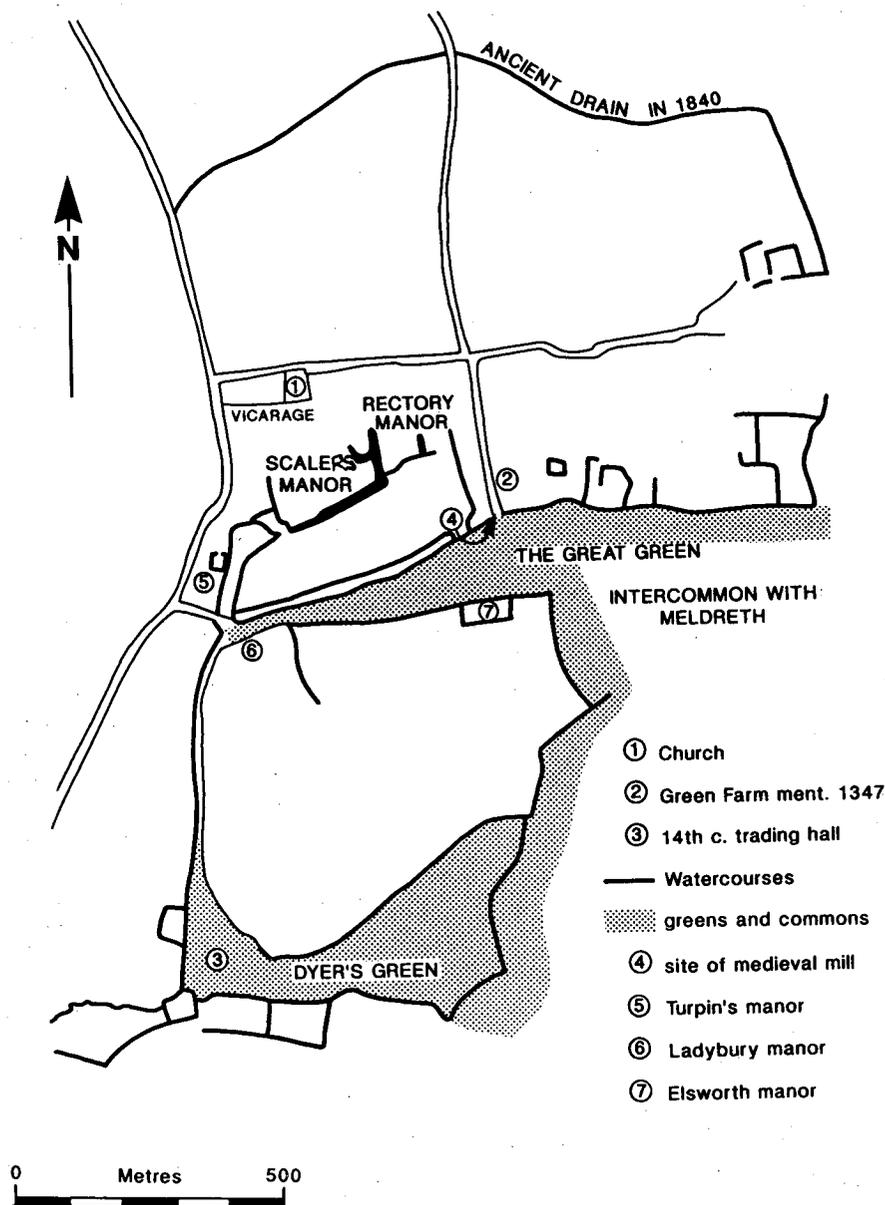


Figure 2. Whaddon — based on 1840 Enclosure map.

multiplicity of small freehold farms before 1066.²⁶

After the Conquest, Hardwin de Scalers created a *caput* at Whaddon for his Cambridgeshire estates by amalgamating Ely's demesne with land held by sokemen who were 'men of the said Abbot who . . . could sell and give [their land] to whom they would without the Abbot's leave, but their soke

remained to the church of St Etheldreda'.²⁷ Can the Abbey of Ely's (and hence the Scaler's) demesne land be identified? The lease of the monastic demesne to a priest in 1065 suggests that a church was present on the land by the mid-eleventh century. As the church physically encroaches on the manor,

26 V.C.H. Vol.1 pp.417-18; e.g. DB 26:26-8.

27 V.C.H. Vol.1 p.418; DB 26: 26-8; and c.f. E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (Cambridge 1951) pp.61-5 for the relationship between commended sokemen and the Abbot.

and the advowson and rectory originally belonged to the de Scalers family, it looks as though Ely's demesne was simply taken over by Hardwin to become Scalers Manor.²⁸

Scalers Manor therefore perpetuates a pre-Conquest manor of the Abbey of Ely. It is not known when the Abbey acquired Whaddon, although a late tenth-century date is likely,²⁹ and it might be that the church at Whaddon was built not long after.³⁰ However, the uneasy position of the church at the periphery of the demesne block (its northern boundary encroaches onto Church Lane north of the Scalers Manor), indicates that the church and vicarage were added to an already defined manorial centre (see Fig. 2). As the Abbey of Ely's block of demesne land predated the building of the church, the manorial site is likely to have been in place by the time of the Abbey's acquisition of the manor in 970. As the demesne is unlikely to be later than 970, how much earlier might it be?

The regular outline of Turbert's land (which includes the later Rectory Manor) suggests a formal plan: it is sub-rectangular with rounded corners, similar to those that Warner found in Suffolk and whose shape he suggests was the result of enclosure with a ring-fence.³¹ Furthermore, the manor and the common entrance form a regular block: the three main village streets (that is, the western, northern and eastern limits of the manor) and the southern boundary of the common entrance form a rough rectangle.³² In the planning lies the clue to the answer of the earlier question: the manor was planned and in place by 970, and is unlikely to be earlier than 917.

However, the common is earlier than the manorial demesne as the manor was laid out respecting the common's alignment. The common itself also exhibits some ancient features, including an irregular boundary, with its position straddling a parish boundary

and intercommoning with Meldreth until enclosure.³³ The common was retained from an earlier, dispersed landscape when the manor was laid out in the tenth century, and if this is so is likely to have at the latest an early to mid-Saxon origin.

However, there is a little circumstantial place-name and topographical evidence that hints at the survival of a Roman landscape at Whaddon. The place name, meaning 'wheat hill', is topographical, i.e. an indicator of early settlement;³⁴ it describes a cultivated landscape which might relate to one of the nearby Roman villas,³⁵ and it refers to the hill on whose slopes the village now stands.³⁶ As common, demesne and village lie on the hill, the conjunction of place-name and landscape evidence presents the tantalising possibility that the common is the last remnant of a Roman or sub-Roman landscape.

Wilburton

Topography

Wilburton lies on the southern slopes of the Isle of Ely on a long clay promontory reaching out westward into the fen. Its western parish boundary lies along a lane which transects a large common known as 'Haddenham Pastures', the other part of which lies in the neighbouring parish of Haddenham.³⁷ The village lies along the crest of the promontory on an outcrop of gault; Haddenham Pastures lies on the northern slopes of the promontory on the underlying Kimmeridge clay.³⁸

The common

The enclosure map shows the church occupying the central part of a triangular green, once a funnel-shaped entrance to the Haddenham Pastures to the west (see Fig. 3): the 'pasture for the village livestock' mentioned in 1086.³⁹ The map records a lane that defines the northern part of the common's eastern boundary, while the southern part of that boundary near the church

28 V.C.H. Vol.8 p.149.

29 Miller, pp.16-17.

30 There is no evidence for an early church at Whaddon. There was a minster in the next parish at Meldreth (c.f. DB 5:32). It is very likely that the Abbey at Ely was responsible for building the church at Whaddon as it was at other places which it acquired in 970, for example Hauxton V.C.H. Vol.8 pp.194-6 and 202-3. See also Richard Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London 1989) pp.141ff. and pp.228-9. Whaddon's earlier interdependence on Meldreth receives support from the Domesday landowners who held land in both parishes c.f. DB 5:29-33, 14:28-32 and 26:26-30.

31 Warner, *Greens* p.45.

32 V.C.H. Vol.8 p.143.

33 Warner, *Greens*, p.8.

34 Reaney, p.68; V.C.H. Vol.8 p.142; M. Gelling in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), *English Medieval Settlement* (London 1979) pp.117-18 and in D. Hooke (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (Oxford 1989) pp.70-1.

35 V.C.H. Vol.8, p.54; V.C.H. Vol.7 (London 1978) p.46.

36 O.S. TL34.

37 O.S. TL47/57 (1984 ed.).

38 C.U.L. Maps 35.01.27 and Atlas 3.017.

39 Inclosure Map 1850 C.R.O. Q/RDc 75; DB 5:51.

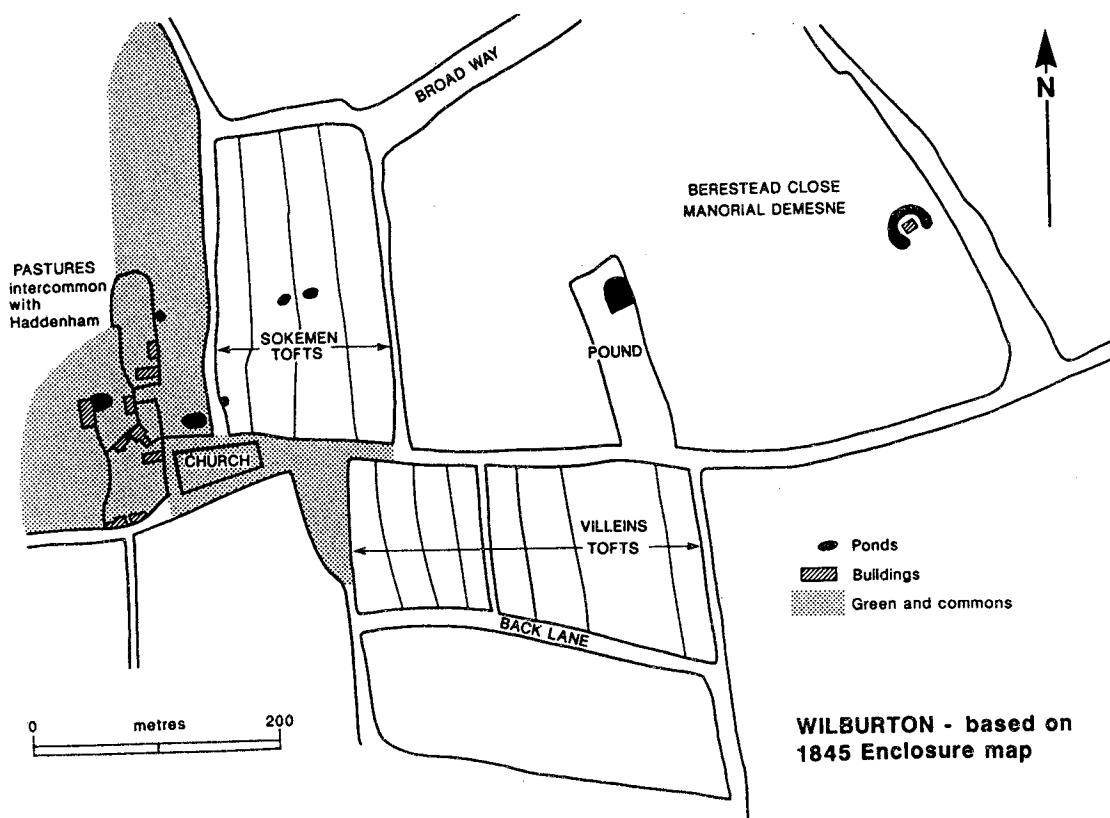


Figure 3. Wilburton — based on 1845 Enclosure map.

shows three successive encroachments on the pasture.⁴⁰ A fine late fifteenth-century farmhouse (significantly known as 'The Grange') immediately west of the churchyard is one of the earliest (most easterly) of these encroachments. It is a nice example of the amalgamation of holdings from the later fourteenth century (which is also a feature of Suffolk clayland commons).⁴¹

Evidence for dating the common

At Wilburton the manorial centre is the Berestead whose subrectangular plan, like that at Whaddon, is suggestive of the Saxon 'ring-fence boundary' that Warner found in Suffolk. The manor was given to the Abbey of Ely in 970.⁴² Its name, derived from *burh*,

supports a pre-Conquest attribution.⁴³ The demesne is laid out in a commanding position along and respecting the northern boundary of the common entrance.

Can the common be dated? An early date, based on topographical and historical evidence is suggested. The argument rests on a three-phase development of settlement at Wilburton of which the church is the latest:

- (i) the creation of the Berestead whose rounded corners and sub-rectangular plan are in alignment with the common which was already in place;⁴⁴
- (ii) the addition of planned tofts and crofts, whose regular geometry contrasts with that of the Berestead. The block of four large tenements north of the green might be those that belonged to four sokemen who owned land in Wilburton at the time of the Conquest, while a block of eight smaller units south of the green of uniform width and with a common Back Lane might coincide with the

40 C.R.O. Q/RDc 75.

41 DoE, *List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest No. 35* (London 1988) p.17 Ref. 8/39; F.W. Matland, *Collected Papers* (Cambridge 1911) p.392ff.

42 Warner, *Greens* p.45; V.C.H. Vol.4 (London 1953) p.168.

43 M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past* (London 1979) p.122.

44 Warner, *Greens* p.45.

- holdings of nine villeins listed in 1086;⁴⁵
- (iii) the construction of the church on the green. If church and village were contemporary, then positioning the former obstructing the common entrance makes little sense. A more likely explanation is the insertion of the church into the plan where it encroaches on neither arable nor pasture, both increasingly valuable.

Let us, then, consider dating these sequences and relating these dates to the common. Working backwards, it is likely that the church was built during the eleventh century after the Abbey of Ely acquired the manor.⁴⁶ This means that the village was probably laid out within about a century after 917. The Berestead represents a yet earlier phase of settlement, for which the latest possible date is the early to middle tenth century (that is, before the planned settlement) and is consistent with Warner's suggestion of a mid to late Saxon date for this type of plan.⁴⁷ As the Berestead and the settlement are aligned on the edge of the common, the common must be earlier than both; and as it is unlikely to be part of a ninth-century planned landscape, it probably pre-dates the Danish invasions and an early to mid-Saxon date might be ascribed to it.

Knapwell

Topography

Knapwell is a small triangular parish lying on the western claylands of Cambridgeshire. The medieval village lies on a belt of Kimmeridge clay that runs west-east, while a finger of Oxford clay runs south along the brook which forms the parish's eastern boundary.⁴⁸ Knapwell is a daughter settlement of Elsworth to the west, and had evolved into a settlement in its own right by about 1000 AD.⁴⁹ The routes that cross the parish from west to east are derived from a prehistoric ridgeway of which the modern A45 is the principal survivor. The medieval main street lay along one of these routes which connected Elsworth

with woodland and waste along the Knapwell/Boxworth boundary; it shifted in the post-medieval period to its present north-south orientation.⁵⁰

There was ancient common at Knapwell, where Elsworth cattle were grazed in pastures that were enclosed by 1290.⁵¹ Despite this right of intercommon and Knapwell's parish boundaries indicate Knapwell's earlier dependent status, Rackham has shown that woodland clearance in the parish was well under-way in the Saxon period; parish development was sufficiently advanced for Knapwell to be a defined estate by 1000 and an independent settlement by 1086.⁵²

The common

The medieval main street of Knapwell runs along the northern side of a funnel-shaped common (see Fig.4) towards the brook that forms the parish's eastern boundary. The southern boundary is defined by property boundaries in the west, whose alignments are continued along a bank in the east.⁵³ The identification of this bank with the southern boundary of the common entrance is supported by the existence of straight, post-medieval ridge and furrow south of the bank, which had defined the boundary between arable and pasture by the mid-eighteenth century.⁵⁴ The present triangular open area in front of the church is its last remnant.

The common might once have been larger: a narrow finger of Oxford clay lines the shallow valley of the brook to the south. It is tempting to speculate that the enclosed pastures of 1290 lay along the Oxford clay under the post-medieval plough ridges. Circumstantial evidence in support of widespread pastures in this area comes from the neighbouring parish of Boxworth: immediately on the other side of the brook lay woodland that had been sufficiently cleared by the eleventh century for a major manor to stand there, connected with Knapwell by the latter's medieval high street. That moated site is associated with a large bank which, it has been suggested,

45 DB 5:51.

46 There is no evidence for an early or a minster church at Wilburton. On the other hand there is evidence from other Abbey of Ely manors that the Abbey built parish churches on its manors in the eleventh century, as at Hauxton, referred to in note 31 above.

47 Warner, *Greens* p.45.

48 C.U.L. Maps 35.01.29 and Atlas 3.017.

49 V.C.H. Vol.9 (London 1989) p.333.

50 R.C.H.M., *West Cambs* pp.160-3; V.C.H. Vol.9 p.332; C.C. Taylor, *Roads and Tracks of Britain* (London 1979) pp.2-3.

51 V.C.H. Vol.9 p.334

52 Oliver Rackham 'Knapwell Wood' *Nature in Cambridgeshire* 12, 25-31; V.C.H. Vol.9 p.332; DB 7:5.

53 Inclosure Map 1775 C.R.O. Q/RDc 1; R.C.H.M., *West Cambs* map p.162.

54 *Ibid.*

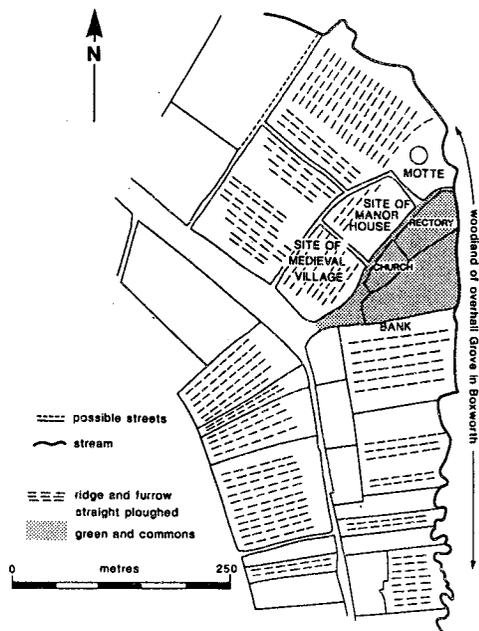


Figure 4. Knapwell — based on 1775 Enclosure map and R.C.H.M. plan.

was related to cattle pasturage, while 'Great Knapwell Pasture' and 'Thorowfare Pasture' lay just to the south. All this evidence, it is tentatively suggested, might indicate that the pasture in this area lay along the brook.⁵⁵

Evidence for dating the common

As at Wilburton and Whaddon, it might be possible to date the common by looking at the relationship between the common entrance, the village and the church. A two phase development is suggested:

- (i) the rectangular plan of the village with parallel streets, whose decayed grid still just survived in the eighteenth century, suggests that the medieval settlement at Knapwell was formally laid out in alignment with the northern boundary of the common entrance. The manor (which belonged to the Abbey of Ramsey from the late tenth century) was part of the plan;⁵⁶
- (ii) the position of the church, encroaching on the common and outside the village plan (which here incorporates the manor) suggests that the church post-dates the

primary village layout and was a later addition. There is a slight indication of an early eleventh-century church: the evidence hangs on the exclusion of a piece of land from two successive land grants between 1016 and 1044, and as the latter grant mentions the excluded land in relation to a priest and a monk, it has been suggested that this might be an early reference to the church.⁵⁷

Let us, then, consider dating these sequences and relating these dates to the common. It seems likely that the church was present by the first half of the eleventh century. This means that the village was probably laid out between 917 and the late tenth century. As the settlement is aligned on the edge of the common, the common must be earlier; and as it is unlikely (on the basis of earlier argument) to be part of a ninth-century planned landscape, it probably pre-dates the Danish invasions and an early to mid-Saxon date might be ascribed to it.

Conclusions

These three settlements share a number of common factors:

- (i) each common bears the marks of antiquity, lying across parish boundaries and with evidence of intercommoning in two cases;
- (ii) in each settlement the manor occupies a commanding position in relation to the common entrance;
- (iii) each settlement is aligned on and post-dates the entrance to the common;
- (iv) in each case the position of the church suggests that it is a later insertion into an already existing plan.

By using the inter-relationships between these features to suggest dates before which the commons must have been in existence, it is argued that at latest these commons are survivals of an early or mid-Saxon dispersed landscape, remaining in a late Saxon or early medieval planned landscape.

Acknowledgment

I should like to thank Phillip Judge for drawing the figures.

55 V.C.H. Vol.9 pp.269 and 272, and map p.272.

56 R.C.H.M., *West Cambs* pp.162-3; V.C.H. Vol.9 p.332.

57 V.C.H. Vol.9 p.333.

Cambridgeshire Earthwork Surveys VI

A.E. Brown & C.C. Taylor

This paper is another in the series in which archaeological earthwork sites in the county are described. The plans of both Croxton and Madingley have been produced by students attending extra-mural courses organised jointly by the Department of Adult Education of Leicester University and the Board of Continuing Education at Cambridge.

Croxton: Settlement Remains (TL253592; Figs 1 and 2)

The medieval and later settlement remains within Croxton Park were first described by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.¹ The incomplete nature of the Commission's description, together with the lack of a suitable plan of what is one of the best groups of medieval earthworks in the county, encouraged the writers to re-examine the remains. The existence of a recent parish history by the Victoria County History,² which was not available to the Commission, also meant that the details of the development and decline of Croxton can now be better understood.

The settlement at Croxton is first mentioned in Domesday Book in 1086, when it was divided into two estates. An attempt to trace the descent of these manors has been made by the Victoria County History, though this is not entirely satisfactory and some revision may be possible. The larger of the two holdings in Domesday Book can

indeed be traced from 1086 to the nineteenth century and eventually became known as Croxton manor. A smaller holding is also traceable until 1279, after which it is lost, perhaps being merged with the larger holding. At the same time the 1279 Hundred Rolls³ list two other holdings that appear to have come into existence after 1086. One was a very small manor, held by the Priory of Huntingdon, and which was already in the priory's hands in 1124-9. This is likely to have been sub-infeudated from the larger of the two Domesday manors by the founder of the priory, Eustace de Lovetot, who held the manor in 1086. The larger of the 1279 holdings was in the hands of the Charles family. This holding was not recorded until 1274 though it might originally have been part of the major Domesday estate. This holding can be traced as the manor of Westbury down to 1806 when it was bought by the Leeds family, who had owned Croxton manor since 1571. The Westbury manor also included the former priory land which had been sold to the owners of Westbury in 1669-73. After 1806, therefore, the whole parish, with the exception of the glebe land, was in the hands of the Leeds family. Between 1573 and 1589, the family appears to have rebuilt the Croxton manor house which was later, in 1761, largely encased in brick by Edward Leeds.⁴

The last member of the Leeds family at Croxton, Sir George, succeeded to the estate in 1808. Perhaps partly to improve the agricultural value of the parish which was

1 Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (hereafter R.C.H.M.E.), *West Cambridgeshire* (London 1968) Croxton (16).

2 Victoria County History (hereafter V.C.H.), *Cambridgeshire Vol.5* (London 1973) pp.36-42.

3 *Rotuli Hundredorum* (London 1812) pp.508-10.

4 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* Croxton (2).

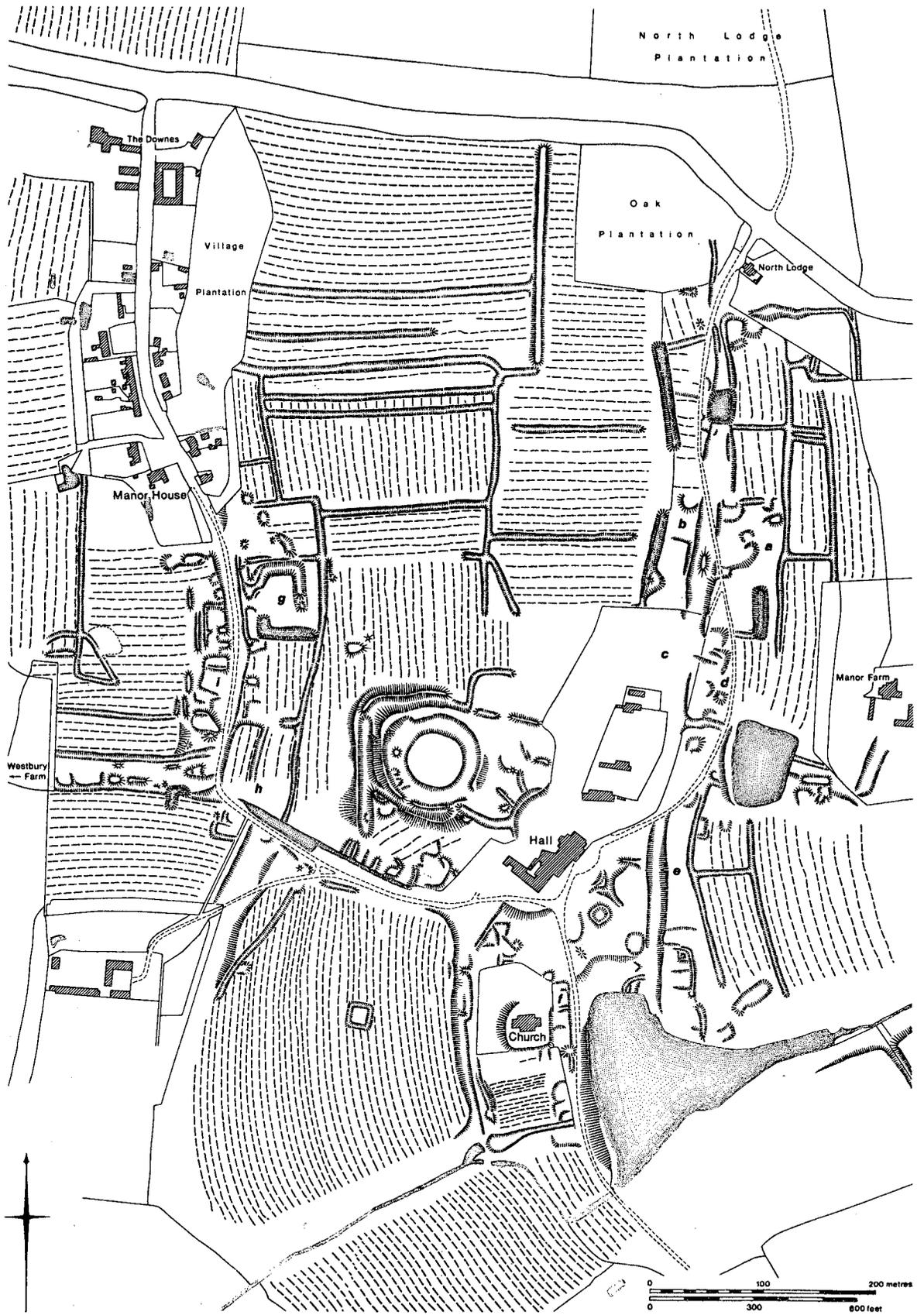


Figure 1. Settlement and garden remains, Croxton.

then poor, and possibly to take advantage of the general war-time agricultural prosperity, Sir George obtained an Act of Enclosure in 1811. The Award was not made until 1818, by when the estate was apparently in a poor condition as a result of the post-war depression. Sir George conveyed Croxton to trustees in 1818 and they sold it in 1825 to the Newton family. The Newtons were descended from an early eighteenth-century Liverpool merchant, Samuel Newton, who had purchased a landed estate at Bangor (Flintshire) in 1730–40 and it was either Samuel's grandson, another Samuel, or great-grandson, George Newton, who purchased Croxton. Either or both of these created the extensive landscape parkland around Croxton Hall almost immediately afterwards. The Newtons remained at Croxton until 1942 when Lady Myra Fox, the only daughter of George Newton, first and last Baron Eltisle, succeeded.

The population of Croxton has varied considerably over the centuries. In 1086 there was a recorded population of 23. Of these, 16 belonged to the estate which was to become the Croxton manor and seven to the smaller holding. By 1279 there were 65 landholders in Croxton, indicating a considerable increase in population, perhaps in part either the result of or the basis for the development of the Westbury manor. By the early fourteenth century, in common with neighbouring parishes, at least 100 acres of land in Croxton had gone out of cultivation. This was perhaps a reflection of a contemporary drop in population, for in 1327 only 44 people paid the Lay Subsidy. The population of Croxton remained at this low level, and perhaps even continued to fall, until the later sixteenth century, when there were 25 households there. Numbers rose slightly in the later seventeenth century, levelled off in the eighteenth century to some 50 families and then declined slowly until 1811, when there were only 33 families there. Thereafter population levels rose again until 1871.⁵

This brief summary of the history of the tenure and of the population of Croxton has to be related to the earthwork remains of settlement on the ground as well as to the wider landscape of Croxton. The surviving village, the earthworks and indeed the Enclosure Map of 1811 indicate clearly that Croxton village was formerly made up of two quite distinct parts. That is, it was a polyfocal

settlement.⁶ The problem is to try and fit the tenurial holdings into this polyfocal village. The location of the parish church, the holders of its advowson, together with the position of the Hall and the tenurial succession of Croxton manor all suggest that the western part of the village at least was Croxton, perhaps from before the late eleventh century. The existence of a second major holding, later to be called Westbury, from at least 1274, might be equated with the western half of the village if the name of Westbury Farm is of any significance. Thus the duality of form can be tentatively matched to some degree with the late medieval tenurial pattern, though the whereabouts of the two smaller holdings, also in existence in 1279, is unknown. A more serious difficulty is in explaining how the duality of form came into being. Did all or part of the presumed Westbury section of the village come into existence after the eleventh century with the establishment or development of the Charles holding, or was it already there by that time, subsumed within one of the two Domesday holdings?

Croxton

Certainly since the 1820s, the Hall, usually known as Croxton Park, has stood almost alone near the centre of its landscaped park. To the south stands the medieval parish church. To the north, within a shrubbery, are a few garden buildings, while some distance to the northeast is Manor Farm. Until the land to its east was converted to arable in the 1940s, Manor Farm actually stood within a well-treed 'island' in the Park. The farmhouse itself is a sixteenth-century timber-framed structure originally of some pretension, though massively altered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁷

To the south of the Hall is a triangular lake, set at the junction of two minor valleys and with a massive dam up to four metres high on its western, downstream, side. This dam was created in the 1820s as part of the emparking, as apparently was a small rectangular pond further north and perhaps also a long narrow pond further north. The Hall is approached by a carriage drive, which leaves the main Cambridge to St Neots road

5 V.C.H., *op. cit.* pp.36–7.

6 Christopher Taylor, 'Polyfocal settlement and the English village', *Medieval Archaeology* 21 (1977) pp.89–93.

7 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* Croxton (3).

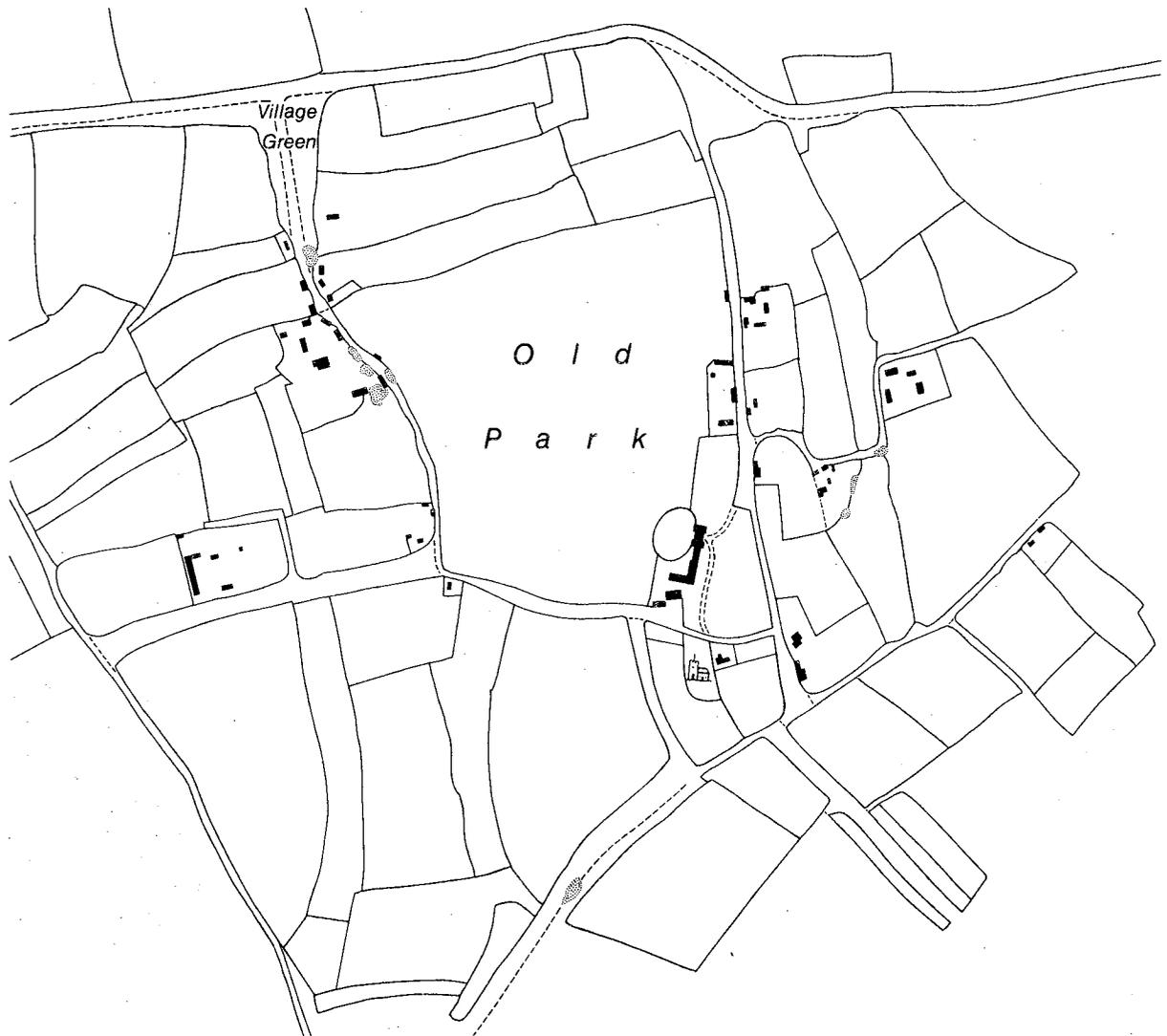


Figure 2. Detail from Croxton enclosure map 1811.

on the northern side of the Park. At the park gate stands a small mid-nineteenth-century bungalow, the North Lodge. The drive swings southwest past the Hall and then divides. One branch runs south past the western end of the lake and once extended through late nineteenth-century plantations to a southern lodge on the Eltisley to Waresley road. The other branch turns northwest, passing another long pond of nineteenth-century date, and then turns sharply north and runs into the Westbury part of the village.

In 1811, before the park was laid out, the situation was very different (Fig.2).⁸ The

North Lodge area was a large triangular open space, with the Cambridge to St Neots road forming its northeastern side. From its southern corner, a road ran south towards the Hall. To the west lay a large area of old pasture called the Old Park. To the east were closes and paddocks. At least four major properties, three with yards and outbuildings, lay along this road. Halfway along it, a curving branch lane to the east served two other farm complexes, one being the existing Manor Farm, before opening into the then still open Mill Field.

The main road continued south past the Hall, then set back within a garden, and then, in the bottom of the valley now occupied by the lake, widened to form a long triangular green. On the east of the green stood another farmstead, allegedly the old

⁸ Cambridgeshire Record Office, Enclosure Map of Croxton 1811.

Parsonage.⁹ At the southern end of the green, a staggered crossroad gave access into the open fields. At the northern end of the green a side road struck off west, passing a single building in a small paddock, the churchyard and a broad droveway running south, all on its southern side; and with the outbuildings of the Hall and the southern side of the Old Park to the north.

The appearance of Croxton, therefore, in 1811 is one not of a village but what may be termed a hamlet of no more than eight and perhaps only five scattered farmsteads, two or perhaps four other dwellings, the Hall and the church. Further, though the pattern of associated property boundaries, as well as the road arrangement, suggests that there might once have been another four to six dwellings, it is also clear that at least in the immediately preceding years, Croxton was neither large nor nucleated. It was also highly irregular.

The surviving earthworks (Fig. 1) support this early nineteenth-century picture, despite the fact that they have been severely damaged by later activities. Nowhere do they indicate any former nucleation or regularity. They, too, suggest that Croxton was never very different from its arrangement in 1811, beyond perhaps having had a few more dwellings in large closes.

The former road from the north is visible as a broad hollow-way south of North Lodge, passing between a number of paddocks or closes, all with ridge-and-furrow within them. It is possible that some of these closes, especially the two rectangular ones to the east of the road, might once have had farmsteads within them similar to those further south, but no trace now remains. To the west of the hollow-way only ridge-and-furrow, apparently earlier than the large area of ridge-and-furrow further west, exists.

To the south again, the site of the major courtyard farmstead on the east of the road, set within a rectangular close, is still clear ((a) on Fig. 1). The position of the former buildings is indicated by a disturbed area of scarps with a later pond cut into the southeastern corner of the well-marked ditched close. Opposite, across the hollow-way to the west, a low curved scarp (b) seems to mark the site of a single building shown there in 1811, while an L-shaped platform to the south,

set in an open area between the hollow-way and a later pond to the west, might mark the site of another building. Further south again, the large farmstead complex shown west of the street on the Enclosure Map of 1811 (c) has no remains. Its site lies within the nineteenth-century shrubbery of the Hall. Across the street to the east, however, the remains of another farmstead and close survive (d). The area of earthworks that indicates former buildings is larger than the two buildings shown in 1811. The rear of the close has ridge-and-furrow within it.

The southern edge of this last close (d) is bounded by a shallow narrow hollow-way running off the main street. This hollow-way which, after a few metres, is cut and destroyed by the nineteenth-century rectangular pond, is the western end of a curving side lane shown leading to Manor Farm and beyond in 1811. The pond has obliterated its curved form but the hollow-way reappears east of the pond and can be traced, much damaged, turning sharply north towards Manor Farm as it did in 1811. The site of the farmstead on the way's southern side now lies beneath the pond; the location of the large building shown in the adjacent close, lying along the main street to the west, is partly recognisable as a sub-rectangular scoop. Part of the boundaries of the associated closes of both this building and of the farmstead survive as ditches, but at least at one point they are clearly cut through earlier ridge-and-furrow.

Immediately to the south the pattern of the 1811 property boundaries suggests the possibility of another, and perhaps two, former dwellings but nothing is visible on the ground (e). Here the adjacent hollow-way deepens considerably as it descends the valley side and there are slight indications of it widening to form the 'green' of 1811 before it disappears beneath the lake. Immediately north of the lake and on the eastern side of the hollow-way are the well-marked remains of the northernmost of two buildings shown here in 1811, together with an outer embanked boundary. A large former pond to the east looks ancient but is not shown in 1811.

The line of the former road running west towards Westbury is hardly visible, though the position of the buildings shown east of the church in 1811 may be tentatively identified (f). The church itself stands on a low mound, while to the west of the now-enlarged churchyard a well-preserved hollow-way running from north to south has exactly the form shown by the road there on the Enclosure

⁹ N. Simons, 'Croxton Church, Cambridgeshire', *Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society* 4 (1930) pp.279-80.

Map. At its northern end, the hollow-way joins the road to Westbury, while on the south it meets a broad droveway, also shown as existing in 1811.

Westbury

The western part of Croxton, Westbury, is now confined to a single street running north-south, lined with dwellings on both sides. At its southern end, the street enters the park and continues south and then south-east towards the Hall as a drive. At the extreme northern end of the street, there is a large mid-nineteenth-century farmhouse called The Downes, whose associated buildings spread over both sides of the road. Further south are some late nineteenth-century dwellings, four seventeenth- to eighteenth-century cottages, a terrace of nineteenth-century cottages, a seventeenth-century house remodelled to form a lodge to the park in the 1820s and the Manor House, a remarkable late medieval structure remodelled in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁰ Well to the southwest, west of the Park and now quite isolated, lies Westbury Farm. This is another late medieval building, which was once surrounded by a moat.¹¹

The Enclosure Map of 1811 again shows a very different picture. At the northern end of the street in the area now occupied by The Downes farmstead is a broad triangular area named as Village Green, but with no buildings around it beyond two at its extreme southern end and sited at the ends of long curving plots. To the south, five other buildings are shown, three to the east and two to the west of the street, all lying at the street ends of other curving plots. Immediately to the south of the western side of the street a very large close is shown containing what is the present Manor House and ranges of buildings to its north and southeast. The house, which became the later lodge, is shown without property boundaries on the edge of the Old Park.

Further south again the road running south forms a T-junction with the road running west from Croxton church and continuing west as a broad droveway past Westbury Farm. In the northwestern angle of this junction a large close contains four buildings, two confined within an inner boundary. Almost opposite on the southern side of the junc-

tion was a single building, also within a small plot. To the west, Westbury Farm and its outbuildings are depicted.

The earthworks associated with Westbury are very different from those at Croxton. The existing drive south from the village which lies almost entirely within a hollow-way, marks the continuation of the line of the former street. On its eastern side, and entirely within the area known as the Old Park, are the remains of four apparent rectangular closes, bounded on their east by a continuous ditch, and all seemingly laid out over former ridge-and-furrow. The northernmost close has slight traces of ridge-and-furrow in its eastern half but the remains of any former buildings at its western end have been destroyed. The next close to the south (g) is almost entirely taken up with what may be two-and-a-half sides of a former moated site, though the two L-shaped ponds are curiously arranged, the 'interior' is featureless and there are scarps and banks, perhaps of former dwellings on the western, roadside, edge. The next close is almost entirely covered by ridge-and-furrow, which appears to be earlier than the close boundary to the east but which, at the same time, overlies slight scarps on the western edge that appear to be the remains of former buildings. To the south again the last close is also occupied by ridge-and-furrow, which again overlies a large rectangular raised platform in the southwest (h). It is possible that these four closes are in fact an optical illusion in that the continuous eastern boundary is a late feature cutting across the earlier ridge-and-furrow. If this is so, then there are indeed traces of former occupation along the eastern side of the road, but all have been overploughed at a later date.

To the west of the hollow-way is a continuous line of house platforms and scooped depressions (i). Those at the southern end are very disturbed and mark the position of the buildings shown there in 1811. Except for the southernmost one, these house sites have no rear tofts or closes and normal ridge-and-furrow terminates within a few metres of their western edges. Considerable quantities of pottery, none earlier than the twelfth century or later than the sixteenth century, were picked up during the survey from disturbances at the front ends of these house sites, caused by recent widening of the drive.

At the point where the modern drive turns southeast towards the Hall, the hollow-way meets a broad lane or droveway, bounded by scarps and a ditch, running west towards

10 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* Croxton (5-7), (12-15).

11 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* Croxton (4).

Westbury Farm. This is exactly on the line of the equally broad way shown there in 1811. The site of the single building at the road junction is marked by a small rectangular ditched area, while the broad curving enclosed field to its east and southeast, shown in 1811, appears on the ground to have once been an even wider green lane or driveway running south into the valley and clearly abandoned before 1811.

These earthworks are significant in a number of ways. First they extend the former area of occupation well to the south of the existing village and bring it much closer to the now isolated Westbury Farm. The farm thus may be seen as having been much more integrated with the admittedly rather attenuated and irregular main settlement than appears today. Second, the remains of the apparently medieval house sites have no crofts behind them as would normally be expected. This odd feature is emphasised by the way the Enclosure Map depicts the then existing houses in Croxton village to the north. That is, they too lie not at the ends of normal closes but within extremely long, wide and curving fields, that would normally be interpreted as having been enclosed from former open-field furlongs. Thus, at least the greater part of this section of Croxton may be seen as having been laid over former arable land. Taking this somewhat further, it is just possible to suggest that the same feature may be seen at the extreme northern end of the Croxton part of the settlement. A further point of significance is that some at least of the medieval house sites are in turn overploughed with ridge-and-furrow. That such a situation may be of some antiquity is shown in a document of 1557 not quoted by the Victoria County History,¹² which describes a messuage at Croxton lying in a close that stretched from 'West End Lane' to the east on the 'Way to Gorgesgrene'.

Conclusions

As is so often the case, what appears as a relatively simple picture when viewed from maps or superficially on the ground, inevitably takes on a highly complex appearance, perhaps impossible to interpret, when treated to analytical field survey. Here at Croxton perhaps only a tentative suggestion as to the process of development and change can be made. There were, as has already been

shown, two main tenurial units in Croxton in 1279, Croxton and Westbury, as well as at least two or three smaller ones. Where these were actually located is unclear, but Croxton might have lain near the church and the southern green while Westbury might have been near or more likely just east of Westbury Farm. Both settlements clearly expanded, possibly both northwards towards the main Cambridge to St Neots road, which was then presumably increasing in importance as a major routeway especially after the foundation of St Neots as a 'new' town between 1113 and 1122.¹³ This expansion of the settlements at Croxton appears to have been unplanned, over earlier arable, and thus is unlike the many instances of planned, perhaps seignorial, expansion during this period that have been noted at Cottenham¹⁴ and at Caxton.¹⁵ The subsequent reduction of population in the fourteenth century might have led to the abandonment of the southern end of Westbury, thus isolating Westbury Farm and also perhaps therefore providing the reason for, as the Victoria County History suggests, the transfer of the centre of the Westbury manor to the Manor House in the village. It might also have caused the thinning out of the settlement around the church at Croxton. Thereafter, steady engrossment in Croxton led to a diminishing number of large farmsteads. Certainly by the early sixteenth century, there appears to have been a large number of, probably landless, smallholders and a smaller group of wealthy yeomen, a situation that developed further in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and continued into the later eighteenth century.¹⁶ By 1806, almost the whole parish belonged to the Leeds family, a position that enabled enclosure to be undertaken easily, and the emparking and final clearance of most of both settlements by the Newtons to be completed successfully in the 1820s.

In a wider context, the pattern of unplanned twelfth- and thirteenth-century expansion at Croxton is worth noting, especially as scholars have in recent years concentrated on the impact of settlement planning. The growing body of evidence for such planning, even in Cambridgeshire, is now impressive.

12 British Library, Harl. 45D41.

13 M.W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London 1967) p.456.

14 J.R. Ravensdale, *Liable to Flood* (Cambridge 1974) pp.121-4.

15 Christopher Taylor, *Village and Farmstead* (London 1983) pp.158-60.

16 V.C.H., *op. cit.* pp.40-1.

Caxton and Cottenham have already been noted, while at Spaldwick, too, the process seems clear.¹⁷ Yet steady, unplanned, expansion clearly took place. At Whittlesford, growth both planned and unplanned has been recognised,¹⁸ while close to Croxton at Wintringham, across the old county boundary in Huntingdonshire, both the form of the earthworks and the excavation results indicate that the settlement expanded in a fairly haphazard way.¹⁹ The complexities of medieval settlement change are obvious yet again.

Croxton: Garden Remains (TL251594; Fig.1)

Immediately northwest of the Hall at Croxton and clearly overlying ridge-and-furrow is a large circular feature consisting of a broad round flat-bottomed ditch or depression, bounded on the north, west and south by a large outer bank. Beyond the outer bank to the west is a long narrow former pond, embanked on its western edge. Shallow ditches and low banks extend from the northeastern and southeastern corners towards the present Hall grounds. This feature is not marked on any Ordnance Survey maps, nor on the Enclosure Map. It is described correctly and in detail by R.C.H.M.E.²⁰ and is there identified as the remains of a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century garden. There can be no doubt that, in general terms, this attribution is correct though, despite numerous former garden sites having been identified all over the country in the last 20 years,²¹ no parallel has been noted nor can its original form be suggested. It remains an enigma of garden history. Other slight earthworks immediately southeast of the Hall at Croxton might also be part of a former garden. Alternatively, they might be connected with the settlement remains in the adjacent park.

Madingley: Settlement Remains (TL395603; Fig.3)

The medieval and later settlement remains within the park at Madingley Hall were not recorded by the Royal Commission during their survey of West Cambridgeshire, apart from a hollow-way west of the parish church.²²

The Commission's introduction to the parish of Madingley and the description of the Hall and Park²³ suggest rather than state that much of the village was removed during emparking in the mid-eighteenth century. The present survey confirms this and refines somewhat the details of the earlier village as well as the process of emparking.

The history of Madingley has been well summarised by the Victoria County History.²⁴ For the purposes of this paper only the later details of the manorial descent are relevant. In the 1520s John Hinde, a Sergeant-at-Law and later King's Sergeant and a Justice of the Common Pleas, began buying land at Madingley. By 1543 he owned almost the whole parish and had started building the present Hall. He was knighted in 1545. The Hinde family remained at Madingley until 1647, when the estate passed by marriage to the Cotton family, who also resided at Madingley until 1863, when the estate was broken up. The population figures for Madingley present no unusual features and certainly throughout the period of the emparking and clearance show no fall. The 27 households there in 1563 remained almost exactly the same for 230 years and there were still 28 families in 1794.

The process of emparking at Madingley is by no means clear. A 'way' running west clearly existed across the site of the new Hall prior to 1543, for in 1546 Sir John Hinde had leave to close it.²⁵ The exact location of this 'way' is not known, but a possibility is noted below. The first clear topographical picture is that by Knyff and Kip in about 1705.²⁶ This engraving shows Madingley Hall from the north surrounded on the east, south and north by formal walled gardens, orchards and ponds, and with detached farm buildings or stable ranges to the west. Beyond

- 17 Christopher Taylor, 'Spaldwick', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 78 (1989) pp.71-5.
- 18 Christopher Taylor, 'Whittlesford, the study of a river-edge village', in M. Aston, D. Austin and C. Dyer (eds), *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* (London 1989) pp.207-27.
- 19 Guy Beresford, 'Excavations of a moated house at Wintringham in Huntingdonshire', *Archaeological Journal* 134 (1977) pp.194-247.
- 20 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* Croxton (18).
- 21 A.E. Brown and C.C. Taylor, 'Cambridgeshire earthwork surveys II', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 67 (1977) pp.58-102; Christopher Taylor, *The Archaeology of Gardens* (Princes Risborough 1983); P.E. Everson, 'Field survey and garden earthworks', in A.E. Brown (ed.) *Garden*

Archaeology, Council for British Archaeology Research Report No. 78 (London 1991) pp.6-19.

- 22 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* Madingley (10).
- 23 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* p.176, Madingley (2).
- 24 V.C.H., *Cambridgeshire Vol.9* (London 1989) pp.165-77.
- 25 *Ibid.* p.169.
- 26 F. Knyff and J. Kip, *Britannia Illustrata* (London 1708) plate 57; V.C.H., *op. cit.* Vol.9 p.107.

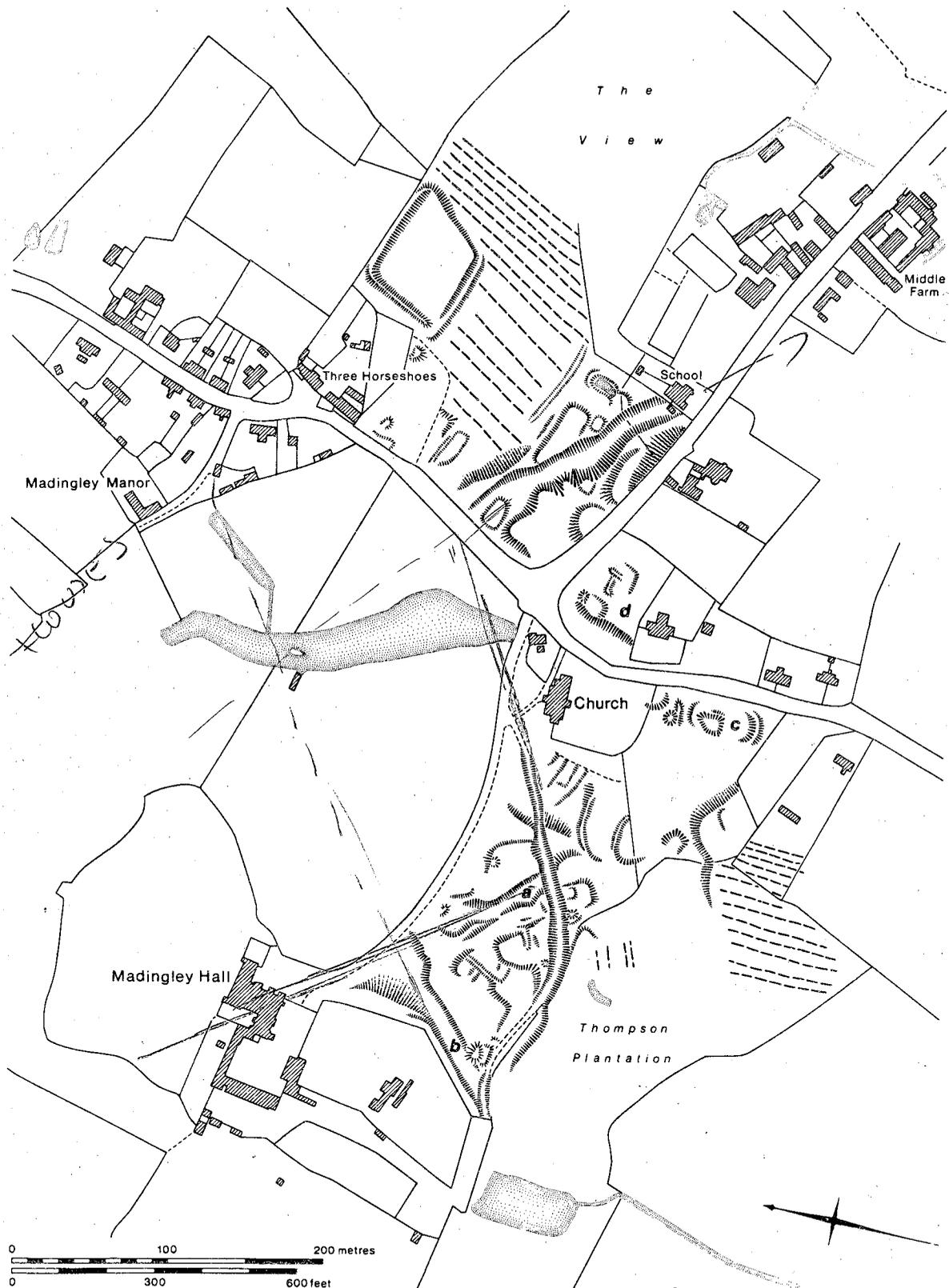


Figure 3. Settlement remains, Madingley.

the Hall on the rising ground to the south and partly hidden by trees, a line of houses can be seen with, at their eastern end, the spire of the parish church. Between the Hall and the trees hiding these houses is a strip of open ground with scattered bushes beyond, and another area of orchards and enclosed formal planting to the west. The main approach to the Hall is shown from the east as a drive running across open parkland with, beyond, a group of trees again partly hiding at least two buildings which thus appear to stand northeast of the church and therefore approximately on the line of the existing road running north to south. If this engraving is close to the actuality, then the parkland would have occupied the lower slopes below the house around and southwest of the present lake, and would perhaps have extended as far as the present drive to the Hall.

In 1756 Sir John Hinde Cotton employed Capability Brown to remodel the grounds at Madingley. The formal gardens were swept away, the parkland was extended to the south, west and north as well as right up to the walls of the Hall, and a serpentine lake, which still exists, was created within the parkland below the Hall to its east. At that time, as far as can be ascertained from the 1705 engraving, the park was bounded by buildings along the existing road. Brown appears to have demolished these buildings, lowered the road so that it lay in the bottom of a large ha-ha, and landscaped the area beyond. The last, still called 'The View', gave viewers from the Hall an uninterrupted vista across apparently continuous parkland, with the towers and spires of the City of Cambridge in the far distance.²⁷ The result of this emparking was to divide the village into the two parts that exist today.

The earthworks

The surviving earthworks confirm this story, but give extra information which both explains the documents and makes Brown's work clearer. Perhaps more importantly, it allows the earlier layout of Madingley to be understood. Nowhere are the earthworks in good condition. As is often the case with late clearance of settlement for emparking, the process of destruction as opposed to slow decay produces rather rounded earthwork

remains whose details are usually far from clear. This is certainly the case at Madingley, though the general outlines are understandable.

The earthworks fall into two distinct groups. The most extensive are those to the west of the church on the rising ground southeast of the Hall. The main feature is a deep, but surprisingly narrow, hollow-way which extends from the main drive just northwest of the church in a broad curve, eventually running alongside Thompson Plantation. After some 260 m. it fades out where the slope flattens. On both sides of this hollow-way, except within Thompson Plantation itself where there are slight traces of ridge-and-furrow, are well-marked terraces and platforms. Quantities of bricks, tiles and seventeenth- to eighteenth-century pottery indicate that these are likely to be the sites of the houses shown hereabouts on the 1705 engraving. However, there are also two other features of note. Halfway along the main hollow-way, on its northern side, and clearly cut by it, is a much broader but shallower hollow-way extending northwest for some 70 m. ((a) on Fig.3). Just northwest of the point at which it fades out another, slighter, hollow-way (b) appears, running southwest for some 110 m. until it, too, is cut by the western end of the main hollow-way. The first of these secondary hollow-ways if projected northwest would have passed through the southern part of the Hall, and the other secondary hollow-way presumably joined it southeast of the Hall. It seems possible that these secondary hollow-ways could well be part of the 'way' across the site of the Hall, closed up by Sir John Hinde in 1546. The main hollow-way is perhaps in origin contemporary with them, but later use after the eighteenth century has led to it being cut through the earlier ones. It is still shown as a drive leading west around the southern side of the kitchen gardens on an estate map of 1811.²⁸

Related to these earthworks might be some very slight irregular and ploughed-over earthworks to the south of the church (c). These could also be the sites of former properties though in 1811 a sinuous shelter belt, presumably laid out by Brown, occupied this area and the earthworks might merely be the result of the removal of the former trees here. Opposite, immediately east of the church, are some rectangular scarps (d). A single

27 Dorothy Stroud, *Capability Brown* (London 1975) pp.79-80; V.C.H. *op. cit.* Vol.9 p.70.

28 Cambridge University Library, Ms Plan 588.

building is still shown here on the second edition Ordnance Survey 25-inch map of 1905, but is not depicted on the Ordnance Survey six-inch map of 1924. In 1811, however, a major farmstead complex occupied the whole paddock.

The second major group of earthworks lies east of the village street and northwest of the school. These again are very rounded and irregular but their main component is a broad hollow-way up to 1.5 m. deep, which springs from the western side of the school yard and runs northwest towards the village street. Just before it reaches that street it bifurcates, and perhaps once formed a small 'green'. On the southern side of the hollow-way up against the modern road to the south are large irregular mounds, formed by dumping spoil taken from the adjacent road. The road is here cut down into the hillside to a depth of 2.5 m. On the northern side of the hollow-way are further low platforms, hollows and scarps. One platform towards the eastern end of the hollow-way is certainly the site of a building, while the slight earthworks along the street, northeast of the 'green', might be the sites of two further properties.

These earthworks must also be the result of Brown's emparking. The hollow-way is presumably the pre-1756 line of the road from Cambridge. It had certainly been abandoned by 1811 and the school, dated 1844, overlies its line. The present road was placed in a deep cutting to the south partly to take it out of the line of 'The View' and partly to hide it from the Hall. The resulting spoil dumped on the northern side of the road helped to achieve this second aim and possibly also covered the sites of former buildings.

The other properties north of the hollow-way, perhaps those just visible north of the church on the 1705 engraving, were presumably moved at the same time. The new road must have returned to the original alignment just east of the school. Its angle of approach suggests this, as do the facts that the existing road thereafter is not in a cutting and that Middle Farm has eighteenth-

century buildings in its yard, indicating that the farm was on an older site. To the east of the Three Horseshoes Inn is a small sub-rectangular ditched and embanked enclosure. No date or function can be assigned to this. It lay within a shelter belt, presumably of the Brown period, in 1811.

Conclusions

The slight remains of the former village are of interest as an example of the results of an emparking scheme by Capability Brown, but they also help to produce a tentative picture of Madingley village before the emparking took place. Today, and since the 1750s, Madingley has consisted of two quite separate parts, in effect a polyfocal village, albeit of very late date. The earthworks, the 1705 engraving and some architectural information suggest a much more complicated earlier arrangement. Before the sixteenth century, Madingley must have comprised the following elements: a main street, lined with dwellings, which extended from south of the church up to the northern end of the present village; a green or crossroads, which lay in the centre with a road lined with dwellings running southeast towards Cambridge and a road extending southwest up the hillside, also with buildings on either side of it; from the latter road, two others ran generally northeast and northwest, joining and then extending northwest across the site of the present Hall; another road, which left the main village just northwest of the Three Horseshoes and ran northwest. This road still remains as a cul-de-sac leading to a house known as Madingley Manor, a remarkable survival of a medieval timber-framed hall house.²⁹ The 1705 engraving, however, shows not only that this road continued west, along the boundaries of the Hall gardens, but also that there were inhabited dwellings along it well to the west of the present manor. All of this indicates a far larger and more complex village plan than now and one that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to recover without detailed field analysis.

29 R.C.H.M.E. *op. cit.* Madingley (3).

Archaeological Investigations at the White Hart, Ely 1991–2

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with contributions from Lisa Moffett & Stephanie Ratkai

Introduction

The following report presents the results of an archaeological excavation and watching brief undertaken in 1991–2, in advance of the construction of three new shop units to the rear of the former White Hart Public House, Market Street, Ely, Cambridgeshire (centred on TL543804; Figs 1A, 1B). The work was carried out by Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit on behalf of the developers, Raglan Property Trust PLC and later Crown Life Pensions Ltd. The project initially involved a desk-top assessment of the archaeological potential of the proposed development zone¹ and of areas outside the final development scheme. A small-scale, two-week-long, excavation in August 1991 was followed by a watching brief during construction groundworks in February and March 1992. The fabric of the White Hart itself is considered in detail elsewhere² and only a summary is presented below.

The excavation defined early medieval burgage plot ditches succeeded by a phase of cultivation. Later occupation was represented by small clay-lined ovens of the fourteenth to

fifteenth centuries. Mortar-mixing pits were constructed when the site became a stonemason's yard in the sixteenth century.

Historical and archaeological background

The urban nucleus of Ely expanded from the higher ground on the west bank of the River Ouse onto the low-lying land to the east, adjoining the river (Fig. 1B). Although the presence of the monastic community, in combination with the market established here in the ninth or tenth century, will have provided an economic stimulus to the growth of an urban community based on trade, the Domesday Book entry suggests that Ely had retained an essentially rural character,³ and this character was maintained into the medieval period.

The presence of a Benedictine monastery (established c. 970 AD), the construction of the present Cathedral from 1081 AD, and the creation of a Bishopric in the City, all provided an initial stimulus for expansion of the town. Growth was led at first by the influx of tradesmen to work on the Cathedral; continued prosperity was a result of monastic and episcopal administration and economic control. A market was established and set out to the north of the Abbey precinct. Examination of the town plan reveals that the present market place defines the eastern end of the elongated medieval market area, which extended to the west as far as The Gallery/Lynn Road. By 1251 an inquisition recorded that Ely had grown at least three-fold since

1 I.M. Ferris and P.J. Leach, 'Ely city centre development: the archaeological implications', *BUFAU Report* 79 (1989).

2 For example N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cambridgeshire*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth 1975) p.383; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 'The White Hart, Ely' (unpubl. report 86271, 1991); Hirst Conservation, 'White Hart and 1 and 2 Market Street, Ely: report on recommended conservation to wall painting (unpubl. 1991); Hirst Conservation, 'White Hart and 1 and 2 Market Street, Ely: survey report on examination of wall plaster for evidence of painted decoration (unpubl. 1991).

3 A. Rumble (ed.), *Domesday Book: Cambridgeshire* (Chichester 1981) p.5.



Figure 1. A) East Anglia; B) Ely and the site; C) the site and its setting.

1086;⁴ the variety of trades referred to in that document, and the description of much assarted land, suggest that Ely still exhibited the semi-rural, semi-urban characteristics common in the period. Continued economic growth into the fourteenth century is suggested by the ranking of Ely as the 29th wealthiest town in England in the 1334 taxation.⁵ By the early-fifteenth century, the city included 520 households, of which 262 were tenants of the Bishop and 195 of the Prior.

By the fifteenth century Ely was in economic decline, and by 1524–5, the city was no longer sufficiently successful to be included in a list of the most prosperous 43 towns in the country.⁶ Further economic decline resulted from the Dissolution, which caused the demolition and sale of much monastic property. Speed's map of 1610 show that some new development had occurred by the early seventeenth century alongside the major routes on the city's outskirts, and in the centre, in the form of infilling of the medieval market place. In the succeeding two centuries, however, the picture is one of stagnation. The draining of the fens in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the arrival of the railway in the following century enhanced Ely's role as a centre for the marketing of agricultural produce.

The White Hart

The White Hart Inn (Fig. 2) is a late-fifteenth-century, jettied, two-storied timber-framed building of quality. The surviving brick kitchen block, built in the seventeenth century in the northeastern corner of the site, is now linked to the front range by a nineteenth century range,⁷ which may have replaced a seventeenth century linking range. Fragments of seventeenth-century wall paintings survive in the west gable wall.⁸ The front and western ranges of the White Hart were rebuilt in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and again during the

nineteenth century.⁹ The western boundary of the inn's rear yard is defined by a range of now derelict brick outbuildings, and the northern boundary by a brick wall incorporating ashlar blocks which may have been robbed from the Cathedral precinct. The White Hart was converted to a coaching inn in the eighteenth century, with the outbuildings being used as stables and gig sheds.

Assessment and potential of the development site

The initial desk-top assessment¹⁰ provided a research design that highlighted the enormous archaeological and academic potential offered by the opportunity to examine the area of the rear tenement plots behind the White Hart. Excavation could provide data on the urban environment and, given the proximity of this area to the market place and its position within the commercial quarter, evidence for craft or industrial processes. Such data had the potential to add to our understanding of the development and economy of Ely, and to contribute to the wider study of urban archaeology in East Anglia.

Site investigations

Initial site investigations took the form of the excavation of two trenches in the yard to the rear of the White Hart Inn, over an 11-day period (Fig. 2). Trench I measured approximately four metres by four metres, and was positioned to investigate the possible continuation of medieval and post-medieval structures to the north of the White Hart. Trench II was L-shaped, comprising two arms 15 m. and 6 m. long, and was located to coincide with the line of two proposed new exterior wall foundation trenches in the medieval backplot area, where evidence of land-division, rubbish disposal and industrial activity was sought.

The upper 0.5 m. of deposits in each trench, comprising post-medieval levelling-up soils and cobbled yard surfaces under the modern tarmac (equivalent to Phase 6 and part of Phase 5), were excavated by mechanical excavator under archaeological supervision, and recorded from the cleaned trench sections. Earlier archaeological features and deposits (equivalent to Phases 1–4 and part

4 Victoria History of the Counties of England, *Cambridgeshire*. Vol. 4, ed. by R.B. Pugh (London 1953) p. 37.

5 J. Patten, *English Towns 1500–1700* (Folkestone 1978) p. 42.

6 *Ibid.* p. 42.

7 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 'The White Hart, Ely'.

8 Hirst Conservation, 'White Hart . . . conservation to wall painting' and 'White Hart . . . evidence of painted decoration'.

9 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 'The White Hart, Ely'.

10 Ferris and Leach, *op. cit.*

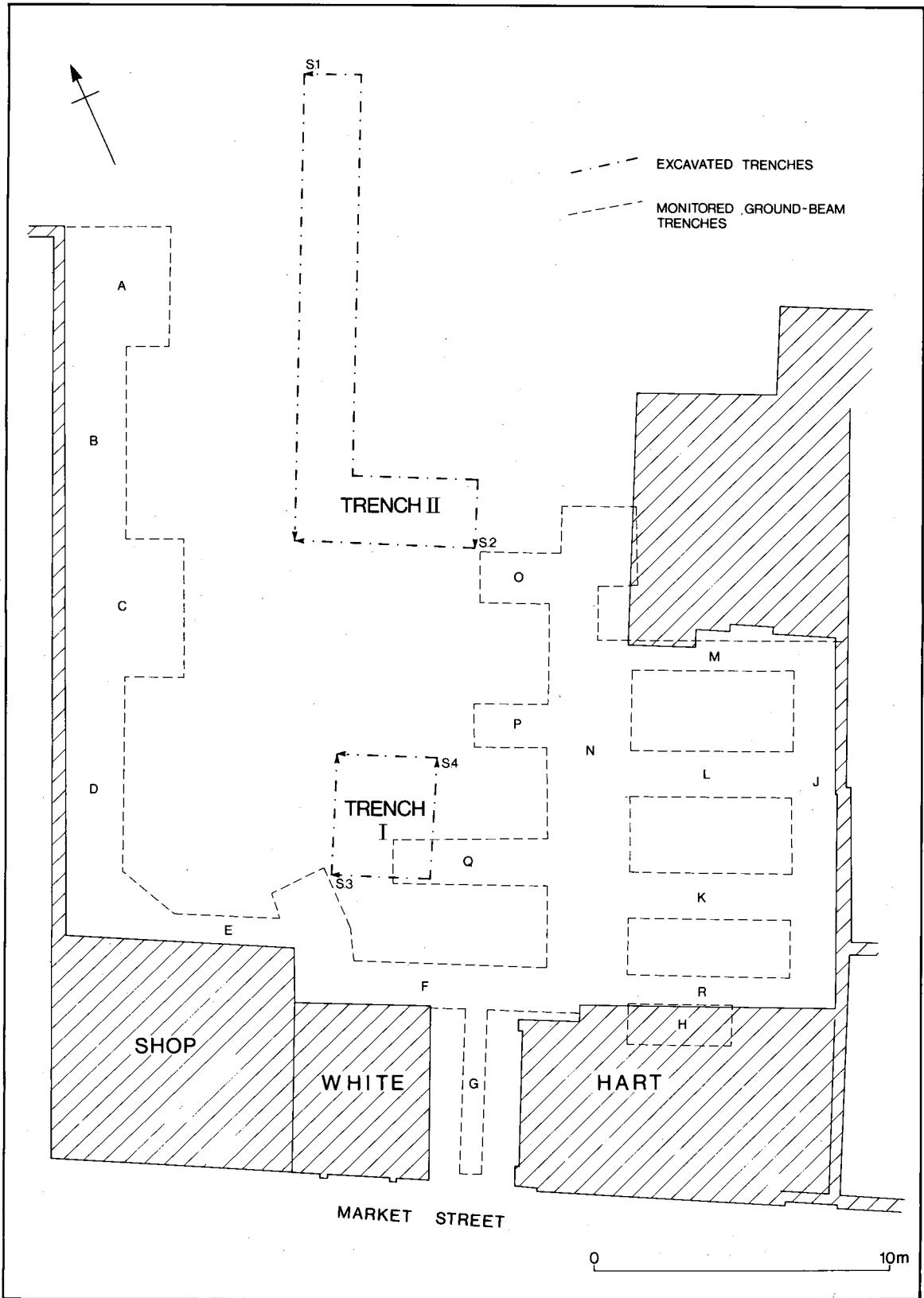


Figure 2. Location of excavations and areas monitored during watching brief.

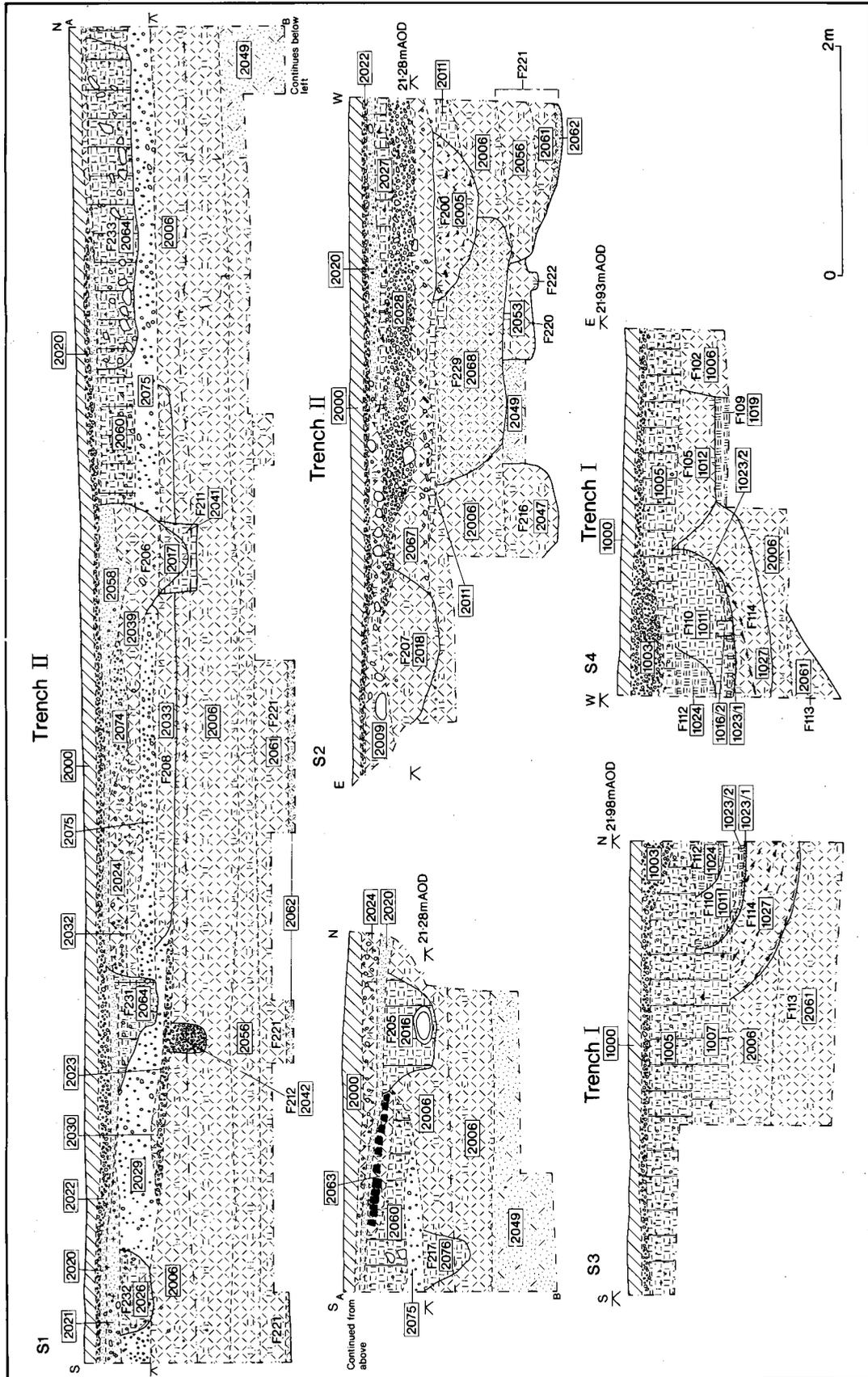


Figure 3. Trench I and II main bank sections.

of Phase 5) were systematically excavated by hand until the natural subsoil was reached.

An intermittent watching brief, which was maintained over a total of five days during the construction groundworks, targeted areas away from the excavated trenches (Fig.2). The information obtained from the watching brief is integrated, where possible, with the results of excavation.

Organisation of report and deposition of archive

An integrated description of the archaeological results by phase is followed by description and analysis of the medieval and post-medieval pottery and plant remains. The report concludes with a discussion that attempts to set the excavated evidence in its wider urban context by examining site function and economy, using the available historical, cartographic and archaeological evidence. Finally, a model of the site in its medieval and post-medieval urban setting is presented.

The excavation archive, including the finds, is stored at Ely Museum. The paper records have been copied onto microfilm by the National Archaeological Record of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments: one copy is kept with the records themselves.

The Excavated Sequence

Elements of six distinct phases of activity were identified within Trenches I and II, and during the watching brief; the integrated phasing, based on archaeological stratigraphy (summarised in Table 1), is defined as follows:

- Phase 1: Early-medieval cultivation. 12th–13th century
- Phase 2: Early-medieval occupation and boundaries. 12th–13th century
- Phase 3: Later-medieval cultivation and ground clearance. 14th–15th century
- Phase 4: Later-medieval activity. 14th–15th century
- Phase 5: Early-post-medieval activity. 16th century
- Phase 6: Later-post-medieval–modern activity. 18th century–present

Features and contexts recorded during the watching brief that could not be related to this phasing sequence are summarised in the archive. Features and contexts that occur in both trenches, recorded separately at

excavation, have been given a single number in the following account. A concordance is provided in the archive.

Phase 1: Early medieval cultivation. 12th–13th century (Fig.3)

Borehole investigations to the west of the site revealed a sticky, water-lain, organic blue-green clay beneath the greensand subsoil; the subsoil contained occasional weathered fragments of sandstone. The upper horizon of this subsoil was exposed by hand excavation at a depth of 1.80 m. below the modern yard surface. It was overlain by a homogeneous layer of cultivation soil (2049) 0.30 m. deep, which was found throughout the trenches and was composed of buff-orange silt-sand, disturbed by root action.

The few abraded sherds of pottery from this layer suggest a *terminus* in the twelfth or early-thirteenth century for this cultivation.

Phase 2: Early medieval occupation and boundaries. 12th–13th century (Figs 3–6)

The end of the Phase 1 cultivation episode was marked by boundary ditches and other negative features, cut into the Phase 1 cultivation soil and through into the subsoil below.

The earliest features belonging to this post-agricultural phase, defined in Trench II, were two shallow, circular post-holes (F223, F224), and a flat-based trench (F220), possibly of a foundation trench, with sloping sides. The trench was truncated to the west by a later feature. Slight traces of a beam-slot (F222) of rectangular section, which ran into the southern baulk of the trench, and a well-defined post-hole (F226), were exposed within the possible foundation trench. These features might define one side of a timber-framed structure, but no evidence of the other walls was noted. There was no indication that the vertical and horizontal timber beams of this structure rotted *in situ*, and it is probable that they were removed at the time of the dismantling of the building. The trench F220 was backfilled with a mid-brown clay-silt (2053).

Following dismantling, a boundary ditch (F221) was dug on a north–south alignment, clipping the western edges of the now-backfilled post-holes and beam-slot. Although its full width was not seen, the ditch appeared to be U-shaped in profile, and was 0.65 m. deep. It either terminated to the north in a

Table 1. *Simplified outline of site development.*

Phase	Activity/Main features	Dating	Main feature/ context nos.	
			Trs I-II	Watching Brief
1	Early medieval cultivation	12th-13th cent.	2049	
2	Early medieval occupation and boundaries Post-holes Foundation trench with beam-slot and post-hole Boundary ditches aligned north-south	12th-13th cent.	F223, F224 F220 F222, F226 F221, F113, F216	F302
3	Later medieval cultivation and ground clearance	14th-15th cent.	2006	
4	Later medieval occupation Rubbish pit Clay-lined ovens Similarly lined ovens	14th-15th cent.	F114 F110, F107 F112, F109	F312, F314, F315-F319
5	Early post-medieval activity Gulleys aligned N-S and associated cut Mortar-mixing pits lined with clay ? associated post-holes Pits Rubbish pits Pit Disturbances	16th-cent.	F208, F209 F227 F211 F214, F218, F219 F213-44 F200, F229 F108 F103-4	F321
6	Later post-medieval-modern activity Cut, on-line with F211 Other disturbances/ services Soakaway and drain Make-up level Brick footings Service trench Cobble yard	18th-cent.- present	F206 F231-3 F201, F207 1005 F100, F101 F111, F102 2009, 1003	

rounded butt-end, or turned to run east-west at this point. The northern butt-end of a further ditch (F216) was found to the east of ditch F221. The extreme eastern edge of a third, shallow ditch (F113), located in Trench I and following a similar alignment to ditch F221, but slightly to the east, was dug. A fourth ditch, dug on the same alignment (F302, not illustrated), 6.50 m. to the west of ditch F221, was recorded during the watching brief in trenches A and C (Fig.2).

The primary fill of ditch F221 was a mottled buff-brown sand-silt (2062); the upper fill comprised banded light brown clay-silts (2056, 2061) which had accumulated gradually after abandonment of the boundary. The fills of the remaining ditches (F113, F216, F302), also suggested gradual infilling after abandonment.

The pottery contained within the fills of these ditches suggests a *terminus* for their abandonment in the twelfth or thirteenth

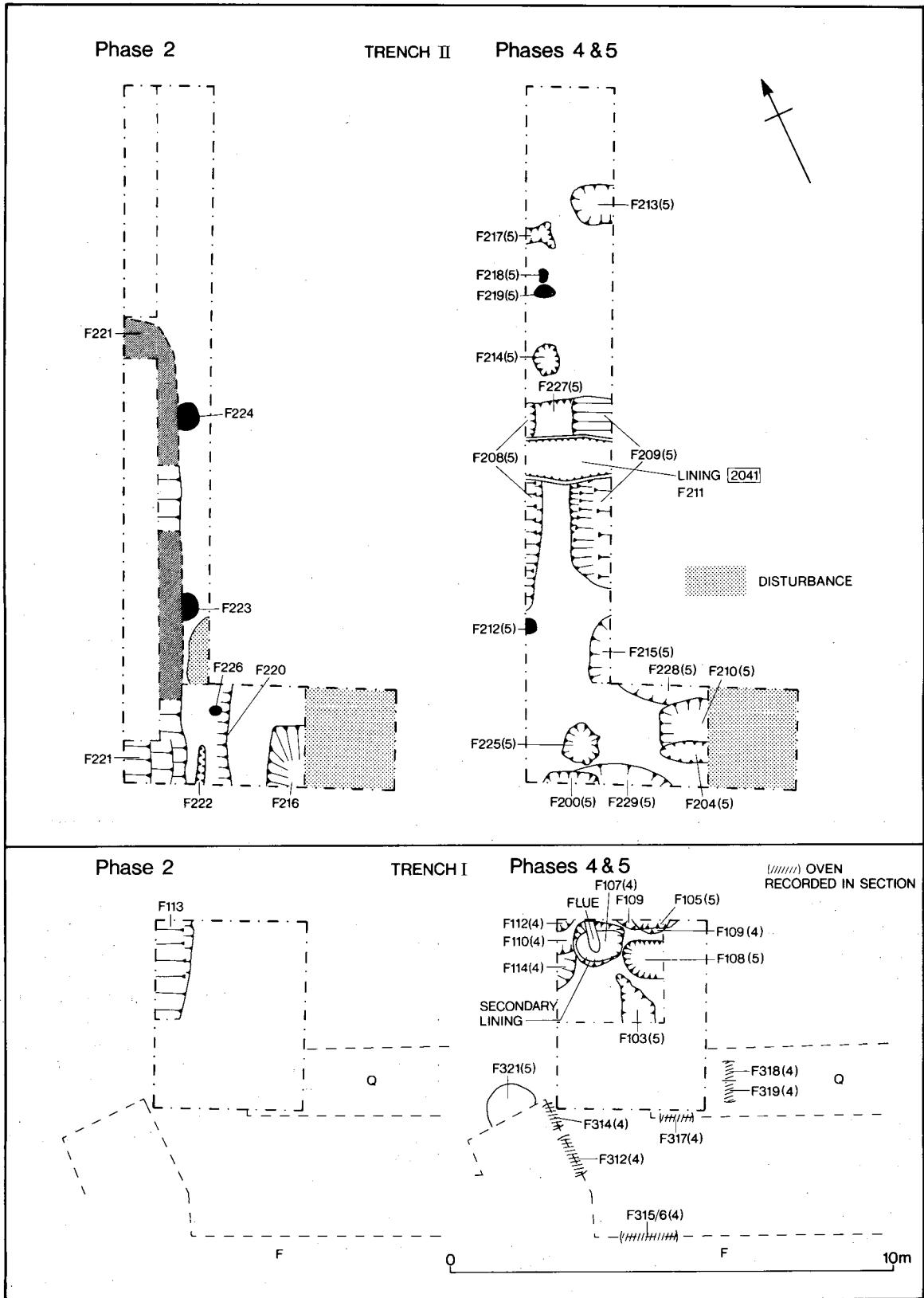


Figure 4. Simplified plan of main features: Phases 2,4-5.

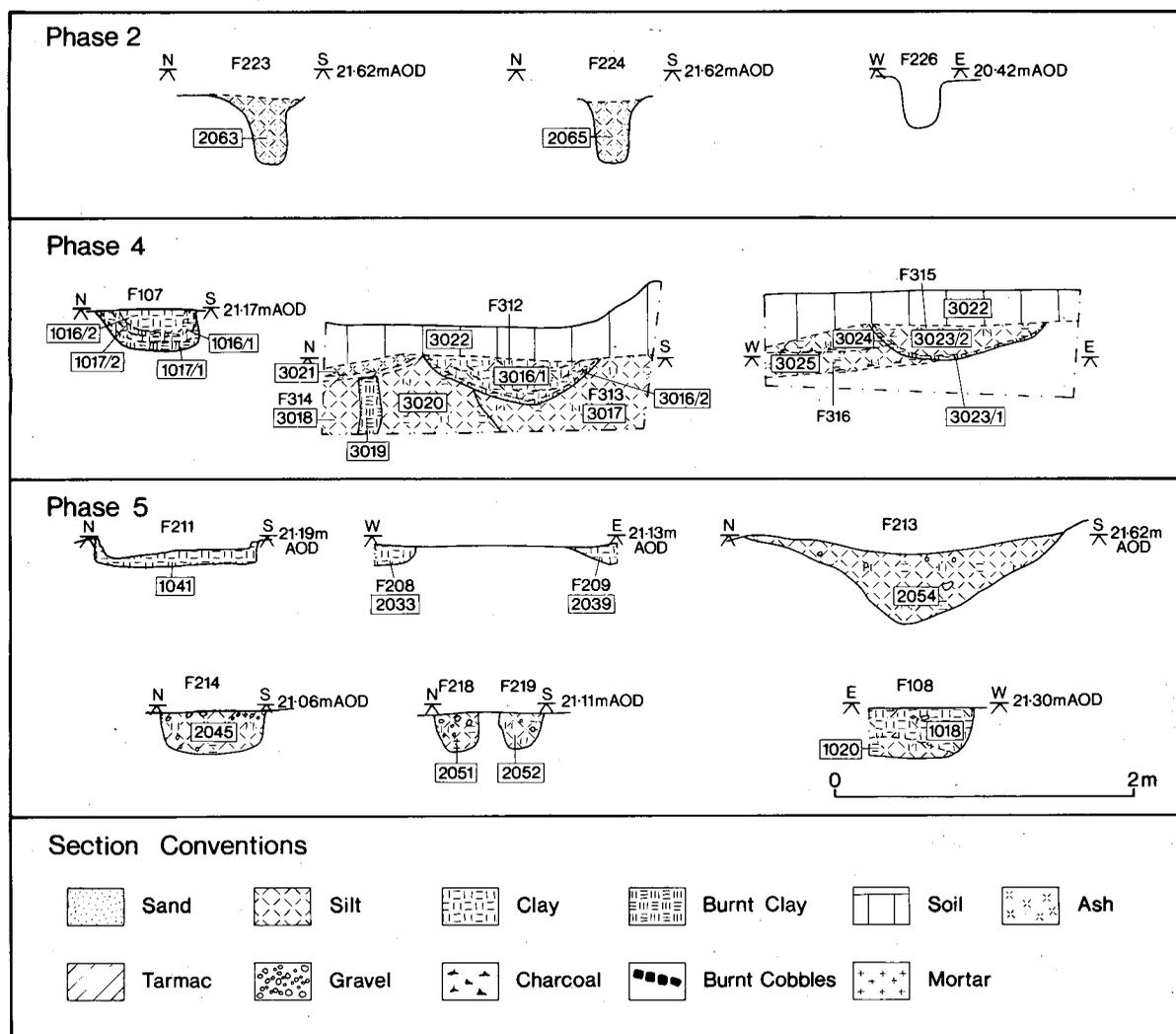


Figure 5. Other sections and section conventions.

centuries. The backfills of ditches F221 and F216 contained seeds of bread wheat and barley, and stem fragments of the great fen sedge were found in ditch F216.

Phase 3: Later medieval cultivation and ground clearance. 14th–15th century (Fig.3)

The infilled Phase 2 features in Trenches I and II were all sealed by a layer of mid-brown clay-silt (2006), up to 0.50 m. deep, which was recorded in both trenches. This homogenous, stone-free layer might have formed during a second cultivation episode, and contained pottery, animal bone and fragments of iron nails. The large numbers of sherds present might indicate that some domestic refuse was mixed with this cultivation soil, possibly during manuring. The

relatively unabraded nature of the pottery recovered suggests that this area was not ploughed, but this evidence does not exclude the use of the area for small-scale market gardening. The carbonised seeds recovered from this layer include cereals, weed species, fragments of the great fen sedge and, unusually, a single seed of pot marigold, a garden plant.

The pottery from this layer provides a *terminus* of the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries for this phase.

Phase 4: Later medieval activity. 14th–15th century (Figs 3–5 and 8)

The end of the Phase 3 cultivation episode is marked initially by a rubbish pit (which was excavated); later, during perhaps the most intensive medieval exploitation of this



Figure 6. Trench II, west-east arm, looking north.

backplot area, the area was used for small-scale industrial activity.

The earliest feature in this phase, a small rubbish pit (F114) dug into the Phase 3 soil, was excavated. This U-shaped pit was backfilled with charcoal, sealed by tipped layers of mid-brown clay-silt (1027), banded with charcoal.

A change in the use of the backplot area is marked by a group of small ovens, in places cutting the infilled rubbish pit (F114). One complete oven, and three incomplete examples, were excavated in Trench I, and seven further ovens or possible ovens were recorded during the watching brief, although these last cannot be related to the main stratigraphic sequence.

Pit F114 was sealed by a layer of rake-out material (1007) and cut by oven F110, probably the earliest of the excavated group. The oven was exposed in the extreme north-western corner of Trench I, but its full shape and profile could not be defined. The base of the oven contained a lens of dark red coarse sand-silt (1023/1), possibly the remains of an oven lining, which was sealed by a second oven lining (1023/2). This second lining was a compact orange-red clay burned *in situ*, which extended up to the rim of the

oven. Above this secondary lining, a compact grey-green clay (1011) was backfilled into the remaining hollow of the feature. This latter deposit contained pockets of redeposited burnt oven lining, charcoal and crushed, possibly limestone, fragments.

After the disuse and backfill of oven F110, a second oven (F107; Fig.8), roughly oval in plan, was constructed slightly to the south-east partially truncating F110. The primary lining of oven F107, a red-orange clay (1017/1) burned *in situ*, was sealed by a compact, mottled grey-green clay (1016/1), overlain by a secondary lining of red-orange clay (1017/2). This secondary lining was, in turn, truncated by a narrow flue, aligned north-south and placed off-centre within the feature. This flue ran from the northern edge of the oven and continued into the northern baulk of Trench I. The flue and the bowl of the feature were backfilled with a compact deposit of grey-green clay (1016/2), which contained patches of soft black charcoal and redeposited burnt red clay oven lining.

Two other incomplete ovens (F109, F112) of similar form and fills were recorded in Trench I. Oven F112 was cut into the infilled oven F110, and could have been contemporary with

oven F107. Oven F109, located just inside the northern baulk of the trench, was heavily truncated by a later disturbance, and could not be related stratigraphically to the other excavated examples.

Further ovens were recorded in salvage conditions during the watching brief, in trenches F and Q (F312, F314-9: Fig.2). These features were concentrated to the east and south of Trench I, within approximately 5.0 m. of the main group.

Where stratigraphic relationships could be observed, the ovens appeared to be cut into infilled negative features and into disturbed clay-silt horizons, which possibly represented the cultivation soils of Phases 1 and 3. Although no dating evidence was recovered from the features that were recorded during the watching brief, the similarity in form and the close clustering of all of the identified ovens might indicate a focus of broadly contemporary domestic or industrial activity. The oven backfills contained charred seeds of barley, wheat, oat grains and fragments of the great fen sedge and hazel nut shells, and pottery with a *terminus* in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, but the pottery from the intercutting features could not be distinguished chronologically.



Figure 7. Trench II, north-south arm, looking south.



Figure 8. Trench I, oven F107, looking north.

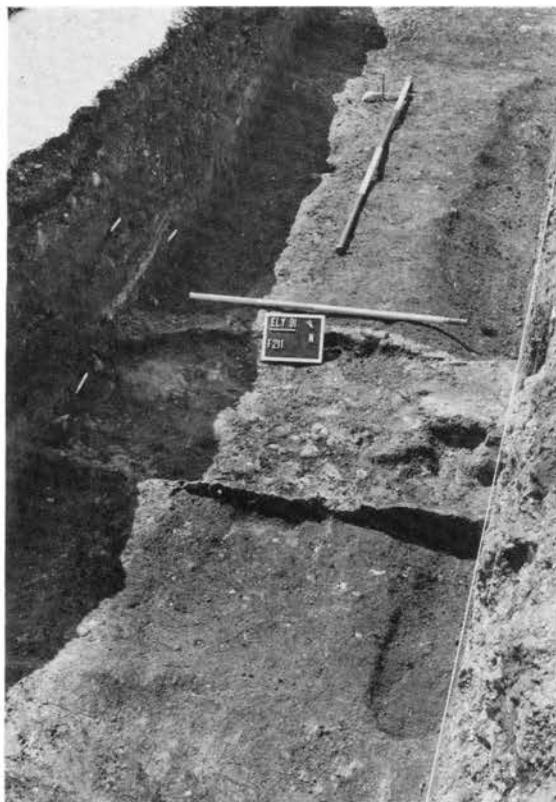


Figure 9. Trench II, mortar-mixing pit F211, and gulleys F208, F209, looking northeast.

No evidence of contemporary activity was found in Trench II.

Phase 5: Early post-medieval activity. 16th century (Figs 3–5, 9–10)

The main focus of activity in Phase 5 was located in the rear of the backplot area (in Trench II) where a group of associated gulleys, a mortar-mixing pit and a number of post-holes were dug into the Phase 3 cultivation soil.

The return to the active use of the rear backplot area was marked by a single post-hole (F212). This infilled post-hole was sealed by deposits of gravel and crushed stone (2023, 2029, 2030), possibly derived from stone-dressing.

Then a shallow, flat-based gully (F208), was cut into the gravel layer (2029). The gully was aligned north–south and continued beyond the west baulk of Trench II. A second gully (F209), parallel with F208, was partly exposed just inside the eastern baulk of the trench. A shallow, flat-based cut (F227) linked the two gulleys. Although these features were not stratigraphically related, except

by their fills, their alignment and positioning suggest that they might have been in contemporary use. Cut F227 was backfilled with a mixed yellow-green clay (2038), much compacted by trampling. Gulleys F208 and F209 were backfilled with mixed mid-brown clay-silt (2033 in F208; 2039 in F209) containing patches of orange clay, with an increasing quantity of crushed sandstone fragments recorded towards the top of the fills. An irregularly-shaped gully (F217), exposed in the north of the trench, might have been in contemporary use with the southern group of gulleys.

A flat-based feature, which has been interpreted as a mortar-mixing pit (F211), was then cut into the now-infilled gulleys. The pit had vertically-cut sides, which in plan curved slightly outwards in the centre of the trench (forming a 'boat-like' shape), and extended beyond the east and west baulks of the trench. The base and the sides of the pit were lined with sticky blue-green clay (2041), forming a lip slightly raised above and just beyond the upper edge of the pit cut. This feature was filled with a deposit of buff-white mortar (2033). The blue-green clay lining (3031) of a second possible mortar-mixing pit (F321) was located to the south of Trench I during the watching brief. Its original shape could not be identified because of machine disturbance, but its lining appeared to be similar to the excavated example.

A shallow layer of sticky clay (2003, 2011), recorded patchily over both arms of Trench II and sealing the Phase 3 soil, might have been deliberately laid in an attempt to provide a working platform surrounding the mortar-mixing pit. This clay layer was cut in the north of the trench by three stone-packed post-holes (F214, F218, F219) and two post-holes or small pits (F213, F214), which might have formerly belonged to a structure possibly associated and contemporary either with the use of the mortar mixing pit, or with the earlier gulleys. In the south of the trench two rubbish pits (F229, F200) were dug through the clay layer (2003, 2011). The backfills of pit F229 contained seeds of partially germinated bread wheat and barley which might have been discarded damp.

Successive stony deposits (2075, 2024, 2060, 2074) were dumped over the Phase 3 soil in the north of Trench II, sealing the infilled post-holes and pits. A yard surface (2063), formed of burnt rectangular sandstone fragments, was exposed to the north of the trench. The stony deposits might derive



Figure 10. Trench II, detail of mortar-mixing pit F211, after excavation, looking southeast.

from the use of the mortar-mixing pit, although the precise stratigraphic relationship between the mortar-mixing pit (F211) and these stony layers had been destroyed by a later disturbance.

Following the abandonment of the ovens, the next event recorded in the south of the backplot area (Trench I) was the construction of a small rubbish pit (F108). An irregularly-shaped cut in the north of the trench (F105), and two shallow, ill-defined disturbances (F103, F104: not illustrated), in the south of the trench also belonged to this phase.

The fills of the Phase 5 features in both trenches contained pottery with a *terminus* in the sixteenth century; the majority of the dating evidence came from Trench II.

Phase 6: Later post-medieval-modern activity. 18th century-present (Fig.3)

In Trench II, disturbances cut from the upper horizon of the Phase 5 stone debris were recorded in section. The most substantial of these (F206) was dug east-west in the approximate position of the mortar-mixing

pit and aligned with the east-west wall of an outbuilding (not illustrated), located to the west of the trench. Other disturbances (F205, F207, F231–F233) related to the laying of services and the dumping of stone debris (F233). Above were successive layers of make-up material for the cobbled yard (2009) of the coaching inn, overlain by the modern tarmac yard (2000). To the east of the White Hart Inn yard, a brick soakaway (F201), now demolished, was constructed adjoining the west wall of an outbuilding.

The final episode of activity in Trench I was represented by the deposition of a levelling-up soil (1005), 0.25 m. deep, as a foundation for the cobbled yard surface (1003) and laid beneath the modern tarmac yard (1000). Brick footings (F100, F101) for the walls of outbuildings and a service trench (F111) were cut into this make-up level.

The dating evidence from both trenches comprised residual medieval wares and some sherds of eighteenth- to nineteenth-century material.

The Pottery

Stephanie Ratkai

Introduction

The two trenches produced 658 sherds: 293 from Trench I and 365 from Trench II. The pottery was examined under x20 magnification and divided into 27 fabric groups, and the post-medieval pottery was separated out. Most of the fabric groups could subsequently be discerned macroscopically (Tables 2, 3). In addition the pottery was checked for cross-joining sherds.

The Pottery Fabrics

(1) Calcareous Wares: Fabrics A1, B2 and B3.

None of these wares is well represented. Fabric A1 occurs only in context 1006, Phase 5. It contains numerous oolites and is overfired to the point of fusion, presumably as a result of industrial activity in the area. The sherds are certainly residual.

Fabric B2 (?Lyveden), has a fine matrix with sparse shell and sparse oolites and ferruginous inclusions. It is oxidised to an orange-red colour with a pale grey core. There are two form sherds, one from a jug with a carinated neck and with a yellowish green

Table 2. Pottery fabrics, source and dating.

Fabric	Date	Source/common name
A1	?	?local
B1	12th-?late 14th century	local
B2	late 12th-14th century	?Lyveden
B3	10th-12th century	E. Midlands
C2	12th-?late 14th century	local (variant of B1?)
C3	?13th-15th century	?local
C4	14th-15th century	Grey ware
C5	(13th)14th-15th century	Grimston Ware (mainly highly decorated)
C6	13th-15th century	?
C7	?12th-14th century	?
C9	late medieval	Reduced ware
D1	(?earlier)?13th-14th century	not local
D2	14th-16th century	Orange Sandy ware
D3	12th-13th century	?Nottingham
D4	15th-16th century	?local
D6	late 15th-16th century	Cistercian Ware
D7	15th-16th century	'Tudor Green'
D8	14th-15th century	E. Midlands
D9	?14th-15th century	?
D10	?13th-15th century	?
D11	13th-14th(?15th century)	?E. Midlands
D12	late 13th-early 14th century	Taynton All Saints
D13	14th century	

glaze applied over a white slip, the other from a cooking pot/jar with a sharply modelled ledge rim. Fabric B3 contains moderate to abundant ooliths, crushed limestone and fossil shell with some ferruginous inclusions. Sherds are reduced to browns, greys and blacks. This fabric is possibly Saxo-Norman, and occurs only residually on site.

(2) *Sandy Wares with some calcareous inclusions: Fabrics B1, C2-C4, C6, D10 and D12.*

Fabric B1 is the dominant local fabric. It contains varying amounts of ill-sorted, rounded and sub-angular quartz grains and sparse-moderate irregular pieces of limestone and ooliths. Sometimes the limestone has burnt out from the matrix. It is generally a hand-made fabric although many vessels show traces of wheel finishing. Surfaces are generally light brown or occasionally reddish. The core is dark grey or black. There are rare ferruginous inclusions and sometimes lumps of chert are visible. About 35% of B1 sherds are glazed (Fabric B1 (G)). The glaze is often pimply or had a pitted orange-peel texture.

B1 Forms

Cooking pot/jars with rounded bodies and fairly flat bases. Some have stumpy curved rims (Fig.11.1) rising from the shoulder, sometimes with an internal bevel. Another vessel has a more marked neck and a horizontal rim. There are other 'necked' rims (Fig.11.2-3) and one 'nail head' rim (Fig.11.4). The diameters range from 14 cm.-19 cm. There is one example of a simple curved rim, diameter 14 cm. The rim form and small diameter might suggest a Saxo-Norman date. One cooking pot/jar has irregular stabbing on the outside of the rim. One sherd has traces of a thumbled vertical strip.

Bowls are generally sloping-sided with simple rims often with internal and/or external thickening (Fig.11.5). Other forms represented are bowls with a stubby horizontal rim (Fig.11.6), the most frequently occurring type, and bowls with an up-sloping flange. Bowls with a horizontal rim, sometimes internally-thickened, are decorated with incised or combed wavy lines (Fig.11.7-8). There are two examples of sloping-sided bowls with a thickened rim undercut internally and externally. One sloping-sided bowl (Fig.11.9) has a thickened, everted rim. A

Table 3. Pottery fabrics by phase.

TRENCH PHASE	II 1	I 2	II 2	II 3	I 4	I 5	II 5	I 6	II 6	TOTAL
Fabric										
B1	2	18	15	33	17	74	45	22	9	235
B1(G)	1	2	8	16	2	10	26	7	1	73
B3	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	4
C2	-	1	3	-	4	25	-	3	-	36
D1	-	1	1	-	1	1	5	1	-	10
C3	-	-	1	9	-	11	6	-	-	27
C7	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	2	-	7
C6	-	-	1	-	-	1	18	-	-	20
C5	-	-	-	8	1	2	15	2	1	29
C9	-	-	-	9	1	2	9	-	-	-
D3	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	2	1	7
D4	-	-	-	2	-	7	34	10	6	59
D10	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	1	6
D6	-	-	-	1	-	6	3	3	1	14
R	-	-	1	7	1	3	11	5	2	30
D2	-	-	-	3	-	1	4	6	-	14
E1/E2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2
D12	-	-	-	12	-	-	1	-	-	13
B2	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	1	-	5
C4	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	2	5
D8	-	-	2	-	-	-	5	-	-	7
D11	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	1	7
X01	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	4
D9	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
D13	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
A1	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	6
D7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
PM	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	4	2	14
TOTAL	3	24	33	94	28	168	190	70	27	658

small section of bowl rim from Phase 1 has a simple, everted rim.

There are two thick-walled rim-neck sherds from jugs. One has a plain rim and part of a strap handle with a stabbed design (Fig.11.10), the other has a horizontal rim decorated with a cross stamp (Fig.11.11). Both jugs are unglazed and the handles simply luted into place. There was a rather more complete jug profile from context 2048 (Fig.11.12). There are some shallow finger impressions internally at the junction of handle with neck and body. The upper half, *i.e.* shoulder-neck, is glazed. There is another rim from a similar jug but the rim is marked with a groove. There are both strap handles (Fig.11.13) and rod handles. Externally glazed sherds indicate that jugs are decorated with incised horizontal lines and hori-

zontal and wavy combing.

Many sherds of all forms show evidence of knife trimming, particularly towards the base.

Fabric C2 is a coarse, hand-made, fabric with large angular and sub-angular quartz (the quartz is often red), red ferruginous inclusions, black mineral inclusions, possible clay pellets and sparse shell and limestone. It has orange-brown surfaces with a grey core.

C2 Forms

Cooking pot/jars with a rounded profile with a flattened 'S'-shaped rim (Fig.11.14) with random stabbing on the outside of the rim.

The only indication of jugs is a large crude

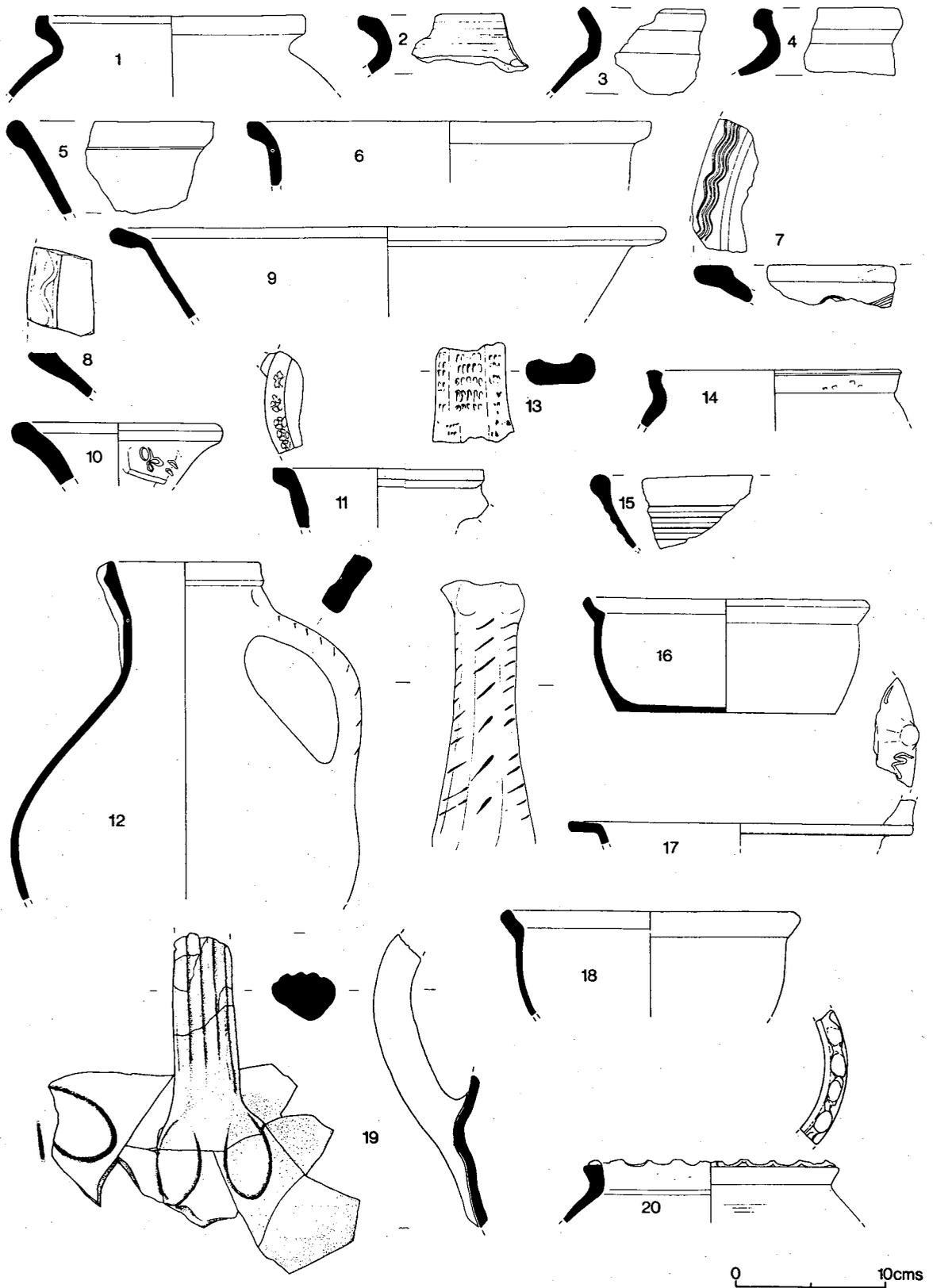


Figure 11. The pottery.

blackened strap handle decorated with finger impressions along the edges and stabilising down the centre.

Fabric C3 is a medium sandy fabric with very rare limestone, organic and ferruginous inclusions. It has pale brown surfaces and a grey core.

C3 Forms

There are two types of bowl. One is sloping-sided with a large bead rim with an internal groove, the other has a more rounded profile with a large bead rim and marked rilling on the external surface (Fig.11.15). Both types are glazed internally with a patchy light olive glaze.

Fabric C4 has a very fine sandy matrix, with sparse ooliths and limestone fragments and some ferruginous inclusions. Surfaces are grey or brown with a dark grey core.

C4 Forms

Bowl with sloping sides and thickened, everted rim. There are traces of knife trimming on some sherds.

Fabric C6 has a fine sandy matrix with sparse red and grey angular and sub-angular quartz and rare calcareous inclusions. It has oxidised orange surfaces with a light orange or grey core.

C6 Forms

Bowl with a rounded body, flat base and thickened, everted rim with internal groove or lid seating (Fig.11.16).

Rim of chafing dish (Fig.11.17). Traces of internal tan glaze.

Fabric D10 has a sandy matrix with numerous small quartz grains and sparse to moderate sub-angular grey and clear quartz grains, sparse ferruginous inclusions, sparse possible grog and sparse irregular voids. It has oxidised orange surfaces and a grey core.

D10 Forms

Bowl with a rounded profile and an everted rim with a slightly concave internal face (Fig.11.18). There is also a sherd with a thin dull olive glaze, which presumably came from a jug.

Fabric D12 (possibly from Taynton All Saints) contains moderate rounded and sub-angular grey and clear quartz grains, sparse ferruginous inclusions and sparse voids and calcareous inclusions.

D12 Forms

There is only one vessel in this fabric: a large jug with a thick, grooved strap-handle and applied curvilinear design in a red clay or slip. The glaze has disintegrated to a dull pale yellow. The jug is badly abraded. (Fig.11.19).

(3) Sandy Wares: Fabrics C5, C7, C9, D1-D4, D6-D9, D13

Fabric C5 (Grimston Ware) is a grey sandy ware often with a pale grey margin below an external glazed surface.

C5 Forms

The most common form from this site is the highly decorated jug. However, there are no profiles, only glazed and decorated body sherds. The decoration usually consists of iron oxide applied to the body of the pot or to applied pellets, strips and scales before glazing. There is one example of a base angle with spaced finger impressions. There is a twisted handle and a ridged handle with three pronounced thumb impressions where the bottom on the handle joins the body of the pot. This handle type represents a later phase of production of Grimston Ware.¹¹ There is also a pipkin, with traces of glaze and with horizontal combing. Only handle and body sherds survive.

Fabric C7 contains moderate, sub-angular quartz grains, which are often red or yellow. It has a hard, rough feel and is reduced to greys and blacks.

Fabric C9 is a fine sandy reduced ware with moderate to abundant fine sand. There are only a few sherds, mainly undiagnostic body sherds. There is a single rim from context 2006. It is everted with a thickened terminal. The upper face of the rim has been combed. Two other body sherds are decorated with

11 H. Clarke and A. Carter, 'Excavations in King's Lynn 1963-1970', *Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series 7* (1977) pp.183-285.

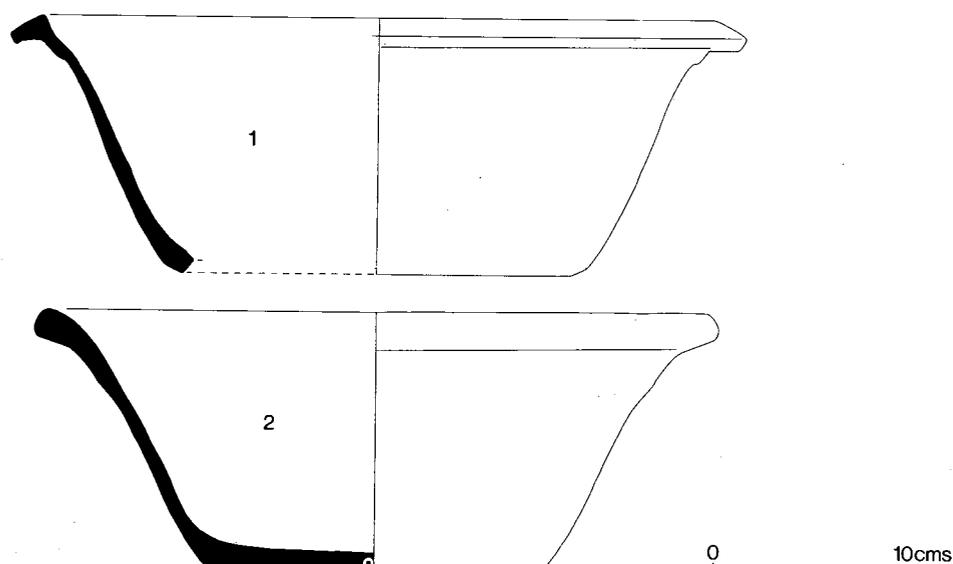


Figure 12. *The pottery.*

incised horizontal lines. This fabric is similar to late medieval reduced wares in the East Midlands, described by Moorhouse.¹²

Fabric D1 has a very fine sandy matrix with abundant microscopic quartz grains and sparse ferruginous inclusions. Mica is visible on the surface. It generally has light brown or pale orange surfaces with a grey core.

D1 Forms

Jugs. One jug has an horizontal rim with a patchy pale green glaze. The handle was attached by pushing the body through into the handle and filling the resulting hollow with a plug of clay. There is also a ledge rim with a spot of olive glaze. Some body sherds are decorated with vertical combing and underglaze iron oxide or red slip bands. One sherd has a vertical, slashed applied strip and applied red pellets. The applied strip might have been part of a limb from an applied figure.

Fabric D2 ('Orange Sandy Ware') contains abundant small quartz grains with occasional larger grains. It is oxidised orange-red throughout. The surfaces appear to have been wiped or to have had a thin wash applied over them. The glaze is a clear lead glaze.

12 S. Moorhouse, 'A distinctive type of late medieval pottery in the East Midlands', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 65 (1971) pp.46-59.

D2 Forms

Chafing dish with an internal glaze and incised wavy line around the rim. There is also a rim which might be from a jar or pipkin.

Fabric D3 (possibly Nottingham Ware) has moderate angular and sub-angular quartz, sparse ferruginous inclusions and sparse black, possibly ferruginous, inclusions. It is light orange or buff throughout.

D3 Forms

Jug with carination below the rim and a yellow-green splash glaze. There are some sherds decorated with iron oxide beneath the glaze or with red slip.

Fabric D4 has a fine sandy matrix with sparse, large ferruginous inclusions. It is generally orange throughout but there are some reduced examples or some with a grey core. Glazes are in the olive, tan, brown range.

D4 Forms

Cistern: a similar form is paralleled at Denny Abbey.¹³ There is a possible pipkin/cooking

13 G. Coppack, 'Medieval and post-medieval pottery', in P.M. Christie and J.G. Coad, 'Excavations at Denny Abbey', *Archaeological Journal* 137 (1980) pp.223-52, no.177.

pot/jar with a rounded body with a rim everted from the shoulder and an applied thumbled strip along the top of the rim. The rim is covered with an olive glaze (Fig.11.20).

Bowls with sloping sides and flange rims and internal glaze (Fig.12.1-2). One bowl (Fig.12.2) is overfired and in places the surfaces have started to blister. There is also a bowl sherd with external incised wavy lines.

Jugs are only represented by body sherds, some of which are decorated with incised horizontal lines. Two of these sherds, apparently from the same vessel, are badly distorted. These sherds may be wasters or may be from a jug sold as a 'second'. In either case it argues for fairly local production of this ware. However, included in this group are two joining sherds with an external dark green glaze and an internal yellowish glaze. Pottery glazed in this way has been found at Denny Abbey where it is described as 'Tattershall Ware'.¹⁴

Fabric D6 (Cistercian Ware). This fabric is represented by body sherds and one rim sherd from cups. One sherd has applied white clay pellets beneath the glaze.

Fabric D7 (Surrey White Ware). This fabric is represented by a single sherd, glazed internally and externally with a rich copper-green glaze.

Fabric D8 is a buff sandy ware with moderate to abundant small quartz grains with sparse larger sub-angular grains and sparse to moderate red ferruginous inclusions. Surfaces are buff or pale grey with a grey core. The clay might be derived from the coal measure clays of the Midlands.

D8 Forms

There are no rim sherds from jugs. There is a flaring base and a strap handle, possibly overfired. One body sherd has a smooth, glazed external surface whilst the interior is deeply grooved. It is possible that a former of some kind was used in its manufacture.

Fabric D9 has a fine, sandy matrix with sparse small red quartz grains and sparse red ferruginous inclusions. Surfaces are buff with an orange core. This fabric bears a superficial resemblance to Brill Wares from Buckinghamshire.

Fabric D11 is a buff/white ware with buff or pale grey surfaces and a distinct 'sand-

wich' grey core. It contains moderate amounts of rounded quartz grains and sparse red ferruginous and black, possibly ferruginous, inclusions. This fabric, too, might be derived from coal measure clays. All of the sherds are from one vessel, which was probably a cooking pot/jar.

Fabric D13 is a fine, sandy pale orange fabric represented by a single sherd. It resembles fabrics D2 and D10 but the match between D13 and D2 and D10 is not exact. The sherd in fabric D13 comes from a jug with a plain rim. The neck was decorated with a 'wheel' stamp and glazed with a thick dark-green glaze. The decoration and glaze are matched by a sherd from Denny Abbey in smooth red ware.¹⁵

Fabric E1 and E2 (Stamford Ware). Fabric E1 is represented by a single strap handle in a white-pale grey finely sandy fabric with a speckled apple-green glaze and broken combing along the edges of the handle. Fabric E2 is also represented by a single sherd with a dense paste-like cream fabric with a thin external yellow glaze.

Dating and chronology

The dominant fabric at the White Hart, Ely is fabric B1, which forms about 45% of the total assemblage and a much higher proportion in Phases 1-2, Trench 1 and Phase 2, Trench II. It is difficult to decide at what point fabric B1 ceased to be used. A jug (Fig.11.12) from Phase 4, with its sparse glaze, undecorated form and simple slashed handle would appear to be a fourteenth century type. Fabric B1 appears to be similar to the 'brown gritty ware' from Denny Abbey¹⁶ and some of the B1 forms can be paralleled there. Although Coppack gives no quantification and offers no date range of the fabrics from Denny Abbey, brown gritty ware seems to have gone out of use by the mid-fourteenth century. Further west, the sandy calcareous ware, fabric T2, in Northampton, is not in use beyond 1400 and in Bedford¹⁷ the calcareous wares do not generally extend into the fourteenth century. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to give a *terminus ante quem* of about 1350 for fabric B1.

15 *Ibid.* no.27.

16 *Ibid.* no. 224.

17 E. Baker and J. Hassall, 'The finds', in D. Baker and J. Hassall, 'Excavations in Bedford 1967-1977', *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal* 13 (1979) pp.147-293.

14 Coppack, *op. cit.*

The pottery from Phase 1, Trench II, contains a splash-glazed sherd, fabric B1(G), which is unlikely to be earlier than the twelfth century. However, there are some residual sherds (e.g. fabric B3, and fabric E2) and forms (e.g. the narrow diameter cooking pots with simple everted rims) which might indicate some Saxo-Norman activity. However, if this activity had been intense, a greater amount of calcareous wares might have been expected. Earlier material of this nature from the White Hart probably indicates stray sherds rather than early occupation. On balance, it would seem that the sherds from Phase 1 do reflect the earliest occupation in the area, i.e. twelfth- to early thirteenth-century.

There are some examples of datable pottery from the Ely assemblage. Decorated Grimston ware, fabric C5, can be paralleled by material from Kings Lynn¹⁸ and dates to the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. The Taynton All Saints jug, fabric D12, can be paralleled by vessels from kiln 1, about late thirteenth century.¹⁹ This jug was much abraded and is presumed residual in Phase 3 context 2006.

The orange sandy ware, fabric D2, is paralleled at Denny Abbey where it occurs during the later medieval period e.g. possible mid-fourteenth to fifteenth centuries and beyond. A similar pattern is apparent at Ely, with sandy oxidised wares becoming increasingly common from Phase 5 onwards.

Other datable pottery types are fabric D6, Cistercian Ware, late fifteenth to sixteenth century and imported Rhenish stoneware, fabric X01, sixteenth century.

Conclusion

The pottery from the White Hart, Ely is parochial in character with few obvious imports from outside the immediate locale, the only reasonably well-represented import being Grimston Ware. It might have been expected that a busy market centre like Ely would have shown a greater variety in the pottery. Why it does not is a matter for speculation. It is possible that the small area excavated has produced an assemblage atypical of the pottery in wider use, and that evidence of the more sophisticated types might be found elsewhere. The possible industrial activity in the area might indicate the residence of

artisans whose spare capital was not invested in exotic pottery, although the presence of a chafing-dish rim (context 1006, Phase 5) suggests some attempt at refinement. It might be that the residents in the area were sufficiently wealthy to eschew pottery in favour of metal vessels.

Further work is now necessary to determine the range of pottery in Ely and to improve the pottery chronology for the early-medieval (post-Conquest-1350) phase.

Other Finds

Details of the other finds, including tile and metalwork are tabulated in the archive. None of this material is deemed to be sufficiently significant to be published.

The Plant Remains

Lisa Moffett

Introduction

Soil samples for charred plant remains were taken during excavation at the archaeologists' discretion. The contexts chosen for sampling were those that seemed most likely to produce material and were mainly oven fills and fills of rubbish pits and ditches that contained datable artefacts. The 21 samples were processed by flotation in a York sieving machine, with the resulting flots retrieved on stacked 1 mm. and 0.5 mm. sieves. When dry, the flots were examined under a binocular microscope.

A preliminary check of the samples suggested that they would not produce abundant amounts of material. The presence of pot marigold (*Calendula officinalis*) was noted in one of the samples, however, and this is of interest since garden species are generally rarely preserved in archaeological material. It was decided that it would not be worth sorting the samples since they were unlikely to produce material that could be meaningfully quantified. However, a record of the species present was desirable. The flots were therefore scanned, without removing any items, and the species present noted without any attempt at quantification. This method was much faster than sorting, but it meant that there is a greater possibility that items were overlooked in the samples. The possibility of error in identification is also greater since most identifications were made with only a brief examination.

18 Clarke and Carter, *op. cit.*

19 M.R. McCarthy and C.M. Brooks, *Medieval Pottery in Britain AD 900-1600* (Leicester 1988) fig.150.

Table 4. The plant remains.

	Phases 1-2 12C-13C	Phases 3-4 14C-15C	Phase 5 16C
Cultivated Plants			
<i>Triticum aestivum</i> rachis nodes	+	-	+
<i>Triticum</i> sp. free-threshing	-	-	+
<i>Triticum</i> sp.	+	+	+
<i>Secale cereale</i>	-	-	+
<i>Hordeum/Secale</i> rachis nodes	-	+	-
<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> rachis nodes	+	-	-
<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	+	+	+
<i>Avena</i> sp.	-	+	+
Cereal indet.	+	+	+
<i>Coleoptiles</i>	-	+	-
<i>Vicia/Pisum</i>	-	-	+
<i>Vicia/Pisum/Lathyrus</i>	-	+	+
c.f. <i>Armoracia rusticana</i>	+	-	-
<i>Calendula officinalis</i>	-	+	-
Wild Plants			
<i>Ranunculus acris/repens/bulbosus</i>	-	-	+
<i>Ranunculus sardous</i>	-	-	+
<i>Brassica nigra/rapa</i>	+	-	+
<i>Brassica/Sinapis</i> mineralised	-	-	+
<i>Reseda lutea</i>	-	+	-
<i>Agrostemma githago</i> calyx tip	-	+	-
<i>Chenopodium album</i> type	-	-	+
<i>Vicia tetrasperma</i>	-	-	+
<i>Vicia tetrasperma/hirsuta</i> immature	-	-	+
<i>Vicia/Lathyrus</i>	+	+	+
<i>Medicago lupulina</i>	-	-	+
<i>Trifolium</i> type	+	+	+
<i>Corylus avellana</i>	-	+	-
<i>Rumex</i> sp.	-	-	+
? <i>Primula</i> sp.	-	-	+
<i>Galium aparine</i>	-	-	+
<i>Galium</i> sp.	-	+	+
<i>Anthemis cotula</i>	+	+	+
<i>Cladium mariscus</i>	+	+	+
c.f. <i>Cladium mariscus</i> stem fragments	+	-	+
<i>Eleocharis palustris/uniglumis</i>	-	+	-
<i>Carex</i> sp.	-	+	+
<i>Phleum pratense</i>	-	-	+
Gramineae indet.	+	+	+
Unidentified tuber top	-	+	-
Unidentified seeds	-	-	+

Discussion

Table 4 gives a list of all the species found as charred material. A few uncharred seeds were also noted in the samples, but it is

possible that these are modern contaminants. Small quantities of bone, abraded shell and fish scales were present in the samples but only the presence of fish scale was consistently noted. Notes on which items were found,

sample by sample, are held in the archive. Most of the plant species in the sample were represented by fewer than five seeds and many were present only as single seeds. Where items were more abundant, this is mentioned in the notes.

There were four samples from Phases 1 and 2 (twelfth to thirteenth centuries), seven from Phases 3 and 4 (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries) and ten from Phase 5 (sixteenth century). The small number of samples and relatively small amount of material in them would make it impossible to determine reliably if there were any changes through time, even if there had been apparent differences in the species present. There was, in fact, little difference between the species present in the early phase and those in the later phase. The plant remains from all the phases, therefore, are discussed together.

Bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum* s.l.) was identified from a couple of rachis nodes. Wheat grains were present in many of the samples. No attempt was made to identify the wheat grains to species as this would have been time-consuming and unreliable. Barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) was also common in the samples. Rye (*Secale cereale*) was found in only one sample. A few oat grains (*Avena* sp.) were present, but since oats cannot be identified to species on the grains alone, it was not clear whether these were from a crop or represented wild oats growing as a weed. A few large legumes were present which could be either bean or pea (*Vicia/Pisum*).

Many of the wild plant remains probably represent weeds associated with crops. These include plant such as corncockle (*Agrostemma githago*) and stinking mayweed (*Anthemis cotula*), which are common weeds in medieval cereal assemblages. Fragments of hazel nut shell (*Corylus avellana*) might represent food remains.

Cladium mariscus, the great fen sedge, is a tall species from the wet fens which might have been collected deliberately for thatch, bedding or strewing on floors. Seeds of this species were fairly common in the samples. Stem fragments closely resembling those of *Cladium mariscus* were found in the backfill of Phase 2 ditch F216 and were abundant in one of the Phase 5 rubbish pits (F108). It is possible that the great fen sedge was common locally and was collected for use as thatch,²⁰ throughout most of the period

that the site was occupied.

Another Phase 5 rubbish pit (F229) contained a moderately abundant amount of wheat grains, some of which were distorted in shape and/or germinated. This suggests that the grain might have been damp and deliberately disposed of, because it was spoiled.

Pot marigold is not native to Britain, but it probably has an ancient history of use. It is mentioned in Aelfric's list of the tenth century.²¹ The flowers were widely used in the medieval period to add colour and flavour to various dishes and it was also important medicinally.²² Pot marigold has been found mostly in late medieval and post-medieval sites such as fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Hull,²³ sixteenth-century Hill Hall in Essex,²⁴ Leicester,²⁵ and seventeenth-century Dudley Castle.²⁶ Other remains in this context (2006) included cereals, weeds and *Cladium mariscus*, as well as bone, shell and fish scales. This suggests reworked rubbish or midden material, including perhaps hearth cleanings or rubbish burning mixed with other material. The single charred marigold seed is not proof that the 'cultivation soil' was used for gardening since the source of the rubbish is not known.

Possible evidence of another garden plant was a single seed that resembled horseradish (cf. *Armoracia rusticana*). The seed was well-preserved and closely resembled the modern comparative material available. It is, however, unusual for horseradish to set seed²⁷ and no reported archaeobotanical finds of this species are known. Further comparisons with other populations of modern comparative material are needed, as it is possible that the reference material used has been erroneously identified. The seed came from a Phase 2 boundary ditch (F221) and appears to be associated with small amounts of residual cereal remains.

20 H.C. Darby, *The Medieval Fenland* (Newton Abbot 1940) p.32.

21 J. Harvey, *Medieval Gardens* (London 1981) p.174.

22 T. McLean, *Medieval English Gardens* (London 1981) pp.141-2.

23 D. Williams, 'The plant macrofossil contents of medieval pits at Sewer Lane, Hull', in P. Armstrong, 'Excavations in Sewer Lane, Hull', *East Riding Archaeology* 3 (1978) pp.18-32.

24 P. Murphy and R. Scaife, *Garden Archaeology* (CBA Research Report 78) (London 1991) pp.93-9.

25 Lisa Moffett, in preparation.

26 Lisa Moffett, 'Fruits, vegetables, herbs and other plants from the latrine at Dudley Castle in Central England, used by the royal garrison during the Civil War', *Review of Palaeobotany and Palynology* 73 (1992) pp.271-86.

27 C. Stace, *New Flora of the British Isles* (Cambridge 1991) p.314.

Discussion

Introduction

Despite the limited extent of the trenching at the White Hart site, which has necessarily placed restrictions on our understanding of the overall layout of the backplot area, it has been possible to define a largely coherent and complementary datable sequence of activity from the two excavated trenches. This dating has been made feasible because of the relatively well-preserved stratified deposits encountered, and the quantity of datable pottery recovered. The value of these data has been enriched by observations made during the watching brief, which provided an important opportunity to record, albeit under salvage conditions, more widely within the backplot area and also immediately to the rear of the White Hart building itself. A disappointment was the inability to relate the information obtained from recording the trenches to that obtained beneath the White Hart itself, and thus to integrate the sequence of building activity²⁸ within the overall archaeological sequence. The rich documentary sources for Ely, such as the survey of 1417²⁹ can provide an historical framework for the physical development of the town, while specific later changes in plot layout can be assessed against the cartographic evidence.

Dating, sequence and function

The earliest artefactual evidence comprises a number of stray sherds of possible Saxo-Norman date (Fabrics B3, E2), which occur as residual material in Phase 1 deposit, and do not derive from occupation *in situ*. The higher ground on the west bank of the Ouse might have been the main focus for Saxon settlement, although traces of Saxon activity have also been found near the Cathedral.³⁰ Settlement in Ely was recorded to have retained an essentially rural character in the Domesday Book.³¹

The earliest recorded activity (Phase 1) was the cultivation of the area, dated by a

group of abraded sherds to the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries. The ecofactual evidence suggests that the crops grown included bread wheat and other cereals. The site would have lain to the north of a large market place established to the north of the Abbey, perhaps during Phase 1.

The Phase 2 evidence indicates the abandonment of this early cultivation activity, and the laying out of ditched plots with boundaries aligned north-south, perpendicular to Market Street, during the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. The re-definition of an established alignment, possibly first represented by post-holes (F223-4) and later by a ditch (F221), is perhaps suggested by the similarity both of the alignment and the positioning of these features. These ditches, and the western ditch (F302) cut on a similar alignment, probably defined separate burgage plots. The close proximity of ditches F221 and F216 might suggest that they were not contemporary, or that the latter was not a major boundary. The possible identification of the northern butt-end of ditch F221 could define the northernmost extent of the burgage plots, although the butt-end of ditch F216, recorded to the south, could equally define the northernmost contemporary plot limit.

These excavated features define boundaries that remain identifiable on nineteenth-century maps, and in many cases are perpetuated by present-day property boundaries. The ditched boundaries (F113, F221) exposed in Trenches I and II are approximately on a line with the surviving property boundary between the west wall of the White Hart and 1-2 Market Street to the west, and the westernmost ditched boundary (F302) is on a line with the west wall of 1-2 Market Street (Figs 1C, 2).

The evidence for activity within the rear burgage plots is slight. The excavated sequence from Trench I suggests that there were no structures sited to the north of the White Hart in Phase 2, although only a small area here was available for examination. The only structural evidence (in Trench II) comprised a short length of a foundation trench, containing a slot for a beam and a single post-hole for a timber upright. The foundation trench was dug slightly to the east of the infilled plot boundary ditch (F221) and probably defined the west wall of a small timber outbuilding; there was no evidence of the position of the other walls.

There was no evidence of rubbish disposal in this period. The recovery of a number of bowl sherds with traces of internal limescale

28 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 'The White Hart, Ely'; '1-2 Market Street, Ely', (unpubl. report 86285, 1991).

29 Public Record Office, Calendar of Patent Rolls 1418: Survey of Ely 1417.

30 A. Holton-Krayenbuhl, 'Ely Cathedral precinct', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 80 (1992) p. 121.

31 Rumble, *op. cit.* p. 5.

is the only indicator of possible industrial or commercial activity occurring on or near the site. The pottery found from this phase was dominated by bowls, and includes examples that were heavily sooted on the inside. The recovery of charred seeds of wheat and other cereals from the backfills of Phase 2 ditches suggests that such crops were grown or processed in the near vicinity.

These ditched burgage plots will have been laid out after the establishment of the market place, and reflect the need to promote and expand the market. Further development resulted in the establishment of Newnham Lane, to the west of the site. The excavated boundaries pre-date the White Hart and have been dated by a recent fabric survey to the late fifteenth century,³² and were probably associated with earlier buildings on the street frontage.

After the abandonment and obliteration of the Phase 2 features, the area remained open and might have returned to cultivation during the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. The plant remains recovered from the Phase 3 cultivation soil include wheat, barley, other cereals, remains of the great fen sedge, possibly used for thatch, and a single seed of pot marigold. The relatively unabraded nature of the sherds recovered from this layer suggests that, as one would expect in the town centre, cultivation took the form of small garden plots. This cultivation might have been established to serve the needs of the adjoining market. Cultivation so close to the urban core was characteristic of later medieval urbanism.³³

The area continued to receive large quantities of pottery, presumably dumped with domestic rubbish and derived from the continued occupation of properties on the street frontage. The Phase 3 pottery assemblage was dominated by jug forms; most of the bowl and cooking pot jar sherds recovered were sooted, and one vessel contained limescale. The pottery and charred seeds were probably mixed into the cultivation soil during the continued dumping of domestic refuse from dwellings on the street frontage.

In the post-cultivation Phase 4, activity appeared to be concentrated in the south of the backplot area, close to the White Hart building itself. The use of clay-lined possible bread ovens in this phase is dated by

pottery from their backfills to the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, a similar time-span to that defined for the later cultivation episode (Phase 3). Accordingly, it is possible that Phases 3 and 4 were largely contemporary, or that they at least overlapped. Thus the Phase 4 'industrial' activity immediately to the rear of the White Hart might have been broadly contemporary with the cultivation of land further to the rear of the backplot area. Analysis of the oven backfills reveals that they received a quantity of charred seeds of wheat, barley and oats, but this material might derive from the use of the ovens, or from crop processing activities, such as grain parching, carried out nearby.

The resumption of activity towards the rear of the backplot area, after the end of Phase 3 cultivation, is marked by the evidence from Phase 5 in Trench II. While it is difficult to interpret the functions of the early Phase 5 gulleys (F208-9), it is clear that at this time the area was being used as a stonemason's yard. During stoneworking a considerable depth of stone debris accumulated, both before and after the use of the mortar-mixing pit. An example of Saxon date from Northampton provided a parallel feature.³⁴ The excavated mortar pit and the further pit that was tentatively identified during the watching brief, reflect building activity in the near vicinity, possibly on the street frontage, although no traces of mortared walls of this date survive within the White Hart or the immediately adjoining buildings.³⁵ This phase of activity is dated by the pottery to the sixteenth century. Rubbish pits were also excavated in the backplot area during this phase and these, like their earlier counterparts, contained traces of charred seeds.

The differing nature of the two pottery assemblages from Trenches I and II further defines the differing functions of these respective areas. Most sherds from Trench I, in the area of domestic rubbish disposal, are from cooking pots/jars, while the majority of the material from the stonemason's yard area (Trench II) comprises bowls.

The final phase of activity, Phase 6, is dated from the eighteenth century to the present. During this period, brick outbuildings were constructed to the rear of the White

32 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 'The White Hart, Ely'.

33 C. Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (London 1976) p.15.

34 M.R. McCarthy, 'The pottery', in J.H. Williams, *St Peter's Street, Northampton: Excavations 1973-6* (Northampton 1979) pp.151-242.

35 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 'The White Hart, Ely'; '1-2 Market Street, Ely'.

Hart and to the west of the east range, and services were laid. Further stoneworking activity, found in the north of Trench II, might be related to the construction of outhouses to the rear of the White Hart. The laying of cobble and later tarmac yards to the rear of the White Hart completes the story.

Nineteenth-century maps record the pattern of outhouses to the rear of the White Hart,³⁶ which were revealed by excavation. These brick outhouses were probably contemporary with the brick east range of the White Hart, constructed in the nineteenth century.³⁷

Conclusion

The establishment of the market might have provided the stimulus for the early medieval cultivation of the White Hart site, which was followed by the laying out of burgage plots to the rear of the newly-created Market Street. Later, in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, the backplot area returned to cultivation, and the area closer to the street frontage was occupied by a group of ovens, but whether these activities were undertaken to fulfil domestic needs, or to provide produce for resale, cannot be determined. The stonemason's yard established here might have provided stone for the refurbishment of buildings on the street frontage, or possibly even for the refurbishment of the monastic buildings recorded around 1500 AD. The next historically attested events on this site re-

late to the establishment of a coaching inn in the post-medieval period.

The archaeological sequence at the White Hart mirrors the emergence of Ely as a prosperous market centre, the establishment of an urban core, and its rise and fall in economic prosperity. The decline in the city's economy, already evident in the fifteenth century, will have been accentuated by the loss of ecclesiastical patronage after the dissolution of the monasteries. This economic decline is in stark contrast to the continued prosperity of other East Anglian towns, such as King's Lynn, Norwich, Ipswich and Bury, which advanced in status at this period.³⁸

Acknowledgments

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36 Ordnance Survey 1888, 25 inches:mile.

37 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 'The White Hart, Ely'.

38 Patten, *op. cit.* p.42.

Ten Carmelite Roundels at Queens' College Cambridge

Hilary Wayment

Medieval English roundels in stained glass seem to have been produced in groups more often than singly.¹ Most of them in fact belong to numerical series: the four Evangelists, the Seven Sacraments or the Seven Works of Mercy, the Twelve Apostles or the Twelve Labours of the Months; and from these sets more than one roundel usually survives. By far the largest group, numbering 23 roundels, came from a merchant's house in Leicester, and includes for instance a complete set of the Seven Sacraments.² At Checkley Church, Staffordshire, there are seven Labours of the Months. At Greystoke in Cumbria the so-called Bestiary window contains nine roundels: three show eagles encircled by a scroll with the inscription *O Sanna O Sanna O Sanna O Sanna*, and others have an antelope, an ass, a mongoose, a phoenix, a caladrius (so-called), and a Trinity shield.³ Thus the group of ten Carmelites at Queens' College, though they are by no means all in pristine condition, is nevertheless in all probability the largest coherent set of English medieval roundels extant (Figs 1-10). Like the Leicester collection they are not far from their original site. They do

not form or derive from a numerical group, and they may perhaps be the survivors of an even larger series. Despite their inevitable conformity to a type they are of outstanding interest.

The Old Library of Queens' College is on the north side of the original mid-fifteenth-century courtyard, and on the first floor. Five northern windows which give onto land occupied until 1538 by the Carmelite Priory contain a roundel in each light. Each one measures about 22 cm. in diameter (8⁵/₈-8³/₄ in.) and is painted and stained; a pearly border about 2 cm. wide encircles a foliated background against which is set the head, full-face, or more often in three-quarter view, of a young or middle-aged friar, with just enough of his shoulders to reveal the thick folds of his white mantle and hood. Each wears a plain straight-sided cap, which is clearly intended to be black, though in five roundels the heavy black paint has entirely or almost entirely worn away.⁴ In three of these (nos 2, 3 and 9) the features themselves are dim, and in one (no.4), which has clearly at some stage been reversed so that the paint was exposed to the weather, the head is to all intents and purposes a blank. The roundels are here numbered from left to right, starting at the west end of the north wall of the Old Library; the easternmost window, which contains two heads in fine condition, gives onto a staircase.

Several different hands are discernible

- 1 Information on the English roundel in general, and on the series at Checkley and Greystoke in particular, has been generously supplied by Kerry Ayre: c.f. K. Ayre, 'English figurative stained glass roundels produced before 1530', *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters* XIX,1 (1989-90) pp.1-17.
- 2 G.McN. Rushforth, 'An account of some painted glass from a house at Leicester', *Archaeological Journal* XV (1918) pp.47-68. Alice Hamilton, 'Orthodoxy in late fifteenth-century glass at Leicester', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society* LV (1980) pp.22-37, stresses the close links between the component sets.
- 3 See n.1.

- 4 The shape is rare, but can be seen e.g. in an illumination of William of Nottingham's Commentary on the Four Gospels, Oxford Bod.Lib. MS Laud. Misc. 165 f.5, dated 1397; ill. in M. Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* (London 1952) Plate XLIII.



Figure 1. Roundel 1, window 1 (northwest), L light.



Figure 2. Roundel 2, window 1, R light.

in the heads. Nos 7 and 9 are from the same design, and so probably are nos 2 and 6; these four are by the same glass-painter. The roundel with the washed-out head (no.4) differs notably from the others in having a narrow border with about 40 pearly features instead of about 30, and a different background pattern. Ears are uniform in their stylisation (with the exception of the full-face head in no.8, and no doubt the washed-out no.4). For no.2, rather surprisingly, a defective piece of glass has been used, and no.10 has been made up of two distinct pieces, the joining lead being used to define the head itself, as it would be in a full-sized panel.

The roundels are placed above eye level in lights measuring on average 1.5 m. by 0.44 m. (59 in. high by 17³/₈ in. wide) against a background of figured quarries, within borders consisting of diamond features with overlapping sides, of a form found commonly in English mid-fifteenth-century windows, alternating with small rectangular pieces of blue or ruby glass (Fig.11). At the foot of six lights are fragmentary inscriptions, of which more will be said later on.

The roundel form is of course well suited

to the head or head-and-shoulders figure.⁵ At least 30 survive from the early fourteenth century and the first three quarters of the fifteenth, all painted and stained. In Dorchester Abbey, Oxfordshire, there are seven roundels distributed over the east window, with the heads of kings, bishops, a saint, and a man with a cap.⁶ These are thought to date from c. 1320, soon after the introduction of yellow stain. Of about the same date are the SS John and Thomas (with their attributes of spear and palm), no doubt from a set of Apostles, which form part of the Philip Nelson Collection at the Liverpool Museum (Fig.12). The large collection of over 30 fourteenth- and fifteenth-century roundels at St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, is especially interesting: out of 13 head-and-shoulders (or at least head-and-neck) roundels several represent men in secular dress, or kings, including one whose young head is ringed by a stained border so that the background forms a halo:

5 This paragraph is based on a collection of photographs of English head and head-and-shoulders roundels, which were kindly lent by Kerry Ayre. .

6 P.A. Newton, 'Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi', *The County of Oxford* (London 1979) p.79.

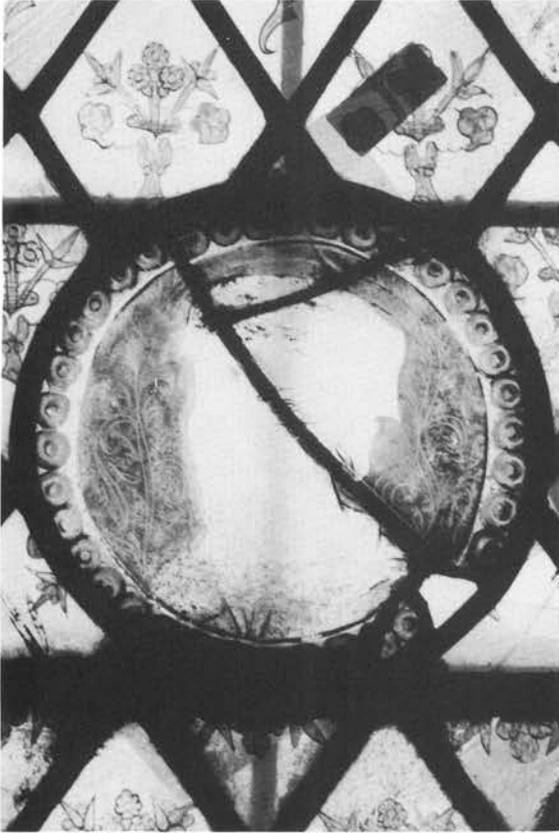


Figure 3. Roundel 3, window 2, L light.



Figure 4. Roundel 4, window 2, R light.



Figure 6. Roundel 6, window 3, R light.



Figure 7. Roundel 7, window 4, L light.



Figure 8. Roundel 8, window 4, R light.

no doubt St Edward, King and Martyr. Two other heads represent Dominican saints; they share the same style and the same diaper background; they must belong to the same later fifteenth-century set, and might indeed have formed a pair. One, turning to his right, with his head cleft by a sword, is clearly St Peter Martyr; the other, turning to his left (Fig. 13), may well be intended to represent St Dominic. Of all English head-and-shoulders roundels, however, the closest in composition to those in Queens' College is the mid-fifteenth-century bust of St Edmund, with invocation in Latin, within a twisted cable border, from Hardwicke Hall, Bury St Edmund's, and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Fig. 14).⁷

The quarries that serve as a background to the roundels in Queens' are almost all of a single pattern, representing a slip with a complicated flower not likely to be found in nature (Figs 15 and 16). The rare exceptions include two examples of the stand-

⁷ C.111-1924. B. Rackham, *Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Ceramics, A Guide to the Collections of Stained Glass* (London 1936) p.59 and Plate 15A.



Figure 9. Roundel 9, window 5 (onto staircase), L light. (Photo: Bruce Callingham)



Figure 10. Roundel 10, window 5 (onto staircase), R light.

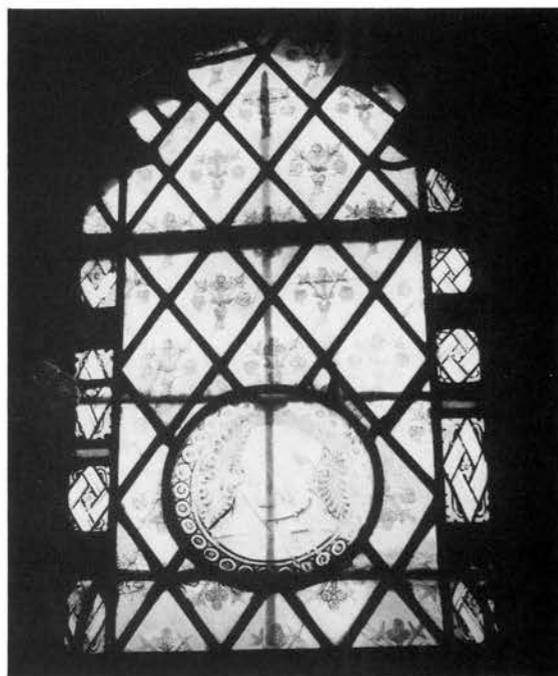


Figure 11. Window 1, upper half of R light with roundel 2.



Figure 12. *Liverpool Museum, Philip Nelson Collection, SS Thomas and John the Apostle. (Photo: Kerry Ayre)*



Figure 13. *Bristol, St Mary Redcliffe, window nXIX, A Dominican Friar.*



Figure 14. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, St Edmund, from Hardwicke Hall. (Photo: Museum)

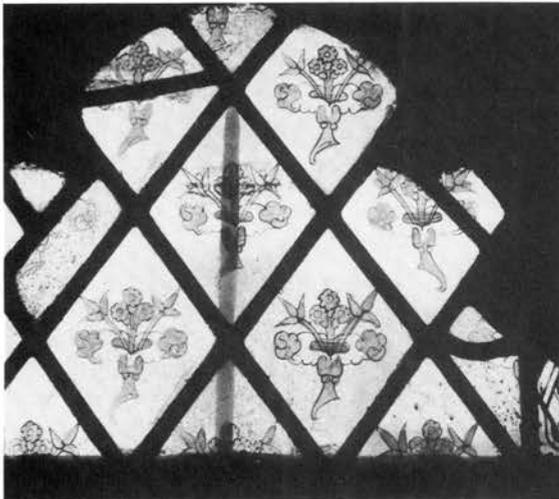


Figure 15. Window 1, head of R light.

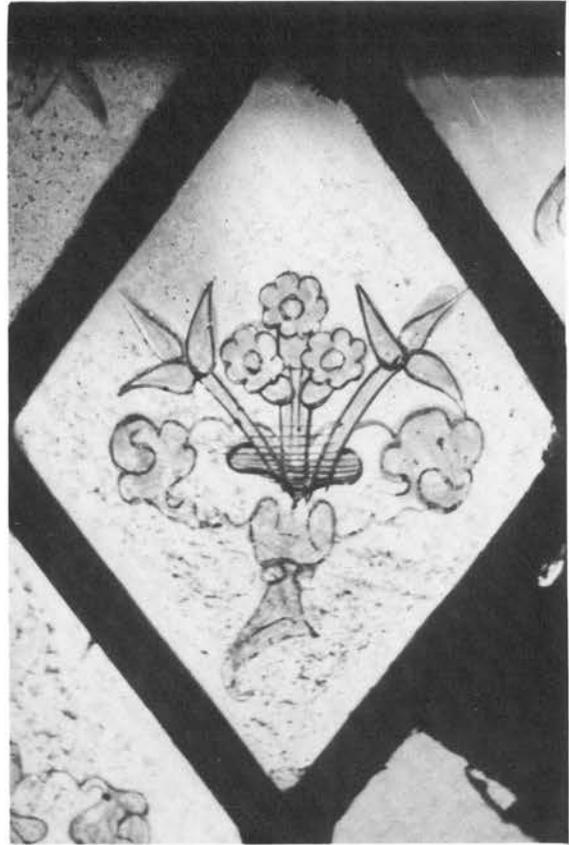


Figure 16. Quarry from window 1, L light (upside down).

encase. The arrangement of the glass in these ten lights seems likely, with certain exceptions, to reproduce that of the original installation in some part of the Carmelite Priory, most probably the cloister windows.⁹ The cinquefoil heads of the lights in Queens' have not infrequently been filled in with fragments, sometimes of plain glass, suggesting that some of the windows in which they originally stood were pointed, like the mid-fifteenth-century windows in the south wall of the Library, from which the cusping was 'scraped' away during the eighteenth century;¹⁰ quite a few quarries have been inserted upside down, especially half-quarries at the top of the lower panels, and in a few cases, notably in the casement of light 8, contemporary quarries of other patterns have been introduced. These last, and indeed other strays, are more likely to have been put in when the glass was re-erected in Queens' College than at a later re-leading.

Although the glass is almost certainly from a Cambridge workshop, a Norwich influence can be discerned in the furrowed cheek and

9 B. Zimmerman, (Benoît-Marie de la Croix), 'Les Carmes aux universités du moyen âge', *Etudes Carmélitaines* (1932) p.97 gives this as their origin, but without specifying his source. The cloister is thought to have stood at the northwest angle of the Chapel on the north of the site, and to have had a wooden frame. In November 1929 the Slade Professor, E.S.Prior, found signs of burning there (letter to Fr Zimmerman dated 4.11.29, in Carmelite Priory, London, Zimmerman Papers, file 17). See also n.36.

10 Willis and Clark (1886) II pp.11 and 51-2.

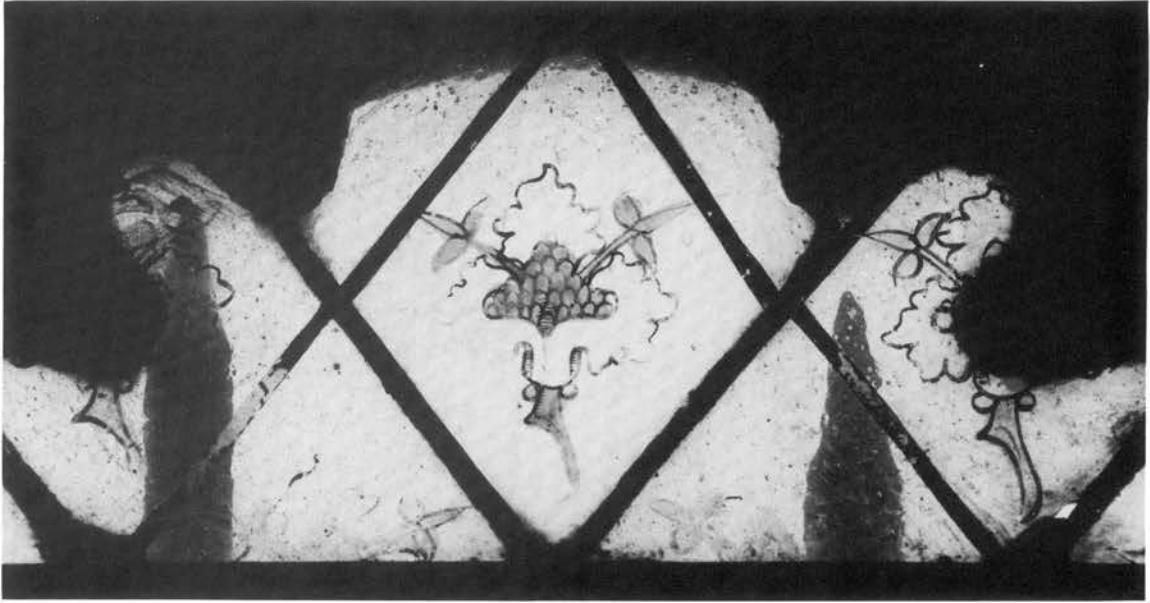


Figure 17. Cambridge, King's College Chapel, window 37, side-chapel J, head of light f.



Figure 18. Norfolk, East Harling, east window: Sir Robert Wingfield, c. 1463–80.

jaw of nos 1 and 6; the same stylisation is to be seen, for example, in the faces of two donors at East Harling: Sir Robert Wingfield (Fig. 18) and Sir William Chamberlayn.¹¹ The shading in the Carmelite figures, however,

is more skilfully handled, and their expression is livelier and more realistic. The characteristic broadening of the furrow in the upper lip (nos 4–10) is a trait found in fifteenth-century heads as far apart as Essex, Somerset and York.

The history of the Carmelites is full of contradictions: between the contemplative and the active life, between the grotto and the town, between the stardom of legendary founders and a cult of group anonymity for the community itself.¹² Although there is no document earlier than the thirteenth century that attests the existence of a Carmelite community, in the strict sense, it is not unlikely that long before this there were hermits, desert fathers living in caves at the foot of Mount Carmel near the so-called 'Well of Elijah' and claiming to trace their origins back to the 'sons of the prophets' who followed him; perhaps also venerating the Virgin Mary as the foundress of a similar community of women. The earliest surviving records, however, speak of immigrants from the west.¹³ In 1180, for example, a Greek monk called

11 David King, *Stained Glass Tours around Norfolk Churches* (The Norfolk Society 1974) p.29.

12 Cécile Emond, 'L'Iconographie Carmélitaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux', *Beaux-Arts* XII,5 (June 1961) pp.1–313 contains a good general account; but see on later literature Creighton Gilbert, 'Some special images for Carmelites, circa 1330–1430', from T. Verdon and J. Henderson (eds), *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento* (Syracuse N.Y. 1990) pp.161–207.



Figure 19. Treviso, Dominican Priory, Chapter House, Three Friars at their Desks.
(Photo: Alinari-Giraudon)

Phocas sees near the grotto of Elijah a dozen brothers recently established under 'a white-haired old man of Calabria'. But it was not until about 1206 that the then Patriarch of Jerusalem, Albert of Verceil, wrote a letter to a certain B (later given the name of Brocard) proposing a mixed rule of solitude and community for 'the Brothers of Our Lady of Carmel' in the valley of Elijah's well. The brothers were to have no private possessions, to be governed by a Prior, to work with their hands, mostly in solitude, and to live a life of abstinence, with long periods of fasting. This purely contemplative rule, despite a decision by the Lateran Council in 1215 to forbid the creation of new orders, was recognised in 1226 by Honorius III; nevertheless only three years later Gregory IX, following the rise of the Dominicans and Franciscans, admitted the Carmelites among the *mendicant* orders, thus establishing a

contradiction that was to dog them for the rest of the century between their eremitic tradition and the more active role in which they were now to be cast.

It was not long before the brothers were faced with an urgent choice between leaving for the west and martyrdom at the hands of the Saracens, who, after destroying offshoots of the order at Tyre, Sarepta, Antioch and Jerusalem, in 1291 uprooted the Carmel Priory itself. Meanwhile communities had been founded in Italy, in France, in Scotland, and finally, in 1242, at Aylesford in Kent. Simon Stock, the prime mover at Aylesford, appears to have governed the order from 1245 to 1265, codifying the constitution, modifying liturgy, and organising the intellectual life of the Carmelites, while new communities were being set up in a number of English towns, including London, Oxford and Cambridge. The Carmelite communities in the west faced inevitable decline unless they could secure and maintain the right, in common with the other mendicant orders, to preach and hear confessions. If they were to preach, they needed also to study;

13 François de Sainte-Marie, *Les Plus Vieux Textes du Carmel* (Paris 1945); E. Friedman, *The Latin Hermits of Mount Carmel: a Study in Carmelite Origins* (Rome 1979).

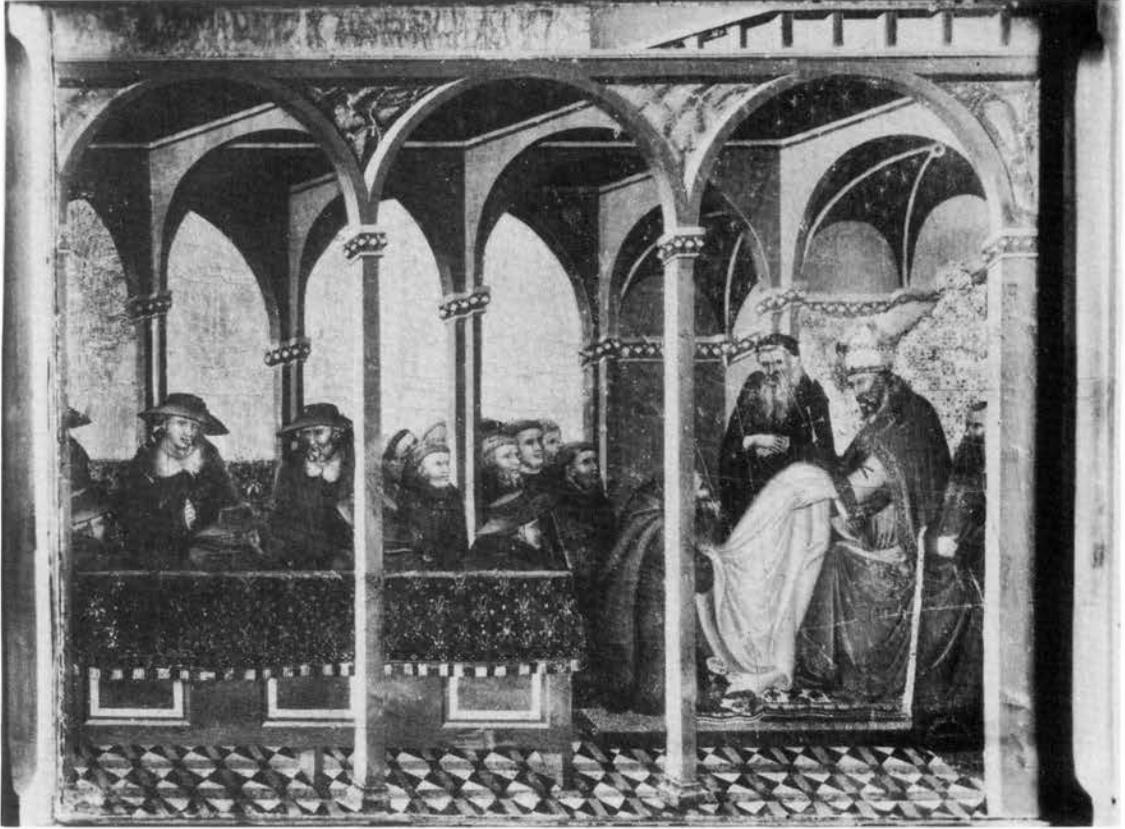


Figure 20. Siena, Pinacoteca: Pietro Lorenzetti, The Grant of the White Robe.
(Photo: Anderson)

moreover they depended for recruitment on a close attachment to the universities, where both the Franciscans and the Dominicans (who in many ways served them as a model) had by this time established themselves.

The Prior General of the order from 1265 to 1271, Nicholas Gallicus, was a conservative who in a celebrated broadside entitled *Ignea Sagitta* fulminated against the intellectual pretensions of the younger generation of friars, and their life in the towns, which he regarded as sinks of iniquity.¹⁴ He speaks in a tone of regret that is close to poetry of the beauty and calm of the wilderness and the peace of the cell near-celestial.¹⁵ But the tide was moving against him. Ralph Fishbourne, Prior Provincial of England from about 1257 to 1271, became Prior General of the order on Nicholas' resignation, and was evidently more go-ahead. His successor Pierre de Millaud (1275–94), who appears to have studied theology at the University of Paris, set up a scheme for the

organisation of *studia generalia* for the order. By the end of the century there were eight of these, at Paris, Toulouse, Montpellier, Avignon, Bologna, Florence, Cologne and London. Many friars went on to study at universities, and at Cambridge c. 1295 Humphrey de Necton became the first Carmelite to achieve a doctorate in an English university,¹⁶ thus marking decisively the new orientation of the order.

Two other events at roughly the same time gave a fresh impetus to the Carmelites at Cambridge. The first concerned the whole order: the striped mantle, which was said to represent the burns on Elijah's mantle as he cast it down from the fiery chariot onto Elisha, had become the object of general ridicule, and was replaced in 1287 by the sober white mantle. A year or two later the Cambridge community, which had been established first of all in Chesterton and later in more ample but isolated buildings in Newnham, further south, moved to a central site in the town of Cambridge, close to the

14 Rome, Archives of the Calced Carmelites Cod.V, ff.587–614.

15 He plays on the words *cella* and *celum*.

16 The title used at the time was 'Master of Theology'.



Figure 21. Window 3, R light, inscription at foot.

heart of the University.¹⁷ The brothers had deserted their cells for the hall, the dormitory and the market-place,¹⁸ but they never forgot the desert origins of their order.

The White Friars made common cause again and again with the other mendicants, who at the same time tended to resent them as competitors. They could not boast a saintly founder to rival Francis, Dominic or Augustine; they concentrated instead on the role of Elijah, Elisha, and Mary the Mother of God. The constitution of the order, as adopted in 1281 and revised in 1294 and 1324, contains the following passage:¹⁹

Certain brothers, new to the Order, do not know how to reply . . . to those who ask from whom or how our Order took its origin. We wish to indicate to them how to reply, in these terms. We therefore affirm, to witness the truth, that beginning with the prophets Elijah and Elisha, pious dwellers on Mount Carmel, the holy fathers of both Old and New Testaments, deeply in love with the solitude of the mountain, unquestionably lived there, in a manner deserving praise, near the Spring

17 J.W. Clark ed., *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle* (Cambridge 1907) pp.211-12; this account makes it clear that there were individual cells at Chesterton and both cells and a dormitory at Newnham.

18 W.G. Searle, *The History of the Queens' College of St Margaret and St Bernard in the University of Cambridge 1446-1850* (Cambridge 1867). On the new Cambridge site, Queens' Coll. MS Misc.B.f.39 (1540-41) mentions hall, dormitory and cloister as well as church, chapter house with bell-tower, and kitchen: p.231.

19 Quoted by Creighton Gilbert (1990) p.171, from Friedman (1979) p.200.

of Elijah, in holy penitence, and continued uninterruptedly in holy succession.

The early fourteenth century was a time when the mendicant orders began to stress their intellectual achievements and aspirations in the works of art they commissioned. A recent article in the *Revue de l'Art*, for instance, records the successive decorations of the Chapter House of the Priory at Treviso in northern Italy.²⁰ About the middle of the thirteenth century a Crucifixion was painted in fresco on the eastern wall; and around 1330 the figures of St Dominic, St Peter Martyr and the recently canonised Thomas Aquinas were added, together with those of two Dominican popes and a cardinal. Finally in 1352 a series of no less than 40 Dominican popes, cardinals, saints and beatified friars were painted on the side walls sitting at their desks in a variety of attitudes, with the instruments of writing, and with great tomes about them, some of them wearing spectacles (Fig.19). Beside them are inscriptions giving their names and achievements. The frescoes as a whole present a community of scholars, of individuals cooperating separately in a joint campaign of study, and study as a mainstay of the faith.

20 Daniel Russo, 'Compilation iconographique et légitimation de l'ordre dominicain: les fresques de Tomaso da Modena à San Niccolò de Treviso (1352)', *Revue de l'Art* 97 (1992) pp.76-84; Robert Gibbs, *Tomaso da Modena* (Cambridge 1989) pp.63-87.

Not many years earlier a Carmelite Priory further south had commissioned a work of art with a very different orientation. Professor Creighton Gilbert has thrown a flood of light on Lorenzetti's reconstructed altarpiece from the Carmelite Priory at Siena (1329).²¹ He shows that the emphasis on Elijah and Mary the Mother of God had as its corollary the anonymity of the Carmelite community in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the studied self-effacement of the key figures in its history, such as the shadowy Brocard, or the spokesmen who received recognition for their order from successive Popes; in Lorenzetti's panels these men are always accompanied by an anonymous group of friars, and are either indistinguishable from their colleagues or are half blotted out by intervening columns (Fig.20). With the approach of the Renaissance in early fifteenth-century Italy, individual Carmelites more often stood out from the group, and the coming of St Theresa of Avila and St John of the Cross in the following century served to break down anonymity again and again; but it is still a firm tenet of Carmelite communities everywhere.

The fourteenth century was indeed the golden age of the Carmelite Priory in Cambridge. At this time there were hundreds of poor students, many of them little more than boys, who had to beg or steal to keep alive. The Carmelites helped them to stave off starvation, as the Franciscans and Dominicans had been doing for half a century or more, and many, from gratitude if not purely from vocation, followed in their footsteps. Other Carmelite houses sent their young men to study for degrees, and benefactions from the wealthy and powerful made the Priory the envy of the town.

In the later part of the fourteenth century there were two important controversies which need to be recorded. About 1374 a Dominican friar, Dr Stokes, wrote a virulent pamphlet against the Carmelites, deriding their claim to call themselves 'Friars of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel'; but a regent master called John Hornby, at a court held in the University Church of St Mary's,²² made a vigorous defence of his order, and secured a declaration from John of Dunwich, the Chancellor of the University, dated February 23rd 1374/5, that he

had proved his case by the citation of accredited documents, and established the Carmelite claim.²³ This was one of the first to be recorded of many such controversies in western Europe during the following centuries.²⁴ John of Dunwich did not merely declare that the Carmelites were 'imitators and successors' of Elijah and Mary the Mother of God, but formally forbade any repetition of the bitter attacks to which they had been subjected in the University.

The second clash occurred during the last decade of the century, when there were complaints that Carmelites were securing the doctor's degree in theology too easily, largely through the recognition by the University of their more elementary studies within the Priory itself.²⁵ Strict rules were accordingly laid down by Cardinal Landulph, the Protector of the Order, and confirmed by Boniface IX in 1397. These stipulated that the degree could only be won after following a succession of studies for not less than 18 years,²⁶ though the rules seem to have been relaxed somewhat by the middle of the fifteenth century. The complaint smacks of envy no less than of righteous indignation.

Estimates of academic achievement by the four orders of mendicants in Cambridge tend to be disparate and fragmentary. Thomas Fuller in mid-seventeenth century,²⁷ summing up Leland,²⁸ Bale,²⁹ and Pits,³⁰ lists,

21 Creighton Gilbert (1990).

22 On the site of Great St Mary's, now largely a late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century building, there has been a church from at least the thirteenth century onwards.

23 Cambridge University Library MS Ff.6.11, ff.49-55; Oxford Bod.Lib. MS e Musaeo 86 ff.176 sqq.

24 J.P.H. Clark, 'A defence of the Carmelite Order by John Hornby, O.Carm., A.D.1374', *Carmelus* XXXII,1 (1985) pp.75-6 suggests that a *Defensorium* or *Dialogus* of John of Hildesheim (d.1375) preceded Hornby's by a year or two.

25 Victoria History of the Counties of England, *Cambridgeshire* Vol.2, ed. by L.F. Salzman (London 1948) p.284.

26 Studies in Arts for seven years (which the mendicants often tried to avoid), and in Theology for seven years; lecturing on the Sentences in a university for one year and for two years as lector principalis, then for one year more on the Bible.

27 Thomas Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge*, ed. M. Prickett and T. Wright (Cambridge and London 1840) pp.68-9.

28 John Leland, *Commentarij de Scriptoribus Britannicis* (Oxford 1709).

29 John Bale (1495-1563) published *Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum* at Ipswich in 1548, and a revised and enlarged version *Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Catalogus* at Basle in 1557-9. These are summarised (and referenced) in his notes published by R. Lane Poole (Oxford 1902) as *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*.

30 *Ioannis Pitset Relattonum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis*. Only one vol. was published, *De illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus*, and that after his death, in Paris 1619.



Figure 22. Window 5, R light, inscription at foot.

down to 1500, 37 Carmelites, nine or ten Austins, seven Dominicans, and four Franciscans as 'learned writers'. Most of the names, however, are contributed by John Bale, who until about 1530 was a Carmelite, though he later became a bitter critic of Catholicism. There appears to be only one extant medieval list, and that tells a surprisingly different story.³¹ It covers the period between the second quarter of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fourteenth, and gives 73 names of Franciscan Masters of Theology (D.D.s), of whom about 30 seem previously to have studied elsewhere. Records of Austin Friars who were notable for learning are unfortunately scanty and often unspecific. Finally a Dominican, Fr Walter Gumbley, writing in 1938, names 28 Black Friars who secured doctorates at Cambridge before 1500, while noting a gap in the available records during the second quarter of the fifteenth century.³²

31 Thomas Eccleston, *Tractatus de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, ed. A.G. Little (Manchester 1951) pp.58-61. The list runs from the second quarter of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth centuries. Emden failed to include as doctors at least ten who are so specified in the list.

32 *The Cambridge Dominicans* (Oxford 1938) p.27.

Emden in 1963 was able to use a wide range of sources in compiling his *Biographical Dictionary*. An analysis of his evidence might appear to confirm the White Friars' academic dominance in the later period, though an imbalance in the sources may still be affecting the results. Friars credited by Emden with a doctorate only probably or possibly from Cambridge are not included. If we start in 1290, just before the White Friars moved from the left to the right bank of the Cam, set a dividing line at 1355, where the medieval list of Franciscan doctors breaks off, and finish at 1500, roughly the latest possible date for the roundels, the result is approximately as follows:

	1290-1355	1355-1500	Total
Franciscans	43	21	64
Dominicans	13	22	35
Austin Friars	4	28	32
Carmelites	9	48	57

If these figures are anything like a true guide, the Dominicans' envy of the Carmelites had some justification.

A few outstanding White Friars may be mentioned. A dominant figure in the first half of the fourteenth century was John Baconthorpe, who trained primarily at Oxford and in Paris, but also lectured for a time in Cambridge. He was 'small in stature but formidable in intellect and learning': a notable exponent of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. Robert Ivorie was Prior of the Cambridge convent from 1372 to 1375, and Prior Provincial from 1379 until his death; he preached before the king on Easter Day 1390.³³ In 1382 two celebrated Carmelites were prominent in the arraignment of John Wyclif as the instigator of the Peasants' Revolt:³⁴ Stephen Patrington, an Oxford doctor of theology who was afterwards Bishop of St David's, and Walter Diss, a Cambridge doctor who was confessor to John of Gaunt and later became Papal Legate and Prior Provincial of Spain; he died in 1404. In the fifteenth century three outstanding Cambridge Carmelites were Nicholas Cantilupe, Prior successively at Cambridge, Bristol, Gloucester and Nottingham (d.1441), and two men each of whom, apparently, in the absence of the Chancellor of the time, acted in his place: Nicholas Swaffham (d.1449) and Nicholas Kenton (d.1468).³⁵ The list could readily be extended, and carried on well into the sixteenth century, after the date of these roundels.

It was not long, however, before disaster struck. On 20th April 1513 a fire which broke out in buildings to the east appears to have spread to the convent, and wrought considerable havoc, so much so that rebuilding was still under way when in 1536 the general dissolution of the monasteries began.³⁶ On 8th August 1538 the king suppressed all the mendicant priories. The few friars who remained had already abandoned hope; on 12th February 1537 they had sold the party wall on the south side of their grounds to Queens' College, which a few days later began to open up windows in its northern walls.³⁷ On 8th August of the next year, the very day of the king's decree, the Carmelites surrendered their property to the President and Fellows. On the 17th, however, the king laid hands on the Priory himself. The Bursar of Queens' nevertheless proceeded at the end of the next month to pay two workmen

8 d. for dismantling some glass windows, and again in January 1539 disbursed 4 s. for similar work, as well as for removing ironwork and handing other objects over to the treasurer. In September 1540 a new lock and key were bought for the Carmelites' vestry, where materials taken from the courtyard were stored. On 5th October two men were paid for bringing dismantled glass and iron into the College from the Priory.

A further entry in the College accounts, dating from the first days of January 1540/1, requires more detailed examination. This records the payment of 30 s. (a relatively large sum) by two men named Meeres and 'Nox' for 'iron and glass from the buildings, apart from the great east window'.³⁸ This might suggest that the glass kept back comprised the ten lights now in the Old Library, which indeed might possibly have stood above and below the transom of a five-light window; but a group of friars' heads in paint and stain could scarcely be considered an appropriate background to a high altar. We know that the Franciscans, who had started during the first half of the thirteenth century in a shed beside the town jail, had a century later filled the windows of their church with glass of outstanding brilliance and quality; this is evident from the ten lights in Sidney Sussex College, eight in the Old Library and two each on the staircase leading to it and in the Ante-Chapel, which are filled with glass dug up on the site of the church. There is not only plain glass painted and stained, but rich potmetal, blue, green, amber, and flashed ruby. There are fragments of hands, and faces in pale murrey glass, together with remains of leaf-quarries, larger than normal. A small part of the glass is in fifteenth-century style.³⁹ The scanty remnants of glass from the Augustinian Hermitage on the Downing site, which are now in King's College Chapel, are even more varied, and include sixteenth-century fragments.⁴⁰ It seems therefore unlikely that the White Friars would have failed to enrich the east window of their church in similar fashion, perhaps, as in the altarpiece at Siena, with figures of the Blessed Mary, Mother of God, and of Elijah. In the sixteenth century, cloisters were glazed

33 A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge 1963) p.669.

34 H.B. Workman, *John Wyclif* (Oxford 1926) II pp.245-8 and 261.

35 Emden (1963) s.vv.

36 Zimmerman (1932) p.97 gives no reference for the fire, but see Searle (1867) p.156 and n.9 above.

37 For the details of the dissolution see Searle pp.228-31.

38 Queens' Coll. Misc.B f.39.

39 The fragments were arranged in appropriate (and elegant) patterns by Dennis King of Norwich.

40 Window 35 d 5: H.G. Wayment, *King's College Chapel, Cambridge: the Side Chapel Glass* (Cambridge 1988) p.135.



Figure 23. London, British Library, the Reconstructed Carmelite Missal, MS. Add. 29704, f. 6^v,
Fragment no.93, the Celebration of Holy Saturday. (Photo: British Library)

with figurative glass by the Cistercians at Mariawald in the Eifel and at Rathausen near Lucerne, and by the Carthusians at Cologne and at Louvain.⁴¹ There is every reason why the Carmelite cloister in Cambridge, at the end of the fifteenth century, should have been glazed, in rather more restrained fashion, with roundels calculated to inspire the young friars who studied there.

Although the Bursar of Queens' had already taken over a large quantity of building materials, it was not until 28th November 1541 that the king's officers of the revenue in the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon sold to Dr May, President of the College, 'all the stone, slate, tiles, timber, iron and glass of the late house of the Carmelites', for £20. The glass must have included the roundels, quarries and borders that are now in the north windows of the Old Library. The king had meanwhile given the site itself to John Eyre of Bury, who sold it to Queens' College on 30th November 1544. The northern part, including the friars' garden, was finally purchased by King's College from Queens' in 1551.

One essential question remains. Who do the roundels represent? For Fr Zimmerman the identification of the persons represented is all-important. 'Ces vitraux, assez laids et sans aucune valeur artistique, sont cependant intéressants, et le seraient davantage, s'il était possible d'identifier les personnages.'⁴²

At the foot of six of the ten lights concerned there are, in the border, fragments of inscriptions, some of them inside out or upside down, or both, and many of them obscured by thick modern leading. These are likely, though by no means certain, to have come from the same source as the roundels. Only three are sufficiently decipherable to be significant:

light 6 (upside down) /a(n)imab(us)/
/ni/ce Gay/ (Fig.21)

light 9 (uncial) /nefactor. 1/

light 10 /mag(ist)ri Tho/me Wett/ (or possibly Wett(on));⁴³ then sideways in smaller letters of a different style /o nich/ (Fig.22) The first must come from a memorial inscription asking prayers for the souls of a husband and wife named Gay (or Say);⁴⁴ it

cannot refer directly to any of the friars depicted in the roundels. The second, being in the nominative (and followed by a stop) might possibly refer to a benefactor who was also a friar, but is far more likely to have recorded the gift of a generous layman. This fragment, though no doubt contemporary, may derive from some part of the priory distinct from the source of the roundels, whatever that might have been. The third is more enigmatic. The word magister in this context must surely indicate a Master of Theology or D.D. A regent doctor whose surname was Wett figures in the University's records for 1483-4, without any Christian name or any reference to college or convent.⁴⁵ The inscription might possibly indicate that one of the roundels (or a similar roundel now lost) represented Dr Wett; or it might simply have been his gift.

McCaffrey discusses the roundels and their inscriptions in two quite separate paragraphs.⁴⁶ In one place he speaks of 'cameo portraits of eminent Carmelites, each wearing a Doctor's cap. There were evidently subscriptions giving the names and titles, but unfortunately these have been dispersed or lost. A singular lack of care is displayed in their arrangement in their present positions. Thus we traced two strips of worded glass, set in two different windows, which, placed together, gave a complete name. Because of this carelessness we, unfortunately, have no means of knowing who are represented in these interesting relics.'

This stricture at least gives a clue as to the date of the last re-reading. It seems likely that the two pieces of glass composing the name and title of Thomas Wett (or Wetton) were at the time of McCaffrey's visit (1926 or before) in two different windows, but were later brought together and set in their present positions.

The roundels might indeed be expected, at first sight, to commemorate specific Carmelite worthies, such as those mentioned earlier. However, there is no clear evidence to support this view. The lights, apart from the introduction of fragments to complete them at head and foot, and the insertion of a casement filled with alien but contemporary quarries in light 8, seem likely to be generally in their original order; the close fitting of the quarries round the medallions seems to exclude the possibility that there

41 *Ibid.*, pp.37-44,48-52,55-64,163-4.

42 Zimmerman *loc. cit.* in n.8.

43 The flourish at the end of the word 'Wett' looks more like a space-filler than a contraction sign.

44 Both names are found e.g. in Emden (1963). A Nicholas Gay entered Peterhouse in 1437, became

Bursar, and died in 1474; a John Say came up from Eton to King's in 1486.

45 Grace-Book A, 187.

46 P.R. McCaffrey, *The White Friars* (Dublin 1926) pp.197 (the page quoted) and 329.

were names inscribed immediately beneath them.

It would in fact be entirely in accordance with the Carmelite tradition if the friars shown were intended to form an anonymous group such as those in Pietro Lorenzetti's altarpiece (Fig.20), or for that matter the choir of four Carmelite friars (as they must surely be) in the illumination representing the celebration of Holy Saturday in the English Carmelite Missal of the late fourteenth century which was expertly reconstructed by Margaret Rickert (Fig.23).⁴⁷ These four singers have a certain variety of movement and expression, but are still of course totally anonymous.

By the second half of the fifteenth century, however, such blank impersonality was already breaking down, particularly in the case of authors. There are, for instance, in Cambridge libraries no less than three manuscript copies of the Carmelite Thomas Walden's *Doctrinale*. Two of these contain illuminated initials which show him kneeling in the conventional position, in one case to the Virgin and Child,⁴⁸ and in another to present his book to a Pope.⁴⁹ These figures, of course, are on a very small scale, and are far from being portraits.

The friars' heads in these roundels are by no means lacking in animation and in-

dividuality, although, as we have seen, at least two, and possibly as many as four, are painted from the same design. They are certainly lively enough to stimulate the young to emulation of the Carmelite worthies of the past, the exemplars with some of whom we have become acquainted in the course of this discussion. Isolated as they are in their medallions, though linked in their identity of function, they are delicately poised between the quiet anonymity of the Carmelite tradition and the warm individualism of the approaching Renaissance.

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When this article was ready to go to print Mrs Kerry Ayre and Mr Andrew Rudebeck kindly brought to my attention two Carmelite roundels hitherto unknown to me. The fragment in Mr Rudebeck's collection (Fig.24) seems to come from a complete roundel broken away at the foot; but since it includes an inscribed scroll with the words *memento finis* it is unlikely in addition to have included the name of the friar, who is shown writing at his desk in the manner of some of the Dominicans at Treviso. The roundel is no doubt English, as the evident *horror vacui* would suggest. Since the friar is using his left hand the image is probably copied, as often in reverse, from some previous version, perhaps not English. The diameter of the fragment is 18 cm., and its date is probably c. 1450.

The roundel in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow, (Fig.25) is more closely compara-

ble with the Queens' College set, though it has been badly damaged and only the main piece to the left side is original. A friar in a doctor's cap, with an almost boy-like face, is shown in head-and-shoulders raising both hands in front of him as in prayer. The vacuum behind him, in true English fashion, is filled by a diamond-shaped diaper, and there is no border. Probably from a workshop in the Midlands, second quarter C15. The diameter is 20.6 cm. Inv. no. 45.105: formerly Eumorfopoulos Collection.

The survival in three separate instances of C15 Carmelite figures, all clearly encouraging devout study, suggests that in the century before the Reformation, at least, the English White Friars, in following the example already set by the Dominicans, were commonly using the roundel form, but probably without naming their exemplars.

47 London B.L. MS Add. 29704, f.6v:Rickert (1952) Plate I.

48 Corpus Christi College Library MS no.90 (fifteenth century).

49 Trinity Hall Library MS no.3 (Gent 1500). The third is in the University Library, Dd.8.16,17 (from Archbishop Parker).



Figure 24. Rudebeck Collection: Roundel, A Carmelite at his Desk. (Owner's photo)



Figure 25. Burrell Collection: A Carmelite Friar. (Photo: Glasgow Museums, Burrell Collection)

Ely Bricks and Roof-Tiles and their Distribution in Norfolk and Elsewhere in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries

Robin Lucas

The city of Ely is celebrated for its great cathedral and its centuries-long existence as the unofficial capital of Fenland. But the history of Ely is not simply that of an ecclesiastical centre and provincial market: for an extended period bricks and tiles were made within the environs of the city, as is recorded in a variety of public and private documents. Ely bricks and roof-tiles were, indeed, the subject of national acclaim. The references to the manufacture of bricks and tiles that mark the substance of this article are selected, in large part, by the chance of discovery. A systematic search of the documentary record would provide a fuller picture of what was formerly a major local industry.

In describing the emergence of the brick and tile industry at Ely it has to be stated, at the outset, that Ely could not be numbered amongst the earliest sites of brick and tile manufacture. When the record refers to the first use of bricks and tiles at Ely, which occurred in the years following 1339 and in connection with the construction of a bridge and the cathedral's new Lady Chapel, the bricks were brought from King's Lynn and Wisbech.¹ The bricks acquired from Wisbech were, most probably, surplus production of the brickyard set up to build Wisbech Castle: the manorial accounts of the period reveal sales to external customers, and these

included the Ely diocesan authorities.² The Norfolk parishes of Emneth and Wiggshall were also to supply bricks to the cathedral, bricks from the former being acquired by the Granator in 1355-6 to make the hearth of the rebuilt bakehouse³ and bricks from the latter by the Preceptor in c. 1454 to build a new chamber between the Lady Chapel and the church.⁴ It would be fair to conclude that whenever building projects in Ely required bricks before the late fifteenth century, the bricks were brought in from outside, even when, as was the case with great south gatehouse known as Ely Porta whose construction was underway in 1397, the number of bricks used was substantial.

The brick and tile industry in Ely would seem to date from the fifteenth century. A 'tyle kylne close' formed part of Barton farm in Ely when it was enclosed by the Bishop's bailiff in the second half of that century.⁵ The lease-book of the Ely Dean and Chapter listed a 'kilnhouse' amongst the properties of the manor of Turbutsea which was let to William Smythe in 1565.⁶ The palace built for himself by John Alcock, Bishop of Ely from 1486 to 1501, and now surviving

1 F.R. Chapman (ed.), *Sacrist Rolls of Ely* (Cambridge 1907) Vol.2 pp.91,137,169.

2 Wisbech Castle (Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts, Ely Diocesan Archives, EDR D 7/1/3,6,10). I am indebted to Dr Dorothy Owen, former Keeper of the Ely Diocesan Archives, for providing this and the succeeding two references.

3 Records of Ely cathedral priory (Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts, Ely Diocesan Archives, EDC 5/14/11).

4 Records of Ely cathedral priory (Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts, Ely diocesan archives, EDC 5/16/7).

5 W.M. Palmer, 'Enclosures at Ely, Downham and Littleport A.D. 1548', *Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society* 5 (1937) p.377; *Victoria History of the Counties of England. Cambridge and the Isle of Ely. Vol.4*, ed. by R.B. Pugh (London 1953) p.41.

6 Palmer, pp.382-4.

as towers to a rebuilt structure of the seventeenth century, might have been amongst the first of what was to become a series of buildings raised in locally-made brick. The capacity of the industry was to outstrip local needs and from the second quarter of the sixteenth century was to supply building operations located outside Ely (Fig. 1). Thomas Baskerville visited the city in 1681 and observed that 'the great trade of this town and country hereabout is the making of bricks and earthenware, for which purpose they have excellent sorts of earth'.⁷ At an earlier point in his memoir he reported the use of Ely brick in the walls of Cambridge colleges.⁸ Baskerville was not mistaken. Brick was purchased at Ely from a man named Browne for the Great Gate of King's Hall, now of Trinity College, in 1528-9.⁹ The rebuilding accounts of Clare College, 1635-56, refer to the purchase of bricks from both Cambridge and Ely.¹⁰

The prosperity of the brickmaking industry in Ely can be attributed to two factors: firstly, river communications; and secondly, the quality of its wares (Fig. 1). Ely's location within the Great Ouse river network allowed brickmakers to distribute their produce amongst the numerous, generally wealthy, settlements which lined its banks. Ely bricks made their way along the Cam to Cambridge and later, when the Great Ouse itself was made fully navigable, via the Hemingford lock into Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire. The tolls taken at Hemingford between 14 April and 6 June 1710 indicate that in that time 23 loads of brick and tile coming from the direction of Ely had passed upstream.¹¹ Ely bricks were arriving downstream at King's Lynn in the sixteenth century,¹² at the borough which in an earlier period had been exporting

bricks to Ely. A quantity of Ely bricks was brought to Hockwold, near Brandon, in 1696,¹³ presumably by way of the river Little Ouse. For some of the bricks made at Ely the Sturbridge Fair, held on the bank of the Cam downstream from Cambridge, acted as a point of distribution.¹⁴

Given that the areas that took in Ely bricks were, in almost all cases, able to make bricks of their own, it must be supposed that qualities were attributed to Ely bricks which facilitated the penetration of distant markets. Clays in the vicinity of Ely included the Kimmeridge clay; the gault clay which, in pockets, was interbedded with the Kimmeridge clay; and the river-laid or alluvial clay which was a compound of the other clays.¹⁵ Bricks were made from all these clays and can often be identified by their colouring; those made from the Kimmeridge are reddish-brown; from the gault, buff or — as it was called — white; and from the alluvium, a range of brindled or mottled hues. It was for its gault bricks that Ely was to become celebrated.

The chalk in the clay that was responsible for the colour acted, when burnt, as a flux, fusing sand and clay particles so as to produce a very hard brick. Ely bricks were the engineering bricks of their day. From the number of Ely bricks acquired by the borough chamberlain of King's Lynn in the years 1766 to 1767, it is known that some were intended for harbour installations.¹⁶ Observation of buildings in King's Lynn shows the distinctive pale Ely brick to have been used for foundation plinths, notably in Saint Margaret's Vicarage where the plinth rises three feet above the pavement. Ely white bricks were also widely used for flooring. In 1625 John Kercher was granted a reduction in rent of eight shillings for the house in Pudding Lane rented by him from the Lynn Corporation, 'this being the charge of paving his howse with Elye brick'.¹⁷ For the hall

7 Thomas Baskerville, 'Journeys in England, temp. Car. II', printed in *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13th Report, Appendix, Parts I & II)* (London 1891 and 1893) Vol. 2 p.272.

8 Baskerville, p.264.

9 *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Cambridge* (London 1959) Part 1 p.c; Part 2 p.215.

10 Robert Willis and J.W. Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton* (Cambridge 1886) Vol. 1 pp.93,94,96.

11 T.S. Willan (ed.) 'The navigation of the Great Ouse between St. Ives and Bedford in the seventeenth century', *Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society* 24 (1946) pp.131,132.

12 Vanessa Parker, *The Making of King's Lynn: Secular Buildings from the 11th to the 17th Century* (Chichester 1971) pp.103,106-7.

13 Bill from Catrine Oleiver addressed to Cyril Wyche, dated 11 June 1696 (Norfolk Record Office, hereafter NRO, Wyche papers, MC 195/15).

14 Baskerville, p.272.

15 R.W. Gallois, *Geology of the Country around Ely* (London 1988) *passim*.

16 Corporation of King's Lynn, Chamberlains Account made up for the year ending at Michaelmas 1766, discharge for the Common Staithe, pp.30-33; ditto, 1767, pp.30-32 (King's Lynn Borough Archives, KL/C39/145-6).

17 Corporation of King's Lynn, Accounts of the revenues of the mayor and burgesses out of their common stathe quay and the millstone and stocks there, 1595-1655 (King's Lynn Borough Archives, KL/C44/18).

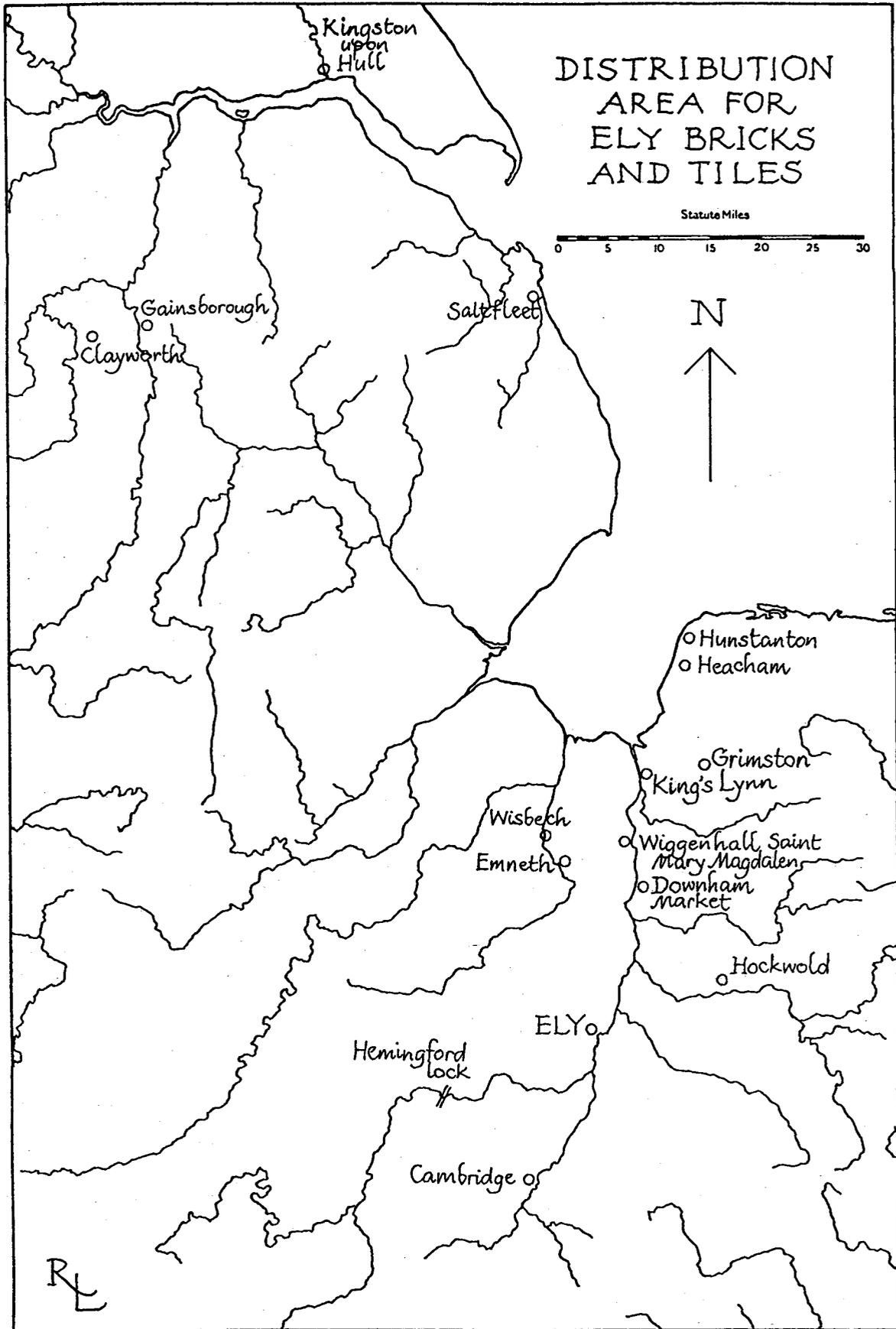


Figure 1. Distribution area for Ely bricks and tiles.

at Ryston, near Downham Market, which he designed for himself and had built between 1669 and 1672, Sir Roger Pratt intended 'Ely bricks 2,000 to bee sente for &c. for back steppes &c.'¹⁸ Through the 1690s and 1700s Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, the squire of Hunstanton, acquired white bricks from Ely specifically for the purpose of flooring farmhouses on his estate which bordered the Wash. These bricks were delivered onto the beach at Heacham by vessels sent out from King's Lynn.¹⁹

Ely bricks were bought for their hardness. The consequence of a change in taste away from red bricks and towards pale-coloured bricks in the second quarter of the eighteenth century was that from that time Ely white bricks were acquired for their appearance as well as for their strength. The borough record of King's Lynn is again informative, for it reveals the arrangements made in the year 1766 by the borough chamberlain to acquire from Ely 60,000 bricks²⁰ which were, it has been supposed, the white or buff bricks used to face the King's Lynn Assembly Rooms.²¹ To face another building in Lynn, the house in the Grass Market occupied by the Reverend William Everard, the owner and merchant Samuel Browne acquired 1500 Ely bricks in 1771-2.²² Ely white facing-bricks found their way to other destinations in Norfolk, such as Stow Hall, near Downham Market, in 1754²³ and William Smith's rented farmhouse at Grimston in 1784.²⁴ The locally-made white or buff bricks were employed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Ely itself, as would be made clear from a 'perambulation' of the city in company with Sir Nikolaus Pevsner's Cambridgeshire volume from the *Buildings of*

England series.²⁵

Attention has been directed to bricks, but roof-tiles were in every way as important as bricks to the burgeoning Ely brick-trade. Factors that promoted sales of bricks, namely the availability of river communications and the hardness of the wares, also promoted sales of tiles (Fig. 1). Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, noted earlier as a purchaser of Ely bricks, held a high opinion of Ely roof-tiles and his comments on their availability suggest that in some years around the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Lynn merchants could not supply as many as he would have wished.²⁶ Roger North, squire of Rougham in Norfolk and an amateur architect of wide knowledge, regarded Ely tiles as the best of roof-tiles in the late seventeenth century.²⁷ Roof-tiles were, in relation to their weight, more valuable than bricks and not unexpectedly, therefore, since the cost of transport was proportionately cheaper, they were distributed more widely. From King's Lynn there were exported numerous cargoes of Ely tiles. Port-books for the year 1682 show 20,000 Ely tiles to have been dispatched coastwise to Gainsborough, 15,000 to Kingston-upon-Hull and 2000 to Saltfleet.²⁸ The late Maurice Barley could not believe that the 'Ely tile' used to cover the rector's dovecot at Clayworth in Nottinghamshire in 1682 actually came from Ely:²⁹ but, given the fact that Ely tiles were, in the same year, dispatched to the neighbouring town of Gainsborough, his doubts would seem to have been misplaced. The likely route to Clayworth was, as it was to Gainsborough, northwards along the coast from King's Lynn to the Humber, and then southwards up the river Trent: but there was an alternative inland route from the Wash via the river Witham, which was navigable

18 Sir Roger Pratt, *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, ed. by R.T. Gunther (Oxford 1928) pp.192,193.

19 Notebook of Sir Hamon and Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, 1613-1721, pp.(39),(45),(68),(91) (NRO, Hunstanton estate papers, Q 38).

20 Corporation of King's Lynn, Hall minutes, 1766-8 (King's Lynn Borough Archives, KL/C8/22).

21 The idea comes from David Pitcher of the Department of Design Services, Borough Council of King's Lynn and West Norfolk.

22 Bill dated 2 November 1772 (NRO, Bradfer-Lawrence papers, 22, pt.4).

23 Account of the estate in Norfolk belonging to Sr. Thos. Hare Baronet by William Shuckford, p.95 (NRO, Bradfer-Lawrence papers, IXd).

24 Repairs bill to Philip Case, Esq., for work done at Mr Smiths, Grimston, by Martin Dodman, bricklayer, 25 June 1784 (NRO, Bradfer-Lawrence papers, IXa (4)).

25 Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, *Cambridgeshire (The Buildings of England)*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth 1970) pp.369-83.

26 Notebook of Sir Hamon and Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, 1613-1721, pp.(7),(39),(41),(47),(63) (NRO, Hunstanton estate papers, Q 38).

27 Roger North, *Of Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture*, ed. by Howard Colvin and John Newman (Oxford 1981) p.39.

28 T.S. Willan, *The English Coasting Trade, 1600-1750* (Manchester 1938) p.127.

29 William Sampson, *The Rector's Book Clayworth Notts*, ed. by Harry Gill and E.L. Guilford (Nottingham 1910) pp.57,159; M.W. Barley, 'Rural building in England', in Joan Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, Vol.5: 1640-1750, part 2 (Cambridge 1985) p.634n.

to a point upstream from Lincoln.³⁰

If a detailed map could be made of the distribution of Ely roof-tiles it would show the use of the tiles throughout the Great Ouse river network, mixing in some areas with pantiles.³¹ In respect of the roof area covered, Ely tiles were the more expensive.³² Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries east-coast ports were active distribution centres for large quantities of pantiles imported, firstly, from the Netherlands and, much later, from Humberside. It is a testament to the reputation of Ely roof-tiles that those areas that had already developed the use of Ely tiles continued in their use and did not, by-and-large, convert to the use of pantiles.³³

The manufacture of bricks and tiles at Ely did, most probably, reach its peak around the middle of the nineteenth century when brickyards in the district provided employment for 74 males aged 20 years or over.³⁴ The printed one-inch-to-the-mile map of Cambridgeshire surveyed by Richard Grey Baker in the years 1816–20 showed three brickyards near the city,³⁵ but the more detailed manuscript map which accompanied the title

apportionment of 1843 indicated seven different locations within the combined parishes of Ely Holy Trinity and Ely Saint Mary where the making of bricks and tiles was being or had been practised.³⁶ By 1861, when the number of brickmakers in the district had fallen to 47,³⁷ the industry was in decline. Kelly's *Directory of Cambridgeshire* for 1888 noted one firm in the city to be involved with bricks, but this firm would seem not have manufactured bricks but merely to have traded with them.³⁸ The onus to explain this course of events remains with Cambridgeshire historians. It cannot be explained by the rise of the fletton brick industry in Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire, for this development post-dated the demise of Ely brickmaking.³⁹ Nor can it be explained as a rejection of the Ely product, for the bricks made at the newly emergent yards at Burwell were also made from the gault clay and were closely similar.⁴⁰ A reasonable surmise is that the local pocket of accessible gault clay had been worked out or did not survive in sufficient volume to justify periodic re-investment in kilns and other plant. The closure of the Ely brickyards terminated the production of Ely roof-tiles as well as bricks. It is a sad fact that architects for the recent restoration of the Capitular Buildings at Ely, which were Purcell, Miller, Tritton and Partners of Norwich, were unable to procure a sufficient quantity of tiles resembling the original Ely roof-tiles in England and were obliged to order French replacements from Pontigny.⁴¹ The good news for the future is that if the Cambridgeshire Tile and Brick Company Limited, set up under the auspices of the Cambridgeshire Historic Buildings Preservation Trust on the site of

30 T.S. Willan, 'River navigation and trade from the Witham to the Yare, 1600–1750', *Norfolk Archaeology* 26 (1938) pp.296–309.

31 A map of England indicating the broad areas in which plain tiles and pantiles predominated was published in R.W. Brunskill, *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture* (London 1971) p.182. This map is too generalised to serve as a guide to the roof coverings in particular areas.

32 A builder's reckoner for traditional roof-tiling states that, depending on the overlap provided between courses, the cover of 100 square feet will take from between 600 and 800 plaintiles and from between 150 and 180 pantiles. *Specification for architects, surveyors and engineers and for all interested in Building*, No. 4, September 1899 (London 1899) p.335. In the early eighteenth century the cost of plaintiles was stated to vary from between 15 and 30 shillings a thousand and pantiles from between 7 and 8 shillings a hundred. Richard Neve, *The City and Country Purchaser, and Builder's Dictionary* 2nd ed. (London 1726), pp.265–7.

33 Robin Lucas, 'The example of Norfolk in the English brick-trade: a collection of historical studies' (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of East Anglia 1993) Chapter 12. Robin Lucas, 'Roof coverings of parsonage houses, 1794', in Peter Wade-Martins and Jane Everett (eds), *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk* (Norwich 1993), pp.116–17, 195.

34 *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population Tables. II: Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations, and Birth-Place of the People* (London 1854) Vol.1, p.215.

35 R.G. Baker, *Map of the County of Cambridge and Isle of Ely, Surveyed by R. G. Baker in the years 1816, 17, 18, 19 and 20, one inch to the mile, 47½ inches by 60½ inches* (Bluntisham 1821).

36 Parishes of Ely Holy Trinity and Ely Saint Mary, Tithe apportionment, 1843 (Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts, Ely Diocesan Archives, EDRT, Ely).

37 *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861. Population Tables. II: Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations, and Birth-Places of the People* (London 1863) p.227.

38 *Kelly's Directory of Cambridgeshire, Norfolk & Suffolk* (London 1888) pp.79, 189.

39 John Woodforde, *Bricks to Build a House* (London 1976) pp.146–63; Peter Bigmore, *The Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire Landscape* (London 1979) pp.27, 206–7, Plate 34; Alan Cox, *Brickmaking: a History and Gazetteer (Survey of Bedfordshire)* (Bedford 1979) pp.49–59; Richard Hillier, *Clay that Burns: a History of the Fletton Brick Industry* (London 1981).

40 *Geology of the Country around Cambridge (Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Great Britain — England and Wales)* (London 1969) pp.37, 38, 130.

41 Information from Jane Kennedy, consultant architect.

a defunct Burwell brickyard, is successful in its attempt to revive the craft of brickmaking on Cambridgeshire gault clay; then Fenland will once again have a supply of brickyard wares that may be used not only for the

restoration of older buildings but also, it is to be hoped, for contemporary building which may reflect into the future some part, at least, of the area's traditional architecture.⁴²

42 *Clay Peg Tiles for Roofing in the Cambridgeshire and Ely Area: a Feasibility Study of the Manufacture of New Peg Tiles using Local Clays* (Ely [1990]). I am indebted to John Hardiment for bringing this publication to my attention.

Field-Work in Cambridgeshire: January 1993– September 1993

Alison Taylor & Christopher Evans

The following field-work has been carried out by **Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeology Section**:

Alison Taylor

Excavation Summaries

Bassingbourn Moat TL330441

Simon Bray, for R. Warboys Esq.

A watching brief on foundation trenches that were being excavated within a moat that encloses the church and graveyard of Bassingbourn showed that the profile of the present moat was not original but had been re-cut about 5 m. northeast of the medieval ditch. A 20 cm. thick possible palaeosol was all that survived beneath 50 cm. of modern make-up. No dating evidence was retrieved.

Brampton TL20257085

Ken Welsh, for Yelcon Homes

A small pit, sealed beneath a layer of alluvium, contained sherds of at least six Beaker vessels as well as fragments of charcoal and burnt bone. An ancient stream channel and other natural features were located.

Borough Fen, Iron Age fort TF192073

Ron McKenna (Peterborough Museum) and Tim Malim

Dyke clearance of Red Cow Drain exposed two of the Fort's defensive ditches, internal

banks and other features. Monoliths for environmental analysis were taken from the organically rich and waterlogged basal deposits, and large sherds of Iron Age pottery were found, as well as a complete horse's head suggestive of ritual deposition.

The main ditches were 10.5 m. wide at the top and 4.4 m. at the base, 2.3 m. deep, and with sides sloping down at 45° angle. The banks showed evidence of revetting or ramparts and survived to a height of 0.8 m., and were up to 13 m. wide. The outer ditch was 30 m. further south and was 3.5 m. wide and 1.3 m. deep.

Cambridge TL44955858

Simon Bray, for Eaden Lilley

Stratified post-medieval deposits were recorded in a small area beneath Eaden Lilley, in central Cambridge. Pits, including a probable quarry, and a stone-lined well were noted.

Ely, Angel Drove TL542796

Judith Roberts, for Tesco Stores Ltd

Assessment trenches revealed no archaeological remains.

Fowlmere/Melbourn, Bran Ditch TL40474486

Ken Welsh, for English Heritage

Two trenches were excavated across Bran Ditch, close to Black Peak and the presumed northwestern terminus of the ditch, where it reaches a wet and marshy area. Here, at

least, Bran Ditch no longer exists as an earthwork, although its line still forms part of the parish boundary between Fowlmere and Melbourn. Aerial photographs revealed a rectangular enclosure immediately to the southwest, running around Black Peak.

Excavation of Trench A revealed a profile for Bran Ditch that was 6 m. wide and 1.8 m. deep from the surface of the natural chalk. It showed an initial period of rapid weathering of the sides after which it might have been partially cleaned out. A stable profile became established soon after. The remains of the bank were found on the northeastern side of the ditch: a layer of redeposited chalk rubble, 0.13 m. thick and 9.3 m. wide, with a berm of about 1.5 m. A trench filled with chalk packing stones showed that the bank was revetted or palisaded at the time of its construction, presumably to prevent chalk rubble from falling back into the trench.

The second trench (Trench B), adjacent to the northern terminus, revealed a much-reduced profile for Bran Ditch, perhaps indicating that it did indeed terminate in this area. However, a water pipe and inspection cover, laid in the early 1980s to top up water levels in the RSPB reserve, appears to have destroyed the extreme end of the ditch, and its northeastern end has also been substantially truncated in recent times (probably by quarrying), so that its full profile was not available. The nature of the chalk forming the base of the ditch suggested that it might have contained standing water at some early period of its history. An unidentified and undated circular feature, 3.5 m. across and 0.9 m. deep, with inwardly inclined post-holes within its perimeter, was excavated in the southwestern side of the ditch. Although intercutting with Bran Ditch, their stratigraphic relationship could not be ascertained as the upper fills of both were very similar. The similarity of their primary fills suggests that they could be contemporary.

The bank material in Trench A sealed a buried soil, the upper part of which contained Iron Age and Roman pottery. In the lower part were found substantial numbers of Mesolithic or early Neolithic struck flint flakes. The freshness of the flint suggests that tool production was carried out here.

On the southwestern side of Bran Ditch, a ditch around Black Peak was revealed. It enclosed an area of about 0.4 ha., and a section across the ditch showed it to be 2.65 m. wide and 0.95 m. deep. Pottery in the lowest fill dated from the late Iron Age.

Fowlmere, High Street TL42354595–TL42484580

Paul Spoerry, for Lewis Patten, Chartered Architects

Trial trenches near the Round Moat and in an area between the moat and the High Street revealed the following archaeological features: a small Iron Age ditch; evidence for a structure and occupation, probably of medieval date, within a few metres of the moat; upcast thrown up by cleaning and recutting the moat in the Middle Ages, covering features noted above; a pond consisting of a natural clay-filled hollow, altered to improve water-management; medieval settlement evidence adjacent to the High Street, damaged by later buildings; and traces of eighteenth-century cottages.

Foxton TL413470

Stephen Macaulay, for English Heritage

Extensive Iron Age and Roman settlement cropmarks were examined in order to assess the impact of continued ploughing on a scheduled monument. Numerous Iron Age features, including a circular ditched enclosure, pits, ditches and palisade trenches (some containing burnt daub) were excavated.

A ditched trackway showed evidence of late Iron Age and Roman date. Roman artefacts, including 38 nails, a bone gaming piece and pottery, mostly found in topsoil, illustrate levels that had already been destroyed. There were large quantities of animal bone, some of it burnt or butchered. It is thought the main focus of both Iron Age and Roman settlement was a short distance from the excavated area. An undated crouched skeleton was found in one ditch.

Hinxton TL496448

Stephanie Leith, for the Wellcome Trust

Assessment trenches on the grounds of Hinxton Hall, revealed a discrete area of early-medieval (eleventh- to twelfth-century) occupation. Evidence was found of post-medieval buildings, which probably relate to those known to have been demolished at the time of the emparkment in the mid-nineteenth century. Ditches that produced worked flints are thought to be a separate prehistoric phase, but other massive ditches are currently undated. Clunch

wall foundations are thought to be boundary walls related to fields indicated on a plan of 1831. Large-scale excavations are continuing in 1994 and will examine numerous features identified by geophysical survey.

Huntingdon, High Street TL23717194

Richard Heawood, for Headley Stokes Associates

Medieval rubbish and cess pits containing pottery and animal bone were excavated during construction work. Further work will continue in 1993–4.

Huntingdon, Spittals Way medieval burials TL229732

David Mitchell, for Cambridgeshire County Council, Transportation Department

Portions of between 55–60 skeletons of medieval date were excavated following disturbance for road widening. A wide range of ages was present, from neonatal/infant up to older adults. Some showed signs of leprosy and other diseases, so the cemetery is thought to be associated with the Leper hospital of St Margaret, which was founded in the late twelfth century and closed in 1341.

Linton TL56704700

Ken Welsh, for Bidwells

Assessment trenches revealed no archaeological remains.

Littleport TL532903

Richard Heawood, for P.J. Thorry Ltd

Assessment trenches revealed no archaeological remains apart from two undated shallow rings c. 9.5 m. in diameter.

St Neots, Eynesbury TL182590

Mary Alexander, for Alsop Verrill Planning Consultants

Geophysical survey revealed a dense complex of magnetic anomalies suggesting settlement and agricultural enclosures.

Test pits located over geophysical anomalies in school playing fields located a Roman road and substantial Roman pits and ditches, rich in occupation materials, mainly dating from the third century onwards.

St Neots, Eynesbury TL184583

Stephen Kemp, for G.L. Hearn and Partners

Trenching revealed an interrupted ring-ditch approximately 15 m. in diameter. A post alignment crossed the 'entrance way', of which the posts were deliberately removed at a later date. A number of pits lay outside the enclosed area of the ring-ditch, and charcoal and burnt clay were found within.

A Roman/post-Roman trackway bounded on either side by ditches crossed the area. The northern ditch was partially excavated; the trench ran through the entrance way that was shown on the aerial photographs. Two ditches cut across the trackway within the trench.

The majority of the archaeological remains lay on a gravel terrace in the northern part of the site. In the south, where deeper soils were recorded, much of the site had been disturbed by pitting and quarrying associated with the construction of the A45. However, a semi-circular ditch was found at a depth of 0.70 m.; this is likely to be of prehistoric date. Other ditches in this southern area cut through the alluvium and a buried soil. These deposits have been disturbed by medieval and post-medieval ploughing.

St Neots Priory TL182603

Mary Alexander, for Januarys Consultant Surveyors

A part of the medieval Priory burial ground was revealed, lying below some Victorian activity, including a cess pit, and a 1.0 m. layer of ground make-up dated to the seventeenth- to eighteenth-century. Twenty whole or partial skeletons were excavated, their location suggesting that burial intensity increased towards the north, nearer to the site of the Priory buildings. Study of the skeletons has revealed significant medical details reflecting aspects of medieval life, both monastic and secular. One individual was buried with a series of iron half-hoops lying below the body. Another burial contained a base metal vessel, possibly a priest's chalice. The

southernmost end of the area revealed the edge of a large pit. This feature contained much burnt building material, indicating earlier, possibly Saxon, structures in the immediate vicinity.

The Stukeleys, TL20607200 and TL20007230

Ken Welsh, for Huntingdon Steeplechase Ltd

The first area produced settlement evidence consisting of flint scatters, ditches and post-holes on a gravel terrace, provisionally dated to the Bronze Age by pottery. A prehistoric stream channel with associated riverside activities such as burning and burnt cobbles (and a sherd of Iron Age pot), was sealed beneath thick alluvium. In the second area, also sealed by prehistoric alluvial silt, burnt tree-boles and worked flints perhaps demonstrated woodland clearance in the Neolithic period. Excavations will continue in 1994.

Swaffham Prior, Goodwin Farm (NGR withheld)

Simon Bray, on behalf of English Heritage

Excavation over a cropmark site revealed two masonry buildings interpreted as Roman shrines, and eight burials, at least three of which were Anglo-Saxon in date. The cropmarks were similar in plan to other known Roman temples, and the position of this site on a commanding hill overlooking the fen edge, and connected to Reach villa by a trackway, would confirm the interpretation of it as a shrine. The occurrence of Anglo-Saxon burials is especially interesting in the context of Roman-Saxon transition and in the proximity of Devil's Dyke, only 300 m. away. One Anglo-Saxon burial was accompanied by 114 amber and three silver-in-glass-beads, a small-long brooch and iron knife, and another by a complete pot.

Swavesey, Ryders Farm TL36403840, medieval hall

Simon Bray, on behalf of J. Dyer Esq.

An excavation within a farmhouse in Swavesey, which dates to the mid-thirteenth century, was carried out in advance of major restoration. A series of alterations and features

were found which greatly increased the size and comfort of the house, attributed to the mid-seventeenth to early eighteenth century. The alterations include a complex drainage system beneath the floor of the main hall, the infilling of some of the main structural wall with bricks, conversion into a two-storey dwelling and construction of three extensions to the south and east of the main hall.

A thick, compact layer of deliberately deposited clay was found extending beneath the whole of the house. It has been interpreted as a house platform laid during the initial phase of construction during the mid-thirteenth century.

Tilbrook Cross-Base TL080694

Simon Bray, for Tilbrook Parish Council

A test pit on the site from which a stone cross-shaft had been removed for safe-keeping uncovered the cross' square (670 mm.) pedestal.

Trumpington/Great Shelford, Cambridge Southern Relief Road assessment

Excavated by Stephen Kemp, on behalf of Cambridgeshire County Council (Transportation)

Assessment trenches, over areas where extensive cropmarks indicated early settlement that could be affected by the proposed road, indicated a surprisingly empty landscape despite the presence of two Iron Age hill-forts (Wandlebury and War Ditches), a major Roman road and an extensive prehistoric settlement beneath Addenbrooke's Hospital.

Trenches located three sub-rectangular enclosures on land that sloped up towards the Gog Magog hills. These must have been used for agriculture rather than settlement as they were quite barren of artefacts or other dating evidence, although concentrations of Roman pottery were found nearby. Many other ditches were sampled and their purpose (many which followed the natural slope) was presumably drainage, as their gleyed fills and molluscan evidence suggested irregular waterlogging. Other ditches crossed the contours and are thought to have been informal and shifting boundaries dating to medieval and later periods, when, before Enclosure, this boggy, marginal land is known to have been common pasture.

Wansford TL08439960

Simon Bray, for Nene Valley Service Station
Assessment trenches revealed no archaeological remains.

**Waterbeach, Car Dyke Roman Canal
TL494650**

Stephen Macaulay and Tim Reynolds, for English Heritage

A trench, cut as part of a management programme, showed that the original Roman dyke was over 24 m. wide, and 4 m. deep with a shallow profile. Quantities of pottery found in the lowest levels dated to Antoninus (140 AD–180AD). Waterlogged conditions have preserved organic material of the same date. On the west side of the dyke, where an original bank survived until it was destroyed by modern ploughing, our trench located an old ground surface that might have been the original land surface during the dyke construction. Unfortunately, recutting of the dyke in the seventeenth century destroyed most of the Roman levels. Mollusca were found, which suggest fast-flowing water indicative of a canal rather than a catchwater.

Wicken, Dimmocks Cote TL546724

Simon Bray, for Euston Lime Co.

Expansion of a lime quarry at Dimmocks Cote Road has continued to reveal evidence of Bronze Age settlement. Gulleys, pits, and post-holes have been found, especially well preserved beneath a medieval furlong boundary, and these features are associated with a contemporary buried soil. Beaker and Late Bronze Age pottery have been found as well as areas of burning and a loom weight.

Wisbech St Mary TL38850750

Stephen Macaulay, for G. Patrick Esq.

Assessment trenches revealed no significant archaeological remains.

Other archaeological projects included field-walking surveys at:
Bassingbourn - John of Gaunts Castle

Chesterton - suburbs of Durobrivae
Sawston - Borough Hill Iron Age hill-fort

Construction of pipe-lines was watched at the following locations:

Comberton-Eversden

Marholm-Upton

Sawtry

Wandlebury

**Cambridge Archaeological Unit,
University of Cambridge — 1993
Excavation Summaries**

Christopher Evans

**Cambridge — The Bath Hotel, Bene't Street
TL44865832**

Refurbishment during May resulted in the partial exposure of the building's original seventeenth-century timber-frame. Recording by members of the CAU and the Cambridge Historic Buildings Group has enabled reconstruction of both the south and north elevations. Preliminary examination of the timber indicates that much of the frame was of imported Scandinavian pine.

Cambridge — Bene't Court TL44605835

Excavation was undertaken from April to June in the courtyard between the Eagle pub and the back of the Arts Theatre. In the light of the site's off-frontage location significant post-medieval disturbance (e.g. cellars) was not expected and survival of Saxo-Norman remains anticipated. This proved not to be the case — the intensity of medieval pitting had destroyed almost all earlier strata. However, the paucity of residual Saxo-Norman artefacts would suggest that such occupation had never there been present.

The earliest features were a small remnant of a clay floor, overlying a buried soil, and a stratigraphically early well. The second phase consists of a number of large pits, probably gravel quarries, which were dug and rapidly backfilled during the thirteenth century. This phase of quarrying was followed by a period of horticultural usage, resulting in the inter-mixing of the upper quarry pit fills. Along the northern edge of the site an east/west lane, whose line corresponds to the extant passageway between numbers

10 and 11 King's Parade, was laid upon a bed of rammed gravel. This thoroughfare was apparently renewed on a number of occasions; in one interlude a post-built structure encroached upon it, possibly utilising the gravel for flooring. During this phase a possibly contemporary lane was laid in the southern end of the site, its east/west axis corresponding to the passage between 8 and 9 King's Parade. Subsequently, the southern part of the site was turned over for back-plot activities, including large numbers of pits and wells; the northern lane was also bordered by at least one well. Following this, the latter laneway ceased to function and a building placed such that its southern wall ran lengthwise along the centre of the lane. Consisting of plum-purple bricks, this wall is tentatively assigned to the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. Given this date the demise of the lane may reflect off-site developments (i.e. College construction). The lane-covering brick structure was superseded by another building of mortared clunch-block construction, on a similar orientation. The southern half of the site may then have been paved as one large courtyard, though this is difficult to show clearly due to extensive later pitting. Contemporary with, or possibly after this building had gone out of use, a large ditch was excavated parallel with the wall, apparently in order to quarry the gravel laneway (early sixteenth century). Subsequently the northern area was, like the southern, again used as back-gardens, with numerous pits and wells. A final phase of building occurred in the north, probably in the seventeenth century; later activities included two eighteenth-century brick wells. Features largely destroyed by twentieth-century construction are otherwise recorded in documentary sources (e.g. the early nineteenth-century plans of the Eagle and its out-buildings).

Cambridge — Emmanuel College
TL45255835

During July an assessment was carried out within the forecourt of the Master's Lodge. Evidence was found of the build-up of agricultural soils datable to the Dominican Priory which occupied the site before the College. A boundary ditch and associated building may also be attributable to that period. With the foundation of the College the area was made into an orchard, and later converted to a formal garden; features associated with this later usage were excavated.

Cambridge — Fulbourn Hospital TL495565

In May an assessment was conducted within the hospital grounds. Test pit sampling was undertaken across lawns and trenches excavated within the northwestern quarter of this area to evaluate both a series linear features and a major sub-circular cropmark (diameter c. 70 m.). These proved to be substantial (c. 1.30 m. deep). While earlier Bronze Age pottery (only; including decorated rusticated beaker) was recovered from the primary fills of circular ditch, many later Bronze Age sherds and struck flints came from a dumped midden-like deposit towards the top. This would suggest two distinct phase of its utilisation (?ritual and settlement); the linear ditch system relating to the latter. Although worked flint was recovered from the test pit sampling elsewhere, no other sites were recognised. Further fieldwork is anticipated.

Cambridge — Jesus College TL542588

As a consequence of an assessment undertaken last year, in March excavations were undertaken on the site of new College Library (between the east end of the Chapel and Jesus Lane). Much of the area was found to have been truncated through commercial-/civic-scale quarrying in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries ('strip-type'). However, a minor ditch/beam slot and associated dump of wattle-and timber-impressed daub attests to the presence of an earlier building in the south of the site. This was possibly ancillary to Convent of St Rhadegund which occupied the grounds between 1133-1496. Excavated were laneway flanking ditches, a well, tanks and pits, all contemporary with the Nunnery.

An extensive midden of c. seventeenth century date, situated in the base of the upper garden soils, was carefully excavated and more than 5000 artefacts were recovered. Analysis of this material will provide important evidence as to the economy/diet of the early College community.

In August human skeletons were discovered by workmen during service groundworks in the Master's garden, former site of the parishioners' cemetery. Rescue excavations were rapidly organised and the remains of at least 15 bodies recovered.

Cambridge — New Hall TL440595

Anticipating the construction of a study centre and residences, in June a field assessment

was undertaken across much of the western half of the College grounds. Throughout traces were found of Romano-British extramural settlement, locally very dense. Whilst primarily of second century date, in the north-western quarter of the grounds there was also evidence of later Roman usage (fourth century) which involved the backfilling of features with 'Dark Earth'/midden-like deposits. The alignment of these ditch systems is well off that of Huntingdon Road, the route from Roman Cambridge to Godmanchester.

Cambridge — Chapel Court, St John's College TL44755881

In July excavations were conducted following a lowering of the courtyard which revealed the foundations of buildings demolished in the nineteenth century. These seventeenth- to eighteenth-century structures lined the north side of the cobbled St John's Lane and formed the back-end of properties fronting onto Bridge Street; footings of an earlier building were also exposed.

Chatteris — The Langwood Farm Environs TL418852

As part of English Heritage's Fenland Management Programme, in January the vast Chatteris 26 Iron Age and Romano-British complex was transect sample field-walked (12.5% of 8 ha. core area). Some 13,500 artefacts were thus recovered, including 6000 pot sherds. Whilst there we also undertook rapid collection on neighbouring Roman and Iron Age Fenland survey sites (Chatteris 14, 25 & 24). Site 13 (West Cottages), a cropmark complex lying just east of the main Langwood site, was also investigated. Two distinct spreads were identified: a small early post-medieval cluster (?seventeenth century), possibly the site of a windmill; the other, a Middle/late Iron Age settlement which probably dates the cropmarks. Although worked flint was recovered across the field, lithic 'sites' as such could not be delineated.

Following field-walking and limited test-pitting, the Chatteris 26/Langwood complex was further sampled through the excavation of 50 five-metre-square test stations laid-out on a staggered 40 m. grid. Some 400 features were thus identified and recorded (features present in all but four test stations). Two main areas of excavation were thereafter opened up to investigate the distinct Iron

Age and Romano-British zones within this complex (respectively the eastern and western). In the latter a large stone-footed aisled building, only the third stone structure known from the Roman fens, was exposed. Further trenches were excavated in order to test what few cropmarks were visible. A linear ditch system running along the crest of the ridge proved to be a driveway of Roman date, one that probably runs northeastwards up to Honey Hill and Stonea. This is clearly a major Romano-British complex, one which has two distinct components (and alignments). The stone-footed building (possible of administrative function) and its ditched yards sited on the lower/middle ridgeway slope, and a 'native extramural' settlement clustering around the along-ridgeway drove above it.

The Early Iron Age portions of the site proved to be very dense. More than ten structures (of various form) were distinguished, suggesting a total settlement population of more than 100 buildings. Whilst on site we also trenched the cropmark fieldsystem immediately to the northeast (Site 12), which also proved to be of Iron Age date. These fields are spatially interrelated with the West Cottages system, making this a very extensive and complete fen-edge Iron Age settlement complex.

In late July a vast sub-circular cropmark configuration known just below Langwood Ridge was summarily investigated in a single day (Chatteris 23). This work was undertaken simply to determine whether a 'camp' of Iron Age or earlier date lies adjacent to the Chatteris 26 settlement. This, however, proved not to be the case: the 'great curve' a product of aerial photographic distortion. The corner of a substantial Bronze Age ditch was sample excavated and a large pot sherd of that date recovered; transect field-walking was also undertaken there (artefact recovery rates were remarkably low when compared to the ridge-top, including 'background' flint densities). A new ring-ditch located in an adjacent field has been subsequently identified on aerial photographs and, as a consequence, the Chatteris 23/Block Fen ditch systems re-plotted. Given its scale, this complex seems the only (known) Bronze Age fieldsystem comparable to that at Fengate known within the fenland.

Fen Drayton Reservoir TL333690

The excavations, which occurred between July and September, were instigated as a consequence of assessment field-work undertaken last year. The area investigated (25 ha.) lies

immediately northwest of Fen Drayton village on the edge of the alluvial terraces of the river Great Ouse just west of its junction with the Fen. The initial occupation of the site occurred during the Neolithic and some 125 of the 140 features recorded appear to date to that period. Most were post-holes and pits, notable was a shallow pit with an inverted Neolithic bowl incorporated in the fill. Few patterns can be discerned suggestive of structures: one is a probable line of large posthole/pits, possibly a fence. The finds are chronologically homogeneous, with pottery and flintwork characteristic of the earlier Neolithic. Analysis is currently under way, but tentative interpretations suggest a short-lived settlement.

The second phase of utilisation occurs two millennia later, during the Romano-British period. This includes six to eight ditches, appearing to represent two phases of field systems on slightly differing alignments. One is parallel to the Roman settlement investigated by trial trenches in 1992, whilst the other alignment is skewed by 45 degrees. The pottery appears to span the second to fourth centuries AD.

The alluvium-sealed buried soil was investigated by the hand-sorting of standard 40 litre samples and one-metre-square test pits. This consistently contained both Neolithic flint and small abraded sherds of Romano-British pottery. The alluvium must, therefore, date to the fourth century AD or later.

Gamlingay — 'The Emplins' TL242524

In February investigations were carried out in advance of groundworks in the northern cross-wing of this late fifteenth-century building. Much of the area was found to have been occupied by a sunken eighteenth-century dairy. However, some undisturbed earlier strata were observed. Whilst undated, these deposits must pre-date the timber-frames of both the hall and north ranges.

Godmanchester — Duck End Farm TL247697

Relating to a housing development, in March ten engineer's pits were recorded as part of a 'make-shift' evaluation exercise. Within the northern half of the field the sections revealed possible evidence of a Roman road metalling and features were exposed evidently associated with medieval earthworks within the vicinity.

Hinxton Quarry TL487466

Anticipating a major extension (13 ha.) to the site that had been previously investigated by Cambridgeshire Archaeology in 1991/2, in late August an assessment was undertaken in the fields both north and south of the quarry. An extremely high density of surface lithics (average density 16 worked flints per 10 m.²) was recovered throughout; their character suggests that the large flint cobbles within the terrace gravels were utilised for production. A later Neolithic site was recognised as a distinct surface spread in the north field, however, no features were found to survive in association. Two cremations were recovered during the course of trial trenching across a ring-ditch within the southern field. Evidently a ploughed-out barrow, during the later Bronze Age the monument apparently became a focus for flint-working: during field-walking great quantities of 'industrial'-type debris was recovered across its interior and had been dumped into its re-cut ditch.

Across the terrace is a dense cropmark network of field systems and associated settlement compounds, all evidently of early Romano-British date (second century). A driveway and parallel field boundary (the latter interrupting over the above-described barrow) were sample excavated within the southern field; in the northern, a series of conjoining settlement enclosures. There is important evidence of Roman-to-(post-)medieval continuity inasmuch as a flanking ditch of an early driveway dictates the hedge-line bordering the present approach track into the quarry.

In the north field a fine Middle Saxon brooch was recovered during field-walking. Subsequent metal detection survey indicated that it could not be cemetery associated. The find-spot was trial trenched and the brooch found to derive from the artefact-rich backfill of a *grubenhäuser*. Whilst apart from a fence-line our investigation revealed no other contemporary features, the location of at least one other such house is suggested by the recovery of Saxon pottery 80 m. to the northwest. Further fieldwork is expected.

Waterbeach — Goose Hall Farm TL48086706

Due to the proximity of cropmark systems, the Roman road to Ely and the Car Dyke, previous to the digging of a large pond, in

March a seventy-five-metre-long assessment trench was excavated. However, no features nor evidence of archaeology was found.

Weston Coville — The Moat House
TL62155355

Relating to house construction, and following from assessment excavation in 1991, in March a limited evaluation was undertaken. A moat-related ditch was discovered, probably part of a catch-water system, and evidence found of an enclosure-exterior bank.

Whittlesford — Rayner's Farm TL465485

In May excavations and a watching brief were carried out on this fifteenth- to sixteenth-century timber-frame farmhouse. Within the area of the main range were revealed eighteenth-/nineteenth-century dump deposits sealing the remains of earlier timber floors and a possible house platform relating to the present house. Watching brief observations provided evidence of an earlier building, and a clunch footing and floor associated with the present cross-wing.

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